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The Gallic Wars

By Julius Caesar

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BOOK 1

Chapter 1

All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit,

the Aquitani another, those who in their own language are called Celts,

in our Gauls, the third. All these differ from each other in language,

customs and laws. The river Garonne separates the Gauls from the Aquitani;

the Marne and the Seine separate them from the Belgae. Of all these,

the Belgae are the bravest, because they are furthest from the civilization

and refinement of [our] Province, and merchants least frequently resort

to them, and import those things which tend to effeminate the mind;

and they are the nearest to the Germans, who dwell beyond the Rhine,

with whom they are continually waging war; for which reason the Helvetii

also surpass the rest of the Gauls in valor, as they contend with

the Germans in almost daily battles, when they either repel them from

their own territories, or themselves wage war on their frontiers.

One part of these, which it has been said that the Gauls occupy, takes

its beginning at the river Rhone; it is bounded by the river Garonne,

the ocean, and the territories of the Belgae; it borders, too, on

the side of the Sequani and the Helvetii, upon the river Rhine, and

stretches toward the north. The Belgae rises from the extreme frontier

of Gaul, extend to the lower part of the river Rhine; and look toward

the north and the rising sun. Aquitania extends from the river Garonne

to the Pyrenaean mountains and to that part of the ocean which is

near Spain: it looks between the setting of the sun, and the north

star.

Chapter 2

Among the Helvetii, Orgetorix was by far the most distinguished and

wealthy. He, when Marcus Messala and Marcus Piso were consuls, incited

by lust of sovereignty, formed a conspiracy among the nobility, and

persuaded the people to go forth from their territories with all their

possessions, [saying] that it would be very easy, since they excelled

all in valor, to acquire the supremacy of the whole of Gaul. To this

he the more easily persuaded them, because the Helvetii, are confined

on every side by the nature of their situation; on one side by the

Rhine, a very broad and deep river, which separates the Helvetian

territory from the Germans; on a second side by the Jura, a very high

mountain, which is [situated] between the Sequani and the Helvetii;

on a third by the Lake of Geneva, and by the river Rhone, which separates

our Province from the Helvetii. From these circumstances it resulted,

that they could range less widely, and could less easily make war

upon their neighbors; for which reason men fond of war [as they were]

were affected with great regret. They thought, that considering the

extent of their population, and their renown for warfare and bravery,

they had but narrow limits, although they extended in length 240,

and in breadth 180 [Roman] miles.

Chapter 3

Induced by these considerations, and influenced by the authority of

Orgetorix, they determined to provide such things as were necessary

for their expedition - to buy up as great a number as possible of

beasts of burden and wagons - to make their sowings as large as possible,

so that on their march plenty of corn might be in store - and to establish

peace and friendship with the neighboring states. They reckoned that

a term of two years would be sufficient for them to execute their

designs; they fix by decree their departure for the third year. Orgetorix

is chosen to complete these arrangements. He took upon himself the

office of embassador to the states: on this journey he persuades Casticus,

the son of Catamantaledes (one of the Sequani, whose father had possessed

the sovereignty among the people for many years, and had been styled

"friend" by the senate of the Roman people), to seize upon the sovereignty

in his own state, which his father had held before him, and he likewise

persuades Dumnorix, an Aeduan, the brother of Divitiacus, who at that

time possessed the chief authority in the state, and was exceedingly

beloved by the people, to attempt the same, and gives him his daughter

in marriage. He proves to them that to accomplish their attempts was

a thing very easy to be done, because he himself would obtain the

government of his own state; that there was no doubt that the Helvetii

were the most powerful of the whole of Gaul; he assures them that

he will, with his own forces and his own army, acquire the sovereignty

for them. Incited by this speech, they give a pledge and oath to one

another, and hope that, when they have seized the sovereignty, they

will, by means of the three most powerful and valiant nations, be

enabled to obtain possession of the whole of Gaul.

Chapter 4

When this scheme was disclosed to the Helvetii by informers, they,

according to their custom, compelled Orgetorix to plead his cause

in chains; it was the law that the penalty of being burned by fire

should await him if condemned. On the day appointed for the pleading

of his cause, Orgetorix drew together from all quarters to the court,

all his vassals to the number of ten thousand persons; and led together

to the same place all his dependents and debtor-bondsmen, of whom

he had a great number; by means of those he rescued himself from [the

necessity of] pleading his cause. While the state, incensed at this

act, was endeavoring to assert its right by arms, and the magistrates

were mustering a large body of men from the country, Orgetorix died;

and there is not wanting a suspicion, as the Helvetii think, of his

having committed suicide.

Chapter 5

After his death, the Helvetii nevertheless attempt to do that which

they had resolved on, namely, to go forth from their territories.

When they thought that they were at length prepared for this undertaking,

they set fire to all their towns, in number about twelve - to their

villages about four hundred - and to the private dwellings that remained;

they burn up all the corn, except what they intend to carry with them;

that after destroying the hope of a return home, they might be the

more ready for undergoing all dangers. They order every one to carry

forth from home for himself provisions for three months, ready ground.

They persuade the Rauraci, and the Tulingi, and the Latobrigi, their

neighbors, to adopt the same plan, and after burning down their towns

and villages, to set out with them: and they admit to their party

and unite to themselves as confederates the Boii, who had dwelt on

the other side of the Rhine, and had crossed over into the Norican

territory, and assaulted Noreia.

Chapter 6

There were in all two routes, by which they could go forth from their

country one through the Sequani narrow and difficult, between Mount

Jura and the river Rhone (by which scarcely one wagon at a time could

be led; there was, moreover, a very high mountain overhanging, so

that a very few might easily intercept them; the other, through our

Province, much easier and freer from obstacles, because the Rhone

flows between the boundaries of the Helvetii and those of the Allobroges,

who had lately been subdued, and is in some places crossed by a ford.

The furthest town of the Allobroges, and the nearest to the territories

of the Helvetii, is Geneva. From this town a bridge extends to the

Helvetii. They thought that they should either persuade the Allobroges,

because they did not seem as yet well-affected toward the Roman people,

or compel them by force to allow them to pass through their territories.

Having provided every thing for the expedition, they appoint a day,

on which they should all meet on the bank of the Rhone. This day was

the fifth before the kalends of April [i.e. the 28th of March], in

the consulship of Lucius Piso and Aulus Gabinius [B.C. 58.]

Chapter 7

When it was reported to Caesar that they were attempting to make their route through our Province he hastens to set out from the city, and, by as great marches as he can, proceeds to Further Gaul, and arrives at Geneva. He orders the whole Province [to furnish] as great a number of soldiers as possible, as there was in all only one legion in Further Gaul: he orders the bridge at Geneva to be broken down. When the Helvetii are apprized of his arrival they send to him, as embassadors, the most illustrious men of their state (in which embassy Numeius and Verudoctius held the chief place), to say "that it was their intention to march through the Province without doing any harm, because they had" [according to their own representations,] "no other route: that they requested, they might be allowed to do so with his consent." Caesar, inasmuch as he kept in remembrance that Lucius Cassius, the consul, had been slain, and his army routed and made to pass under the yoke by the Helvetii, did not think that [their request] ought to be granted: nor was he of opinion that men of hostile disposition, if an opportunity of marching through the Province were given them, would abstain from outrage and mischief. Yet, in order that a period might intervene, until the soldiers whom he had ordered [to be furnished] should assemble, he replied to the ambassadors, that he would take time to deliberate; if they wanted any thing, they might return on the day before the ides of April [on April 12th].

Chapter 8

Meanwhile, with the legion which he had with him and the soldiers

which had assembled from the Province, he carries along for nineteen

[Roman, not quite eighteen English] miles a wall, to the height of

sixteen feet, and a trench, from the Lake of Geneva, which flows into

the river Rhone, to Mount Jura, which separates the territories of

the Sequani from those of the Helvetii. When that work was finished,

he distributes garrisons, and closely fortifies redoubts, in order

that he may the more easily intercept them, if they should attempt

to cross over against his will. When the day which he had appointed

with the embassadors came, and they returned to him; he says, that

he can not, consistently with the custom and precedent of the Roman

people, grant any one a passage through the Province; and he gives

them to understand, that, if they should attempt to use violence he

would oppose them. The Helvetii, disappointed in this hope, tried

if they could force a passage (some by means of a bridge of boats

and numerous rafts constructed for the purpose; others, by the fords

of the Rhone, where the depth of the river was least, sometimes by

day, but more frequently by night), but being kept at bay by the strength

of our works, and by the concourse of the soldiers, and by the missiles,

they desisted from this attempt.

Chapter 9

There was left one way, [namely] through the Sequani, by which, on

account of its narrowness, they could not pass without the consent

of the Sequani. As they could not of themselves prevail on them, they

send embassadors to Dumnorix the Aeduan, that through his intercession,

they might obtain their request from the Sequani. Dumnorix, by his

popularity and liberality, had great influence among the Sequani,

and was friendly to the Helvetii, because out of that state he had

married the daughter of Orgetorix; and, incited by lust of sovereignty,

was anxious for a revolution, and wished to have as many states as

possible attached to him by his kindness toward them. He, therefore,

undertakes the affair, and prevails upon the Sequani to allow the

Helvetii to march through their territories, and arranges that they

should give hostages to each other - the Sequani not to obstruct the

Helvetii in their march - the Helvetii, to pass without mischief and

outrage.

Chapter 10

It is again told Caesar, that the Helvetii intended to march through

the country of the Sequani and the Aedui into the territories of the

Santones, which are not far distant from those boundaries of the Tolosates,

which [viz. Tolosa, Toulouse] is a state in the Province. If this

took place, he saw that it would be attended with great danger to

the Province to have warlike men, enemies of the Roman people, bordering

upon an open and very fertile tract of country. For these reasons

he appointed Titus Labienus, his lieutenant, to the command of the

fortification which he had made. He himself proceeds to Italy by forced

marches, and there levies two legions, and leads out from winter-quarters

three which were wintering around Aquileia, and with these five legions

marches rapidly by the nearest route across the Alps into Further

Gaul. Here the Centrones and the Graioceli and the Caturiges, having

taken possession of the higher parts, attempt to obstruct the army

in their march. After having routed these in several battles, he arrives

in the territories of the Vocontii in the Further Province on the

seventh day from Ocelum, which is the most remote town of the Hither

Province; thence he leads his army into the country of the Allobroges,

and from the Allobroges to the Segusiani. These people are the first

beyond the Province on the opposite side of the Rhone.

Chapter 11

The Helvetii had by this time led their forces over through the narrow

defile and the territories of the Sequani, and had arrived at the

territories of the Aedui, and were ravaging their lands. The Aedui,

as they could not defend themselves and their possessions against

them, send embassadors to Caesar to ask assistance, [pleading] that

they had at all times so well deserved of the Roman people, that their

fields ought not to have been laid waste - their children carried

off into slavery - their towns stormed, almost within sight of our

army. At the same time the Ambarri, the friends and kinsmen of the

Aedui, apprize Caesar, that it was not easy for them, now that their

fields had been devastated, to ward off the violence of the enemy

from their towns: the Allobroges likewise, who had villages and possessions

on the other side of the Rhone, betake themselves in flight to Caesar,

and assure him that they had nothing remaining, except the soil of

their land. Caesar, induced by these circumstances, decides, that

he ought not to wait until the Helvetii, after destroying all the

property of his allies, should arrive among the Santones.

Chapter 12

There is a river [called] the Saone, which flows through the territories

of the Aedui and Sequani into the Rhone with such incredible slowness,

that it can not be determined by the eye in which direction it flows.

This the Helvetii were crossing by rafts and boats joined together.

When Caesar was informed by spies that the Helvetii had already conveyed

three parts of their forces across that river, but that the fourth

part was left behind on this side of the Saone, he set out from the

camp with three legions during the third watch, and came up with that

division which had not yet crossed the river. Attacking them encumbered

with baggage, and not expecting him, he cut to pieces a great part

of them; the rest betook themselves to flight, and concealed themselves

in the nearest woods. That canton [which was cut down] was called

the Tigurine; for the whole Helvetian state is divided into four cantons.

This single canton having left their country, within the recollection

of our fathers, had slain Lucius Cassius the consul, and had made

his army pass under the yoke. Thus, whether by chance, or by the design

of the immortal gods, that part of the Helvetian state which had brought

a signal calamity upon the Roman people, was the first to pay the

penalty. In this Caesar avenged not only the public but also his own

personal wrongs, because the Tigurini had slain Lucius Piso the lieutenant

[of Cassius], the grandfather of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, his [Caesar's]

father-in-law, in the same battle as Cassius himself.

Chapter 13

This battle ended, that he might be able to come up with the remaining

forces of the Helvetii, he procures a bridge to be made across the

Saone, and thus leads his army over. The Helvetii, confused by his

sudden arrival, when they found that he had effected in one day, what

they, themselves had with the utmost difficulty accomplished in twenty

namely, the crossing of the river, send embassadors to him; at the

head of which embassy was Divico, who had been commander of the Helvetii,

in the war against Cassius. He thus treats with Caesar: - that, "if

the Roman people would make peace with the Helvetii they would go

to that part and there remain, where Caesar might appoint and desire

them to be; but if he should persist in persecuting them with war

that he ought to remember both the ancient disgrace of the Roman people

and the characteristic valor of the Helvetii. As to his having attacked

one canton by surprise, [at a time] when those who had crossed the

river could not bring assistance to their friends, that he ought not

on that account to ascribe very much to his own valor, or despise

them; that they had so learned from their sires and ancestors, as

to rely more on valor than on artifice and stratagem. Wherefore let

him not bring it to pass that the place, where they were standing,

should acquire a name, from the disaster of the Roman people and the

destruction of their army or transmit the remembrance [of such an

event to posterity]."

Chapter 14

To these words Caesar thus replied: - that "on that very account he

felt less hesitation, because he kept in remembrance those circumstances

which the Helvetian embassadors had mentioned, and that he felt the

more indignant at them, in proportion as they had happened undeservedly

to the Roman people: for if they had been conscious of having done

any wrong, it would not have been difficult to be on their guard,

but for that very reason had they been deceived, because neither were

they aware that any offense had been given by them, on account of

which they should be afraid, nor did they think that they ought to

be afraid without cause. But even if he were willing to forget their

former outrage, could he also lay aside the remembrance of the late

wrongs, in that they had against his will attempted a route through

the Province by force, in that they had molested the Aedui, the Ambarri,

and the Allobroges? That as to their so insolently boasting of their

victory, and as to their being astonished that they had so long committed

their outrages with impunity, [both these things] tended to the same

point; for the immortal gods are wont to allow those persons whom

they wish to punish for their guilt sometimes a greater prosperity

and longer impunity, in order that they may suffer the more severely

from a reverse of circumstances. Although these things are so, yet,

if hostages were to be given him by them in order that he may be assured

these will do what they promise, and provided they will give satisfaction

to the Aedui for the outrages which they had committed against them

and their allies, and likewise to the Allobroges, he [Caesar] will

make peace with them." Divico replied, that "the Helvetii had been

so trained by their ancestors, that they were accustomed to receive,

not to give hostages; of that fact the Roman people were witness."

Having given this reply, he withdrew.

Chapter 15

On the following day they move their camp from that place; Caesar

does the same, and sends forward all his cavalry, to the number of

four thousand (which he had drawn together from all parts of the Province

and from the Aedui and their allies), to observe toward what parts

the enemy are directing their march. These, having too eagerly pursued

the enemy's rear, come to a battle with the cavalry of the Helvetii

in a disadvantageous place, and a few of our men fall. The Helvetii,

elated with this battle, because they had with five hundred horse

repulsed so large a body of horse, began to face us more boldly, sometimes

too from their rear to provoke our men by an attack. Caesar [however]

restrained his men from battle, deeming it sufficient for the present

to prevent the enemy from rapine, forage, and depredation. They marched

for about fifteen days in such a manner that there was not more than

five or six miles between the enemy's rear and our van.

Chapter 16

Meanwhile, Caesar kept daily importuning the Aedui for the corn which

they had promised in the name of their state; for, in consequence

of the coldness (Gaul, being as before said, situated toward the north),

not only was the corn in the fields not ripe, but there was not in

store a sufficiently large quantity even of fodder: besides he was

unable to use the corn which he had conveyed in ships up the river

Saone, because the Helvetii, from whom he was unwilling to retire

had diverted their march from the Saone. The Aedui kept deferring

from day to day, and saying that it was being collected - brought

in - on the road." When he saw that he was put off too long, and that

the day was close at hand on which he ought to serve out the corn

to his soldiers; - having called together their chiefs, of whom he

had a great number in his camp, among them Divitiacus and Liscus who

was invested with the chief magistracy (whom the Aedui style the Vergobretus,

and who is elected annually and has power of life or death over his

countrymen), he severely reprimands them, because he is not assisted

by them on so urgent an occasion, when the enemy were so close at

hand, and when [corn] could neither be bought nor taken from the fields,

particularly as, in a great measure urged by their prayers, he had

undertaken the war; much more bitterly, therefore does he complain

of his being forsaken.

Chapter 17

Then at length Liscus, moved by Caesar's speech, discloses what he

had hitherto kept secret: - that there are some whose influences with

the people is very great, who, though private men, have more power

than the magistrates themselves: that these by seditions and violent

language are deterring the populace from contributing the corn which

they ought to supply; [by telling them] that, if they can not any

longer retain the supremacy of Gaul, it were better to submit to the

government of Gauls than of Romans, nor ought they to doubt that,

if the Romans should overpower the Helvetii, they would wrest their

freedom from the Aedui together with the remainder of Gaul. By these

very men, [said he], are our plans and whatever is done in the camp,

disclosed to the enemy; that they could not be restrained by him:

nay more, he was well aware, that though compelled by necessity, he

had disclosed the matter to Caesar, at how great a risk he had done

it; and for that reason, he had been silent as long as he could."

Chapter 18

Caesar perceived that by this speech of Liscus, Dumnorix, the brother

of Divitiacus, was indicated; but, as he was unwilling that these

matters should be discussed while so many were present, he speedily

dismisses: the council, but detains Liscus: he inquires from him when

alone, about those things which he had said in the meeting. He [Liscus]

speaks more unreservedly and boldly. He [Caesar] makes inquiries on

the same points privately of others, and discovered that it is all

true; that "Dumnorix is the person, a man of the highest daring, in

great favor with the people on account of his liberality, a man eager

for a revolution: that for a great many years he has been in the habit

of contracting for the customs and all the other taxes of the Aedui

at a small cost, because when he bids, no one dares to bid against

him. By these means he has both increased his own private property,

and amassed great means for giving largesses; that he maintains constantly

at his own expense and keeps about his own person a great number of

cavalry, and that not only at home, but even among the neighboring

states, he has great influence, and for the sake of strengthening

this influence has given his mother in marriage among the Bituriges

to a man the most noble and most influential there; that he has himself

taken a wife from among the Helvetii, and has given his sister by

the mother's side and his female relations in marriage into other

states; that he favors and wishes well to the Helvetii on account

of this connection; and that he hates Caesar and the Romans, on his

own account, because by their arrival his power was weakened, and

his brother, Divitiacus, restored to his former position of influence

and dignity: that, if any thing should happen to the Romans, he entertains

the highest hope of gaining the sovereignty by means of the Helvetii,

but that under the government of the Roman people he despairs not

only of royalty, but even of that influence which he already has."

Caesar discovered too, on inquiring into the unsuccessful cavalry

engagement which had taken place a few days before, that the commencement

of that flight had been made by Dumnorix and his cavalry (for Dumnorix

was in command of the cavalry which the Aedui had sent for aid to

Caesar); that by their flight the rest of the cavalry were dismayed.

Chapter 19

After learning these circumstances, since to these suspicions the

most unequivocal facts were added, viz., that he had led the Helvetii

through the territories of the Sequani; that he had provided that

hostages should be mutually given; that he had done all these things,

not only without any orders of his [Caesar's] and of his own state's,

but even without their [the Aedui] knowing any thing of it themselves;

that he [Dumnorix] was reprimanded: by the [chief] magistrate of the

Aedui; he [Caesar] considered that there was sufficient reason, why

he should either punish him himself, or order the state to do so.

One thing [however] stood in the way of all this - that he had learned

by experience his brother Divitiacus's very high regard for the Roman

people, his great affection toward him, his distinguished faithfulness,

justice, and moderation; for he was afraid lest by the punishment

of this man, he should hurt the feelings of Divitiacus. Therefore,

before he attempted any thing, he orders Divitiacus to be summoned

to him, and, when the ordinary interpreters had been withdrawn, converses

with him through Caius Valerius Procillus, chief of the province of

Gaul, an intimate friend of his, in whom he reposed the highest confidence

in every thing; at the same time he reminds him of what was said about

Dumnorix in the council of the Gauls, when he himself was present,

and shows what each had said of him privately in his [Caesar's] own

presence; he begs and exhorts him, that, without offense to his feelings,

he may either himself pass judgment on him [Dumnorix] after trying

the case, or else order the [Aeduan] state to do so.

Chapter 20

Divitiacus, embracing Caesar, begins to implore him, with many tears,

that "he would not pass any very severe sentence upon his brother;

saying, that he knows that those charges are true, and that nobody

suffered more pain on that account than he himself did; for when he

himself could effect a very great deal by his influence at home and

in the rest of Gaul, and he [Dumnorix] very little on account of his

youth, the latter had become powerful through his means, which power

and strength he used not only to the lessening of his [Divitiacus]

popularity, but almost to his ruin; that he, however, was influenced

both by fraternal affection and by public opinion. But if any thing

very severe from Caesar should befall him [Dumnorix], no one would

think that it had been done without his consent, since he himself

held such a place in Caesar's friendship: from which circumstance

it would arise, that the affections of the whole of Gaul would be

estranged from him." As he was with tears begging these things of

Caesar in many words, Caesar takes his right hand, and, comforting

him, begs him to make an end of entreating, and assures him that his

regard for him is so great, that he forgives both the injuries of

the republic and his private wrongs, at his desire and prayers. He

summons Dumnorix to him; he brings in his brother; he points out what

he censures in him; he lays before him what he of himself perceives,

and what the state complains of; he warns him for the future to avoid

all grounds of suspicion; he says that he pardons the past, for the

sake of his brother, Divitiacus. He sets spies over Dumnorix that

he may be able to know what he does, and with whom he communicates.

Chapter 21

Being on the same day informed by his scouts, that the enemy had encamped

at the foot of a mountain eight miles from his own camp; he sent persons

to ascertain what the nature of the mountain was, and of what kind

the ascent on every side. Word was brought back, that it was easy.

During the third watch he orders Titus Labienus, his lieutenant with

praetorian powers, to ascend to the highest ridge of the mountain

with two legions, and with those as guides who had examined the road;

he explains what his plan is. He himself during the fourth watch,

hastens to them by the same route by which the enemy had gone, and

sends on all the cavalry before him. Publius Considius, who was reputed

to be very experienced in military affairs, and had been in the army

of Lucius Sulla, and afterward in that of Marcus Crassus, is sent

forward with the scouts.

Chapter 22

At day-break, when the summit of the mountain was in the possession

of Titus Labienus, and he himself was not further off than a mile

and half from the enemy's camp, nor, as he afterward ascertained from

the captives, had either his arrival or that of Labienus been discovered;

Considius, with his horse at full gallop, comes up to him says that

the mountain which he [Caesar] wished should be seized by Labienus,

is in possession of the enemy; that he has discovered this by the

Gallic arms and ensigns. Caesar leads off his forces to the next hill:

[and] draws them up in battle-order. Labienus, as he had been ordered

by Caesar not to come to an engagement unless [Caesar's] own forces

were seen near the enemy's camp, that the attack upon the enemy might

be made on every side at the same time, was, after having taken possession

of the mountain, waiting for our men, and refraining from battle.

When, at length, the day was far advanced, Caesar learned through

spies, that the mountain was in possession of his own men, and that

the Helvetii had moved their camp, and that Considius, struck with

fear, had reported to him, as seen, that which he had not seen. On

that day he follows the enemy at his usual distance, and pitches his

camp three miles from theirs.

Chapter 23

The next day (as there remained in all only two day's space [to the

time] when he must serve out the corn to his army, and as he was not

more than eighteen miles from Bibracte, by far the largest and best-stored

town of the Aedui), he thought that he ought to provide for a supply

of corn; and diverted his march from the Helvetii, and advanced rapidly

to Bibracte. This circumstance is reported to the enemy by some deserters

from Lucius Aemilius, a captain, of the Gallic horse. The Helvetii,

either because they thought that the Romans, struck with terror, were

retreating from them, the more so, as the day before, though they

had seized on the higher grounds, they had not joined battle or because

they flattered themselves that they might be cut of from the provisions,

altering their plan and changing their route, began to pursue, and

to annoy our men in the rear.

Chapter 24

Caesar, when he observes this, draws off his forces to the next hill,

and sent the cavalry to sustain the attack of the enemy. He himself,

meanwhile, drew up on the middle of the hill a triple line of his

four veteran legions in such a manner, that he placed above him on

the very summit the two legions, which he had lately levied in Hither

Gaul, and all the auxiliaries; and he ordered that the whole mountain

should be covered with men, and that meanwhile the baggage should

be brought together into one place, and the position be protected

by those who were posted in the upper line. The Helvetii having followed

with all their wagons, collected their baggage into one place: they

themselves, after having repulsed our cavalry and formed a phalanx,

advanced up to our front line in very close order.

Chapter 25

Caesar, having removed out of sight first his own horse, then those

of all, that he might make the danger of a11 equal, and do away with

the hope of flight, after encouraging his men, joined battle. His

soldiers hurling their javelins from the higher ground, easily broke

the enemy's phalanx. That being dispersed, they made a charge on them

with drawn swords. It was a great hinderance to the Gauls in fighting,

that, when several of their bucklers had been by one stroke of the

(Roman) javelins pierced through and pinned fast together, as the

point of the iron had bent itself, they could neither pluck it out,

nor, with their left hand entangled, fight with sufficient ease; so

that many, after having long tossed their arm about, chose rather

to cast away the buckler from their hand, and to fight with their

person unprotected. At length, worn out with wounds, they began to

give way, and, as there was in the neighborhood a mountain about a

mile off, to betake themselves thither. When the mountain had been

gained, and our men were advancing up, the Boii and Tulingi, who with

about 15,000 men closed the enemy's line of march and served as a

guard to their rear, having assailed our men on the exposed flank

as they advanced [prepared] to surround them; upon seeing which, the

Helvetii who had betaken themselves to the mountain, began to press

on again and renew the battle. The Romans having faced about, advanced

to the attack in two divisions; the first and second line, to withstand

those who had been defeated and driven off the field; the third to

receive those who were just arriving.

Chapter 26

Thus, was the contest long and vigorously carried on with doubtful

success. When they could no longer withstand the attacks of our men,

the one division, as they had begun to do, betook themselves to the

mountain; the other repaired to their baggage and wagons. For during

the whole of this battle, although the fight lasted from the seventh

hour [i.e. 12 (noon) 1 P. M.] to eventide, no one could see an enemy

with his back turned. The fight was carried on also at the baggage

till late in the night, for they had set wagons in the way as a rampart,

and from the higher ground kept throwing weapons upon our men, as

they came on, and some from between the wagons and the wheels kept

darting their lances and javelins from beneath, and wounding our men.

After the fight had lasted some time, our men gained possession of

their baggage and camp. There the daughter and one of the sons of

Orgetorix was taken. After the battle about 130,000 men [of the enemy]

remained alive, who marched incessantly during the whole of that night;

and after a march discontinued for no part of the night, arrived in

the territories of the Lingones on the fourth day, while our men,

having stopped for three days, both on account of the wounds of the

soldiers and the burial of the slain, had not been able to follow

them. Caesar sent letters and messengers to the Lingones [with orders]

that they should not assist them with corn or with any thing else;

for that if they should assist them, he would regard them in the same

light as the Helvetii. After the three days' interval he began to

follow them himself with all his forces.

Chapter 27

The Helvetii, compelled by the want of every thing, sent embassadors

to him about a surrender. When these had met him on the way and had

thrown themselves at his feet, and speaking in suppliant tone had

with tears sued for peace, and [when] he had ordered them to await

his arrival, in the place, where they then were, they obeyed his commands.

When Caesar arrived at that place, he demanded hostages, their arms,

and the slaves who had deserted to them. While those things are being

sought for and got together, after a night's interval, about 6000

men of that canton which is called the Verbigene, whether terrified

by fear, lest after delivering up their arms, they should suffer punishment,

or else induced by the hope of safety, because they supposed that,

amid so vast a multitude of those who had surrendered themselves,

their flight might either be concealed or entirely overlooked, having

at night-fall departed out of the camp of the Helvetii, hastened to

the Rhine and the territories of the Germans.

Chapter 28

But when Caesar discovered this, he commanded those through whose

territory they had gone, to seek them out and to bring them back again,

if they meant to be acquitted before him; and considered them, when

brought back, in the light of enemies; he admitted all the rest to

a surrender, upon their delivering up the hostages, arms, and deserters.

He ordered the Helvetii, the Tulingi, and the Latobrigi, to return

to their territories from which they had come, and as there was at

home nothing whereby they might support their hunger, all the productions

of the earth having been destroyed, he commanded the Allobroges to

let them have a plentiful supply of corn; and ordered them to rebuild

the towns and villages which they had burned. This he did, chiefly,

on this account, because he was unwilling that the country, from which

the Helvetii had departed, should be untenanted, lest the Germans,

who dwell on the other side of the Rhine, should, on account of the

excellence of the lands, cross over from their own territories into

those of the Helvetii, and become borderers upon the province of Gaul

and the Allobroges. He granted the petition of the Aedui, that they

might settle the Boii, in their own (i. e. in the Aeduan) territories,

as these were known to be of distinguished valor, to whom they gave

lands, and whom they afterward admitted to the same state of rights

and freedom as themselves.

Chapter 29

In the camp of the Helvetii, lists were found, drawn up in Greek characters,

and were brought to Caesar, in which an estimate had been drawn up,

name by name, of the number which had gone forth from their country

of those who were able to bear arms; and likewise the boys, the old

men, and the women, separately. Of all which items the total was:

Of the Helvetii [lit. of the heads of the Helvetii] 263,000 Of the

Tulingi . . . . . . . . . . . 36,000 Of the Latobrigi .- . . . . .

. . . . . 14,000 Of the Rauraci . . . . . . . . . . . 23,000 Of the

Boii . . . . . . . . . . . . . 32,000 The sum of all amounted to .

. . 368,000. Out of these, such as could bear arms, [amounted] to

about 92,000. When the census of those who returned home was taken,

as Caesar had commanded, the number was found to be 110,000.

Chapter 30

When the war with the Helvetii was concluded, embassadors from almost

all parts of Gaul, the chiefs of states, assembled to congratulate

Caesar, [saying] that they were well aware, that, although he had

taken vengeance on the Helvetii in war, for the old wrong done by

them to the Roman people, yet that circumstance had happened no less

to the benefit of the land of Gaul than of the Roman people, because

the Helvetii, while their affairs were most flourishing, had quitted

their country with the design of making war upon the whole of Gaul,

and seizing the government of it, and selecting, out of a great abundance,

that spot for an abode, which they should judge to be the most convenient

and most productive of all Gaul, and hold the rest of the states as

tributaries. They requested that they might be allowed to proclaim

an assembly of the whole of Gaul for a particular day, and to do that

with Caesar's permission, [stating] that they had some things which,

with the general consent, they wished to ask of him. This request

having been granted, they appointed a day for the assembly, and ordained

by an oath with each other, that no one should disclose [their deliberations]

except those to whom this [office] should be assigned by the general

assembly.

Chapter 31

When that assembly was dismissed, the same chiefs of states, who had

before been to Caesar, returned, and asked that they might be allowed

to treat with him privately (in secret) concerning the safety of themselves

and of all. That request having been obtained, they all threw themselves

in tears at Caesar's feet, [saying] that they no less begged and earnestly

desired that what they might say should not be disclosed, than that

they might obtain those things which they wished for; inasmuch as

they saw, that, if a disclosure was made, they should be put to the

greatest tortures. For these Divitiacus the Aeduan spoke and told

him: "That there were two parties in the whole of Gaul: that the Aedui

stood at the head of one of these, the Arverni of the other. After

these had been violently struggling with one another for the superiority

for many years, it came to pass that the Germans were called in for

hire by the Arverni and the Sequani. That about 15,000 of them [i.e.

of the Germans] had at first crossed the Rhine: but after that these

wild and savage men had become enamored of the lands and the refinement

and the abundance of the Gauls, more were brought over, that there

were now as many as 120,000 of them in Gaul: that with these the Aedui

and their dependents had repeatedly struggled in arms - that they

had been routed, and had sustained a great calamity - had lost all

their nobility, all their senate, all their cavalry. And that broken

by such engagements and calamities, although they had formerly been

very powerful in Gaul, both from their own valor and from the Roman

people's hospitality and friendship, they were now compelled to give

the chief nobles of their state, as hostages to the Sequani, and to

bind their state by an oath, that they would neither demand hostages

in return, nor supplicate aid from the Roman people, nor refuse to

be forever under their sway and empire. That he was the only one out

of all the state of the Aedui, who could not be prevailed upon to

take the oath or to give his children as hostages. On that account

he had fled from his state and had gone to the senate at Rome to beseech

aid, as he alone was bound neither by oath nor hostages. But a worse

thing had befallen the victorious Sequani than the vanquished Aedui,

for Ariovistus the king of the Germans, had settled in their territories,

and had seized upon a third of their land, which was the best in the

whole of Gaul, and was now ordering them to depart from another third

part, because a few months previously 24,000 men of the Harudes had

come to him, for whom room and settlements must be provided. The consequence

would be, that in a few years they would all be driven from the territories

of Gaul, and all the Germans would cross the Rhine; for neither must

the land of Gaul be compared with the land of the Germans, nor must

the habit of living of the latter be put on a level with that of the

former. Moreover, [as for] Ariovistus, no sooner did he defeat the

forces of the Gauls in a battle which took place at Magetobria, than

[he began] to lord it haughtily and cruelly, to demand as hostages

the children of all the principal nobles, and wreak on them every

kind of cruelty, if every thing was not done at his nod or pleasure;

that he was a savage, passionate, and reckless man, and that his commands

could no longer be borne. Unless there was some aid in Caesar and

the Roman people, the Gauls must all do the same thing that the Helvetii

have done, [viz.] emigrate from their country, and seek another dwelling

place, other settlements remote from the Germans, and try whatever

fortune may fall to their lot. If these things were to be disclosed

to Ariovistus, [Divitiacus adds] that he doubts not that he would

inflict the most severe punishment on all the hostages who are in

his possession, [and says] that Caesar could, either by his own influence

and by that of his army, or by his late victory, or by name of the

Roman people, intimidate him, so as to prevent a greater number of

Germans being brought over the Rhine, and could protect all Gaul from

the outrages of Ariovistus.

Chapter 32

When this speech had been delivered by Divitiacus, all who were present

began with loud lamentation to entreat assistance of Caesar. Caesar

noticed that the Sequani were the only people of all who did none

of those things which the others did, but, with their heads bowed

down, gazed on the earth in sadness. Wondering what was the reason

of this conduct, he inquired of themselves. No reply did the Sequani

make, but silently continued in the same sadness. When he had repeatedly

inquired of them and could not elicit any answer at all, the same

Divitiacus the Aeduan answered, that - "the lot of the Sequani was

more wretched and grievous than that of the rest, on this account,

because they alone durst not even in secret complain or supplicate

aid; and shuddered at the cruelty of Ariovistus [even when] absent,

just as if he were present; for, to the rest, despite of every thing

there was an opportunity of flight given; but all tortures must be

endured by the Sequani, who had admitted Ariovistus within their territories,

and whose towns were all in his power."

Chapter 33

Caesar, on being informed of these things, cheered the minds of the

Gauls with his words, and promised that this affair should be an object

of his concern, [saying] that he had great hopes that Ariovistus,

induced both by his kindness and his power, would put an end to his

oppression. After delivering this speech, he dismissed the assembly;

and, besides those statements, many circumstances induced him to think

that this affair ought to be considered and taken up by him; especially

as he saw that the Aedui, styled [as they had been] repeatedly by

the senate "brethren" and "kinsmen," were held in the thraldom and

dominion of the Germans, and understood that their hostages were with

Ariovistus and the Sequani, which in so mighty an empire [as that]

of the Roman people he considered very disgraceful to himself and

the republic. That, moreover, the Germans should by degrees become

accustomed to cross the Rhine, and that a great body of them should

come into Gaul, he saw [would be] dangerous to the Roman people, and

judged, that wild and savage men would not be likely to restrain themselves,

after they had possessed themselves of all Gaul, from going forth

into the province and thence marching into Italy (as the Cimbri and

Teutones had done before them), particularly as the Rhone [was the

sole barrier that] separated the Sequani from our province. Against

which events he thought he ought to provide as speedily as possible.

Moreover, Ariovistus, for his part, had assumed to himself such pride

and arrogance, that he was felt to be quite insufferable.

Chapter 34

He therefore determined to send embassadors to Ariovistus to demand

of him to name some intermediate spot for a conference between the

two, [saying] that he wished to treat him on state-business and matters

of the highest importance to both of them. To this embassy Ariovistus

replied, that if he himself had had need of any thing from Caesar,

he would have gone to him; and that if Caesar wanted any thing from

him he ought to come to him. That, besides, neither dare he go without

an army into those parts of Gaul which Caesar had possession of, nor

could he, without great expense and trouble, draw his army together

to one place; that to him, moreover, it appeared strange, what business

either Caesar or the Roman people at all had in his own Gaul, which

he had conquered in war.

Chapter 35

When these answers were reported to Caesar, he sends embassadors to

him a second time with this message. "Since, after having been treated

with so much kindness by himself and the Roman people (as he had in

his consulship been styled 'king and friend' by the senate), he makes

this recompense to [Caesar] himself and the Roman people, [viz.] that

when invited to a conference he demurs, and does not think that it

concerns him to advise and inform himself about an object of mutual

interest, these are the things which he requires of him; first, that

he do not any more bring over any body of men across the Rhine into

Gaul; in the next place, that he restore the hostages, which he has

from the Aedui, and grant the Sequani permission to restore to them

with his consent those hostages which they have, and that he neither

provoke the Aedui by outrage nor make war upon them or their allies;

if he would accordingly do this," [Caesar says] that "he himself and

the Roman people will entertain a perpetual feeling of favor and friendship

toward him; but that if he [Caesar] does not obtain [his desires]

that he (forasmuch as in the consulship of Marcus Messala and Marcus

Piso the senate had decreed that, whoever should have the administration

of the province of Gaul should, as far as he could do so consistently

with the interests of the republic, protect the Aedui and the other

friends of the Roman people), will not overlook the wrongs of the

Aedui."

Chapter 36

To this Ariovistus replied, that "the right of war was, that they

who had conquered should govern those whom they had conquered, in

what manner they pleased; that in that way the Roman people were wont

to govern the nations which they had conquered, not according to the

dictation of any other, but according to their own discretion. If

he for his part did not dictate to the Roman people as to the manner

in which they were to exercise their right, he ought not to be obstructed

by the Roman people in his right; that the Aedui, inasmuch as they

had tried the fortune of war and had engaged in arms and been conquered,

had become tributaries to him; that Caesar was doing a great injustice,

in that by his arrival he was making his revenues less valuable to

him; that he should not restore their hostages to the Aedui, but should

not make war wrongfully either upon them or their allies, if they

abided by that which had been agreed on, and paid their tribute annually:

if they did not continue to do that, the Roman people's name of 'brothers'

would avail them naught. As to Caesar's threatening him, that he would

not overlook the wrongs of the Aedui, [he said] that no one had ever

entered into a contest with him [Ariovistus] without utter ruin to

himself. That Caesar might enter the lists when he chose; he would

feel what the invincible Germans, well-trained [as they were] beyond

all others to arms, who for fourteen years had not been beneath a

roof, could achieve by their valor."

Chapter 37

At the same time that this message was delivered to Caesar, embassadors

came from the Aedui and the Treviri; from the Aedui to complain that

the Harudes, who had lately been brought over into Gaul, were ravaging

their territories; that they had not been able to purchase peace from

Ariovistus, even by giving hostages: and from the Treviri, [to state]

that a hundred cantons of the Suevi had encamped on the banks of the

Rhine, and were attempting to cross it; that the brothers, Nasuas

and Cimberius, headed them. Being greatly alarmed at these things,

Caesar thought that he ought to use all dispatch, lest, if this new

band of Suevi should unite with the old troops of Ariovistus, he [Ariovistus]

might be less easily withstood. Having therefore, as quickly as he

could, provided a supply of corn, he hastened to Ariovistus by forced

marches.

Chapter 38

When he had proceeded three days' journey, word was brought to him

that Ariovistus was hastening with all his forces to seize on Vesontio,

which is the largest town of the Sequani, and had advanced three days'

journey from its territories. Caesar thought that he ought to take

the greatest precautions lest this should happen, for there was in

that town a most ample supply of every thing which was serviceable

for war; and so fortified was it by the nature of the ground, as to

afford a great facility for protracting the war, inasmuch as the river

Doubs almost surrounds the whole town, as though it were traced round

it with a pair of compasses. A mountain of great height shuts in the

remaining space, which is not more than 600 feet, where the river

leaves a gap, in such a manner that the roots of that mountain extend

to the river's bank on either side. A wall thrown around it makes

a citadel of this [mountain], and connects it with the town. Hither

Caesar hastens by forced marches by night and day, and, after having

seized the town, stations a garrison there.

Chapter 39

While he is tarrying a few days at Vesontio, on account of corn and

provisions; from the inquiries of our men and the reports of the Gauls

and traders (who asserted that the Germans were men of huge stature,

of incredible valor and practice in arms - that oftentimes they, on

encountering them, could not bear even their countenance, and the

fierceness of their eyes) - so great a panic on a sudden seized the

whole army, as to discompose the minds and spirits of all in no slight

degree. This first arose from the tribunes of the soldiers, the prefects

and the rest, who, having followed Caesar from the city [Rome] from

motives of friendship, had no great experience in military affairs.

And alleging, some of them one reason, some another, which they said

made it necessary for them to depart, they requested that by his consent

they might be allowed to withdraw; some, influenced by shame, stayed

behind in order that they might avoid the suspicion of cowardice.

These could neither compose their countenance, nor even sometimes

check their tears: but hidden in their tents, either bewailed their

fate, or deplored with their comrades the general danger. Wills were

sealed universally throughout the whole camp. By the expressions and

cowardice of these men, even those who possessed great experience

in the camp, both soldiers and centurions, and those [the decurions]

who were in command of the cavalry, were gradually disconcerted. Such

of them as wished to be considered less alarmed, said that they did

not dread the enemy, but feared the narrowness of the roads and the

vastness of the forests which lay between them and Ariovistus, or

else that the supplies could not be brought up readily enough. Some

even declared to Caesar, that when he gave orders for the camp to

be moved and the troops to advance, the soldiers would not be obedient

to the command, nor advance in consequence of their fear.

Chapter 40

When Caesar observed these things, having called a council, and summoned

to it the centurions of all the companies, he severely reprimanded

them, "particularly, for supposing that it belonged to them to inquire

or conjecture, either in what direction they were marching, or with

what object. That Ariovistus, during his [Caesar's] consulship, had

most anxiously sought after the friendship of the Roman people; why

should any one judge that he would so rashly depart from his duty?

He for his part was persuaded, that, when his demands were known and

the fairness of the terms considered, he would reject neither his

nor the Roman people's favor. But even if, driven on by rage and madness,

he should make war upon them, what after all were they afraid of?

- or why should they despair either of their own valor or of his zeal?

Of that enemy a trial had been made within our fathers' recollection,

when, on the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones by Caius Marius, the

army was regarded as having deserved no less praise than their commander

himself. It had been made lately, too, in Italy, during the rebellion

of the slaves, whom, however, the experience and training which they

had received from us, assisted in some respect. From which a judgment

might be formed of the advantages which resolution carries with it

inasmuch as those whom for some time they had groundlessly dreaded

when unarmed, they had afterward vanquished, when well armed and flushed

with success. In short, that these were the same men whom the Helvetii,

in frequent encounters, not only in their own territories, but also

in theirs [the German], have generally vanquished, and yet can not

have been a match for our army. If the unsuccessful battle and flight

of the Gauls disquieted any, these, if they made inquiries, might

discover that, when the Gauls had been tired out by the long duration

of the war, Ariovistus, after he had many months kept himself in his

camp and in the marshes, and had given no opportunity for an engagement,

fell suddenly upon them, by this time despairing of a battle and scattered

in all directions, and was victorious more through stratagem and cunning

than valor. But though there had been room for such stratagem against

savage and unskilled men, not even [Ariovistus] himself expected that

thereby our armies could be entrapped. That those who ascribed their

fear to a pretense about the [deficiency of] supplies and the narrowness

of the roads, acted presumptuously, as they seemed either to distrust

their general's discharge of his duty, or to dictate to him. That

these things were his concern; that the Sequani, the Leuci, and the

Lingones were to furnish the corn; and that it was already ripe in

the fields; that as to the road they would soon be able to judge for

themselves. As to its being reported that the soldiers would not be

obedient to command, or advance, he was not at all disturbed at that;

for he knew, that in the case of all those whose army had not been

obedient to command, either upon some mismanagement of an affair,

fortune had deserted them, or, that upon some crime being discovered,

covetousness had been clearly proved [against them]. His integrity

had been seen throughout his whole life, his good fortune in the war

with the Helvetii. That he would therefore instantly set about what

he had intended to put off till a more distant day, and would break

up his camp the next night, in the fourth watch, that he might ascertain,

as soon as possible, whether a sense of honor and duty, or whether

fear had more influence with them. But that, if no one else should

follow, yet he would go with only the tenth legion, of which he had

no misgivings, and it should be his praetorian cohort." This legion

Caesar had both greatly favored, and in it, on account of its valor,

placed the greatest confidence.

Chapter 41

Upon the delivery of this speech, the minds of all were changed in

a surprising manner, and the highest ardor and eagerness for prosecuting

the war were engendered; and the tenth legion was the first to return

thanks to him, through their military tribunes, for his having expressed

this most favorable opinion of them; and assured him that they were

quite ready to prosecute the war. Then, the other legions endeavored,

through their military tribunes and the centurions of the principal

companies, to excuse themselves to Caesar, [saying] that they had

never either doubted or feared, or supposed that the determination

of the conduct of the war was theirs and not their general's. Having

accepted their excuse, and having had the road carefully reconnoitered

by Divitiacus, because in him of all others he had the greatest faith

[he found] that by a circuitous route of more than fifty miles he

might lead his army through open parts; he then set out in the fourth

watch, as he had said [he would]. On the seventh day, as he did not

discontinue his march, he was informed by scouts that the forces of

Ariovistus were only four and twenty miles distant from ours.

Chapter 42

Upon being apprized of Caesar's arrival, Ariovistus sends embassadors

to him, [saying] that what he had before requested as to a conference,

might now, as far as his permission went, take place, since he [Caesar]

had approached nearer, and he considered that he might now do it without

danger. Caesar did not reject the proposal and began to think that

he was now returning to a rational state of mind as he spontaneously

proffered that which he had previously refused to him when requesting

it; and was in great hopes that, in consideration of his own and the

Roman people's great favors toward him, the issue would be that he

would desist from his obstinacy upon his demands being made known.

The fifth day after that was appointed as the day of conference. Meanwhile,

as ambassadors were being often sent to and fro between them, Ariovistus

demanded that Caesar should not bring any foot-soldier with him to

the conference, [saying] that "he was afraid of being ensnared by

him through treachery; that both should come accompanied by cavalry;

that he would not come on any other condition." Caesar, as he neither

wished that the conference should, by an excuse thrown in the way,

be set aside, nor durst trust his life to the cavalry of the Gauls,

decided that it would be most expedient to take away from the Gallic

cavalry all their horses, and thereon to mount the legionary soldiers

of the tenth legion, in which he placed the greatest confidence, in

order that he might have a body-guard as trustworthy as possible,

should there be any need for action. And when this was done, one of

the soldiers of the tenth legion said, not without a touch of humor,

"that Caesar did more for them than he had promised; he had promised

to have the tenth legion in place of his praetorian cohort; but he

now converted them into horse."

