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THE GREAT COURSESSM

Ancient & Medieval History



Rome and the Barbarians

Taught by: Professor Kenneth W. Harl,
Tulane University

Part 1

Course Guidebook

 THE TEACHING COMPANY®

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Kenneth W. Harl, Professor of Classical and Byzantine History, joined the faculty of Tulane University after he completed his Ph.D. in history at Yale University in 1978. Professor Harl teaches courses on Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader history from the freshman to graduate levels. He has won numerous teaching awards at his home university, including the coveted Sheldon H. Hackney Award (twice voted by faculty and students), as well as the Robert Foster Cherry Award for Great Teachers from Baylor University. Professor Harl, a recognized scholar on coins and classical Anatolia, takes Tulane students on excursions to Turkey or as assistants on excavations of Hellenistic and Roman sites in Turkey. He is currently working on publishing coins from the excavations of Metropolis and Gordion.

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Rome and the Barbarians

Scope:

The history of the Romans and the barbarians on their frontiers has, in large part, been written as one of warfare and conquest. Driven by memories of a Gallic menace, Rome's legions advanced the frontiers of Classical civilizations far north and east of the Mediterranean core by the first century A.D. Yet the Roman conquerors and native peoples intermarried, and exchanged ideas, mores, and objects. The ensuing provincial Roman cultures became the basis of Western European civilization.

The first third of this course deals with the Roman mastery of the Celtic peoples, first in northern Italy, and then in Gaul and Central Europe. Simultaneously, the Roman Republic conquered Spain. Roman exploitation of resources in the peninsula transformed Iberian society into the first successful provincial society. But wars against new barbarian foes in North Africa, Gaul, and Asia Minor proved a costly victory that undermined the Roman Republic.

The second third of the course deals with the barbarian peoples encountered by imperial Rome of the first and second centuries A.D. They comprised Germanic peoples of the forests, Iranian nomads of eastern Europe, and the Arsacid kings of Parthia. The emperor Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.) consolidated the Western provinces, forged a professional army, and established frontiers along the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. He thus set the precepts of Roman frontier defense and diplomacy for the next two centuries.

The final third deals with commerce and cultural exchange between imperial Rome and the frontier peoples. The cultural exchange created a unique Roman frontier society as well as transformed the societies of the peoples beyond the imperial frontiers. Hence, the Germans, depicted as dreaded foes in Classical sources, are revealed by archaeology as settlers, merchants, and soldiers. The northern frontiers became a great mixing bowl of peoples and cultures. The ensuing martial society that emerged by 300 A.D. on both sides of the imperial frontier engendered both the defenders and foes of the late Roman world. The course concludes with the frontier wars and migrations of the third through sixth centuries that transformed the Classical into the Medieval world.

Lecture One

Greek and Roman Views of Barbarians

Scope: The clash with barbarians beyond the frontiers who threatened civilization was seen by the Romans as a major theme in their history. The Romans redefined Hellenic prejudices and idealized admiration of barbarians, whom Greeks regarded as “foreigners” who did not enjoy the rule of a law in a city-state (*polis*). In battling the Celtic-speaking Gauls who had settled in northern Italy, the Romans created the stereotype of the savage, indomitable warrior of northern Europe. For the Romans, however, conquered barbarians could become provincials tied by bonds of patronage and hospitality to members of Rome’s great families. Provincials, in turn, could be assimilated, because Romans defined citizenship by political and legal rights rather than by descent. Hence, the foes of the republic were assimilated as provincials, and new barbarians, the Parthians in the east and the Germans in central and northern Europe, succeeded to the role of the Gauls. In short, the Greeks created the notion of barbarians, but Rome forged the means to master and assimilate them and, in so doing, created European civilization.

Outline

- I. The aim of this course is to examine the interaction of the Romans and their so-called *barbarian* opponents.
 - A. The word *barbarian* conjures up images of fur-clad, ax-wielding Nordic barbarians or the mounted Hun bowmen sweeping out of the Central Asian steppes.
 1. These images of barbarians are rooted in Greek and Roman sources and were transmitted to Christian peoples of medieval Europe.
 2. Hence, *barbarian* connoted uncouth, savage behavior and, after the conversion of Rome to Christianity, faith in demonic pagan gods.
 3. Since the Age of Discovery, such images of barbarians have been applied by Europeans to peoples they encountered in Asia, Africa, and the Americas and have contributed to cultural and racial stereotyping.
 4. Such images of barbarians were behind European overseas imperialism since the 16th century.
 5. In the Enlightenment, Rousseau stressed an idealized image of the barbarian, unspoiled by corrupt civilization—another notion of barbarians also found in Classical sources. In this case, barbarians become the moral foils to the supposedly superior civilized peoples.

- B. All these images are rooted in some fact, but the historical record is far more complex, and new evidence excavated by archaeologists, along with analysis and comparative studies by anthropologists, has corrected, supplemented, and confirmed the literary sources of antiquity about barbarians.
 1. In these lectures, we shall look at both Rome and the barbarians over the course of almost 1,000 years of Roman history.
 2. As we shall see, although the two groups clashed, they also intermarried and exchanged customs and material culture.
 3. Some historians, in fact, see Rome and the barbarians more as “bitter friends” than as enemies.
- C. Keep in mind, too, that the identity of the barbarians constantly changed as Rome conquered new lands. Those defined as *barbarians* were always the next group that was not yet under Roman control. The “old” barbarians became provincials and, ultimately, were Romanized.

II. What are the main themes of this course?

- A. In part, the course will address why the Romans were so successful in bringing barbarians to heel. The answer lies in Rome’s peculiar institutions, which enabled the Romans to conquer, rule, and assimilate their barbarian foes.
 1. We shall look at political and military institutions, as well as the social bonds of Roman civilization.
 2. At the same time, we should note that the Romans’ success in assimilating barbarian peoples often depended on existing conditions in a region before the Romans moved in. Celtic peoples, for example, had achieved a great deal of success in various aspects of their society, which the Romans built on.
 3. The Romans’ success in assimilating others was aided by their ability to adapt existing institutions and arrangements to their own ends, as well as their unique viewpoint in regard to these “outsiders.”
- B. The second theme of this course will examine the barbarian societies at the time of Roman contact.
 1. This theme may be more difficult to trace, because the barbarians, with some exceptions, did not leave the same kind of written records as the Romans did.
 2. We shall see, however, how these barbarian cultures contributed to the establishment of Roman provinces.
- C. The last theme deals with the role of the barbarians in bringing down the Roman Empire.
 1. This theme ties in with the popular images of barbarians mentioned earlier.

2. We shall explore the factors that gave these peoples, particularly the Germanic tribes and the Sassanid Persians, the military and political edge to bring about the fall of Rome.
- III. The term *barbarian* was coined by the Greeks to designate “foreigners” who were unable to speak the Hellenic tongue.
- A. The Hellenes (“Greeks”) were distinguished from barbarians, because they lived under the rule of law in a *polis* (“city-state”; pl. *poleis*).
 1. This definition included a political dimension. Hellenes defined themselves in terms of their common altars, common ancestors, and common language, as well as their common political structure.
 2. Because barbarians did not live by the rule of law, they could be divided into only two categories: slaves or tyrants.
 - B. In the Greek definition, the term *barbarian* is accurately translated as “foreigner”; it does not carry the cultural and moral implications found in the later Roman age.
 1. By the Greek definition, barbarians included all non-Greek races, peoples as diverse as the Thracians, Scythians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Persians, some of whom were even admired.
 2. The Phoenicians were viewed ambivalently as rivals and teachers; the Egyptians were admired as members of the oldest civilization.
 3. The Persians were seen as the noble masters of the Near East; Herodotus (ca. 490–425 B.C.) admired the Persians for their moral virtues and devotion to their king.
 4. Xenophon (427–354 B.C.) praised the Persian prince Cyrus the Younger (408–401 B.C.) as a model gentleman and a chivalrous prince worthy of emulation by all Greeks.
 - C. The Hellenic notion of barbarian changed in the course of Greek history.
 1. The conquest of Alexander the Great brought the Persian Empire under the domination of Macedonian kings, which extended the concept of what it meant to be Greek.
 2. Even before Alexander’s day, Athenian intellectuals, the *panhellenists*, had already added the political dimension to the definition of *Hellenic*.
 3. Indeed, the Athenian orator Isocrates (437–336 B.C.) asserted that barbarians could become Greeks if they lived in a *polis*.
 - D. In the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., when the Greeks first experienced contact with the Romans in Italy, the Romans fell under the Greek definition of barbarians as foreigners who did not live under the rule of law.
 - E. The Romans inherited the term *barbarian* and the Greek definitions of it, but they also added their own connotations to it.

1. The Roman use of the term was more along the lines of what we think of as a barbarian today.
 2. An erroneous Roman etymology claimed that the word *barbarian* came from the Latin *barba*, meaning “beard.” The term came to designate “uncivilized outsiders.”
 3. Even for the Romans, however, the condition of barbarians was a result of their laws and culture, not their race. Once subdued, barbarians could become civilized.
- F. These two views of barbarians, the Greek and the Roman, can be traced to the critical periods of formation of these two civilizations.
1. The Greeks evolved their definition, centered on the *polis* and the rule of law, in a period of relative security. In some ways, this definition restricted the Greeks’ ability to bring outsiders into their communities.
 2. In contrast, when the Roman Republic was declared, Rome was in the middle of the invasion routes of central Italy. The Romans quickly learned that unless they forged alliances with the people around them, they would be conquered.
 3. The Romans, thus, devised the political and military institutions to conquer and assimilate their neighbors that allowed them to master Italy, first, and then, the Mediterranean world.

