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**CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES**

**OF HIS**

**WARS IN GAUL.**

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**BOOK VII.**

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# CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

OF

## HIS WARS IN GAUL.

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### BOOK VIII.

**I.** CÆSAR having quieted the commotions in Gaul, went, as he designed, into Italy, to preside in the assembly of the states. There he was informed of the death of P. Clodius: and understanding further, that the senate had passed a decree, ordering all the youth of Italy to take up arms, he resolved to levy troops over the whole province. The report of this soon spread into farther Gaul: and the Gauls themselves, forward to encourage such rumours, added of their own accord what the case seemed to require:—"That Cæsar was detained by a domestic sedition, and could not, while these disorders continued, come to head the army." Animated by this opportunity, they, who before lamented their subjection to the Romans, now began with more freedom and boldness to enter upon measures of war. The leading men of the nation, concerting private meetings among themselves, in woods and remote places, complained of the death of Acco; remonstrated that such might one time or other be their own fate; and after bemoaning the common fortune of their country, endeavoured by all manner of promises and rewards, to draw over some to begin the war, and with the hazard of their own lives, pave the way to the liberty of Gaul. But chiefly they thought it incumbent upon them, before their secret conferences should be discovered, to cut off Cæsar's return to the army. This appeared abundantly easy; because neither would the legions, in the absence of their general, dare to quit their winter quarters: nor was it possible for the general to join the legions, without a body of troops

to guard him. In fine, they concluded it was better to die bravely in the field, than not recover their former glory in war, and the liberty they had received from their ancestors.

**II.** Such were the debates in the private councils of the Gauls: when the Carnutes, declaring their readiness to submit to any danger for the common safety, offered to be the first in taking up arms against the Romans. And because the present giving of hostages might endanger a too early discovery of their designs, they proposed, that the other states should bind themselves by a solemn oath, in presence of the military ensigns, which is the most sacred obligation among the Gauls, not to abandon them during the course of the war. This offer of the Carnutes was received with universal applause, the oath required was taken by all present: and the time for action being fixed, the assembly separated.

**III.** When the appointed day came, the Carnutes, headed by Cotuatus and Conetodunus, men of desperate resolution, flew, upon a signal given, to Genabum; massacred the Roman citizens settled there on account of trade; among the rest, C. Fusius Cotta, a Roman knight of eminence, whom Cæsar had appointed to superintend the care of provisions; and plundered their effects. The fame of this soon spread into all the provinces of Gaul. For when any thing singular and extraordinary happens, they publish it from place to place by outcries, which being successively repeated by men stationed on purpose, are carried with incredible expedition over the whole country. And thus it was on the present occasion. For

what had been done at Genabum about sunrise, was known before nine at night in the territories of the Averni, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles.

VI. Fired by this example, Vercingetorix, the son of Celtillus, of the nation of the Averni, a young nobleman of great power and interest, whose father had presided over Celtic Gaul, and for aiming at the sovereignty been put to death by his countrymen, calling his clients and followers together, easily persuaded them to a revolt. His design being discovered, the people immediately flew to arms; and Gobanitio his uncle, with the other principal men of the state, dreading the consequences of so rash an enterprise, united all their authority against him, and expelled him the city Gergovia. Yet still he adhered to his former resolution, and assembling all the outlaws and fugitives he could find, engaged them in his service. Having by this means got together a body of troops, he brought all to whom he applied himself to fall in with his views; pressed them to take up arms for the common liberty; and finding his forces greatly increased, quickly drove those out of the territories of Auvergne, who had so lately expelled him the city Gergovia. Upon this he was saluted king by his followers: and despatching ambassadors into all parts, exhorted them to continue firm to the confederacy. The Senones, Parisians, Pictones, Cadurci, Turones, Aulerci, Lemovices, Andes, and all the other nations bordering upon the ocean, readily came into the alliance, and with unanimous consent declared him generalissimo of the league. Armed with this authority, he demanded hostages of the several states; ordered them to furnish a certain number of men immediately; appointed what quantity of arms each was to prepare, with the time by which they must be in readiness; and, above all, applied himself to have on foot a numerous cavalry. To the most extreme diligence, he joined an extreme rigour of command; and by the severity of his punishments, obliged the irresolute to declare themselves: for in great faults, the criminals, after having been tortured, were burned alive; and for lighter offences, ordering the ears of the guilty to be cut off, or one of their eyes put out, he sent them, thus mutilated, home, to serve as an example to the rest, and by the rigour of their sufferings to keep others in awe.

V. Having, by the terror of these punish-

ments, speedily assembled an army, he sent Luterius of Quercy, a bold and enterprising man, with part of the forces, against the Rutheni; and marched himself into the territories of the Biturigians. The Biturigians, upon his arrival, despatched ambassadors to the Æduans, under whose protection they were, to demand succours against the enemy. The Æduans, by advice of the lieutenants Cæsar had left with the army, ordered a supply of horse and foot to the assistance of the Biturigians. This body of troops, advancing to the banks of the Loire, which divides the Biturigians from the Æduans, halted there a few days; and not daring to pass that river, returned again to their own country. The reason of this conduct, according to the report made to our lieutenants, was an apprehension of treachery from the Biturigians: for that people, as they pretended, had formed the design of surrounding them beyond the Loire, on one side with their own troops, on the other with those of Auvergne. Whether this was the real cause of their return, or whether they acted perfidiously in the affair, is what we have not been able to learn with certainty, and therefore cannot venture to affirm. The Biturigians, on their departure, immediately joined the forces of the Averni.

VI. These things being reported to Cæsar, in Italy; as the troubles in Rome were in a great measure quieted by the care and vigilance of Pompey, he set out immediately for Transalpine Gaul. Upon his arrival there, he found it extremely difficult to resolve after what manner to rejoin the army. For should he order the legions to repair to the province, he foresaw they would be attacked on their march in his absence: and should he himself proceed to the quarters of the legions, he was not without apprehensions of danger, even from those states that seemingly continued faithful to the Romans.

VII. In the meantime, Luterius of Quercy, who had been sent into the territories of the Rutheni, brought over that state to the alliance of the Averni: advancing thence among the Nitobrigians and Gabali, he received hostages from both nations; and having got together a numerous body of troops, drew towards Narbonne, to attack the Roman province on that side. Cæsar being informed of his design, thought it first and principally incumbent upon him, to provide for the security



of the province. With this view he flew to Narbonne; confirmed the wavering and timorous; placed garrisons in the towns of the Rutheni subject to the Romans; also in those of the Volscians, Tolosatians, and other states bordering upon the enemy: and having thus taken effectual measures against Luterius, ordered part of the provincial forces, with the recruits he had brought from Italy, to rendezvous upon the frontiers of the Helvians, whose territories adjoin to those of the Averni.

VIII. These dispositions being made, and Luterius checked and forced to retire, because he did not think it advisable to venture among the Roman garrisons, Cæsar advanced into the country of the Helvians. Although the mountains of the Sevennes, which separate the Helvians from Auvergne, by the great depth of the snow in that extreme rigorous season, threatened to obstruct his march; yet having cleared away the snow, which lay to the depth of six feet, and, with infinite labour to the soldiers, opened a passage over the mountains, he at length reached the confines of the Averni. As they were altogether unprepared, regarding the Sevennes as an impenetrable barrier, impassable at that season even to single men, he ordered the cavalry to spread themselves on all sides, and strike as universal a terror into the enemy as possible. Fame and messengers from the state soon informed Vercingetorix of the disaster befallen his country. All the Averni gathered round him in a body, and with looks full of dismay, conjured him to regard their fortunes, and not abandon them to the ravages of the Roman army; more especially, as he now saw the whole war pointed against them. Vercingetorix, moved by their entreaties, put his army upon the march, and quitting the territories of the Biturians, drew towards Auvergne.

IX. This Cæsar had foreseen; and after a stay of two days in those parts, set out under pretence of fetching a reinforcement. He left young Brutus to command in his absence; charged him to disperse the cavalry as wide as he could; and promised to return, if possible, within three days. Then, deceiving the Romans themselves, that he might the better impose upon the Gauls, he posted by great journeys to Vienne. There he found the new levied cavalry whom he had sent thither some time before; and travelling day and night without intermission, through the country of

the Æduans, to prevent, by his expedition, any desigus they might form against him, he at length reached the confines of the Lingones, where two of his legions wintered. Thence sending immediately to the rest, he drew them altogether into a body, before the Averni could be apprized of his arrival.

X. Vercingetorix, upon notice of this, led back his army into the territories of the Biturians; and marching thence, resolved to invest Gergovia, a town belonging to the Boii, where they had been settled by Cæsar after the defeat of the Helvetians, and made subject to the Æduan state. This step greatly perplexed the Roman general: if he continued encamped with his legion in one place during the rest of the winter, and abandoned the subjects of the Æduans to the attempts of the enemy, he had reason to apprehend that the Gauls, seeing him afford no protection to his friends, would universally give in to a revolt; if, on the contrary, he took the field early, he risked the want of provision and forage, by the great difficulty of procuring convoys. Resolving however, at all hazards, not to submit to an affront, that must for ever alienate the hearts of his allies, he pressingly enjoined the Æduans to be very careful in supplying him with provisions: and despatching messengers to the Boii, to inform them of his approach, exhorted them to continue firm to their duty, and sustain with courage the assaults of the enemy. Meanwhile leaving two legions and the baggage of the whole army at Agendicum, he set out upon his march to their relief.

XI. Arriving the next day before Vellaunodunum, a city of the Senones, that he might leave no enemy behind him capable of obstructing his convoys, he resolved to besiege it, and in two days completed his circumvallation. On the third, deputies came from the town to treat about a surrender; when, ordering them to deliver up their arms, horses, and six hundred hostages, he left C. Trebonius, one of his lieutenants, to cause the articles to be put in execution; and continuing his march with all diligence, advanced towards Genabum. The Carnutes, to whom this city belonged, were drawing troops together for its defence; imagining that the siege of Vellaunodunum, of which they had just then received intelligence, would be a work of some time. Cæsar reached the place in two days, encamped before it, and finding it began to be late, deferred the

assault till next morning. Meanwhile he gave the necessary orders to his men: and because the town had a bridge over the Loire, by which the inhabitants might endeavour to escape in the night, he obliged two legions to continue under arms. A little before midnight, the Genabians, as he had foreseen, stole silently out of the city, and began to pass the river. Notice being given of this by his spies, he set fire to the gates, introduced the legions whom he had kept in readiness for that purpose, and took possession of the place. Very few of the enemy escaped on this occasion; because the narrowness of the bridge and passages obstructed the flight of the multitude. Cæsar ordered the town to be plundered and burnt, distributing the spoil among the soldiers: and crossing the Loire with his whole army, advanced into the territories of the Biturigians.