Chapter 43

There was a large plain, and in it a mound of earth of considerable

size. This spot was at nearly an equal distance from both camps. Thither,

as had been appointed, they came for the conference. Caesar stationed

the legion, which he had brought [with him] on horseback, 200 paces

from this mound. The cavalry of Ariovistus also took their stand at

an equal distance. Ariovistus then demanded that they should confer

on horseback, and that, besides themselves, they should bring with

them ten men each to the conference. When they were come to the place,

Caesar, in the opening of his speech, detailed his own and the senate's

favors toward him [Ariovistus], in that he had been styled king, in

that [he had been styled] friend, by the senate - in that very considerable

presents had been sent him; which circumstance he informed him had

both fallen to the lot of few, and had usually been bestowed in consideration

of important personal services; that he, although he had neither an

introduction, nor a just ground for the request, had obtained these

honors through the kindness and munificence of himself [Caesar] and

the senate. He informed him too, how old and how just were the grounds

of connection that existed between themselves [the Romans] and the

Aedui, what decrees of the senate had been passed in their favor,

and how frequent and how honorable; how from time immemorial the Aedui

had held the supremacy of the whole of Gaul; even [said Caesar] before

they had sought our friendship; that it was the custom of the Roman

people to desire not only that its allies and friends should lose

none of their property, but be advanced in influence, dignity, and

honor: who then could endure that what they had brought with them

to the friendship of the Roman people should be torn from them?" He

then made the same demands which he had commissioned the embassadors

to make, that [Ariovistus] should not make war either upon the Aedui

or their allies, that he should restore the hostages; that if he could

not send back to their country any part of the Germans, he should

at all events suffer none of them any more to cross the Rhine.

Chapter 44

Ariovistus briefly replied to the demands of Caesar; but expatiated

largely on his own virtues, "that he had crossed the Rhine not of

his own accord, but on being invited and sent for by the Gauls; that

he had not left home and kindred without great expectations and great

rewards; that he had settlements in Gaul, granted by the Gauls themselves;

that the hostages had been given by their good-will; that he took

by right of war the tribute which conquerors are accustomed to impose

on the conquered; that he had not made war upon the Gauls, but the

Gauls upon him; that all the states of Gaul came to attack him, and

had encamped against him; that all their forces had been routed and

beaten by him in a single battle; that if they chose to make a second

trial, he was ready to encounter them again; but if they chose to

enjoy peace, it was unfair to refuse the tribute, which of their own

free-will they had paid up to that time. That the friendship of the

Roman people ought to prove to him an ornament and a safeguard, not

a detriment; and that he sought it with that expectation. But if through

the Roman people the tribute was to be discontinued, and those who

surrendered to be seduced from him, he would renounce the friendship

of the Roman people no less heartily than he had sought it. As to

his leading over a host of Germans into Gaul, that he was doing this

with a view of securing himself, not of assaulting Gaul: that there

was evidence of this, in that he did not come without being invited,

and in that he did not make war, but merely warded it off. That he

had come into Gaul before the Roman people. That never before this

time did a Roman army go beyond the frontiers of the province of Gaul.

What [said he] does [Caesar] desire? - why come into his [Ariovistus]

domains? - that this was his province of Gaul, just as that is ours.

As it ought not to be pardoned in him, if he were to make an attack

upon our territories; so, likewise, that we were unjust, to obstruct

him in his prerogative. As for Caesar's saying that the Aedui had

been styled 'brethren' by the senate, he was not so uncivilized nor

so ignorant of affairs, as not to know that the Aedui in the very

last war with the Allobroges had neither rendered assistance to the

Romans, nor received any from the Roman people in the struggles which

the Aedui had been maintaining with him and with the Sequani. He must

feel suspicious, that Caesar, though feigning friendship as the reason

for his keeping an army in Gaul, was keeping it with the view of crushing

him. And that unless he depart and withdraw his army from these parts,

he shall regard him not as a friend, but as a foe; and that, even

if he should put him to death, he should do what would please many

of the nobles and leading men of the Roman people; he had assurance

of that from themselves through their messengers, and could purchase

the favor and the friendship of them all by his [Caesar's] death.

But if he would depart and resign to him the free possession of Gaul,

he would recompense him with a great reward, and would bring to a

close whatever wars he wished to be carried on, without any trouble

or risk to him."

Chapter 45

Many things were stated by Caesar to the effect [to show]; "why he

could not waive the business, and that neither his nor the Roman people's

practice would suffer him to abandon most meritorious allies, nor

did he deem that Gaul belonged to Ariovistus rather than to the Roman

people; that the Arverni and the Ruteni had been subdued in war by

Quintus Fabius Maximus, and that the Roman people had pardoned them

and had not reduced them into a province or imposed a tribute upon

them. And if the most ancient period was to be regarded - then was

the sovereignty of the Roman people in Gaul most just: if the decree

of the Senate was to be observed, then ought Gaul to be free, which

they [the Romans] had conquered in war, and had permitted to enjoy

its own laws."

Chapter 46

While these things are being transacted in the conference it was announced

to Caesar that the cavalry of Ariovistus were approaching nearer the

mound, and were riding up to our men, and casting stones and weapons

at them. Caesar made an end of his speech and betook himself to his

men; and commanded them that they should by no means return a weapon

upon the enemy. For though he saw that an engagement with the cavalry

would be without any danger to his chosen legion, yet he did not think

proper to engage, lest, after the enemy were routed, it might be said

that they had been insnared by him under the sanction of a conference.

When it was spread abroad among the common soldiery with what haughtiness

Ariovistus had behaved at the conference, and how he had ordered the

Romans to quit Gaul, and how his cavalry had made an attack upon our

men, and how this had broken off the conference, a much greater alacrity

and eagerness for battle was infused into our army.

Chapter 47

Two days after, Ariovistus sends embassadors to Caesar, to state "that

he wished to treat with him about those things which had been begun

to be treated of between them, but had not been concluded;" [and to

beg] that "he would either again appoint a day for a conference; or,

if he were not willing to do that, that he would send one of his [officers]

as an embassador to him." There did not appear to Caesar any good

reason for holding a conference; and the more so as the day before

the Germans could not be restrained from casting weapons at our men.

He thought he should not without great danger send to him as embassador

one of his [Roman] officers, and should expose him to savage men.

It seemed [therefore] most proper to send to him C. Valerius Procillus,

the son of C. Valerius Caburus, a young man of the highest courage

and accomplishments (whose father had been presented with the freedom

of the city by C. Valerius Flaccus), both on account of his fidelity

and on account of his knowledge of the Gallic language, which Ariovistus,

by long practice, now spoke fluently; and because in his case the

Germans would have no motive for committing violence; and [as his

colleague] M. Mettius, who had shared the hospitality of Ariovistus.

He commissioned them to learn what Ariovistus had to say, and to report

to him. But when Ariovistus saw them before him in his camp, he cried

out in the presence of his army, "Why were they come to him? Was it

for the purpose of acting as spies?" He stopped them when attempting

to speak, and cast them into chains.

Chapter 48

The same day he moved his camp forward and pitched under a hill six

miles from Caesar's camp. The day following he led his forces past

Caesar's camp, and encamped two miles beyond him; with this design

that he might cut off Caesar from the corn and provisions, which might

be conveyed to him from the Sequani and the Aedui. For five successive

days from that day, Caesar drew out his forces before the camp, and

put them in battle order, that, if Ariovistus should be willing to

engage in battle, an opportunity might not be wanting to him. Ariovistus

all this time kept his army in camp: but engaged daily in cavalry

skirmishes. The method of battle in which the Germans had practiced

themselves was this. There were 6,000 horse, and as many very active

and courageous foot, one of whom each of the horse selected out of

the whole army for his own protection. By these [foot] they were constantly

accompanied in their engagements; to these the horse retired; these

on any emergency rushed forward; if any one, upon receiving a very

severe wound, had fallen from his horse, they stood around him: if

it was necessary to advance further than usual, or to retreat more

rapidly, so great, from practice, was their swiftness, that, supported

by the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their speed.

Chapter 49

Perceiving that Ariovistus kept himself in camp, Caesar, that he might

not any longer be cut off from provisions, chose a convenient position

for a camp beyond that place in which the Germans had encamped, at

about 600 paces from them, and having drawn up his army in three lines,

marched to that place. He ordered the first and second lines to be

under arms; the third to fortify the camp. This place was distant

from the enemy about 600 paces, as has been stated. Thither Ariovistus

sent light troops, about 16,000 men in number, with all his cavalry;

which forces were to intimidate our men, and hinder them in their

fortification. Caesar nevertheless, as he had before arranged, ordered

two lines to drive off the enemy: the third to execute the work. The

camp being fortified, he left there two legions and a portion of the

auxiliaries; and led back the other four legions into the larger camp.

Chapter 50

The next day, according to his custom, Caesar led out his forces from

both camps, and having advanced a little from the larger one, drew

up his line of battle, and gave the enemy an opportunity of fighting.

When he found that they did not even then come out [from their intrenchments,]

he led back his army into camp about noon. Then at last Ariovistus

sent part of his forces to attack the lesser camp. The battle was

vigorously maintained on both sides till the evening. At sunset, after

many wounds had been inflicted and received, Ariovistus led back his

forces into camp. When Caesar inquired of his prisoners, wherefore

Ariovistus did not come to an engagement, he discovered this to be

the reason - that among the Germans it was the custom for their matrons

to pronounce from lots and divination, whether it were expedient that

the battle should be engaged in or not; that they had said, "that

it was not the will of heaven that the Germans should conquer, if

they engaged in battle before the new moon."

Chapter 51

The day following, Caesar left what seemed sufficient as a guard for

both camps; [and then] drew up all the auxiliaries in sight of the

enemy, before the lesser camp, because he was not very powerful in

the number of legionary soldiers, considering the number of the enemy;

that [thereby] he might make use of his auxiliaries for appearance.

He himself, having drawn up his army in three lines, advanced to the

camp of the enemy. Then at last of necessity the Germans drew their

forces out of camp, and disposed them canton by canton, at equal distances,

the Harudes, Marcomanni, Tribocci, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii, Suevi;

and surrounded their whole army with their chariots and wagons, that

no hope might be left in flight. On these they placed their women,

who, with disheveled hair and in tears, entreated the soldiers, as

they went forward to battle, not to deliver them into slavery to the

Romans.

Chapter 52

Caesar appointed over each legion a lieutenant and a questor, that

every one might have them as witnesses of his valor. He himself began

the battle at the head of the right wing, because he had observed

that part of the enemy to be the least strong. Accordingly our men,

upon the signal being given, vigorously made an attack upon the enemy,

and the enemy so suddenly and rapidly rushed forward, that there was

no time for casting the javelins at them. Throwing aside [therefore]

their javelins, they fought with swords hand to hand. But the Germans,

according to their custom, rapidly forming a phalanx, sustained the

attack of our swords. There were found very many of our soldiers who

leaped upon the phalanx, and with their hands tore away the shields,

and wounded the enemy from above. Although the army of the enemy was

routed on the left wing and put to flight, they [still] pressed heavily

on our men from the right wing, by the great number of their troops.

On observing which, P. Crassus, a young man, who commanded the cavalry

- as he was more disengaged than those who were employed in the fight

- sent the third line as a relief to our men who were in distress.

Chapter 53

Thereupon the engagement was renewed, and all the enemy turned their

backs, nor did they cease to flee until they arrived at the river

Rhine, about fifty miles from that place. There some few, either relying

on their strength, endeavored to swim over, or, finding boats, procured

their safety. Among the latter was Ariovistus, who meeting with a

small vessel tied to the bank, escaped in it; our horse pursued and

slew all the rest of them. Ariovistus had two wives, one a Suevan

by nation, whom he brought with him from home; the other a Norican,

the sister of king Vocion, whom he had married in Gaul, she having

been sent [thither for that purpose] by her brother. Both perished

in that flight. Of their two daughters, one was slain, the other captured.

C. Valerius Procillus, as he was being dragged by his guards in the

fight, bound with a triple chain, fell into the hands of Caesar himself,

as he was pursuing the enemy with his cavalry. This circumstance indeed

afforded Caesar no less pleasure than the victory itself; because

he saw a man of the first rank in the province of Gaul, his intimate

acquaintance and friend, rescued from the hand of the enemy, and restored

to him, and that fortune had not diminished aught of the joy and exultation

[of that day] by his destruction. He [Procillus] said that, in his

own presence, the lots had been thrice consulted respecting him, whether

he should immediately be put to death by fire, or be reserved for

another time: that by the favor of the lots he was uninjured. M. Mettius,

also, was found and brought back to him [Caesar.]

Chapter 54

This battle having been reported beyond the Rhine, the Suevi, who

had come to the banks of that river, began to return home, when the

Ubii, who dwelt nearest to the Rhine, pursuing them, while much alarmed,

slew a great number of them. Caesar having concluded two very important

wars in one campaign, conducted his army into winter quarters among

the Sequani, a little earlier than the season of the year required.

He appointed Labienus over the winter-quarters, and set out in person

for Hither Gaul to hold the assizes.

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BOOK 2

Chapter 1

While Caesar was in winter quarters in Hither Gaul, as we have shown

above, frequent reports were brought to him, and he was also informed

by letters from Labienus, that all the Belgae, who we have said are

a third part of Gaul, were entering into a confederacy against the

Roman people, and giving hostages to one another; that the reasons

of the confederacy were these - first, because they feared that, after

all [Celtic] Gaul was subdued, our army would be led against them;

secondly, because they were instigated by several of the Gauls; some

of whom as [on the one hand] they had been unwilling that the Germans

should remain any longer in Gaul, so [on the other] they were dissatisfied

that the army of the Roman people should pass the winter in it, and

settle there; and others of them, from a natural instability and fickleness

of disposition, were anxious for a revolution; [the Belgae were instigated]

by several, also, because the government in Gaul was generally seized

upon by the more powerful persons and by those who had the means of

hiring troops, and they could less easily effect this object under

our dominion.

Chapter 2

Alarmed by these tidings and letters, Caesar levied two new legions

in Hither Gaul, and, at the beginning of summer, sent Q. Pedius, his

lieutenant, to conduct them further into Gaul. He, himself, as soon

as there began to be plenty of forage, came to the army. He gives

a commission to the Senones and the other Gauls who were neighbors

of the Belgae, to learn what is going on among them [i.e. the Belgae],

and inform him of these matters. These all uniformly reported that

troops were being raised, and that an army was being collected in

one place. Then, indeed, he thought that he ought not to hesitate

about proceeding toward them, and having provided supplies, moves

his camp, and in about fifteen days arrives at the territories of

the Belgae.

Chapter 3

As he arrived there unexpectedly and sooner than any one anticipated,

the Remi, who are the nearest of the Belgae to [Celtic] Gaul, sent

to him Iccius and Antebrogius, [two of] the principal persons of the

state, as their embassadors: to tell him that they surrendered themselves

and all their possessions to the protection and disposal of the Roman

people: and that they had neither combined with the rest of the Belgae,

nor entered into any confederacy against the Roman people: and were

prepared to give hostages, to obey his commands, to receive him into

their towns, and to aid him with corn and other things; that all the

rest of the Belgae were in arms; and that the Germans, who dwell on

this side of the Rhine, had joined themselves to them; and that so

great was the infatuation of them all, that they could not restrain

even the Suessiones, their own brethren and kinsmen, who enjoy the

same rights, and the, same laws, and who have one government and one

magistracy [in common] with themselves, from uniting with them.

Chapter 4

When Caesar inquired of them what states were in arms, how powerful

they were, and what they could do, in war, he received the following

information: that the greater part of the Belgae were sprung, from

the Germans, and that having crossed the Rhine at an early period,

they had settled there, on account of the fertility of the country,

and had driven out the Gauls who inhabited those regions; and that

they were the only people who, in the memory of our fathers, when

all Gaul was overrun, had prevented the Teutones and the Cimbri from

entering their territories; the effect of which was, that, from the

recollection of those events, they assumed to themselves great authority

and haughtiness in military matters. The Remi said, that they had

known accurately every thing respecting their number, because being

united to them by neighborhood and by alliances, they had learned

what number each state had in the general council of the Belgae promised

for that war. That the Bellovaci were the most powerful among them

in valor, influence, and the number of men; that these could muster

100,000 armed men, [and had] promised 60,000 picked men out of that

number, and demanded for themselves the command of the whole war.

That the Suessiones were their nearest neighbors and possessed a very

extensive and fertile country; that among them, even in our own memory,

Divitiacus, the most powerful man of all Gaul, had been king; who

had held the government of a great part of these regions, as well

as of Britain; that their king at present was Galba; that the direction

of the whole war was conferred by the consent of all, upon him, on

account of his integrity and prudence; that they had twelve towns;

that they had promised 50,000 armed men; and that the Nervii, who

are reckoned the most warlike among them, and are situated at a very

great distance, [had promised] as many; the Atrebates 15,000; the

Ambiani, 10,000; the Morini, 25,000; the Menapii, 9,000; the Caleti,

10,000; the Velocasses and the Veromandui as many; the Aduatuci 19,000;

that the Condrusi, the Eburones, the Caeraesi, the Paemani, who are

called by the common name of Germans [had promised], they thought,

to the number of 40,000.

Chapter 5

Caesar, having encouraged the Remi, and addressed them courteously,

ordered the whole senate to assemble before him, and the children

of their chief men to be brought to him as hostages; all which commands

they punctually performed by the day [appointed]. He, addressing himself

to Divitiacus, the Aeduan, with great earnestness, points out how

much it concerns the republic and their common security, that the

forces of the enemy should be divided, so that it might not be necessary

to engage with so large a number at one time. [He asserts] that this

might be affected if the Aedui would lead their forces into the territories

of the Bellovaci, and begin to lay waste their country. With these

instructions he dismissed him from his presence. After he perceived

that all the forces of the Belgae, which had been collected in one

place, were approaching toward him, and learned from the scouts whom

he had sent out, and [also] from the Remi, that they were then not

far distant, he hastened to lead his army over the Aisne, which is

on the borders of the Remi, and there pitched his camp. This position

fortified one side of his camp by the banks of the river, rendered

the country which lay in his rear secure from the enemy, and furthermore

insured that provisions might without danger be brought to him by

the Remi and the rest of the states. Over that river was a bridge:

there he places a guard; and on the other side of the river he leaves

Q. Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, with six cohorts. He orders him

to fortify a camp with a rampart twelve feet in height, and a trench

eighteen feet in breadth.

Chapter 6

There was a town of the Remi, by name Bibrax, eight miles distant

from this camp. This the Belgae on their march began to attack with

great vigor. [The assault] was with difficulty sustained for that

day. The Gauls' mode of besieging is the same as that of the Belgae:

when after having drawn a large number of men around the whole of

the fortifications, stones have begun to be cast against the wall

on all sides, and the wall has been stripped of its defenders, [then],

forming a testudo, they advance to the gates and undermine the wall:

which was easily effected on this occasion; for while so large a number

were casting stones and darts, no one was able to maintain his position

upon the wall. When night had put an end to the assault, Iccius, who

was then in command of the town, one of the Remi, a man of the highest

rank and influence among his people, and one of those who had come

to Caesar as embassador [to sue] for peace, sends messengers to him,

[to report] "That, unless assistance were sent to him he could not

hold out any longer."

Chapter 7

Thither, immediately after midnight, Caesar, using as guides the same

persons who had come to him as messengers from Iccius, sends some

Numidian and Cretan archers, and some Balearian slingers as a relief

to the towns-people, by whose arrival both a desire to resist together

with the hope of [making good their] defense, was infused into the

Remi, and, for the same reason, the hope of gaining the town, abandoned

the enemy. Therefore, after staying a short time before the town,

and laying waste the country of the Remi, when all the villages and

buildings which they could approach had been burned, they hastened

with all their forces to the camp of Caesar, and encamped within less

than two miles [of it]; and their camp, as was indicated by the smoke

and fires, extended more than eight miles in breadth.

Chapter 8

Caesar at first determined to decline a battle, as well on account

of the great number of the enemy as their distinguished reputation

for valor: daily, however, in cavalry actions, he strove to ascertain

by frequent trials, what the enemy could effect by their prowess and

what our men would dare. When he perceived that our men were not inferior,

as the place before the camp was naturally convenient and suitable

for marshaling an army (since the hill where the camp was pitched,

rising gradually from the plain, extended forward in breadth as far

as the space which the marshaled army could occupy, and had steep

declines of its side in either direction, and gently sloping in front

gradually sank to the plain); on either side of that hill he drew

a cross trench of about four hundred paces, and at the extremities

of that trench built forts, and placed there his military engines,

lest, after he had marshaled his army, the enemy, since they were

so powerful in point of number, should be able to surround his men

in the flank, while fighting. After doing this, and leaving in the

camp the two legions which he had last raised, that, if there should

be any occasion, they might be brought as a reserve, he formed the

other six legions in order of battle before the camp. The enemy, likewise,

had drawn up their forces which they had brought out of the camp.

Chapter 9

There was a marsh of no great extent between our army and that of

the enemy. The latter were waiting to see if our men would pass this;

our men, also, were ready in arms to attack them while disordered,

if the first attempt to pass should be made by them. In the mean time

battle was commenced between the two armies by a cavalry action. When

neither army began to pass the marsh, Caesar, upon the skirmishes

of the horse [proving] favorable to our men, led back his forces into

the camp. The enemy immediately hastened from that place to the river

Aisne, which it has been; stated was behind our camp. Finding a ford

there, they endeavored to lead a part of their forces over it; with

the design, that, if they could, they might carry by storm the fort

which Q. Titurius, Caesar's lieutenant, commanded, and might cut off

the bridge; but, if they could not do that, they should lay waste

the lands of the Remi, which were of great use to us in carrying on

the war, and might hinder our men from foraging.

Chapter 10

Caesar, being apprized of this by Titurius, leads all his cavalry

and light-armed Numidians, slingers and archers, over the bridge,

and hastens toward them. There was a severe struggle in that place.

Our men, attacking in the river the disordered enemy, slew a great

part of them. By the immense number of their missiles they drove back

the rest, who, in a most courageous manner were attempting to pass

over their bodies, and surrounded with their cavalry, and cut to pieces

those who had first crossed the river. The enemy, when they perceived

that their hopes had deceived them both with regard to their taking

the town by storm and also their passing the river, and did not see

our men advance to a more disadvantageous place for the purpose of

fighting, and when provisions began to fail them, having called a

council, determined that it was best for each to return to his country,

and resolved to assemble from all quarters to defend those into whose

territories the Romans should first march an army; that they might

contend in their own rather than in a foreign country, and might enjoy

the stores of provision which they possessed at home. Together with

other causes, this consideration also led them to that resolution,

viz: that they had learned that Divitiacus and the Aedui were approaching

the territories of the Bellovaci. And it was impossible to persuade

the latter to stay any longer, or to deter them from conveying succor

to their own people.

Chapter 11

That matter being determined on, marching out of their camp at the

second watch, with great noise and confusion, in no fixed order, nor

under any command, since each sought for himself the foremost place

in the journey, and hastened to reach home, they made their departure

appear very like a flight. Caesar, immediately learning this through

his scouts, [but] fearing an ambuscade, because he had not yet discovered

for what reason they were departing, kept his army and cavalry within

the camp. At daybreak, the intelligence having been confirmed by the

scouts, he sent forward his cavalry to harass their rear; and gave

the command of it to two of his lieutenants, Q. Pedius, and L. Aurunculeius

Cotta. He ordered T. Labienus, another of his lieutenants, to follow

them closely with three legions. These, attacking their rear, and

pursuing them for many miles, slew a great number of them as they

were fleeing; while those in the rear with whom they had come up,

halted, and bravely sustained the attack of our soldiers; the van,

because they appeared to be removed from danger, and were not restrained

by any necessity or command, as soon as the noise was heard, broke

their ranks, and, to a man, rested their safety in flight. Thus without

any risk [to themselves] our men killed as great a number of them

as the length of the day allowed; and at sunset desisted from the

pursuit, and betook themselves into the camp, as they had been commanded.

Chapter 12

On the day following, before the enemy could recover from their terror

and flight, Caesar led his army into the territories of the Suessiones,

which are next to the Remi, and having accomplished a long march,

hastens to the town named Noviodunum. Having attempted to take it

by storm on his march, because he heard that it was destitute of [sufficient]

defenders, he was not able to carry it by assault, on account of the

breadth of the ditch and the height of the wall, though few were defending

it. Therefore, having fortified the camp, he began to bring up the

vineae, and to provide whatever things were necessary for the storm.

In the mean time the whole body of the Suessiones, after their flight,

came the next night into the town. The vineae having been quickly

brought up against the town, a mound thrown up, and towers built,

the Gauls, amazed by the greatness of the works, such as they had

neither seen nor heard of before, and struck also by the dispatch

of the Romans, send embassadors to Caesar respecting a surrender,

and succeed in consequence of the Remi requesting that they [the Suessiones]

might be spared.

Chapter 13

Caesar, having received as hostages the first men of the state, and

even the two sons of king Galba himself; and all the arms in the town

having been delivered up, admitted the Suessiones to a surrender,

and led his army against the Bellovaci. Who, when they had conveyed

themselves and all their possessions into the town Galled Bratuspantium,

and Caesar with his army was about five miles distant from that town,

all the old men, going out of the town, began to stretch out their

hands to Caesar, and to intimate by their voice that they would throw

themselves on his protection and power, nor would contend in arms

against the Roman people. In like manner, when he had come up to the

town, and there pitched his camp, the boys and the women from the

wall, with outstretched hands, after their custom, begged peace from

the Romans.

Chapter 14

For these Divitiacus pleads (for after the departure of the Belgae,

having dismissed the troops of the Aedui, he had returned to Caesar).

"The Bellovaci had at all times been in the alliance and friendship

of the Aeduan state; that they had revolted from the Aedui and made

war upon the Roman people, being urged thereto by their nobles, who

said that the Aedui, reduced to slavery by Caesar, were suffering

every indignity and insult. That they who had been the leaders of

that plot, because they perceived how great a calamity they had brought

upon the state, had fled into Britain. That not only the Bellovaci,

but also the Aedui, entreated him to use his [accustomed] clemency

and lenity toward them [the Bellovaci]: which if he did, he would

increase the influence of the Aedui among all the Belgae, by whose

succor and resources they had been accustomed to support themselves

whenever any wars occurred."

Chapter 15

Caesar said that on account of his respect for Divitiacus and the

Aeduans, he would receive them into his protection, and would spare

them; but, because the state was of great influence among the Belgae,

and pre-eminent in the number of its population, he demanded 600 hostages.

When these were delivered, and all the arms in the town collected,

he went from that place into the territories of the Ambiani, who,

without delay, surrendered themselves and all their possessions. Upon

their territories bordered the Nervii, concerning whose character

and customs when Caesar inquired he received the following information:

- That there was no access for merchants to them; that they suffered

no wine and other things tending to luxury to be imported; because,

they thought that by their use the mind is enervated and the courage

impaired: that they were a savage people and of great bravery: that

they upbraided and condemned the rest of the Belgae who had surrendered

themselves to the Roman people and thrown aside their national courage:

that they openly declared they would neither send embassadors, nor

accept any condition of peace."

Chapter 16

After he had made three days march through their territories, he discovered

from some prisoners, that the river Sambre was not more than ten miles

from his camp; that all the Nervii had stationed themselves on the

other side of that river, and together with the Atrebates and the

Veromandui, their neighbors, were there awaiting the arrival of the

Romans; for they had persuaded both these nations to try the same

fortune of war [as themselves]: that the forces of the Aduatuci were

also expected by them, and were on their march; that they had put

their women, and those who through age appeared useless for war, in

a place to which there was no approach for an army, on account of

the marshes.

Chapter 17

Having learned these things, he sends forward scouts and centurions

to choose a convenient place for the camp. And as a great many of

the surrounding Belgae and other Gauls, following Caesar, marched

with him; some of these, as was afterwards learned from the prisoners,

having accurately observed, during those days, the army's method of

marching, went by night to the Nervii, and informed them that a great

number of baggage-trains passed between the several legions, and that

there would be no difficulty, when the first legion had come into

the camp, and the other legions were at a great distance, to attack

that legion while under baggage, which being routed, and the baggage-train

seized, it would come to pass that the other legions would not dare

to stand their ground. It added weight also to the advice of those

who reported that circumstance, that the Nervii, from early times,

because they were weak in cavalry, (for not even at this time do they

attend to it, but accomplish by their infantry whatever they can,)

in order that they might the more easily obstruct the cavalry of their

neighbors if they came upon them for the purpose of plundering, having

cut young trees, and bent them, by means of their numerous branches

[extending] on to the sides, and the quick-briars and thorns springing

up between them, had made these hedges present a fortification like

a wall, through which it was not only impossible to enter, but even

to penetrate with the eye. Since [therefore] the march of our army

would be obstructed by these things, the Nervii thought that the advice

ought not to be neglected by them.

Chapter 18

The nature of the ground which our men had chosen for the camp was

this: A hill, declining evenly from the top, extending to the river

Sambre, which we have mentioned above: from this river there arose

a [second] hill of like ascent, on the other side and opposite to

the former, and open for about 200 paces at the lower part; but in

the upper part, woody, (so much so) that it was not easy to see through

it into the interior. Within these woods the enemy kept themselves

in concealment; a few troops of horse-soldiers appeared on the open

ground, along the river. The depth of the river was about three feet.

Chapter 19

Caesar, having sent his cavalry on before, followed close after them

with all his forces; but the plan and order of the march was different

from that which the Belgae had reported to the Nervii. For as he was

approaching the enemy, Caesar, according to his custom, led on [as

the van six legions unencumbered by baggage; behind them he had placed

the baggage- trains of the whole army; then the two legions which

had been last raised closed the rear, and were a guard for the baggage-train.

Our horse, with the slingers and archers, having passed the river,

commenced action with the cavalry of the enemy. While they from time

to time betook themselves into the woods to their companions, and

again made an assault out of the wood upon our men, who did not dare

to follow them in their retreat further than the limit to which the

plain and open parts extended, in the mean time the six legions which

had arrived first, having measured out the work, began to fortify

the camp. When the first part of the baggage train of our army was

seen by those who lay hid in the woods, which had been agreed on among

them as the time for commencing action, as soon as they had arranged

their line of battle and formed their ranks within the woods, and

had encouraged one another, they rushed out suddenly with all their

forces and made an attack upon our horse. The latter being easily

routed and thrown into confusion, the Nervii ran down to the river

with such incredible speed that they seemed to be in the woods, the

river, and close upon us almost at the same time. And with the same

speed they hastened up the hill to our camp, and to those who were

employed in the works.

Chapter 20

Caesar had every thing to do at one time: the standard to be displayed,

which was the sign when it was necessary to run to arms; the signal

to be given by the trumpet; the soldiers to be called off from the

works; those who had proceeded some distance for the purpose of seeking

materials for the rampart, to be summoned; the order of battle to

be formed; the soldiers to be encouraged; the watchword to be given.

A great part of these arrangements was prevented by the shortness

of time and the sudden approach and charge of the enemy. Under these

difficulties two things proved of advantage; [first] the skill and

experience of the soldiers, because, having been trained by former

engagements, they could suggest to themselves what ought to be done,

as conveniently as receive information from others; and [secondly]

that Caesar had forbidden his several lieutenants to depart from the

works and their respective legions, before the camp was fortified.

These, on account of the near approach and the speed of the enemy,

did not then wait for any command from Caesar, but of themselves executed

whatever appeared proper.

Chapter 21

Caesar, having given the necessary orders, hastened to and fro into

whatever quarter fortune carried him, to animate the troops, and came

to the tenth legion. Having encouraged the soldiers with no further

speech than that "they should keep up the remembrance of their wonted

valor, and not be confused in mind, but valiantly sustain the assault

of the enemy ;" as the latter were not further from them than the

distance to which a dart could be cast, he gave the signal for commencing

battle. And having gone to another quarter for the purpose of encouraging

[the soldiers], he finds them fighting. Such was the shortness of

the time, and so determined was the mind of the enemy on fighting,

that time was wanting not only for affixing the military insignia,

but even for putting on the helmets and drawing off the covers from

the shields. To whatever part any one by chance came from the works

(in which he had been employed), and whatever standards he saw first,

at these he stood, lest in seeking his own company he should lose

the time for fighting.

Chapter 22

The army having been marshaled, rather as the nature of the ground

and the declivity of the hill and the exigency of the time, than as

the method and order of military matters required; while the legions

in the different places were withstanding the enemy, some in one quarter,

some in another, and the view was obstructed by the very thick hedges

intervening, as we have before remarked, neither could proper reserves

be posted, nor could the necessary measures be taken in each part,

nor could all the commands be issued by one person. Therefore, in

such an unfavorable state of affairs, various events of fortune followed.

Chapter 23

The soldiers of the ninth and tenth legions, as they had been stationed

on the left part of the army, casting their weapons, speedily drove

the Atrebates (for that division had been opposed to them,) who were

breathless with running and fatigue, and worn out with wounds, from

the higher ground into the river; and following them as they were

endeavoring to pass it, slew with their swords a great part of them

while impeded (therein). They themselves did not hesitate to pass

the river; and having advanced to a disadvantageous place, when the

battle was renewed, they [nevertheless] again put to flight the enemy,

who had returned and were opposing them. In like manner, in another

quarter two different legions, the eleventh and the eighth, having

routed the Veromandui, with whom they had engaged, were fighting from

the higher ground upon the very banks of the river. But, almost the

whole camp on the front and on the left side being then exposed, since

the twelfth legion was posted in the right wing, and the seventh at

no great distance from it, all the Nervii, in a very close body, with

Boduognatus, who held the chief command, as their leader, hastened

toward that place; and part of them began to surround the legions

on their unprotected flank, part to make for the highest point of

the encampment.

Chapter 24

At the same time our horsemen, and light-armed infantry, who had been

with those, who, as I have related, were routed by the first assault

of the enemy, as they were betaking themselves into the camp, met

the enemy face to face, and again sought flight into another quarter;

and the camp-followers who from the Decuman Gate, and from the highest

ridge of the hill had seen our men pass the river as victors, when,

after going out for the purposes of plundering, they looked back and

saw the enemy parading in our camp, committed themselves precipitately

to flight; at the same time there arose the cry and shout of those

who came with the baggage-train: and they (affrighted), were carried

some one way, some another. By all these circumstances the cavalry

of the Treviri were much alarmed, (whose reputation for courage is

extraordinary among the Gauls, and who had come to Caesar, being sent

by their state as auxiliaries), and, when they saw our camp filled

with a large number of the enemy, the legions hard pressed and almost

held surrounded, the camp-retainers, horsemen, slingers, and Numidians

fleeing on all sides divided and scattered, they, despairing of our

affairs, hastened home, and related to their state that the Romans

were routed and conquered, [and] that the enemy were in possession

of their camp and baggage-train.

Chapter 25

Caesar proceeded, after encouraging the tenth legion, to the right

wing; where he perceived that his men were hard pressed, and that

in consequence of the standards of the twelfth legion being collected

together in one place, the crowded soldiers were a hinderance to themselves

in the fight; that all the centurions of the fourth cohort were slain,

and the standard- bearer killed, the standard itself lost, almost

all the centurions of the other cohorts either wounded or slain, and

among them the chief centurion of the legion P. Sextius Baculus, a

very valiant man, who was so exhausted by many and severe wounds,

that he was already unable to support himself; he likewise perceived

that the rest were slackening their efforts, and that some, deserted

by those in the rear, were retiring from the battle and avoiding the

weapons; that the enemy [on the other hand] though advancing from

the lower ground, were not relaxing in front, and were [at the same

time] pressing hard on both flanks; he also perceived that the affair

was at a crisis, and that there was not any reserve which could be

brought up, having therefore snatched a shield from one of the soldiers

in the rear (for he himself had come without a shield), he advanced

to the front of the line, and addressing the centurions by name, and

encouraging the rest of the soldiers, he ordered them to carry forward

the standards, and extend the companies, that they might the more

easily use their swords. On his arrival, as hope was brought to the

soldiers and their courage restored, while every one for his own part,

in the sight of his general, desired to exert his utmost energy, the

impetuosity of the enemy was a little checked.

Chapter 26

Caesar, when he perceived that the seventh legion, which stood close

by him, was also hard pressed by the enemy, directed the tribunes

of the soldiers to effect a junction of the legions gradually, and

make their charge upon the enemy with a double front; which having

been done, since they brought assistance the one to the other, nor

feared lest their rear should be surrounded by the enemy, they began

to stand their ground more boldly, and to fight more courageously.

In the mean time, the soldiers of the two legions which had been in

the rear of the army, as a guard for the baggage-train, upon the battle

being reported to them, quickened their pace, and were seen by the

enemy on the top of the hill; and Titus Labienus, having gained possession

of the camp of the enemy, and observed from the higher ground what

was going on in our camp, sent the tenth legion as a relief to our

men, who, when they had learned from the flight of the horse and the

sutlers in what position the affair was, and in how great danger the

camp and the legion and the commander were involved, left undone nothing

[which tended] to dispatch.

Chapter 27

By their arrival, so great a change of matters was made, that our

men, even those who had fallen down exhausted with wounds, leaned

on their shields, and renewed the fight: then the camp-retainers,

though unarmed, seeing the enemy completely dismayed, attacked [them

though] armed; the horsemen too, that they might by their valor blot

the disgrace of their flight, thrust themselves before the legionary

soldiers in all parts of the battle. But the enemy, even in the last

hope of safety, displayed such great courage, that when the foremost

of them had fallen, the next stood upon them prostrate, and fought

from their bodies; when these were overthrown, and their corpses heaped

up together, those who survived cast their weapons against our men

[thence], as from a mound, and returned our darts which had fallen

short between [the armies]; so that it ought not to be concluded,

that men of such great courage had injudiciously dared to pass a very

broad river, ascend very high banks, and come up to a very disadvantageous

place; since their greatness of spirit had rendered these actions

easy, although in themselves very difficult.

Chapter 28

This battle being ended, and the nation and name of the Nervii being

almost reduced to annihilation, their old men, whom together with

the boys and women we have stated to have been collected together

in the fenny places and marshes, on this battle having been reported

to them, since they were convinced that nothing was an obstacle to

the conquerors, and nothing safe to the conquered, sent embassadors

to Caesar by the consent of all who remained, and surrendered themselves

to him; and in recounting the calamity of their state, said that their

senators were reduced from 600 to three; that from 60,000 men they

[were reduced] to scarcely 500 who could bear arms; whom Caesar, that

he might appear to use compassion toward the wretched and the suppliant,

most carefully spared; and ordered them to enjoy their own territories

and towns, and commanded their neighbors that they should restrain

themselves and their dependents from offering injury or outrage [to

them].

Chapter 29

When the Aduatuci, of whom we have written above, were coming up with

all their forces to the assistance of the Nervii, upon this battle

being reported to them, they returned home after they were on the

march; deserting all their towns and forts, they conveyed together

all their possessions into one town, eminently fortified by nature.

While this town had on all sides around it very high rocks and precipices,

there was left on one side a gently ascending approach, of not more

than 200 feet in width; which place they had fortified with a very

lofty double wall: besides, they had placed stones of great weight

and sharpened stakes upon the walls. They were descended from the

Cimbri and Teutones, who, when they were marching into our province

and Italy, having deposited on this side the river Rhine such of their

baggage-trains as they could not drive or convey with them, left 6,000

of their men as a guard and defense for them. These having, after

the destruction of their countrymen, been harassed for many years

by their neighbors, while one time they waged war offensively, and

at another resisted it when waged against them, concluded a peace

with the consent of all, and chose this place as their settlement.

Chapter 30

And on the first arrival of our army they made frequent sallies from

the town, and contended with our men in trifling skirmishes; afterward,

when hemmed in by a rampart of twelve feet [in height], and fifteen

miles in circuit, they kept themselves within the town. When, vineae

having been brought up and a mound raised, they observed that a tower

also was being built at a distance, they at first began to mock the

Romans from their wall, and to taunt them with the following speeches.

"For what purpose was so vast a machine constructed at so great a

distance? With what hands," or "with what strength did they, especially

[as they were] men of such very small stature" (for our shortness

of stature, in comparison to the great size of their bodies, is generally

a subject of much contempt to the men of Gaul) "trust to place against

their walls a tower of such great weight."

Chapter 31

But when they saw that it was being moved, and was approaching their

walls, startled by the new and unaccustomed sight, they sent embassadors

to Caesar [to treat] about peace; who spoke in the following manner:

"That they did not believe the Romans waged war without divine aid,

since they were able to move forward machines of such a height with

so great speed, and thus fight from close quarters; that they resigned

themselves and all their possessions to [Caesar's] disposal: that

they begged and earnestly entreated one thing, viz., that if perchance,

agreeable to his clemency and humanity, which they had heard of from

others, he should resolve that the Aduatuci were to be spared, he

would not deprive them of their arms; that all their neighbors were

enemies to them and envied their courage, from whom they could not

defend themselves if their arms were delivered up: that it was better

for them, if they should be reduced to that state, to suffer any fate

from the Roman people, than to be tortured to death by those among

whom they had been accustomed to rule."

Chapter 32

To these things Caesar replied, "That he, in accordance with his custom,

rather than owing to their desert, should spare the state, if they

should surrender themselves before the battering-ram should touch

the wall; but that there was no condition of surrender, except upon

their arms being delivered up; that he should do to them that which

he had done in the case of the Nervii, and would command their neighbors

not to offer any injury to those who had surrendered to the Roman

people." The matter being reported to their countrymen, they said

that they would execute his commands. Having cast a very large quantity

of their arms from the wall into the trench that was before the town,

so that the heaps of arms almost equalled the top of the wall and

the rampart, and nevertheless having retained and concealed, as we

afterward discovered, about a third part in the town, the gates were

opened, and they enjoyed peace for that day.

Chapter 33

Toward evening Caesar ordered the gates to be shut, and the soldiers

to go out of the town, lest the towns-people should receive any injury

from them by night. They [the Aduatuci], by a design before entered

into, as we afterwards understood, because they believed that, as

a surrender had been made, our men would dismiss their guards, or

at least would keep watch less carefully, partly with those arms which

they had retained and concealed, partly with shields made of bark

or interwoven wickers, which they had hastily covered over with skins,

(as the shortness of time required) in the third watch, suddenly made

a sally from the town with all their forces [in that direction] in

which the ascent to our fortifications seemed the least difficult.

The signal having been immediately given by fires, as Caesar had previously

commended, a rush was made thither [i. e. by the Roman soldiers] from

the nearest fort; and the battle was fought by the enemy as vigorously

as it ought to be fought by brave men, in the last hope of safety,

in a disadvantageous place, and against those who were throwing their

weapons from a rampart and from towers; since all hope of safety depended

on their courage alone. About 4,000 of the men having been slain,

the rest were forced back into the town. The day after, Caesar, after

breaking open the gates, which there was no one then to defend, and

sending in our soldiers, sold the whole spoil of that town. The number

of 53,000 persons was reported to him by those who had bought them.

Chapter 34

At the same time he was informed by P. Crassus, whom he had sent with

one legion against the Veneti, the Unelli, the Osismii, the Curiosolitae,

the Sesuvii, the Aulerci, and the Rhedones, which are maritime states,

and touch upon the [Atlantic] ocean, that all these nations were brought

under the dominion and power of the Roman people.

Chapter 35

These things being achieved, [and] all Gaul being subdued, so high

an opinion of this war was spread among the barbarians, that embassadors

were sent to Caesar by those nations who dwelt beyond the Rhine, to

promise that they would give hostages and execute his commands. Which

embassies Caesar, because he was hastening into Italy and Illyricum,

ordered to return to him at the beginning of the following summer.

He himself, having led his legions into winter quarters among the

Carnutes, the Andes, and the Turones, which states were close to those

regions in which he had waged war, set out for Italy; and a thanksgiving

of fifteen days was decreed for those achievements, upon receiving

Caesar's letter; [an honor] which before that time had been conferred

on none.

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BOOK 3

Chapter 1

When Caesar was setting out for Italy, he sent Servius Galba with

the twelfth legion and part of the cavalry, against the Nantuates,

the Veragri, and Seduni, who extend from the territories of the Allobroges,

and the lake of Geneva, and the River Rhone to the top of the Alps.

The reason for sending him was, that he desired that the pass along

the Alps, through which [the Roman] merchants had been accustomed

to travel with great danger, and under great imposts, should be opened.

He permitted him, if he thought it necessary, to station the legion

in these places, for the purpose of wintering. Galba having fought

some successful battles and stormed several of their forts, upon embassadors

being sent to him from all parts and hostages given and a peace concluded,

determined to station two cohorts among the Nantuates, and to winter

in person with the other cohorts of that legion in a village of the

Veragri, which is called Octodurus; and this village being situated

in a valley, with a small plain annexed to it, is bounded on all sides

by very high mountains. As this village was divided into two parts

by a river, he granted one part of it to the Gauls, and assigned the

other, which had been left by them unoccupied, to the cohorts to winter

in. He fortified this [latter] part with a rampart and a ditch.

Chapter 2

When several days had elapsed in winter quarters, and he had ordered

corn to be brought in he was suddenly informed by his scouts that

all the people had gone off in the night from that part of the town

which he had given up to the Gauls, and that the mountains which hung

over it were occupied by a very large force of the Seduni and Veragri.

It had happened for several reasons that the Gauls suddenly formed

the design of renewing the war and cutting off that legion. First,

because they despised a single legion, on account of its small number,

and that not quite full (two cohorts having been detached, and several

individuals being absent, who had been dispatched for the purpose

of seeking provision); then, likewise, because they thought that on

account of the disadvantageous character of the situation, even their

first attack could not be sustained [by us] when they would rush from

the mountains into the valley, and discharge their weapons upon us.

To this was added, that they were indignant that their children were

torn from them under the title of hostages, and they were persuaded

that the Romans designed to seize upon the summits of the Alps, and

unite those parts to the neighboring province [of Gaul], not only

to secure the passes, but also a constant possession.

Chapter 3

Having received these tidings, Galba, since the works of the winter-quarters

and the fortifications were not fully completed, nor was sufficient

preparation made with regard to corn and other provisions (since,

as a surrender had been made, and hostages received, he had thought

he need entertain no apprehension of war), speedily summoning a council,

began to anxiously inquire their opinions. In which council, since

so much sudden danger had happened contrary to the general expectation,

and almost all the higher places were seen already covered with a

multitude of armed men, nor could [either] troops come to their relief,

or provisions be brought in, as the passes were blocked up [by the

enemy]; safety being now nearly despaired of, some opinions of this

sort were delivered: that, "leaving their baggage, and making a sally,

they should hasten away for safety by the same routes by which they

had come thither." To the greater part, however, it seemed best, reserving

that measure to the last, to await the issue of the matter, and to

defend the camp.

Chapter 4

A short time only having elapsed, so that time was scarcely given

for arranging and executing those things which they had determined

on, the enemy, upon the signal being given, rushed down [upon our

men] from all parts, and discharged stones and darts, upon our rampart.

Our men at first, while their strength was fresh, resisted bravely,

nor did they cast any weapon ineffectually from their higher station.

As soon as any part of the camp, being destitute of defenders, seemed

to be hard pressed, thither they ran, and brought assistance. But

they were over-matched in this, that the enemy when wearied by the

long continuance of the battle, went out of the action, and others

with fresh strength came in their place; none of which things could

be done by our men, owing to the smallness of their number; and not

only was permission not given to the wearied [Roman] to retire from

the fight, but not even to the wounded [was liberty granted] to quit

the post where he had been stationed, and recover.

Chapter 5

When they had now been fighting for more than six hours, without cessation,

and not only strength, but even weapons were failing our men, and

the enemy were pressing on more rigorously, and had begun to demolish

the rampart and to fill up the trench, while our men were becoming

exhausted, and the matter was now brought to the last extremity, P.

Sextius Baculus, a centurion of the first rank, whom we have related

to have been disabled by severe wounds in the engagement with the

Nervii, and also C. Volusenus, a tribune of the soldiers, a man of

great skill and valor, hasten to Galba, and assure him that the only

hope of safety lay in making a sally, and trying the last resource.

Whereupon assembling the centurions, he quickly gives orders to the

soldiers to discontinue the fight a short time, and only collect the

weapons flung [at them], and recruit themselves after their fatigue,

and afterward, upon the signal being given, sally forth from the camp,

and place in their valor all their hope of safety.