Readings:

Harrison, Thomas, ed. *Greeks and Barbarians*.

Sherwin-White, A. N. *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd ed.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were Roman notions and prejudices about barbarians? How did the Romans define barbarians, and why were barbarians able to be assimilated into the Roman order?
2. Why were Romans regarded as barbarians by Greeks? How did Greeks come to terms with Romans as members of a wider Hellenistic world? How did the Romans contribute to this process?
3. How have stereotypical images of barbarians influenced prejudices and attitudes in the Classical world? What was their impact on the medieval and modern worlds? What accounts for the persistence of such images? Why have notions of a noble savage likewise persisted in literature and popular perceptions in Western civilization?

Lecture Two

The Roman Republic

Scope: Rome's political and legal institutions proved decisive in ruling and assimilating defeated barbarian foes, even if the Romans never articulated any policy of Romanization. Between 509 and 264 B.C., Rome united Italy into a confederation. Rome demanded military service from the "togated peoples," but she did not interfere in local affairs. Furthermore, loyal allies could be promoted to favored Latin status or even be granted Roman citizenship; in other words, citizenship was based on political and legal rights rather than descent. In 264 B.C., Rome in her constitution resembled a Greek city-state, possessing annually elected magistrates, assemblies, and the Senate. Rome, however, was an aristocratic republic dominated by 30 great families (*gentes*) that monopolized high office and the Senate. Yet the political elite (*nobiles*) and the majority of citizens shared a devotion to the republic and achieved a rule of law praised by the Greek historian Polybius as the model of a "mixed constitution." The Roman political elite adapted the political offices of their republic to govern provinces of a great overseas empire after the First Punic War.

Outline

- I. This lecture covers the constitutional and political institutions of Rome in the period called the *Middle Republic*, the years 264 B.C. to 190 B.C.
 - A. Our main source for this period is a Greek author, Polybius.
 - B. This period saw the Romans expand the limits of Mediterranean civilization beyond peninsular Italy into the barbarian lands.
 - C. This lecture focuses on how the political institutions operated in the republic and looks at why these institutions were so important in overcoming and assimilating barbarian foes.
 - D. In understanding Roman legal and political institutions, we must keep in mind that the Romans never carried political reform to its logical conclusion and never abolished any political or social practice that was obsolete.
- II. What was Roman citizenship like?
 - A. As mentioned in the first lecture, the Romans defined their citizenship as a group of political and legal rights. Citizenship was not based on descent, nor was it necessarily based on culture.
 - B. The Romans were mainly concerned with bringing people into the Roman body politic, because they needed military power. These military needs saw expression in the term *ex formula togatorum*, which

was a legal classification of the peoples of Italy requiring "military service of the togated peoples."

- C. In 264 B.C., Rome went to war with Carthage, her first major war outside of Italy and the event that transformed Rome into a Mediterranean power.
 1. At the time, Rome was in possession of about 65 percent of peninsular Italy.
 2. The population there was divided into four major legal categories: Roman citizens, citizens without the franchise (*cives sine suffragio*), Latins, and Italian allies (*socius*, pl. *socii*).
 3. Roman citizens had full rights, including the right to vote in assemblies, hold offices of state, and serve in the Senate.
 4. The citizens without the franchise had been incorporated into the Roman body politic but generally lived in more distant regions, such as the cities of Campania. They enjoyed the protection of Roman law and were eventually incorporated as full citizens.
 5. The Latins were members of the 30 Latin communities or colonies (*colonia*), self-governing military settlements. They enjoyed a "half-citizen" status, although they could return to Rome and resume full citizenship as long as their military obligations were met. The Latin colonies each had a separate treaty with Rome but not among themselves.
 6. The last category, comprised of the *socii*, included various members of Italian or Greek communities, tribes, or cities. These allies owed military service to Rome but retained their own institutions.
- D. Thus, in 264 B.C., when the Romans embarked on their first overseas war, the majority of those serving in their armies were not Roman citizens.
- III. From the founding of the republic in 509 B.C., Roman citizens were classified into two orders: patricians and plebians.
 - A. The patricians represented an elite class (*nobiles*), whose ancestors had held high offices of state and the priesthood. They alone had the right to hold high office, including the consulship. The plebians did not have the right to hold these offices, but they were not all poor.
 - B. Between 367 and 287 B.C., the plebian order (*ordo*) had mobilized to force concessions that opened offices to all citizens, ended debt slavery, distributed land taken from defeated foes, and recognized the plebian assembly (*concilium plebis*).
 - C. A new magisterial class of nobles (*nobiles*)—patricians or plebians—was created in Rome. By 264 B.C., then, most of the Roman aristocracy was not the original patrician elite.

- D. Further, the plebians had gained a number of important rights. They had the protection of special groups of officials known as *tribunes*, which could appeal arbitrary decisions of magistrates on behalf of plebians.
 - E. By 264, the Roman constitution functioned, in the words of the Victorian constitutional historian Walter Bageot, "because of the reasonableness of men."
- IV. Three components of the Roman constitution operated in this arrangement of patricians and plebians.
- A. Romans voted in assemblies based on property, age, or residence, rather than as individuals.
 - B. For our purposes, the two key assemblies were the Centuriate Assembly and the Tribal Assembly.
 - 1. The Centuriate Assembly was based on units in the Roman army and was heavily weighted toward age and property. Its members were the landowners, and it elected high officials of state.
 - 2. The Tribal Assembly was based on residence; citizens were registered in one of 35 tribes, or large districts. This assembly voted on legislation.
 - C. Neither of these assemblies had independent initiative; their roles, ultimately, were passive. The Tribal Assembly was the closest the Romans ever came to democracy.
 - D. In addition to these assemblies were various levels of elected magistrates, including *consuls* and *praetors*, who were restricted in significant ways.
 - 1. All public officials were paired with colleagues, the offices were elected annually, and in the event of a dispute, the negative vote won. These measures were taken to prevent any one official from gaining too much power.
 - 2. Other limitations also applied to these offices, including age and class restrictions. In particular, only the members of the *nobiles* were thought to be suited for political or military command, by virtue of their birth, training, and tradition.
 - 3. This arrangement had a number of benefits for the members of the 30 great clans (*gens*, pl. *gentes*) of the patrician-plebian noble class. All members of this class had the opportunity to hold office, to acquire booty, and to gain *auctoritas* ("influence").
 - 4. This arrangement also presented some peculiar problems, particularly in the military. For example, in several situations, two consuls commanded the same army together. One solution to any conflicts was for the two to lead on alternate days. This "safeguard" led to a number of military disasters, notably the defeat at the Battle of Cannae in 216 B.C.

- 5. Such weaknesses in the Roman political and military structure became evident as the Romans expanded overseas, but the Romans were always able to adapt their institutions to suit changing conditions. For example, they created a new class of *pro-consuls*, *pro-praetors*, and so on to conduct overseas wars.
- E. The key institution that came to run the republic was the Senate, which was made up of former magistrates.
 - 1. The Senate was the advisory body of the republic, acting through its *auctoritas*. Magistrates were reluctant to initiate radical legislation in the assemblies, because they ultimately wanted to sit in the Senate themselves.
 - 2. The Senate dominated the Roman state during the period of expansion overseas, because it was the only permanent standing institution in Rome, and it had the collective experience of all the former magistrates.
 - F. These three public institutions endured for almost 250 years and won Rome her empire.
 - 1. It is often thought that a great deal of the success of the Romans rested on this hierarchical organization.
 - 2. The Romans' success can also be traced to the political consensus that existed in the Middle Republic and the bonds of society that tied the classes together, which we shall discuss in the next lecture.

Readings:

Mitchell, Richard E. *Patricians and Plebians: The Origin of the Roman State*.
 Nicolet, Claude. *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*. Translated by P. S. Fall.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How did legal and political institutions of the Roman Republic contribute to the success of Roman expansion? How did Roman attitudes to citizenship influence how they would view barbarians?
- 2. What were the unique features of Roman citizenship? What were the prime political institutions of the Roman Republic in 264 B.C.?

Lecture Three

Roman Society

Scope: In 264 B.C., political loyalty to the republic (*res publica*) was rooted in the values of early Roman society that connected lesser citizens as clients to patrons of the great families. Bonds between patrons and clients were reciprocal and hereditary, determining voting, military service, and litigation. The political success of the republic rested on the stability of a hierarchical social order. Since 367 B.C., patricians, who had originally constituted the only order (*ordo*) allowed high office, shared political power and patronage with plebians of prominent families to form an expanded aristocracy by 264 B.C. This political elite, or *nobiles*, dictated the course of Roman expansion and the destiny of Roman civilization for the next three centuries. These nobles applied their notions of patron and client in dealing with defeated foes, which assisted in assimilating barbarians into the ranks of provincial clients and ensuring the success of a republic governing a vast empire.

Outline

- I. The bonds of society cemented the Roman citizen orders and the Italian allied peoples into the larger Roman Republic. Particularly important were the bonds of patrons (*patronus*, pl. *patroni*) and clients (*cliens*, pl. *clientes*).
 - A. The bonds of patron and client were inherited and reciprocal. The patrons at the top of the hierarchy had certain obligations to those at the bottom.
 - B. Rituals and traditions sanctified the patron-client relationship, including the morning *salutatio* ("salutation").
 - C. The ties of patronage had both political and military implications. Clients were expected to vote in the direction of their patrons and to turn out for the draft when called.
 - D. In return, patrons gave a great deal of protection and advantage to their clients, including legal protection.
 - E. These obligations were powerfully felt and were sanctified by *mos maiorum* ("the custom of the ancestors"). The Romans were innately conservative and looked to past precedent to justify present-day actions. This conservatism explains their reluctance to abolish outmoded political institutions.
 - F. Patrons could accept not only individuals and families but also other types of groups, such as the *collegia*, which were organizations similar to guilds.