XII. Vercingetorix, upon notice of his approach, quitted the siege of Gergovia, and marched directly to meet him. Cæsar, meanwhile, had sat down before Noviodunum, a city of the Biturigians, that lay upon his route. The inhabitants sending deputies to the camp, to implore forgiveness and safety, that he might the sooner accomplish his designs, in which expedition had hitherto availed him so much, he ordered them to deliver up their arms, horses, and a certain number of hostages. Part of the hostages had been already sent; the other articles of the treaty were upon the point of execution; and even some centurions and soldiers had entered the place, to search for arms and horses, when the enemy's cavalry, who were a little advanced before the rest of the army, appeared at a distance. Immediately the besieged, upon this prospect of relief, setting up a shout, flew to arms, shut the gates, and manned the walls. The centurions in the town, judging from the noise among the Gauls, that they had some new project in view, posted themselves, with their swords drawn, at the gates; and getting all their men together, retreated without loss to the camp. Cæsar, ordering the cavalry to advance, fell upon the enemy's horse; and finding his troops hard pressed, sustained them with some squadrons of Germans, whom, to the number of about four hundred, he had all along retained in his service. The Gauls, unable to stand their charge, at length betook themselves to flight, and were driven, with great slaughter,

to the main body of their army. Upon this the people of Noviodunum, terrified anew by the defeat of their friends, seized all who had been instrumental in breaking the capitulation, sent them prisoners to Cæsar's camp, and delivered up the town. These affairs despatched, Cæsar directed his march towards Avaricum. As this was the strongest and most considerable city of the Biturigians, and situate in the finest part of the country, he easily persuaded himself, that by the reduction of it, he should bring the whole nation under subjection.

XIII. Vercingetorix, after so many successive losses, at Vellaunodunum, Genabum, Noviodunum, calling a general council of his followers, represented: "That it was necessary to resolve upon a very different plan of war, from that which hitherto had been pursued; and above all things make it their endeavour to intercept the Roman convoys and foragers: that this was both a sure and practicable scheme, as they themselves abounded in horse, and the season of the year greatly favoured the design: that the ground as yet affording no produce, the enemy must unavoidably disperse themselves in the villages for subsistence, and give them daily opportunities of cutting them off by means of their cavalry. That where life and liberty were at stake, property and private possession ought to be neglected: that therefore the best resolution they could take was, to set all their houses and villages on fire, from the territories of the Boii, to wherever the Romans might extend their quarters for the sake of forage: that they themselves had no reason to apprehend scarcity, as they would be plentifully supplied by those states, whose territories should become the seat of the war; whereas the enemy must be either reduced to the necessity of starving, or making distant and dangerous excursions from their camp: that it equally answered the purpose of the Gauls, to cut the Roman army to pieces, or seize upon their baggage and convoys; because, without these last, it would be impossible for them to carry on the war: that they ought to set fire even to the towns themselves, which were not strong enough by art or nature, to be perfectly secure against all danger; as by this means they would neither become places of retreat to their own men, to screen them from military service; nor contribute to the support of the Romans



by the supplies and plunder they might furnish. In fine, that though these things were indeed grievous and terrible, they ought yet to esteem it still more terrible and grievous, to see their wives and children dragged into captivity, and themselves exposed to slaughter, which was the unavoidable lot of the vanquished."

XIV. This proposal being approved by all, upwards of twenty cities of the Biturigians were burnt in one day. The like was done in other states. Nothing but conflagrations were to be seen over the whole country. And though the natives bore this desolation with extreme regret, they nevertheless consoled themselves with the hope, that an approaching and certain victory would soon enable them to recover their losses. A debate arising in council about Avaricum, whether it would be proper to defend or set it on fire, the Biturigians, falling prostrate at the feet of the rest of the Gauls, implored: "That they might not be obliged to burn, with their own hands, one of the finest cities of all Gaul, which was both the ornament and security of their state; more especially as the town itself, almost wholly surrounded by a river and morass, and affording but one very narrow approach, was, from the nature of its situation, capable of an easy defence." Their request prevailed; Vercingetorix, though he at first opposed, afterwards coming into the design; partly moved by the entreaties of the Biturigians, partly by the compassion of the multitude. A chosen garrison was immediately put into the place.

XV. Vercingetorix followed Cæsar by easy marches, and chose for his camp a place surrounded with woods and marshes, about fifteen miles distant from Avaricum. There he had hourly intelligence by his scouts, of all that passed before the town; and sent his orders from time to time to the garrison. Meanwhile he strictly watched our convoys and foragers; set upon our dispersed parties, who were obliged to fetch provisions from a great distance; and, in spite of all endeavours to prevent it, by choosing such times and routes, as were most likely to deceive his vigilance, very much incommoded them by his attacks.

XVI. Cæsar encamping on that side of the town, where the intermission of the river and morass formed, as we have said, a narrow approach; began to raise a mount, bring for-

ward his battering engines, and prepare two towers of assault; without troubling himself about lines of circumvallation, which the nature of the ground rendered impossible. Meanwhile he was continually soliciting the Æduans and Boii for corn: but received no great supplies from either; partly occasioned by the negligence of the Æduans, who were not hearty in the affair; partly by the want of ability in the Boii, who possessing only a small and inconsiderable territory, soon consumed all the produce of their own lands. But though the army laboured under the greatest scarcity of corn, through the inability of the Boii, the want of inclination in the Æduans, and the universal devastation of the country; though they were even for many days altogether without bread, and had nothing to appease their extreme hunger, but the cattle brought from distant villages; yet not an expression was heard over the whole camp, unworthy the majesty of the Roman name, or the glory they had acquired by former victories. Nay, when Cæsar visited the different quarters of the legions in person, and offered to raise the siege, if they found the famine insupportable, they all with one voice requested him not to do it, adding: "That during the many years they had served under him, they never yet had met with any check or undertaken aught in which they had not succeeded: that they could not but look upon it as inglorious, to relinquish a siege they had once begun; and had rather undergo the greatest hardships, than not revenge the blood of the Roman citizens, perfidiously massacred by the Gauls, at Genabum." The same they said to the centurions and military tribunes, entreating them to report their sentiments to Cæsar.

XVII. And now the towers began to approach the wall; when Cæsar was informed, by some prisoners, that Vercingetorix having consumed all the forage round him, had removed his camp nearer to Avaricum, and was gone himself at the head of the cavalry, and the light-armed troops accustomed to fight in their intervals, to form an ambuscade for the Romans in a place where it was supposed they would come next day to forage. Upon this intelligence, setting out about midnight in great silence, he arrived next morning at the enemy's camp. But they, having had timely notice of his approach by their scouts, instantly conveyed their baggage and

carriages into a thick wood, and drew up in order of battle upon an open hill. Cæsar then ordered all the baggage to be brought together into one place, and the soldiers to prepare for an engagement.

XVIII. The hill itself where the enemy stood rising all the way with an easy ascent, was almost wholly surrounded by a morass, difficult and dangerous to be passed though not above fifty feet over. Here the Gauls, confiding in the strength of their post, and having broke down all the bridges over the morass, appeared with an air of resolution. They had formed themselves into different bodies, according to their several states; and planting select detachments at all the avenues and fords, waited with determined courage, that if the Romans should attempt to force their way through, they might fall upon them from the higher ground, while entangled in the mud. To attend only to the nearness of the two armies, they seemed as if ready to fight us on even terms; but, when the advantage of their situation was considered, all this ostentation of bravery was easily discerned to be mere show and pretence. Nevertheless, the Romans, full of indignation, that the enemy should dare to face them with so small a space between, loudly demanded to be led to battle. Cæsar checked their ardour for the present, and endeavoured to make them sensible, that in attacking an army so strongly posted, the victory must cost extremely dear, and be attended with the loss of many brave men. To this he told them he was the more averse, because, finding them prepared to face every kind of danger for his glory, he thought he could not be too tender of the lives of those who merited so highly at his hands. Having by this speech consoled the soldiers, he led them back the same day to their camp, and applied himself wholly to the carrying on of the siege.

XIX. Vercingetorix, upon his return to the camp, was accused by the army of treason. The removal of his quarters nearer to those of the enemy; his departure at the head of all the cavalry; his leaving so many troops without a commander in chief: and the opportune and speedy arrival of the Romans during his absence: all these, they said, could not easily happen by chance, or without design; and give great reason to believe, that he had rather owe the sovereignty of Gaul to Cæsar's grant, than to the favour and free choice of

his countrymen. To this charge he replied; "That the removal of his camp was occasioned by the want of forage, and done at their own express desire: that he had lodged himself nearer to the Romans, on account of the advantage of the ground, which secured him against all attacks; that cavalry were by no means wanted in a morass, but might have been extremely serviceable in the place to which he had carried them: that he purposely forebore naming a commander in chief at his departure, lest the impatience of the multitude should have forced him upon a battle; to which he perceived they were all strongly inclined, through a certain weakness and effeminacy of mind, that rendered them incapable of long fatigue; that whether accident or intelligence brought the Romans to their camp, they ought to thank, in the one case, fortune, in the other, the informer, for giving them an opportunity of discovering from the higher ground the inconsiderable number, and despising the feeble efforts of the enemy; who, not daring to hazard an engagement, ignominiously retreated to their camp: that for his part, he scorned treacherously to hold an authority of Cæsar, which he hoped soon to merit by a victory, already in a manner assured, both to himself and the rest of the Gauls: that he was willing even to resign the command, if they thought the honour done to him by that distinction too great for the advantages procured by his conduct. And," added he, "to convince you of the truth and sincerity of my words, hear the Roman soldiers themselves." He then produced some slaves, whom he had made prisoners a few days before in foraging, and by severity and hard usage brought to his purpose. These, according to the lesson taught them beforehand, declared: "That they were legionary soldiers: that urged by hunger, they had privately stolen out of the camp, to search for corn and cattle in the fields: that the whole army laboured under the like scarcity, and was reduced to so weak a condition, as no longer to be capable of supporting fatigue: that the general had therefore resolved, if the town held out three days longer, to draw off his men from the siege." "Such (said Vercingetorix) are the services you receive from the man whom you have not scrupled to charge with treason. To him it is owing, that without drawing a sword, you see a powerful and victorious army almost wholly destroyed by famine; and effectual



care taken, that, when necessity compels them to seek refuge in a shameful flight, no state shall receive them into its territories."

XX. The whole multitude set up a shout; and striking, as their manner was, their lances against their swords, to denote their approbation of the speaker, declared Vercingetorix a consummate general, whose fidelity ought not to be questioned, and whose conduct deserved the highest praises. They decreed that ten thousand men, chosen out of all the troops, should be sent to reinforce the garrison of Avaricum; it seeming too hazardous to rely upon the Biturigians alone for the defence of a place, whose preservation, they imagined, would necessarily give them the superiority in the war.

XXI. And indeed, though the siege was carried on by our men with incredible bravery, yet were all their efforts in a great measure rendered ineffectual, by the address and contrivances of the Gauls. For they are a people of singular ingenuity, extremely quick of apprehension, and very happy in imitating what they see practised. They not only turned aside our hooks with ropes, and after having seized them, drew them into the town with engines; but likewise set themselves to undermine the mount: in which they the more succeeded, because the country abounding with iron mines, they are perfectly skilled in that whole art. At the same time they raised towers on all parts of the wall, covered them carefully with raw hides; and continuing their sallies day and night, either set fire to the mount, or fell upon the workmen. In proportion as our towers increased in height, by the continual addition to the mount, in like manner did they advance their towers upon their walls, by raising one story perpetually over another; and counterworking our mines with the utmost diligence, they either filled them up with great stones, or poured melted pitch into them, or repulsed the miners with long stakes, burnt and sharpened at the end; all which very much retarded the approaches, and kept us at a distance from the place.