Chapter 6

They do what they were ordered; and, making a sudden sally from all

the gates [of the camp], leave the enemy the means neither of knowing

what was taking place, nor of collecting themselves. Fortune thus

taking a turn, [our men] surround on every side, and slay those who

had entertained the hope of gaining the camp and having killed more

than the third part of an army of more than 30,000 men (which number

of the barbarians it appeared certain had come up to our camp), put

to flight the rest when panic-stricken, and do not suffer them to

halt even upon the higher grounds. All the forces of the enemy being

thus routed, and stripped of their arms, [our men] betake themselves

to their camp and fortifications. Which battle being finished, inasmuch

as Galba was unwilling to tempt fortune again, and remembered that

he had come into winter quarters with one design, and saw that he

had met with a different state of affairs; chiefly however urged by

the want of corn and provision, having the next day burned all the

buildings of that village, he hastens to return into the province;

and as no enemy opposed or hindered his march, he brought the legion

safe into the [country of the] Nantuates, thence into [that of] the

Allobroges, and there wintered.

Chapter 7

These things being achieved, while Caesar had every reason to suppose

that Gaul was reduced to a state of tranquillity, the Belgae being

overcome, the Germans expelled, the Seduni among the Alps defeated,

and when he had, therefore, in the beginning of winter, set out for

Illyricum, as he wished to visit those nations, and acquire a knowledge

of their countries, a sudden war sprang up in Gaul. The occasion of

that war was this: P. Crassus, a young man, had taken up his winter

quarters with the seventh legion among the Andes, who border upon

the [Atlantic] ocean. He, as there was a scarcity of corn in those

parts, sent out some officers of cavalry, and several military tribunes

among the neighbouring states, for the purpose of procuring corn and

provision; in which number T. Terrasidius was sent among the Esubii;

M. Trebius Gallus among the Curiosolitae; Q. Velanius, T. Silius,

amongst the Veneti.

Chapter 8

The influence of this state is by far the most considerable of any

of the countries on the whole sea coast, because the Veneti both have

a very great number of ships, with which they have been accustomed

to sail to Britain, and [thus] excel the rest in their knowledge and

experience of nautical affairs; and as only a few ports lie scattered

along that stormy and open sea, of which they are in possession, they

hold as tributaries almost all those who are accustomed to traffic

in that sea. With them arose the beginning [of the revolt] by their

detaining Silius and Velanius; for they thought that they should recover

by their means the hostages which they had given to Crassus. The neighboring

people led on by their influence (as the measures of the Gauls are

sudden and hasty), detain Trebius and Terrasidius for the same motive;

and quickly sending embassadors, by means of their leading men, they

enter into a mutual compact to do nothing except by general consent,

and abide the same issue of fortune; and they solicit the other states

to choose rather to continue in that liberty which they had received

from their ancestors, than endure slavery under the Romans. All the

sea coast being quickly brought over to their sentiments, they send

a common embassy to P. Crassus [to say], "If he wished to receive

back his officers, let him send back to them their hostages."

Chapter 9

Caesar, being informed of these things by Crassus, since he was so

far distant himself, orders ships of war to be built in the mean time

on the river Loire, which flows into the ocean; rowers to be raised

from the province; sailors and pilots to be provided. These matters

being quickly executed, he himself, as soon as the season of the year

permits, hastens to the army. The Veneti, and the other states also,

being informed of Caesar's arrival, when they reflected how great

a crime they had committed, in that, the embassadors (a character

which had among all nations ever been sacred and inviolable) had by

them been detained and thrown into prison, resolve to prepare for

a war in proportion to the greatness of their danger, and especially

to provide those things which appertain to the service of a navy,

with the greater confidence, inasmuch as they greatly relied on the

nature of their situation. They knew that the passes by land were

cut off by estuaries, that the approach by sea was most difficult,

by reason of our ignorance of the localities, [and] the small number

of the harbors, and they trusted that our army would not be able to

stay very long among them, on account of the insufficiency of corn;

and again, even if all these things should turn out contrary to their

expectation, yet they were very powerful in their navy. They well

understood that the Romans neither had any number of ships, nor were

acquainted with the shallows, the harbors, or the islands of those

parts where they would have to carry on the war; and the navigation

was very different in a narrow sea from what it was in the vast and

open ocean. Having come to this resolution, they fortify their towns,

convey corn into them from the country parts, bring together as many

ships as possible to Venetia, where it appeared Caesar would at first

carry on the war. They unite to themselves as allies for that war,

the Osismii, the Lexovii, the Nannetes, the Ambiliati, the Morini,

the Diablintes, and the Menapii; and send for auxiliaries from Britain,

which is situated over against those regions.

Chapter 10

There were these difficulties which we have mentioned above, in carrying

on the war, but many things, nevertheless, urged Caesar to that war;

- the open insult offered to the state in the detention of the Roman

knights, the rebellion raised after surrendering, the revolt after

hostages were given, the confederacy of so many states, but principally,

lest if, [the conduct of] this part was overlooked, the other nations

should think that the same thing was permitted them. Wherefore, since

he reflected that almost all the Gauls were fond of revolution, and

easily and quickly excited to war; that all men likewise, by nature,

love liberty and hate the condition of slavery, he thought he ought

to divide and more widely distribute his army, before more states

should join the confederation.

Chapter 11

He therefore sends T. Labienus, his lieutenant, with the cavalry to

the Treviri, who are nearest to the river Rhine. He charges him to

visit the Remi and the other Belgians, and to keep them in their allegiance

and repel the Germans (who were said to have been summoned by the

Belgae to their aid,) if they attempted to cross the river by force

in their ships. He orders P. Crassus to proceed into Aquitania with

twelve legionary cohorts and a great number of the cavalry, lest auxiliaries

should be sent into Gaul by these states, and such great nations be

united. He sends Q. Titurius Sabinus his lieutenant, with three legions,

among the Unelli, the Curiosolitae, and the Lexovii, to take care

that their forces should be kept separate from the rest. He appoints

D. Brutus, a young man, over the fleet and those Gallic vessels which

he had ordered to be furnished by the Pictones and the Santoni, and

the other provinces which remained at peace; and commands him to proceed

toward the Veneti, as soon as he could. He himself hastens thither

with the land forces.

Chapter 12

The sites of their towns were generally such that, being placed on

extreme points [of land] and on promontories, they neither had an

approach by land when the tide had rushed in from the main ocean,

which always happens twice in the space of twelve hours; nor by ships,

because, upon the tide ebbing again, the ships were likely to be dashed

upon the shoals. Thus, by either circumstance, was the storming of

their towns rendered difficult; and if at any time perchance the Veneti

overpowered by the greatness of our works, (the sea having been excluded

by a mound and large dams, and the latter being made almost equal

in height to the walls of the town) had begun to despair of their

fortunes; bringing up a large number of ships, of which they had a

very great quantity, they carried off all their property and betook

themselves to the nearest towns; there they again defended themselves

by the same advantages of situation. They did this the more easily

during a great part of the summer, because our ships were kept back

by storms, and the difficulty of sailing was very great in that vast

and open sea, with its strong tides and its harbors far apart and

exceedingly few in number.

Chapter 13

For their ships were built and equipped after this manner. The keels

were somewhat flatter than those of our ships, whereby they could

more easily encounter the shallows and the ebbing of the tide: the

prows were raised very high, and, in like manner the sterns were adapted

to the force of the waves and storms [which they were formed to sustain].

The ships were built wholly of oak, and designed to endure any force

and violence whatever; the benches which were made of planks a foot

in breadth, were fastened by iron spikes of the thickness of a man's

thumb; the anchors were secured fast by iron chains instead of cables,

and for sails they used skins and thin dressed leather. These [were

used] either through their want of canvas and their ignorance of its

application, or for this reason, which is more probable, that they

thought that such storms of the ocean, and such violent gales of wind

could not be resisted by sails, nor ships of such great burden be

conveniently enough managed by them. The encounter of our fleet with

these ships' was of such a nature that our fleet excelled in speed

alone, and the plying of the oars; other things, considering the nature

of the place [and] the violence of the storms, were more suitable

and better adapted on their side; for neither could our ships injure

theirs with their beaks (so great was their strength), nor on account

of their height was a weapon easily cast up to them; and for the same

reason they were less readily locked in by rocks. To this was added,

that whenever a storm began to rage and they ran before the wind,

they both could weather the storm more easily and heave to securely

in the shallows, and when left by the tide feared nothing from rocks

and shelves: the risk of all which things was much to be dreaded by

our ships.

Chapter 14

Caesar, after taking many of their towns, perceiving that so much

labor was spent in vain and that the flight of the enemy could not

be prevented on the capture of their towns, and that injury could

not be done them, he determined to wait for his fleet. As soon as

it came up and was first seen by the enemy, about 220 of their ships,

fully equipped and appointed with every kind of [naval] implement,

sailed forth from the harbor, and drew up opposite to ours; nor did

it appear clear to Brutus, who commanded the fleet, or to the tribunes

of the soldiers and the centurions, to whom the several ships were

assigned, what to do, or what system of tactics to adopt; for they

knew that damage could not be done by their beaks; and that, although

turrets were built [on their decks], yet the height of the stems of

the barbarian ships exceeded these; so that weapons could not be cast

up from [our] lower position with sufficient effect, and those cast

by the Gauls fell the more forcibly upon us. One thing provided by

our men was of great service, [viz.] sharp hooks inserted into and

fastened upon poles, of a form not unlike the hooks used in attacking

town walls. When the ropes which fastened the sail-yards to the masts

were caught by them and pulled, and our vessel vigorously impelled

with the oars, they [the ropes] were severed; and when they were cut

away, the yards necessarily fell down; so that as all the hope of

the Gallic vessels depended on their sails and rigging, upon these

being cut away, the entire management of the ships was taken from

them at the same time. The rest of the contest depended on courage;

in which our men decidedly had the advantage; and the more so, because

the whole action was carried on in the sight of Caesar and the entire

army; so that no act, a little more valiant than ordinary, could pass

unobserved, for all the hills and higher grounds, from which there

was a near prospect of the sea were occupied by our army.

Chapter 15

The sail yards [of the enemy], as we have said, being brought down,

although two and [in some cases] three ships [of theirs] surrounded

each one [of ours], the soldiers strove with the greatest energy to

board the ships of the enemy; and, after the barbarians observed this

taking place, as a great many of their ships were beaten, and as no

relief for that evil could be discovered, they hastened to seek safety

in flight. And, having now turned their vessels to that quarter in

which the wind blew, so great a calm and lull suddenly arose, that

they could not move out of their place, which circumstance, truly,

was exceedingly opportune for finishing the business; for our men

gave chase and took them one by one, so that very few out of all the

number, [and those] by the intervention of night, arrived at the land,

after the battle had lasted almost from the fourth hour till sun-set.

Chapter 16

By this battle the war with the Veneti and the whole of the sea coast

was finished; for both all the youth, and all, too, of more advanced

age, in whom there was any discretion or rank, had assembled in that

battle; and they had collected in that one place whatever naval forces

they had anywhere; and when these were lost, the survivors had no

place to retreat to, nor means of defending their towns. They accordingly

surrendered themselves and all their possessions to Caesar, on whom

Caesar thought that punishment should be inflicted the more severely,

in order that for the future the rights of embassadors might be more

carefully respected by barbarians; having, therefore, put to death

all their senate, he sold the rest for slaves.

Chapter 17

While these things are going on among the Veneti, Q. Titurius Sabinus

with those troops which he had received from Caesar, arrives in the

territories of the Unelli. Over these people Viridovix ruled, and

held the chief command of all those states which had revolted; from

which he had collected a large and powerful army. And in those few

days, the Aulerci and the Sexovii, having slain their senate because

they would not consent to be promoters of the war, shut their gates

[against us] and united themselves to Viridovix; a great multitude

besides of desperate men and robbers assembled out of Gaul from all

quarters, whom the hope of plundering and the love of fighting had

called away from husbandry and their daily labor. Sabinus kept himself

within his camp, which was in a position convenient for everything;

while Viridovix encamped over against him at a distance of two miles,

and daily bringing out his forces, gave him an opportunity of fighting;

so that Sabinus had now not only come into contempt with the enemy,

but also was somewhat taunted by the speeches of our soldiers; and

furnished so great a suspicion of his cowardice that the enemy presumed

to approach even to the very rampart of our camp. He adopted this

conduct for the following reason: because he did not think that a

lieutenant ought to engage in battle with so great a force, especially

while he who held the chief command was absent, except on advantageous

ground or some favorable circumstance presented itself.

Chapter 18

After having established this suspicion of his cowardice, he selected

a certain suitable and crafty Gaul, who was one of those whom he had

with him as auxiliaries. He induces him by great gifts and promises

to go over to the enemy; and informs [him] of what he wished to be

done. Who, when he arrives among them as a deserter, lays before them

the fears of the Romans; and informs them by what difficulties Caesar

himself was harassed, and that the matter was not far removed from

this - that Sabinus would the next night privately draw off his army

out of the camp and set forth to Caesar for the purpose of carrying

[him] assistance, which, when they heard, they a11 cry out together

that an opportunity of successfully conducting their enterprise, ought

not to be thrown away: that they ought to go to the [Roman] camp.

Many things persuaded the Gauls to this measure; the delay of Sabinus

during the previous days; the positive assertion of the [pretended]

deserter; want of provisions, for a supply of which they had not taken

the requisite precautions; the hope springing from the Venetic war;

and [also] because in most cases men willingly believe what they wish.

Influenced by these things they do not discharge Viridovix and the

other leaders from the council, before they gained permission from

them to take up arms and hasten to [our] camp; which being granted,

rejoicing as if victory were fully certain, they collected faggots

and brushwood, with which to fill up the Roman trenches, and hasten

to the camp.

Chapter 19

The situation of the camp was a rising ground, gently sloping from

the bottom for about a mile. Thither they proceeded with great speed

(in order that as little time as possible might be given to the Romans

to collect and arm themselves), and arrived quite out of breath. Sabinus

having encouraged his men, gives them the signal, which they earnestly

desired. While the enemy were encumbered by reason of the burdens

which they were carrying, he orders a sally to be made suddenly from

two gates [of the camp]. It happened, by the advantage of situation,

by the unskilfulness and the fatigue of the enemy, by the valor of

our soldiers, and their experience in former battles, that they could

not stand one attack of our men, and immediately turned their backs;

and our men with full vigor followed them while disordered, and slew

a great number of them; the horse pursuing the rest, left but few,

who escaped by flight. Thus at the same time, Sabinus was informed

of the naval battle and Caesar of victory gained by Sabinus; and all

the states immediately surrendered themselves to Titurius: for as

the temper of the Gauls is impetuous and ready to undertake wars,

so their mind is weak, and by no means resolute in enduring calamities.

Chapter 20

About the same time, P. Crassus, when he had arrived in Aquitania

(which, as has been before said, both from its extent of territory

and the great number of its people, is to be reckoned a third part

of Gaul,) understanding that he was to wage war in these parts, where

a few years before, L. Valerius Praeconinus, the lieutenant had been

killed, and his army routed, and from which L. Manilius, the proconsul,

had fled with the loss of his baggage, he perceived that no ordinary

care must be used by him. Wherefore, having provided corn, procured

auxiliaries and cavalry, [and] having summoned by name many valiant

men from Tolosa, Carcaso, and Narbo, which are the states of the province

of Gaul, that border on these regions [Aquitania], he led his army

into the territories of the Sotiates. On his arrival being known,

the Sotiates having brought together great forces and [much] cavalry,

in which their strength principally lay, and assailing our army on

the march, engaged first in a cavalry action, then when their cavalry

was routed, and our men pursuing, they suddenly display their infantry

forces, which they had placed in ambuscade in a valley. These attacked

our men [while] disordered, and renewed the fight.

Chapter 21

The battle was long and vigorously contested, since the Sotiates,

relying on their former victories, imagined that the safety of the

whole of Aquitania rested on their valor; [and] our men, on the other

hand, desired it might be seen what they could accomplish without

their general and without the other legions, under a very young commander;

at length the enemy, worn out with wounds, began to turn their backs,

and a great number of them being slain, Crassus began to besiege the

[principal] town of the Sotiates on his march. Upon their valiantly

resisting, he raised vineae and turrets. They at one time attempting

a sally, at another forming mines, to our rampart and vineae (at which

the Aquitani are eminently skilled, because in many places among them

there are copper mines); when they perceived that nothing could be

gained by these operations through the perseverance of our men, they

send embassadors to Crassus, and entreat him to admit them to a surrender.

Having obtained it, they, being ordered to deliver up their arms,

comply.

Chapter 22

And while the attention of our men is engaged in that matter, in another

part Adcantuannus, who held the chief command, with 600 devoted followers

whom they call soldurii (the conditions of whose association are these,

- that they enjoy all the conveniences of life with those to whose

friendship they have devoted themselves: if any thing calamitous happen

to them, either they endure the same destiny together with them, or

commit suicide: nor hitherto, in the, memory of men, has there been

found any one who, upon his being slain to whose friendship he had

devoted himself, refused to die); Adcantuannus, [Isay] endeavoring

to make a sally with these, when our soldiers had rushed together

to arms, upon a shout being raised at that part of the, fortification,

and a fierce battle had been fought there, was driven back into the

town, yet he obtained from Crassus [the indulgence] that he should

enjoy the same terms of surrender [as the other inhabitants].

Chapter 23

Crassus, having received their arms and hostages, marched into the

territories of the Vocates and the Tarusates. But then, the barbarians

being alarmed, because they had heard that a town fortified by the

nature of the place and by art, had been taken by us in a few days

after our arrival there, began to send embassadors into all quarters,

to combine, to give hostages one to another, to raise troops. Embassadors

also are sent to those states of Hither Spain which are nearest to

Aquitania, and auxiliaries and leaders are summoned from them; on

whose arrival they proceed to carry on the war with great confidence,

and with a great host of men. They who had been with Q. Sertorius

the whole period [of his war in Spain] and were supposed to have very

great skill in military matters, are chosen leaders. These, adopting

the practice of the Roman people, begin to select [advantageous] places,

to fortify their camp, to cut off our men from provisions, which,

when Crassus observes, [and likewise] that his forces, on account

of their small number could not safely be separated; that the enemy

both made excursions and beset the passes, and [yet] left sufficient

guard for their camp; that on that account, corn and provision could

not very conveniently be brought up to him, and that the number of

the enemy was daily increased, he thought that he ought not to delay

in giving battle. This matter being brought to a council, when he

discovered that all thought the same thing, he appointed the next

day for the fight.

Chapter 24

Having drawn out all his forces at the break of day, and marshaled

them in a double line, he posted the auxiliaries in the center, and

waited to see what measures the enemy would take. They, although on

account of their great number and their ancient renown in war, and

the small number of our men, they supposed they might safely fight,

nevertheless considered it safer to gain the victory without any wound,

by besetting the passes [and] cutting off the provisions: and if the

Romans, on account of the want of corn, should begin to retreat, they

intended to attack them while encumbered in their march and depressed

in spirit [as being assailed while] under baggage. This measure being

approved of by the leaders and the forces of the Romans drawn out,

the enemy [still] kept themselves in their camp. Crassus having remarked

this circumstance, since the enemy, intimidated by their own delay,

and by the reputation [i.e. for cowardice arising thence] had rendered

our soldiers more eager for fighting, and the remarks of all were

heard [declaring] that no longer ought delay to be made in going to

the camp, after encouraging his men, he marches to the camp of the

enemy, to the great gratification of his own troops.)

Chapter 25

There, while some were filling up the ditch, and others, by throwing

a large number of darts, were driving the defenders from the rampart

and fortifications, and the auxiliaries, on whom Crassus did not much

rely in the battle, by supplying stones and weapons [to the soldiers],

and by conveying turf to the mound, presented the appearance and character

of men engaged in fighting; while also the enemy were fighting resolutely

and boldly, and their weapons, discharged from their higher position,

fell with great effect; the horse, having gone round the camp of the

enemy, reported to Crassus that the camp was not fortified with equal

care on the side of the Decuman gate, and had an easy approach.

Chapter 26

Crassus, having exhorted the commanders of the horse to animate their

men by great rewards and promises, points out to them what he wished

to have done. They, as they had been commanded, having brought out

the four cohorts, which, as they had been left as a guard for the

camp, were not fatigued by exertion, and having led them round by

a some what longer way, lest they could be seen from the camp of the

enemy, when the eyes and minds of all were intent upon the battle,

quickly arrived at those fortifications which we have spoken of, and,

having demolished these, stood in the camp of the enemy before they

were seen by them, or it was known what was going on. And then, a

shout being heard in that quarter, our men, their strength having

been recruited, (which usually occurs on the hope of victory), began

to fight more vigorously. The enemy surrounded on all sides, [and]

all their affairs being despaired of, made great attempts to cast

themselves down over the ramparts and to seek safety in flight. These

the cavalry pursued over the very open plains, and after leaving scarcely

a fourth part out of the number of 50,000, which it was certain had

assembled out of Aquitania and from the Cantabri, returned late at

night to the camp.

Chapter 27

Having heard of this battle, the greatest part of Aquitania surrendered

itself to Crassus, and of its own accord sent hostages, in which number

were the Tarbelli, the Bigerriones, the Preciani, the Vocasates, the

Tarusates, the Elurates, the Garites, the Ausci, the Garumni, the

Sibuzates, the Cocosates. A few [and those] most remote nations, relying

on the time of the year, because winter was at hand, neglected to

do this.

Chapter 28

About the same time Caesar, although the summer was nearly past, yet,

since, all Gaul being reduced, the Morini and the Menapii alone remained

in arms, and had never sent embassadors to him [to make a treaty]

of peace, speedily led his army thither, thinking that that war might

soon be terminated. They resolved to conduct the war on a very different

method from the rest of the Gauls; for as they perceived that the

greatest nations [of Gaul] who had engaged in war, had been routed

and overcome, and as they possessed continuous ranges of forests and

morasses, they removed themselves and all their property thither.

When Caesar had arrived at the opening of these forests, and had began

to fortify his camp, and no enemy was in the mean time seen, while

our men were dispersed on their respective duties, they suddenly rushed

out from all parts of the forest, and made an attack on our men. The

latter quickly took up arms and drove them back again to their forests;

and having killed a great many, lost a few of their own men while

pursuing them too far through those intricate places.

Chapter 29

During the remaining days after this, Caesar began to cut down the

forests; and that no attack might be made on the flank of the soldiers,

while unarmed and not foreseeing it, he placed together (opposite

to the enemy) all that timber which was cut down, and piled it up

as a rampart on either flank. When a great space had been, with incredible

speed, cleared in a few days, when the cattle [of the enemy] and the

rear of their baggage train were already seized by our men, and they

themselves were seeking for the thickest parts of the forests, storms

of such a kind came on that the work was necessarily suspended, and,

through the continuance of the rains, the soldiers could not any longer

remain in their tents. Therefore, having laid waste all their country,

[and] having burned their villages and houses, Caesar led back his

army and stationed them in winter quarters among the Aulerci and Lexovii,

and the other states which had made war upon him last.

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Gallic Wars – Caesar

BOOK 4

Chapter 1

The following winter (this was the year in which Cn. Pompey and M.

Crassus were consuls), those Germans [called] the Usipetes, and likewise

the Tenchtheri, with a great number of men, crossed the Rhine, not

far from the place at which that river discharges itself into the

sea. The motive for crossing [that river] was, that having been for

several years harassed by the Suevi, they were constantly engaged

in war, and hindered from the pursuits of agriculture. The nation

of the Suevi is by far the largest and the most warlike nation of

all the Germans. They are said to possess a hundred cantons, from

each of which they yearly send from their territories for the purpose

of war a thousand armed men: the others who remain at home, maintain

[both] themselves and those-engaged in the expedition. The latter

again, in their turn, are in arms the year after: the former remain

at home. Thus neither husbandry, nor the art and practice of war are

neglected. But among them there exists no private and separate land;

nor are they permitted to remain more than one year in one place for

the purpose of residence. They do not live much on corn, but subsist

for the most part on milk and flesh, and are much [engaged] in hunting;

which circumstance must, by the nature of their food, and by their

daily exercise and the freedom of their life (for having from boyhood

been accustomed to no employment, or discipline, they do nothing at

all contrary to their inclination), both promote their strength and

render them men of vast stature of body. And to such a habit have

they brought themselves, that even in the coldest parts they wear

no clothing whatever except skins, by reason of the scantiness of

which, a great portion of their body is bare, and besides they bathe

in open rivers.

Chapter 2

Merchants have access to them rather that they may have persons to

whom they may sell those things which they have taken in war, than

because they need any commodity to be imported to them. Moreover,

even as to laboring cattle, in which the Gauls take the greatest pleasure,

and which they procure at a great price, the Germans do not employ

such as are imported, but those poor and ill-shaped animals, which

belong to their country; these, however, they render capable of the

greatest labor by daily exercise. In cavalry actions they frequently

leap from their horses and fight on foot; and train their horses to

stand still in the very spot on which they leave them, to which they

retreat with great activity when there is occasion; nor, according

to their practice, is any thing regarded as more unseemly, or more

unmanly, than to use housings. Accordingly, they have the courage,

though they be themselves but few, to advance against any number whatever

of horse mounted with housings. They on no account permit wine to

be imported to them, because they consider that men degenerate in

their powers of enduring fatigue, and are rendered effeminate by that

commodity.

Chapter 3

They esteem it their greatest praise as a nation, that the lands about

their territories lie unoccupied to a very great extent, inasmuch

as [they think] that by this circumstance is indicated, that a great

number of nations can not withstand their power; and thus on one side

of the Suevi the lands are said to lie desolate for about six hundred

miles. On the other side they border on the Ubii, whose state was

large and flourishing, considering the condition of the Germans, and

who are somewhat more refined than those of the same race and the

rest [of the Germans], and that because they border on the Rhine,

and are much resorted to by merchants, and are accustomed to the manners

of the Gauls, by reason of their approximity to them. Though the Suevi,

after making the attempt frequently and in several wars, could not

expel this nation from their territories, on account of the extent

and population of their state, yet they made them tributaries, and

rendered them less distinguished and powerful [than they had ever

been].

Chapter 4

In the same condition were the Usipetes and the Tenchtheri (whom we

have mentioned above), who, for many years, resisted the power of

the Suevi, but being at last driven from their possessions, and having

wandered through many parts of Germany, came to the Rhine, to districts

which the Menapii inhabited, and where they had lands, houses, and

villages on either side of the river. The latter people, alarmed by

the arrival of so great a multitude, removed from those houses which

they had on the other side of the river, and having placed guards

on this side the Rhine, proceeded to hinder the Germans from crossing.

They, finding themselves, after they had tried all means, unable either

to force a passage on account of their deficiency in shipping, or

cross by stealth on account of the guards of the Menapii, pretended

to return to their own settlements and districts; and, after having

proceeded three days' march, returned; and their cavalry having performed

the whole of this journey in one night, cut off the Menapii, who were

ignorant of, and did not expect [their approach, and] who, having

moreover been informed of the departure of the Germans by their scouts,

had, without apprehension, returned to their villages beyond the Rhine.

Having slain these, and seized their ships, they crossed the river

before that part of the Menapii, who were at peace in their settlements

over the Rhine, were apprized of [their intention]; and seizing all

their houses, maintained themselves upon their provisions during the

rest of the winter.

Chapter 5

Caesar, when informed of these matters, fearing the fickle disposition

of the Gauls, who are easily prompted to take up resolutions, and

much addicted to change, considered that nothing was to be intrusted

to them; for it is the custom of that people to compel travelers to

stop, even against their inclination, and inquire what they may have

heard, or may know, respecting any matter; and in towns the common

people throng around merchants and force them to state from what countries

they come, and what affairs they know of there. They often engage

in resolutions concerning the most important matters, induced by these

reports and stories alone; of which they must necessarily instantly

repent, since they yield to mere unauthorized reports; and since most

people give to their questions answers framed agreeably to their wishes.

Chapter 6

Caesar, being aware of their custom, in order that he might not encounter

a more formidable war, sets forward to the army earlier in the year

than he was accustomed to do. When he had arrived there, he discovered

that those things, which he had suspected would occur, had taken place;

that embassies had been sent to the Germans by some of the states,

and that they had been entreated to leave the Rhine, and had been

promised that all things which they desired should be provided by

the Gauls. Allured by this hope, the Germans were then making excursions

to greater distances, and had advanced to the territories of the Eburones

and the Condrusi, who are under the protection of the Treviri. After

summoning the chiefs of Gaul, Caesar thought proper to pretend ignorance

of the things which he had discovered; and having conciliated and

confirmed their minds, and ordered some cavalry to be raised, resolved

to make war against the Germans.

Chapter 7

Having provided corn and selected his cavalry, he began to direct

his march toward those parts in which he heard the Germans were. When

he was distant from them only a few days' march, embassadors came

to him from their state, whose speech was as follows: "That the Germans

neither make war upon the Roman people first, nor do they decline,

if they are provoked, to engage with them in arms; for that this was

the custom of the Germans handed down to them from their forefathers,

- to resist whatsoever people make war upon them and not to avert

it by entreaty; this, however, they confessed, - that they had come

hither reluctantly, having been expelled from their country. If the

Romans were disposed to accept their friendship, they might be serviceable

allies to them; and let them either assign them lands, or permit them

to retain those which they had acquired by their arms; that they are

inferior to the Suevi alone, to whom not even the immortal gods can

show themselves equal; that there was none at all besides on earth

whom they could not conquer."

Chapter 8

To these remarks Caesar replied in such terms as he thought proper;

but the conclusion of his speech was, "That he could make no alliance

with them, if they continued in Gaul; that it was not probable that

they who were not able to defend their own territories, should get

possession of those of others, nor were there any lands lying waste

in Gaul, which could be given away, especially to so great a number

of men, without doing wrong [to others]; but they might, if they were

desirous, settle in the territories of the Ubii; whose embassadors

were then with him, and were complaining of the aggressions of the

Suevi, and requesting assistance from him; and that he would obtain

this request from them."

Chapter 9

The embassadors said that they would report these things to their

country men; and, after having deliberated on the matter, would return

to Caesar after the third day, they begged that he would not in the

mean time advance his camp nearer to them. Caesar said that he could

not grant them even that; for he had learned that they had sent a

great part of their cavalry over the Meuse to the Ambivariti, some

days before, for the purpose of plundering and procuring forage. He

supposed that they were then waiting for these horse, and that the

delay was caused on this account.

Chapter 10

The Meuse rises from mount Le Vosge, which is in the territories of

the Lingones; and, having received a branch of the Rhine, which is

called the Waal, forms the island of the Batavi, and not more than

eighty miles from it it falls into the ocean. But the Rhine takes

its source among the Lepontii, who inhabit the Alps, and is carried

with a rapid current for a long distance through the territories of

the Sarunates, Helvetii, Sequani, Mediomatrici, Tribuci, and Treviri,

and when it approaches the ocean, divides into several branches; and,

having formed many and extensive islands, a great part of which are

inhabited by savage and barbarous nations (of whom there are some

who are supposed to live on fish and the eggs of sea-fowl), flows

into the ocean by several mouths.

Chapter 11

When Caesar was not more than twelve miles distant from the enemy,

the embassadors return to him, as had been arranged; who meeting him

on the march, earnestly entreated him not to advance any further.

When they could not obtain this, they begged him to send on a dispatch

to those who had marched in advance of the main army, and forbid them

to engage; and grant them permission to send embassadors to the Ubii,

and if the princes and senate of the latter would give them security

by oath, they assured Caesar that they would accept such conditions

as might be proposed by him; and requested that he would give them

the space of three days for negociating these affairs. Caesar thought

that these things tended to the self-same point [as their other proposal];

[namely] that, in consequence of a delay of three days intervening,

their horse, which were at a distance, might return; however, he said,

that he would not that day advance further than four miles for the

purpose of procuring water; he ordered that they should assemble at

that place in as large a number as possible, the following day, that

he might inquire into their demands. In the mean time he sends messengers

to the officers who had marched in advance with all the cavalry, to

order them not to provoke the enemy to an engagement, and if they

themselves were assailed, to sustain the attack until he came up with

the army.

Chapter 12

But the enemy, as soon as they saw our horse, the number of which

was 5000, whereas they themselves had not more than 800 horse, because

those which had gone over the Meuse for the purpose of foraging had

not returned, while our men had no apprehensions, because their embassadors

had gone away from Caesar a little before, and that day had been requested

by them as a period of truce, made an onset on our men, and soon threw

them into disorder. When our men, in their turn, made a stand, they,

according to their practice, leaped from their horses to their feet,

and stabbing our horses in the belly and overthrowing a great many

of our men, put the rest to flight, and drove them forward so much

alarmed that they did not desist from their retreat till they had

come in sight of our army. In that encounter seventy-four of our horse

were slain; among them, Piso, an Aquitanian, a most valiant man, and

descended from a very illustrious family; whose grandfather had held

the sovereignty of his state, and had been styled friend by our senate.

He, while he was endeavoring to render assistance to his brother who

was surrounded by the enemy, and whom he rescued from danger, was

himself thrown from his horse, which was wounded under him, but still

opposed [his antagonists] with the greatest intrepidity, as long as

he was able to maintain the conflict. When at length he fell, surrounded

on all sides and after receiving many wounds, and his brother, who

had then retired from the fight, observed it from a distance, he spurred

on his horse, threw himself upon the enemy, and was killed.

Chapter 13

After this engagement, Caesar considered that neither ought embassadors

to be received to audience, nor conditions be accepted by him from

those who, after having sued for peace by way of stratagem and treachery,

had made war without provocation. And to wait until the enemy's forces

were augmented and their cavalry had returned, he concluded, would

be the greatest madness; and knowing the fickleness of the Gauls,

he felt how much influence the enemy had already acquired among them

by this one skirmish. He [therefore] deemed that no time for concerting

measures ought to be afforded them. After having resolved on those

things and communicated his plans to his lieutenants and quaestor

in order that he might not suffer any opportunity for engaging to

escape him, a very seasonable event occurred, namely, that on the

morning of the next day, a large body of Germans, consisting of their

princes and old men, came to the camp to him to practice the same

treachery and dissimulation; but, as they asserted, for the purpose

of acquitting themselves for having engaged in a skirmish the day

before, contrary to what had been agreed and to what indeed, they

themselves had requested; and also if they could by any means obtain

a truce by deceiving him. Caesar, rejoicing that they had fallen into

his power, ordered them to be detained. He then drew all his forces

out of the camp, and commanded the cavalry, because he thought they

were intimidated by the late skirmish, to follow in the rear.

Chapter 14

Having marshalled his army in three lines, and in a short time performed

a march of eight miles, he arrived at the camp of the enemy before

the Germans could perceive what was going on; who being suddenly alarmed

by all the circumstances, both by the speediness of our arrival and

the absence of their own officers, as time was afforded neither for

concerting measures nor for seizing their arms, are perplexed as to

whether it would be better to lead out their forces against the enemy,

or to defend their camp, or seek their safety by flight. Their consternation

being made apparent by their noise and tumult, our soldiers, excited

by the treachery of the preceding day, rushed into the camp: such

of them as could readily get their arms, for a short time withstood

our men, and gave battle among their carts and baggage wagons; but

the rest of the people, [consisting] of boys and women (for they had

left their country and crossed the Rhine with all their families)

began to fly in all directions; in pursuit of whom Caesar sent the

cavalry.

Chapter 15

The Germans when, upon hearing a noise behind them, [they looked and]

saw that their families were being slain, throwing away their arms

and abandoning their standards, fled out of the camp, and when they

had arrived at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, the survivors

despairing of further escape, as a great number of their countrymen

had been killed, threw themselves into the river and there perished,

overcome by fear, fatigue, and the violence of the stream. Our soldiers,

after the alarm of so great a war, for the number of the enemy amounted

to 430,000, returned to their camp, all safe to a man, very few being

even wounded. Caesar granted those whom he had detained in the camp

liberty of departing. They however, dreading revenge and torture from

the Gauls, whose lands they had harassed, said that they desired to

remain with him. Caesar granted them permission.

Chapter 16

The German war being finished, Caesar thought it expedient for him

to cross the Rhine, for many reasons; of which this was the most weighty,

that, since he saw the Germans were so easily urged to go into Gaul,

he desired they should have their fears for their own territories,

when they discovered that the army of the Roman people both could

and dared pass the Rhine. There was added also, that portion of the

cavalry of the Usipetes and the Tenchtheri, which I have above related

to have crossed the Meuse for the purpose of plundering and procuring

forage, and was not present at the engagement, had betaken themselves,

after the retreat of their countrymen, across the Rhine into the territories

of the Sigambri, and united themselves to them. When Caesar sent embassadors

to them, to demand that they should give up to him those who had made

war against him and against Gaul, they replied, "That the Rhine bounded

the empire of the Roman people; if he did not think it just for the

Germans to pass over into Gaul against his consent, why did he claim

that any thing beyond the Rhine should be subject to his dominion

or power?" The Ubii, also, who alone, out of all the nations lying

beyond the Rhine, had sent embassadors to Caesar, and formed an alliance

and given hostages, earnestly entreated "that he would bring them

assistance, because they were grievously oppressed by the Suevi; or,

if he was prevented from doing so by the business of the commonwealth,

he would at least transport his army over the Rhine; that that would

be sufficient for their present assistance and their hope for the

future; that so great was the name and the reputation of his army,

even among the most remote nations of the Germans, arising from the

defeat of Ariovistus and this last battle which was fought, that they

might be safe under the fame and friendship of the Roman people."

They promised a large number of ships for transporting the army.

Chapter 17

Caesar, for those reasons which I have mentioned, had resolved to

cross the Rhine; but to cross by ships he neither deemed to be sufficiently

safe, nor considered consistent with his own dignity or that of the

Roman people. Therefore, although the greatest difficulty in forming

a bridge was presented to him, on account of the breadth, rapidity,

and depth of the river, he nevertheless considered that it ought to

be attempted by him, or that his army ought not otherwise to be led

over. He devised this plan of a bridge. He joined together at the

distance of two feet, two piles, each a foot and a half thick, sharpened

a little at the lower end, and proportioned in length, to the depth

of the river. After he had, by means of engines, sunk these into the

river, and fixed them at the bottom, and then driven them in with

rammers, not quite perpendicularly, dike a stake, but bending forward

and sloping, so as to incline in the direction of the current of the

river; he also placed two [other piles] opposite to these, at the

distance of forty feet lower down, fastened together in the same manner,

but directed against the force and current of the river. Both these,

moreover, were kept firmly apart by beams two feet thick (the space

which the binding of the piles occupied), laid in at their extremities

between two braces on each side, and in consequence of these being

in different directions and fastened on sides the one opposite to

the other, so great was the strength of the work, and such the arrangement

of the materials, that in proportion as the greater body of water

dashed against the bridge, so much the closer were its parts held

fastened together. These beams were bound together by timber laid

over them, in the direction of the length of the bridge, and were

[then] covered over with laths and hurdles; and in addition to this,

piles were driven into the water obliquely, at the lower side of the

bridge, and these, serving as buttresses, and being connected with

every portion of the work, sustained the force of the stream: and

there were others also above the bridge, at a moderate distance; that

if trunks of trees or vessels were floated down the river by the barbarians

for the purpose of destroying the work, the violence of such things

might be diminished by these defenses, and might not injure the bridge.

Chapter 18

Within ten days after the timber began to be collected, the whole

work was completed, and the whole army led over. Caesar, leaving a

strong guard at each end of the bridge, hastens into the territories

of the Sigambri. In the mean time, embassadors from several nations

come to him, whom, on their suing for peace and alliance, he answers

in a courteous manner, and orders hostages to be brought to him. But

the Sigambri, at the very time the bridge was begun to be built, made

preparations for a flight (by the advice of such of the Tenchtheri

and Usipetes as they had among them), and quitted their territories,

and conveyed away all their possessions, and concealed themselves

in deserts and woods.

Chapter 19

Caesar, having remained in their territories a few days, and burned

all their villages and houses, and cut down their corn, proceeded

into the territories of the Ubii; and having promised them his assistance,

if they were ever harassed by the Suevi, he learned from them these

particulars: that the Suevi, after they had by means of their scouts

found that the bridge was being built, had called a council, according

to their custom, and sent orders to all parts of their state to remove

from the towns and convey their children, wives, and all their possessions

into the woods, and that all who could bear arms should assemble in

one place; that the place thus chosen was nearly the centre of those

regions which the Suevi possessed; that in this spot they had resolved

to await the arrival of the Romans, and give them battle there. When

Caesar discovered this, having already accomplished all these things

on account of which he had resolved to lead his army over, namely,

to strike fear into the Germans, take vengeance on the Sigambri, and

free the Ubii from the invasion of the Suevi, having spent altogether

eighteen days beyond the Rhine, and thinking he had advanced far enough

to serve both honor and interest, he returned into Gaul, and cut down

the bridge.

Chapter 20

During the short part of summer which remained, Caesar, although in

these countries, as all Gaul lies toward the north, the winters are

early, nevertheless resolved to proceed into Britain, because he discovered

that in almost all the wars with the Gauls succors had been furnished

to our enemy from that country; and even if the time of year should

be insufficient for carrying on the war, yet he thought it would be

of great service to him if he only entered the island, and saw into

the character of the people, and got knowledge of their localities,

harbors, and landing-places, all which were for the most part unknown

to the Gauls. For neither does any one except merchants generally

go thither, nor even to them was any portion of it known, except the

sea-coast and those parts which are opposite to Gaul. Therefore, after

having called up to him the merchants from all parts, he could learn

neither what was the size of the island, nor what or how numerous

were the nations which inhabited it, nor what system of war they followed,

nor what customs they used, nor what harbors were convenient for a

great number of large ships.

Chapter 21

He sends before him Caius Volusenus with a ship of war, to acquire

a knowledge of these particulars before he in person should make a

descent into the island, as he was convinced that this was a judicious

measure. He commissioned him to thoroughly examine into all matters,

and then return to him as soon as possible. He himself proceeds to

the Morini with all his forces. He orders ships from all parts of

the neighboring countries, and the fleet which the preceding summer

he had built for the war with the Veneti, to assemble in this place.

In the mean time, his purpose having been discovered, and reported

to the Britons by merchants, embassadors come to him from several

states of the island, to promise that they will give hostages, and

submit to the government of the Roman people. Having given them an

audience, he after promising liberally, and exhorting them to continue

in that purpose, sends them back to their own country, and [dispatches]

with them Commius, whom, upon subduing the Atrebates, he had created

king there, a man whose courage and conduct he esteemed, and who he

thought would be faithful to him, and whose influence ranked highly

in those countries. He orders him to visit as many states as he could,

and persuade them to embrace the protection of the Roman people, and

apprize them that he would shortly come thither. Volusenus, having

viewed the localities as far as means could be afforded one who dared

not leave his ship and trust himself to barbarians, returns to Caesar

on the fifth day, and reports what he had there observed.

Chapter 22

While Caesar remains in these parts for the purpose of procuring ships,

embassadors come to him from a great portion of the Morini, to plead

their excuse respecting their conduct on the late occasion; alleging

that it was as men uncivilized, and as those who were unacquainted

with our custom, that they had made war upon the Roman people, and

promising to perform what he should command. Caesar, thinking that

this had happened fortunately enough for him, because he neither wished

to leave an enemy behind him, nor had an opportunity for carrying

on a war, by reason of the time of year, nor considered that employment

in such trifling matters was to be preferred to his enterprise on

Britain, imposes a large number of hostages; and when these were brought,

he received them to his protection. Having collected together, and

provided about eighty transport ships, as many as he thought necessary

for conveying over two legions, he assigned such [ships] of war as

he had besides to the quaestor, his lieutenants, and officers of cavalry.

There were in addition to these eighteen ships of burden which were

prevented, eight miles from that place, by winds, from being able

to reach the same port. These he distributed among the horse; the

rest of the army, he delivered to Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius

Cotta, his lieutenants, to lead into the territories of the Menapii

and those cantons of the Morini from which embassadors had not come

to him. He ordered P. Sulpicius Rufus, his lieutenant, to hold possession

of the harbor, with such a garrison as he thought sufficient.

Chapter 23

These matters being arranged, finding the weather favorable for his

voyage, he set sail about the third watch, and ordered the horse to

march forward to the further port, and there embark and follow him.

As this was performed rather tardily by them, he himself reached Britain

with the first squadron of ships, about the fourth hour of the day,

and there saw the forces of the enemy drawn up in arms on all the

hills. The nature of the place was this: the sea was confined by mountains

so close to it that a dart could be thrown from their summit upon

the shore. Considering this by no means a fit place for disembarking,

he remained at anchor till the ninth hour, for the other ships to

arrive there. Having in the mean time assembled the lieutenants and

military tribunes, he told them both what he had learned from Volusenus,

and what he wished to be done; and enjoined them (as the principle

of military matters, and especially as maritime affairs, which have

a precipitate and uncertain action, required) that all things should

be performed by them at a nod and at the instant. Having dismissed

them, meeting both with wind and tide favorable at the same time,

the signal being given and the anchor weighed, he advanced about seven

miles from that place, and stationed his fleet over against an open

and level shore.

Gallic Wars – Caesar

BOOK 4

Chapter 24

But the barbarians, upon perceiving the design of the Romans, sent forward their cavalry and charioteers, a class of warriors of whom it is their practice to make great use in their battles, and following with the rest of their forces, endeavored to prevent our men landing. In this was the greatest difficulty, for the following reasons, namely, because our ships, on account of their great size, could be stationed only in deep water; and our soldiers, in places unknown to them, with their hands embarrassed, oppressed with a large and heavy weight of armor, had at the same time to leap from the ships, stand amid the waves, and encounter the enemy; whereas they, either on dry ground, or advancing a little way into the water, free in all their limbs in places thoroughly known to them, could confidently throw their weapons and spur on their horses, which were accustomed to this kind of service. Dismayed by these circumstances and altogether untrained in this mode of battle, our men did not all exert the same vigor and eagerness which they had been wont to exert in engagements on dry ground.

Chapter 25

When Caesar observed this, he ordered the ships of war, the appearance of which was somewhat strange to the barbarians and the motion more ready for service, to be withdrawn a little from the transport vessels, and to be propelled by their oars, and be stationed toward the open flank of the enemy, and the enemy to be beaten off and driven away, with slings, arrows, and engines: which plan was of great service to our men; for the barbarians being startled by the form of our ships and the motions of our oars and the nature of our engines, which was strange to them, stopped, and shortly after retreated a little. And while our men were hesitating [whether they should advance to the shore], chiefly on account of the depth of the sea, he who carried the eagle of the tenth legion, after supplicating the gods that the matter might turn out favorably to the legion, exclaimed, "Leap, fellow soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy. I, for my part, will perform my duty to the commonwealth and my general." When he had said this with a loud voice, he leaped from the ship and

proceeded to bear the eagle toward the enemy. Then our men, exhorting one another that so great a disgrace should not be incurred, all leaped from the ship. When those in the nearest vessels saw them, they speedily

followed and approached the enemy.

Chapter 26

The battle was maintained vigorously on both sides. Our men, however, as they could neither keep their ranks, nor get firm footing, nor follow their standards, and as one from one ship and another from another assembled around whatever standards they met, were thrown into great confusion. But the enemy, who were acquainted with all the shallows, when from the shore they saw any coming from a ship one by one, spurred on their horses, and attacked them while embarrassed; many surrounded a few, others threw their weapons upon our collected forces on their exposed flank. When Caesar observed this, he ordered the boats of the ships of war and the spy sloops to be filled with soldiers, and sent them up to the succor of those whom he had observed in distress. Our men, as soon as they made good their footing on dry ground, and all their comrades had joined them, made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, but could not pursue them very far, because the horse had not been able to maintain their course at sea and reach the island. This alone was wanting to Caesar's accustomed success.

Chapter 27

The enemy being thus vanquished in battle, as soon as they recovered after their flight, instantly sent embassadors to Caesar to negotiate about peace. They promised to give hostages and perform what he should

command. Together with these embassadors came Commius the Altrebatian, who, as I have above said, had been sent by Caesar into Britain. Him they had seized upon when leaving his ship, although in the character

of embassador he bore the general's commission to them, and thrown into chains: then after the battle was fought, they sent him back, and in suing for peace cast the blame of that act upon the common people, and entreated that it might be pardoned on account of their indiscretion. Caesar, complaining, that after they had sued for peace, and had voluntarily sent embassadors into the continent for that purpose, they had made war without a reason, said that he would pardon their indiscretion, and imposed hostages, a part of whom they gave immediately; the rest they said they would give in a few days, since they were sent for from remote places. In the mean time they ordered their people to return to the country parts, and the chiefs assembled from all

quarter, and proceeded to surrender themselves and their states to Caesar.