- G. The depths of these patronage ties are revealed by public and private inscriptions erected by dutiful and grateful clients to their patrons.
- II. As mentioned earlier, these social bonds explain much of the political conservatism in Roman assemblies.
 - A. Again, the Roman assemblies did not have the same initiative as, for example, the Athenian assemblies.
 - B. Further, the electorate was conservative because the voters were tied to patrons, who were members of the political elite.
 1. In rare cases, someone from outside the order of *nobiles* might be elected to the Senate. Such an officer was called *novus homo* ("new man").
 2. From 367 B.C. to 46 B.C., Rome had 640 consulships, but only 21 of these offices were held by new men, and this number represents only 11 individuals.
 - C. The social bonds of Rome all but ensured that the voters would not elect anyone who did not have the traditions of the *nobiles* behind him to hold high office.
 - D. These ties also explain the relationship among the Roman senatorial elite themselves. The study of patronage connections among aristocrats is termed *prosopography* (the "study of faces") by modern scholars.
 - E. When these bonds of client and patron, as well as *amicitia* ("friendship" ties), began to dissolve at the end of the 2nd century B.C. as a result of social and economic change, the republic itself began to break down.
 - III. The powerful social bonds of Roman society were also seen in the institution of slavery, which must be understood as an extension of the family.
 - A. We must make a distinction between state slaves and slaves who were attached to individuals. Most slaves had come to that condition as captives in war; race was not a factor.
 - B. In the households of the great families, slaves were often liberated. On manumission, a freedman (*libertus*, pl. *liberti*) became, in effect, a "super-client" of his former master. Slavery served as an avenue to assimilate large numbers of foreign captives into the Roman body politic.
 1. Between 200 B.C. and 50 B.C., at least 1 million captives were sold on the slave markets of Italy.
 2. In 225 B.C., perhaps 500,000 out of 4.5 million residents in Italy were slaves, or about 10 percent of the population.
 3. By 50 B.C., slaves numbered at least 2 million out of 6.5 million residents, or about 30 percent of the population. Of the whole population, many had servile origins, because their ancestors had been captured and enslaved in Spain, Gaul, or the Greek world.

4. We should also note that when they were given their freedom, former slaves acquired Roman citizenship and the right to vote.
- C. The arrangements of slavery in the Roman Republic presented some dangers. In the later republic, the great wars of conquest overseas, in Spain, Gaul, North Africa, and elsewhere, flooded the Italian market with slaves and brought about changes to the social organization.
1. A powerful propertied order emerged between the political elite and the plebians. In 129 B.C., this group was recognized as the *ordo equester* ("equestrian order").
 2. This group should not be confused with the middle class; they are best described as "the gentlemen outside the Senate."
 3. The equestrians amassed fortunes, clients, and slaves in government contracting, tax farming, banking, and law.
- D. The Late Republic saw other dramatic changes in economic and social arrangements.
1. By 150 B.C., the profits of conquest were so great that the political elite could begin to separate themselves physically, socially, and culturally from their fellow Roman citizens.
 2. Cato the Elder had warned against this situation, urging senators to retain their connections with their Roman clients. This warning was ignored in the generation after Cato.
- IV. How did these social ties relate to the barbarians?
- A. The Romans were extremely interested in understanding the foreign peoples that they conquered and administered.
 - B. The bonds of client and patron were easily extended to the defeated, both those who were enslaved and those who remained in their homelands.
 - C. The Romans first began to extend this system into the region of Cisalpine Gaul, that is, northern Italy, where Celtic tribes had settled.
 1. The Celtic warrior elites quickly found that, upon surrendering, they could become the representatives of their tribes to the Roman patrons. In turn, the patrons offered legal protection to these new provincials.
 2. As early as 171 B.C., conquered Spanish tribes learned to appeal to individual senators to represent judicial complaints before the Roman Senate.
 - D. This patron-client system, which tied Italian society together, assisted in the assimilation of conquered peoples and enabled Romans to extend their control over the Mediterranean world and push the frontiers of that world deep into central and northern Europe.
 - E. Of course, this system also gave rise to some peculiar situations. For example, some of the great rebel leaders, such as Arminius, a German

prince, had served as representatives of their tribes and gained Roman citizenship.

1. The brother of Arminius, Flavus, pointed out that the prince had betrayed his patron, the emperor Tiberius, while Flavus had remained loyal to Rome.
 2. Indeed, most of the members of Arminius's family remained pro-Roman.
- F. Romans were willing to enfranchise the elite classes of provincials and, eventually, the provincials themselves. This attitude is captured vividly in a speech by Emperor Claudius in 48 A.D., reported by the historian Tacitus, when the emperor championed the admission of Gallic nobles into the Senate.
- G. Some historians have argued that all of Roman foreign policy can be understood in terms of the relationship of patron and client. Although the Romans were capable of more subtle diplomacy than this theory implies, it does contain a great deal of truth.

Readings:

Brunt, P. A. *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*.

MacMullen, Ramsay. *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the bonds of patron and client account for the success of the Roman Republic? Why were such ties so powerful in early Italian society?
2. How did the stability of the Roman social order contribute to political institutions? How were elections and the administration of law premised on this social order? How was the social order reflected in the politics among the ruling classes?
3. How did the Roman social order affect attitudes to barbarians and provincials? By what means could these outsiders be assimilated into the Roman order?

Lecture Four

The Roman Way of War

Scope: Romans excelled in war, and the citizen legions of the republic gained a reputation for discipline, courage, and skill still envied by professional armies. Roman consuls levied citizens and Italian allies from a draft that mobilized trained soldiers on a scale not again attained until the 18th century. Legionaries were drilled by centurions to fight in open-order tactics using the sword, the famed *gladius*. Hence, Roman armies, even in defeat, inflicted high casualties on opponents. In the 4th through 3rd centuries B.C., the Romans perfected tactics to defeat fierce barbarian opponents, first in northern Italy, then in Spain, the Balkans, and northwestern Europe. The Romans mastered siege warfare and logistics, and they linked Italy by a network of military highways and colonies. These bastions broke the power of rebels or invaders and served as bases for the conquest of the Gauls of northern Italy. Above all, Roman commanders and soldiers were determined to conquer to win glory and booty. This tenacity won the republic a Mediterranean empire. As many barbarian opponents learned, the Romans were, in the opinion of Polybius, to be feared most when they were most pressed.

Outline

- I. The Romans perfected the weapons and tactics of their citizen legions in the course of waging campaigns against the tough hill peoples of Italy, such as the Samnites, and the dreaded Celtic tribes of northern Italy (Cisalpine Gaul). Most of our information about the Roman army covers the period from 150 B.C. to 200 A.D.
 - A. The Roman army was commanded by magistrates, who were elected with *imperium* (the “right to command citizens”). These magistrates had the right, even in the imperial age, to levy a draft (*dilectus*) on all citizens.
 - B. In 264 B.C., Romans of property (*assidui*), that is, those who could equip themselves as heavy infantry troops, were compelled to respond to the draft.
 1. Those who did not have the full arms could also be summoned as members of the light infantry or missile soldiers.
 2. The members of the senatorial and political elite served as officers, as generals, and in the cavalry.
 3. Citizenship depended on military service. Men were expected to provide their own weapons, and a man’s position in the army reflected his property and his worth to the state.

- C. Further, all citizens were expected to train themselves for military service. Even propertied men were accustomed to hard manual labor and would have served ably. These factors, along with the social bonds of the patron-client relationship, contributed to the effectiveness of the Roman draft.
- II. Between 264 and 200 B.C., the Roman army was in a state of evolution in its weapons and tactics.
 - A. Two descriptions of the Roman army come to us from literary sources, one penned by Livy, looking at the army in about the 3rd century B.C., and the other by Polybius, writing in about 150 B.C.
 - B. From these sources, we know that by about 150 B.C., the Roman armies were shifting their tactics to shock action relying on a sword.
 1. The tactical units were also undergoing change. In 264 B.C., soldiers fought in smaller units, known as *maniples*. These units arranged themselves in three ranks, the *principes*, *hastati*, and *triarii*.
 2. The front two ranks probably had a version of the *pilum* (pl. *pila*), a spear thrown to disable or kill an opponent.
 3. A classic Roman attack in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. used an open-order formation, not a column. It would open with a volley of *pila*, followed by close shock action with the sword (*gladius*).
 - C. Using these tactics, Roman legionaries combined the mobility and ease of maneuver of cavalry with the staying power of infantry, and they inflicted heavy casualties. Romans fought in close and were trained to go for the kill, demoralizing their opponents.
 - D. The Roman body armor was perfectly designed for this type of fighting. A soldier was protected by a large, semi-cylindrical shield (*scutum*), which enabled him to fight individually with full protection.
 - E. The power and effectiveness of the Roman army depended on the individual skill of each soldier and his ability to operate in teams with his fellow *centuries*. Each Roman soldier was interchangeable with any other soldier, and the reserves were just as skilled as the men who were first called to the colors.
 - F. The Romans’ effectiveness gives rise to such terms as *Pyrrhic victory*. Twice the Romans were defeated by the mercenary King Pyrrhus in 280 and 279 B.C., but they also inflicted heavy casualties on Pyrrhus’s army.
 - G. In terms of fighting ability, the Roman army was superb, and the Romans continually incorporated innovations into their equipment and tactics. Further, in their skill and sense of devotion to their units, Rome’s “citizen soldiers” were as professional as any army could be.