XXII. The fortified towns among the Gauls have their walls mostly built in the following manner:—Long massy beams of wood are placed upon the ground, at the equal distance of two feet one from another, and so as to constitute by their length the

thickness of the wall. These being again crossed over by others, which serve to bind them together, have their intervals on the inside filled up with earth, and on the outside with large stones. The first course thus completed and firmly joined, a second is laid over it; which allowing the same openings between the beams, rests them not immediately upon those of the order below, but dispose them artfully above their intervals, and connects them, as before, with interjacent earth and stones. In this manner the work is carried on to a proper height, and pleases the eye by its uniform variety, the alternate courses of stones and beams running in even lines, according to their several orders. Nor is it less adapted to security and defence. For the stones are proof against fire, and the whole mass is impenetrable to the ram; because being strongly bound together by continual beams, to a depth of forty feet, it can neither be disjointed nor thrown down.

XXIII. Such were the obstacles we met with in the siege. But the soldiers, though obliged to struggle during the whole time, with cold, dirt, and perpetual rains; yet by dint of labour, overcame all difficulties, and at the end of twenty-five days, had raised a mount three hundred and thirty feet broad and eighty feet high. When it was brought almost close to the walls, Cæsar, according to custom, attending the works, and encouraging the soldiers to labour without intermission, a little before midnight it was observed to smoke, the enemy having undermined and fired it. At the same time they raised a mighty shout, and sallied vigorously by two several gates, attacked the works on both sides. Some threw lighted torches and dry wood from the walls upon the mount, others pitch and all sorts of combustibles; so that it was hard to determine on which side to make head against the enemy, or where first to apply redress. But as Cæsar kept always two legions upon guard in the trenches, besides great numbers employed in the works, who relieved one another by turns; his troops were soon in a condition, some to oppose those that sallied from the town, others to draw off the towers, and make openings in the mount; whilst the whole multitude ran to extinguish the flames.

XXIV. The fight continued with great obstinacy during the remaining part of the



night; the enemy till entertained hopes of victory; and persisted with the more firmness, as they saw the mantles that covered the towers burnt down, and the Romans unable to rescue them for want of shelter. At the same time fresh troops were continually sent to supply the place of those that were fatigued; the besieged believing, that the safety of Gaul entirely depended upon the issue of that critical moment. And here I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable instance of intrepidity, to which I was myself a witness on this occasion. A certain Gaul, posted before the gate of the city, threw into the fire balls of pitch and tallow, to feed it. This man being exposed to the discharge of a Roman battery, was struck through the side with a dart, and expired. Another striding over his body, immediately took his place. He also was killed in the same manner. A third succeeded: to the third a fourth: nor was this dangerous post left vacant till the fire of the mount being extinguished, and the enemy repulsed on all sides, an end was put to the conflict.

XXV. The Gauls having tried all methods of defence, and finding that none of them succeeded, consulted next day about leaving the town, in concert with, and even by the order of Vercingetorix. This they hoped easily to effect in the night, as that general's camp was not far off, and the morass between them and the Romans would serve to cover their retreat. Night came, and the besieged were preparing to put their design in execution; when suddenly the women running out into the street, and casting themselves at their husbands' feet, conjured them with many tears, not to abandon to the fury of an enraged enemy, them and their common children, whom nature and weakness rendered incapable of flight. But finding their entreaties ineffectual, (for in extreme danger fear often excludes compassion,) they began to set up a loud cry, and inform the Romans of the intended flight. This alarmed the garrison, who, apprehending the passages would be seized by our horse, desisted from their resolution.

XXVI. Next day Cæsar brought forward the tower, and gave the necessary directions about the works. A heavy rain chancing just then to fall, he thought it a favourable opportunity for effecting his design; as he

observed the wall to be less strictly guarded. Wherefore ordering the soldiers to abate a little of their vigour, and having instructed them in what manner to proceed, he exhorted the legions, who advanced under cover of the machines, to seize at last the fruit of a victory acquired by so many toils. Then promising rewards to those who should first scale the town, he gave the signal of attack. The Romans rushed suddenly upon the enemy from all parts, and in a moment possessed themselves of the walls.

XXVII. The Gauls terrified at this new manner of assault, and driven from their towers and battlements, drew up triangle-wise in the squares and open places, that on whatever side our men should come to attack them, they might face in order of battle. But, observing that we still kept upon the walls, and were endeavouring to get possession of their whole circuit, they began to fear they should have no outlet to escape by; and throwing down their arms, ran tumultuously to the farthest part of the town. There many fell within the city, the narrowness of the gates obstructing their flight; others were slain by the cavalry without the walls; nor did any one for the present think of plunder. The Romans, eager to revenge the massacre at Genabum, and exasperated by the obstinate defence of the place, spared neither old men, women, nor children; insomuch that of all that multitude, amounting to about forty thousand, scarce eight hundred, who had quitted the town on the first alarm, escaped safe to Vercingetorix's camp. They arrived there late in the night, and were received in great silence; for Vercingetorix, fearing lest their entrance in a body, and the compassion it would naturally raise among the troops, might occasion some tumult in the camp, had sent out his friends, and the principal noblemen of each province, to meet them by the way, and conduct them separately to the quarters of their several states.

XXVIII. Next day having called a council, he consoled and exhorted the troops, not to be too much disheartened, or cast down by their late misfortune: "That the Romans had not overcome by bravery, or in the field; but by their address and skill in sieges, with which part of war the Gauls were less acquainted: that it was deceiving themselves to hope for success in every measure they might think to

pursue: that himself, as they all knew, had never advised the defence of Avaricum, and could not but impute the present disaster to the imprudence of the Biturians, and the too easy compliance of the rest: that he hoped, however, soon to compensate it by superior advantages, as he was using his utmost endeavours to bring over the other states which had hitherto refused their concurrence, and to join one general confederacy of all Gaul, against whose united strength, not the whole earth would be able to prevail; that he had even in a great measure effected his design, and in the mean time only required of them, for the sake of the common safety, that they would set about fortifying their camp, the better to secure them from the sudden attacks of the enemy." This speech was not displeasing to the Gauls; and the rather, as notwithstanding so great a blow, Vercingetorix seemed to have lost nothing of his courage; neither withdrawing from public view, nor shunning the sight of the multitude. They even began to entertain a higher opinion of his prudence and foresight, as from the first he had advised the burning of Avaricum, and at last sent orders to abandon it. And thus, bad success, which usually sinks the reputation of a commander, served only to augment his credit, and give him greater authority among the troops. At the same time they were full of hopes, from the assurances he had given them, of seeing the other states accede to the alliance. And now, for the first time, the Gauls set about fortifying their camp; being so humbled by their late misfortune, that though naturally impatient of fatigue, they resolved to refuse no labour imposed upon them by their general.

XXIX. Nor was Vercingetorix less active on his side, to bring over the other provinces of Gaul to the confederacy, endeavouring to gain the leading men in each by presents and promises. For this purpose he made choice of fit agents, who by their address, or particular ties of friendship, were most likely to influence those to whom they were sent. He provided arms and clothing for the troops that had escaped from Avaricum; and to repair the loss sustained by the taking of that place, gave orders to the several states, to furnish a certain number of men, and send them to the camp by a day prefixed. At the same time he commanded all the archers, of which there were

great numbers in Gaul, to be sought out and brought to the army. By these measures he soon replaced the men whom he lost at the siege of Avaricum. Meanwhile Theutomatus, the son of Ollovico, and king of the Nitobrigians, whose father had been styled friend and ally by the senate of Rome, came and joined him with a great body of horse, which he had raised in his own territories, and in the province of Aquitain.

XXX. Cæsar finding great plenty of corn and other provisions at Avaricum, stayed there several days to refresh his men, after the fatigue and scarcity they had so lately undergone. Winter was now drawing towards a period; and, as the season itself invited him to take the field, he resolved to march against the enemy, either to draw them out of the woods and marshes, or besiege them in their fastnesses. While he was full of these thoughts, deputies arrived from the Æduans, to beg his interposition and authority, for settling the differences of their state. "Every thing there," they told him, "threatened an intestine war. For whereas it had all along been the custom to be governed by a single magistrate, who possessed the supreme power for the space of one year; they had now two disputing for that title, each pretending his election was according to law: that the one was Convictolitanis, an illustrious and popular young nobleman; the other Cotus, of an ancient family, great authority, and powerful relations, whose brother Videliacus had exercised the same office the year before: that the whole state was in arms, the senate divided, and each party backed by their clients among the people; nor had they any other hopes of escaping a civil war, but in his care and timely endeavours to put an end to the controversy."

XXXI. Although Cæsar was sensible it would greatly prejudice his affairs, to quit the pursuit of the war, and the enemy; yet reflecting on the mischiefs that often arise from divisions, and desirous if possible to prevent so powerful a state, in strict amity with the people of Rome, and which he had always in a particular manner cherished and befriended, from having recourse to the method of violence and arms, which might drive the party that least confided in his friendship, to seek the assistance of Vercingetorix; he resolved to make it his first care, to put a stop to the



progress of these disorders. And because, by the constitution of the Æduans, it was not lawful for the supreme magistrate to pass beyond the limits of the state; that he might not seem to detract from their privileges, he resolved to go in person thither, and summoned the senate and two candidates to meet him at Decise. The assembly was very numerous; when finding upon inquiry, that Cotus had been declared chief magistrate by his own brother, in presence of only a few electors privately called together, without regard to time or place, and even contrary to the express laws of the state, which forbid two of the same family, while yet both alive, either to hold the supreme dignity, or so much as sit together in the senate; he obliged him to resign in favour of Convictolitanis, who, upon the expiration of the office of the preceding magistrate, had been elected, in all the forms, by the priests.

XXXII. This sentence being passed; and having exhorted the Æduans to lay aside their quarrels and divisions, and apply themselves solely to the business of the present war; to expect with confidence the full recompense of their services, as soon as the reduction of Gaul was completed; and to send him immediately all their cavalry, with ten thousand foot, to form a chain of posts for the security of his convoys; he divided his army into two parts. Four legions, under the conduct of Labienus, were sent against the Senones and Parisians. Six, headed by himself in person, marched along the banks of the Allier, towards the territories of the Averni, with design to infest Gergovia. Part of the cavalry followed the route of Labienus; part remained with Cæsar. Vercingetorix having notice of this, broke down all the bridges upon the Allier, and began his march on the other side of the river.