Chapter 28

A peace being established by these proceedings four days after we had come into Britain, the eighteen ships, to which reference has been made above, and which conveyed the cavalry, set sail from the upper port with a gentle gale, when, however, they were approaching Britain and were seen from the camp, so great a storm suddenly arose that none of them could maintain their course at sea; and some were taken back to the same port from which they had started; - others, to their great danger, were driven to the lower part of the island, nearer to the west; which, however, after having cast anchor, as they were getting filled with water, put out to sea through necessity in a stormy night, and made for the continent.

Chapter 29

It happened that night to be full moon, which usually occasions very high tides in that ocean; and that circumstance was unknown to our men. Thus, at the same time, the tide began to fill the ships of war

which Caesar had provided to convey over his army, and which he had drawn up on the strand; and the storm began to dash the ships of burden which were riding at anchor against each other; nor was any means

afforded our men of either managing them or of rendering any service. A great many ships having been wrecked, inasmuch as the rest, having lost their cables, anchors, and other tackling, were unfit for sailing,

a great confusion, as would necessarily happen, arose throughout the army; for there were no other ships in which they could be conveyed back, and all things which are of service in repairing vessels were wanting, and, corn for the winter had not been provided in those places, because it was understood by all that they would certainly winter in Gaul.

Chapter 30

On discovering these things the chiefs of Britain, who had come up after the battle was fought to perform those conditions which Caesar had imposed, held a conference, when they perceived that cavalry, and ships, and corn were wanting to the Romans, and discovered the small number of our soldiers from the small extent of the camp (which, too, was on this account more limited than ordinary, because Caesar had conveyed over his legions without baggage), and thought that the best plan was to renew the war, and cut off our men from corn and provisions and protract the affair till winter; because they felt confident, that, if they were vanquished or cut off from a return, no one would afterward pass over into Britain for the purpose of making war. Therefore, again entering into a conspiracy, they began to depart from the camp by degrees and secretly bring up their people from the country parts.

Chapter 31

But Caesar, although he had not as yet discovered their measures,

yet, both from what had occurred to his ships, and from the circumstance

that they had neglected to give the promised hostages, suspected that

the thing would come to pass which really did happen. He therefore

provided remedies against all contingencies; for he daily conveyed

corn from the country parts into the camp, used the timber and brass

of such ships as were most seriously damaged for repairing the rest,

and ordered whatever things besides were necessary for this object

to be brought to him from the continent. And thus, since that business

was executed by the soldiers with the greatest energy, he effected

that, after the loss of twelve ships, a voyage could be made well

enough in the rest.

Chapter 32

While these things are being transacted, one legion had been sent

to forage, according to custom, and no suspicion of war had arisen

as yet, and some of the people remained in the country parts, others

went backward and forward to the camp, they who were on duty at the

gates of the camp reported to Caesar that a greater dust than was

usual was seen in that direction in which the legion had marched.

Caesar, suspecting that which was [really the case], - that some new

enterprise was undertaken by the barbarians, ordered the two cohorts

which were on duty, to march into that quarter with him, and two other

cohorts to relieve them on duty; the rest to be armed and follow him

immediately. When he had advanced some little way from the camp, he

saw that his men were overpowered by the enemy and scarcely able to

stand their ground, and that, the legion being crowded together, weapons

were being cast on them from all sides. For as all the corn was reaped

in every part with the exception of one, the enemy, suspecting that

our men would repair to that, had concealed themselves in the woods

during the night. Then attacking them suddenly, scattered as they

were, and when they had laid aside their arms, and were engaged in

reaping, they killed a small number, threw the rest into confusion,

and surrounded them with their cavalry and chariots.

Chapter 33

Their mode of fighting with their chariots is this: firstly, they

drive about in all directions and throw their weapons and generally

break the ranks of the enemy with the very dread of their horses and

the noise of their wheels; and when they have worked themselves in

between the troops of horse, leap from their chariots and engage on

foot. The charioteers in the mean time withdraw some little distance

from the battle, and so place themselves with the chariots that, if

their masters are overpowered by the number of the enemy, they may

have a ready retreat to their own troops. Thus they display in battle

the speed of horse, [together with] the firmness of infantry; and

by daily practice and exercise attain to such expertness that they

are accustomed, even on a declining and steep place, to check their

horses at full speed, and manage and turn them in an instant and run

along the pole, and stand on the yoke, and thence betake themselves

with the greatest celerity to their chariots again.

Chapter 34

Under these circumstances, our men being dismayed by the novelty of

this mode of battle, Caesar most seasonably brought assistance; for

upon his arrival the enemy paused, and our men recovered from their

fear; upon which thinking the time unfavorable for provoking the enemy

and coming to an action, he kept himself in his own quarter, and,

a short time having intervened, drew back the legions into the camp.

While these things are going on, and all our men engaged, the rest

of the Britons, who were in the fields, departed. Storms then set

in for several successive days, which both confined our men to the

camp and hindered the enemy from attacking us. In the mean time the

barbarians dispatched messengers to all parts, and reported to their

people the small number of our soldiers, and how good an opportunity

was given for obtaining spoil and for liberating themselves forever,

if they should only drive the Romans from their camp. Having by these

means speedily got together a large force of infantry and of cavalry

they came up to the camp.

Chapter 35

Although Caesar anticipated that the same thing which had happened

on former occasions would then occur - that, if the enemy were routed,

they would escape from danger by their speed; still, having got about

thirty horse, which Commius the Atrebatian, of whom mention has been

made, had brought over with him [from Gaul], he drew up the legions

in order of battle before the camp. When the action commenced, the

enemy were unable to sustain the attack of our men long, and turned

their backs; our men pursued them as far as their speed and strength

permitted, and slew a great number of them; then, having destroyed

and burned every thing far and wide, they retreated to their camp.

Chapter 36

The same day, embassadors sent by the enemy came to Caesar to negotiate

a peace. Caesar doubled the number of hostages which he had before

demanded; and ordered that they should be brought over to the continent,

because, since the time of the equinox was near, he did not consider

that, with his ships out of repair, the voyage ought to be deferred

till winter. Having met with favorable weather, he set sail a little

after midnight, and all his fleet arrived safe at the continent, except

two of the ships of burden which could not make the same port which

the other ships did, and were carried a little lower down.

Chapter 37

When our soldiers, about 300 in number, had been drawn out of these

two ships, and were marching to the camp, the Morini, whom Caesar,

when setting forth for Britain, had left in a state of peace, excited

by the hope of spoil, at first surrounded them with a small number

of men, and ordered them to lay down their arms, if they did not wish

to be slain; afterward however, when they, forming a circle, stood

on their defense, a shout was raised and about 6000 of the enemy soon

assembled; which being reported, Caesar sent all the cavalry in the

camp as a relief to his men. In the mean time our soldiers sustained

the attack of the enemy, and fought most valiantly for more than four

hours, and, receiving but few wounds themselves, slew several of them.

But after our cavalry came in sight, the enemy, throwing away their

arms, turned their backs, and a great number of them were killed.

Chapter 38

The day following Caesar sent Labienus, his lieutenant, with those

legions which he had brought back from Britain, against the Morini,

who had revolted; who, as they had no place to which they might retreat,

on account of the drying up of their marshes (which they had availed

themselves of as a place of refuge the preceding year), almost all

fell into the power of Labienus. In the mean time Caesar's lieutenants,

Q. Titurius and L. Cotta, who had led the legions into the territories

of the Menapii, having laid waste all their lands, cut down their

corn and burned their houses, returned to Caesar because the Menapii

had all concealed themselves in their thickest woods. Caesar fixed

the winter quarters of all the legions among the Belgae. Thither only

two British states sent hostages; the rest omitted to do so. For these

successes, a thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed by the senate

upon receiving Caesar's letter.

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BOOK 5

Chapter 1

Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius being consuls, Caesar, when departing

from his winter quarters into Italy, as he had been accustomed to

do yearly, commands the lieutenants whom he appointed over the legions

to take care that during the winter as many ships as possible should

be built, and the old repaired. He plans the size and shape of them.

For dispatch of lading, and for drawing them on shore, he makes them

a little lower than those which we have been accustomed to use in

our sea; and that so much the more, because he knew that, on account

of the frequent changes of the tide, less swells occurred there; for

the purpose of transporting burdens and a great number of horses,

[he makes them] a little broader than those which we use in other

seas. All these he orders to be constructed for lightness and expedition,

to which object their lowness contributes greatly. He orders those

things which are necessary for equipping ships to be brought thither

from Spain. He himself, on the assizes of Hither Gaul being concluded,

proceeds into Illyricum, because he heard that the part of the province

nearest them was being laid waste by the incursions of the Pirustae.

When he had arrived there, he levies soldiers upon the states, and

orders them to assemble at an appointed place. Which circumstance

having been reported [to them], the Pirustae send embassadors to him

to inform him that no part of those proceedings was done by public

deliberation, and assert that they were ready to make compensation

by all means for the injuries [inflicted]. Caesar, accepting their

defense, demands hostages, and orders them to be brought to him on

a specified day, and assures them that unless they did so he would

visit their state with war. These being brought to him on the day

which he had ordered, he appoints arbitrators between the states,

who should estimate the damages and determine the reparation.

Chapter 2

These things being finished, and the assizes being concluded, he returns

into Hither Gaul, and proceeds thence to the army. When he had arrived

there, having made a survey of the winter quarter, he finds that,

by the extraordinary ardor of the soldiers, amid the utmost scarcity

of all materials, about six hundred ships of that kind which we have

described above and twenty-eight ships of war, had been built, and

were not far from that state, that they might be launched in a few

days. Having commended the soldiers and those who had presided over

the work, he informs them what he wishes to be done, and orders all

the ships to assemble at port Itius, from which port he had learned

that the passage into Britain was shortest, [being only] about thirty

miles from the continent. He left what seemed a sufficient number

of soldiers for that design; he himself proceeds into the territories

of the Treviri with four legions without baggage, and 800 horse, because

they neither came to the general diets [of Gaul], nor obeyed his commands,

and were moreover, said to be tampering with the Germans beyond the

Rhine.

Chapter 3

This state is by far the most powerful of all Gaul in cavalry, and

has great forces of infantry, and as we have remarked above, borders

on the Rhine. In that state, two persons, Indutiomarus and Cingetorix,

were then contending with each other for the supreme power; one of

whom, as soon as the arrival of Caesar and his legions was known,

came to him; assures him that he and all his party would continue

in their allegiance, and not revolt from the alliance of the Roman

people, and informs him of the things which were going on among the

Treviri. But Indutiomarus began to collect cavalry and infantry, and

make preparations for war, having concealed those who by reason of

their age could not be under arms, in the forest Arduenna, which is

of immense size, [and] extends from the Rhine across the country of

the Treviri to the frontiers of the Remi. But after that, some of

the chief persons of the state, both influenced by their friendship

for Cingetorix, and alarmed at the arrival of our army, came to Caesar

and began to solicit him privately about their own interests, since

they could not provide for the safety of the state; Indutiomarus,

dreading lest he should be abandoned by all, sends embassadors to

Caesar, to declare that he absented himself from his countrymen, and

refrained from coming to him on this account, that he might the more

easily keep the state in its allegiance, lest on the departure of

all the nobility the commonalty should, in their indiscretion, revolt.

And thus the whole state was at his control; and that he, if Caesar

would permit, would come to the camp to him, and would commit his

own fortunes and those of the state to his good faith.

Chapter 4

Caesar, though he discerned from what motive these things were said,

and what circumstances deterred him from his meditated plan, still,

in order that he might not be compelled to waste the summer among

the Treviri, while all things were prepared for the war with Britain,

ordered Indutiomarus to come to him with 200 hostages. When they were

brought, [and] among them his son and near relations, whom he had

demanded by name, he consoled Indutiomarus, and enjoined him to continue

in his allegiance; yet, nevertheless, summoning to him the chief men

of the Treviri, he reconciled them individually to Cingetorix: this

he both thought should be done by him in justice to the merits of

the latter, and also judged that it was of great importance that the

influence of one whose singular attachment toward him he had fully

seen, should prevail as much as possible among his people. Indutiomarus

was very much offended at this act, [seeing that] his influence was

diminished among his countrymen; and he, who already before had borne

a hostile mind toward us, was much more violently inflamed against

us through resentment at this.

Chapter 5

These matters being settled, Caesar went to port Itius with the legions.

There he discovers that forty ships, which had been built in the country

of the Meldi, having been driven back by a storm, had been unable

to maintain their course, and had returned to the same port from which

they had set out; he finds the rest ready for sailing, and furnished

with every thing. In the same place, the cavalry of the whole of Gaul,

in number 4,000, assembles, and [also] the chief persons of all the

states; he had determined to leave in Gaul a very few of them, whose

fidelity toward him he had clearly discerned, and take the rest with

him as hostages; because he feared a commotion in Gaul when he should

be absent.

Chapter 6

There was together with the others, Dumnorix, the Aeduan, of whom

we have made previous mention. Him, in particular, he had resolved

to have with him, because he had discovered him to be fond of change,

fond of power, possessing great resolution, and great influence among

the Gauls. To this was added, that Dumnorix had before said in an

assembly of Aeduans, that the sovereignty of the state had been made

over to him by Caesar; which speech the Aedui bore with impatience

and yet dared not send embassadors to Caesar for the purpose of either

rejecting or deprecating [that appointment]. That fact Caesar had

learned from his own personal friends. He at first strove to obtain

by every entreaty that he should be left in Gaul; partly, because,

being unaccustomed to sailing, he feared the sea; partly because he

said he was prevented by divine admonitions. After he saw that this

request was firmly refused him, all hope of success being lost, he

began to tamper with the chief persons of the Gauls, to call them

apart singly and exhort them to remain on the continent; to agitate

them with the fear that it was not without reason that Gaul should

be stripped of all her nobility; that it was Caesar's design, to bring

over to Britain and put to death all those whom he feared to slay

in the sight of Gaul, to pledge his honor to the rest, to ask for

their oath that they would by common deliberation execute what they

should perceive to be necessary for Gaul. These things were reported

to Caesar by several persons.

Chapter 7

Having learned this fact, Caesar, because he had conferred so much

honor upon the Aeduan state, determined that Dumnorix should be restrained

and deterred by whatever means he could; and that, because he perceived

his insane designs to be proceeding further and further, care should

be taken lest he might be able to injure him and the commonwealth.

Therefore, having stayed about twenty-five days in that place, because

the north wind, which usually blows a great part of every season,

prevented the voyage, he exerted himself to keep Dumnorix in his allegiance

[and] nevertheless learn all his measures: having at length met with

favorable weather, he orders the foot soldiers and the horse to embark

in the ships. But, while the minds of all were occupied, Dumnorix

began to take his departure from the camp homeward with the cavalry

of the Aedui, Caesar being ignorant of it. Caesar, on this matter

being reported to him, ceasing from his expedition and deferring all

other affairs, sends a great part of the cavalry to pursue him, and

commands that he be brought back; he orders that if he use violence

and do not submit, that he be slain; considering that Dumnorix would

do nothing as a rational man while he himself was absent, since he

had disregarded his command even when present. He, however, when recalled,

began to resist and defend himself with his hand, and implore the

support of his people, often exclaiming that "he was free and the

subject of a free state." They surround and kill the man as they had

been commanded; but the Aeduan horsemen all return to Caesar.

Chapter 8

When these things were done [and] Labienus, left on the continent

with three legions and 2,000 horse, to defend the harbors and provide

corn, and discover what was going on in Gaul, and take measures according

to the occasion and according to the circumstance; he himself, with

five legions and a number of horse, equal to that which he was leaving

on the continent, set sail at sun-set, and [though for a time] borne

forward by a gentle south-west wind, he did not maintain his course,

in consequence of the wind dying away about midnight, and being carried

on too far by the tide, when the sun rose, espied Britain passed on

his left. Then, again, following the change of tide, he urged on with

the oars that he might make that part of the island in which he had

discovered the preceding summer, that there was the best landing-place,

and in this affair the spirit of our soldiers was very much to be

extolled; for they with the transports and heavy ships, the labor

of rowing not being [for a moment] discontinued, equaled the speed

of the ships of war. All the ships reached Britain nearly at mid-day;

nor was there seen a [single] enemy in that place, but, as Caesar

afterward found from some prisoners, though large bodies of troops

had assembled there, yet being alarmed by the great number of our

ships, more than eight hundred of which, including the ships of the

preceding year, and those private vessels which each had built for

his own convenience, had appeared at one time, they had quitted the

coast and concealed themselves among the higher points.

Chapter 9

Caesar, having disembarked his army and chosen a convenient place

for the camp, when he discovered from the prisoners in what part the

forces of the enemy had lodged themselves, having left ten cohorts

and 300 horse at the sea, to be a guard to the ships, hastens to the

enemy, at the third watch, fearing the less for the ships, for this

reason because he was leaving them fastened at anchor upon an even

and open shore; and he placed Q. Atrius over the guard of the ships.

He himself, having advanced by night about twelve miles, espied the

forces of the enemy. They, advancing to the river with their cavalry

and chariots from the higher ground, began to annoy our men and give

battle. Being repulsed by our cavalry, they concealed themselves in

woods, as they had secured a place admirably fortified by nature and

by art, which, as it seemed, they had before prepared on account of

a civil war; for all entrances to it were shut up by a great number

of felled trees. They themselves rushed out of the woods to fight

here and there, and prevented our men from entering their fortifications.

But the soldiers of the seventh legion, having formed a testudo and

thrown up a rampart against the fortification, took the place and

drove them out of the woods, receiving only a few wounds. But Caesar

forbade his men to pursue them in their flight any great distance;

both because he was ignorant of the nature of the ground, and because,

as a great part of the day was spent, he wished time to be left for

the fortification of the camp.

Chapter 10

The next day, early in the morning, he sent both foot-soldiers and

horse in three divisions on an expedition to pursue those who had

fled. These having advanced a little way, when already the rear [of

the enemy] was in sight, some horse came to Caesar from Quintus Atrius,

to report that the preceding night, a very great storm having arisen,

almost all the ships were dashed to pieces and cast upon the shore,

because neither the anchors and cables could resist, nor could the

sailors and pilots sustain the violence of the storm; and thus great

damage was received by that collision of the ships.

Chapter 11

These things being known [to him], Caesar orders the legions and cavalry

to be recalled and to cease from their march; he himself returns to

the ships: he sees clearly before him almost the same things which

he had heard of from the messengers and by letter, so that, about

forty ships being lost, the remainder seemed capable of being repaired

with much labor. Therefore he selects workmen from the legions, and

orders others to be sent for from the continent; he writes to Labienus

to build as many ships as he could with those legions which were with

him. He himself, though the matter was one of great difficulty and

labor, yet thought it to be most expedient for all the ships to be

brought up on shore and joined with the camp by one fortification.

In these matters he employed about ten days, the labor of the soldiers

being unremitting even during the hours of night. The ships having

been brought up on shore and the camp strongly fortified, he left

the same forces as he did before as a guard for the ships; he sets

out in person for the same place that he had returned from. When he

had come thither, greater forces of the Britons had already assembled

at that place, the chief command and management of the war having

been intrusted to Cassivellaunus, whose territories a river, which

is called the Thames, separates, from the maritime states at about

eighty miles from the sea. At an earlier period perpetual wars had

taken place between him and the other states; but, greatly alarmed

by our arrival, the Britons had placed him over the whole war and

the conduct of it.

Chapter 12

The interior portion of Britain is inhabited by those of whom they

say that it is handed down by tradition that they were born in the

island itself: the maritime portion by those who had passed over from

the country of the Belgae for the purpose of plunder and making war;

almost all of whom are called by the names of those states from which

being sprung they went thither, and having waged war, continued there

and began to cultivate the lands. The number of the people is countless,

and their buildings exceedingly numerous, for the most part very like

those of the Gauls: the number of cattle is great. They use either

brass or iron rings, determined at a certain weight, as their money.

Tin is produced in the midland regions; in the maritime, iron; but

the quantity of it is small: they employ brass, which is imported.

There, as in Gaul, is timber of every description, except beech and

fir. They do not regard it lawful to eat the hare, and the cock, and

the goose; they, however, breed them for amusement and pleasure. The

climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the colds being less severe.

Chapter 13

The island is triangular in its form, and one of its sides is opposite

to Gaul. One angle of this side, which is in Kent, whither almost

all ships from Gaul are directed, [looks] to the east; the lower looks

to the south. This side extends about 500 miles. Another side lies

toward Spain and the west, on which part is Ireland, less, as is reckoned,

than Britain, by one half: but the passage [from it] into Britain

is of equal distance with that from Gaul. In the middle of this voyage,

is an island, which is called Mona: many smaller islands besides are

supposed to lie [there], of which islands some have written that at

the time of the winter solstice it is night there for thirty consecutive

days. We, in our inquiries about that matter, ascertained nothing,

except that, by accurate measurements with water, we perceived the

nights to be shorter there than on the continent. The length of this

side, as their account states, is 700 miles. The third side is toward

the north, to which portion of the island no land is opposite; but

an angle of that side looks principally toward Germany. This side

is considered to be 800 miles in length. Thus the whole island is

[about] 2,000 miles in circumference.

Chapter 14

The most civilized of all these nations are they who inhabit Kent,

which is entirely a maritime district, nor do they differ much from

the Gallic customs. Most of the inland inhabitants do not sow corn,

but live on milk and flesh, and are clad with skins. All the Britains,

indeed, dye themselves with wood, which occasions a bluish color,

and thereby have a more terrible appearance in fight. They wear their

hair long, and have every part of their body shaved except their head

and upper lip. Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and

particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children;

but if there be any issue by these wives, they are reputed to be the

children of those by whom respectively each was first espoused when

a virgin.

Chapter 15

The horse and charioteers of the enemy contended vigorously in a skirmish

with our cavalry on the march; yet so that our men were conquerors

in all parts, and drove them to their woods and hills; but, having

slain a great many, they pursued too eagerly, and lost some of their

men. But the enemy, after some time had elapsed, when our men were

off their guard, and occupied in the fortification of the camp, rushed

out of the woods, and making an attack upon those who were placed

on duty before the camp, fought in a determined manner; and two cohorts

being sent by Caesar to their relief, and these severally the first

of two legions, when these had taken up their position at a very small

distance from each other, as our men were disconcerted by the unusual

mode of battle, the enemy broke through the middle of them most courageously,

and retreated thence in safety. That day, Q. Laberius Durus, a tribune

of the soldiers, was slain. The enemy, since more cohorts were sent

against them, were repulsed.

Chapter 16

In the whole of this method of fighting since the engagement took

place under the eyes of all and before the camp, it was perceived

that our men, on account of the weight of their arms, inasmuch as

they could neither pursue [the enemy when] retreating, nor dare quit

their standards, were little suited to this kind of enemy; that the

horse also fought with great danger, because they [the Britons] generally

retreated even designedly, and, when they had drawn off our men a

short distance from the legions, leaped from their chariots and fought

on foot in unequal [and to them advantageous] battle. But the system

of cavalry engagement is wont to produce equal danger, and indeed

the same, both to those who retreat and to those who pursue. To this

was added, that they never fought in close order, but in small parties

and at great distances, and had detachments placed [in different parts],

and then the one relieved the other, and the vigorous and fresh succeeded

the wearied.

Chapter 17

The following day the enemy halted on the hills, a distance from our

camp, and presented themselves in small parties, and began to challenge

our horse to battle with less spirit than the day before. But at noon,

when Caesar had sent three legions, and all the cavalry, with C. Trebonius,

the lieutenant, for the purpose of foraging, they flew upon the foragers

suddenly from all quarters, so that they did not keep off [even] from

the standards and the legions. Our men making an attack on them vigorously,

repulsed them; nor did they cease to pursue them until the horse,

relying on relief, as they saw the legions behind them, drove the

enemy precipitately before them, and slaying a great number of them,

did not give them the opportunity either of rallying, or halting,

or leaping from their chariots. Immediately after this retreat, the

auxiliaries who had assembled from all sides, departed; nor after

that time did the enemy ever engage with us in very large numbers.

Chapter 18

Caesar, discovering their design, leads his army into the territories

of Cassivellaunus to the river Thames; which river can be forded in

one place only and that with difficulty. When he had arrived there,

he perceives that numerous forces of the enemy were marshaled on the

other bank of the river; the bank also was defended by sharp stakes

fixed in front, and stakes of the same kind fixed under the water

were covered by the river. These things being discovered from [some]

prisoners and deserters, Caesar, sending forward the cavalry, ordered

the legions to follow them immediately. But the soldiers advanced

with such speed and such ardor, though they stood above the water

by their heads only, that the enemy could not sustain the attack of

the legions and of the horse, and quitted the banks, and committed

themselves to flight.

Chapter 19

Cassivellaunus, as we have stated above, all hope [rising out] of

battle being laid aside, the greater part of his forces being dismissed,

and about 4,000 charioteers only being left, used to observe our marches

and retire a little from the road, and conceal himself in intricate

and woody places, and in those neighborhoods in which he had discovered

we were about to march, he used to drive the cattle and the inhabitants

from the fields into the woods; and, when our cavalry, for the sake

of plundering and ravaging the more freely, scattered themselves among

the fields, he used to send out charioteers from the woods by all

the well-known roads and paths, and to the great danger of our horse,

engage with them; and this source of fear hindered them from straggling

very extensively. The result was, that Caesar did not allow excursions

to be made to a great distance from the main body of the legions,

and ordered that damage should be done to the enemy in ravaging their

lands, and kindling fires only so far as the legionary soldiers could,

by their own exertion and marching, accomplish it.

Chapter 20

In the mean time, the Trinobantes, almost the most powerful state

of those parts, from which the young man, Mandubratius embracing the

protection of Caesar had come to the continent of Gaul to [meet] him

(whose father, Imanuentius, had possessed the sovereignty in that

state, and had been killed by Cassivellaunus; he himself had escaped

death by flight), send embassadors to Caesar, and promise that they

will surrender themselves to him and perform his commands; they entreat

him to protect Mandubratius from the violence of Cassivellaunus, and

send to their state some one to preside over it, and possess the government.

Caesar demands forty hostages from them, and corn for his army, and

sends Mandubratius to them. They speedily performed the things demanded,

and sent hostages to the number appointed, and the corn.

Chapter 21

The Trinobantes being protected and secured from any violence of the

soldiers, the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci,

and the Cassi, sending embassies, surrendered themselves to Caesar.

From them he learns that the capital town of Cassivellaunus was not

far from that place, and was defended by woods and morasses, and a

very large number of men and of cattle had been collected in it. (Now

the Britons, when they have fortified the intricate woods, in which

they are wont to assemble for the purpose of avoiding the incursion

of an enemy, with an intrenchment and a rampart, call them a town.)

Thither he proceeds with his legions: he finds the place admirably

fortified by nature and art; he, however, undertakes to attack it

in two directions. The enemy, having remained only a short time, did

not sustain the attack of our soldiers, and hurried away on the other

side of the town. A great amount of cattle was found there, and many

of the enemy were taken and slain in their flight.

Chapter 22

While these things are going forward in those places, Cassivellaunus

sends messengers into Kent, which, we have observed above, is on the

sea, over which districts four several kings reigned, Cingetorix,

Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segonax, and commands them to collect all

their forces, and unexpectedly assail and storm the naval camp. When

they had come to the camp, our men, after making a sally, slaying

many of their men, and also capturing a distinguished leader named

Lugotorix, brought back their own men in safety. Cassivellaunus, when

this battle was reported to him as so many losses had been sustained,

and his territories laid waste, being alarmed most of all by the desertion

of the states, sends embassadors to Caesar [to treat] about a surrender

through the mediation of Commius the Atrebatian. Caesar, since he

had determined to pass the winter on the continent, on account of

the sudden revolts of Gaul, and as much of the summer did not remain,

and he perceived that even that could be easily protracted, demands

hostages, and prescribes what tribute Britain should pay each year

to the Roman people; he forbids and commands Cassivellaunus that he

wage not war against Mandubratius or the Trinobantes.

Chapter 23

When he had received the hostages, he leads back the army to the sea,

and finds the ships repaired. After launching these, because he had

a large number of prisoners, and some of the ships had been lost in

the storm, he determines to convey back his army at two embarkations.

And it so happened, that out of so large a number of ships, in so

many voyages, neither in this nor in the previous year was any ship

missing which conveyed soldiers; but very few out of those which were

sent back to him from the continent empty, as the soldiers of the

former convoy had been disembarked, and out of those (sixty in number)

which Labienus had taken care to have built, reached their destination;

almost all the rest were driven back, and when Caesar had waited for

them for some time in vain, lest he should be debarred from a voyage

by the season of the year, inasmuch as the equinox was at hand, he

of necessity stowed his soldiers the more closely, and, a very great

calm coming on, after he had weighed anchor at the beginning of the

second watch, he reached land at break of day and brought in all the

ships in safety.

Chapter 24

The ships having been drawn up and a general assembly of the Gauls

held at Samarobriva, because the corn that year had not prospered

in Gaul by reason of the droughts, he was compelled to station his

army in its winter-quarters differently from the former years, and

to distribute the legions among several states: one of them he gave

to C. Fabius, his lieutenant, to be marched into the territories of

the Morini; a second to Q. Cicero, into those of the Nervii; a third

to L. Roscius, into those of the Essui; a fourth he ordered to winter

with T. Labienus among the Remi in the confines of the Treviri; he

stationed three in Belgium; over these he appointed M. Crassus, his

questor, and L. Munatius Plancus and C. Trebonius, his lieutenants.

One legion which he had raised last on the other side of the Po, and

five cohorts, he sent among the Eburones, the greatest portion of

whom lie between the Meuse and the Rhine, [and] who were under the

government of Ambiorix and Cativolcus. He ordered Q. Titurius Sabinus

and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, his lieutenants, to take command of these

soldiers. The legions being distributed in this manner, he thought

he could most easily remedy the scarcity of corn and yet the winter-quarters

of all these legions (except that which he had given to L. Roscius,

to be led into the most peaceful and tranquil neighborhood) were comprehended

within [about] 100 miles. He himself in the mean while, until he had

stationed the legions and knew that the several winter-quarters were

fortified, determined to stay in Gaul.

Chapter 25

There was among the Carnutes a man named Tasgetius, born of very high

rank, whose ancestors had held the sovereignty in his state. To him

Caesar had restored the position of his ancestors, in consideration

of his prowess and attachment toward him, because in all his wars

he had availed himself of his valuable services. His personal enemies

had killed him when in the third year of his reign, many even of his

own state being openly promoters [of that act] This event is related

to Caesar. He fearing, because several were involved in the act, that

the state might revolt at their instigation, orders Lucius Plancus,

with a legion, to proceed quickly from Belgium to the Carnutes, and

winter there, and arrest and send to him the persons by whose instrumentality

he should discover that Tasgetius was slain. In the mean time, he

was apprised by all the lieutenants and questors to whom he had assigned

the legions, that they had arrived in winter-quarters, and that the

place for the quarters was fortified.

Chapter 26

About fifteen days after they had come into winter-quarters, the beginning

of a sudden insurrection and revolt arose from Ambiorix and Cativolcus,

who, though they had met with Sabinus and Cotta at the borders of

their kingdom, and had conveyed corn into our winter-quarters, induced

by the messages of Indutiomarus, one of the Treviri, excited their

people, and after having suddenly assailed the soldiers engaged in

procuring wood, came with a large body to attack the camp. When our

men had speedily taken up arms and had ascended the rampart, and sending

out some Spanish horse on one side, had proved conquerors in a cavalry

action, the enemy, despairing of success, drew off their troops from

the assault. Then they shouted, according to their custom, that some

of our men should go forward to a conference, [alleging] that they

had some things which they desired to say respecting the common interest,

by which they trusted their disputes could be removed.

Chapter 27

C. Arpineius, a Roman knight, the intimate friend of Q. Titurius,

and with him, Q. Junius, a certain person from Spain, who already

on previous occasions, had been accustomed to go to Ambiorix, at Caesar's

mission, is sent to them for the purpose of a conference: before them

Ambiorix spoke to this effect: "That he confessed, that for Caesar's

kindness toward him, he was very much indebted to him, inasmuch as

by his aid he had been freed from a tribute which he had been accustomed

to pay to the Aduatuci, his neighbors; and because his own son and

the son of his brother had been sent back to him, whom, when sent

in the number of hostages, the Aduatuci had detained among them in

slavery and in chains; and that he had not done that which he had

done in regard to the attacking of the camp, either by his own judgment

or desire, but by the compulsion of his state; and that his government

was of that nature, that the people had as much authority over him

as he over the people. To the state moreover the occasion of the war

was this - that it could not withstand the sudden combination of the

Gauls; that he could easily prove this from his own weakness, since

he was not so little versed in affairs as to presume that with his

forces he could conquer the Roman people; but that it was the common

resolution of Gaul; that that day was appointed for the storming of

all Caesar's winter-quarters, in order that no legion should be able

to come to the relief of another legion, that Gauls could not easily

deny Gauls, especially when a measure seemed entered into for recovering

their common freedom. Since he had performed his duty to them on the

score of patriotism [he said], he has now regard to gratitude for

the kindness of Caesar; that he warned, that he prayed Titurius by

the claims of hospitality, to consult for his and his soldiers' safely;

that a large force of the Germans had been hired and had passed the

Rhine; that it would arrive in two days: that it was for them to consider

whether they thought fit, before the nearest people perceived it,

to lead off their soldiers when drawn out of winter-quarters, either

to Cicero or to Labienus; one of whom was about fifty miles distant

from them, the other rather more; that this he promised and confirmed

by oath, that he would give them a safe passage through his territories;

and when he did that, he was both consulting for his own state, because

it would be relieved from the winter-quarters, and also making a requital

to Caesar for his obligations."

Chapter 28

Arpineius and Junius relate to the lieutenants what they had heard.

They, greatly alarmed by the unexpected affair, though those things

were spoken by an enemy, still thought they were not to be disregarded;

and they were especially influenced by this consideration, that it

was scarcely credible that the obscure and humble state of the Eburones

had dared to make war upon the Roman people of their own accord. Accordingly,

they refer the matter to a council, and a great controversy arises

among them. L. Aurunculeius, and several tribunes of the soldiers

and the centurions of the first rank, were of opinion "that nothing

should be done hastily, and that they should not depart from the camp

without Caesar's orders;" they declared, "that any forces of the Germans,

however great, might be encountered by fortified winter-quarters;

that this fact was a proof [of it]; that they had sustained the first

assault of the Germans most valiantly, inflicting many wounds upon

them; that they were not distressed for corn; that in the mean time

relief would come both from the nearest winter-quarters and from Caesar;

lastly, they put the query, "what could be more undetermined, more

undignified, than to adopt measures respecting the most important

affairs on the authority of an enemy?"

Chapter 29

In opposition to those things, Titurius exclaimed, "That they would

do this too late, when greater forces of the enemy, after a junction

with the Germans, should have assembled; or when some disaster had

been received in the neighboring winter-quarters; that the opportunity

for deliberating was short; that he believed that Caesar had set forth

into Italy, as the Carnutes would not otherwise have taken the measure

of slaying Tasgetius, nor would the Eburones, if he had been present,

have come to the camp with so great defiance of us; that he did not

regard the enemy, but the fact, as the authority; that the Rhine was

near; that the death of Ariovistus and our previous victories were

subjects of great indignation to the Germans; that Gaul was inflamed,

that after having received so many defeats she was reduced under the

sway of the Roman people, her pristine glory in military matters being

extinguished." Lastly, "who would persuade himself of this, that Ambiorix

had resorted to a design of that nature without sure grounds? That

his own opinion was safe on either side; if there be nothing very

formidable, they would go without danger to the nearest legion; if

all Gaul conspired with the Germans, their only safety lay in dispatch.

What issue would the advice of Cotta and of those who differed from

him, have? from which, if immediate danger was not to be dreaded,

yet certainly famine, by a protracted siege, was."

Chapter 30

This discussion having been held on the two sides, when opposition

was offered strenuously by Cotta and the principal officers, "Prevail,"

said Sabinus, "if so you wish it;" and he said it with a louder voice,

that a great portion of the soldiers might hear him; "nor am I the

person among you," he said, "who is most powerfully alarmed by the

danger of death; these will be aware of it, and then, if any thing

disastrous shall have occurred, they will demand a reckoning at your

hands; these, who, if it were permitted by you, united three days

hence with the nearest winter-quarters, may encounter the common condition

of war with the rest, and not, as if forced away and separated far

from the rest, perish either by the sword or by famine."

Chapter 31

They rise from the council, detain both, and entreat, that "they do

not bring the matter into the greatest jeopardy by their dissension

and obstinacy; the affair was an easy one, if only they all thought

and approved of the same thing, whether they remain or depart; on

the other hand, they saw no security in dissension." The matter is

prolonged by debate till midnight. At last Cotta, being overruled,

yields his assent; the opinion of Sabinus prevails. It is proclaimed

that they will march at day-break; the remainder of the night is spent

without sleep, since every soldier was inspecting his property, [to

see] what he could carry with him, and what, out of the appurtenances

of the winter-quarters, he would be compelled to leave; every reason

is suggested to show why they could not stay without danger, and how

that danger would be increased by the fatigue of the soldiers and

their want of sleep. At break of day they quit the camp, in a very

extended line and with a very large amount of baggage, in such a manner

as men who were convinced that the advice was given by Ambiorix, not

as an enemy, but as most friendly [toward them].

Chapter 32

But the enemy, after they had made the discovery of their intended

departure by the noise during the night and their not retiring to

rest, having placed an ambuscade in two divisions in the woods, in

a suitable and concealed place, two miles from the camp, waited for

the arrival of the Romans: and when the greater part of the line of

march had descended into a considerable valley, they suddenly presented

themselves on either side of that valley, and began both to harass

the rear and hinder the van from ascending, and to give battle in

a place exceedingly disadvantageous to our men.

Chapter 33

Then at length Titurius, as one who had provided nothing beforehand,

was confused, ran to and fro, and set about arranging his troops;

these very things, however, he did timidly and in such a manner that

all resources seemed to fail him: which generally happens to those

who are compelled to take council in the action itself. But Cotta,

who had reflected that these things might occur on the march, and

on that account had not been an adviser of the departure, was wanting

to the common safety in no respect; both in addressing and encouraging

the soldiers, he performed the duties of a general, and in the battle

those of a soldier. And since they [Titurius and Cotta] could less

easily perform every thing by themselves, and provide what was to

be done in each place, by reason of the length of the line of march,

they ordered [the officers] to give the command that they should leave

the baggage and form themselves into an orb, which measure, though

in a contingency of that nature it was not to be condemned, still

turned out unfortunately; for it both diminished the hope of our soldiers

and rendered the enemy more eager for the fight, because it appeared

that this was not done without the greatest fear and despair. Besides

that happened, which would necessarily be the case, that the soldiers

for the most part quitted their ensigns and hurried to seek and carry

off from the baggage whatever each thought valuable, and all parts

were filled with uproar and lamentation.

Chapter 34

But judgment was not wanting to the barbarians; for their leaders

ordered [the officers] to proclaim through the ranks "that no man

should quit his place; that the booty was theirs, and for them was

reserved whatever the Romans should leave; therefore let them consider

that all things depended on their victory. Our men were equal to them

in fighting, both in courage and in number, and though they were deserted

by their leader and by fortune, yet they still placed all hope of

safety in their valor, and as often as any cohort sallied forth on

that side, a great number of the enemy usually fell. Ambiorix, when

he observed this, orders the command to be issued that they throw

their weapons from a distance and do not approach too near, and in

whatever direction the Romans should make an attack, there give way

(from the lightness of their appointments and from their daily practice

no damage could be done them); [but] pursue them when betaking themselves

to their standards again.

Chapter 35

Which command having been most carefully obeyed, when any cohort had

quitted the circle and made a charge, the enemy fled very precipitately.

In the mean time, that part of the Roman army, of necessity, was left

unprotected, and the weapons received on their open flank. Again,

when they had begun to return to that place from which they had advanced,

they were surrounded both by those who had retreated and by those

who stood next them; but if, on the other hand, they wish to keep

their place, neither was an opportunity left for valor, nor could

they, being crowded together, escape the weapons cast by so large

a body of men. Yet, though assailed by so many disadvantages, [and]

having received many wounds, they withstood the enemy, and, a great

portion of the day being spent, though they fought from day-break

till the eighth hour, they did nothing which was unworthy of them.

At length, each thigh of T. Balventius, who the year before had been

chief centurion, a brave man and one of great authority, is pierced

with a javelin; Q. Lucanius, of the same rank, fighting most valiantly,

is slain while he assists his son when surrounded by the enemy; L.

Cotta, the lieutenant, when encouraging all the cohorts and companies,

is wounded full in the mouth by a sling.

Chapter 36

Much troubled by these events, Q. Titurius, when he had perceived

Ambiorix in the distance encouraging his men, sends to him his interpreter,

Cn. Pompey, to beg that he would spare him and his soldiers. He, when

addressed, replied, "If he wishes to confer with him, it was permitted;

that he hoped what pertained to the safety of the soldiers could be

obtained from the people; that to him however certainly no injury

would be done, and that he pledged his faith to that effect." He consults

with Cotta, who had been wounded, whether it would appear right to

retire from battle, and confer with Ambiorix; [saying] that he hoped

to be able to succeed respecting his own and the soldiers' safety.

Cotta says he will not go to an armed enemy, and in that perseveres.

Chapter 37

Sabinus orders those tribunes of the soldiers whom he had at the time

around him, and the centurions of the first ranks, to follow him,

and when he had approached near to Ambiorix, being ordered to throw

down his arms, he obeys the order and commands his men to do the same.

In the mean time, while they treat upon the terms, and a longer debate

than necessary is designedly entered into by Ambiorix, being surrounded

by degrees, he is slain. Then they, according to their custom, shout

out "Victory," and raise their war-cry, and, making an attack on our

men, break their ranks. There L. Cotta, while fighting, is slain,

together with the greater part of the soldiers; the rest betake themselves

to the camp, from which they had marched forth, and one of them, L.

Petrosidius, the standard bearer, when he was overpowered by the great

number of the enemy, threw the eagle within the intrenchments and

is himself slain while fighting with the greatest courage before the

camp. They with difficulty sustain the attack till night; despairing

of safety, they all to a man destroy themselves in the night. A few

escaping from the battle, made their way to Labienus at winter-quarters,

after wandering at random through the woods, and inform him of these

events

Chapter 38

Elated by this victory, Ambiorix marches immediately with his cavalry

to the Aduatuci, who bordered on his kingdom; he halts neither day

nor night, and orders the infantry to follow him closely. Having related

the exploit and roused the Aduatuci, the next day he arrived among

the Nervii, and entreats "that they should not throw away the opportunity

of liberating themselves forever and of punishing the Romans for those

wrongs which they had received from them;" [he tells them] "that two

lieutenants have been slain, and that a large portion of the army

has perished; that it was not a matter of difficulty for the legion

which was wintering with Cicero to be cut off, when suddenly assaulted;

he declares himself ready to cooperate in that design. He easily gains

over the Nervii by this speech.

Chapter 39

Accordingly, messengers having been forthwith dispatched to the Centrones,

the Grudii, the Levaci, the Pleumoxii, and the Geiduni, all of whom

are under their government, they assemble as large bodies as they

can, and rush unexpectedly to the winter-quarters of Cicero, the report

of the death of Titurius not having as yet been conveyed to him. That

also occurred to him, which was the consequence of a necessary work

- that some soldiers who had gone off into the woods for the purpose

of procuring timber and therewith constructing fortifications, were

intercepted by the sudden arrival of [the enemy's] horse. These having

been entrapped, the Eburones, the Nervii, and the Aduatici and all

their allies and dependents, begin to attack the legion: our men quickly

run together to arms and mount the rampart; they sustained the attack

that day with great difficulty, since the enemy placed all their hope

in dispatch, and felt assured that, if they obtained this victory,

they would be conquerors forever.

Chapter 40

Letters are immediately sent to Caesar by Cicero, great rewards being

offered [to the messengers] if they carried them through. All these

passes having been beset, those who were sent are intercepted. During

the night as many as 120 towers are raised with incredible dispatch

out of the timber which they had collected for the purpose of fortification:

the things which seemed necessary to the work are completed. The following

day the enemy, having collected far greater forces, attack the camp

[and] fill up the ditch. Resistance is made by our men in the same

manner as the day before; this same thing is done afterward during

the remaining days. The work is carried on incessantly in the night:

not even to the sick, or wounded, is opportunity given for rest: whatever

things are required for resisting the assault of the next day are

provided during the night: many stakes burned at the end, and a large

number of mural pikes are procured: towers are built up, battlements

and parapets are formed of interwoven hurdles. Cicero himself, though

he was in very weak health, did not leave himself the night-time for

repose, so that he was forced to spare himself by the spontaneous

movement and entreaties of the soldiers.

Chapter 41

Then these leaders and chiefs of the Nervii, who had any intimacy

and grounds of friendship with Cicero, say they desire to confer with

him. When permission was granted, they recount the same things which

Ambiorix had related to Titurius, namely, "that all Gaul was in arms,

that the Germans had passed the Rhine, that the winter-quarters of

Caesar and of the others were attacked." They report in addition also,

about the death of Sabinus. They point to Ambiorix for the purpose

of obtaining credence; "they are mistaken," say they, "if they hoped

for any relief from those who distrust their own affairs; that they

bear such feelings toward Cicero and the Roman people that they deny

them nothing but winter-quarters, and are unwilling that the practice

should become constant; that through their [the Nervii's] means it

is possible for them [the Romans] to depart from their winter-quarters

safely and to proceed without fear into whatever parts they desire."

To these Cicero made only one reply: "that it is not the custom of

the Roman people to accept any condition from an armed enemy: if they

are willing to lay down their arms, they may employ him as their advocate

and send embassadors to Caesar: that he believed, from his [Caesar's]

justice, they would obtain the things which they might request."

Chapter 42

Disappointed in this hope, the Nervii surround the winter-quarters

with a rampart eleven feet high, and a ditch thirteen feet in depth.

These military works they had learned from our men in the intercourse

of former years, and, having taken some of our army prisoners, were

instructed by them: but, as they had no supply of iron tools which

are requisite for this service, they were forced to cut the turf with

their swords, and to empty out the earth with their hands and cloaks,

from which circumstance, the vast number of the men could be inferred;

for in less than three hours they completed a fortification of ten

miles in circumference; and during the rest of the days they began

to prepare and construct towers of the height of the ramparts, and

grappling irons, and mantelets, which the same prisoners had taught

them.

Chapter 43

On the seventh day of the attack, a very high wind having sprung up,

they began to discharge by their slings hot balls made of burned or

hardened clay, and heated javelins, upon the huts, which, after the

Gallic custom, were thatched with straw. These quickly took fire,

and by the violence of the wind, scattered their flames in every part

of the camp. The enemy following up their success with a very loud

shout, as if victory were already obtained and secured, began to advance

their towers and mantelets, and climb the rampart with ladders. But

so great was the courage of our soldiers, and such their presence

of mind, that though they were scorched on all sides, and harassed

by a vast number of weapons, and were aware that their baggage and

their possessions were burning, not only did no one quit the rampart

for the purpose of withdrawing from the scene, but scarcely did any

one even then look behind; and they all fought most vigorously and

most valiantly. This day was by far the most calamitous to our men;

it had this result, however, that on that day the largest number of

the enemy was wounded and slain, since they had crowded beneath the

very rampart, and the hindmost did not afford the foremost a retreat.

The flame having abated a little, and a tower having been brought

up in a particular place and touching the rampart, the centurions

of the third cohort retired from the place in which they were standing,

and drew off all their men: they began to call on the enemy by gestures

and by words, to enter if they wished; but none of them dared to advance.

Then stones having been cast from every quarter, the enemy were dislodged,

and their tower set on fire.

Chapter 44

In that legion there were two very brave men, centurions, who were

now approaching the first ranks, T. Pulfio, and L. Varenus. These

used to have continual disputes between them which of them should

be preferred, and every year used to contend for promotion with the

utmost animosity. When the fight was going on most vigorously before

the fortifications, Pulfio, one of them, says, "Why do you hesitate,

Varenus? or what [better] opportunity of signalizing your valor do

you seek? This very day shall decide our disputes." When he had uttered

these words, he proceeds beyond the fortifications, and rushes on

that part of the enemy which appeared the thickest. Nor does Varenus

remain within the rampart, but respecting the high opinion of all,

follows close after. Then, when an inconsiderable space intervened,

Pulfio throws his javelin at the enemy, and pierces one of the multitude

who was running up, and while the latter was wounded and slain, the

enemy cover him with their shields, and all throw their weapons at

the other and afford him no opportunity of retreating. The shield

of Pulfio is pierced and a javelin is fastened in his belt. This circumstance

turns aside his scabbard and obstructs his right hand when attempting

to draw his sword: the enemy crowd around him when [thus] embarrassed.