- III. The Romans had other advantages over their opponents, including their vaunted engineering skills and their devotion to glory.
- A. Whenever they were moving in enemy territory, the Romans laid out perfectly regular camps according to a grid system. These sites would then become permanent camps in the territory, and the grid would ultimately become a system of streets that can still be seen in some of the cities of Western Europe.
 - B. The most impressive example of the Romans' engineering ability comes from Julius Caesar's siege of Alesia in 52 B.C., which included two concentric lines of fortifications, 12 and 14 miles in diameter.
 - C. Above all, Romans valued bravery and glory. The commanders were expected to exhibit *virtus* ("bravery") and aspired to gain a *triumph*, which meant that they had killed 5,000 barbarian foes.
 - D. Commanders were expected to lead from the front, that is, to serve as examples to their men.
 - 1. Nothing is more vivid in this regard than the orations of Julius Caesar exhorting his men to battle or Caesar's own cool reserve in the Battle of the Sambre in 57 B.C.
 - 2. *Centurions*, the non-commissioned officers, and the *tribunes*, the junior officers, were also expected to inspire courage and initiative.
 - E. The Romans had to master the logistics involved in feeding, equipping, and transporting their armies.
 - 1. In 225 B.C., Rome could mobilize well over 1 million Romans, Latins, and Italian allies. At the height of the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.), more than 280,000 men were under arms.
 - 2. Between 264 B.C. and 31 B.C., one-half to two-thirds of all Romans and Italian allies served in legions.
 - 3. After 200 B.C., 150,000 men served overseas annually, but major wars in the east, in Spain, and against northern barbarians required expeditionary forces, often supported by fleets.
 - 4. It is a testament to the Romans' logistical abilities that they could sustain these large armies overseas. On average, 17 percent of the adult male population was under arms; early-modern armies, such as that of Louis XIV, could mobilize only about 5 percent of the population.
 - F. We might also compare Roman military power to that of its opponents.
 - 1. A consular army could number 20,000–40,000 men, one-third to one-half of whom were Romans. Such manpower was the average for ancient armies.
 - 2. The Romans, however, had the ability to mobilize more men as needed. King Philip V of Macedon (r. 223–179 B.C.), for example, could call on an absolute maximum of 150,000 men; the Romans had 1 million.

- 3. In the first three years of the Punic Wars, the Roman army lost 100,000 men, 10 percent of its manpower. In response, Rome raised more legions.
- 4. In time, this strategy would take a terrible toll on the citizen population and contribute to the breakdown of the republic.
- G. Livy captures the spirit of pride and patriotism of the Roman soldier in his account of a speech given by the centurion Spurius Ligustinus in 171 B.C.

Readings:

Goldsworthy, A. K. *The Roman Army at War 100 B.C.–A.D. 200*.

Keppie, L. J. F. *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the consistent advantages enjoyed by the Romans in the way they waged war during the republic? How important were weapons and tactics, generalship, and logistics and engineering to Roman success?
2. How important were morale, social bonds, and patriotism in motivating officers and men? How important were booty and land? What accounted for the success of Roman mobilization of citizens and allies?

Lecture Five

Celtic Europe and the Mediterranean World

Scope: In the 6th century B.C., Celtic-speaking peoples dwelling in northern and eastern Gaul and the lands of the Upper Danube attained a sophisticated level of culture, known as *La Tène*. With improved iron technology came prosperity and the growth of fortified towns, trade, and monetized markets. From their heartland, Celts migrated to settle in Britain, northern and central Spain, northern Italy, and the Balkans. In 390 B.C., a Gallic host sacked Rome. In 281–277 B.C., Celtic tribes, dubbed *Galatians*, ravaged Macedon and northern Greece, then crossed into Asia Minor. To the peoples of the Mediterranean world, who had long traded with Celts, these invaders epitomized the barbarian. Classical literature and visual arts depicted Gauls as pale-faced, savage warriors, who were worthy opponents to defeat or mercenaries to hire. Yet the achievements of Celtic civilization laid the foundations for the success of Roman rule in northern Europe; the history of Romans and Celts was far more than a record of wars, because by commerce, settlement, and military service, the two peoples ultimately created new provincial Roman societies in northern Europe.

Outline

- I. This lecture introduces the Celts of western and central Europe, who in many ways, represented the epitome of barbarians to both Greeks and Romans.
 - A. The preferred term for these peoples is *Celts* or, in Greek, *Keltoi*.
 1. The term has acquired a linguistic meaning, denoting a large group of related languages, spoken from Spain to France, central Europe, the British Isles, and northern Italy.
 2. The language was even brought by a group of Celtic invaders into central Turkey; the Celtic people who settled there were known as *Galatians*.
 - B. The Romans called the Celts *Gauls*, although *Gaul* has come to mean the extended region of France that encompassed parts of the Rhineland and the Low Countries. Hence, for clarity, we refer to these peoples as Celts.
 - C. In modern parlance, Celts denotes Irish, Scots, Welsh, and Bretons, but the core of Celtic civilization was really in southern Germany and eastern France; it later spread to these “fringe” regions.

- II. Who were the Celts? They are known to us from both Greek and Roman literary sources as early as the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.
 - A. We have reports of Greek merchants having contact with the Celts in the Greek colony of Massilia (modern-day Marseilles). The sources recognize the Celts as a group of related barbarian peoples.
 - B. We also have significant archaeological evidence about the Celts from southern Germany and France. This evidence reveals a much more complicated material culture than the literary sources relate.
 - C. Archaeologists recognize two phases in the material culture. The first is known as the *Hallstatt* period (c. 800–450 B.C.), which takes its name from a major salt-mining region in Austria. The second phase is called *La Tène* (c. 450–50 B.C.).
 1. The Hallstatt period saw a dramatic shift in the material culture of central Europe and eastern France: Iron technology was adopted, more land was put under cultivation, and certain settlements were fortified.
 2. These settlements were clearly not based on subsistence but included regional trade. In time, that trade began to extend to the Mediterranean shores.
 3. Between 600–450 B.C., trade with the Greek and Etruscan cities of Marseilles, Tuscany, and Milan, along with other regions, was important in stimulating development of these fortified Celtic towns. By 450 B.C., these settlements were called *oppida* (Latin, sing. *oppidum*).
 4. Archaeological finds around these *oppida* also include impressive burial mounds, which reveal the products imported from the Mediterranean world. These products include ceramics, wine, jewelry, textiles, and carved ivories.
 5. In return, the Celts made advancements in their own products for export, which included salt, iron technology, timber, hides, woolsens, and slaves.
 - D. This trade resulted in the transition from the Hallstatt period into *La Tène* culture and a shift in the gravity of Celtic economic and political power from southern Germany to eastern France, the Rhineland, and the Alpine regions.
 - E. By 300 B.C., the Celts had developed a sophisticated culture.
 1. Their economic systems and political structures served as the basis for Roman provincial success several centuries later.
 2. At the time, the Celts had adapted Greek and Etruscan alphabets into a writing system. In addition, the priestly caste, the *Druids*, had already evolved, later to be described by Julius Caesar.
 3. The Celts were successful traders and merchants and were skilled in constructing wheeled vehicles. Most of the loan words in Latin for *cart*, *harness*, and so on come from Celtic.

- F. Emphasis on the Celts' material and cultural achievements should not downplay their abilities as warriors. They were formidable opponents, which gave them an advantage when they migrated throughout Europe.
1. In Spain, for example, the Celts were known to the Romans as Celtiberians. They were distinct from the Spaniards in their methods of fighting.
 2. Both Celtic infantry and cavalry were regarded as exceptional. The Celts are reported to have gone into battle half-dressed, painted blue, and wielding large slashing swords.

III. We turn to the two points of contact that the Celts, or Gauls, had with the Romans and Greeks, which influenced developments in Rome and the wider Greek world.

- A. The Gauls crossed the Alps at the end of the 5th century B.C. and began to settle in northern Italy, especially in the upper reaches of the Po valley.
- B. A group of these Gauls, the Senones, drifted down the Po and positioned themselves where they could easily swoop into the Etruscan heartland and Rome.
1. In 390 B.C., one such war party came down the Tiber, attacked Etruscan cities, and met with a Roman army on a tributary of the Po, the river Allia, on July 18.
 2. At the time, the Roman army was only about 15,000 strong and was overwhelmed by the initial charge of the Gauls.
 3. The Gauls, under the leader called Brennus, proceeded to Rome and sacked the city, although they did not take the citadel.
 4. The Romans never forgot this humiliation; July 18 was observed, for centuries, as a "black day." Afterwards, the Romans fortified the city with the Servian walls.
 5. In the course of the 4th and 3rd centuries, the Romans perfected their tactics of the legions to cope with Gallic charges. They shifted to the use of different types of javelins and missiles, culminating in the *pilum*, to counter the Gauls.
- C. Ultimately, Rome benefited from these Gallic raids, because they weakened the older, wealthier Etruscan cities and Umbria, which enabled Rome to bring these regions under control in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.
- D. The Celtic migrations also followed traditional trade routes farther east, to the Balkans and, ultimately, to Greece and Asia Minor.
1. These tribes were not interested in settling in the mountain zones of the Balkans; they were looking for areas where they could farm and herd animals. They followed the Save and Drave Rivers to the routes leading south into the northern regions of the Aegean world.