XXXIII. As both armies were continually in view, encamped almost over against each other, and the enemy's scouts so stationed, that it was impossible for the Romans to make a bridge for carrying over their forces; Cæsar began to be uneasy, lest he should be hindered the greatest part of the summer by the river; because the Allier is seldom fordable till towards autumn. To prevent this inconvenience, he encamped in a place full of woods, over against one of those bridges which Vercingetorix had caused to be broken

down; and remaining there privately next day, with a good body of troops, formed by draughting every fourth cohort, that the number of legions might still appear complete; he sent forward the rest of the army with all the baggage as usual, ordering them to march as far as they could. When, by the time of the day, he judged they might be arrived at the place of their encampment, he set about rebuilding the bridge, making use of the old piles, whose lower part the enemy had left standing. Having soon completed the work, marched over the troops he had with him, and chosen a proper place for his camp, he recalled the rest of the forces. Vercingetorix, upon intelligence of this, advanced before by long marches, that he might not be obliged to fight against his will.

XXXIV. Cæsar, after five days' march, came before Gergovia, where he had a slight engagement with the enemy's horse; and, having taken a view of the place, which he found situated upon a very high mountain, all whose approaches were extremely difficult, he not only despaired of reducing it by storm, but resolved even to forbear investing it until he had secured the necessary supplies for his army. Vercingetorix meanwhile was encamped near the town upon the hill, where he had disposed the forces of the several states around him, in different divisions, separated from one another by moderate intervals. As his army possessed all the summits of the mountain, whence there was any prospect into the plains below, they made a very formidable appearance. Every morning by day-break, the chiefs of each state, who composed his council, assembled in his tent, to advise with him, or receive his orders: nor did he suffer a single day to pass without detaching some cavalry, intermixed with archers, to skirmish with the Romans, that he might make trial of the spirit and courage of his men. There was a rising ground, that joined to the foot of the mountain on which the town stood, excellently well fortified by nature, as being very steep on all sides, and of extreme difficult access. This hill, though of such importance to the enemy, that by our getting possession of it, we could in a great measure deprive them of water and forage, was yet but very indifferently guarded. Cæsar therefore leaving his camp about midnight, before any assistance could arrive from the town, dislodged the enemy, seized the hill,

and having placed two legions upon it to defend it, drew a double ditch, twelve feet deep, from the greater to the lesser camp, that the soldiers might pass and repass in safety, even single and without a guard.

XXXV. While things were in this posture before Gergovia, Convictolitanis the Æduan, to whom, as we have related above, Cæsar had adjudged the supreme magistracy, being strongly solicited by the Averni, and at length gained over by their money, addressed himself to some young noblemen, the chief of whom were Litavicus and his brothers, of the most distinguished family of the province. With these he shared the reward he had received, and exhorted them to consider: "That they were subjects of a free state, and born to command: that liberty and victory were retarded by the Æduans alone, whose authority restrained the other states, and whose concurrence in the common cause would take from the Romans all possibility of supporting themselves in Gaul: that though he was himself under some obligation to Cæsar, at least so far as a just and equitable decision deserved that name, he thought he owed still more to his country, and could see no reason why the Æduans should rather have recourse to the Roman general, in what regarded their laws and customs, than the Romans in the like case to the Æduans." The representations of the magistrate, and the rewards he bestowed, soon prevailed; they even offered to become the chief conductors of the enterprise; and nothing was wanting but to consult of proper means for accomplishing the design, as it was easily foreseen that the state would not be induced without great difficulty to engage in so dangerous a war. At last it was agreed, that Litavicus should have the command of the ten thousand foot appointed to join Cæsar; that he should begin his march; that his brothers should be sent before to the Roman camp; and that the rest of the project should be then executed, according to a plan previously concerted among them.

XXXVI. Litavicus having received the command of the army; when he was within about thirty miles of Gergovia, suddenly called the troops together, and addressing them with tears: "Whither, fellow-soldiers," said he, "are we going? All our cavalry, all our nobility are slain. Eporedorix and Vir-dumarus, men of the first quality in the state,

being accused by the Romans of treason, are put to death without trial. Learn these things of those who have escaped this general massacre; for as to me, overwhelmed as I am with grief for the loss of my brothers and kinsmen, I have neither strength nor voice to utter our calamities." He then produced some whom he had beforehand instructed for that purpose, and who joining in the same story, told the multitude, "That the greatest part of the Æduan cavalry had been put to the sword, under pretence of holding intelligence with the Averni; and that themselves had escaped only in the crowd, by withdrawing during the general slaughter." Upon this the whole army called aloud to Litavicus, entreating him to provide for their safety. "As if," said he, "there was room for counsel; or any choice left, but that of marching directly to Gergovia, and joining the Averni. Can we doubt, after so black an instance of Roman perfidy, but that they are already on their way to complete the massacre? Let us therefore, if aught of spirit or courage remains in our breasts, revenge the death of our countrymen, so undeservedly slain, and put these inhuman spoilers to the sword." He then presented some Roman citizens, who had taken the opportunity of their march, for conducting a large convoy of corn and provisions to the camp. Instantly the convoy was plundered, the Romans themselves put to death with the most cruel torments, and messengers despatched through all the territories of the Æduans, to spread the same forgery of the massacre of their cavalry and princes, and thereby rouse them to a like vengeance.

XXXVII. Eporedorix the Æduan, a young nobleman of distinguished birth, and great interest in the state; as likewise Vir-dumarus, of equal age and authority, though not so well descended; whom Cæsar, upon the recommendation of Divitiacus, had raised from a low condition to the highest dignities; were both at this time in the Roman camp, having come along with the cavalry, at Cæsar's express desire. Between these two was a competition for greatness; and in the late dispute about the magistracy, the one had declared warmly for Convictolitanis, the other for Cotus. Eporedorix getting notice of Litavicus's design, came about midnight to Cæsar's tent, discovered the whole plot, and entreated him to obviate the mischievous



counsels of a few young noblemen, and not suffer the state to fall off from the alliance of the Romans, which he foresaw must happen, should so many thousand men once join the enemy. For it was by no means probable, that either their own relations would neglect their safety, or the state itself make light of so great a part of its forces.

XXXVIII. This piece of intelligence gave Cæsar extreme concern, because he had always manifested a particular regard to the Æduans. He therefore drew out immediately four legions without baggage, together with all the cavalry; and because the affair seemed to depend wholly upon despatch, would not even take time to contract his camp, but left C. Fabius, his lieutenant, with two legions, to defend it against the enemy. Finding that Litavicus's brothers, whom he ordered to be seized, had some time before gone over to Vercingetorix, he began his march, exhorting the soldiers to bear the fatigue cheerfully in so pressing a conjuncture. They followed with great alacrity, and advancing about five and twenty miles from Gergovia, came at last within sight of the Æduans. Cæsar immediately detached the cavalry against them, to retard and stop their march: but with strict charge to abstain from bloodshed. He ordered Eporedorix and Viridumarus, whom they believed slain, to ride up and down among the squadrons, and call to their countrymen. As they were soon known, and Litavicus's forgery thereby discovered, the Æduans stretched out their hands, made signs of submission, and throwing down their arms, began to beg their lives. Litavicus, with his clients, who, by the customs of the Gauls, can not without infamy abandon their patrons, even in the greatest extremities of fortune, escaped safe to Gergovia.

XXXIX. Cæsar having despatched messengers to the Æduans, to inform them that his lenity and regard for their state, had prevailed with him to spare troops, whom by the right of war he might have put to the sword; after allowing the army three hours' rest during the night, marched back to Gergovia. About half way he was met by a party of horse, sent by Fabius, to give him notice of the danger that threatened his camp. They told him, "That the enemy had attacked it with all their forces, and by sending continual supplies of fresh men, were like in the end to overpower the Romans, whose fatigue admitted of no relaxation, because the vast extent of ground they

had to defend, obliged them to be perpetually upon the rampart: that the multitude of arrows and darts discharged by the Gauls, had wounded many of the soldiers, notwithstanding the protection received from the engines, which yet had been of good service in beating off the assailants: that Fabius, upon the retreat of the enemy, had closed up all the gates of the camp but two, carried a breastwork quite round the rampart, and made preparation for sustaining a like assault the next day." Cæsar informed of these things, hastened his march with all diligence, and seconded by the usual ardour of the troops, arrived in the camp before sun-rise.

XL. While these things passed at Gergovia, the Æduans, upon receipt of the first despatches from Litavicus, staid not for confirmation of the report; but prompted, partly by avarice, partly by revenge, and many by a native rashness, to which the Gauls in general are extremely addicted, being ready to catch up every flying rumour as a certain truth; flew immediately to arms, plundered the Roman citizens of their effects, slaughtered their persons, or dragged them into servitude. Convictolitanis fomented to the utmost this fury, which had already taken but too fast hold of the multitude; that by plunging them into some desperate act of violence, he might render a retreat the more difficult and shameful. At his instigation, they obliged M. Aristius, a military tribune, who was upon his way to join the army, to quit Cabillonum, promising not to molest him in his journey. The same they did by several Roman merchants, who had stopped there on account of traffic; and attacking them treacherously on the road, stripped them of their baggage, invested day and night those that made resistance; and many being killed on both sides, drew together a great number of men to effect their design. Meanwhile coming to understand, that all their troops were in Cæsar's power: they ran to Aristius, assured him that nothing had been done by public authority, ordered informations to be brought against those who had been concerned in pillaging the Romans, confiscated the estates of Litavicus and his brothers, and sent ambassadors to Cæsar to excuse what had happened. All this they did with a view to the recovery of their troops: but conscious of guilt; loth to part with the plunder, in which great numbers had shared; and dreading the punishment so gross an outrage deserved; they be-



gan privately to concert measures of war, and by their ambassadors solicited other states to join them. Though Cæsar was not ignorant of these practices, he spoke with the greatest mildness to the Æduan deputies, assuring them of the continuance of his favour, and that he would not consider as the crime of the whole nation, what was owing only to the imprudence and levity of the multitude. Apprehending, however, a universal revolt of Gaul, and that he might be surrounded by the forces of all the states at once, he began to think of retiring to Gergovia, and drawing his whole army again into a body; yet in such a manner, that a retreat, occasioned by the fear of an insurrection, might not carry with it the appearance of a flight.

XL I. While he was full of these thoughts, an opportunity seemed to offer of acting against the enemy with success. For coming into the lesser camp, to take a view of the works, he observed a hill, that for some days before was scarce to be seen for the multitudes that covered it, now quite naked and destitute of troops. Wondering what might be the cause, he inquired of the deserters, who flocked daily in great numbers to the Roman camp. They all agreed with our scouts, that the back of the hill was almost an even ground, but narrow and woody in that part, where the passage lay to the other side of the town: that the enemy were mightily afraid of losing this post, because the Romans, who had already possessed themselves of one hill, by seizing the other likewise, would in a manner quite surround them; and being masters of all the outlets, might entirely cut off their forage: that Vercingetorix had therefore drawn all his forces on that side, with design to fortify the passage.