His rival runs up to him and succors him in this emergency. Immediately

the whole host turn from Pulfio to him, supposing the other to be

pierced through by the javelin. Varenus rushes on briskly with his

sword and carries on the combat hand to hand, and having slain one

man, for a short time drove back the rest: while he urges on too eagerly,

slipping into a hollow, he fell. To him, in his turn, when surrounded,

Pulfio brings relief; and both having slain a great number, retreat

into the fortifications amid the highest applause. Fortune so dealt

with both in this rivalry and conflict, that the one competitor was

a succor and a safeguard to the other, nor could it be determined

which of the two appeared worthy of being preferred to the other.

Chapter 45

In proportion as the attack became daily more formidable and violent,

and particularly, because, as a great number of the soldiers were

exhausted with wounds, the matter had come to a small number of defenders,

more frequent letters and messages were sent to Caesar; a part of

which messengers were taken and tortured to death in the sight of

our soldiers. There was within our camp a certain Nervian, by name

Vertico, born in a distinguished position, who in the beginning of

the blockade had deserted to Cicero, and had exhibited his fidelity

to him. He persuades his slave, by the hope of freedom, and by great

rewards, to convey a letter to Caesar. This he carries out bound about

his javelin; and mixing among the Gauls without any suspicion by being

a Gaul, he reaches Caesar. From him they received information of the

imminent danger of Cicero and the legion.

Chapter 46

Caesar having received the letter about the eleventh hour of the day,

immediately sends a messenger to the Bellovaci, to M. Crassus, questor

there, whose winter-quarters were twenty-five miles distant from him.

He orders the legion to set forward in the middle of the night, and

come to him with dispatch. Crassus sets out with the messenger. He

sends another to C. Fabius, the lieutenant, ordering him to lead forth

his legion into the territories of the Atrebates, to which he knew

his march must be made. He writes to Labienus to come with his legion

to the frontiers of the Nervii, if he could do so to the advantage

of the commonwealth: he does not consider that the remaining portion

of the army, because it was somewhat further distant, should be waited

for; but assembles about 400 horse from the nearest winter-quarters.

Chapter 47

Having been apprised of the arrival of Crassus by the scouts at about

the third hour, he advances twenty miles that day. He appoints Crassus

over Samarobriva and assigns him a legion, because he was leaving

there the baggage of the army, the hostages of the states, the public

documents, and all the corn, which he had conveyed thither for passing

the winter. Fabius, without delaying a moment, meets him on the march

with his legion, as he had been commanded. Labienus, having learned

the death of Sabinus and the destruction of the cohorts, as all the

forces of the Treviri had come against him, beginning to fear lest,

if he made a departure from his winter-quarters, resembling a flight,

he should not be able to support the attack of the enemy, particularly

since he knew them to be elated by their recent victory, sends back

a letter to Caesar, informing him with what great hazard he would

lead out his legion from winter-quarters; he relates at large the

affairs which had taken place among the Eburones; he informs him that

all the infantry and cavalry of the Treviri had encamped at a distance

of only three miles from his own camp.

Chapter 48

Caesar, approving of his motives, although he was disappointed in

his expectation of three legions, and reduced to two, yet placed his

only hopes of the common safety in dispatch. He goes into the territories

of the Nervii by long marches. There he learns from some prisoners

what things are going on in the camp of Cicero, and in how great jeopardy

the affair is. Then with great rewards he induces a certain man of

the Gallic horse to convey a letter to Cicero. This he sends written

in Greek characters, lest the letter being intercepted, our measures

should be discovered by the enemy. He directs him, if he should be

unable to enter, to throw his spear with the letter fastened to the

thong, inside the fortifications of the camp. He writes in the letter,

that he having set out with his legions, will quickly be there: he

entreats him to maintain his ancient valor. The Gaul apprehending

danger, throws his spear as he has been directed. Is by chance stuck

in a tower, and, not being observed by our men for two days, was seen

by a certain soldier on the third day: when taken down, it was carried

to Cicero. He, after perusing it, reads it out in an assembly of the

soldiers, and fills all with the greatest joy. Then the smoke of the

fires was seen in the distance, a circumstance which banished all

doubt of the arrival of the legions.

Chapter 49

The Gauls, having discovered the matter through their scouts, abandon

the blockade, and march toward Caesar with all their forces; these

were about 60,000 armed men. Cicero, an opportunity being now afforded,

again begs of that Vertico, the Gaul, whom we mentioned above, to

convey back a letter to Caesar; he advises him to perform his journey

warily; he writes in the letter that the enemy had departed and had

turned their entire force against him. When this letter was brought

to him about the middle of the night, Caesar apprises his soldiers

of its contents, and inspires them with courage for fighting: the

following day, at the dawn, he moves his camp, and, having proceeded

four miles, he espies the forces of the enemy on the other side of

a considerable valley and rivulet. It was an affair of great danger

to fight with such large forces in a disadvantageous situation. For

the present, therefore, inasmuch as he knew that Cicero was released

from the blockade, and thought that he might, on that account, relax

his speed, he halted there and fortifies a camp in the most favorable

position he can. And this, though it was small in itself, [there being]

scarcely 7,000 men, and these too without baggage, still by the narrowness

of the passages, he contracts as much as he can, with this object,

that he may come into the greatest contempt with the enemy. In the

mean while scouts having been sent in all directions, he examines

by what most convenient path he might cross the valley.

Chapter 50

That day, slight skirmishes of cavalry having taken place near the

river, both armies kept in their own positions: the Gauls, because

they were awaiting larger forces which had not then arrived; Caesar,

[to see] if perchance by pretense of fear he could allure the enemy

toward his position, so that he might engage in battle, in front of

his camp, on this side of the valley; if he could not accomplish this,

that, having inquired about the passes, he might cross the valley

and the river with the less hazard. At daybreak the cavalry of the

enemy approaches to the camp and joins battle with our horse. Caesar

orders the horse to give way purposely, and retreat to the camp: at

the same time he orders the camp to be fortified with a higher rampart

in all directions, the gates to be barricaded, and in executing these

things as much confusion to be shown as possible, and to perform them

under the pretense of fear.

Chapter 51

Induced by all these things, the enemy lead over their forces and

draw up their line in a disadvantageous position; and as our men also

had been led down from the ramparts, they approach nearer, and throw

their weapons into the fortification from all sides, and sending heralds

round, order it to be proclaimed that, if "any, either Gaul or Roman,

was willing to go over to them before the third hour, it was permitted;

after that time there would not be permission;" and so much did they

disregard our men, that the gates having been blocked up with single

rows of turf as a mere appearance, because they did not seem able

to burst in that way, some began to pull down the rampart with their

hands, others to fill up the trenches. Then Caesar, making a sally

from all the gates, and sending out the cavalry, soon puts the enemy

to flight, so that no one at all stood his ground with the intention

of fighting; and he slew a great number of them, and deprived all

of their arms.

Chapter 52

Caesar, fearing to pursue them very far, because woods and morasses

intervened, and also [because] he saw that they suffered no small

loss in abandoning their position, reaches Cicero the same day with

all his forces safe. He witnesses with surprise the towers, mantelets,

and [other] fortifications belonging to the enemy: the legion having

been drawn out, he finds that even every tenth soldier had not escaped

without wounds. From all these things he judges with what danger and

with what great courage matters had been conducted; he commends Cicero

according to his desert, and likewise the legion; he addresses individually

the centurions and the tribunes of the soldiers, whose valor he had

discovered to have been signal. He receives information of the death

of Sabinus and Cotta from the prisoners. An assembly being held the

following day, he states the occurrence; he consoles and encourages

the soldiers; he suggests, that the disaster, which had been occasioned

by the misconduct and rashness of his lieutenant, should be borne

with a patient mind, because by the favor of the immortal gods and

their own valor, neither was lasting joy left to the enemy, nor very

lasting grief to them.

Chapter 53

In the mean while the report respecting the victory of Caesar is conveyed

to Labienus through the country of the Remi with incredible speed,

so that, though he was about sixty miles distant from the winter-quarter

of Cicero, and Caesar had arrived there after the ninth hour, before

midnight a shout arose at the gates of the camp, by which shout an

indication of the victory and a congratulation on the part of the

Remi were given to Labienus. This report having been carried to the

Treviri, Indutiomarus, who had resolved to attack the camp of Labienus

the following day, flies by night and leads back all his forces into

the country of the Treviri. Caesar sends back Fabius with his legion

to his winter-quarters; he himself determines to winter with three

legions near Samarobriva in three different quarters, and, because

such great commotions had arisen in Gaul, he resolved to remain during

the whole winter with the army himself. For the disaster respecting

the death of Sabinus having been circulated among them, almost all

the states of Gaul were deliberating about war, sending messengers

and embassies into all quarters, inquiring what further measure they

should take, and holding councils by night in secluded places. Nor

did any period of the whole winter pass over without fresh anxiety

to Caesar, or, without his receiving some intelligence respecting

the meetings and commotions of the Gauls. Among these, he is informed

by L. Roscius, the lieutenant whom he had placed over the thirteenth

legion, that large forces of those states of the Gauls, which are

called the Armoricae, had assembled for the purpose of attacking him

and were not more than eight miles distant; but intelligence respecting

the victory of Caesar being carried [to them], had retreated in such

a manner that their departure appeared like a flight.

Chapter 54

But Caesar, having summoned to him the principal persons of each state,

in one case by alarming them, since he declared that he knew what

was going on, and in another case by encouraging them, retained a

great part of Gaul in its allegiance. The Senones, however, which

is a state eminently powerful and one of great influence among the

Gauls, attempting by general design to slay Cavarinus, whom Caesar

had created king among them (whose brother, Moritasgus, had held the

sovereignty at the period of the arrival of Caesar in Gaul, and whose

ancestors had also previously held it), when he discovered their plot

and fled, pursued him even to the frontiers [of the state], and drove

him from his kingdom and his home; and, after having sent embassadors

to Caesar for the purpose of concluding a peace, when he ordered all

their senate to come to him, did not obey that command. So far did

it operate among those barbarian people, that there were found some

to be the first to wage war; and so great a change of inclinations

did it produce in all, that, except the Aedui and the Remi, whom Caesar

had always held in especial honor, the one people for their long standing

and uniform fidelity toward the Roman people, the other for their

late service in the Gallic war, there was scarcely a state which was

not suspected by us. And I do not know whether that ought much to

be wondered at, as well for several other reasons, as particularly

because they who ranked above all nations for prowess in war, most

keenly regretted that they had lost so much of that reputation as

to submit to commands from the Roman people.

Chapter 55

But the Triviri and Indutiomarus let no part of the entire winter

pass without sending embassadors across the Rhine, importuning the

states, promising money, and asserting that, as a large portion of

our army had been cut off, a much smaller portion remained. However,

none of the German States could be induced to cross the Rhine, since

"they had twice essayed it," they said, "in the war with Ariovistus

and in the passage of the Tenchtheri there; that fortune was not to

be tempted any more." Indutiomarus disappointed in this expectation,

nevertheless began to raise troops, and discipline them, and procure

horses from the neighboring people, and allure to him by great rewards

the outlaws and convicts throughout Gaul. And such great influence

had he already acquired for himself in Gaul by these means, that embassies

were flocking to him in all directions, and seeking, publicly and

privately, his favor and friendship.

Chapter 56

When he perceived that they were coming to him voluntarily; that on

the one side the Senones and the Carnutes were stimulated by their

consciousness of guilt, on the other side the Nervii and the Aduatuci

were preparing war against the Romans, and that forces of volunteers

would not be wanting to him if he began to advance from his own territories,

he proclaims an armed council (this according to the custom of the

Gauls in the commencement of war) at which, by a common law, all the

youth were wont to assemble in arms, whoever of them comes last is

killed in the sight of the whole assembly after being racked with

every torture. In that council he declares Cingetorix, the leader

of the other faction, his own son-in-law (whom we have above mentioned,

as having embraced the protection of Caesar, and never having deserted

him) an enemy and confiscates his property. When these things were

finished, he asserts in the council that he, invited by the Senones

and the Carnutes, and several other states of Gaul, was about to march

thither through the territories of the Remi, devastate their lands,

and attack the camp of Labienus: before he does that, he informs them

of what he desires to be done.

Chapter 57

Labienus, since he was confining himself within a camp strongly fortified

by the nature of the ground and by art, had no apprehensions as to

his own and the legion's danger, but was devising that he might throw

away no opportunity of conducting the war successfully. Accordingly,

the speech of Indutiomarus, which he had delivered in the council,

having been made known [to him] by Cingetorix and his allies, he sends

messengers to the neighboring states and summons horse from all quarters:

he appoints to them a fixed day for assembling. In the mean time,

Indutiomarus, with all his cavalry, nearly every day used to parade

close to his [Labienus'] camp; at one time, that he might inform himself

of the situation of the camp; at another time, for the purpose of

conferring with or of intimidating him. Labienus confined his men

within the fortifications, and promoted the enemy's belief of his

fear by whatever methods he could.

Chapter 58

Since Indutiomarus was daily advancing up to the camp with greater

defiance, all the cavalry of the neighboring states which he [Labienus]

had taken care to have sent for, having been admitted in one night,

he confined all his men within the camp by guards with such great

strictness, that that fact could by no means be reported or carried

to the Treviri. In the mean while, Indutiomarus, according to his

daily practice, advances up to the camp and spends a great part of

the day there: his horse cast their weapons, and with very insulting

language call out our men to battle. No reply being given by our men,

the enemy, when they thought proper, depart toward evening in a disorderly

and scattered manner, Labienus unexpectedly sends out all the cavalry

by two gates; he gives this command and prohibition, that, when the

enemy should be terrified and put to flight (which he foresaw would

happen, as it did), they should all make for Indutiomarus, and no

one wound any man before he should have seen him slain, because he

was unwilling that he should escape, in consequence of gaining time

by the delay [occasioned by the pursuit] of the rest. He offers great

rewards for those who should kill him: he sends up the cohorts as

a relief to the horse. The issue justifies the policy of the man,

and since all aimed at one, Indutiomarus is slain, having been overtaken

at the very ford of the river, and his head is carried to the camp,

the horse, when returning, pursue and slay all whom they can. This

affair having been known, all the forces of the Eburones and the Nervii

which had assembled, depart; and for a short time after this action,

Caesar was less harassed in the government of Gaul.

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BOOK 6

Chapter 1

Caesar, expecting for many reasons a greater commotion in Gaul, resolves

to hold a levy by the means of M. Silanus C. Antistius Reginus, and

T. Sextius, his lieutenants: at the same time he requested Cn. Pompey,

the proconsul, that since he was remaining near the city invested

with military command for the interests of the commonwealth, he would

command those men whom when consul he had levied by the military oath

in Cisalpine Gaul, to join their respective corps, and to proceed

to him; thinking it of great importance, as far as regarded the opinion

which the Gauls would entertain for the future, that that the resources

of Italy should appear so great that if any loss should be sustained

in war, not only could it be repaired in a short time, but likewise

be further supplied by still larger forces. And when Pompey had granted

this to the interests of the commonwealth and the claims of friendship,

Caesar having quickly completed the levy by means of his lieutenants,

after three regiments had been both formed and brought to him before

the winter [had] expired, and the number of those cohorts which he

had lost under Q. Titurius had been doubled, taught the Gauls, both

by his dispatch and by his forces what the discipline and the power

of the Roman people could accomplish.

Chapter 2

Indutiomarus having been slain, as we have stated, the government

was conferred upon his relatives by the Treviri. They cease not to

importune the neighboring Germans and to promise them money: when

they could not obtain [their object] from those nearest them, they

try those more remote. Having found some states willing to accede

to their wishes, they enter into a compact with them by a mutual oath,

and give hostages as a security for the money: they attach Ambiorix

to them by an alliance and confederacy. Caesar, on being informed

of their acts, since he saw that war was being prepared on all sides,

that the Nervii, Aduatuci, and Menapii, with the addition of all the

Germans on this side of the Rhine were under arms, that the Senones

did not assemble according to his command, and were concerting measures

with the Carnutes and the neighboring states, that the Germans were

importuned by the Treviri in frequent embassies, thought that he ought

to take measures for the war earlier [than usual].

Chapter 3

Accordingly, while the winter was not yet ended, having concentrated

the four nearest legions, he marched unexpectedly into the territories

of the Nervii, and before they could either assemble or retreat, after

capturing a large number of cattle and of men, and wasting their lands

and giving up that booty to the soldiers, compelled them to enter

into a surrender and give him hostages. That business having been

speedily executed, he again led his legions back into winter-quarters.

Having proclaimed a council of Gaul in the beginning of the spring,

as he had been accustomed [to do], when the deputies from the rest,

except the Senones, the Carnutes, and the Treviri, had come, judging

this to be the commencement of war and revolt, that he might appear

to consider all things of less consequence [than that war], he transfers

the council to Lutetia of the Parisii. These were adjacent to the

Senones, and had united their state to them during the memory of their

fathers, but were thought to have no part in the present plot. Having

proclaimed this from the tribunal, he advances the same day toward

the Senones with his legions, and arrives among them by long marches.

Chapter 4

Acco, who had been the author of that enterprise, on being informed

of his arrival, orders the people to assemble in the towns; to them,

while attempting this, and before it could be accomplished, news is

brought that the Romans are close at hand: through necessity they

give over their design and send embassadors to Caesar for the purpose

of imploring pardon; they make advances to him through the Aedui,

whose state was from ancient times under the protection of Rome. Caesar

readily grants them pardon, and receives their excuse, at the request

of the Aedui, because he thought that the summer season was one for

an impending war, not for an investigation. Having imposed one hundred

hostages, he delivers these to the Aedui to be held in charge by them.

To the same place the Carnutes send embassadors and hostages, employing

as their mediators the Remi, under whose protection they were: they

receive the same answers. Caesar concludes the council and imposes

a levy of cavalry on the states.

Chapter 5

This part of Gaul having been tranquilized, he applies himself entirely

both in mind and soul to the war with the Treviri and Ambiorix. He

orders Cavarinus to march with him with the cavalry of the Senones,

lest any commotion should arise either out of his hot temper, or out

of the hatred of the state which he had incurred. After arranging

these things, as he considered it certain that Ambiorix would not

contend in battle, he watched his other plans attentively. The Menapii

bordered on the territories of the Eburones, and were protected by

one continued extent of morasses and woods; and they alone out of

Gaul had never sent embassadors to Caesar on the subject of peace.

Caesar knew that a tie of hospitality subsisted between them and Ambiorix:

he also discovered that the latter had entered into an alliance with

the Germans by means of the Treviri. Ho thought that these auxiliaries

ought to be detached from him before he provoked him to war; lest

he, despairing of safety, should either proceed to conceal himself

in the territories of the Menapii, or should be driven to coalesce

with the Germans beyond the Rhine. Having entered upon this resolution,

he sends the baggage of the whole army to Labienus, in the territories

of the Treviri and orders two legions to proceed to him: he himself

proceeds against the Menapii with five lightly-equipped legions. They,

having assembled no troops, as they relied on the defense of their

position, retreat into the woods and morasses, and convey thither

all their property.

Chapter 6

Caesar, having divided his forces with C. Fabius, his lieutenant,

and M. Crassus his questor, and having hastily constructed some bridges,

enters their country in three divisions, burns their houses and villages,

and gets possession of a large number of cattle and men. Constrained

by these circumstances the Menapii send embassadors to him for the

purpose of suing for peace. He, after receiving hostages, assures

them that he will consider them in the number of his enemies if they

shall receive within their territories either Ambiorix or his embassadors.

Having determinately settled these things, he left among the Menapii,

Commius the Atrebatian, with some cavalry as a guard; he himself proceeds

toward the Treviri.

Chapter 7

While these things are being performed by Caesar, the Treviri, having

drawn together large forces of infantry and cavalry, were preparing

to attack Labienus and the legion which was wintering in their territories,

and were already not further distant from him than a journey of two

days, when they learn that two legions had arrived by the order of

Caesar. Having pitched their camp fifteen miles off, they resolve

to await the support of the Germans. Labienus, having learned the

design of the enemy, hoping that through their rashness there would

be some opportunity of engaging, after leaving a guard of five cohorts

for the baggage, advances against the enemy with twenty-five cohorts

and a large body of cavalry, and, leaving the space of a mile between

them, fortifies his camp. There was between Labienus and the enemy

a river difficult to cross, and with steep banks: this neither did

he himself design to cross, nor did he suppose the enemy would cross

it. Their hope of auxiliaries was daily increasing. He [Labienus]

openly says in a council that "since the Germans are said to be approaching,

he would not bring into uncertainty his own and the army's fortunes,

and the next day would move his camp at early dawn." These words are

quickly carried to the enemy, since out of so large a number of cavalry

composed of Gauls, nature compelled some to favor the Gallic interests.

Labienus, having assembled the tribunes of the soldiers and principal

centurions by night, states what his design is, and, that he may the

more easily give the enemy a belief of his fears, he orders the camp

to be moved with greater noise and confusion than was usual with the

Roman people. By these means he makes his departure [appear] like

a retreat. These things, also, since the camps were so near, are reported

to the enemy by scouts before daylight.

Chapter 8

Scarcely had the rear advanced beyond the fortifications when the

Gauls, encouraging one another "not to cast from their hands the anticipated

booty, that it was a tedious thing, while the Romans were panic-stricken,

to be waiting for the aid of the Germans, and that their dignity did

not suffer them to fear to attack with such great forces so small

a band, particularly when retreating and encumbered," do not hesitate

to cross the river and give battle in a disadvantageous position.

Labienus suspecting that these things would happen, was proceeding

quietly, and using the same pretense of a march, in order that he

might entice them across the river. Then, having sent forward the

baggage some short distance and placed it on a certain eminence, he

says, "Soldiers, you have the opportunity you have sought: you hold

the enemy in an encumbered and disadvantageous position: display to

us, your leaders, the same valor you have ofttimes displayed to your

general: imagine that he is present and actually sees these exploits."

At the same time he orders the troops to face about toward the enemy

and form in line of battle, and, dispatching a few troops of cavalry

as a guard for the baggage, he places the rest of the horse on the

wings. Our men, raising a shout, quickly throw their javelins at the

enemy. They, when, contrary to their expectation, they saw those whom

they believed to be retreating, advance toward them with threatening

banners, were not able to sustain even the charge, and, being put

to flight at the first onslaught, sought the nearest woods; Labienus

pursuing them with the cavalry, upon a large number being slain, and

several taken prisoners, got possession of the state a few days after;

for the Germans, who were coming to the aid of the Treviri, having

been informed of their flight, retreated to their homes. The relations

of Indutiomarus, who had been the promoters of the revolt, accompanying

them, quitted their own state with them. The supreme power and government

were delivered to Cingetorix, whom we have stated to have remained

firm in his allegiance from the commencement.

Chapter 9

Caesar, after he came from the territories of the Menapii into those

of the Treviri, resolved for two reasons to cross the Rhine; one of

which was, because they had sent assistance to the Treviri against

him; the other, that Ambiorix might not have a retreat among them.

Having determined on these matters, he began to build a bridge a little

above that place where he had before conveyed over his army. The plan

having been known and laid down, the work is accomplished in a few

days by the great exertion of the soldiers. Having left a strong guard

at the bridge on the side of the Treviri, lest any commotion should

suddenly arise among them, he leads over the rest of the forces and

the cavalry. The Ubii, who before had sent hostages and come to a

capitulation, send embassadors to him, for the purpose of vindicating

themselves, to assure him that "neither had auxiliaries been sent

to the Treviri from their state, nor had they violated their allegiance;"

they entreat and beseech him "to spare them, lest, in his common hatred

of the Germans, the innocent should suffer the penalty of the guilty:

they promise to give more hostages, if he desire them." Having investigated

the case, Caesar finds that the auxiliaries had been sent by the Suevi;

he accepts the apology of the Ubii, and makes the minute inquiries

concerning the approaches and the routes to the territories of the

Suevi.

Chapter 10

In the mean time he is informed by the Ubii, a few days after, that

the Suevi are drawing all their forces into one place, and are giving

orders to those nations which are under their government to send auxiliaries

of infantry and of cavalry. Having learned these things, he provides

a supply of corn, selects a proper place for his camp, and commands

the Ubii to drive off their cattle and carry away all their possessions

from the country parts into the towns, hoping that they, being a barbarous

and ignorant people, when harassed by the want of provisions, might

be brought to an engagement on disadvantageous terms: he orders them

to send numerous scouts among the Suevi, and learn what things are

going on among them. They execute the orders, and, a few days having

intervened, report that all the Suevi, after certain intelligence

concerning the army of the Romans had come, retreated with all their

own forces and those of their allies, which they had assembled, to

the utmost extremities of their territories: that there is a wood

there of very great extent, which is called Bacenis; that this stretches

a great way into the interior, and, being opposed as a natural barrier,

defends from injuries and incursions the Cherusci against the Suevi,

and the Suevi against the Cherusci: that at the entrance of that forest

the Suevi had determined to await the coming up of the Romans.

Chapter 11

Since we have come to the place, it does not appear to be foreign

to our subject to lay before the reader an account of the manners

of Gaul and Germany, and wherein these nations differ from each other.

In Gaul there are factions not only in all the states, and in all

the cantons and their divisions, but almost in each family, and of

these factions those are the leaders who are considered according

to their judgment to possess the greatest influence, upon whose will

and determination the management of all affairs and measures depends.

And that seems to have been instituted in ancient times with this

view, that no one of the common people should be in want of support

against one more powerful; for, none [of those leaders] suffers his

party to be oppressed and defrauded, and if he do otherwise, he has

no influence among his party. This same policy exists throughout the

whole of Gaul; for all the states are divided into two factions.

Chapter 12

When Caesar arrived in Gaul, the Aedui were the leaders of one faction,

the Sequani of the other. Since the latter were less powerful by themselves,

inasmuch as the chief influence was from of old among the Aedui, and

their dependencies were great, they had united to themselves the Germans

and Ariovistus, and had brought them over to their party by great

sacrifices and promises. And having fought several successful battles

and slain all the nobility of the Aedui, they had so far surpassed

them in power, that they brought over, from the Aedui to themselves,

a large portion of their dependents and received from them the sons

of their leading men as hostages, and compelled them to swear in their

public character that they would enter into no design against them;

and held a portion of the neighboring land, seized on by force, and

possessed the sovereignty of the whole of Gaul. Divitiacus urged by

this necessity, had proceeded to Rome to the senate, for the purpose

of entreating assistance, and had returned without accomplishing his

object. A change of affairs ensued on the arrival of Caesar, the hostages

were returned to the Aedui, their old dependencies restored, and new

acquired through Caesar (because those who had attached themselves

to their alliance saw that they enjoyed a better state and a milder

government), their other interests, their influence, their reputation

were likewise increased, and in consequence, the Sequani lost the

sovereignty. The Remi succeeded to their place, and, as it was perceived

that they equaled the Aedui in favor with Caesar, those, who on account

of their old animosities could by no means coalesce with the Aedui,

consigned themselves in clientship to the Remi. The latter carefully

protected them. Thus they possessed both a new and suddenly acquired

influence. Affairs were then in that position that the Aedui were

considered by far the leading people, and the Remi held the second

post of honor.

Chapter 13

Throughout all Gaul there are two orders of those men who are of any

rank and dignity: for the commonality is held almost in the condition

of slaves, and dares to undertake nothing of itself, and is admitted

to no deliberation. The greater part, when they are pressed either

by debt, or the large amount of their tributes, or the oppression

of the more powerful, give themselves up in vassalage to the nobles,

who possess over them the same rights without exception as masters

over their slaves. But of these two orders, one is that of the Druids,

the other that of the knights. The former are engaged in things sacred,

conduct the public and the private sacrifices, and interpret all matters

of religion. To these a large number of the young men resort for the

purpose of instruction, and they [the Druids] are in great honor among

them. For they determine respecting almost all controversies, public

and private; and if any crime has been perpetrated, if murder has

been committed, if there be any dispute about an inheritance, if any

about boundaries, these same persons decide it; they decree rewards

and punishments; if any one, either in a private or public capacity,

has not submitted to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices.

This among them is the most heavy punishment. Those who have been

thus interdicted are esteemed in the number of the impious and the

criminal: all shun them, and avoid their society and conversation,

lest they receive some evil from their contact; nor is justice administered

to them when seeking it, nor is any dignity bestowed on them. Over

all these Druids one presides, who possesses supreme authority among

them. Upon his death, if any individual among the rest is pre-eminent

in dignity, he succeeds; but, if there are many equal, the election

is made by the suffrages of the Druids; sometimes they even contend

for the presidency with arms. These assemble at a fixed period of

the year in a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes,

which is reckoned the central region of the whole of Gaul. Hither

all, who have disputes, assemble from every part, and submit to their

decrees and determinations. This institution is supposed to have been

devised in Britain, and to have been brought over from it into Gaul;

and now those who desire to gain a more accurate knowledge of that

system generally proceed thither for the purpose of studying it.

Chapter 14

The Druids do not go to war, nor pay tribute together with the rest;

they have an exemption from military service and a dispensation in

all matters. Induced by such great advantages, many embrace this profession

of their own accord, and [many] are sent to it by their parents and

relations. They are said there to learn by heart a great number of

verses; accordingly some remain in the course of training twenty years.

Nor do they regard it lawful to commit these to writing, though in

almost all other matters, in their public and private transactions,

they use Greek characters. That practice they seem to me to have adopted

for two reasons; because they neither desire their doctrines to be

divulged among the mass of the people, nor those who learn, to devote

themselves the less to the efforts of memory, relying on writing;

since it generally occurs to most men, that, in their dependence on

writing, they relax their diligence in learning thoroughly, and their

employment of the memory. They wish to inculcate this as one of their

leading tenets, that souls do not become extinct, but pass after death

from one body to another, and they think that men by this tenet are

in a great degree excited to valor, the fear of death being disregarded.

They likewise discuss and impart to the youth many things respecting

the stars and their motion, respecting the extent of the world and

of our earth, respecting the nature of things, respecting the power

and the majesty of the immortal gods.

Chapter 15

The other order is that of the knights. These, when there is occasion

and any war occurs (which before Caesar's arrival was for the most

part wont to happen every year, as either they on their part were

inflecting injuries or repelling those which others inflected on them),

are all engaged in war. And those of them most distinguished by birth

and resources, have the greatest number of vassals and dependents

about them. They acknowledge this sort of influence and power only.

Chapter 16

The nation of all the Gauls is extremely devoted to superstitious

rites; and on that account they who are troubled with unusually severe

diseases, and they who are engaged in battles and dangers, either

sacrifice men as victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them, and

employ the Druids as the performers of those sacrifices; because they

think that unless the life of a man be offered for the life of a man,

the mind of the immortal gods can not be rendered propitious, and

they have sacrifices of that kind ordained for national purposes.

Others have figures of vast size, the limbs of which formed of osiers

they fill with living men, which being set on fire, the men perish

enveloped in the flames. They consider that the oblation of such as

have been taken in theft, or in robbery, or any other offense, is

more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when a supply of that class

is wanting, they have recourse to the oblation of even the innocent.

Chapter 17

They worship as their divinity, Mercury in particular, and have many

images of him, and regard him as the inventor of all arts, they consider

him the guide of their journeys and marches, and believe him to have

great influence over the acquisition of gain and mercantile transactions.

Next to him they worship Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva;

respecting these deities they have for the most part the same belief

as other nations: that Apollo averts diseases, that Minerva imparts

the invention of manufactures, that Jupiter possesses the sovereignty

of the heavenly powers; that Mars presides over wars. To him, when

they have determined to engage in battle, they commonly vow those

things which they shall take in war. When they have conquered, they

sacrifice whatever captured animals may have survived the conflict,

and collect the other things into one place. In many states you may

see piles of these things heaped up in their consecrated spots; nor

does it often happen that any one, disregarding the sanctity of the

case, dares either to secrete in his house things captured, or take

away those deposited; and the most severe punishment, with torture,

has been established for such a deed.

Chapter 18

All the Gauls assert that they are descended from the god Dis, and

say that this tradition has been handed down by the Druids. For that

reason they compute the divisions of every season, not by the number

of days, but of nights; they keep birthdays and the beginnings of

months and years in such an order that the day follows the night.

Among the other usages of their life, they differ in this from almost

all other nations, that they do not permit their children to approach

them openly until they are grown up so as to be able to bear the service

of war; and they regard it as indecorous for a son of boyish age to

stand in public in the presence of his father.

Chapter 19

Whatever sums of money the husbands have received in the name of dowry

from their wives, making an estimate of it, they add the same amount

out of their own estates. An account is kept of all this money conjointly,

and the profits are laid by: whichever of them shall have survived

[the other], to that one the portion of both reverts together with

the profits of the previous time. Husbands have power of life and

death over their wives as well as over their children: and when the

father of a family, born in a more than commonly distinguished rank,

has died, his relations assemble, and, if the circumstances of his

death are suspicious, hold an investigation upon the wives in the

manner adopted toward slaves; and, if proof be obtained, put them

to severe torture, and kill them. Their funerals, considering the

state of civilization among the Gauls, are magnificent and costly;

and they cast into the fire all things, including living creatures,

which they suppose to have been dear to them when alive; and, a little

before this period, slaves and dependents, who were ascertained to

have been beloved by them, were, after the regular funeral rites were

completed, burnt together with them.

Chapter 20

Those states which are considered to conduct their commonwealth more

judiciously, have it ordained by their laws, that, if any person shall

have heard by rumor and report from his neighbors any thing concerning

the commonwealth, he shall convey it to the magistrate, and not impart

it to any other; because it has been discovered that inconsiderate

and inexperienced men were often alarmed by false reports, and driven

to some rash act, or else took hasty measures in affairs of the highest

importance. The magistrates conceal those things which require to

be kept unknown; and they disclose to the people whatever they determine

to be expedient. It is not lawful to speak of the commonwealth, except

in council.

Chapter 21

The Germans differ much from these usages, for they have neither Druids

to preside over sacred offices, nor do they pay great regard to sacrifices.

They rank in the number of the gods those alone whom they behold,

and by whose instrumentality they are obviously benefited, namely,

the sun, fire, and the moon; they have not heard of the other deities

even by report. Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the

pursuits of the military art; from childhood they devote themselves

to fatigue and hardships. Those who have remained chaste for the longest

time, receive the greatest commendation among their people; they think

that by this the growth is promoted, by this the physical powers are

increased and the sinews are strengthened. And to have had knowledge

of a woman before the twentieth year they reckon among the most disgraceful

acts; of which matter there is no concealment, because they bathe

promiscuously in the rivers and [only] use skins or small cloaks of

deer's hides, a large portion of the body being in consequence naked.

Chapter 22

They do not pay much attention to agriculture, and a large portion

of their food consists in milk, cheese, and flesh; nor has any one

a fixed quantity of land or his own individual limits; but the magistrates

and the leading men each year apportion to the tribes and families,

who have united together, as much land as, and in the place in which,

they think proper, and the year after compel them to remove elsewhere.

For this enactment they advance many reasons - lest seduced by long-continued

custom, they may exchange their ardor in the waging of war for agriculture;

lest they may be anxious to acquire extensive estates, and the more

powerful drive the weaker from their possessions; lest they construct

their houses with too great a desire to avoid cold and heat; lest

the desire of wealth spring up, from which cause divisions and discords

arise; and that they may keep the common people in a contented state

of mind, when each sees his own means placed on an equality with [those

of] the most powerful.

Chapter 23

It is the greatest glory to the several states to have as wide deserts

as possible around them, their frontiers having been laid waste. They

consider this the real evidence of their prowess, that their neighbors

shall be driven out of their lands and abandon them, and that no one

dare settle near them; at the same time they think that they shall

be on that account the more secure, because they have removed the

apprehension of a sudden incursion. When a state either repels war

waged against it, or wages it against another, magistrates are chosen

to preside over that war with such authority, that they have power

of life and death. In peace there is no common magistrate, but the

chiefs of provinces and cantons administer justice and determine controversies

among their own people. Robberies which are committed beyond the boundaries

of each state bear no infamy, and they avow that these are committed

for the purpose of disciplining their youth and of preventing sloth.

And when any of their chiefs has said in an assembly "that he will

be their leader, let those who are willing to follow, give in their

names;" they who approve of both the enterprise and the man arise

and promise their assistance and are applauded by the people; such

of them as have not followed him are accounted in the number of deserters

and traitors, and confidence in all matters is afterward refused them.

To injure guests they regard as impious; they defend from wrong those

who have come to them for any purpose whatever, and esteem them inviolable;

to them the houses of all are open and maintenance is freely supplied.

Chapter 24

And there was formerly a time when the Gauls excelled the Germans

in prowess, and waged war on them offensively, and, on account of

the great number of their people and the insufficiency of their land,

sent colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly, the Volcae Tectosages,

seized on those parts of Germany which are the most fruitful [and

lie] around the Hercynian forest, (which, I perceive, was known by

report to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks, and which they call

Orcynia), and settled there. Which nation to this time retains its

position in those settlements, and has a very high character for justice

and military merit; now also they continue in the same scarcity, indigence,

hardihood, as the Germans, and use the same food and dress; but their

proximity to the Province and knowledge of commodities from countries

beyond the sea supplies to the Gauls many things tending to luxury

as well as civilization. Accustomed by degrees to be overmatched and

worsted in many engagements, they do not even compare themselves to

the Germans in prowess.

Chapter 25

The breadth of this Hercynian forest, which has been referred to above,

is to a quick traveler, a journey of nine days. For it can not be

otherwise computed, nor are they acquainted with the measures of roads.

It begins at the frontiers of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci,

and extends in a right line along the river Danube to the territories

of the Daci and the Anartes; it bends thence to the left in a different

direction from the river, and owing to its extent touches the confines

of many nations; nor is there any person belonging to this part of

Germany who says that he either has gone to the extremity of that

forest, though he had advanced a journey of sixty days, or has heard

in what place it begins. It is certain that many kinds of wild beast

are produced in it which have not been seen in other parts; of which

the following are such as differ principally from other animals, and

appear worthy of being committed to record.

Chapter 26

There is an ox of the shape of a stag, between whose ears a horn rises

from the middle of the forehead, higher and straighter than those

horns which are known to us. From the top of this, branches, like

palms, stretch out a considerable distance. The shape of the female

and of the male is the, same; the appearance and the size of the horns

is the same.

Chapter 27

There are also [animals] which are called elks. The shape of these,

and the varied color of their skins, is much like roes, but in size

they surpass them a little and are destitute of horns, and have legs

without joints and ligatures; nor do they lie down for the purpose

of rest, nor, if they have been thrown down by any accident, can they

raise or lift themselves up. Trees serve as beds to them; they lean

themselves against them, and thus reclining only slightly, they take

their rest; when the huntsmen have discovered from the footsteps of

these animals whither they are accustomed to betake themselves, they

either undermine all the trees at the roots, or cut into them so far

that the upper part of the trees may appear to be left standing. When

they have leant upon them, according to their habit, they knock down

by their weight the unsupported trees, and fall down themselves along

with them.

Chapter 28

There is a third kind, consisting of those animals which are called

uri. These are a little below the elephant in size, and of the appearance,

color, and shape of a bull. Their strength and speed are extraordinary;

they spare neither man nor wild beast which they have espied. These

the Germans take with much pains in pits and kill them. The young

men harden themselves with this exercise, and practice themselves

in this kind of hunting, and those who have slain the greatest number

of them, having produced the horns in public, to serve as evidence,

receive great praise. But not even when taken very young can they

be rendered familiar to men and tamed. The size, shape, and appearance

of their horns differ much from the horns of our oxen. These they

anxiously seek after, and bind at the tips with silver, and use as

cups at their most sumptuous entertainments.

Chapter 29

Caesar, after he discovered through the Ubian scouts that the Suevi

had retired into their woods, apprehending a scarcity of corn, because,

as we have observed above, all the Germans pay very little attention

to agriculture, resolved not to proceed any further; but, that he

might not altogether relieve the barbarians from the fear of his return,

and that he might delay their succors, having led back his army, he

breaks down, to the length of 200 feet, the further end of the bridge,

which joined the banks of the Ubii, and at the extremity of the bridge

raises towers of four stories, and stations a guard of twelve cohorts

for the purpose of defending the bridge, and strengthens the place

with considerable fortifications. Over that fort and guard he appointed

C. Volcatius Tullus, a young man; he himself, when the corn began

to ripen, having set forth for the war with Ambiorix (through the

forest Arduenna, which is the largest of all Gaul, and reaches from

the banks of the Rhine and the frontiers of the Treviri to those of

the Nervii, and extends over more than 500 miles), he sends forward

L. Minucius Basilus with all the cavalry, to try if he might gain

any advantage by rapid marches and the advantage of time, he warns

him to forbid fires being made in the camp, lest any indication of

his approach be given at a distance: he tells him that he will follow

immediately.

Chapter 30

Basilus does as he was commanded; having performed his march rapidly,

and even surpassed the expectations of all, he surprises in the fields

many not expecting him; through their information he advances toward

Ambiorix himself, to the place in which he was said to be with a few

horse. Fortune accomplishes much, not only in other matters, but also

in the art of war. For as it happened by a remarkable chance, that

he fell upon [Ambiorix] himself unguarded and unprepared, and that

his arrival was seen by the people before the report or information

of his arrival was carried thither; so it was an incident of extraordinary

fortune that, although every implement of war which he was accustomed

to have about him was seized, and his chariots and horses surprised,

yet he himself escaped death. But it was effected owing to this circumstance,

that his house being surrounded by a wood (as are generally the dwellings

of the Gauls, who, for the purpose of avoiding heat, mostly seek the

neighborhood of woods and rivers), his attendants and friends in a

narrow spot sustained for a short time the attack of our horse. While

they were fighting, one of his followers mounted him on a horse; the

woods sheltered him as he fled. Thus fortune tended much both toward

his encountering and his escaping danger.

Chapter 31

Whether Ambiorix did not collect his forces from cool deliberation,

because he considered he ought not to engage in a battle, or [whether]

he was debarred by time and prevented by the sudden arrival of our

horse, when he supposed the rest of the army was closely following,

is doubtful: but certainly, dispatching messengers through the country,

he ordered every one to provide for himself; and a part of them fled

into the forest Arduenna, a part into the extensive morasses; those

who were nearest the ocean concealed themselves in the islands which

the tides usually form; many, departing from their territories, committed

themselves and all their possessions to perfect strangers. Cativolcus,

king of one half of the Eburones, who had entered into the design

together with Ambiorix, since, being now worn out by age, he was unable

to endure the fatigue either of war or flight, having cursed Ambiorix

with every imprecation, as the person who had been the contriver of

that measure, destroyed himself with the juice of the yew-tree, of

which there is a great abundance in Gaul and Germany.

Chapter 32

The Segui and Condrusi, of the nation and number of the Germans, and

who are between the Eburones and the Treviri, sent embassadors to

Caesar to entreat that he would not regard them in the number of his

enemies, nor consider that the cause of all the Germans on this side

the Rhine was one and the same; that they had formed no plans of war,

and had sent no auxiliaries to Ambiorix. Caesar, having ascertained

this fact by an examination of his prisoners, commanded that if any

of the Eburones in their flight had repaired to them, they should

be sent back to him; he assures them that if they did that, he will

not injure their territories. Then, having divided his forces into

three parts, he sent the baggage of all the legions to Aduatuca. That

is the name of a fort. This is nearly in the middle of the Eburones,

where Titurius and Aurunculeius had been quartered for the purpose

of wintering. This place he selected as well on other accounts as

because the fortifications of the previous year remained, in order

that he might relieve the labor of the soldiers. He left the fourteenth

legion as a guard for the baggage, one of those three which he had

lately raised in Italy and brought over. Over that legion and camp

he places Q. Tullius Cicero and gives him 200 horse.

Chapter 33

Having divided the army, he orders T. Labienus to proceed with three

legions toward the ocean into those parts which border on the Menapii;

he sends C. Trebonius with a like number of legions to lay waste that

district which lies contiguous to the Aduatuci; he himself determines

to go with the remaining three to the river Sambre, which flows into

the Meuse, and to the most remote parts of Arduenna, whither he heard

that Ambiorix had gone with a few horse. When departing, he promises

that he will return before the end of the seventh day, on which day

he was aware corn was due to that legion which was being left in garrison.

He directs Labienus and Trebonius to return by the same day, if they

can do so agreeably to the interests of the republic; so that their

measures having been mutually imparted, and the plans of the enemy

having been discovered, they might be able to commence a different

line of operations.

Chapter 34

There was, as we have above observed, no regular army, nor a town,

nor a garrison which could defend itself by arms; but the people were

scattered in all directions. Where either a hidden valley, or a woody

spot, or a difficult morass furnished any hope of protection or of

security to any one, there he had fixed himself. These places were

known to those who dwelt in the neighborhood, and the matter demanded

great attention, not so much in protecting the main body of the army

(for no peril could occur to them altogether from those alarmed and

scattered troops), as in preserving individual soldiers; which in

some measure tended to the safety of the army. For both the desire

of booty was leading many too far, and the woods with their unknown

and hidden routes would not allow them to go in large bodies. If he

desired the business to be completed and the race of those infamous

people to be cut off, more bodies of men must be sent in several directions

and the soldiers must be detached on all sides; if he were disposed

to keep the companies at their standards, as the established discipline

and practice of the Roman army required, the situation itself was

a safeguard to the barbarians, nor was there wanting to individuals

the daring to lay secret ambuscades and beset scattered soldiers.

But amid difficulties of this nature as far as precautions could be

taken by vigilance, such precautions were taken; so that some opportunities

of injuring the enemy were neglected, though the minds of all were

burning to take revenge, rather than that injury should be effected

with any loss to our soldiers. Caesar dispatches messengers to the

neighboring states; by the hope of booty he invites all to him, for

the purpose of plundering the Eburones, in order that the life of

the Gauls might be hazarded in the woods rather than the legionary

soldiers; at the same time, in order that a large force being drawn

around them, the race and name of that state may be annihilated for

such a crime. A large number from all quarters speedily assembles.

Chapter 35

These things were going on in all parts of the territories of the

Eburones, and the seventh day was drawing near, by which day Caesar

had purposed to return to the baggage and the legion. Here it might

be learned how much fortune achieves in war, and how great casualties

she produces. The enemy having been scattered and alarmed, as we related

above, there was no force which might produce even a slight occasion

of fear. The report extends beyond the Rhine to the Germans that the

Eburones are being pillaged, and that all were without distinction

invited to the plunder. The Sigambri, who are nearest to the Rhine,

by whom, we have mentioned above, the Tenchtheri and Usipetes were

received after their retreat, collect 2,000 horse; they cross the

Rhine in ships and barks thirty miles below that place where the bridge

was entire and the garrison left by Caesar; they arrive at the frontiers

of the Eburones, surprise many who were scattered in flight, and get

possession of a large amount of cattle, of which barbarians are extremely

covetous. Allured by booty, they advance further; neither morass nor

forest obstructs these men, born amid war and depredations; they inquire

of their prisoners in what part Caesar is; they find that he has advanced

further, and learn that all the army has removed. Thereon one of the

prisoners says, "Why do you pursue such wretched and trifling spoil;

you, to whom it is granted to become even now most richly endowed

by fortune? In three hours you can reach Aduatuca; there the Roman

army has deposited all its fortunes; there is so little of a garrison

that not even the wall can be manned, nor dare any one go beyond the

fortifications." A hope having been presented them, the Germans leave

in concealment the plunder they had acquired; they themselves hasten

to Aduatuca, employing as their guide the same man by whose information

they had become informed of these things.