2. In 281 B.C., a group of Gallic tribes appeared on the borders of Macedon (Macedonia). King Ptolemy Ceraurus and his army was annihilated by the Gauls. The Gauls then raided Macedon and crossed into northern Greece.
3. These Gauls got as far as central Greece and even came close to raiding Delphi. The Greeks were terrified of these barbarians.
4. The Gauls withdrew into the Balkans, then received an invitation from Prusias, king of Bithynia in northwest Turkey, to serve as mercenaries in Asia Minor. Perhaps as many as 10,000 Galatian warriors, with their families, responded to this invitation and terrorized Asia Minor for the next generation.
5. Eventually, these Galatians were brought under control by the Seleucid kings. In particular, King Antiochus I defeated the Galatians at the Battle of Elephants in 269 B.C. The tribes were pushed onto the Anatolian plateau and settled there.
6. The Galatians then adopted the Hellenistic lifestyle and, eventually, hired themselves out as mercenaries to the Greek armies. This development helped make Gordion, their capital in Anatolia, an important commercial center.
7. The Galatians' role in the region did not stop the Greeks from portraying them as noble, ferocious warriors. Hellenic sculpture groups and relief panels, particularly the *Galliomachy*, show the triumph of civilization over the Gauls but encapsulate the Greek and Roman view of these Celtic peoples as barbarian warriors.

Readings:

Dyson, Stephen. *Creation of the Roman Frontier*.

Schutz. Herbert. *The Prehistory of Germanic Europe*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did technological change, along with improvements in agriculture and trade, contribute to the emergence of a Celtic civilization based on towns by the La Tène period? Where did Celt tribes seek new homelands?
2. What was the early Roman reaction to the Gallic invasions of Italy? How did the defeat in 390 B.C. shape later Roman attitudes and institutions? How did Greeks view the Galatian migrations of the 3rd century B.C.? How stereotyped and misleading were Roman and Greek opinions about the Celts?

Lecture Six

The Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul

Scope: In 264 B.C., Romans defined Italy's northern boundary as the rivers Arno and Rubicon, because beyond them lay Cisalpine Gaul ("Gaul on the nearer side of the Alps"). Following ancient trade routes, Celtic tribes of La Tène crossed the Alps and settled in the rich valleys of the Po's northern tributaries between the 5th and 3rd centuries B.C. The Celtic newcomers occupied Etruscanized cities, such as Comum (Como) and Mediolanum (Milan). Other Celts crossed the lower Po and penetrated to the upper reaches of the Tiber. In 390 B.C., Celtic raiders, dubbed a *tumultus* in Latin, defeated the Roman army on the Allia and sacked Rome. For the next century, Rome battled to avenge the humiliation, ending in the expulsion of Celtic tribes of the lower Po. From 223 B.C., consular armies crossed the Po and imposed Roman authority over the Gallic tribes. But the Celts, who found an ally in Hannibal, rose in rebellion during the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). For two decades thereafter, Rome methodically pacified Cisalpine Gaul. Between 170 and 90 B.C., Romans and Italians thickly settled the lands south of the Po. To the north, Celtic tribes were integrated into Roman society by ties of patronage, commerce, and military service. Cisalpine Gaul was transformed into Transpadane Italy; the urban communities received the Latin status in 89 B.C., and the entire province was merged with greater Italy in 42 B.C.

Outline

- I. This lecture continues our exploration of Celtic Europe to explain the role of the Gauls in northern Italy and the influence they had on the development of early Rome.
 - A. In 264 B.C., the Romans were pulled in two directions: north into central and western Europe or east into the Mediterranean world.
 - B. The Romans had close dealings with the Gauls for 200 years before they brought these peoples under control and turned the region north of the Arno and Rubicon Rivers—Cisalpine Gaul—into northern Italy.
 - C. We shall look at the diversity of people in Cisalpine Gaul, examine how the Romans moved into this area and conquered the Gauls, and explore the process of Romanization in the region.
 1. Eventually, the residents of this area received the full Roman franchise, and northern Italy was merged into the rest of Italy in 42 B.C.

2. This Romanization was not a conscious policy but more of a byproduct of the Roman conquest, in which the barbarians acquired the material culture and language of Rome.
 3. At the same time, the Romans also learned a good deal from these Celtic peoples.
- II. In 264 B.C., diverse peoples dwelled north of the line of the rivers Arno and Rubicon, which the Romans did not consider a part of Italy.
 - A. Celtic tribes dominated the fertile lands of modern Lombardy in the upper Po valley area. Mediolanum (Milan) was a major Celtic settlement, and the Celts had also founded a number of *oppida* in the region.
 - B. Such tribes as the Insubres, Cenomani, Senones, and Boii had settled in the area. These Celts had also settled south of the Po in an area that later became the Roman district Aemilia.
 - C. These Celtic settlements had two distinct zones, one in the northern reaches of the Po and one in the southern reaches of the Po and the piedmont area of the Apennines.
 - D. Other settlements included an area to the far west, home of the Ligurians.
 1. These people spoke a language related to the Iberian dialects of Spain.
 2. The Ligurians were part of an ancient Mediterranean population, going back to the Bronze Age, that stretched from Italy through southern France and into Spain.
 3. These people were pastoralists, practicing a simple form of agriculture and herding.
 4. The Ligurians were also regarded as superb light infantry and posed a constant threat as raiders to Etruscan cities and Celtic tribes.
 - E. In northeastern Italy were the Venetians, an Italic people who opposed the Celts and saw Rome as an ally.
 - F. Therefore, when Italy was reorganized in the time of the emperor Augustus at the end of the 1st century B.C., these people represented four distinct zones in Italy, which were numbered VIII, IX, X, and XI.
 - G. The Celts played an important role in these regions.
 1. They had brought in their metallurgy and their town organization from central Europe.
 2. They also established important trade routes going into central Europe and Gaul. They were active in trading with Genua (Genoa) and with the Venetians.
 3. The Romans saw the Celts as a dynamic force in this region and their most serious opponents; they termed the area *Cisalpine Gaul*, although it included large numbers of non-Gallic peoples.

Transalpine Gaul was, essentially, "Gaul on the other side of the Alps," what is today France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland.

- III. By 264 B.C., the Romans had devoted about 150 years to unifying Italy and had gained experience in dealing with Celtic tactics.
- A. The Romans never forgot the sack of their city in 390 B.C. by a Celtic tribe, and indeed, the Senate declared a state of emergency (*tumultus*) whenever the Celts were on the move.
 - B. The whole first half of the 3rd century B.C. was an effort by the Romans to bring the Celtic invasion routes under control.
 - 1. The Romans finally smashed Gallic resistance, particularly that of the Senones and the Boii, in a series of significant battles in the 280s B.C.
 - 2. These battles allowed Rome to secure Etruria and Umbria, block the invasion routes, and begin to think of taking the offensive into the heartland of Cisalpine Gaul.
 - 3. These victories also gave the Romans the sense of security to take on Carthage in 264 B.C. in the First Punic War.
 - C. The First Punic War transformed Rome into a Mediterranean power and allowed the Romans to exploit, indirectly, the wider western Mediterranean.
 - 1. The Romans always imposed harsh terms on their defeated foes. Carthage, for example, was slapped with an enormous indemnity that had to be paid in silver.
 - 2. To pay this indemnity, Carthage had to conquer a colonial empire in Spain that, ironically, revived Carthaginian power and allowed Hannibal to reopen the struggle with Rome in 218 B.C.
 - 3. Hannibal recruited a large number of Celtiberians in Spain, marched them over the Pyrenees and the Alps, and attacked Italy from the north, nearly bringing Rome to her knees in the Second Punic War.
 - 4. This war, in part, was sustained by the large numbers of Cisalpine Gauls who were willing to join Hannibal's army as mercenaries. These Gauls attacked the Romans, forcing Rome to detach legions into Cisalpine Gaul.
 - 5. This war came at a critical point in Roman relations with the Celts, because the Romans had spent the past two decades moving into the region, had already established two important colonies in the Po valley, had brought the Venetians into alliance, and had imposed treaties on the Celtic tribes around Milan.
 - 6. The Romans had to keep two to four legions in Cisalpine Gaul during the whole of the Second Punic War. Even after Hannibal's army evacuated Italy in 201 B.C., the Romans repeatedly sent consular armies into northern Italy.

- 7. The Gauls sacked one of the Latin colonies, Placentia, around 200 B.C. In addition, the Romans suffered some embarrassing defeats at the hands of the Gauls, and the casualties were high on both sides.
- 8. It was not until 190 B.C. that the final Gallic resistance was broken, although the Ligurians continued to give the Romans difficulty for the next generation.

- IV. The Romans' policies in northern Italy differed after these regions were secured.
- A. Certain areas saw intensive Roman colonization. Large numbers of Italians, Latins, and Romans moved into the regions immediately south of the Po, that area called Aemilia.
 - 1. In 173 B.C., the Roman consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus distributed individual land grants (*virgim*) to Italian and Roman settlers of Aemilia. Other settlements (*fora*) were also established.
 - 2. Many Latin colonies were established or refounded at this time; the modern cities of Bologna and Parma trace their origins to these Roman municipal foundations.
 - 3. The region south of the Po was, essentially, incorporated into greater Italy.
 - B. North of the Po, where the Celtic tribes and Venetians dwelt, the pattern was different.
 - 1. Initially, merchants moved into this area but very few settlers. The Via Annia, originally a military highway, linked Aquileia (the area of Venice) with Genua (Genoa) and became an important trade route.
 - 2. Within a generation, the Celtic warrior elites in this region learned to operate under the patronage system with Rome. They also quickly acquired the Mediterranean culture and tastes, and their goods became essential to Rome.
 - 3. The northern zones of Italy were indispensable in feeding Rome, which grew enormously during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.
 - 4. This economic development had major social implications. Many of the descendants of Celtic warriors undertook Roman military service and gained citizenship. They acquired the Latin language and linked themselves by marriage and hospitality to the Latin colonies.
 - 5. By 100 B.C., this area, which had formerly been part of Celtic Europe, was quickly being integrated into the wider Roman world, but many of the older Celtic traditions were maintained.
 - C. In two or three generations from the conquest, a northern Italian provincial culture had emerged.
 - 1. In 106–105 B.C., barbarian Germanic peoples migrated into southern Gaul and attempted to cross into Italy. The peoples of

Cisalpine Gaul felt no identity with these new barbarians and demanded protection from Rome.