XL II. Cæsar, upon this intelligence, despatched some squadrons of cavalry thither about midnight, ordering them to ride up and down the place, with as much noise as possible. At day-break he drew a great number of mules and carriage horses out of the camp, sent away their usual harness, and furnishing the grooms and waggoners with helmets, that they might resemble horsemen, commanded them to march quite round the hill. With these he joined a few cavalry, who, for the greater show, were to expatiate a little more freely; and the whole detachment had orders to move towards the same parts, taking a very large circuit. All these dispositions were seen

from the town, which commanded a full view of the Roman camp, though the distance was too great to distinguish objects with certainty. At the same time Cæsar, the more effectually to deceive the enemy, detached a legion towards the same eminence, and when it was advanced a little way, stationed it at the foot of the hill, affecting to conceal it in the woods. This increased the jealousy of the Gauls, to such a degree, that they immediately carried all their forces thither to defend the post. Cæsar seeing their intrenchments abandoned, made his soldiers cover the military ensigns and standards, and file off in small parties from the greater to the lesser camp, that they might not be perceived from the town. He then opened his design to his lieutenants, whom he had appointed to command the several legions, counselling them above all things to moderate the ardour of the soldiers, that the hope of plunder, or desire of fighting, might not carry them too far. He represented particularly the disadvantage of the ground, against which there was no security but in despatch; and told them, that it was not a regular attack, but a sudden onset, to be pursued no further than opportunity served. These precautions taken, he gave the signal to engage, and at the same time detached the Æduans by another ascent, to charge the enemy on the right.

XL III. The wall of the town, had no breaks or hollows intervened, was about twelve hundred paces distant from the plain below, measuring in a direct line from the foot of the mountain. The circuit the troops were obliged to take, to moderate the steepness of the ascent, added still to this space upon the march. Half way up the hill, as near as the nature of the ground would allow, the Gauls had run a wall of large stones six feet high, the better to defend themselves against our attacks. All between this and the plain was left quite void of troops by the enemy; but the upper part of the hill, to the very walls of the town, was crowded with the camps of their several states. The signal being given, the Romans immediately mounted the hill, scaled the outward wall, and possessed themselves of three of the enemy's camps. Such too was the expedition wherewith they carried them, that coming suddenly upon Theutomatus king of the Nitobrigians, as he was reposing himself in his tent about noon, he very narrowly escaped being taken; for he was obliged to

fly away half naked, and had his horse wounded under him.

XLIV. Cæsar having succeeded as far as his design required, ordered a retreat to be sounded; and the tenth legion, which fought near his person, obeyed. The other legions, not hearing the signal, because separated from the general by a large valley, were yet commanded to halt by the lieutenants and military tribunes, according to the instructions given by Cæsar in the beginning. But elated with the hopes of a speedy victory, the flight of the enemy, and the remembrance of former successes, they thought nothing impracticable to their valour, nor desisted from the pursuit, till they had reached the very walls and gates of the town. Upon this a great cry arising from all parts, those that were farthest from the place of assault, terrified by the noise and tumult, and imagining the enemy already within the gates, quitted the town with precipitation. The women throwing their money and clothes from the walls, with naked breasts, and extended arms, conjured the Romans to spare their lives, and not, as at Avaricum, sacrifice all to their resentment, without distinction of age or sex. Some being let down by their hands from the wall, delivered themselves up to our soldiers. L. Fabius, a centurion of the eighth legion, was that day heard to say, that he had not yet forgot the plunder of Avaricum, and was resolved no man should enter the place before him. Accordingly, having, with the assistance of three of his company, got upon the town-wall, he helped them one after another to do the like.

XLV. Meanwhile the troops, who, as we have related above, were gone to defend the post on the other side of the town; incited by the cries of the combatants, and the continual accounts brought that the enemy had entered the place; sending all the cavalry before to stop the progress of the Romans, advanced in mighty crowds to the attack. In proportion as they arrived, they drew up under the wall, and augmented the number of those who fought on their side. As they soon became formidable by their multitude, the women, who a little before had implored the compassion of the Romans, now began to encourage their own troops, showing their dishevelled hair, and producing their children, according to the custom of the Gauls. The contest was by no means equal, either in respect of numbers, or

of the ground: and the Romans, already fatigued with the march and length of the combat, were little able to sustain the attack of fresh and vigorous troops.

XLVI. Cæsar, observing the disadvantage of the ground, and the continual increase of the enemy's troops, began to be apprehensive about the event; and sending T. Sextius, his lieutenant, whom he had left to guard the lesser camp, ordered him to bring forth the cohorts with all expedition, and post them at the foot of the hill, upon the enemy's right; that if our men should give way, he might deter the Gauls from pursuing them. He himself advancing a little with the tenth legion, waited the issue of the combat.

XLVII. While the conflict was maintained with the utmost vigour on both sides; the enemy trusting to their post and numbers, the Romans to their courage; suddenly the Æduans, whom Cæsar had sent by another ascent on the right, to make a diversion, appeared on the flank of our men. As they were armed after the manner of the Gauls, this sight greatly terrified the Romans; and though they extended their right arms in token of peace, yet still our men fancied it a stratagem to deceive them. At the same time L. Fabius the centurion, and those who had got upon the wall with him, being surrounded and slain, were thrown down by the enemy from the battlements. M. Petreius, a centurion of the same legion, who had endeavoured to force the gates, finding himself overpowered by the enemy, and despairing of safety because he was already covered with wounds, turning to his soldiers that had followed him, said: "As I find it impossible to preserve both myself and you, I will at least do my best to further your escape, whom I have brought into this danger through too eager a desire of glory. Take advantage therefore of the present opportunity." Then throwing himself upon the enemy, he killed two, drove the rest from the gate, and seeing his men run to his assistance: "In vain," says he, "do you endeavour to preserve my life. My blood and strength forsake me. Go therefore, while you may, and rejoin your legion." Continuing still to fight, he expired soon after, preserving his followers with the loss of his own life.

XLVIII. Our men thus pressed on all sides, were at length driven from the place, with the loss of forty-six centurions; but the



tenth legion, which had been posted a little more advantageously to cover their retreat, checked the impetuous pursuit of the Gauls: being sustained by the cohorts of the thirteenth legion, who had quitted the lesser camp under Sextius, and possessed themselves of an eminence. The legions having gained the plain, immediately halted, and faced about towards the enemy: but Vercingetorix drawing off his troops from the foot of the hill retired within his intrenchments. The Romans lost that day about seven hundred men.

XLIX. Cæsar assembling the army next day, severely blamed the temerity and avarice of the soldiers: "That they had taken upon themselves to judge how far they were to proceed, and what they were to undertake; regarding neither the signal to retreat, nor the orders of their officers. He explained the disadvantage of the ground, and reminded them of his own conduct at the siege of Avaricum, when having surprised the enemy without a general, and without cavalry, he had rather chosen to give up a certain victory, than by attacking them in a difficult post, hazard an inconsiderable loss: that as much as he admired the astonishing courage of men, whom neither the intrenchments of several camps, nor the height of the mountain, nor the walls of the town should check; so much did he blame the licentiousness and arrogance of soldiers, who thought they knew more than their general, and could see better than him the way to conquest: that he looked upon obedience and moderation in the pursuit of booty, as virtues no less essential to a good soldier, than valour and magnanimity."

L. Having made this speech, and in the end exhorted his soldiers not to be discouraged by their late misfortune, nor ascribe that to the bravery of the enemy, which was entirely owing to the disadvantage of the ground: as he still persisted in his design of retiring, he drew out his legions, and formed them in order of battle upon the plain. But Vercingetorix not thinking proper to descend; after a small and successful skirmish between the cavalry, Cæsar returned again to his camp. The like he did the following day: when thinking he had done enough to confirm the courage of his own men, and abate the pride of the Gauls, he de-camped towards the territories of the Æduans. As the enemy made no attempt to pur-

sue him, he arrived the third day on the banks of the Allier, and having repaired the bridge, passed over with his whole army.

LI. Here he was informed by Eporedorix and Viridumarus, that Litavicus was gone with all the cavalry to solicit the Æduans; and it would be therefore necessary for themselves to set out, in order to prevent his designs, and confirm the state in their attachment to the Romans. Though Cæsar was by this time abundantly convinced of the perfidy of the Æduans, and plainly foresaw that their departure would only hasten their revolt, he yet did not think proper to detain them, that he might give no ground of offence, nor betray any suspicion of distrust. At parting, he briefly enumerated the services he had done the Æduans: "How low and depressed he had found them, shut up in their towns, deprived of their lands, without troops, tributaries to their enemies, and obliged to submit to the ignominious demand of hostages: to what power and greatness they were now raised by his favour, so as, not only to have recovered their former consideration in Gaul, but even to exceed in dignity and lustre all that appeared most flourishing in the ancient annals of their state." With this charge he dismissed them.

LII. Noviodunum was a town belonging to the Æduans, advantageously situated upon the banks of the Loire. Here Cæsar had lodged all the hostages of Gaul, his provisions, his military chest, and great part of his own and his army's baggage. Hither also he had sent many horses, bought up in Italy and Spain for the service of the war. When Eporedorix and Viridumarus arrived at this place, and were informed of the disposition of the state: "That Litavicus had been received with great marks of favour at Bibracte, the capital city of the province; that Convictolitanis, the chief magistrate, and almost all the senate, were gone thither to meet him: that ambassadors had been publicly sent to Vercingetorix, to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance;" they thought the present favourable opportunity was by no means to be neglected. Having therefore put the garrison of Noviodunum, with all the Romans found in the place to the sword; they divided the money and horses between them, ordered the hostages to be conducted to Bibracte; and not thinking themselves strong enough to defend the town, set it on fire, that it might not be of any ser-

vice to the Romans. All the corn they could, in so short a time, they carried away in barks; and burnt the rest, or threw it into the river. Then drawing together the forces of the neighbouring parts they lined the banks of the Loire with troops; and to strike greater terror, began to scour the country with their cavalry; hoping to cut off Cæsar's convoys, and oblige him, through want of provisions, to return into the Roman province. This appeared the easier, as the Loire was considerably swelled by the melting of the snow, and gave little room to think that it could be any where forded.

LIII. Upon advice of these proceedings, Cæsar thought it necessary to use despatch; and if he must build a bridge, endeavour to come to an action with the enemy, before they had drawn more forces together. For he did not even then think it necessary to return to the Roman province; not only as the retreat itself would be inglorious, and the mountains of the Sevnnes, and the badness of the ways, were almost insuperable obstacles; but chiefly, because he was extremely desirous to rejoin Labienus, and the legions under his command. Wherefore marching day and night with the utmost diligence, contrary to all men's expectation, he arrived upon the banks of the Loire; and his cavalry very opportunely finding a ford, which however took the soldiers up to the shoulders, he placed the horse higher up to break the force of the stream, and carried over his army without loss; the enemy being so terrified by his boldness, that they forsook the banks. As he found a great deal of corn and cattle in the fields, the army was plentifully supplied, and he directed his march towards the country of the Senones.