Chapter 36

Cicero, who during all the foregoing days had kept his soldiers in

camp with the greatest exactness, and agreeable to the injunctions

of Caesar, had not permitted even any of the camp-followers to go

beyond the fortification, distrusting on the seventh day that Caesar

would keep his promise as to the number of days, because he heard

that he had proceeded further, and no report as to his return was

brought to him, and being urged at the same time by the expressions

of those who called his tolerance almost a siege, if, forsooth, it

was not permitted them to go out of the camp, since he might expect

no disaster, whereby he could be injured, within three miles of the

camp, while nine legions and all the cavalry were under arms, and

the enemy scattered and almost annihilated, sent five cohorts into

the neighboring corn-lands, between which and the camp only one hill

intervened, for the purpose of foraging. Many soldiers of the legions

had been left invalided in the camp, of whom those who had recovered

in this space of time, being about 300, are sent together under one

standard; a large number of soldiers' attendants besides, with a great

number of beasts of burden, which had remained in the camp, permission

being granted, follow them.

Chapter 37

At this very time, the German horse by chance came up, and immediately,

with the same speed with which they had advanced, attempt to force

the camp at the Decuman gate, nor were they seen, in consequence of

woods lying in the way on that side, before they were just reaching

the camp: so much so, that the sutlers who had their booths under

the rampart had not an opportunity of retreating within the camp.

Our men, not anticipating it, are perplexed by the sudden affair,

and the cohort on the outpost scarcely sustains the first attack.

The enemy spread themselves on the other sides to ascertain if they

could find any access. Our men with difficulty defend the gates; the

very position of itself and the fortification secures the other accesses.

There is a panic in the entire camp, and one inquires of another the

cause of the confusion, nor do they readily determine whither the

standards should be borne, nor into what quarter each should betake

himself. One avows that the camp is already taken, another maintains

that, the enemy having destroyed the army and commander-in-chief,

are come hither as conquerors; most form strange superstitious fancies

from the spot, and place before their eyes the catastrophe of Cotta

and Titurius, who had fallen in the same fort. All being greatly disconcerted

by this alarm, the belief of the barbarians is strengthened that there

is no garrison within, as they had heard from their prisoner. They

endeavor to force an entrance and encourage one another not to cast

from their hands so valuable a prize.

Chapter 38

P. Sextius Baculus, who had led a principal century under Caesar (of

whom we have made mention in previous engagements), had been left

an invalid in the garrison, and had now been five days without food.

He, distrusting his own safety and that of all, goes forth from his

tent unarmed; he sees that the enemy are close at hand and that the

matter is in the utmost danger; he snatches arms from those nearest,

and stations himself at the gate. The centurions of that cohort which

was on guard follow him; for a short time they sustain the fight together.

Sextius faints, after receiving many wounds; he is with difficulty

saved, drawn away by the hands of the soldiers. This space having

intervened, the others resume courage so far as to venture to take

their place on the fortifications and present the aspect of defenders.

Chapter 39

The foraging having in the mean time been completed, our soldiers

distinctly hear the shout; the horse hasten on before and discover

in what danger the affair is. But here there is no fortification to

receive them, in their alarm: those last enlisted, and unskilled in

military discipline turn their faces to the military tribune and the

centurions; they wait to find what orders may be given by them. No

one is so courageous as not to be disconcerted by the suddenness of

the affair. The barbarians, espying our standard in the distance,

desist from the attack; at first they suppose that the legions, which

they had learned from their prisoners had removed further off, had

returned; afterward, despising their small number, they make an attack

on them at all sides.

Chapter 40

The camp-followers run forward to the nearest rising ground; being

speedily driven from this they throw themselves among the standards

and companies: they thus so much the more alarm the soldiers already

affrighted. Some propose that, forming a wedge, they suddenly break

through, since the camp was so near; and if any part should be surrounded

and slain, they fully trust that at least the rest may be saved; others,

that they take their stand on an eminence, and all undergo the same

destiny. The veteran soldiers whom we stated to have set out together

[with the others] under a standard, do not approve of this. Therefore

encouraging each other, under the conduct of Caius Trebonius, a Roman

knight, who had been appointed over them, they break through the midst

of the enemy, and arrive in the camp safe to a man. The camp attendants

and the horse following close upon them with the same impetuosity,

are saved by the courage of the soldiers. But those who had taken

their stand upon the eminence having even now acquired no experience

of military matters, neither could persevere in that resolution which

they approved of, namely, to defend themselves from their higher position,

nor imitate that vigor and speed which they had observed to have availed

others; but, attempting to reach the camp, had descended into an unfavorable

situation. The centurions, some of whom had been promoted for their

valor from the lower ranks of other legions to higher ranks in this

legion, in order that they might not forfeit their glory for military

exploits previously acquired, fell together fighting most valiantly.

The enemy having been dislodged by their valor, a part of the soldiers

arrived safe in camp contrary to their expectations; a part perished,

surrounded by the barbarians.

Chapter 41

The Germans, despairing of taking the camp by storm, because they

saw that our men had taken up their position on the fortifications,

retreated beyond the Rhine with that plunder which they had deposited

in the woods. And so great was the alarm, even after the departure

of the enemy, that when C. Volusenus, who had been sent with the cavalry,

arrived that night, he could not gain credence that Caesar was close

at hand with his army safe. Fear had so pre-occupied the minds of

all, that their reason being almost estranged, they said that all

the other forces having been cut off, the cavalry alone had arrived

there by flight, and asserted that, if the army were safe, the Germans

would not have attacked the camp; which fear the arrival of Caesar

removed.

Chapter 42

He, on his return, being well aware of the casualties of war, complained

of one thing [only], namely, that the cohorts had been sent away from

the outposts and garrison [duty], and pointed out that room ought

not to have been left for even the most trivial casualty; that fortune

had exercised great influence in the sudden arrival of their enemy;

much greater, in that she had turned the barbarians away from the

very rampart and gates of the camp. Of all which events, it seemed

the most surprising, that the Germans, who had crossed the Rhine with

this object, that they might plunder the territories of Ambiorix,

being led to the camp of the Romans, rendered Ambiorix a most acceptable

service.

Chapter 43

Caesar, having again marched to harass the enemy, after collecting

a large number [of auxiliaries] from the neighboring states, dispatches

them in all directions. All the villages and all the buildings, which

each beheld, were on fire: spoil was being driven off from all parts;

the corn not only was being consumed by so great numbers of cattle

and men, but also had fallen to the earth, owing to the time of the

year and the storms; so that if any had concealed themselves for the

present, still, it appeared likely that they must perish through want

of all things, when the army should be drawn off. And frequently it

came to that point, as so large a body of cavalry had been sent abroad

in all directions, that the prisoners declared Ambiorix had just then

been seen by them in flight, and had not even passed out of sight,

so that the hope of overtaking him being raised, and unbounded exertions

having been resorted to, those who thought they should acquire the

highest favor with Caesar, nearly overcame nature by their ardor,

and continually, a little only seemed wanting to complete success;

but he rescued himself by [means of] lurking-places and forests, and,

concealed by the night made for other districts and quarters, with

no greater guard than that of four horsemen, to whom along he ventured

to confide his life.

Chapter 44

Having devastated the country in such a manner, Caesar leads back

his army with the loss of two cohorts to Durocortorum of the Remi,

and, having summoned a council of Gaul to assemble at that place,

he resolved to hold an investigation respecting the conspiracy of

the Senones and Carnutes, and having pronounced a most severe sentence

upon Acco, who had been the contriver of that plot, he punished him

after the custom of our ancestors. Some fearing a trial, fled; when

he had forbidden these fire and water, he stationed in winter quarters

two legions at the frontiers of the Treviri, two among the Lingones,

the remaining six at Agendicum, in the territories of the Senones;

and, having provided corn for the army, he set out for Italy, as he

had determined, to hold the assizes.

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BOOK 7

Chapter 1

Gaul being tranquil, Caesar, as he had determined, sets out for Italy

to hold the provincial assizes. There he receives intelligence of

the death of Clodius; and, being informed of the decree of the senate,

[to the effect] that all the youth of Italy should take the military

oath, he determined to hold a levy throughout the entire province.

Report of these events is rapidly borne into Transalpine Gaul. The

Gauls themselves add to the report, and invent what the case seemed

to require, [namely] that Caesar was detained by commotions in the

city, and could not, amid so violent dissensions, come to his army.

Animated by this opportunity, they who already, previously to this

occurrence, were indignant that they were reduced beneath the dominion

of Rome, begin to organize their plans for war more openly and daringly.

The leading men of Gaul, having convened councils among themselves

in the woods, and retired places, complain of the death of Acco: they

point out that this fate may fall in turn on themselves: they bewail

the unhappy fate of Gaul; and by every sort of promises and rewards,

they earnestly solicit some to begin the war, and assert the freedom

of Gaul at the hazard of their lives. They say that special care should

be paid to this, that Caesar should be cut off from his army before

their secret plans should be divulged. That this was easy, because

neither would the legions, in the absence of their general, dare to

leave their winter quarters, nor could the general reach his army

without a guard: finally, that it was better to be slain in battle,

than not to recover their ancient glory in war, and that freedom which

they had received from their forefathers.

Chapter 2

While these things are in agitation, the Carnutes declare "that they

would decline no danger for the sake of the general safety, and promise"

that they would be the first of all to begin the war; and since they

can not at present take precautions, by giving and receiving hostages,

that the affair shall not be divulged, they require that a solemn

assurance be given them by oath and plighted honor, their military

standards being brought together (in which manner their most sacred

obligations are made binding), that they should not be deserted by

the rest of the Gauls on commencing the war.

Chapter 3

When the appointed day came, the Carnutes, under the command of Cotuatus

and Conetodunus, desperate men, meet together at Genabum, and slay

the Roman citizens who had settled there for the purpose of trading

(among the rest, Caius Fusius Cita, a distinguished Roman knight,

who by Caesar's orders had presided over the provision department),

and plunder their property. The report is quickly spread among all

the states of Gaul; for, whenever a more important and remarkable

event takes place, they transmit the intelligence through their lands

and districts by a shout; the others take it up in succession, and

pass it to their neighbors, as happened on this occasion; for the

things which were done at Genabum at sunrise, were heard in the territories

of the Arverni before the end of the first watch, which is an extent

of more than a hundred and sixty miles.

Chapter 4

There in like manner, Vercingetorix the son of Celtillus the Arvernian,

a young man of the highest power (whose father had held the supremacy

of entire Gaul, and had been put to death by his fellow-citizens,

for this reason, because he aimed at sovereign power), summoned together

his dependents, and easily excited them. On his design being made

known, they rush to arms: he is expelled from the town of Gergovia,

by his uncle Gobanitio and the rest of the nobles, who were of opinion,

that such an enterprise ought not to be hazarded: he did not however

desist, but held in the country a levy of the needy and desperate.

Having collected such a body of troops, he brings over to his sentiments

such of his fellow-citizens as he has access to: he exhorts them to

take up arms in behalf of the general freedom, and having assembled

great forces he drives from the state his opponents, by whom he had

been expelled a short time previously. He is saluted king by his partisans;

he sends embassadors in every direction, he conjures them to adhere

firmly to their promise. He quickly attaches to his interests the

Senones, Parisii, Pictones, Cadurci, Turones, Aulerci, Lemovice, and

all the others who border on the ocean; the supreme command is conferred

on him by unanimous consent. On obtaining this authority, he demands

hostages from all these states, he orders a fixed number of soldiers

to be sent to him immediately; he determines what quantity of arms

each state shall prepare at home, and before what time; he pays particular

attention to the cavalry. To the utmost vigilance he adds the utmost

rigor of authority; and by the severity of his punishments brings

over the wavering: for on the commission of a greater crime he puts

the perpetrators to death by fire and every sort of tortures; for

a slighter cause, he sends home the offenders with their ears cut

off, or one of their eyes put out, that they may be an example to

the rest, and frighten others by the severity of their punishment.

Chapter 5

Having quickly collected an army by their punishments, he sends Lucterius,

one of the Cadurci, a man the utmost daring, with part of his forces,

into the territory of the Ruteni; and marches in person into the country

of the Bituriges. On his arrival, the Bituriges send embassadors to

the Aedui, under whose protection they were, to solicit aid in order

that they might more easily resist the forces of the enemy. The Aedui,

by the advice of the lieutenants whom Caesar had left with the army,

send supplies of horse and foot to succor the Bituriges. When they

came to the river Loire, which separates the Bituriges from the Aedui,

they delayed a few days there, and, not daring to pass the river,

return home, and send back word to the lieutenants that they had returned

through fear of the treachery of the Bituriges, who, they ascertained,

had formed this design, that if the Aedui should cross the river,

the Bituriges on the one side, and the Arverni on the other, should

surround them. Whether they did this for the reason which they alleged

to the lieutenants, or influenced by treachery, we think that we ought

not to state as certain, because we have no proof. On their departure,

the Bituriges immediately unite themselves to the Arverni.

Chapter 6

These affairs being announced to Caesar in Italy, at the time when

he understood that matters in the city had been reduced to a more

tranquil state by the energy of Cneius Pompey, he set out for Transalpine

Gaul. After he had arrived there, he was greatly at a loss to know

by what means he could reach his army. For if he should summon the

legions into the province, he was aware that on their march they would

have to fight in his absence; he foresaw too that if he himself should

endeavor to reach the army, he would act injudiciously, in trusting

his safety even to those who seemed to be tranquilized.

Chapter 7

In the mean time Lucterius the Cadurcan, having been sent into the

country of the Ruteni, gains over that state to the Arverni. Having

advanced into the country of the Nitiobriges, and Gabali, he receives

hostages from both nations, and, assembling a numerous force, marches

to make a descent on the province in the direction of Narbo. Caesar,

when this circumstance was announced to him, thought that the march

to Narbo ought to take the precedence of all his other plans. When

he arrived there, he encourages the timid and stations garrisons among

the Ruteni, in the province of the Volcae Arecomici, and the country

around Narbo which was in the vicinity of the enemy; he orders a portion

of the forces from the province, and the recruits which he had brought

from Italy, to rendezvous among the Helvii who border on the territories

of the Arverni.

Chapter 8

These matters being arranged, and Lucterius now checked and forced

to retreat, because he thought it dangerous to enter the line of Roman

garrisons, Caesar marches into the country of the Helvii; although

mount Cevennes, which separates the Arverni from the Helvii, blocked

up the way with very deep snow, as it was the severest season of the

year; yet having cleared away the snow to the depth of six feet, and

having opened the roads, he reaches the territories of the Arverni,

with infinite labor to his soldiers. This people being surprised,

because they considered themselves defended by the Cevennes as by

a wall, and the paths at this season of the year had never before

been passable even to individuals, he orders the cavalry to extend

themselves as far as they could, and strike as great a panic as possible

into the enemy. These proceedings are speedily announced to Vercingetorix

by rumor and his messengers. Around him all the Arverni crowd in alarm,

and solemnly entreat him to protect their property, and not to suffer

them to be plundered by the enemy, especially as he saw that all the

war was transferred into their country. Being prevailed upon by their

entreaties he moves his camp from the country of the Bituriges in

the direction of the Arverni.

Chapter 9

Caesar, having delayed two days in that place, because he had anticipated

that, in the natural course of events, such would be the conduct of

Vercingetorix, leaves the army under pretense of raising recruits

and cavalry: he places Brutus, a young man, in command of these forces;

he gives him instructions that the cavalry should range as extensively

as possible in all directions; that he would exert himself not to

be absent from the camp longer than three days. Having arranged these

matters, he marches to Vienna by as long journeys as he can, when

his own soldiers did not expect him. Finding there a fresh body of

cavalry, which he had sent on to that place several days before, marching

incessantly night and day, he advanced rapidly through the territory

of the Aedui into that of the Lingones, in which two legions were

wintering, that, if any plan affecting his own safety should have

been organized by the Aedui, he might defeat it by the rapidity of

his movements. When he arrived there, he sends information to the

rest of the legions, and gathers all his army into one place before

intelligence of his arrival could be announced to the Arverni. Vercingetorix,

on hearing this circumstance, leads back his army into the country

of the Bituriges; and after marching from it to Gergovia, a town of

the Boii, whom Caesar had settled there after defeating them in the

Helvetian war, and had rendered tributary to the Aedui, he determined

to attack it.

Chapter 10

This action caused great perplexity to Caesar in the selection of

his plans; [he feared] lest, if he should confine his legions in one

place for the remaining portion of the winter, all Gaul should revolt

when the tributaries of the Aedui were subdued, because it would appear

that there was in him no protection for his friends; but if he should

draw them too soon out of their winter quarters, he might be distressed

by the want of provisions, in consequence of the difficulty of conveyance.

It seemed better, however, to endure every hardship than to alienate

the affections of all his allies, by submitting to such an insult.

Having, therefore, impressed on the Aedui the necessity of supplying

him with provisions, he sends forward messengers to the Boii to inform

them of his arrival, and encourage them to remain firm in their allegiance,

and resist the attack of the enemy with great resolution. Having left

two legions and the luggage of the entire army at Agendicum, he marches

to the Boii.

Chapter 11

On the second day, when he came to Vellaunodunum, a town of the Senones,

he determined to attack it, in order that he might not leave an enemy

in his rear, and might the more easily procure supplies of provisions,

and draw a line of circumvallation around it in two days: on the third

day, embassadors being sent from the town to treat of a capitulation,

he orders their arms to be brought together, their cattle to be brought

forth, and six hundred hostages to be given. He leaves Caius Trebonius

his lieutenant, to complete these arrangements; he himself sets out

with the intention of marching as soon as possible, to Genabum, a

town of the Carnutes, who having then for the first time received

information of the siege of Vellaunodunum, as they thought that it

would be protracted to a longer time, were preparing a garrison to

send to Genabum for the defense of that town. Caesar arrived here

in two days; after pitching his camp before the town, being prevented

by the time of the day, he defers the attack to the next day, and

orders his soldiers to prepare whatever was necessary for that enterprise;

and as a bridge over the Loire connected the town of Genabum with

the opposite bank, fearing lest the inhabitants should escape by night

from the town, he orders two legions to keep watch under arms. The

people of Genabum came forth silently from the city before midnight,

and began to cross the river. When this circumstance was announced

by scouts, Caesar, having set fire to the gates, sends in the legions

which he had ordered to be ready, and obtains possession of the town

so completely, that very few of the whole number of the enemy escaped

being taken alive, because the narrowness of the bridge and the roads

prevented the multitude from escaping. He pillages and burns the town,

gives the booty to the soldiers, then leads his army over the Loire,

and marches into the territories of the Bituriges.

Chapter 12

Vercingetorix, when he ascertained the arrival of Caesar, desisted

from the siege [of Gergovia], and marched to meet Caesar. The latter

had commenced to besiege Noviodunum; and when embassadors came from

this town to beg that he would pardon them and spare their lives,

in order that he might execute the rest of his designs with the rapidity

by which he had accomplished most of them, he orders their arms to

be collected, their horses to be brought forth, and hostages to be

given. A part of the hostages being now delivered up, when the rest

of the terms were being performed, a few centurions and soldiers being

sent into the town to collect the arms and horses, the enemy's cavalry

which had outstripped the main body of Vercingetorix's army, was seen

at a distance; as soon as the townsmen beheld them, and entertained

hopes of assistance, raising a shout, they began to take up arms,

shut the gates, and line the walls. When the centurions in the town

understood from the signal-making of the Gauls that they were forming

some new design, they drew their swords and seized the gates, and

recovered all their men safe.

Chapter 13

Caesar orders the horse to be drawn out of the camp, and commences

a cavalry action. His men being now distressed, Caesar sends to their

aid about four hundred German horse, which he had determined, at the

beginning, to keep with himself. The Gauls could not withstand their

attack, but were put to flight, and retreated to their main body,

after losing a great number of men. When they were routed, the townsmen,

again intimidated, arrested those persons by whose exertions they

thought that the mob had been roused, and brought them to Caesar,

and surrendered themselves to him. When these affairs were accomplished,

Caesar marched to the Avaricum, which was the largest and best fortified

town in the territories of the Bituriges, and situated in a most fertile

tract of country; because he confidently expected that on taking that

town, he would reduce beneath his dominion the state of the Bituriges.

Chapter 14

Vercingetorix, after sustaining such a series of losses at Vellaunodunum,

Genabum, and Noviodunum, summons his men to a council. He impresses

on them "that the war must be prosecuted on a very different system

from that which had been previously adopted; but they should by all

means aim at this object, that the Romans should be prevented from

foraging and procuring provisions; that this was easy, because they

themselves were well supplied with cavalry, and were likewise assisted

by the season of the year; that forage could not be cut; that the

enemy must necessarily disperse, and look for it in the houses, that

all these might be daily destroyed by the horse. Besides that the

interests of private property must be neglected for the sake of the

general safety; that the villages and houses ought to be fired, over

such an extent of country in every direction from Boia, as the Romans

appeared capable of scouring in their search for forage. That an abundance

of these necessaries could be supplied to them, because they would

be assisted by the resources of those in whose territories the war

would be waged: that the Romans either would not bear the privation,

or else would advance to any distance from the camp with considerable

danger; and that it made no difference whether they slew them or stripped

them of their baggage, since, if it was lost, they could not carry

on the war. Besides that, the towns ought to be burned which were

not secured against every danger by their fortifications or natural

advantages; that there should not be places of retreat for their own

countrymen for declining military service, nor be exposed to the Romans

as inducements to carry off abundance of provisions and plunder. If

these sacrifices should appear heavy or galling, that they ought to

consider it much more distressing that their wives and children should

be dragged off to slavery, and themselves slain; the evils which must

necessarily befall the conquered.

Chapter 15

This opinion having been approved of by unanimous consent, more than

twenty towns of the Bituriges are burned in one day. Conflagrations

are beheld in every quarter; and although all bore this with great

regret, yet they laid before themselves this consolation, that, as

the victory was certain, they could quickly recover their losses.

There is a debate concerning Avaricum in the general council, whether

they should decide, that it should be burned or defended. The Bituriges

threw themselves at the feet of all the Gauls, and entreat that they

should not be compelled to set fire with their own hands to the fairest

city of almost the whole of Gaul, which was both a protection and

ornament to the state; they say that "they could easily defend it,

owing to the nature of the ground, for, being inclosed almost on every

side by a river and a marsh, it had only one entrance, and that very

narrow." Permission being granted to them at their earnest request,

Vercingetorix at first dissuades them from it, but afterward concedes

the point, owing to their entreaties and the compassion of the soldiers.

A proper garrison is selected for the town.

Chapter 16

Vercingetorix follows closely upon Caesar by shorter marches, and

selects for his camp a place defended by woods and marshes, at the

distance of fifteen miles from Avaricum. There he received intelligence

by trusty scouts, every hour in the day, of what was going on at Avaricum,

and ordered whatever he wished to be done; he closely watched all

our expeditions for corn and forage, and whenever they were compelled

to go to a greater distance, he attacked them when dispersed, and

inflicted severe loss upon them; although the evil was remedied by

our men, as far as precautions could be taken, by going forth at irregular

times' and by different ways.

Chapter 17

Caesar pitching his camp at that side of the town which was not defended

by the river and marsh, and had a very narrow approach, as we have

mentioned, began to raise the vineae and erect two towers: for the

nature of the place prevented him from drawing a line of circumvallation.

He never ceased to importune the Boii and Aedui for supplies of corn;

of whom the one [the Aedui], because they were acting with no zeal,

did not aid him much; the others [the Boii], as their resources were

not great, quickly consumed what they had. Although the army was distressed

by the greatest want of corn, through the poverty of the Boii, the

apathy of the Aedui, and the burning of the houses, to such a degree,

that for several days the soldiers were without corn, and satisfied

their extreme hunger with cattle driven from the remote villages;

yet no language was heard from them unworthy of the majesty of the

Roman people and their former victories. Moreover, when Caesar addressed

the legions, one by one, when at work, and said that he would raise

the siege, if they felt the scarcity too severely, they unanimously

begged him "not to do so; that they had served for several years under

his command in such a manner that they never submitted to insult,

and never abandoned an enterprise without accomplishing it; that they

should consider it a disgrace if they abandoned the siege after commencing

it; that it was better to endure every hardship than to not avenge

the names of the Roman citizens who perished at Genabum by the perfidy

of the Gauls." They intrusted the same declarations to the centurions

and military tribunes, that through them they might be communicated

to Caesar.

Chapter 18

When the towers had now approached the walls, Caesar ascertained from

the captives that Vercingetorix after destroying the forage, had pitched

his camp nearer Avaricum, and that he himself with the cavalry and

light-armed infantry, who generally fought among the horse, had gone

to lay an ambuscade in that quarter, to which he thought that our

troops would come the next day to forage. On learning these facts,

he set out from the camp secretly at midnight, and reached the camp

of the enemy early in the morning. They having quickly learned the

arrival of Caesar by scouts, hid their cars and baggage in the thickest

parts of the woods, and drew up all their forces in a lofty and open

space: which circumstance being announced, Caesar immediately ordered

the baggage to be piled, and the arms to be got ready.

Chapter 19

There was a hill of a gentle ascent from the bottom; a dangerous and

impassable marsh, not more than fifty feet broad, begirt it on almost

every side. The Gauls, having broken down the bridges, posted themselves

on this hill, in confidence of their position, and being drawn up

in tribes according to their respective states, held all the fords

and passages of that marsh with trusty guards, thus determined that

if the Romans should attempt to force the marsh, they would overpower

them from the higher ground while sticking in it, so that whoever

saw the nearness of the position, would imagine that the two armies

were prepared to fight on almost equal terms; but whoever should view

accurately the disadvantage of position, would discover that they

were showing off an empty affectation of courage. Caesar clearly points

out to his soldiers, who were indignant that the enemy could bear

the sight of them at the distance of so short a space, and were earnestly

demanding the signal for action, "with how great loss and the death

of how many gallant men the victory would necessarily be purchased:

and when he saw them so determined to decline no danger for his renown,

that he ought to be considered guilty of the utmost injustice if he

did not hold their life dearer than his personal safety." Having thus

consoled his soldiers, he leads them back on the same day to the camp,

and determined to prepare the other things which were necessary for

the siege of the town.

Chapter 20

Vercingetorix, when he had returned to his men, was accused of treason,

in that he had moved his camp nearer the Romans, in that he had gone

away with all the cavalry, in that he had left so great forces without

a commander, in that, on his departure, the Romans had come at such

a favorable season, and with such dispatch; that all these circumstances

could not have happened accidentally or without design; that he preferred

holding the sovereignty of Gaul by the grant of Caesar to acquiring

it by their favor. Being accused in such a manner, he made the following

reply to these charges: - "That his moving his camp had been caused

by want of forage, and had been done even by their advice; that his

approaching near the Romans had been a measure dictated by the favorable

nature of the ground, which would defend him by its natural strength;

that the service of the cavalry could not have been requisite in marshy

ground, and was useful in that place to which they had gone; that

he, on his departure, had given the supreme command to no one intentionally,

lest he should be induced by the eagerness of the multitude to hazard

an engagement, to which he perceived that all were inclined, owing

to their want of energy, because they were unable to endure fatigue

any longer. That, if the Romans in the mean time came up by chance,

they [the Gauls] should feel grateful to fortune; if invited by the

information of some one they should feel grateful to him, because

they were enabled to see distinctly from the higher ground the smallness

of the number of their enemy, and despise the courage of those who,

not daring to fight, retreated disgracefully into their camp. That

he desired no power from Caesar by treachery, since he could have

it by victory, which was now assured to himself and to all the Gauls;

nay, that he would even give them back the command, if they thought

that they conferred honor on him, rather than received safety from

him. That you may be assured," said he, "that I speak these words

with truth; - listen to these Roman soldiers!" He produces some camp-followers

whom he had surprised on a foraging expedition some days before, and

had tortured by famine and confinement. They being previously instructed

in what answers they should make when examined, say, "That they were

legionary soldiers, that, urged by famine and want, they had recently

gone forth from the camp, [to see] if they could find any corn or

cattle in the fields; that the whole army was distressed by a similar

scarcity, nor had any one now sufficient strength, nor could bear

the labor of the work; and therefore that the general was determined,

if he made no progress in the siege, to draw off his army in three

days." "These benefits," says Vercingetorix, "you receive from me,

whom you accuse of treason - me, by whose exertions you see so powerful

and victorious an army almost destroyed by famine, without shedding

one drop of your blood; and I have taken precautions that no state

shall admit within its territories this army in its ignominious flight

from this place."

Chapter 21

The whole multitude raise a shout and clash their arms, according

to their custom, as they usually do in the case of him of whose speech

they approve; [they exclaim] that Vercingetorix was a consummate general,

and that they had no doubt of his honor; that the war could not be

conducted with greater prudence. They determine that ten thousand

men should be picked out of the entire army and sent into the town,

and decide that the general safety should not be intrusted to the

Bituriges alone, because they were aware that the glory of the victory

must rest with the Bituriges, if they made good the defense of the

town.

Chapter 22

To the extraordinary valor of our soldiers, devices of every sort

were opposed by the Gauls; since they are a nation of consummate ingenuity,

and most skillful in imitating and making those things which are imparted

by any one; for they turned aside the hooks with nooses, and when

they had caught hold of them firmly, drew them on by means of engines,

and undermined the mound the more skillfully on this account, because

there are in their territories extensive iron mines, and consequently

every description of mining operations is known and practiced by them.

They had furnished, more over, the whole wall on every side with turrets,

and had covered them with skins. Besides, in their frequent sallies

by day and night, they attempted either to set fire to the mound,

or attack our soldiers when engaged in the works; and, moreover, by

splicing the upright timbers of their own towers, they equaled the

height of ours, as fast as the mound had daily raised them, and countermined

our mines, and impeded the working of them by stakes bent and sharpened

at the ends, and boiling pitch and stones of very great weight, and

prevented them from approaching the walls.

Chapter 23

But this is usually the form of all the Gallic walls. Straight beams,

connected lengthwise and two feet distant from each other at equal

intervals, are placed together on the ground; these are mortised on

the inside, and covered with plenty of earth. But the intervals which

we have mentioned, are closed up in front by large stones. These being

thus laid and cemented together, another row is added above, in such

a manner, that the same interval may be observed, and that the beams

may not touch one another, but equal spaces intervening, each row

of beams is kept firmly in its place by a row of stones. In this manner

the whole wall is consolidated, until the regular height of the wall

be completed. This work, with respect to appearance and variety, is

not unsightly, owing to the alternate rows of beams and stones, which

preserve their order in right lines; and, besides, it possesses great

advantages as regards utility and the defense of cities; for the stone

protects it from fire, and the wood from the battering ram, since

it [the wood] being mortised in the inside with rows of beams, generally

forty feet each in length, can neither be broken through nor torn

asunder.

Chapter 24

The siege having been impeded by so many disadvantages, the soldiers,

although they were retarded during the whole time by the mud, cold,

and constant showers, yet by their incessant labor overcame all these

obstacles, and in twenty-five days raised a mound three hundred and

thirty feet broad and eighty feet high. When it almost touched the

enemy's walls, and Caesar, according to his usual custom, kept watch

at the work, and encouraged the soldiers not to discontinue the work

for a moment: a little before the third watch they discovered that

the mound was sinking, since the enemy had set it on fire by a mine;

and at the same time a shout was raised along the entire wall, and

a sally was made from two gates on each side of the turrets. Some

at a distance were casting torches and dry wood from the wall on the

mound, others were pouring on it pitch, and other materials, by which

the flame might be excited, so that a plan could hardly be formed,

as to where they should first run to the defense, or to what part

aid should be brought. However, as two legions always kept guard before

the camp by Caesar's orders, and several of them were at stated times

at the work, measures were promptly taken, that some should oppose

the sallying party, others draw back the towers and make a cut in

the rampart; and moreover, that the whole army should hasten from

the camp to extinguish the flames.

Chapter 25

When the battle was going on in every direction, the rest of the night

being now spent, and fresh hopes of victory always arose before the

enemy: the more so on this account because they saw the coverings

of our towers burnt away, and perceived, that we, being exposed, could

not easily go to give assistance, and they themselves were always

relieving the weary with fresh men, and considered that all the safety

of Gaul rested on this crisis; there happened in my own view a circumstance

which, having appeared to be worthy of record, we thought it ought

not to be omitted. A certain Gaul before the gate of the town, who

was casting into the fire opposite the turret balls of tallow and

fire which were passed along to him, was pierced with a dart on the

right side and fell dead. One of those next him stepped over him as

he lay, and discharged the same office: when the second man was slain

in the same manner by a wound from a cross-bow, a third succeeded

him, and a fourth succeeded the third: nor was this post left vacant

by the besieged, until, the fire of the mound having been extinguished,

and the enemy repulsed in every direction, an end was put to the fighting.

Chapter 26

The Gauls having tried every expedient, as nothing had succeeded,

adopted the design of fleeing from the town the next day, by the advice

and order of Vercingetorix. They hoped that, by attempting it at the

dead of night, they would effect it without any great loss of men,

because the camp of Vercingetorix was not far distant from the town,

and the extensive marsh which intervened, was likely to retard the

Romans in the pursuit. And they were now preparing to execute this

by night, when the matrons suddenly ran out - into the streets, and

weeping cast themselves at the feet of their husbands, and requested

of them, with every entreaty, that they should not abandon themselves

and their common children to the enemy for punishment, because the

weakness of their nature and physical powers prevented them from taking

to flight. When they saw that they (as fear does not generally admit

of mercy in extreme danger) persisted in their resolution, they began

to shout aloud, and give intelligence of their flight to the Romans.

The Gauls being intimidated by fear of this, lest the passes should

be pre-occupied by the Roman cavalry, desisted from their design.

Chapter 27

The next day Caesar, the tower being advanced, and the works which

he had determined to raise being arranged, a violent storm arising,

thought this no bad time for executing his designs, because he observed

the guards arranged on the walls a little too negligently, and therefore

ordered his own men to engage in their work more remissly, and pointed

out what he wished to be done. He drew up his soldiers in a secret

position within the vineae, and exhorts them to reap, at least, the

harvest of victory proportionate to their exertions. He proposed a

reward for those who should first scale the walls, and gave the signal

to the soldiers. They suddenly flew out from all quarters and quickly

filled the walls.

Chapter 28

The enemy being alarmed by the suddenness of the attack, were dislodged

from the wall and towers, and drew up, in form of a wedge, in the

market place and the open streets, with this intention that, if an

attack should be made on any side, they should fight with their line

drawn up to receive it. When they saw no one descending to the level

ground, and the enemy extending themselves along the entire wall in

every direction, fearing lest every hope of flight should be cut off,

they cast away their arms, and sought, without stopping, the most

remote parts of the town. A part was then slain by the infantry when

they were crowding upon one another in the narrow passage of the gates;

and a part having got without the gates, were cut to pieces by the

cavalry: nor was there one who was anxious for the plunder. Thus,

being excited by the massacre at Genabum and the fatigue of the siege,

they spared neither those worn out with years, women, or children.

Finally, out of all that number, which amounted to about forty thousand,

scarcely eight hundred, who fled from the town when they heard the

first alarm, reached Vercingetorix in safety: and he, the night being

now far spent, received them in silence after their flight (fearing

that any sedition should arise in the camp from their entrance in

a body and the compassion of the soldiers), so that, having arranged

his friends and the chiefs of the states at a distance on the road,

he took precautions that they should be separated and conducted to

their fellow countrymen, to whatever part of the camp had been assigned

to each state from the beginning.

Chapter 29

Vercingetorix having convened an assembly on the following day, consoled

and encouraged his soldiers in the following words: "That they should

not be too much depressed in spirit, nor alarmed at their loss; that

the Romans did not conquer by valor nor in the field, but by a kind

of art and skill in assault, with which they themselves were unacquainted;

that whoever expected every event in the war to be favorable, erred;

that it never was his opinion that Avaricum should be defended, of

the truth of which statement he had themselves as witnesses, but that

it was owing to the imprudence of the Bituriges, and the too ready

compliance of the rest, that this loss was sustained; that, however,

he would soon compensate it by superior advantages; for that he would,

by his exertions, bring over those states which severed themselves

from the rest of the Gauls, and would create a general unanimity throughout

the whole of Gaul, the union of which not even the whole earth could

withstand, and that he had it already almost effected; that in the

mean time it was reasonable that he should prevail on them, for the

sake of the general safety, to begin to fortify their camp, in order

that they might the more easily sustain the sudden attacks of the

enemy."

Chapter 30

This speech was not disagreeable to the Gauls, principally, because

he himself was not disheartened by receiving so severe a loss, and

had not concealed himself, nor shunned the eyes of the people: and

he was believed to possess greater foresight and sounder judgment

than the rest, because, when the affair was undecided, he had at first

been of opinion that Avaricum should be burnt, and afterward that

it should be abandoned. Accordingly, as ill success weakens the authority

of other generals, so, on the contrary, his dignity increased daily,

although a loss was sustained: at the same time they began to entertain

hopes, on his assertion, of uniting the rest of the states to themselves,

and on this occasion, for the first time, the Gauls began to fortify

their camps, and were so alarmed that although they were men unaccustomed

to toil, yet they were of opinion that they ought to endure and suffer

every thing which should be imposed upon them.

Chapter 31

Nor did Vercingetorix use less efforts than he had promised, to gain

over the other states, and [in consequence] endeavored to entice their

leaders by gifts and promises. For this object he selected fitting

emissaries, by whose subtle pleading or private friendship, each of

the nobles could be most easily influenced. He takes care that those

who fled to him on the storming of Avaricum should be provided with

arms and clothes. At the same time that his diminished forces should

be recruited, he levies a fixed quota of soldiers from each state,

and defines the number and day before which he should wish them brought

to the camp, and orders all the archers, of whom there was a very

great number in Gaul, to be collected and sent to him. By these means,

the troops which were lost at Avaricum are speedily replaced. In the

mean time, Teutomarus, the son of Ollovicon, the king of the Nitiobriges,

whose father had received the appellation of friend from our senate,

came to him with a great number of his own horse and those whom he

had hired from Aquitania.

Chapter 32

Caesar, after delaying several days at Avaricum, and, finding there

the greatest plenty of corn and other provisions, refreshed his army

after their fatigue and privation. The winter being almost ended,

when he was invited by the favorable season of the year to prosecute

the war and march against the enemy, [and try] whether he could draw

them from the marshes and woods, or else press them by a blockade;

some noblemen of the Aedui came to him as embassadors to entreat "that

in an extreme emergency he should succor their state; that their affairs

were in the utmost danger, because, whereas single magistrates had

been usually appointed in ancient times and held the power of king

for a single year, two persons now exercised this office, and each

asserted that he was appointed according to their laws. That one of

them was Convictolitanis, a powerful and illustrious youth; the other

Cotus, sprung from a most ancient family, and personally a man of

very great influence and extensive connections. His brother Valetiacus

had borne the same office during the last year: that the whole state

was up in arms; the senate divided, the people divided; that each

of them had his own adherents; and that, if the animosity would be

fomented any longer, the result would be that one part of the state

would come to a collision with the other; that it rested with his

activity and influence to prevent it."

Chapter 33

Although Caesar considered it ruinous to leave the war and the enemy,

yet, being well aware what great evils generally arise from internal

dissensions, lest a state so powerful and so closely connected with

the Roman people, which he himself had always fostered and honored

in every respect, should have recourse to violence and arms, and that

the party which had less confidence in its own power should summon

aid from Vercingetorix, he determined to anticipate this movement;

and because, by the laws of the Aedui, it was not permitted those

who held the supreme authority to leave the country, he determined

to go in person to the Aedui, lest he should appear to infringe upon

their government and laws, and summoned all the senate, and those

between whom the dispute was, to meet him at Decetia. When almost

all the state had assembled there, and he was informed that one brother

had been declared magistrate by the other, when only a few persons

were privately summoned for the purpose, at a different time and place

from what he ought, whereas the laws not only forbade two belonging

to one family to be elected magistrates while each was alive, but

even deterred them from being in the senate, he compelled Cotus to

resign his office; he ordered Convictolitanis, who had been elected

by the priests, according to the usage of the state, in the presence

of the magistrates, to hold the supreme authority.

Chapter 34

Having pronounced this decree between [the contending parties], he

exhorted the Aedui to bury in oblivion their disputes and dissensions,

and, laying aside all these things, devote themselves to the war,

and expect from him, on the conquest of Gaul, those rewards which

they should have earned, and send speedily to him all their cavalry

and ten thousand infantry, which he might place in different garrisons

to protect his convoys of provisions, and then divided his army into

two parts: he gave Labienus four legions to lead into the country

of the Senones and Parisii; and led in person six into the country

of the Arverni, in the direction of the town of Gergovia, along the

banks of the Allier. He gave part of the cavalry to Labienus and kept

part to himself. Vercingetorix, on learning this circumstance, broke

down all the bridges over the river and began to march on the other

bank of the Allier.

Chapter 35

When each army was in sight of the other, and was pitching their camp

almost opposite that of the enemy, scouts being distributed in every

quarter, lest the Romans should build a bridge and bring over their

troops; it was to Caesar a matter attended with great difficulties,

lest he should be hindered from passing the river during the greater

part of the summer, as the Allier can not generally be forded before

the autumn. Therefore, that this might not happen, having pitched

his camp in a woody place opposite to one of those bridges which Vercingetorix

had taken care should be broken down, the next day he stopped behind

with two legions in a secret place; he sent on the rest of the forces

as usual, with all the baggage, after having selected some cohorts,

that the number of the legions might appear to be complete. Having

ordered these to advance as far as they could, when now, from the

time of day, he conjectured they had come to an encampment, he began

to rebuild the bridge on the same piles, the lower part of which remained

entire. Having quickly finished the work and led his legions across,

he selected a fit place for a camp, and recalled the rest of his troops.

Vercingetorix, on ascertaining this fact, went before him by forced

marches, in order that he might not be compelled to come to an action

against his will.

Chapter 36

Caesar, in five days' march, went from that place to Gergovia, and

after engaging in a slight cavalry skirmish that day, on viewing the

situation of the city, which, being built on a very high mountain,

was very difficult of access, he despaired of taking it by storm,

and determined to take no measures with regard to besieging it before

he should secure a supply of provisions. But Vercingetorix, having

pitched his camp on the mountain near the town, placed the forces

of each state separately and at small intervals around himself, and

having occupied all the hills of that range as far as they commanded

a view [of the Roman encampment], he presented a formidable appearance;

he ordered the rulers of the states, whom he had selected as his council

of war, to come to him daily at the dawn, whether any measure seemed

to require deliberation or execution. Nor did he allow almost any

day to pass without testing in a cavalry action, the archers being

intermixed, what spirit and valor there was in each of his own men.

There was a hill opposite the town, at the very foot of that mountain,

strongly fortified and precipitous on every side (which if our men

could gain, they seemed likely to exclude the enemy from a great share

of their supply of water, and from free foraging; but this place was

occupied by them with a weak garrison): however, Caesar set out from

the camp in the silence of night, and dislodging the garrison before

succor could come from the town, he got possession of the place and

posted two legions there, and drew from the greater camp to the less

a double trench twelve feet broad, so that the soldiers could even

singly pass secure from any sudden attack of the enemy.

Chapter 37

While these affairs were going on at Gergovia, Convictolanis, the

Aeduan, to whom we have observed the magistracy was adjudged by Caesar,

being bribed by the Arverni, holds a conference with certain young

men, the chief of whom were Litavicus and his brothers, who were born

of a most noble family. He shares the bribe with them, and exhorts

them to "remember that they were free and born for empire; that the

state of the Aedui was the only one which retarded the most certain

victory of the Gauls; that the rest were held in check by its authority;

and, if it was brought over, the Romans would not have room to stand

on in Gaul; that he had received some kindness from Caesar, only so

far, however, as gaining a most just cause by his decision; but that

he assigned more weight to the general freedom; for, why should the

Aedui go to Caesar to decide concerning their rights and laws, rather

than the Romans come to the Aedui?" The young men being easily won

over by the speech of the magistrate and the bribe, when they declared

that they would even be leaders in the plot, a plan for accomplishing

it was considered, because they were confident their state could not

be induced to undertake the war on slight grounds. It was resolved

that Litavicus should have the command of the ten thousand, which

were being sent to Caesar for the war, and should have charge of them

on their march, and that his brothers should go before him to Caesar.

They arrange the other measures, and the manner in which they should

have them done.

Chapter 38

Litavicus, having received the command of the army, suddenly convened

the soldiers, when he was about thirty miles distant from Gergovia,

and, weeping, said, "Soldiers, whither are we going? All our knights

and all our nobles have perished. Eporedirix and Viridomarus, the

principal men of the state, being accused of treason, have been slain

by the Romans without any permission to plead their cause. Learn this

intelligence from those who have escaped from the massacre; for I,

since my brothers and all my relations have been slain, am prevented

by grief from declaring what has taken place. Persons are brought

forward whom he had instructed in what he would have them say, and

make the same statements to the soldiery as Litavicus had made: that

all the knights of the Aedui were slain because they were said to

have held conferences with the Arverni; that they had concealed themselves

among the multitude of soldiers, and had escaped from the midst of

the slaughter. The Aedui shout aloud and conjure Litavicus to provide

for their safety. As if, said he, it were a matter of deliberation,

and not of necessity, for us to go to Gergovia and unite ourselves

to the Arverni. Or have we any reasons to doubt that the Romans, after

perpetrating the atrocious crime, are now hastening to slay us? Therefore,

if there be any spirit in us, let us avenge the death of those who

have perished in a most unworthy manner, and let us slay these robbers."

He points to the Roman citizens, who had accompanied them, in reliance

on his protection. He immediately seizes a great quantity of corn

and provisions, cruelly tortures them, and then puts them to death,

sends messengers throughout the entire state of the Aedui, and rouses

them completely by the same falsehood concerning the slaughter of

their knights and nobles; he earnestly advises them to avenge, in

the same manner as he did, the wrongs, which they had received.

Chapter 39

Eporedirix, the Aeduan , a young man born in the highest rank and

possessing very great influence at home, and, along with Viridomarus,

of equal age and influence, but of inferior birth, whom Caesar had

raised from a humble position to the highest rank, on being recommended

to him by Divitiacus, had come in the number of horse, being summoned

by Caesar by name. These had a dispute with each other for precedence,

and in the struggle between the magistrates they had contended with

their utmost efforts, the one for Convictolitanis, the other for Cotus.

Of these Eporedirix, on learning the design of Litavicus, lays the

matter before Caesar almost at midnight; he entreats that Caesar should

not suffer their state to swerve from the alliance with the Roman

people, owing to the depraved counsels of a few young men which he

foresaw would be the consequence if so many thousand men should unite

themselves to the enemy, as their relations could not neglect their

safety, nor the state regard it as a matter of slight importance.

Chapter 40

Caesar felt great anxiety on this intelligence, because he had always

especially indulged the state of the Aedui, and, without any hesitation,

draws out from the camp four light-armed legions and all the cavalry:

nor had he time, at such a crisis, to contract the camp, because the

affair seemed to depend upon dispatch. He leaves Caius Fabius, his

lieutenant, with two legions to guard the camp. When he ordered the

brothers of Litavicus to be arrested, he discovers that they had fled

a short time before to the camp of the enemy. He encouraged his soldiers

"not to be disheartened by the labor of the journey on such a necessary

occasion," and, after advancing twenty-five miles, all being most

eager, he came in sight of the army of the Aedui, and, by sending

on his cavalry, retards and impedes their march; he then issues strict

orders to all his soldiers to kill no one. He commands Eporedirix

and Viridomarus, who they thought were killed, to move among the cavalry

and address their friends. When they were recognized and the treachery

of Litavicus discovered, the Aedui began to extend their hands to

intimate submission, and, laying down their arms, to deprecate death.

Litavicus, with his clansmen, who after the custom of the Gauls consider

it a crime to desert their patrons, even in extreme misfortune, flees

forth to Gergovia.

Chapter 41

Caesar, after sending messengers to the state of the Aedui, to inform

them that they whom he could have put to death by the right of war

were spared through his kindness, and after giving three hours of

the night to his army for his repose, directed his march to Gergovia.

Almost in the middle of the journey, a party of horse that were sent

by Fabius stated in how great danger matters were, they inform him

that the camp was attacked by a very powerful army, while fresh men

were frequently relieving the wearied, and exhausting our soldiers

by the incessant toil, since on account of the size of the camp, they

had constantly to remain on the rampart; that many had been wounded

by the immense number of arrows and all kinds of missiles; that the

engines were of great service in withstanding them; that Fabius, at

their departure, leaving only two gates open, was blocking up the

rest, and was adding breast-works to the ramparts, and was preparing

himself for a similar casualty on the following day. Caesar, after

receiving this information, reached the camp before sunrise owing

to the very great zeal of his soldiers.