2. In 90 B.C., Italian allies staged a major revolt against the Romans in southern and central Italy, clamoring for Roman citizenship. Ultimately, the Romans gave into these demands and enfranchised the Italian allies as Roman citizens.
3. At the same time, consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo proposed to make all the Latin colonies officially Roman and all the people residing there Latins. The Romans, thus, potentially extended the franchise to the Cisalpine Gauls.
4. Further, Julius Caesar was successful, in part, because he made himself the patron of this area. He recruited many of the legions that would conquer Gaul from northern Italy, people who were, in their ancestry, Celtic.
5. In the 50s–60s B.C., Julius Caesar championed the cause of Roman citizenship for these peoples, and when he became dictator of Rome, he delivered. In 42 B.C., after Caesar's assassination, the people obtained citizenship, and Cisalpine Gaul was abolished as a province and merged into Italy.

Readings:

Chilver, G. E. F. *Cisalpine Gaul*.

Livy. *Rome and Italy*. Translated by B. Radice.

Questions to Consider:

1. How diverse were the peoples and culture of northern Italy in 300 B.C.? What was the impact of the Celtic tribes in shaping the civilization of northern Italy? What material achievements of La Tène civilization were exported to Italy?
2. How extensive was Roman settlement? In what ways did Romans and indigenous populations interact to create a new provincial society? How important were the building of roads and Latin colonies, promotion of trade, and military service in accelerating social change?

Lecture Seven

Romans and Carthaginians in Spain

Scope: In 300 B.C., the Spanish peninsula was home to diverse cultures. Greek colonies along the northeastern shores stretched from the Pyrenees to the lower Ebro River. Iberian towns along the Levantine littoral and in the Baetis (Guadalquivir) valley were linked by commerce with Carthage. On the great central plateau of Spain, the Meseta, dwelled martial Celtiberian tribes. In 237–219 B.C., generals of the Barcid family—Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal—built a colonial empire in Spain to pay off the indemnity owed Rome as the price of Carthage's defeat in the First Punic War. Spanish silver and Celtiberian mercenaries restored Carthage's military might, and she challenged Rome again in the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.).

From bases in Spain, Hannibal invaded Italy. Roman forces arrived under the brothers Publius and Lucius Cornelius Scipio to check Spanish reinforcements from reaching Hannibal in Italy. Each brother, betrayed by Celtiberian allies, was defeated and slain in 211 B.C. The Senate commissioned Scipio Africanus, son and namesake of the elder Publius, to restore the situation. Scipio Africanus not only broke Carthaginian power in Spain, but he built a network of alliances among Spanish tribes and towns that committed the republic to the conquest of the peninsula. Although the Romans entered the peninsula out of military necessity, they chose to remain out of a desire for glory and riches.

Outline

- I. This lecture deals with the Roman conquest of the Iberian peninsula, which would include the modern countries of Portugal and Spain today.
 - A. The Romans understood the Spanish peninsula geographically; that is, the region did not encompass a uniform culture. In fact, the Romans arriving in Spain in the 3rd century B.C. would have seen the kind of diversity that they had encountered in northern Italy.
 - B. In some ways, the Spanish peninsula overtaxed the Roman Republic, although the wars fought there were important to the social and economic transformation of Rome. These wars also contributed directly to the breakdown of the political consensus in Rome that led to the collapse of the republic.
- II. We begin with a picture of the Iberian peninsula just before the Romans arrived.

- A. The name *Iberia* was used because it was the name given to the earliest people dwelling on the peninsula.
- B. Iberian languages seem to be part of a wider language group that included those spoken in parts of Italy and southern Gaul, but the commonalities of language did not mean that Iberians thought of themselves as belonging to a single nation.
- C. The culture and patterns of settlement had also divided the Iberians into distinct groups.
 - 1. In 300 B.C., the Iberians occupied a good portion of the southern and eastern peninsula, as well as the far northwest, where the Basques are today.
 - 2. Much of the central portion of the peninsula, modern regions of Portugal, and southwest Spain were occupied by Celtiberians and native people with whom they intermingled.
- D. The contact of the Spanish peninsula with the Mediterranean world had a long history.
 - 1. As early as 1000 B.C., Phoenicians were already active in trading with southern Spain. These merchants traded for metals and foodstuffs with Tartessus, which emerged as a leading state in Spain around 600 B.C.
 - 2. A couple of hundred years later, the Phoenicians were followed by Greeks, who never managed to break into the Spanish markets. The Greeks established some colonies in the northeast corner of Spain, but the majority of cities on the eastern shore and in the far south were settled by the Phoenicians.
 - 3. The Phoenicians were primarily merchants, not agriculturalists. They transported goods along trade routes that followed the North African shore. The key city on the western Mediterranean shore was Carthage ("New City").
- E. In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., Carthage emerged as a great commercial republic. At the time of the First Punic War, in 264 B.C., she was a bustling Hellenistic city.
 - 1. The Carthaginians were content with controlling the points of trade; they did not feel the need to subject the tribes of Spain or North Africa.
 - 2. Carthage had built a commercial empire that influenced indigenous Spanish groups. What changed the situation was the defeat of the Carthaginians in the First Punic War.
 - 3. Carthage was slapped with two indemnities totaling 17 million *denarii*, the basic Roman silver coin. The *denarius* would have represented the equivalent of a week's wage to a Roman legionary. The only way for Carthage to pay that debt was to develop an empire in Spain.
- F. Forging that empire became the work of the wealthy Barcid family.

- 1. The majority of the Carthaginian soldiers were mercenaries recruited from Africa, Spain, and elsewhere. They were drilled into a professional army by Carthaginian generals.
- 2. General Hamilcar Barca landed in southern Spain in 237 B.C. and established what would become the capital of the Carthaginian empire at New Carthage.
- 3. Hamilcar was succeeded by his son-in-law Hasdrubal and his son Hannibal. These three men built, effectively, an empire in Spain without committing the Carthaginian government to any central administration; instead, they relied on ties of patronage.
- 4. In Carthage, unlike Rome, the military and the government were kept separate. The generals were not elected and were subject to the scrutiny of the Senate. Generals could, however, hold command for a number of years, as the Barcid generals did.
- 5. The Barcid generals married Iberian women and cemented personal ties with Celtiberian elites. The Barcid family developed a network of alliances that tied the tribes of the interior to the Carthaginian administration at New Carthage.
- 6. In this way, the Carthaginians were able to field a mercenary army of infantry and cavalry and exploit the mineral wealth of Spain. Their involvement in the mining trade ultimately enabled the Carthaginians to pay off their indemnities.
- 7. Ironically, Rome's treatment at the end of the First Punic War pushed Carthage into the business of empire building and enabled her to take on Rome again in the Second Punic War.

III. The Second Punic War had profound consequences for the barbarian peoples of Spain.

- A. At the start of the war, when Hannibal invaded Italy, one of the consuls assigned to defeat him was Publius Cornelius Scipio. He was the father of Scipio Africanus, who eventually defeated Hannibal.
- B. When Italy was invaded, Scipio recalled his fellow consul, who was headed toward Carthage, to return and oppose Hannibal in Italy, while Scipio sent his own army to Spain.
- C. That Roman army landed in Spain under the leadership of Scipio's brother, Gnaeus, who defeated the Spanish fleet at the Battle of the Ebro. He set up a base at Tarraco and began to wage war to reduce the power of Carthage in Spain.
- D. Publius Scipio realized that the only way Hannibal could be reinforced in Italy was with the support of the colonial empire in Spain. The Romans' entrance in Spain, then, was dictated by the strategy of the Second Punic War, not with any thought to Romanization of Spain.
- E. In Spain, the Romans quickly found that their city-state institutions were taxed. Spain was so distant from Rome that the annually elected

magistrates simply did not have time to accomplish anything in a year in office.

1. When the consulship of Publius Cornelius was up at Rome, he was sent to Spain to join his brother, and the two held a proconsular *imperium*. By propagation, their right to command armies was extended each year, and they served as military governors.
 2. Further, the Romans found towns on the shores of Spain with which they could make treaties, but beyond these towns was a variety of different peoples, especially Celtiberian tribes, who had gained a military ethos from serving in the Carthaginian armies.
 3. Publius and Gnaeus found that the only way they could win the war would be to cement relations with the towns, to provide supplies, and to contact the Celtiberian leaders, who would provide large numbers of soldiers.
 4. The two brothers essentially ran the war in Spain as a private enterprise, and when they were killed in separate actions in 211 B.C., Publius Cornelius Scipio the younger (Africanus) was sent in to reopen the offensive.
- F. At the time, Scipio Africanus was in his early 20s and was holding the power of a proconsul. He proved to be a charismatic and brilliant general.
1. In 209 B.C., he took New Carthage with a combined naval and land assault and won over the Celtiberians.
 2. Although the Spaniards referred to Scipio as “king,” he never posed a threat to the Roman constitution.
 3. Scipio did achieve primacy in Roman politics. He returned to Rome in 206 B.C. and was elected consul at the age of 29 or 30.
- G. The Romans learned that taking on Spain would be far more difficult for their institutions than they ever imagined. The diversity of the region would also make control extremely difficult.
1. The Celtiberian tribes were tough warriors, and the hinterlands, beyond the Mediterranean zone on the southern coast, were studded with well-fortified Celtiberian and Iberian towns. The countryside of Spain would pose logistical problems of campaigning that made northern Italy look like a cakewalk.
 2. The victory in Spain, which had begun as an effort to break Carthaginian power to protect Italy, saddled Rome with its first major overseas barbarian province. Rome also saw that it had to stay in Spain because of the region’s mineral wealth.
 3. The lessons of assimilating barbarian foes that the Romans had learned in Cisalpine Gaul could not be applied on the Iberian peninsula. Rome would have to come to terms with the fact that it was no longer a republican city-state but a Mediterranean power with a host of new demands and responsibilities.