LIV. Whilst Cæsar was thus employed, Labienus leaving the levies which had lately arrived from Italy, at Agendum, to guard the baggage, marched with four legions to Lutetia, a city of the Parisians, situated in an island of the Seine. Upon notice of his approach, the enemy drew a great army together from the neighbouring states. The chief command was given to Camulogenus, an Aulercian, who though in a very advanced age, was yet urged to accept of that honour, on account of his singular knowledge in the art of war. This general observing there was a large morass, whose waters ran into the Seine, and obstructed all the passages round about, encamped there, to hinder the Romans from passing the

river. Labienus at first endeavoured to force a passage, filling up the morass with hurdles and mould, to give firm footing to the army. But finding the attempt too difficult, he privately quitted his camp about midnight, and returned towards Melodunum. This city belongs to the Senones, and is also situated in an island of the Seine, as we before said of Lutetia. He found there about fifty boats, which he speedily drew together, and manned them with his soldiers. The inhabitants terrified at this new manner of attack, and being too few to defend the place because the greater part of them had joined the army of Camulogenus, yielded upon the first summons. Having repaired the bridge which the enemy had cut down some days before, he crossed the Seine there; and following the course of the river, marched back towards Lutetia. The enemy having intelligence of this, by those who escaped from Melodunum, set fire to Lutetia, broke down its bridges, and covering themselves with the morass, encamped on the opposite bank of the Seine, over against Labienus.

LV. It was now known that Cæsar had departed from Gergovia. The revolt of the Æduans, and the universal insurrection of Gaul, were every where spread abroad by the voice of fame. The Gauls on all occasions gave out, that Cæsar finding his march obstructed by the Loire, and being reduced to great straits for want of corn, had been forced to take the route of the Roman province. At the same time the Bellovaci, naturally prone to throw off the yoke, upon hearing of the defection of the Æduans, began to raise forces, and openly prepare for war. Labienus perceiving so great a change in the posture of affairs, soon saw the necessity of pursuing other measures; and that it was not now his business to make conquests, or give the enemy battle, but to secure his retreat to Agendicum. On the one side he was pressed by the Bellovaci, reputed the most warlike people of all Gaul; on the other by Camulogenus, with a numerous and well-appointed army. Add to all this, the baggage of the troops, and the detachment appointed to guard it, were separated from the legions by a great river. So many difficulties surrounding him at once, he saw no way to extricate himself but by his valour and presence of mind.



LVI. Accordingly in the evening he called a council of war; and having exhorted the officers to execute his orders with vigour and despatch, distributed the fifty boats he had brought from Melodunum to as many Roman knights, commanding them to fall down the river about nine at night, without noise, four miles below Lutetia, and there wait his coming. Five cohorts, such as appeared least fit for service, were left to guard the camp. The other five of the same legion, with all the baggage, had orders to march up the river at midnight, with much tumult and bustle, which was further increased by means of some small barks sent the same way, that made a mighty noise with their oars. He himself setting out soon after, with three legions, advanced silently to the boats that waited for him. There he surprised the enemy's scouts, who were stationed along the river, and had been prevented by a sudden storm from discerning his approach. The whole army was quickly carried over, by the care and diligence of the Roman knights, to whom that affair had been given in charge. Almost at the same instant the enemy had notice, that an unusual tumult was heard in the Roman camp; that a strong detachment had marched up the river, on which side likewise a great noise of oars was heard; and that a little below they were passing the river in boats. This intelligence made the Gauls conclude, that the legions, alarmed at the revolt of the Æduans, were endeavouring to cross the Seine in three different places, for which reason they likewise divided their army into three bodies. For leaving one party to guard the passage over against our camp, and detaching another towards Metiosedum, with orders to advance to the place where the boats had stopped, they marched with the rest of their forces against Labienus. By day-break our troops had passed the river, and the enemy's army appeared in view. Labienus exhorting his men to remember their wonted bravery, the many victories they had gained, and even to fancy themselves in the immediate presence of Cæsar, under whose conduct they had so often been successful, gave the signal of battle. At the very first charge, the seventh legion, which formed the right wing of the Roman army, broke the enemy's left and put it to rout. But the right wing of the Gauls, which was engaged

with the twelfth legion, and where Camulogenus was present in person to encourage his men, though the first ranks were destroyed by the Roman javelins, still maintained its ground with the utmost bravery, and seemed determined to conquer. The dispute was long and dubious; when the tribunes of the seventh legion, having notice how matters went, faced about, and attacked the enemy's rear. Even then not a man offered to fly; but at last being surrounded on all sides, they were cut to pieces with their general. The party left behind to watch our camp, hearing the noise of the battle, flew to the assistance of their countrymen, and posted themselves on a hill: but not being able to sustain the assault of the victorious Romans, they soon mingled with the rest of the fugitives, and were cut to pieces by the cavalry, those only excepted who sheltered themselves in the woods and mountains. After this victory, Labienus retreated to Agendicum, where he had left the baggage of the whole army; and from thence, with all his forces, went and joined Cæsar.

LVII. The revolt of the Æduans gave new strength to the confederacy. Deputies were immediately despatched into all parts. Interest, money, and authority were employed in their turns, to procure the concurrence of the states that still continued quiet. The hostages seized at Noviodunum, enabled the Æduans to compel such as were refractory. They sent to require of Vercingetorix, that he would come and concert with them measures for carrying on the war; and in particular insisted on being at the head of the league. But this demand meeting with opposition, a general assembly of Gaul was held at Bibracte, whither the deputies of all the confederated nations repaired, and after taking the affair into consideration, confirmed Vercingetorix in the title of *generalissimo*. The Rhemi, Lingones, and Treviri were not present at this assembly; the two first, because they had resolved to continue faithful to the Romans; and the Treviri on account of their great distance, and the employment found them by the Germans; which was the reason that they took no part at all in this war, nor lent their assistance to either side. The Æduans were greatly mortified at seeing themselves excluded from the chief command: they complained of this change in



their fortune, and began to regret the loss of Cæsar's favour. But as they were already too far engaged in the revolt, they durst not think of detaching themselves from the confederacy. It was not however without reluctance, that Eporedorix and Viridomarus, two young noblemen of the greatest hopes, consented to take orders from Vercingetorix.

LVIII. As he was now invested with the supreme command, he enjoined the several states to send hostages, appointed a day for that purpose, and ordered all the cavalry, to the number of fifteen thousand, to assemble with the utmost expedition. He said, "He was sufficiently provided with infantry, as he had no mind to refer the decision of the war to fortune, or hazard an uncertain engagement; but abounding in horse, judged it the easier and safer way, to intercept the Roman convoys and foragers: that in the meantime they must resolve to destroy their corn, set fire to their houses, and patiently submit to a present and private loss, which was to be rewarded with liberty and perpetual empire." Having thus settled the plan of the war, he commanded the Æduans and Segusians, who border upon the Roman province, to raise ten thousand foot: to these he joined eight hundred horse, and put them under the conduct of Eporedorix's brother, with orders to attack the Allobrogi. At the same time he commissioned the Gabali, and the nearest cantons of Auvergne, to make an irruption into the territories of the Helvians: and the Rutheni and Cadurci, into those of the Volcæ Arecomici. He neglected not, however, by messengers and private emissaries, to sound the disposition of the Allobrogi, whose minds he hoped were not yet thoroughly reconciled to the Roman yoke; endeavouring to gain the leading men by presents, and the state by an offer of the sovereignty of the Roman province.

LIX. To oppose all these attacks, two and twenty cohorts were drawn together, which L. Cæsar, lieutenant-general, levied in the province; and with them prepared to make head on all sides. The Helvians venturing to come to an engagement with the enemy, were defeated, and forced to shelter themselves in their walled towns, after having lost C. Valerius Donaturus, the son of Caburus, a man of principal rank in their state,

and several other persons of distinction. The Allobrogi placing detachments at proper distances along the banks of the Rhone, guarded all the accesses to their country with great diligence and care. Cæsar, as he found the enemy superior in cavalry, and that his communication with Italy and the province was cut off, so as to deprive him of all hopes of succour from that quarter, had recourse to the German nations beyond the Rhine, which he had subdued in the preceding campaigns, and obtained from them a supply of horse, with some light-armed foot, accustomed to fight amongst them. Upon their arrival perceiving that they were but indifferently mounted, he took the horses from the military tribunes, centurions, Roman Knights, and volunteers, and distributed them among the Germans.

LX. Whilst these things passed, the enemy's forces from Auvergne, and the cavalry of all the confederate states of Gaul, met at the general rendezvous, and formed a very numerous army. Cæsar marching through the frontiers of the Lingones, into the country of the Sequani, to be the nearer at hand to succour the Roman province; Vercingetorix lodged himself at about ten miles distance, in three several camps; and having assembled the officers of the cavalry, told them; "That the season of victory was at length arrived, when they saw the Romans obliged to abandon Gaul, and seek a retreat in the province: that this indeed served to secure liberty for the present, but was insufficient to future ease and tranquillity, as they would doubtless return with greater forces than before, and persist in the design of making war. It was therefore best to attack them now, while they marched encumbered with their baggage. If the infantry faced about, in order to assist the horse, they would thereby be enabled to advance; but if, as was more likely, they abandoned the baggage, to provide for their own safety, they would be deprived of every convenience, and return covered with ignominy and reproach: for as to the enemy's cavalry, it was not once to be imagined, that any of them would so much as stir from the body of the army. That to encourage them the more, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, he was resolved to have the whole army under arms before the camp." These words were followed by the acclamations of all

the cavalry, who proposed taking an oath never to return to their homes, nor visit their parents, wives, and children, if they did not twice pierce through the Roman army from one end to another.

LXI. The proposal being approved, and the oath administered to all, Vercingetorix next day divided his cavalry into three bodies; two of which appeared upon the flanks of the Roman army, while the third began to charge and harass it in front. Notice of this being given to Cæsar, he also formed his horse in three divisions, ordering them to advance against the enemy. They made head on all sides at once, the infantry meanwhile continuing quietly under arms, with the baggage placed in the centre. Wherever the Romans gave way, or appeared hard pressed by the enemy, thither Cæsar sent detachments from the legions; which both checked the progress of the Gauls, and confirmed the courage of our men, as they thus saw themselves sure of being supported. At last the Germans on the right, having seized an eminence, drove the enemy before them, and pursued them with great slaughter as far as the river, where Vercingetorix was posted with the infantry. The rest of the Gauls perceiving the defeat of their countrymen, and apprehensive of being surrounded, betook themselves likewise to flight. A dreadful slaughter ensued on all sides. Three Æduan noblemen of the first distinction were brought prisoners to Cæsar; Cotus, general of the cavalry, who, the year before, had been competitor with Convictolitanis for the supreme magistracy; Cavarillus, who, after Litavicus's revolt, had been appointed to command the infantry; and Eporedorix, who was generalissimo of the Æduan troops in the war against the Sequani, before Cæsar's arrival in Gaul.

LXII. Vercingetorix, upon this total rout of the Gaulish cavalry, drew off his troops, whom he had formed in order of battle before the camp, and immediately retreated towards Alesia, a town belonging to the Mandubii; ordering the baggage to follow him with all expedition. Cæsar leaving his on a neighbouring hill, under a guard of two legions, pursued the enemy as far as day would permit, cut three thousand of their rear to pieces, and arrived on the morrow before Alesia. After examining the situation of the town; as he saw the enemy much daunted by the de-

feat of their cavalry, which was the part of their strength in which they chiefly confided, he exhorted his soldiers not to be discouraged at the labour they must undergo, and resolved to invest the place.