Chapter 42

While these things are going on at Gergovia, the Aedui, on receiving

the first announcements from Litavicus, leave themselves no time to

ascertain the truth of those statements. Some are stimulated by avarice,

others by revenge and credulity, which is an innate propensity in

that race of men to such a degree that they consider a slight rumor

as an ascertained fact. They plunder the property of the Roman citizens,

and either massacre them or drag them away to slavery. Convictolitanis

increases the evil state of affairs, and goads on the people to fury,

that by the commission of some outrage they may be ashamed to return

to propriety. They entice from the town of Cabillonus, by a promise

of safety, Marcus Aristius, a military tribune, who was on his march

to his legion; they compel those who had settled there for the purpose

of trading to do the same. By constantly attacking them on their march

they strip them of all their baggage; they besiege day and night those

that resisted; when many were slain on both sides, they excite a great

number to arms.

Chapter 43

In the mean time, when intelligence was brought that all their soldiers

were in Caesar's power, they run in a body to Aristius; they assure

him that nothing had been done by public authority; they order an

inquiry to be made about the plundered property; they confiscate the

property of Litavicus and his brothers; they send embassadors to Caesar

for the purpose of clearing themselves. They do all this with a view

to recover their soldiers; but being contaminated by guilt, and charmed

by the gains arising from the plundered property, as that act was

shared in by many, and being tempted by the fear of punishment, they

began to form plans of war and stir up the other states by embassies.

Although Caesar was aware of this proceeding, yet he addresses the

embassadors with as much mildness as he can: "That he did not think

worse of the state on account of the ignorance and fickleness of the

mob, nor would diminish his regard for the Aedui." He himself, fearing

a greater commotion in Gaul, in order to prevent his being surrounded

by all the states, began to form plans as to the manner in which he

should return from Gergovia and again concentrate his forces, lest

a departure arising from the fear of a revolt should seem like a flight.

Chapter 44

While he was considering these things an opportunity of acting successfully

seemed to offer. For, when he had come into the smaller camp for the

purpose of securing the works, he noticed that the hill in the possession

of the enemy was stripped of men, although, on the former days, it

could scarcely be seen on account of the numbers on it. Being astonished,

he inquires the reason of it from the deserters, a great number of

whom flocked to him daily. They all concurred in asserting, what Caesar

himself had already ascertained by his scouts, that the back of that

hill was almost level; but likewise woody and narrow, by which there

was a pass to the other side of the town; that they had serious apprehensions

for this place, and had no other idea, on the occupation of one hill

by the Romans, than that, if they should lose the other, they would

be almost surrounded, and cut off from all egress and foraging; that

they were all summoned by Vercingetorix to fortify this place.

Chapter 45

Caesar, on being informed of this circumstance, sends several troops

of horse to the place immediately after midnight; he orders them to

range in every quarter with more tumult than usual. At dawn he orders

a large quantity of baggage to be drawn out of the camp, and the muleteers

with helmets, in the appearance and guise of horsemen, to ride round

the hills. To these he adds a few cavalry, with instructions to range

more widely to make a show. He orders them all to seek the same quarter

by a long circuit; these proceedings were seen at a distance from

the town, as Gergovia commanded a view of the camp, nor could the

Gauls ascertain at so great a distance, what certainty there was in

the maneuver. He sends one legion to the same hill, and after it had

marched a little, stations it in the lower ground, and congeals it

in the woods. The suspicion of the Gauls are increased, and all their

forces are marched to that place to defend it. Caesar, having perceived

the camp of the enemy deserted, covers the military insignia of his

men, conceals the standards, and transfers his soldiers in small bodies

from the greater to the less camp, and points out to the lieutenants

whom he had placed in command over the respective legions, what he

should wish to be done; he particularly advises them to restrain their

men from advancing too far, through their desire of fighting, or their

hope of plunder, he sets before them what disadvantages the unfavorable

nature of the ground carries with it; that they could be assisted

by dispatch alone: that success depended on a surprise, and not on

a battle. After stating these particulars, he gives the signal for

action, and detaches the Aedui at the same time by another ascent

on the right.

Chapter 46

The town wall was 1200 paces distant from the plain and foot of the

ascent, in a straight line, if no gap intervened; whatever circuit

was added to this ascent, to make the hill easy, increased the length

of the route. But almost in the middle of the hill, the Gauls had

previously built a wall six feet high, made of large stones, and extending

in length as far as the nature of the ground permitted, as a barrier

to retard the advance of our men; and leaving all the lower space

empty, they had filled the upper part of the hill, as far as the wall

of the town, with their camps very close to one another. The soldiers,

on the signal being given, quickly advance to this fortification,

and passing over it, make themselves masters of the separate camps.

And so great was their activity in taking the camps, that Teutomarus,

the king of the Nitiobriges, being suddenly surprised in his tent,

as he had gone to rest at noon, with difficulty escaped from the hands

of the plunderers, with the upper part of his person naked, and his

horse wounded.

Chapter 47

Caesar, having accomplished the object which he had in view, ordered

the signal to be sounded for a retreat; and the soldiers of the tenth

legion, by which he was then accompanied, halted. But the soldiers

of the other legions, not hearing the sound of the trumpet, because

there was a very large valley between them, were however kept back

by the tribunes of the soldiers and the lieutenants, according to

Caesar's orders; but being animated by the prospect of speedy victory,

and the flight of the enemy, and the favorable battles of former periods,

they thought nothing so difficult that their bravery could not accomplish

it; nor did they put an end to the pursuit, until they drew nigh to

the wall of the town and the gates. But then, when a shout arose in

every quarter of the city, those who were at a distance being alarmed

by the sudden tumult, fled hastily from the town, since they thought

that the enemy were within the gates. The matrons begin to cast their

clothes and silver over the wall, and bending over as far as the lower

part of the bosom, with outstretched hands beseech the Romans to spare

them, and not to sacrifice to their resentment even women and children,

as they had done at Avaricum. Some of them let themselves down from

the walls by their hands, and surrendered to our soldiers. Lucius

Fabius a centurion of the eighth legion, who, it was ascertained,

had said that day among his fellow soldiers that he was excited by

the plunder of Avaricum, and would not allow any one to mount the

wall before him, finding three men of his own company, and being raised

up by them, scaled the wall. He himself, in turn, taking hold of them

one by one drew them up to the wall.

Chapter 48

In the mean time those who had gone to the other part of the town

to defend it, as we have mentioned above, at first, aroused by hearing

the shouts, and, afterward, by frequent accounts, that the town was

in possession of the Romans, sent forward their cavalry, and hastened

in larger numbers to that quarter. As each first came he stood beneath

the wall, and increased the number of his countrymen engaged in action.

When a great multitude of them had assembled, the matrons, who a little

before were stretching their hands from the walls to the Romans, began

to beseech their countrymen, and after the Gallic fashion to show

their disheveled hair, and bring their children into public view.

Neither in position nor in numbers was the contest an equal one to

the Romans; at the same time, being exhausted by running and the long

continuation of the fight, they could not easily withstand fresh and

vigorous troops.

Chapter 49

Caesar, when he perceived that his soldiers were fighting on unfavorable

ground, and that the enemy's forces were increasing, being alarmed

for the safety of his troops, sent orders to Titus Sextius, one of

his lieutenants, whom he had left to guard the smaller camp, to lead

out his cohorts quickly from the camp, and post them at the foot of

the hill, on the right wing of the enemy; that if he should see our

men driven from the ground, he should deter the enemy from following

too closely. He himself, advancing with the legion a little from that

place where he had taken his post, awaited the issue of the battle.

Chapter 50

While the fight was going on most vigorously, hand to hand, and the

enemy depended on their position and numbers, our men on their bravery,

the Aedui suddenly appeared on our exposed flank, as Caesar had sent

them by another ascent on the right, for the sake of creating a diversion.

These, from the similarity of their arms, greatly terrified our men;

and although they were discovered to have their right shoulders bare,

which was usually the sign of those reduced to peace, yet the soldiers

suspected that this very thing was done by the enemy to deceive them.

At the same time Lucius Fabius the centurion, and those who had scaled

the wall with him, being surrounded and slain, were cast from the

wall. Marcus Petreius, a centurion of the same legion, after attempting

to hew down the gates, was overpowered by numbers, and, despairing

of his safety, having already received many wounds, said to the soldiers

of his own company who followed him: "Since I can not save you as

well as myself, I shall at least provide for your safety, since I,

allured by the love of glory, led you into this danger, do you save

yourselves when an opportunity is given." At the same time he rushed

into the midst of the enemy, and slaying two of them, drove back the

rest a little from the gate. When his men attempted to aid him, "In

vain," he says, "you endeavor to procure me safety, since blood and

strength are now failing me, therefore leave this, while you have

the opportunity, and retreat to the legion." Thus he fell fighting

a few moments after, and saved his men by his own death.

Chapter 51

Our soldiers, being hard pressed on every side, were dislodged from

their position, with the loss of forty-six centurions; but the tenth

legion, which had been posted in reserve on ground a little more level,

checked the Gauls in their eager pursuit. It was supported by the

cohorts of the thirteenth legion, which, being led from the smaller

camp, had, under the command of Titus Sextius, occupied the higher

ground. The legions, as soon as they reached the plain, halted and

faced the enemy. Vercingetorix led back his men from the part of the

hill within the fortifications. On that day little less than seven

hundred of the soldiers were missing.

Chapter 52

On the next day, Caesar, having called a meeting, censured the rashness

and avarice of his soldiers, "In that they had judged for themselves

how far they ought to proceed, or what they ought to do, and could

not be kept back by the tribunes of the soldiers and the lieutenants;"

and stated, "what the disadvantage of the ground could effect, what

opinion he himself had entertained at Avaricum, when having surprised

the enemy without either general or cavalry, he had given up a certain

victory, lest even a trifling loss should occur in the contest owing

to the disadvantage of position. That as much as he admired the greatness

of their courage, since neither the fortifications of the camp, nor

the height of the mountain, nor the wall of the town could retard

them; in the same degree he censured their licentiousness and arrogance,

because they thought that they knew more than their general concerning

victory, and the issue of actions: and that he required in his soldiers

forbearance and self-command, not less than valor and magnanimity."

Chapter 53

Having held this assembly, and having encouraged the soldiers at the

conclusion of his speech, "That they should not be dispirited on this

account, nor attribute to the valor of the enemy, what the disadvantage

of position had caused;" entertaining the same views of his departure

that he had previously had, he led forth the legions from the camp,

and drew up his army in order of battle in a suitable place. When

Vercingetorix, nevertheless, would not descend to the level ground,

a slight cavalry action, and that a successful one, having taken place,

he led back his army into the camp. When he had done this, the next

day, thinking that he had done enough to lower the pride of the Gauls,

and to encourage the minds of his soldiers, he moved his camp in the

direction of the Aedui. The enemy not even then pursuing us, on the

third day he repaired the bridge over the river Allier, and led over

his whole army.

Chapter 54

Having then held an interview with Viridomarus and Eporedirix the

Aeduans, he learns that Litavicus had set out with all the cavalry

to raise the Aedui; that it was necessary that they too should go

before him to confirm the state in their allegiance. Although he now

saw distinctly the treachery of the Aedui in many things, and was

of opinion that the revolt of the entire state would be hastened by

their departure; yet he thought that they should not be detained,

lest he should appear either to offer an insult, or betray some suspicion

of fear. He briefly states to them when departing his services toward

the Aedui: in what a state and how humbled he had found them, driven

into their towns, deprived of their lands, stripped of all their forces,

a tribute imposed on them, and hostages wrested from them with the

utmost insult; and to what condition and to what greatness he had

raised them, [so much so] that they had not only recovered their former

position, but seemed to surpass the dignity and influence of all the

previous eras of their history. After giving these admonitions he

dismissed them.

Chapter 55

Noviodunum was a town of the Aedui, advantageously situated on the

banks of the Loire. Caesar had conveyed hither all the hostages of

Gaul, the corn, public money, a great part of his own baggage and

that of his army; he had sent hither a great number of horses, which

he had purchased in Italy and Spain on account of this war. When Eporedirix

and Viridomarus came to this place, and received information of the

disposition of the state, that Litavicus had been admitted by the

Aedui into Bibracte, which is a town of the greatest importance among

them, that Convictolitanis the chief magistrate and a great part of

the senate had gone to meet him, that embassadors had been publicly

sent to Vercingetorix to negotiate a peace and alliance; they thought

that so great an opportunity ought not to be neglected. Therefore,

having put to the sword the garrison of Noviodunum, and those who

had assembled there for the purpose of trading or were on their march,

they divided the money and horses among themselves; they took care

that the hostages of the [different] states should be brought to Bibracte,

to the chief magistrate; they burned the town to prevent its being

of any service to the Romans, as they were of opinion that they could

not hold it; they carried away in their vessels whatever corn they

could in the hurry, they destroyed the remainder, by [throwing it]

into the river or setting it on fire, they themselves began to collect

forces from the neighboring country, to place guards and garrisons

in different positions along the banks of the Loire, and to display

the cavalry on all sides to strike terror into the Romans, [to try]

if they could cut them off from a supply of provisions. In which expectation

they were much aided, from the circumstance that the Loire had swollen

to such a degree from the melting of the snows, that it did not seem

capable of being forded at all.

Chapter 56

Caesar on being informed of these movements was of opinion that he

ought to make haste, even if he should run some risk in completing

the bridges, in order that he might engage before greater forces of

the enemy should be collected in that place. For no one even then

considered it an absolutely necessary act, that changing his design

he should direct his march into the Province, both because the infamy

and disgrace of the thing, and the intervening mount Cevennes, and

the difficulty of the roads prevented him; and especially because

he had serious apprehensions for the safety of Labienus whom he had

detached, and those legions whom he had sent with him. Therefore,

having made very long marches by day and night, he came to the river

Loire, contrary to the expectation of all; and having by means of

the cavalry, found out a ford, suitable enough considering the emergency,

of such depth that their arms and shoulders could be above water for

supporting their accoutrements, he dispersed his cavalry in such a

manner as to break the force of the current, and having confounded

the enemy at the first sight, led his army across the river in safety;

and finding corn and cattle in the fields, after refreshing his army

with them, he determined to march into the country of the Senones.

Chapter 57

While these things are being done by Caesar, Labienus, leaving at

Agendicum the recruits who had lately arrived from Italy, to guard

the baggage, marches with four legions to Lutetia (which is a town

of the Parisii, situated on an island on the river Seine), whose arrival

being discovered by the enemy, numerous forces arrived from the neighboring

states. The supreme command is intrusted to Camalugenus one of the

Aulerci, who, although almost worn out with age, was called to that

honor on account of his extraordinary knowledge of military tactics.

He, when he observed that there was a large marsh which communicated

with the Seine, and rendered all that country impassable, encamped

there, and determined to prevent our troops from passing it.

Chapter 58

Labienus at first attempted to raise Vineae, fill up the marsh with

hurdles and clay, and secure a road. After he perceived that this

was too difficult to accomplish, he issued in silence from his camp

at the third watch, and reached Melodunum by the same route by which

he came. This is a town of the Senones, situated on an island in the

Seine, as we have just before observed of Lutetia. Having seized upon

about fifty ships and quickly joined them together, and having placed

soldiers in them, he intimidated by his unexpected arrival the inhabitants,

of whom a great number had been called out to the war, and obtains

possession of the town without a contest. Having repaired the bridge,

which the enemy had broken down during the preceding days, he led

over his army, and began to march along the banks of the river to

Lutetia. The enemy, on learning the circumstance from those who had

escaped from Melodunum, set fire to Lutetia, and order the bridges

of that town to be broken down: they themselves set out from the marsh,

and take their position on the banks of the Seine, over against Lutetia

and opposite the camp of Labienus.

Chapter 59

Caesar was now reported to have departed from Gergovia; intelligence

was likewise brought to them concerning the revolt of the Aedui, and

a successful rising in Gaul; and that Caesar, having been prevented

from prosecuting his journey and crossing the Loire, and having been

compelled by the want of corn, had marched hastily to the province.

But the Bellovaci, who had been previously disaffected of themselves,

on learning the revolt of the Aedui, began to assemble forces and

openly to prepare for war. Then Labienus, as the change in affairs

was so great, thought that he must adopt a very different system from

what he had previously intended, and he did not now think of making

any new acquisitions, or of provoking the enemy to an action; but

that he might bring back his army safe to Agendicum. For, on one side,

the Bellovaci, a state which held the highest reputation for prowess

in Gaul, were pressing on him; and Camulogenus, with a disciplined

and well-equipped army, held the other side; moreover, a very great

river separated and cut off the legions from the garrison and baggage.

He saw that, in consequence of such great difficulties being thrown

in his way, he must seek aid from his own energy of disposition.

Chapter 60

Having, therefore, called a council of war a little before evening,

he exhorted his soldiers to execute with diligence and energy such

commands as he should give; he assigns the ships which he had brought

from Melodunum to Roman knights, one to each, and orders them to fall

down the river silently for four miles, at the end of the fourth watch,

and there wait for him. He leaves the five cohorts, which he considered

to be the most steady in action, to guard the camp; he orders the

five remaining cohorts of the same legion to proceed a little after

midnight up the river with all their baggage, in a great tumult. He

collects also some small boats; and sends them in the same direction,

with orders to make a loud noise in rowing. He himself, a little after,

marched out in silence, and, at the head of three legions, seeks that

place to which he had ordered the ships to be brought.

Chapter 61

When he had arrived there, the enemy's scouts, as they were stationed

along every part of the river, not expecting an attack, because a

great storm had suddenly arisen, were surprised by our soldiers: the

infantry and cavalry are quickly transported, under the superintendence

of the Roman knights, whom he had appointed to that office. Almost

at the same time, a little before daylight, intelligence was given

to the enemy that there was an unusual tumult in the camp of the Romans,

and that a strong force was marching up the river, and that the sound

of oars was distinctly heard in the same quarter, and that soldiers

were being conveyed across in ships a little below. On hearing these

things, because they were of opinion that the legions were passing

in three different places, and that the entire army, being terrified

by the revolt of the Aedui, were preparing for flight, they divided

their forces also into three divisions. For leaving a guard opposite

to the camp and sending a small body in the direction of Metiosedum,

with orders to advance as far as the ships would proceed, they led

the rest of their troops against Labienus.

Chapter 62

By day-break all our soldiers were brought across, and the army of

the enemy was in sight. Labienus, having encouraged his soldiers "to

retain the memory of their ancient valor, and so many most successful

actions, and imagine Caesar himself, under whose command they had

so often routed the enemy, to be present," gives the signal for action.

At the first onset the enemy are beaten and put to flight in the right

wing, where the seventh legion stood: on the left wing, which position

the twelfth legion held, although the first ranks fell transfixed

by the javelins of the Romans, yet the rest resisted most bravely;

nor did any one of them show the slightest intention of flying. Camulogenus,

the general of the enemy, was present and encouraged his troops. But

when the issue of the victory was still uncertain, and the circumstances

which were taking place on the left wing were announced to the tribunes

of the seventh legion, they faced about their legion to the enemy's

rear and attacked it: not even then did any one retreat, but all were

surrounded and slain. Camulogenus met the same fate. But those who

were left as a guard opposite the camp of Labienus, when they heard

that the battle was commenced, marched to aid their countrymen and

take possession of a hill, but were unable to withstand the attack

of the victorious soldiers. In this manner, mixed with their own fugitives,

such as the woods and mountains did not shelter were cut to pieces

by our cavalry. When this battle was finished, Labienus returns to

Agendicum, where the baggage of the whole army had been left: from

it he marched with all his forces to Caesar.

Chapter 63

The revolt of the Aedui being known, the war grows more dangerous.

Embassies are sent by them in all directions: as far as they can prevail

by influence, authority, or money, they strive to excite the state

[to revolt]. Having got possession of the hostages whom Caesar had

deposited with them, they terrify the hesitating by putting them to

death. The Aedui request Vercingetorix to come to them and communicate

his plans of conducting the war. On obtaining this request they insist

that the chief command should be assigned to them; and when the affair

became a disputed question, a council of all Gaul is summoned to Bibracte.

They came together in great numbers and from every quarter to the

same place. The decision is left to the votes of the mass; all to

a man approve of Vercingetorix as their general. The Remi, Lingones,

and Treviri were absent from this meeting; the two former because

they attached themselves to the alliance of Rome; the Treviri because

they were very remote and were hard pressed by the Germans; which

was also the reason of their being absent during the whole war, and

their sending auxiliaries to neither party. The Aedui are highly indignant

at being deprived of the chief command; they lament the change of

fortune, and miss Caesar's indulgence toward them; however, after

engaging in the war, they do not dare to pursue their own measures

apart from the rest. Eporedirix and Viridomarus, youths of the greatest

promise, submit reluctantly to Vercingetorix.

Chapter 64

The latter demands hostages from the remaining states; nay, more,

appointed a day for this proceeding; he orders all the cavalry, fifteen

thousand in number, to quickly assemble here; he says that he will

be content with the infantry which he had before, and would not tempt

fortune nor come to a regular engagement; but since he had abundance

of cavalry, it would be very easy for him to prevent the Romans from

obtaining forage or corn, provided that they themselves should resolutely

destroy their corn and set fire to their houses; by which sacrifice

of private property they would evidently obtain perpetual dominion

and freedom. After arranging these matters, he levies ten thousand

infantry on the Aedui and Segusiani, who border on our province: to

these he adds eight hundred horse. He sets over them the brother of

Eporedirix, and orders him to wage war against the Allobroges. On

the other side he sends the Gabali and the nearest cantons of the

Arverni against the Helvii; he likewise sends the Ruteni and Cadurci

to lay waste the territories of the Volcae Arecomici. Besides, by

secret messages and embassies, he tampers with the Allobroges, whose

minds, he hopes, had not yet settled down after the excitement of

the late war. To their nobles he promises money, and to their state

the dominion of the whole province.

Chapter 65

The only guards provided against all these contingencies were twenty-two

cohorts, which were collected from the entire province by Lucius Caesar,

the lieutenant, and opposed to the enemy in every quarter. The Helvii,

voluntarily engaging in battle with their neighbors, are defeated,

and Caius Valerius Donotaurus, the son of Caburus, the principal man

of the state, and several others, being slain, they are forced to

retire within their towns and fortifications. The Allobroges, placing

guards along the course of the Rhine, defend their frontiers with

great vigilance and energy. Caesar, as he perceived that the enemy

were superior in cavalry, and he himself could receive no aid from

the Province or Italy, while all communication was cut off, sends

across the Rhine into Germany to those states which he had subdued

in the preceding campaigns, and summons from them cavalry and the

light-armed infantry, who were accustomed to engage among them. On

their arrival, as they were mounted on unserviceable horses, he takes

horses from the military tribunes and the rest, nay, even from the

Roman knights and veterans, and distributes them among the Germans.

Chapter 66

In the mean time, whilst these things are going on, the forces of

the enemy from the Arverni, and the cavalry which had been demanded

from all Gaul, meet together. A great number of these having been

collected, when Caesar was marching into the country of the Sequani,

through the confines of the Lingones, in order that he might the more

easily render aid to the province, Vercingetorix encamped in three

camps, about ten miles from the Romans: and having summoned the commanders

of the cavalry to a council, he shows that the time of victory was

come; that the Romans were fleeing into the Province and leaving Gaul;

that this was sufficient for obtaining immediate freedom; but was

of little moment in acquiring peace and tranquillity for the future;

for the Romans would return after assembling greater forces and would

not put an end to the war. Therefore they should attack them on their

march, when encumbered. If the infantry should [be obliged to] relieve

their cavalry, and be retarded by doing so, the march could not be

accomplished: if, abandoning their baggage they should provide for

their safety (a result which, he trusted, was more like to ensue),

they would lose both property and character. For as to the enemy's

horse, they ought not to entertain a doubt that none of them would

dare to advance beyond the main body. In order that they [the Gauls]

may do so with greater spirit, he would marshal all their forces before

the camp, and intimidate the enemy. The cavalry unanimously shout

out, "That they ought to bind themselves by a most sacred oath, that

he should not be received under a roof, nor have access to his children,

parents, or wife, who shall not twice have ridden through the enemy's

army."

Chapter 67

This proposal receiving general approbation, and all being forced

to take the oath, on the next day the cavalry were divided into three

parts, and two of these divisions made a demonstration on our two

flanks; while one in front began to obstruct our march. On this circumstance

being announced, Caesar orders his cavalry also to form three divisions

and charge the enemy. Then the action commences simultaneously in

every part: the main body halts; the baggage is received within the

ranks of the legions. If our men seemed to be distressed, or hard

pressed in any quarter, Caesar usually ordered the troops to advance,

and the army to wheel round in that quarter; which conduct retarded

the enemy in the pursuit, and encouraged our men by the hope of support.

At length the Germans, on the right wing, having gained the top of

the hill, dislodge the enemy from their position and pursue them even

as far as the river at which Vercingetorix with the infantry was stationed,

and slay several of them. The rest, on observing this action, fearing

lest they should be surrounded, betake themselves to flight. A slaughter

ensues in every direction, and three of the noblest of the Aedui are

taken and brought to Caesar: Cotus, the commander of the cavalry,

who had been engaged in the contest with Convictolitanis the last

election, Cavarillus, who had held the command of the infantry after

the revolt of Litavicus, and Eporedirix, under whose command the Aedui

had engaged in war against the Sequani, before the arrival of Caesar.

Chapter 68

All his cavalry being routed, Vercingetorix led back his troops in

the same order as he had arranged them before the camp, and immediately

began to march to Alesia, which is a town of the Mandubii, and ordered

the baggage to be speedily brought forth from the camp, and follow

him closely. Caesar, having conveyed his baggage to the nearest hill,

and having left two legions to guard it, pursued as far as the time

of day would permit, and after slaying about three thousand of the

rear of the enemy, encamped at Alesia on the next day. On reconnoitering

the situation of the city, finding that the enemy were panic-stricken,

because the cavalry in which they placed their chief reliance, were

beaten, he encouraged his men to endure the toil, and began to draw

a line of circumvallation round Alesia.

Chapter 69

The town itself was situated on the top of a hill, in a very lofty

position, so that it did not appear likely to be taken, except by

a regular siege. Two rivers, on two different sides, washed the foot

of the hill. Before the town lay a plain of about three miles in length;

on every other side hills at a moderate distance, and of an equal

degree of height, surrounded the town. The army of the Gauls had filled

all the space under the wall, comprising a part of the hill which

looked to the rising sun, and had drawn in front a trench and a stone

wall six feet high. The circuit of that fortification, which was commenced

by the Romans, comprised eleven miles. The camp was pitched in a strong

position, and twenty-three redoubts were raised in it, in which sentinels

were placed by day, lest any sally should be made suddenly; and by

night the same were occupied by watches and strong guards.

Chapter 70

The work having been begun, a cavalry action ensues in that plain,

which we have already described as broken by hills, and extending

three miles in length. The contest is maintained on both sides with

the utmost vigor; Caesar sends the Germans to aid our troops when

distressed, and draws up the legions in front of the camp, lest any

sally should be suddenly made by the enemy's infantry. The courage

of our men is increased by the additional support of the legions;

the enemy being put to flight, hinder one another by their numbers,

and as only the narrower gates were left open, are crowded together

in them; then the Germans pursue them with vigor even to the fortifications.

A great slaughter ensues; some leave their horses, and endeavor to

cross the ditch and climb the wall. Caesar orders the legions which

he had drawn up in front of the rampart to advance a little. The Gauls,

who were within the fortifications, were no less panic-stricken, thinking

that the enemy were coming that moment against them, and unanimously

shout "to arms;" some in their alarm rush into the town; Vercingetorix

orders the gates to be shut, lest the camp should be left undefended.

The Germans retreat, after slaying many and taking several horses.

Chapter 71

Vercingetorix adopts the design of sending away all his cavalry by

night, before the fortifications should be completed by the Romans.

He charges them when departing "that each of them should go to his

respective state, and press for the war all who were old enough to

bear arms; he states his own merits, and conjures them to consider

his safety, and not surrender him who had deserved so well of the

general freedom, to the enemy for torture; he points out to them that,

if they should be remiss, eighty thousand chosen men would perish

with him; that upon making a calculation, he had barely corn for thirty

days, but could hold out a little longer by economy." After giving

these instructions he silently dismisses the cavalry in the second

watch, [on that side] where our works were not completed; he orders

all the corn to be brought to himself; he ordains capital punishment

to such as should not obey; he distributes among them, man by man,

the cattle, great quantities of which had been driven there by the

Mandubii; he began to measure out the corn sparingly, and by little

and little; he receives into the town all the forces which he had

posted in front of it. In this manner he prepares to await the succors

from Gaul, and carry on the war.

Chapter 72

Caesar, on learning these proceedings from the deserters and captives,

adopted the following system of fortification; he dug a trench twenty

feet deep, with perpendicular sides, in such a manner that the base

of this trench should extend so far as the edges were apart at the

top. He raised all his other works at a distance of four hundred feet

from that ditch; [he did] that with this intention, lest (since he

necessarily embraced so extensive an area, and the whole works could

not be easily surrounded by a line of soldiers) a large number of

the enemy should suddenly, or by night, sally against the fortifications;

or lest they should by day cast weapons against our men while occupied

with the works. Having left this interval, he drew two trenches fifteen

feet broad, and of the same depth; the innermost of them, being in

low and level ground, he filled with water conveyed from the river.

Behind these he raised a rampart and wall twelve feet high; to this

he added a parapet and battlements, with large stakes cut like stags'

horns, projecting from the junction of the parapet and battlements,

to prevent the enemy from scaling it, and surrounded the entire work

with turrets, which were eighty feet distant from one another.

Chapter 73

It was necessary, at one and the same time, to procure timber [for

the rampart], lay in supplies of corn, and raise also extensive fortifications,

and the available troops were in consequence of this reduced in number,

since they used to advance to some distance from the camp, and sometimes

the Gauls endeavored to attack our works, and to make a sally from

the town by several gates and in great force. Caesar thought that

further additions should be made to these works, in order that the

fortifications might be defensible by a small number of soldiers.

Having, therefore, cut down the trunks of trees or very thick branches,

and having stripped their tops of the bark, and sharpened them into

a point, he drew a continued trench every where five feet deep. These

stakes being sunk into this trench, and fastened firmly at the bottom,

to prevent the possibility of their being torn up, had their branches

only projecting from the ground. There were five rows in connection

with, and intersecting each other; and whoever entered within them

were likely to impale themselves on very sharp stakes. The soldiers

called these "cippi." Before these, which were arranged in oblique

rows in the form of a quincunx, pits three feet deep were dug, which

gradually diminished in depth to the bottom. In these pits tapering

stakes, of the thickness of a man's thigh; sharpened at the top and

hardened in the fire, were sunk in such a manner as to project from

the ground not more than four inches; at the same time for the purpose

of giving them strength and stability, they were each filled with

trampled clay to the height of one foot from the bottom: the rest

of the pit was covered over with osiers and twigs, to conceal the

deceit. Eight rows of this kind were dug, and were three feet distant

from each other. They called this a lily from its resemblance to that

flower. Stakes a foot long, with iron hooks attached to them, were

entirely sunk in the ground before these, and were planted in every

place at small intervals; these they called spurs.

Chapter 74

After completing these works, saving selected as level ground as he

could, considering the nature of the country, and having inclosed

an area of fourteen miles, he constructed, against an external enemy,

fortifications of the same kind in every respect, and separate from

these, so that the guards of the fortifications could not be surrounded

even by immense numbers, if such a circumstance should take place

owing to the departure of the enemy's cavalry; and in order that the

Roman soldiers might not be compelled to go out of the camp with great

risk, ho orders all to provide forage and corn for thirty days.

Chapter 75

While those things are carried on at Alesia, the Gauls, having convened

a council of their chief nobility, determine that all who could bear

arms should not be called out, which was the opinion of Vercingetorix,

but that a fixed number should be levied from each state; lest, when

so great a multitude assembled together, they could neither govern

nor distinguish their men, nor have the means of supplying them with

corn. They demand thirty-five thousand men from the Aedui and their

dependents, the Segusiani, Ambivareti, and Aulerci Brannovices; an

equal number from the Arverni in conjunction with the Eleuteti Cadurci,

Gabali, and Velauni, who were accustomed to be under the command of

the Arverni; twelve thousand each from the Senones, Sequani, Bituriges,

Sentones, Ruteni, and Carnutes; ten thousand from the Bellovaci; the

same number from the Lemovici; eight thousand each from the Pictones,

and Turoni, and Parisii, and Helvii; five thousand each from the Suessiones,

Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorii, Nervii, Morini, and Nitiobriges;

the same number from the Aulerci Cenomani; four thousand from the

Atrebates; three thousand each from the Bellocassi, Lexovii, and Aulerci

Eburovices; thirty thousand from the Rauraci, and Boii; six thousand

from all the states together, which border on the Atlantic, and which

in their dialect are called Armoricae (in which number are comprehended

the Curisolites, Rhedones, Ambibari, Caltes, Osismii, Lemovices, Veneti,

and Unelli). Of these the Bellovaci did not contribute their number,

as they said that they would wage war against the Romans on their

own account, and at their own discretion, and would not obey the order

of any one: however, at the request of Commius, they sent two thousand,

in consideration of a tie of hospitality which subsisted between him

and them.

Chapter 76

Caesar had, as we have previously narrated, availed himself of the

faithful and valuable services of this Commius, in Britain, in former

years: in consideration of which merits he had exempted from taxes

his [Commius's] state, and had conferred on Commius himself the country

of the Morini. Yet such was the unanimity of the Gauls in asserting

their freedom, and recovering their ancient renown in war, that they

were influenced neither by favors, nor by the recollection of private

friendship; and all earnestly directed their energies and resources

to that war, and collected eight thousand cavalry, and about two hundred

and forty thousand infantry. These were reviewed in the country of

the Aedui, and a calculation was made of their numbers: commanders

were appointed: the supreme command is intrusted to Commius the Atrebatian,

Viridomarus and Eporedirix the Aeduans, and Vergasillaunus the Arvernan,

the cousin-german of Vercingetorix. To them are assigned men selected

from each state, by whose advice the war should be conducted. All

march to Alesia, sanguine and full of confidence: nor was there a

single individual who imagined that the Romans could withstand the

sight of such an immense host: especially in an action carried on

both in front and rear, when [on the inside] the besieged would sally

from the town and attack the enemy, and on the outside so great forces

of cavalry and infantry would be seen.

Chapter 77

But those who were blockaded at Alesia, the day being past, on which

they had expected auxiliaries from their countrymen, and all their

corn being consumed ignorant of what was going on among the Aedui,

convened an assembly and deliberated on the exigency of their situation.

After various opinions had been expressed among them, some of which

proposed a surrender, others a sally, while their strength would support

it, the speech of Critognatus ought not to be omitted for its singular

and detestable cruelty. He sprung from the noblest family among the

Arverni, and possessing great influence, says, "I shall pay no attention

to the opinion of those who call a most disgraceful surrender by the

name of a capitulation; nor do I think that they ought to be considered

as citizens, or summoned to the council. My business is with those

who approve of a sally: in whose advice the memory of our ancient

prowess seems to dwell in the opinion of you all. To be unable to

bear privation for a short time is disgraceful cowardice, not true

valor. Those who voluntarily offer themselves to death are more easily

found than those who would calmly endure distress. And I would approve

of this opinion (for honor is a powerful motive with me), could I

foresee no other loss, save that of life; but let us, in adopting

our design, look back on all Gaul, which we have stirred up to our

aid. What courage do you think would our relatives and friends have,

if eighty thousand men were butchered in one spot, supposing that

they should be forced to come to an action almost over our corpses?

Do not utterly deprive them of your aid, for they have spurned all

thoughts of personal danger on account of your safety; nor by your

folly, rashness, and cowardice, crush all Gaul and doom it to an eternal

slavery. Do you doubt their fidelity and firmness because they have

not come at the appointed day? What then? Do you suppose that the

Romans are employed every day in the outer fortifications for mere

amusement? If you can not be assured by their dispatches, since every

avenue is blocked up, take the Romans as evidence that there approach

is drawing near; since they, intimidated by alarm at this, labor night

and day at their works. What, therefore, is my design? To do as our

ancestors did in the war against the Cimbri and Teutones, which was

by no means equally momentous who, when driven into their towns, and

oppressed by similar privations, supported life by the corpses of

those who appeared useless for war on account of their age, and did

not surrender to the enemy: and even if we had not a precedent for

such cruel conduct, still I should consider it most glorious that

one should be established, and delivered to posterity. For in what

was that war like this? The Cimbri, after laying Gaul waste, and inflicting

great calamities, at length departed from our country, and sought

other lands; they left us our rights, laws, lands, and liberty. But

what other motive or wish have the Romans, than, induced by envy,

to settle in the lands and states of those whom they have learned

by fame to be noble and powerful in war, and impose on them perpetual

slavery? For they never have carried on wars on any other terms. But

if you know not these things which are going on in distant countries,

look to the neighboring Gaul, which being reduced to the form of a

province, stripped of its rights and laws, and subjected to Roman

despotism, is oppressed by perpetual slavery."

Chapter 78

When different opinions were expressed, they determined that those

who, owing to age or ill health, were unserviceable for war, should

depart from the town, and that themselves should try every expedient

before they had recourse to the advice of Critognatus: however, that

they would rather adopt that design, if circumstances should compel

them and their allies should delay, than accept any terms of a surrender

or peace. The Mandubii, who had admitted them into the town, are compelled

to go forth with their wives and children. When these came to the

Roman fortifications, weeping, they begged of the soldiers by every

entreaty to receive them as slaves and relieve them with food. But

Caesar, placing guards on the rampart, forbade them to be admitted.

Chapter 79

In the mean time, Commius and the rest of the leaders, to whom the

supreme command had been intrusted, came with all their forces to

Alesia, and having occupied the entire hill, encamped not more than

a mile from our fortifications. The following day, having led forth

their cavalry from the camp, they fill all that plain, which, we have

related, extended three miles in length, and drew out their infantry

a little from that place, and post them on the higher ground. The

town Alesia commanded a view of the whole plain. The besieged run

together when these auxiliaries were seen; mutual congratulations

ensue, and the minds of all are elated with joy. Accordingly, drawing

out their troops, they encamp before the town, and cover the nearest

trench with hurdles and fill it up with earth, and make ready for

a sally and every casualty.

Chapter 80

Caesar, having stationed his army on both sides of the fortifications,

in order that, if occasion should arise, each should hold and know

his own post, orders the cavalry to issue forth from the camp and

commence action. There was a commanding view from the entire camp,

which occupied a ridge of hills; and the minds of all the soldiers

anxiously awaited the issue of the battle. The Gauls had scattered

archers and light-armed infantry here and there, among their cavalry,

to give relief to their retreating troops, and sustain the impetuosity

of our cavalry. Several of our soldiers were unexpectedly wounded

by these, and left the battle. When the Gauls were confident that

their countrymen were the conquerors in the action, and beheld our

men hard pressed by numbers, both those who were hemmed in by the

line of circumvallation and those who had come to aid them, supported

the spirits of their men by shouts and yells from every quarter. As

the action was carried on in sight of all, neither a brave nor cowardly

act could be concealed; both the desire of praise and the fear of

ignominy, urged on each party to valor. After fighting from noon almost

to sunset, without victory inclining in favor of either, the Germans,

on one side, made a charge against the enemy in a compact body, and

drove them back; and, when they were put to flight, the archers were

surrounded and cut to pieces. In other parts, likewise, our men pursued

to the camp the retreating enemy, and did not give them an opportunity

of rallying. But those who had come forth from Alesia returned into

the town dejected and almost despairing of success.

Chapter 81

The Gauls, after the interval of a day and after making, during that

time, an immense number of hurdles, scaling-ladders, and iron hooks,

silently went forth from the camp at midnight and approached the fortifications

in the plain. Raising a shout suddenly, that by this intimation those

who were beseiged in the town might learn their arrival, they began

to cast down hurdles and dislodge our men from the rampart by slings,

arrows, and stones, and executed the other movements which are requisite

in storming. At the same time, Vercingetorix, having heard the shout,

gives the signal to his troops by a trumpet, and leads them forth

from the town. Our troops, as each man's post had been assigned him

some days before, man the fortifications; they intimidate the Gauls

by slings, large stones, stakes which they had placed along the works,

and bullets. All view being prevented by the darkness, many wounds

are received on both sides; several missiles, are thrown from the

engines. But Marcus Antonius, and Caius Trebonius, the lieutenants,

to whom the defense of these parts had been allotted, draughted troops

from the redoubts which were more remote, and sent them to aid our

troops, in whatever direction they understood that they were hard

pressed.

Chapter 82

While the Gauls were at a distance from the fortification, they did

more execution, owing to the immense number of their weapons: after

they came nearer, they either unawares empaled themselves on the spurs,

or were pierced by the mural darts from the ramparts and towers, and

thus perished. After receiving many wounds on all sides, and having

forced no part of the works, when day drew nigh, fearing lest they

should be surrounded by a sally made from the higher camp on the exposed

flank, they retreated to their countrymen. But those within, while

they bring forward those things which had been prepared by Vercingetorix

for a sally, fill up the nearest trenches; having delayed a long time

in executing these movements, they learned the retreat of their countrymen

before they drew nigh to the fortifications. Thus they returned to

the town without accomplishing their object.

Chapter 83

The Gauls, having been twice repulsed with great loss, consult what

they should do; they avail themselves of the information of those

who were well acquainted with the country; from them they ascertain

the position and fortification of the upper camp. There was, on the

north side, a hill, which our men could not include in their works,

on account of the extent of the circuit, and had necessarily made

their camp in ground almost disadvantageous, and pretty steep. Caius

Antistius Reginus, and Caius Caninius Rebilus, two of the lieutenants,

with two legions, were in possession of this camp. The leaders of

the enemy, having reconnoitered the country by their scouts, select

from the entire army sixty thousand men, belonging to those states,

which bear the highest character for courage; they privately arrange

among themselves what they wished to be done, and in what manner;

they decide that the attack should take place when it should seem

to be noon. They appoint over their forces Vergasillaunus, the Arvernian,

one of the four generals, and a near relative of Vercingetorix. He,

having issued from the camp at the first watch, and having almost

completed his march a little before the dawn, hid himself behind the

mountain, and ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves after their

labor during the night. When noon now seemed to draw nigh, he marched

hastily against that camp which we have mentioned before; and, at

the same time, the cavalry began to approach the fortifications in

the plain, and the rest of the forces to make a demonstration in front

of the camp.

Chapter 84

Vercingetorix, having beheld his countrymen from the citadel of Alesia,

issues forth from the town; he brings forth from the camp long hooks,

movable pent-houses, mural hooks, and other things, which he had prepared

for the purpose of making a sally. They engage on all sides at once

and every expedient is adopted. They flocked to whatever part of the

works seemed weakest. The army of the Romans is distributed along

their extensive lines, and with difficulty meets the enemy in every

quarter. The shouts which were raised by the combatants in their rear,

had a great tendency to intimidate our men, because they perceived

that their danger rested on the valor of others: for generally all

evils which are distant most powerfully alarm men's minds.

Chapter 85

Caesar, having selected a commanding situation, sees distinctly whatever

is going on in every quarter, and sends assistance to his troops when

hard pressed. The idea uppermost in the minds of both parties is,

that the present is the time in which they would have the fairest

opportunity of making a struggle; the Gauls despairing of all safety,

unless they should succeed in forcing the lines: the Romans expecting

an end to all their labors if they should gain the day. The principal

struggle is at the upper lines, to which as we have said Vergasillaunus

was sent. The least elevation of ground, added to a declivity, exercises

a momentous influence. Some are casting missiles, others, forming

a testudo, advance to the attack; fresh men by turns relieve the wearied.

The earth, heaped up by all against the fortifications, gives the

means of ascent to the Gauls, and covers those works which the Romans

had concealed in the ground. Our men have no longer arms or strength.

Chapter 86

Caesar, on observing these movements, sends Labienus with six cohorts

to relieve his distressed soldiers: he orders him, if he should be

unable to withstand them, to draw off the cohorts and make a sally;

but not to do this except through necessity. He himself goes to the

rest, and exhorts them not to succumb to the toil; he shows them that

the fruits of all former engagements depend on that day and hour.

The Gauls within, despairing of forcing the fortifications in the

plains on account of the greatness of the works, attempt the places

precipitous in ascent: hither they bring the engines which they had

prepared; by the immense number of their missiles they dislodge the

defenders from the turrets: they fill the ditches with clay and hurdles,

then clear the way; they tear down the rampart and breast-work with

hooks.

Chapter 87

Caesar sends at first young Brutus, with six cohorts, and afterward

Caius Fabius, his lieutenant, with seven others: finally, as they

fought more obstinately, he leads up fresh men to the assistance of

his soldiers. After renewing the action, and repulsing the enemy,

he marches in the direction in which he had sent Labienus, drafts

four cohorts from the nearest redoubt, and orders part of the cavalry

to follow him, and part to make the circuit of the external fortifications

and attack the enemy in the rear. Labienus, when neither the ramparts

or ditches could check the onset of the enemy, informs Caesar by messengers

of what he intended to do. Caesar hastens to share in the action.

Chapter 88

His arrival being known from the color of his robe, and the troops

of cavalry, and the cohorts which he had ordered to follow him being

seen, as these low and sloping grounds were plainly visible from the

eminences, the enemy join battle. A shout being raised by both sides,

it was succeeded by a general shout along the ramparts and whole line

of fortifications. Our troops, laying aside their javelins, carry

on the engagement with their swords. The cavalry is suddenly seen

in the rear of the Gauls; the other cohorts advance rapidly; the enemy

turn their backs; the cavalry intercept them in their flight, and

a great slaughter ensues. Sedulius the general and chief of the Lemovices

is slain; Vergasillaunus the Arvernian, is taken alive in the flight,

seventy-four military standards are brought to Caesar, and few out

of so great a number return safe to their camp. The besieged, beholding

from the town the slaughter and flight of their countrymen, despairing

of safety, lead back their troops from the fortifications. A flight

of the Gauls from their camp immediately ensues on hearing of this

disaster, and had not the soldiers been wearied by sending frequent

reinforcements, and the labor of the entire day, all the enemy's forces

could have been destroyed. Immediately after midnight, the cavalry

are sent out and overtake the rear, a great number are taken or cut

to pieces, the rest by flight escape in different directions to their

respective states. Vercingetorix, having convened a council the following

day, declares, "That he had undertaken that war, not on account of

his own exigences, but on account of the general freedom; and since

he must yield to fortune, he offered himself to them for either purpose,

whether they should wish to atone to the Romans by his death, or surrender

him alive. Embassadors are sent to Caesar on this subject. He orders

their arms to be surrendered, and their chieftains delivered up. He

seated himself at the head of the lines in front of the camp, the

Gallic chieftains are brought before him. They surrender Vercingetorix,

and lay down their arms. Reserving the Aedui and Arverni, [to try]

if he could gain over, through their influence, their respective states,

he distributes one of the remaining captives to each soldier, throughout

the entire army, as plunder.

Chapter 90

After making these arrangements, he marches into the [country of the]

Aedui, and recovers that state. To this place embassadors are sent

by the Arveni, who promise that they will execute his commands. He

demands a great number of hostages. He sends the legions to winter-quarters;

he restores about twenty thousand captives to the Aedui and Arverni;

he orders Titus Labienus to march into the [country of the] Sequani

with two legions and the cavalry, and to him he attaches Marcus Sempronius

Rutilus; he places Caius Fabius, and Lucius Minucius Basilus, with

two legions in the country of the Remi, lest they should sustain any

loss from the Bellovaci in their neighborhood. He sends Caius Antistius

Reginus into the [country of the] Ambivareti, Titus Sextius into the

territories of the Bituriges, and Caius Caninius Rebilus into those

of the Ruteni, with one legion each. He stations Quintus Tullius Cicero,

and Publius Sulpicius among the Aedui at Cabillo and Matisco on the

Saone, to procure supplies of corn. He himself determines to winter

at Bibracte. A supplication of twenty-days is decreed by the senate

at Rome, on learning these successes from Caesar's dispatches.