Readings:

Curchin, L. A. *Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation*.

Goldsworthy, A. *The Punic Wars*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Punic colonists, followed by imperial Carthage, transform the civilizations in Spain? How did the Barcid family forge a Carthaginian order in Spain?
2. Why was the rule of Spain so daunting to the Roman Republic? What were the dangers to the constitution? In what ways did Rome have to forge new policies and institutions in the control of Spain?

Lecture Eight

The Roman Conquest of Spain

Scope: In the war against Carthage, Spanish towns and Celtiberian tribes had sworn allegiance to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, rather than to the Senate and people of Rome. With Scipio's departure in 206 B.C., Rome faced a daunting task in governing her Spanish allies. Celtiberian warriors of the Meseta, denied employment in Carthage's mercenary armies, raided the two new Roman provinces, Hispania Citerior and Ulterior (Nearer and Farther Spain). For 25 years, Roman commanders waged costly wars against this determined foe. Rome took political, fiscal, and military measures to meet this crisis, notably the extension of annual commands by prorogation to enable proconsuls to direct frontier wars and govern provinces. In 180–178 B.C., the proconsul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus established market towns and veteran colonies and secured peace for two decades. In 153 B.C., the restless Celtiberians again challenged Rome. They were joined by the Numantines of the middle Ebro and the Lusitanians, smarting from oppressive foreign rule. Twenty more years of fighting ensued, until the triumph of Scipio Aemilianus in 133 B.C. In securing the Iberian peninsula, Rome paid the high price of political agitation over the draft—the first step in the fateful Roman Revolution.

Outline

- I. This lecture looks at the Roman conquest of Spain, from 197 to 133 B.C., a period in which the Romans were forced to face up to the commitments they took on by defeating the Carthaginians in Spain.
 - A. We must keep in mind that the Roman expansion in the 3rd–1st centuries B.C. was still Mediterranean based; in other words, Roman armies were sent to Spain by sea, and the Romans depended on the coastal cities of the Iberian peninsula to supply and equip these armies.
 - B. Between 206 and 196 B.C., the Romans imposed control over their Spanish possessions in the interior very loosely. They sent out magistrates, but they wanted to dodge the responsibility of administering the area.
 - C. Although the Romans in the Late Republic often fought wars simultaneously, they were more focused on the pacification of Cisalpine Gaul at this time than they were with control of the Iberian peninsula. With the assimilation of northern Italy in the 190s B.C., the Romans shifted their attention to Spain.
- II. In 197 B.C., the Roman Senate divided Spain into two provinces, Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, that is, Nearer and Farther Spain. Farther

Spain comprised the southern coast around New Carthage, and Nearer Spain was the Ebro valley.

- A. From 179 B.C. on, the Romans found themselves saddled with tough wars against the Celtiberian tribes. These well-armed and well-disciplined warriors progressed from raiding in outlying areas to attacking the towns along the coast. The Romans had to take action to protect these areas and the routes linking the coast to the mines.
 1. In 195 B.C., Marcus Porcius Cato (the Censor) arrived as a consul to Hispania Citerior and waged campaigns there for two years. Cato gives us a fairly detailed account of the fighting at that time.
 2. From the start, Cato faced the problem of supplying his army, which probably numbered 50,000 men. He also encountered tough fighting in the middle and upper Ebro valley, especially against the cities of Segontia and Numantia.
 3. Cato's governorship represents the opening of a long and desultory war from 197 to 179 B.C., in which both Iberian provinces called for repeated Roman attention.
 - B. From the Celtiberian point of view, their actions were perfectly logical. They were suffering from overpopulation, which could be relieved only through migration, mercenary service, or the slave trade.
 - C. The Romans did not attempt to delineate borders, because they knew such boundaries would be meaningless. The only way to cope with the situation was to establish alliances with the native populations and to regulate the frontier zones.
 - D. From 197 to 179 B.C., wars were waged primarily to break the power of individual tribes, which Cato accomplished in northern Spain, around the area of Emporium. Restoration of order in one region, however, did not mean that the Romans had control elsewhere.
 - E. By the 180s B.C., two-thirds of the Roman soldiers going into Spain were Italian allies or allies of Latin status. Probably all of the cavalry was Latin, and most of the infantry was Italian allies. In essence, this was an imperial army.
- III. This first phase of fighting was brought to a close by the *praetor*, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.
 - A. Gracchus campaigned for two hard years, broke several tribes, negotiated terms with Numantia, extended some control over the high plateau, and signed a series of settlements in which he gave land to tribes in the provinces.
 - B. Gracchus understood that the only way to stabilize the situation in Spain was to adapt what was learned in northern Italy, that is, to establish towns, cement alliances, promote trade, and move excess populations to vacant lands.

- C. As a result, for the next 20 years, the Spanish provinces were quiet. Gracchus's efforts set in place a set of economic and social relations that tied a number of these tribes to the towns and, ultimately, linked them to the wider Mediterranean community.
- IV. Some Celtiberian tribes in the west, particularly the Lusitanians, were not brought into this alliance structure. Further, tensions arose with the settlement of Roman veterans in Spanish communities, and the population pressures mounted. A rough frontier society emerged.
- A. As the Romans began to increase their garrisons to deal with these problems, several wars erupted simultaneously.
- Essentially, these wars, fought in the 150s–130s B.C., were actions against different tribes who had never really stopped fighting the Romans.
 - The Romans found that this set of wars was far different than the ones they had fought initially in Spain. The Romans now faced guerilla operations that exploited their weaknesses.
 - The Lusitanian wars were led by Punicus and Kaiseros, who had imposed some discipline on their warriors.
 - These tribes were organizing in larger groups and carried out some embarrassing ambushes of the Romans. For example, Lucius Mummius, *praetor* of Farther Spain, was lured into an ambush in 153 B.C. in which 9,000 men fell.
- B. Every major figure of any political or military importance in Rome in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. saw significant service in Spain at this time.
- Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus went into Spain with armies of volunteers. This fact suggests the increasing hardship of fighting these wars.
 - The Romans also engaged in sleazy tactics to break Spanish resistance. In 150 B.C., for instance, Ser. Sulpicius Galba convinced a tribe of Lusitanians to surrender on the promise of land, then immediately slaughtered them.
 - The Romans found themselves unable to use the methods they had used in Cisalpine Gaul of luring opponents into a pitched battle. This situation characterized the wars running from 154 to 133 B.C.
- C. The fighting of the Third Celtiberian War (143–133 B.C.) in the middle Ebro valley illustrates the problems the Romans faced.
- Numantia was an important Celtiberian stronghold in the northeast, one of the major threats against Nearer Spain. From 153 to 133 B.C., the city was put under siege several times, but the Romans still could not reduce it.
 - In 141 B.C., Q. Pompeius, a new consul, brought his army to Numantia and was tactically defeated but concluded a treaty with

the Numantines that enabled him to claim a triumph in Rome. The Senate, however, wanted a victory.

- In 137 B.C., Gaius Hostilius Mancinus blundered into an ambush near Numantia and surrendered on the promise of a generous treaty.
 - Finally, the city was broken with the arrival of Scipio Aemilianus and his volunteer army in 133 B.C. The fighting in the Ebro valley and the west eventually wore down the Spanish opponents and broke the power of the Celtiberian tribes, although some fighting continued.
- D. Some regions of Spain remained outside Roman control for the next century. Not until 25–19 B.C. were the far northwestern tribes pacified by the general M. Vispanius Agrippa. In short, the fighting in Spain was costly and brutal.
- In the course of fighting these wars against the Celtiberian tribes in the interior, the Romans learned some important lessons.
 - First, there were not clear frontier lines, and they could not be effectively established.
 - Second, it was imperative to win over the local elites, not to treat them dishonorably in a bid to win a triumph.
 - Finally, the Romans found that to succeed in Spain, they had to win over Spanish allies and build towns and highways to establish a provincial society.

Readings:

Harris, William V. *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 B.C.*

Richardson, J. S. *Hispaniae: Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218–82 B.C.*

Questions to Consider:

- Why did the Romans enter the Spanish peninsula, and what motives convinced Rome to remain in Spain after the Second Punic War? How well did the Romans comprehend the peoples and cultures in Spain in 200 B.C.? What were Spanish perceptions of Rome?
- Why did the Romans face so many problems in securing the Spanish provinces in the generation after the departure of Scipio Africanus in 206 B.C.? Why did the peace and settlements of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 180–178 B.C. prove so successful?

Lecture Nine

The Genesis of Roman Spain

Scope: During the 2nd century B.C., Spaniards endured the most destructive features of Roman rule: brutal frontier wars, tribute, and exploitation of mines. But the wars of conquest contributed to the development of an urbanized provincial society tied to the Mediterranean world. On discharge, many Roman veterans settled in such colonies as Carteia, Italica, or Cordoba in the Baetis valley. Roman fiscal demands compelled Spanish provincials to expand vastly regional trade, commercial farming, and mining—activities that promoted the growth of market towns. By 125 B.C., the pace of Romanization accelerated not only in towns but also among the Celtiberians, who acquired by trade a taste for the luxury goods of the Mediterranean world. The Roman army in Spain, too, stimulated prosperity by its demand for consumables. More Spaniards sought service as auxiliaries in Rome's frontier armies and were assimilated by military service. By the accession of the emperor Augustus (27 B.C.–14 A.D.), Roman-style municipalities that used Latin in speech were homes to a vibrant Hispano-Roman culture. Only in the rugged northwestern regions had the Vascones and Cantabrians escaped Roman rule. But archaeology reveals that they, too, were deeply influenced by the Roman impact two generations before Augustus conquered these last independent barbarians.