LXIII. The city of Alesia was situated on the top of a very high hill, so as not to be taken without a formal siege. The bottom of the hill was washed on the two sides by two rivers. Before the town was a plain, extending about three miles in length; but every where else, a ridge of hills, whose summits were nearly upon a level, ran round the place at a moderate distance. Under the walls, on the side facing the east, lay all the forces of the Gauls encamped; who filled that whole space, and were defended by a ditch, and a rampart six feet high. The line of contravallation begun by the Romans, took in a circuit of eleven miles. The camp was conveniently situated, and strengthened with three and twenty redoubts, in which sentinels were placed by day, to give notice of any sudden irruption, and a strong guard by night to defend them in case of assault.

LXIV. Whilst the Romans were employed in these works, Vercingetorix ventured on another engagement of the horse, in the plain between the hills, which, we have said, extended about three miles in length. The contest was sharply maintained on both sides; but our men at length beginning to give ground, Cæsar detached the Germans to their assistance, and drew up the legions in order of battle before the camp, that he might be ready to oppose any sudden irruption of the enemy's infantry. The sight of the legions revived the courage of our men: the enemy were put to flight; and crowding upon one another in their retreat, so obstructed the gates of the camp, that it became in a manner impossible to enter. The Germans pursued them to their intrenchments, where a very great slaughter ensued. Some quitting their horses endeavour to pass the ditch, and get over the rampart. Cæsar, perceiving their disorder; ordered the legions, whom he had drawn out before the camp, to advance a little. This motion no less alarmed the Gauls within the rampart; who believing the whole body of the Roman army was coming to attack them, sounded to arms. Some in their fright fled into the town; upon which, Vercingetorix, fearing the camp would be abandoned, or-



dered the gates to be shut. At length the Germans, having slain great numbers of the enemy, and taken a multitude of horse, returned from the pursuit.

LXV. Vercingetorix, before our line was completed, resolved to dismiss his cavalry by night. At parting he enjoined them, "To repair severally to their respective states, and assemble all the men capable of bearing arms. He set forth the many services he had done them, and conjured them not to neglect his safety, or abandon to the cruelty of the enemy, one who had deserved so well of the common liberty. He told them, that if they were remiss in the execution of his orders, no less than eighty thousand chosen men must perish with him; that by computation, he had scarce corn for thirty days: and that even with the utmost economy it could be made to hold out but a very little longer." After giving these instructions, he dismissed them quietly about nine at night, on the side where the Roman line was not yet finished. He then ordered the people of the town to bring in all their corn, threatening them with death in case of disobedience. As there was a great number of cattle in the place, which had been driven thither by the Mandubians, he distributed them to the soldiers, man by man, resolving to deliver out the corn sparingly and by measure. At the same time he made all his forces enter the town: and having thus settled the plan of his defence, waited for the expected succours.

LXVI. Cæsar having notice of these things from the prisoners and deserters, constructed his lines in the following manner. He made a ditch twenty feet wide, with perpendicular sides, giving it the same breadth at the bottom as at top. All the other works were four hundred feet farther off the town than this ditch. As his lines included so great a space, and therefore could not be alike guarded in all parts, he judged this precaution necessary, to secure them against sudden sallies by night, and screen the workmen from the enemy's darts by day. Observing this distance, he made two other ditches, fifteen feet broad, and as many deep; and filled the innermost, which lay in a low and level ground, with water from the river. Behind these was a rampart of twelve feet high, strengthened with a parapet and battlements: and to prevent the enemy from getting over, a

frieze ran along the foot of the parapet, made of long stakes, with their branches cut in points, and burnt at the end like a stag's horn. The whole work was flanked with redoubts, eighty feet distant one from another.

LXVII. But as the soldiers were employed at the same time to fetch wood and provisions, and to work at the fortifications, which considerably lessened the number of troops left to defend the camp, many of them being at a distance on these services; and as the Gauls, besides, often sallied at several gates, with design to interrupt the works; for all these reasons, Cæsar judged it necessary to make some addition to his lines, that they might not require so many men to guard them. He therefore took trees of no great height, or large branches, which he caused to be made sharp at the ends; and running a trench of five feet deep before the lines, he ordered them to be put into it, and made fast at bottom, so that they could not be pulled up. This trench was again filled up in such a manner, that nothing but the branches of the head appeared, of which the points must have run into those who should have endeavoured to pass them. As there were five rows of them, interwoven in a manner with each other, they were unavoidable. The soldiers called them *cippi*. In the front of these he caused pits of three feet deep to be dug in form of the quincunx, and something narrower at bottom than at top. In these pits he fixed strong stakes, about the thickness of a man's thigh, burnt and sharpened at the top, which rose only four inches above the level of the ground, into which they were planted three feet deeper than the pits, for the sake of firmness. The pits were covered over with bushes to deceive the enemy. There were eight rows of them, at the distance of three feet from each other. They were called lilies, from the resemblance they bore to that flower. In the front of all, he sowed the whole space between the pits and the advanced ditch with crows-feet of an extraordinary size, which the soldiers called spurs.

LXVIII. These works completed, he drew another line, of fourteen miles in compass, constructed in the same manner as the former, and carried through the most even places he could find, to serve as a barrier against the enemy without; that if the Gauls should attack the camp in his absence, they might not be able to surround it with the multitude of their

troops, or charge with equal vigour in all parts. At the same time to prevent the danger his men might be exposed to, by being sent in quest of provisions and forage, he took care to lay in a sufficient stock of both for thirty days.

LXIX. Whilst these things passed before Alesia, a general council being held of the principal nobleman of Gaul, it was not thought proper to assemble all that were able to bear arms, as Vercingetorix desired, but to order each nation to furnish a contingent; lest the confusion inseparable from so great a multitude, should bring on a scarcity of provisions, or render the observance of military discipline impracticable. The Æduans, with their vassals the Segusians, Ambivareti, Aulerci, Brannovices, and Brannovii, were rated at thirty-five thousand. A like number was demanded from the Averni, in conjunction with their dependents, the Cadurci, Gabali, and Velauni. The Senones, Sequani, and Biturigians, Santones, Rutheni, and Carnutes, were ordered each to furnish twelve thousand; the Bellovaci, ten thousand; the Lemovices, the same number; the Pictones, Turoni, Parisians, and Suessiones, each eight thousand; the Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorians, Nervians, Morini, Nitobrigians, and Aulerci Cenomani, each five thousand; the Atrebatians, four thousand; the Bellocasians, Lexovians, and Aulerci Eburvices, each three thousand; the Rauraci and Boii, thirty thousand; the maritime and Armorican states, of which number are the Curiosolites, Rhedones, Caletes, Osismians, Lemovices, Venetians, and Unellians, each six thousand. The Bellovaci alone refused to furnish the troops required, pretending it was their design to wage an independent war with the Romans, without being subject to the control of any one: however, at the request of Comius, for whom they had a great respect, they sent a body of two thousand men.

LXX. This Comius, as we have related above, had been singularly faithful and serviceable to Cæsar, in his Britannic expedition; in consideration of which, his state had been exempted from all tribute, restored to the full enjoyment of its laws and privileges, and even enlarged, by having the country of the Morini added to its territories. But such was the present unanimity of the Gauls, in the design of vindicating their liberty, and recovering their wonted reputation in war, that neither benefits received, nor the strictest ties of friendship,

could make any impression upon their minds; but all with one consent flew to arms, and contributed largely to the support of the war. The country of the Æduans was the general rendezvous of the army, which amounted to eight thousand horse, and two hundred and forty thousand foot. Four commanders in chief were appointed; Comius of Arras, Viridumarus and Eporedorix the Æduans, and Vergasillaunus of Auvergne, cousin-german to Vercingetorix. To these were added a select number of officers, chosen from among the several states, to serve by way of a council of war. The whole army advanced towards Alesia, full of courage and confidence, and satisfied that the Romans would not sustain the very sight of so prodigious a multitude; especially in an encounter attended with so much hazard, where they must be exposed to a vigorous sally from the town, at the same time that they saw themselves surrounded with such numbers of horse and foot.

LXXI. Meanwhile the troops shut up in Alesia, having consumed all their provisions, finding the day appointed for the arrival of succours expired, and knowing nothing of what was transacted among the Æduans, summoned a council of war, to debate upon what was requisite in the present exigence. Various opinions were proposed: some advised a surrender; others were for sallying while yet their strength would permit: amongst the rest, Critognatus, a man of the first rank and authority in Auvergne, addressed the assembly in a speech, which for its singular and detestable inhumanity, deserves a particular mention in this place. "I shall not," says he, "take notice of the opinion of those who endeavour to shelter an ignominious servitude, under the plausible name of a surrender; such should neither be reckoned Gauls, nor suffered to come to this council. Let me rather apply myself to them who propose a general sally: for here, as all of you seem to think, we meet with something worthy of our ancient virtue. And yet I am not afraid to say, that it is at the bottom weakness, and not courage, that inspires such thoughts, and renders us unable to support want a few days. It is easier to find those who will voluntarily rush on death, than such as can patiently endure pain. I shall not however, be against this proposal, which I confess has something generous in it, if only our own lives were at stake. But in this delibera-



tion, we must keep all Gaul in view, whom we have called to our assistance. How would it dispirit our relations and friends, to see eighty thousand of their countrymen slaughtered in one place, and be obliged to fight in the midst of their dead bodies! Deprive not then of your assistance those, who, to save you, have exposed themselves to the greatest dangers; nor through an inconsiderate temerity, and mistaken valour, destroy at once all the expectations of Gaul, and plunge her into perpetual servitude. If the expected succours are not arrived exactly at the appointed time, ought you therefore to suspect the fidelity and constancy of your countrymen? And can you think that it is for amusement only, that the Romans labour on those lines towards the country? Though you hear not from your friends, because all communication is hindered; yet you may learn the approach of the succours from your enemies themselves; who, through fear of them work day and night, without ceasing, on those fortifications. What then should I propose? What but to do as our ancestors did in the war with the Teutones and Cimbri, much less interesting than that we are now engaged in. Compelled to shut themselves up in their towns, and reduced to a distress equal to that we now experience, rather than surrender to their enemies, they chose to sacrifice to their subsistence the bodies of those whom age incapacitated for war. Had we no such precedent to follow, yet still I should esteem it glorious, in so noble a cause as that of liberty, to institute and give one to posterity. For where had we ever a war upon our hands like that we are now engaged in? The Cimbri, after laying waste Gaul, and spreading desolation through the whole country, withdrew however their forces at length, and repaired to other regions, leaving us the full enjoyment of our laws, customs, lands, and liberties. But the Romans instigated by envy, and, jealous of a people so renowned and powerful in war, aim and intend nothing less than to establish themselves in our cities and territories, and reduce us to perpetual servitude. This has ever been the object of all their wars. If you are unacquainted with what passes in distant countries, cast your eyes upon the adjoining Gaul, which, reduced into the form of a province, stripped of its laws and privileges, and subjected to the arbitrary sway of the conqueror, groans under an endless yoke

of slavery." When all had delivered their opinions, a resolution was taken, that such as by age or sickness were unfit for war, should be obliged to quit the town, and every expedient be tried, rather than give into the proposal of Critognatus: but if necessity urged, and relief was long deferred, they determined upon submitting to his advice preferably to peace or a surrender. The Mandubii, to whom the city belonged, were driven thence with their wives and children. When they came to the Roman lines, they with tears petitioned to be received as slaves, and saved from perishing miserably by famine. But Cæsar having planted guards along the rampart, refused to admit them into his camp.