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BOOK 8

Chapter 0

Prevailed on by your continued solicitations, Balbus, I have engaged

in a most difficult task, as my daily refusals appear to plead not

my inability, but indolence, as an excuse. I have compiled a continuation

of the Commentaries of our Caesar's Wars in Gaul, not indeed to be

compared to his writings, which either precede or follow them; and

recently, I have completed what he left imperfect after the transactions

in Alexandria, to the end, not indeed of the civil broils, to which

we see no issue, but of Caesar's life. I wish that those who may read

them could know how unwillingly I undertook to write them, as then

I might the more readily escape the imputation of folly and arrogance,

in presuming to intrude among Caesar's writings. For it is agreed

on all hands, that no composition was ever executed with so great

care, that it is not exceeded in elegance by these Commentaries, which

were published for the use of historians, that they might not want

memoirs of such achievements; and they stand so high in the esteem

of all men, that historians seem rather deprived of, than furnished

with material. At which we have more reason to be surprised than other

men; for they can only appreciate the elegance and correctness with

which he finished them, while we know with what ease and expedition.

Caesar possessed not only an uncommon flow of language and elegance

of style, but also a thorough knowledge of the method of conveying

his ideas. But I had not even the good fortune to share in the Alexandrian

or African war; and though these were partly communicated to me by

Caesar himself, in conversation, yet we listen with a different degree

of attention to those things which strike us with admiration by their

novelty, and those which we design to attest to posterity. But, in

truth, while I urge every apology, that I may not be compared to Caesar,

I incur the charge of vanity, by thinking it possible that I can in

the judgment of any one be put in competition with him. Farewell.

Chapter 1

Gaul being entirely reduced, when Caesar having waged war incessantly

during the former summer, wished to recruit his soldiers after so

much fatigue, by repose in winter quarters, news was brought him that

several states were simultaneously renewing their hostile intention,

and forming combinations. For which a probable reason was assigned;

namely, that the Gauls were convinced that they were not able to resist

the Romans, with any force they could collect in one place; and hoped

that if several states made war in different places at the same time,

the Roman army would neither have aid, nor time, nor forces, to prosecute

them all: nor ought any single state to decline any inconveniences

that might befall them, provided that by such delay, the rest should

be enabled to assert their liberty.

Chapter 2

That this notion might not be confirmed among the Gauls, Caesar left

Marcus Antonius, his questor, in charge of his quarters, and set out

himself with a guard of horse, the day before the kalends of January,

from the town Bibracte, to the thirteenth legion, which he had stationed

in the country of the Bituriges, not far from the territories of the

Aedui, and joined to it the eleventh legion which was next it. Leaving

two cohorts to guard the baggage, he leads the rest of his army into

the most plentiful part of the country of the Bituriges; who, possessing

an extensive territory and several towns, were not to be deterred,

by a single legion quartered among them, from making warlike preparation,

and forming combinations.

Chapter 3

By Caesar's sudden arrival, it happened, as it necessarily must, to

an unprovided and dispersed people, that they were surprised by our

horse, while cultivating the fields without any apprehensions, before

they had time to fly to their towns. For the usual sign of an enemy's

invasion, which is generally intimated by the burning of their towns,

was forbidden by Caesar's orders; lest if he advanced far, forage

and corn should become scarce, or the enemy be warned by the fires

to make their escape. Many thousands being taken, as many of the Bituriges

as were able to escape the first coming of the Romans, fled to the

neighboring states, relying either on private friendship, or public

alliance. In vain; for Caesar, by hasty marches, anticipated them

in every place, nor did he allow any state leisure to consider the

safety of others, in preference to their own. By this activity, he

both retained his friends in their loyalty, and by fear, obliged the

wavering to accept offers of peace. Such offers being made to the

Bituriges, when they perceived that through Caesar's clemency, an

avenue was open to his friendship, and that the neighboring states

had given hostages, without incurring any punishment, and had been

received under his protection, they did the same.

Chapter 4

Caesar promises his soldiers, as a reward for their labor and patience,

in cheerfully submitting to hardships from the severity of the winter,

the difficulty of the roads, and the intolerable cold, two hundred

sestertii each, and to every centurian two thousand, to be given instead

of plunder: and sending his legions back to quarters, he himself returned

on the fortieth day to Bibracte. While he was dispensing justice there,

the Bituriges send embassadors to him, to entreat his aid against

the Carnutes, who they complained had made war against them. Upon

this intelligence, though he had not remained more than eighteen days

in winter quarters, he draws the fourteenth and sixth legion out of

quarters on the Saone, where he had posted them as mentioned in a

former Commentary, to procure supplies of corn. With these two legions

he marches in pursuit of the Carnutes.

Chapter 5

When the news of the approach of our army reached the enemy, the Carnutes,

terrified by the suffering of other states, deserted their villages

and towns (which were small buildings, raised in a hurry, to meet

the immediate necessity, in which they lived to shelter themselves

against the winter, for, being lately conquered, they had lost several

towns), and dispersed and fled. Caesar, unwilling to expose his soldiers

to the violent storms that break out, especially at that season, took

up his quarters at Genabum, a town of the Carnutes; and lodged his

men in houses, partly belonging to the Gauls, and partly built to

shelter the tents, and hastily covered with thatch. But the horse

and auxiliaries he sends to all parts to which he was told the enemy

had marched; and not without effect, as our men generally returned

loaded with booty. The Carnutes, overpowered by the severity of the

winter, and the fear of danger, and not daring to continue long in

any place, as they were driven from their houses, and not finding

sufficient protection in the woods, from the violence of the storms,

after losing a considerable number of their men, disperse, and take

refuge among the neighboring states.

Chapter 6

Caesar, being contented, at so severe a season, to disperse the gathering

foes, and prevent any new war from breaking out, and being convinced,

as far as reason could foresee, that no war of consequence could be

set on foot in the summer campaign, stationed Caius Trebonius, with

the two legions which he had with him, in quarters at Genabum: and

being informed by frequent embassies from the Remi, that the Bellovaci

(who exceed all the Gauls and Belgae in military prowess), and the

neighboring states, headed by Correus, one of the Bellovaci, and Comius,

the Atrebatian, were raising an army, and assembling at a general

rendezvous, designing with their united forces to invade the territories

of the Suessiones, who were put under the patronage of the Remi: and

moreover, considering that not only his honor, but his interest was

concerned, that such of his allies, as deserved well of the republic,

should suffer no calamity; he again draws the eleventh legion out

of quarters, and writes besides to Caius Fabius, to march with his

two legions to the country of the Suessiones; and he sends to Trebonius

for one of his two legions. Thus, as far as the convenience of the

quarters, and the management of the war admitted, he laid the burden

of the expedition on the legions by turns, without any intermission

to his own toils.

Chapter 7

As soon as his troops were collected, he marched against the Bellovaci:

and pitching his camp in their territories, detached troops of horse

all round the country, to take prisoners, from whom he might learn

the enemy's plan. The horse, having executed his orders bring him

back word, that but few were found in the houses: and that even these

had not stayed at home to cultivate their lands (for the emigration

was general from all parts) but had been sent back to watch our motions.

Upon Caesar's inquiring from them, where the main body of the Bellovaci

were posted, and what was their design: they made answer, "that all

the Bellovaci, fit for carrying arms, had assembled in one place,

and along with them the Ambiani, Aulerci, Caletes, Velocasses, and

Atrebates, and that they had chosen for their camp, an elevated position,

surrounded by a dangerous morass: that they had conveyed all their

baggage into the most remote woods: that several noblemen were united

in the management of the war; but that the people were most inclined

to be governed by Correus, because they knew that he had the strongest

aversion to the name of the Roman people: that a few days before Comius

had left the camp to engage the Germans to their aid whose nation

bordered on theirs, and whose numbers were countless: that the Bellovaci

had come to a resolution, with the consent of all the generals and

the earnest desire of the people, if Caesar should come with only

three legions, as was reported, to give him battle, that they might

not be obliged to encounter his whole army on a future occasion, when

they should be in a more wretched and distressed condition; but if

he brought a stronger force, they intended to remain in the position

they had chosen, and by ambuscade to prevent the Romans from getting

forage (which at that season was both scarce and much scattered),

corn, and other necessaries.

Chapter 8

When Caesar was convinced of the truth of this account from the concurring

testimony of several persons, and perceived that the plans which were

proposed were full of prudence, and very unlike the rash resolves

of a barbarous people, he considered it incumbent on him to use every

exertion, in order that the enemy might despise his small force and

come to an action. For he had three veteran legions of distinguished

valor, the seventh, eighth and ninth. The eleventh consisted of chosen

youth of great hopes, who had served eight campaigns, but who, compared

with the others, had not yet acquired any great reputation for experience

and valor. Calling therefore a council, and laying before it the intelligence

which he had received, he encouraged his soldiers. In order if possible

to entice the enemy to an engagement by the appearance of only three

legions, he ranged his army in the following manner, that the seventh,

eighth, and ninth legions should march before all the baggage; that

then the eleventh should bring up the rear of the whole train of baggage

(which however was but small, as is usual on such expeditions), so

that the enemy could not get a sight of a greater number than they

themselves were willing to encounter. By this disposition he formed

his army almost into a square, and brought them within sight of the

enemy sooner than was anticipated.

Chapter 9

When the Gauls, whose bold resolutions had been reported to Caesar,

saw the legions advance with a regular motion, drawn up in battle

array; either from the danger of an engagement, or our sudden approach,

or with the design of watching our movements, they drew up their forces

before the camp, and did not quit the rising ground. Though Caesar

wished to bring them to battle, yet being surprised to see so vast

a host of the enemy, he encamped opposite to them, with a valley between

them, deep rather than extensive. He ordered his camp to be fortified

with a rampart twelve feet high, with breastworks built on it proportioned

to its height and two trenches, each fifteen feet broad, with perpendicular

sides to be sunk: likewise several turrets, three stories high, to

be raised, with a communication to each other by galleries laid across

and covered over; which should be guarded in front by small parapets

of osiers; that the enemy might be repulsed by two rows of soldiers.

The one of whom, being more secure from danger by their height might

throw their darts with more daring and to a greater distance; the

other which was nearer the enemy, being stationed on the rampart,

would be protected by their galleries from darts falling on their

heads. At the entrance he erected gates and turrets of a considerable

height.

Chapter 10

Caesar had a double design in this fortification; for he both hoped

that the strength of his works, and his [apparent] fears would raise

confidence in the barbarians; and when there should be occasion to

make a distant excursion to get forage or corn, he saw that his camp

would be secured by the works with a very small force. In the mean

time there were frequent skirmishes across the marsh, a few on both

sides sallying out between the two camps. Sometimes, however, our

Gallic or German auxiliaries crossed the marsh, and furiously pursued

the enemy; or on the other hand the enemy passed it and beat back

our men. Moreover there happened in the course of our daily foraging,

what must of necessity happen, when corn is to be collected by a few

scattered men out of private houses, that our foragers dispersing

in an intricate country were surrounded by the enemy; by which, though

we suffered but an inconsiderable loss of cattle and servants, yet

it raised foolish hopes in the barbarians; but more especially, because

Comius, who I said had gone to get aid from the Germans, returned

with some cavalry, and though the Germans were only 500, yet the barbarians

were elated by their arrival.

Chapter 11

Caesar, observing that the enemy kept for several days within their

camp, which was well secured by a morass and its natural situation,

and that it could not be assaulted without a dangerous engagement,

nor the place inclosed with lines without an addition to his army,

wrote to Trebonius to send with all dispatch for the thirteenth legion

which was in winter quarters among the Bituriges under Titus Sextius,

one of his lieutenants; and then to come to him by forced marches

with the three legions. He himself sent the cavalry of the Remi, and

Lingones, and other states, from whom he had required a vast number,

to guard his foraging parties, and to support them in case of any

sudden attack of the enemy.

Chapter 12

As this continued for several days, and their vigilance was relaxed

by custom (an effect which is generally produced by time), the Bellovaci,

having made themselves acquainted with the daily stations of our horse,

lie in ambush with a select body of foot in a place covered with woods;

to it they sent their horse the next day, who were first to decoy

our men into the ambuscade, and then when they were surrounded, to

attack them. It was the lot of the Remi to fall into this snare, to

whom that day had been allotted to perform this duty; for, having

suddenly got sight of the enemy's cavalry, and despising their weakness,

in consequence of their superior numbers, they pursued them too eagerly,

and were surrounded on every side by the foot. Being, by this means

thrown into disorder they returned with more precipitation than is

usual in cavalry actions, with the loss of Vertiscus the governor

of their state, and the general of their horse, who, though scarcely

able to sit on horseback through years, neither, in accordance with

the custom of the Gauls, pleaded his age in excuse for not accepting

the command, nor would he suffer them to fight without him. The spirits

of the barbarians were puffed up, and inflated at the success of this

battle, in killing the prince, and general of the Remi; and our men

were taught by this loss, to examine the country, and post their guards

with more caution, and to be more moderate in pursuing a retreating

enemy.

Chapter 13

In the mean time daily skirmishes take place continually in view of

both camps; these were fought at the ford and pass of the morass.

In one of these contests the Germans, whom Caesar had brought over

the Rhine, to fight, intermixed with the horse, having resolutely

crossed the marsh, and slain the few who made resistance, and boldly

pursued the rest, so terrified them, that not only those who were

attacked hand to hand, or wounded at a distance, but even those who

were stationed at a greater distance to support them, fled disgracefully;

and being often beaten from the rising grounds, did not stop till

they had retired into their camp, or some, impelled by fear, had fled

further. Their danger threw their whole army into such confusion,

that it was difficult to judge whether they were more insolent after

a slight advantage or more dejected by a trifling calamity.

Chapter 14

After spending several days in the same camp, the guards of the Bellovaci,

learning that Caius Trebonius was advancing nearer with his legions,

and fearing a siege like that of Alesia, send off by night all who

were disabled by age or infirmity, or unarmed, and along with them

their whole baggage. While they are preparing their disorderly and

confused troop for march (for the Gauls are always attended by a vast

multitude of wagons, even when they have very light baggage), being

overtaken by day-light, they drew their forces out before their camp,

to prevent the Romans attempting a pursuit before the line of their

baggage had advanced to a considerable distance. But Caesar did not

think it prudent to attack them when standing on their defense, with

such a steep hill in their favor, nor keep his legions at such a distance

that they could quit their post without danger: but, perceiving that

his camp was divided from the enemy's by a deep morass, so difficult

to cross that he could not pursue with expedition, and that the hill

beyond the morass, which extended almost to the enemy's camp, was

separated from it only by a small valley, he laid a bridge over the

morass and led his army across, and soon reached the plain on the

top of the hill, which was fortified on either side by a steep ascent.

Having there drawn up his army in order of battle, he marched to the

furthest hill, from which he could, with his engines, shower darts

upon the thickest of the enemy.

Chapter 15

The Gauls, confiding in the natural strength of their position, though

they would not decline an engagement if the Romans attempted to ascend

the hill, yet dared not divide their forces into small parties, lest

they should be thrown into disorder by being dispersed, and therefore

remained in order of battle. Caesar, perceiving that they persisted

in their resolution, kept twenty cohorts in battle array, and, measuring

out ground there for a camp, ordered it to be fortified. Having completed

his works, he drew up his legions before the rampart and stationed

the cavalry in certain positions, with their horses bridled. When

the Bellovaci saw the Romans prepared to pursue them, and that they

could not wait the whole night, or continue longer in the same place

without provisions, they formed the following plan to secure a retreat.

They handed to one another the bundles of straw and sticks on which

they sat (for it is the custom of the Gauls to sit when drawn up in

order of battle, as has been asserted in former commentaries), of

which they had great plenty in their camp, and piled them in the front

of their line; and at the close of the day, on a certain signal, set

them all on fire at one and the same time. The continued blaze soon

screened all their forces from the sight of the Romans, which no sooner

happened than the barbarians fled with the greatest precipitation.

Chapter 16

Though Caesar could not perceive the retreat of the enemy for the

intervention of the fire, yet, suspecting that they had adopted that

method to favor their escape, he made his legions advance, and sent

a party of horse to pursue them; but, apprehensive of an ambuscade,

and that the enemy might remain in the same place and endeavor to

draw our men into a disadvantageous situation, he advances himself

but slowly. The horse, being afraid to venture into the smoke and

dense line of flame, and those who were bold enough to attempt it

being scarcely able to see their horse's heads, gave the enemy free

liberty to retreat, through fear of an ambuscade. Thus by a flight,

full at once of cowardice and address, they advanced without any loss

about ten miles, and encamped in a very strong position. From which,

laying numerous ambuscades, both of horse and foot, they did considerable

damage to the Roman foragers.

Chapter 17

After this had happened several times, Caesar discovered from a certain

prisoner, that Correus, the general of the Bellovaci, had selected

six thousand of his bravest foot and a thousand horse, with which

he designed to lie in ambush in a place to which he suspected the

Romans would send to look for forage, on account of the abundance

of corn and grass. Upon receiving information of their design Caesar

drew out more legions than he usually did, and sent forward his cavalry

as usual, to protect the foragers. With these he intermixed a guard

of light infantry, and himself advanced with the legions as fast as

he could.

Chapter 18

The Gauls, placed in ambush, had chosen for the seat of action a level

piece of ground, not more than a mile in extent, inclosed on every

side by a thick wood or a very deep river, as by a toil, and this

they surrounded. Our men, apprised of the enemy's design, marched

in good order to the ground, ready both in heart and hand to give

battle, and willing to hazard any engagement when the legions were

at their back. On their approach, as Correus supposed that he had

got an opportunity of effecting his purpose, he at first shows himself

with a small party and attacks the foremost troops. Our men resolutely

stood the charge, and did not crowd together in one place, as commonly

happens from surprise in engagements between the horse, whose numbers

prove injurious to themselves.

Chapter 19

When by the judicious arrangement of our forces only a few of our

men fought by turns, and did not suffer themselves to be surrounded,

the rest of the enemy broke out from the woods while Correus was engaged.

The battle was maintained in different parts with great vigor, and

continued for a long time undecided, till at length a body of foot

gradually advanced from the woods in order of battle and forced our

horse to give ground: the light infantry, which were sent before the

legions to the assistance of the cavalry, soon came up, and, mixing

with the horse, fought with great courage. The battle was for some

time doubtful, but, as usually happens, our men, who stood the enemy's

first charge, became superior from this very circumstance that, though

suddenly attacked from an ambuscade, they had sustained no loss. In

the mean time the legions were approaching, and several messengers

arrived with notice to our men and the enemy that the [Roman] general

was near at hand, with his forces in battle array. Upon this intelligence,

our men, confiding in the support of the cohorts, fought most resolutely,

fearing, lest if they should be slow in their operations they should

let the legions participate in the glory of the conquest. The enemy

lose courage and attempt to escape by different ways. In vain; for

they were themselves entangled in that labyrinth in which they thought

to entrap the Romans. Being defeated and put to the rout, and having

lost the greater part of their men, they fled in consternation whithersoever

chance carried them; some sought the woods, others the river, but

were vigorously pursued by our men and put to the sword. Yet, in the

mean time, Correus, unconquered by calamity, could not be prevailed

on to quit the field and take refuge in the woods, or accept our offers

of quarter, but, fighting courageously and wounding several, provoked

our men, elated with victory, to discharge their weapons against him.

Chapter 20

After this transaction, Caesar, having come up immediately after the

battle, and imagining that the enemy, upon receiving the news of so

great a defeat, would be so depressed that they would abandon their

camp, which was not above eight miles distant from the scene of action,

though he saw his passage obstructed by the river, yet he marched

his army over and advanced. But the Bellovaci and the other states,

being informed of the loss they had sustained by a few wounded men

who having escaped by the shelter of the woods, had returned to them

after the defeat, and learning that every thing had turned out unfavorable,

that Correus was slain, and the horse and most valiant of their foot

cut off, imagined that the Romans were marching against them, and

calling a council in haste by sound of trumpet, unanimously cry out

to send embassadors and hostages to Caesar.

Chapter 21

This proposal having met with general approbation, Comius the Atrebatian

fled to those Germans from whom he had borrowed auxiliaries for that

war. The rest instantly send embassadors to Caesar; and requested

that he would be contented with that punishment of his enemy, which

if he had possessed the power to inflict on them before the engagement,

when they were yet uninjured, they were persuaded from his usual clemency

and mercy, he never would have inflicted; that the power of the Bellovaci

was crushed by the cavalry action; that many thousand of their choicest

foot had fallen, that scarce a man had escaped to bring the fatal

news. That, however, the Bellovaci had derived from the battle one

advantage, of some importance, considering their loss; that Correus,

the author of the rebellion, and agitator of the people, was slain:

for that while he lived the senate had never equal influence in the

state with the giddy populace.

Chapter 22

Caesar reminded the embassadors who made these supplications, that

the Bellovaci had at the same season the year before, in conjunction

with other states of Gaul, undertaken a war, and that they had persevered

the most obstinately of all in their purpose, and were not brought

to a proper way of thinking by the submission of the rest: that he

knew and was aware that the guilt of a crime was easily transferred

to the dead; but that no one person could have such influence, as

to be able by the feeble support of the multitude to raise a war and

carry it on without the consent of the nobles, in opposition to the

senate, and in despite of every virtuous man; however he was satisfied

with the punishment, which they had drawn upon themselves.

Chapter 23

The night following the embassadors bring back his answer to their

countrymen and prepare the hostages. Embassadors flock in from the

other states, which were waiting for the issue of the [war with the]

Bellovaci: they give hostages, and receive his orders; all except

Comius, whose fears restrained him from intrusting his safety to any

person's honor. For the year before, while Caesar was holding the

assizes in Hither Gaul, Titus Labienus, having discovered that Comius

was tampering with the state, and raising a conspiracy against Caesar,

thought he might punish his infidelity without perfidy; but judging

that he would not come to his camp at his invitation, and unwilling

to put him on his guard by the attempt, he sent Caius Volusenus Quadratus,

with orders to have him put to death under pretense of conference.

To effect his purpose, he sent with him some chosen centurions. When

they came to the conference, and Volusenus, as had been agreed on,

had taken hold of Comius by the hand, and one of the centurions, as

if surprised at so uncommon an incident, attempted to kill him, he

was prevented by the friends of Comius, but wounded him severely in

the head by the first blow. Swords were drawn on both sides, not so

much with a design to fight as to effect an escape, our men believing

that Comius had received a mortal stroke; and the Gauls, from the

treachery which they had seen, dreading that a deeper design lay concealed.

Upon this transaction, it was said that Comius made a resolution never

to come within sight of any Roman.

Chapter 24

When Caesar, having completely conquered the most warlike nations,

perceived that there was now no state which could make preparations

for war to oppose him, but that some were removing and fleeing from

their country to avoid present subjection, he resolved to detach his

army into different parts of the country. He kept with himself Marcus

Antonius the quaestor, with the eleventh legion; Caius Fabius was

detached with twenty-five cohorts into the remotest part of Gaul,

because it was rumored that some states had risen in arms, and he

did not think that Caius Caninius Rebilus, who had the charge of that

country, was strong enough to protect it with two legions. He ordered

Titus Labienus to attend himself, and sent the twelfth legion which

had been under him in winter quarters, to Hither Gaul, to protect

the Roman colonies, and prevent any loss by the inroads of barbarians

similar to that which had happened the year before to the Tergestines,

who were cut off by a sudden depredation and attack. He himself marched

to depopulate the country of Ambiorix, whom he had terrified and forced

to fly, but despaired of being able to reduce under his power; but

he thought it most consistent with his honor to waste his country

both of inhabitants, cattle, and buildings, so that from the abhorrence

of his countrymen, if fortune suffered any to survive, he might be

excluded from a return to his state for the calamities which he had

brought on it.

Chapter 25

After he had sent either his legions or auxiliaries through every

part of Ambiorix's dominions, and wasted the whole country by sword,

fire, and rapine, and had killed or taken prodigious numbers, he sent

Labienus with two legions against the Treviri, whose state, from its

vicinity to Germany, being engaged in constant war, differed but little

from the Germans, in civilization and savage barbarity; and never

continued in its allegiance, except when awed by the presence of his

army.

Chapter 26

In the mean time Caius Caninius, a lieutenant, having received information

by letters and messages from Duracius, who had always continued in

friendship to the Roman people, though a part of his state had revolted,

that a great multitude of the enemy were in arms in the country of

the Pictones, marched to the town Limonum. When he was approaching

it, he was informed by some prisoners, that Duracius was shut up by

several thousand men, under the command of Dumnacus, general of the

Andes, and that Limonum was besieged, but not daring to face the enemy

with his weak legions, he encamped in a strong position: Dumnacus,

having notice of Caninius's approach, turned his whole force against

the legions, and prepared to assault the Roman camp. But after spending

several days in the attempt, and losing a considerable number of men,

without being able to make a breach in any part of the works, he returned

again to the siege of Limonum.

Chapter 27

At the same time, Caius Fabius, a lieutenant, brings back many states

to their allegiance, and confirms their submission by taking hostages;

he was then informed by letters from Caninius, of the proceedings

among the Pictones. Upon which he set off to bring assistance to Duracius.

But Dumnacus, hearing of the approach of Fabius, and despairing of

safety, if at the same time he should be forced to withstand the Roman

army without, and observe, and be under apprehension from the town's

people, made a precipitate retreat from that place with all his forces.

Nor did he think that he should be sufficiently secure from danger,

unless he led his army across the Loire, which was too deep a river

to pass except by a bridge. Though Fabius had not yet come within

sight of the enemy, nor joined Caninius; yet being informed of the

nature of the country, by persons acquainted with it, he judged it

most likely that the enemy would take that way, which he found they

did take. He therefore marched to that bridge with his army, and ordered

his cavalry to advance no farther before the legions than that they

could return to the same camp at night, without fatiguing their horses.

Our horse pursued according to orders, and fell upon Dumnacus's rear

and attacking them on their march, while fleeing, dismayed, and laden

with baggage, they slew a great number, and took a rich booty. Having

executed the affair so successfully, they retired to the camp.

Chapter 28

The night following, Fabius sent his horse before him, with orders

to engage the enemy, and delay their march till he himself should

come up. That his orders might be faithfully performed, Quintus Atius

Varus, general of the horse, a man of uncommon spirit and skill, encouraged

his men, and pursuing the enemy, disposed some of his troops in convenient

places, and with the rest gave battle to the enemy. The enemy's cavalry

made a bold stand, the foot relieving each other, and making a general

halt, to assist their horse against ours. The battle was warmly contested.

For our men, despising the enemy whom they had conquered the day before,

and knowing that the legions were following them, animated both by

the disgrace of retreating, and a desire of concluding the battle

expeditiously by their own courage, fought most valiantly against

the foot: and the enemy, imagining that no more forces would come

against them, as they had experienced the day before, thought they

had got a favorable opportunity of destroying our whole cavalry.

Chapter 29

After the conflict had continued for some time with great violence,

Dumnacus drew out his army in such a manner, that the foot should

by turns assist the horse. Then the legions, marching in close order,

came suddenly in sight of the enemy. At this sight, the barbarian

horse were so astonished, and the foot so terrified, that breaking

through the line of baggage, they betook themselves to flight with

a loud shout, and in great disorder. But our horse, who a little before

had vigorously engaged them, while they made resistance, being elated

with joy at their victory, raising a shout on every side, poured round

them as they ran, and as long as their horses had strength to pursue,

or their arms to give a blow, so long did they continue the slaughter

of the enemy in that battle, and having killed above twelve thousand

men in arms, or such as threw away their arms through fear, they took

their whole train of baggage.

Chapter 30

After this defeat, when it was ascertained that Drapes, a Senonian

(who in the beginning of the revolt of Gaul had collected from all

quarters men of desperate fortunes, invited the slaves to liberty,

called in the exiles of the whole kingdom, given an asylum to robbers,

and intercepted the Roman baggage and provisions), was marching to

the province with five thousand men, being all he could collect after

the defeat, and that Luterius a Cadurcian who, as it has been observed

in a former commentary, had designed to make an attack on the Province

in the first revolt of Gaul, had formed a junction with him, Caius

Caninius went in pursuit of them with two legions, lest great disgrace

might be incurred from the fears or injuries done to the Province

by the depredations of a band of desperate men.

Chapter 31

Caius Fabius set off with the rest of the army to the Carnutes and

those other states, whose force he was informed, had served as auxiliaries

in that battle, which he fought against Dumnacus. For he had no doubt

that they would be more submissive after their recent sufferings,

but if respite and time were given them, they might be easily excited

by the earnest solicitations of the same Dumnacus. On this occasion

Fabius was extremely fortunate and expeditious in recovering the states.

For the Carnutes, who, though often harassed had never mentioned peace,

submitted and gave hostages: and the other states, which lie in the

remotest parts of Gaul, adjoining the ocean, and which are called

Armoricae, influenced by the example of the Carnutes, as soon as Fabius

arrived with his legions, without delay comply with his command. Dumnacus,

expelled from his own territories, wandering and skulking about, was

forced to seek refuge by himself in the most remote parts of Gaul.

Chapter 32

But Drapes in conjunction with Luterius, knowing that Caninius was

at hand with the legions, and that they themselves could not without

certain destruction enter the boundaries of the province, while an

army was in pursuit of them, and being no longer at liberty to roam

up and down and pillage, halt in the country of the Cadurci, as Luterius

had once in his prosperity possessed a powerful influence over the

inhabitants, who were his countrymen, and being always the author

of new projects, had considerable authority among the barbarians;

with his own and Drapes' troops he seized Uxellodunum, a town formerly

in vassalage to him, and strongly fortified by its natural situation;

and prevailed on the inhabitants to join him.

Chapter 33

After Caninius had rapidly marched to this place, and perceived that

all parts of the town were secured by very craggy rocks, which it

would be difficult for men in arms to climb even if they met with

no resistance; and moreover, observing that the town's people were

possessed of effects, to a considerable amount, and that if they attempted

to convey them away in a clandestine manner, they could not escape

our horse, or even our legions; he divided his forces into three parts,

and pitched three camps on very high ground, with the intention of

drawing lines round the town by degrees, as his forces could bear

the fatigue.

Chapter 34

When the townsmen perceived his design, being terrified by the recollection

of the distress at Alesia, they began to dread similar consequences

from a siege; and above all Luterius, who had experienced that fatal

event, cautioned them to make provisions of corn; they therefore resolve

by general consent to leave part of their troops behind, and set out

with their light troops to bring in corn. The scheme having met with

approbation, the following night Drapes and Luterius leaving two thousand

men in the garrison, marched out of the town with the rest. After

a few days' stay in the country of the Cadurci (some of whom were

disposed to assist them with corn, and others were unable to prevent

their taking it) they collected a great store. Sometimes also attacks

were made on our little forts by sallies at night. For this reason

Caninius deferred drawing his works round the whole town, lest he

should be unable to protect them when completed, or by disposing his

garrisons in several places, should make them too weak.

Chapter 35

Drapes and Luterius, having laid in a large supply of corn, occupying

a position at about ten miles distance from the town, intending from

it to convey the corn into the town by degrees. They chose each his

respective department. Drapes stayed behind in the camp with part

of the army to protect it; Luterius conveys the train with provisions

into the town. Accordingly, having disposed guards here and there

along the road, about the tenth hour of the night, he set out by narrow

paths through the woods, to fetch the corn into the town. But their

noise being heard by the sentinels of our camp, and the scouts which

we had sent out, having brought an account of what was going on, Caninius

instantly with the ready-armed cohorts from the nearest turrets made

an attack on the convoy at the break of day. They, alarmed at so unexpected

an evil, fled by different ways to their guard: which as soon as our

men perceived, they fell with great fury on the escort, and did not

allow a single man to be taken alive. Luterius escaped thence with

a few followers, but did not return to the camp.

Chapter 36

After this success, Caninius learned from some prisoners, that a part

of the forces was encamped with Drapes, not more than ten miles off:

which being confirmed by several, supposing that after the defeat

of one general, the rest would be terrified, and might be easily conquered,

he thought it a most fortunate event that none of the enemy had fled

back from the slaughter to the camp, to give Drapes notice of the

calamity which had befallen him. And as he could see no danger in

making the attempt, he sent forward all his cavalry and the German

foot, men of great activity, to the enemy's camp. He divides one legion

among the three camps, and takes the other without baggage along with

him. When he had advanced near the enemy, he was informed by scouts,

which he had sent before him, that the enemy's camp, as is the custom

of barbarians, was pitched low, near the banks of a river, and that

the higher grounds were unoccupied: but that the German horse had

made a sudden attack on them, and had begun the battle. Upon this

intelligence, he marched up with his legion, armed and in order of

battle. Then, on a signal being suddenly given on every side, our

men took possession of the higher grounds. Upon this the German horse

observing the Roman colors, fought with great vigor. Immediately all

the cohorts attack them on every side; and having either killed or

made prisoners of them all, gained great booty. In that battle, Drapes

himself was taken prisoner.

Chapter 37

Caninius, having accomplished the business so successfully, without

having scarcely a man wounded, returned to besiege the town; and,

having destroyed the enemy without, for fear of whom he had been prevented

from strengthening his redoubts, and surrounding the enemy with his

lines, he orders the work to be completed on every side. The next

day, Caius Fabius came to join him with his forces, and took upon

him the siege of one side.

Chapter 38

In the mean time, Caesar left Caius Antonius in the country of the

Bellovaci, with fifteen cohorts, that the Belgae might have no opportunity

of forming new plans in future. He himself visits the other states,

demands a great number of hostages, and by his encouraging language

allays the apprehensions of all. When he came to the Carnutes, in

whose state he has in a former commentary mentioned that the war first

broke out; observing, that from a consciousness of their guilt, they

seemed to be in the greatest terror: to relieve the state the sooner

from its fear, he demanded that Guturvatus, the promoter of that treason,

and the instigator of that rebellion, should be delivered up to punishment.

And though the latter did not dare to trust his life even to his own

countrymen, yet such diligent search was made by them all, that he

was soon brought to our camp. Caesar was forced to punish him, by

the clamors of the soldiers, contrary to his natural humanity, for

they alleged that all the dangers and losses incurred in that war,

ought to be imputed to Guturvatus. Accordingly, he was whipped to

death, and his head cut off.

Chapter 39

Here Caesar was informed by numerous letters from Caninius of what

had happened to Drapes and Luterius, and in what conduct the town's

people persisted: and though he despised the smallness of their numbers,

yet he thought their obstinacy deserving a severe punishment, lest

Gaul in general should adopt an idea that she did not want strength

but perseverance to oppose the Romans; and lest the other states,

relying on the advantage of situation, should follow their example

and assert their liberty; especially as he knew that all the Gauls

understood that his command was to continue but one summer longer,

and if they could hold out for that time, that they would have no

further danger to apprehend. He therefore left Quintus Calenus, one

of his lieutenants, behind him, with two legions, and instructions

to follow him by regular marches. He hastened as much as he could

with all the cavalry to Caninius.

Chapter 40

Having arrived at Uxellodunum, contrary to the general expectation,

and perceiving that the town was surrounded by the works, and that

the enemy had no possible means of retiring from the assault, and

being likewise informed by the deserters that the townsmen had abundance

of corn, he endeavoured to prevent their getting water. A river divided

the valley below, which almost surrounded the steep craggy mountain

on which Uxellodunum was built. The nature of the ground prevented

his turning the current: for it ran so low down at the foot of the

mountain, that no drains could be sunk deep enough to draw it off

in any direction. But the descent to it was so difficult, that if

we made opposition, the besieged could neither come to the river nor

retire up the precipice without hazard of their lives. Caesar perceiving

the difficulty, disposed archers and slingers, and in some places,

opposite to the easiest descents, placed engines, and attempted to

hinder the townsmen from getting water at the river, which obliged

them afterward to go all to one place to procure water.

Chapter 41

Close under the walls of the town, a copious spring gushed out on

that part, which for the space of nearly three hundred feet, was not

surrounded by the river. While every other person wished that the

besieged could be debarred from this spring, Caesar alone saw that

it could be effected, though not without great danger. Opposite to

it he began to advance the vineae toward the mountain, and to throw

up a mound, with great labor and continual skirmishing. For the townsmen

ran down from the high ground, and fought without any risk, and wounded

several of our men, yet they obstinately pushed on and were not deterred

from moving forward the vineae, and from surmounting by their assiduity

the difficulties of situation. At the same time they work mines, and

move the crates and vineae to the source of the fountain. This was

the only work which they could do without danger or suspicion. A mound

sixty feet high was raised; on it was erected a turret of ten stories,

not with the intention that it should be on a level with the wall

(for that could not be effected by any works), but to rise above the

top of the spring. When our engines began to play from it upon the

paths that led to the fountain, and the townsmen could not go for

water without danger, not only the cattle designed for food and the

working cattle, but a great number of men also died of thirst.

Chapter 42

Alarmed at this calamity, the townsmen fill barrels with tallow, pitch,

and dried wood: these they set on fire, and roll down on our works.

At the same time, they fight most furiously, to deter the Romans,

by the engagement and danger, from extinguishing the flames. Instantly

a great blaze arose in the works. For whatever they threw down the

precipice, striking against the vineae and agger, communicated the

fire to whatever was in the way. Our soldiers on the other hand, though

they were engaged in a perilous sort of encounter, and laboring under

the disadvantages of position, yet supported all with very great presence

of mind. For the action happened in an elevated situation, and in

sight of our army; and a great shout was raised on both sides; therefore

every man faced the weapons of the enemy and the flames in as conspicuous

a manner as he could, that his valor might be the better known and

attested.

Chapter 43

Caesar, observing that several of his men were wounded, ordered the

cohorts to ascend the mountain on all sides, and, under pretense of

assailing the walls, to raise a shout: at which the besieged being

frightened, and not knowing what was going on in other places, call

off their armed troops from attacking our works, and dispose them

on the walls. Thus our men without hazarding a battle, gained time

partly to extinguish the works which had caught fire, and partly to

cut off the communication. As the townsmen still continued to make

an obstinate resistance, and even, after losing the greatest part

of their forces by drought, persevered in their resolution: at last

the veins of the spring were cut across by our mines, and turned from

their course. By this their constant spring was suddenly dried up,

which reduced them to such despair that they imagined that it was

not done by the art of man, but the will of the gods; forced, therefore,

by necessity, they at length submitted.

Chapter 44

Caesar, being convinced that his lenity was known to all men, and

being under no fears of being thought to act severely from a natural

cruelty, and perceiving that there would be no end to his troubles

if several states should attempt to rebel in like manner and in different

places, resolved to deter others by inflicting an exemplary punishment

on these. Accordingly he cut off the hands of those who had borne

arms against him. Their lives he spared, that the punishment of their

rebellion might be the more conspicuous. Drapes, who I have said was

taken by Caninius, either through indignation and grief arising from

his captivity, or through fear of severer punishments, abstained from

food for several days, and thus perished. At the same time, Luterius,

who, I have related, had escaped from the battle, having fallen into

the hands of Epasnactus, an Arvernian (for he frequently changed his

quarters, and threw himself on the honor of several persons, as he

saw that he dare not remain long in one place, and was conscious how

great an enemy he deserved to have in Caesar), was by this Epasnactus,

the Arvernian, a sincere friend of the Roman people, delivered without

any hesitation, a prisoner to Caesar.

Chapter 45

In the mean time, Labienus engages in a successful cavalry action

among the Treviri; and, having killed several of them and of the Germans,

who never refused their aid to any person against the Romans, he got

their chiefs alive into his power, and, among them, Surus, an Aeduan,

who was highly renowned both for his valor and birth, and was the

only Aeduan that had continued in arms till that time. Caesar, being

informed of this, and perceiving that he had met with good success

in all parts of Gaul, and reflecting that, in former campaigns [Celtic]

Gaul had been conquered and subdued; but that he had never gone in

person to Aquitania, but had made a conquest of it, in some degree,

by Marcus Crassus, set out for it with two legions, designing to spend

the latter part of the summer there. This affair he executed with

his usual dispatch and good fortune. For all the states of Aquitania

sent embassadors to him and delivered hostages. These affairs being

concluded, he marched with a guard of cavalry toward Narbo, and drew

off his army into winter quarters by his lieutenants. He posted four

legions in the country of the Belgae, under Marcus Antonius, Caius

Trebonius, Publius Vatinius, and Quintus Tullius, his lieutenants.

Two he detached to the Aedui, knowing them to have a very powerful

influence throughout all Gaul. Two he placed among the Turoni, near

the confines of the Carnutes, to keep in awe the entire tract of country

bordering on the ocean; the other two he placed in the territories

of the Lemovices, at a small distance from the Arverni, that no part

of Gaul might be without an army. Having spent a few days in the province,

he quickly ran through all the business of the assizes, settled all

public disputes, and distributed rewards to the most deserving; for

he had a good opportunity of learning how every person was disposed

toward the republic during the general revolt of Gaul, which he had

withstood by the fidelity and assistance of the Province.

Chapter 47

Having finished these affairs, he returned to his legions among the

Belgae and wintered at Nemetocenna: there he got intelligence that

Comius, the Atrebatian had had an engagement with his cavalry. For

when Antonius had gone into winter quarters, and the state of the

Atrebates continued in their allegiance, Comius, who, after that wound

which I before mentioned, was always ready to join his countrymen

upon every commotion, that they might not want a person to advise

and head them in the management of the war, when his state submitted

to the Romans, supported himself and his adherents on plunder by means

of his cavalry, infested the roads, and intercepted several convoys

which were bringing provisions to the Roman quarters.

Chapter 48

Caius Volusenus Quadratus was appointed commander of the horse under

Antonius, to winter with him: Antonius sent him in pursuit of the

enemy's cavalry; now Volusenus added to that valor which was pre-eminent

in him, a great aversion to Comius, on which account he executed the

more willingly the orders which he received. Having, therefore, laid

ambuscades, he had several encounters with his cavalry and came off

successful. At last, when a violent contest ensued, and Volusenus,

through eagerness to intercept Comius, had obstinately pursued him

with a small party; and Comius had, by the rapidity of his flight,

drawn Volusenus to a considerable distance from his troops, he, on

a sudden, appealed to the honor of all about him for assistance not

to suffer the wound, which he had perfidiously received, to go without

vengeance; and, wheeling his horse about, rode unguardedly before

the rest up to the commander. All his horse following his example,

made a few of our men turn their backs and pursued them. Comius, clapping

spurs to his horse, rode up to Volusenus, and, pointing his lance,

pierced him in the thigh with great force. When their commander was

wounded, our men no longer hesitated to make resistance, and, facing

about, beat back the enemy. When this occurred, several of the enemy,

repulsed by the great impetuosity of our men, were wounded, and some

were trampled to death in striving to escape, and some were made prisoners.

Their general escaped this misfortune by the swiftness of his horse.

Our commander, being severely wounded, so much so that he appeared

to run the risk of losing his life, was carried back to the camp.

But Comius, having either gratified his resentment, or, because he

had lost the greatest part of his followers, sent embassadors to Antonius,

and assured him that he would give hostages as a security that he

would go wherever Antonius should prescribe, and would comply with

his orders, and only entreated that this concession should be made

to his fears, that he should not be obliged to go into the presence

of any Roman. As Antonius judged that his request originated in a

just apprehension, he indulged him in it and accepted his hostages.Caesar,

I know, has made a separate commentary of each year's transactions,

which I have not thought it necessary for me to do, because the following

year, in which Lucius Paulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls, produced

no remarkable occurrences in Gaul. But that no person may be left

in ignorance of the place where Caesar and his army were at that time,

have thought proper to write a few words in addition to this commentary.

Chapter 49

Caesar, while in winter quarters in the country of the Belgae, made

it his only business to keep the states in amity with him, and to

give none either hopes of, or pretext for a revolt. For nothing was

further from his wishes than to be under the necessity of engaging

in another war at his departure; lest, when he was drawing his army

out of the country, any war should be left unfinished, which the Gauls

would cheerfully undertake, when there was no immediate danger. Therefore,

by treating the states with respect, making rich presents to the leading

men, imposing no new burdens, and making the terms of their subjection

lighter, he easily kept Gaul (already exhausted by so many unsuccessful

battles) in obedience.

Chapter 50

When the winter quarters were broken up he himself, contrary to his

usual practice, proceeded to Italy, by the longest possible stages,

in order to visit the free towns and colonies, that he might recommend

to them the petition of Marcus Antonius, his treasurer, for the priesthood.

For he exerted his interest both cheerfully in favor of a man strongly

attached to him, whom he had sent home before him to attend the election,

and zealously to oppose the faction and power of a few men, who, by

rejecting Marcus Antonius, wished to undermine Caesar's influence

when going out of office. Though Caesar heard on the road, before

he reached Italy that he was created augur, yet he thought himself

in honor bound to visit the free towns and colonies, to return them

thanks for rendering such service to Antonius by their presence in

such great numbers [at the election], and at the same time to recommend

to them himself, and his honor in his suit for the consulate the ensuing

year. For his adversaries arrogantly boasted that Lucius Lentulus

and Caius Marcellus had been appointed consuls, who would strip Caesar

of all honor and dignity: and that the consulate had been injuriously

taken from Sergius Galba, though he had been much superior in votes

and interest, because he was united to Caesar, both by friendship,

and by serving as lieutenant under him.

Chapter 51

Caesar, on his arrival, was received by the principal towns and colonies

with incredible respect and affection; for this was the first time

he came since the war against united Gaul. Nothing was omitted which

could be thought of for the ornament of the gates, roads, and every

place through which Caesar was to pass. All the people with their

children went out to meet him. Sacrifices were offered up in every

quarter. The market places and temples were laid out with entertainments,

as if anticipating the joy of a most splendid triumph. So great was

the magnificence of the richer and zeal of the poorer ranks of the

people.

Chapter 52

When Caesar had gone through all the states of Cisalpine Gaul, he

returned with the greatest haste to the army at Nemetocenna; and having

ordered all his legions to march from winter quarters to the territories

of the Treviri, he went thither and reviewed them. He made Titus Labienus

governor of Cisalpine Gaul, that he might be the more inclined to

support him in his suit for the consulate. He himself made such journeys

as he thought would conduce to the health of his men by change of

air; and though he was frequently told that Labienus was solicited

by his enemies, and was assured that a scheme was in agitation by

the contrivance of a few, that the senate should interpose their authority

to deprive him of a part of his army; yet he neither gave credit to

any story concerning Labienus, nor could be prevailed upon to do any

thing in opposition to the authority of the senate; for he thought

that his cause would be easily gained by the free voice of the senators.

For Caius Curio, one of the tribunes of the people, having undertaken

to defend Caesar's cause and dignity, had often proposed to the senate,

"that if the dread of Caesar's arms rendered any apprehensive, as

Pompey's authority and arms were no less formidable to the forum,

both should resign their command, and disband their armies. That then

the city would be free, and enjoy its due rights." And he not only

proposed this, but of himself called upon the senate to divide on

the question. But the consuls and Pompey's friends interposed to prevent

it; and regulating matters as they desired, they broke up the meeting.

Chapter 53

This testimony of the unanimous voice of the senate was very great,

and consistent with their former conduct; for the preceding year,

when Marcellus attacked Caesar's dignity, he proposed to the senate,

contrary to the law of Pompey and Crassus, to dispose of Caesar's

province, before the expiration of his command, and when the votes

were called for, and Marcellus, who endeavored to advance his own

dignity, by raising envy against Caesar, wanted a division, the full

senate went over to the opposite side. The spirit of Caesar's foes

was not broken by this, but it taught them, that they ought to strengthen

their interest by enlarging their connections, so as to force the

senate to comply with whatever they had resolved on.

Chapter 54

After this a decree was passed by the senate, that one legion should

be sent by Pompey, and another by Caesar, to the Parthian war. But

these two legions were evidently drawn from Caesar alone. For the

first legion which Pompey sent to Caesar, he gave Caesar, as if it

belonged to himself, though it was levied in Caesar's province. Caesar,

however, though no one could doubt the design of his enemies, sent

the legion back to Cneius Pompey, and in compliance with the decree

of the senate, ordered the fifteenth, belonging to himself, and which

was quartered in Cisalpine Gaul, to be delivered up. In its room he

sent the thirteenth into Italy, to protect the garrisons from which

he had drafted the fifteenth. He disposed his army in winter quarters,

placed Caius Trebonius, with four legions among the Belgae, and detached

Caius Fabius, with four more, to the Aedui; for he thought that Gaul

would be most secure, if the Belgae, a people of the greatest valor,

and the Aedui, who possessed the most powerful influence, were kept

in awe by his armies.

Chapter 55

He himself set out for Italy; where he was informed on his arrival,

that the two legions sent home by him, and which by the senate's decree,

should have been sent to the Parthian war, had been delivered over

to Pompey, by Caius Marcellus the consul, and were retained in Italy.

Although from this transaction it was evident to every one that war

was designed against Caesar, yet he resolved to submit to any thing,

as long as there were hopes left of deciding the dispute in an equitable

manner, rather than to have recourse to arms.

THE END

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