LXXII. Meanwhile Comius, and the other general officers, on whom the chief command had been conferred, arrived before Alesia with all their forces, and encamped on a hill without the town, not above five hundred paces from the Roman lines. The next day they drew out their cavalry, and covered the whole plain under the hill, which, as we have already said, extended three miles in length. The infantry were stationed at some distance on the heights, yet so as to lie concealed from the view of the Romans. As Alesia commanded a full prospect of the plain below, the succours were soon discovered by the besieged, who assembling in crowds, congratulated each other; and testified a universal joy. Immediately they came forth with all their forces, posted themselves before the town, and having filled up the nearest ditch with earth and fascines, prepared for a vigorous sally, and every thing else that might happen.

LXXIII. Cæsar, having disposed his whole army on both sides the works, that in case of need, every soldier might know his post, and be ready to maintain it, ordered the cavalry to sally out upon the enemy, and begin the charge. The camp, running along a ridge of a rising ground, commanded a view of the plain on all sides; and the soldiers, to a man, with deep attention, waited the issue of the combat. The Gauls had interspersed among the cavalry some archers and light-armed troops, to sustain them in case of need, and check the impetuosity of our horse. Several of the Romans being wounded by these at the first charge, were obliged to quit the battle. The Gauls now believing they had the advantage, and seeing our men overpowered by numbers, set



up a universal shout, as well within as without the place, to give new life to their troops. As the action passed in the view of both armies, who were, of course, witnesses to the valour or cowardice of the combatants, the desire of applause, or fear of ignominy, spurred on each side to exert their utmost bravery. After a conflict that lasted from noon till near sun-set, victory all the while continuing doubtful, the Germans, in close order, charged furiously the enemy on one side, and forced them to give ground. Their flight leaving the archers exposed, they were all surrounded and cut to pieces. The success was equal in other parts of the field, where our men pursuing the runaways to their camp, gave them no time to rally. The troops who had quitted Alesia, despairing now almost of victory, turned disconsolate to the town.

LXXIV. After the interval of a day, which was wholly spent in providing a great number of fascines, scaling ladders, and iron hooks; the Gauls issuing from their camp at midnight, in great silence, attacked the Roman lines, on the side of the plain. They began with setting up a sudden shout, to advertise the besieged of their arrival; threw their fascines into the ditch; endeavoured by a discharge of stones, darts, and arrows, to drive our men from the rampart; and practised every thing necessary to render the storm successful. At the same time Vercingetorix, hearing their cries, sounded to arms, and led forth his men to the attack. The Romans, whose posts had been allotted them some days before, flew to the works, and with slings, darts, bullets, and engines, prepared on purpose, struck a terror into the assailants. As the parties could not see one another by reason of the darkness, many wounds were received on both sides, and a great number of darts discharged from the engines. But M. Antonius and C. Trebonius, who commanded on the side that was most pressed by the enemy, took care to draw out parties from the more distant redoubts, and send them where their assistance was chiefly wanted.

LXXV. While the Gauls kept at a distance from our lines, they did great execution by the multitude of their darts; but in proportion as they approached, they either entangled themselves unawares among the caltrops, or tumbling into the wells, were wounded by the pointed stakes, or were pierced by the darts

discharged from the towers and rampart. After many wounds given and received; finding, when day appeared, that they had not forced any part of the lines, and fearing to be taken in flank by some troops that were sallying from the redoubts on the eminence, they retreated to their camp. Meanwhile the besieged, after much time spent in preparing for a sally, and filling up the advanced ditch, finding that their countrymen were retired, before they could so much as approach the works, returned into the town without effecting any thing.

LXXVI. The Gauls thus twice repulsed with great loss, consult what new measure they are to pursue: and advising with those who knew the ground, learned from them the strength and situation of the upper camp. North of the town was a hill of too great a compass to be taken into the circumvallation; in-somuch that the Romans had been obliged to post themselves on its ascent, in a very disadvantageous situation, because their camp was commanded by its summit. C. Antistius Reginus, and C. Caninus Rebilus, lieutenant-generals, guarded this quarter with two legions. The enemy's generals, after informing themselves of the nature of the country by their scouts, selected five and fifty thousand of their best troops, concerted privately among themselves the plan and manner of acting, appointed the time for the assault about noon, and assigned the command of the detachment to Vergasillaunus of Auvergne, one of the four principal leaders, and a near relation of Vercingetorix. Vergasillaunus leaving his camp in the evening, finished his march by day break; and concealing his troops behind a hill, ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves after their fatigue. As soon as it was noon, he approached the quarters of the two legions. At the same time the cavalry advanced into the plain, and the whole army drew out before the camp.

LXXVII. Vercingetorix observing these motions from the citadel of Alesia, led forth his troops; carrying along with him the fascines, long poles, covered galleries, hooks, and other instruments he had prepared for the assault. The fight was maintained on all sides at once; nor did the Gauls leave any thing unattempted, but flocked continually to those parts of the works which appeared to be the weakest. The Roman forces having so many works to guard, were dispersed in different places, and scarce sufficed for the defence of

them all. What mostly contributed to disturb them was, the cries of the combatants behind, which informed them that their safety depended on the valour of others. For such is the constitution of the human mind, as always to aggrandize absent objects, and magnify the danger that is out of sight.

LXXVIII. Cæsar chose a post from whence he could see every thing, and then sent reinforcements where necessary. Both parties called to mind, that now was the time for making the greatest effort. The Gauls had no hopes of safety, but in forcing the Roman lines. Our men again were sensible, that if they came off victorious on this occasion, all their labours would be at an end. The chief stress of the battle lay at the higher fortifications, where Vergasillaunus charged with his detachment; because the small eminence, which commanded the declivity of the hill, gave the enemy great advantage. Some were employed in throwing darts; others advanced to the attack, under cover of their shields; fresh men still succeeding in the room of those that were fatigued. The earth they threw up against our lines, not only enabled them to ascend the rampart, but entirely frustrated the design of the works the Romans had made in the ground. In fine, our men had neither strength nor weapons left to make resistance.

LXXIX. Cæsar observing the danger they were in, sent Labienus, with six cohorts, to their assistance; ordering him, if he found himself unable to defend the works, to sally out upon the enemy; yet this only in case of extremity. He himself went in person to the rest of the troops, exhorting them to bear up courageously under their present fatigue, and representing, that the fruit of all their former victories depended upon the issue of that critical day and hour. The troops within the place, despairing to force the intrenchments on the side of the plain, because of the great strength of the works, attacked them in the more steep and difficult places, whither they brought all the instruments prepared for the assault. They soon drove our men from the towers, by a discharge of darts, levelled the way with earth and fascines, and began to cut down the rampart and breastwork with their hooks.

LXXX. Cæsar first sent young Brutus, with six cohorts; after him, C. Fabius lieutenant-general, with seven more; and, last of

all, as the dispute grew very warm, marched himself in person at the head of the whole detachment. Having, by this means, restored the battle, and forced the enemy to retire, he hastened to the side where Labienus was engaged. He drew four cohorts from the nearest fort, ordered part of the cavalry to follow him, and charged the rest to take a circuit round the outward works, and fall upon the enemy's rear. Labienus finding that neither the rampart nor ditch were sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy, drew together about thirty-nine cohorts from the nearest forts, and sent to inform Cæsar of his design. Cæsar immediately quickened his march, that he might be present at the action.

LXXXI. His arrival being known from the colour of his garments, by which he used to distinguish himself in the day of battle; and the troops and cohorts he had ordered to follow him, appearing; all which were easily discerned from the higher ground; the enemy began the charge. A mighty shout was raised on both sides, which being caught by those on the rampart, was carried quite round the lines. Our men, having cast their darts, fell upon the Gauls sword in hand. At the same time the cavalry appeared unexpectedly in their rear; fresh cohorts flocked continually to our assistance: the enemy took flight, and, in their retreat, were encountered by our horse: a dreadful slaughter ensued. Sedulius, chief and general of the Lemovices, was slain on the spot; Vergasillaunus of Auvergne, was made prisoner in the pursuit; seventy-four colours were taken, and brought to Cæsar; and, out of so great a multitude, very few regained the Gaulish camp. The rout and slaughter being observed from the town, the besieged, despairing of success, drew off their troops from the attack. Instantly, upon the report of this disaster, the Gauls abandoned their camp; and had not our troops been wearied out by the continual fatigue of the day, and the frequent reinforcements they were obliged to furnish, the enemy's whole army might have been exterminated. At midnight Cæsar detached the cavalry to pursue them, who, falling in with their rear, slew some, and took a great number of prisoners. The rest escaped to their several habitations.

LXXXII. Next day, Vercingetorix assembling a council, represented to the besieged: "That he had undertaken that war,

not from a motive of private interest, but to recover the common liberty of Gaul: and that since there was a necessity of yielding to fortune, he was willing to become a victim for their safety, whether they should think proper to appease the anger of the conqueror by his death or to deliver him up alive." A deputation immediately waited on Cæsar to receive his orders. He insisted on the surrender of their arms, and the delivering up of all their chiefs. Having accordingly seated himself at the head of his lines, before the camp, their leaders were brought, Vercingetorix delivered up, and their arms thrown into the ditch. Reserving the Æduans and Averni, as a means to recover those two potent nations, he divided the rest of the prisoners among his soldiers, giving to each one.

LXXXIII. These affairs despatched, he marched into the territories of the Æduans, where he received the submission of their state. There he was addressed by the ambassadors of the Averni, who promised an entire

obedience to his commands. He exacted a great number of hostages; sent his legions into winter quarters; and restored about twenty thousand captives to the Æduans and Averni. T. Labienus, with two legions and the cavalry, was quartered among the Sequani jointly with M. Sempronius Rutilus. C. Fabius, and L. Minutius Basilius, were ordered, with two legions, into the country of the Rhemi, to defend it against the attempts of the Bellovaci, their neighbours. C. Antistius Regulus had his station assigned him among the Ambivari; T. Sextius among the Biturigians; and C. Caninius Rebilus among the Rutheni; each with one legion. Q. Tullius Cicero, and P. Sulpicius, were placed at Cabillo and Matisco upon the Arar, in the country of the Æduans, to have the care of provisions. He himself resolved to winter at Bibracte. The senate being informed of these things by Cæsar's letters, a procession of twenty days was decreed.