Outline

- I. This lecture discusses the genesis of Roman Spain, which includes the social and economic changes brought on by the Roman conquest.
 - A. After 133 B.C., most of the peninsula was more or less under control, although sporadic fighting took place in the far northwest until 19 B.C.
 - B. This lecture looks at what happened once the major fighting ended. Why was Spain such a success story for Romanization?
- II. The case of Spain reveals several important patterns in the process of Romanization and the transformation of barbarian cultures that are instructive for looking at other areas of the Roman Empire later on.
 - A. In 205 B.C., the Romans inherited an urban-based set of communities stretching along the Mediterranean and southern shores of Spain. These towns were of Punic, Greek, and Iberian origins but would have had lifestyles that were compatible with Mediterranean civilization.
 - B. Romans who stayed in Spain tended to settle in areas that approximated their homelands in central and north-central Italy; therefore, settlement was heavier in the Baetis valley in southern Spain, now known as Grenada.

1. In 171 B.C., Carteia was founded as a Latin colony for veterans, many of whom had married and produced offspring with local women.
2. Other cities, such as Seville, Cordoba, and Italica, were homes to veterans because they approximated conditions in Italy.
3. There was also a certain amount of settlement around New Carthage and to the west, where the mines were located.
4. The result of this settlement was that the southern area, essentially modern Granada; the area of the lower Ebro valley, where modern Barcelona is; and the area around Cartagena became Romanized by the opening of the 1st century B.C.

- III. Romanization of the Iberian peninsula can be documented in several ways.
 - A. For example, literary and archaeological sources reveal the growth of Roman institutions and a thriving economy in exports from Spain. Spanish olive oil, for instance, was exported to Italy. Further, the cities began to mint bronze coins based on Roman standards.
 1. By 48 B.C., the city of Gades (modern Cadiz) boasted that it had 500 citizens of Roman equestrian status, that is, men who had sufficient property to be in the class just below the political elite in Italy.
 2. L. Cornelius Balbus, a financial agent of Julius Caesar, was the first provincial to receive Roman citizenship and to be selected into the Roman Senate. He held the consulship in 40 B.C., the first non-Italian ever to do so.
 3. The Spaniards became adept at manipulating the patron-client system. In fact, the first efforts to prosecute corrupt governors in the provinces came from the Spanish towns.
 - B. Another important force in the Romanization of Spain was mining.
 1. Initially, the Romans indirectly exploited the mines by imposing tribute and indemnities on Spanish towns and Celtiberian tribes.
 2. In the 150s B.C., the Romans financially reorganized the Spanish provinces and shifted from a system of tribute to taxation (*tributum*).
 3. At the same time, the mines came under state regulation. Polybius reports in 150 B.C. that the mines near New Carthage employed 40,000 workers daily and produced an annual output of silver of 8½ tons. By the 170s B.C., the Roman Republic was probably receiving about 10 million denarii in revenue from the mines.
 4. In the early imperial age, gold was found in northwest Spain, spawning a gold rush.
 5. The mining operations also brought in large numbers of residents, who transformed traditional societies in the area.

6. Spain had other minerals besides gold and silver, including copper, iron, and lead. Areas around mines in the remote locations where these minerals were found became thoroughly Romanized.
- C. Service in the Roman army helped in the assimilation of Spanish warrior elites, although in this area, the defeated foes also had a significant impact on their conquerors.
1. When the Roman army first moved into Spain in the 2nd century B.C., its forces were largely from Italy; the Romans did not hire the Celtiberian tribes as mercenaries.
 2. In the course of fighting, especially during the second surge of wars in the 150s–130s B.C., the Romans found that they had to make use of their Spanish allies, who were prized as members of the cavalry and light infantry. From the end of the 2nd century B.C. on, the Romans began using these forces outside of Spain.
 3. This practice became institutionalized in the imperial age as the auxiliary army. This army encompassed provincial soldiers, fighting according to their specialties in Rome’s wars of expansion overseas.
 4. We have documentation noting that the consul Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo enfranchised 30 Spanish cavalrymen in 90 B.C., after their service in the Social War. Many provincial soldiers also took Roman names when they were discharged and received citizenship.
 5. Military service, then, became a way to acculturate local populations, provided social advancement, and furthered the patron-client system under which the Romans operated.

IV. Romanization, however, was a two-way street.

- A. By about 40 B.C., many of the cities in the southern and eastern districts of Spain were adopting the Latin language and were applying for municipal charters. This process would continue for 150 years and climax in the Flavian age (69–96 A.D.).
- B. From the Roman viewpoint, the experience in Spain had put a great deal of strain on Rome and transformed the republic in a number of ways.
- C. First, Rome had to make administrative adjustments to control Spain effectively.
 1. Prorogation was used, that is, the practice of extending the terms of annual magistrates, who eventually developed into governors.
 2. In addition, the meaning of the term *provincia* (“province”) was extended from “theater of operation” to a definable area with an administration and regular taxation.
- D. Second, the Romans began to transform their citizen army into a professional army.

1. During the years of heavy fighting, in 197–178 B.C. and 154–133 B.C., as many as 100,000 Romans, Latins, and Italians saw service in the army and fleet in Spain. These men often served for at least six years, and during that time, they became professional soldiers.
 2. Changes in weapons and tactics came about, as did the development of the *cohort*, the larger military unit of 600.
 3. Veterans were expected to take on, train, and socialize 10,000 recruits yearly.
- E. Finally, the mortality rates in Spain were nothing short of frightening, especially in the second set of wars, which resulted in political agitation in Rome.
1. It was not uncommon for the forces involved in the siege of Numantia, for example, to experience a casualty rate of 40 percent.
 2. In Rome, disputes arose over the draft. Bills were also introduced to redistribute public land in Italy to restore the status and property of veterans. This political agitation was the immediate cause of the Roman Revolution.
- F. The historic result of the Roman conquest of Spain was to create provinces in the southern and eastern regions that were, by the 1st century A.D., regarded as Italy overseas.

Readings:

Sutherland, C. H. V. *The Romans in Spain, 217 B.C.–A.D. 117.*

Wilson, A. J. N. *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What military and fiscal policies pursued by Rome led to the transformation of the towns and tribal societies of Spain? Why were towns and markets so important in this process? How did the native elites contribute to this process? How did they exploit the network of patrons and clients to advance the interests of themselves and their own communities?
2. What was the role played by discharged Roman veterans, contractors, and merchants in creating a Hispano-Roman society? Why did they have such a profound impact?

Lecture Ten

Jugurtha and the Nomadic Threat

Scope: Upon destroying her hatred rival Carthage in 146 B.C., Rome annexed the Punic cities as the province of Africa (modern Tunisia). Rome then faced new barbarian opponents in the Berber-speaking nomads of North Africa. Rome blundered into an ugly frontier war with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians, the nomads of eastern Algeria. The Jugurthine War (112–105 B.C.) discredited the Senate and catapulted Gaius Marius to the consulship, a new man posing as a popular reformer. Marius, who recruited a volunteer army, waged a war of pacification against Jugurtha, but victory brought no annexations. Rome judiciously learned to court Numidian princes to maintain the borders, while Roman veterans and Italian merchants settled in the province of Africa. A later Numidian king erred in opposing Julius Caesar during the Roman civil war, and Numidia was annexed in 46 B.C. Rome's African borders were advanced, but the principles remained constant. The Roman army, ultimately based at Lambaesis in the 1st century A.D., mounted aggressive patrols to direct and regulate, rather than to halt, the seasonal movements of Berber nomads, who entered into a beneficial symbiosis with the agriculturists and Romanized towns. The North African provinces thus enjoyed an unparalleled prosperity down to the 5th century A.D.

Outline

- I. This lecture turns to the relationship between Romans and barbarians in North Africa, beginning with the Roman understanding of *Africa*.
 - A. The Romans applied the word *Africa* to a very restricted area of the continent, what would today be Tunisia and the western coastal fringe of Libya. Many of the Punic settlers, that is, the Carthaginians, were located in this area, as were the Libyans.
 - B. Historians, however, use the term *North Africa* to embrace a much larger area, the coastal lands that include modern-day Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.
 - C. By entering this region, the Romans inherited a long border of desert zones. Egypt, however, was regarded as a separate land of an ancient civilization.
- II. The Romans invaded North Africa because they had to defeat Carthage, which they did in 201 B.C., reducing this rival to a client state.
 - A. Some historians—and the Romans themselves—argue that they originally came to North Africa in self-defense. In 149–146 B.C., Rome embarked on the Third Punic War with the intention of humbling

Carthage. Indeed, the Romans besieged and sacked the city, and it remained unoccupied for more than 100 years.

- B. One of the results of the Third Punic War was that the Romans gained control of the fertile area they called *Africa*, most of which was probably annexed as Roman public land. Colonists moved into this area, continuing the brisk trade that already existed between the Punic towns and the wider Mediterranean world.
 - C. In North Africa, the Romans also inherited a problem that they had never encountered before: In defeating Carthage, they faced a potentially dangerous barbarian opponent in the form of desert nomads, the ancestors of the modern Berbers today.
 1. These nomads had perfected the means of traveling across the Sahara and living off oasis farming. Note that the Sahara was not as dry then as it is today.
 2. These people never threatened Roman security, but they did present some unique difficulties to the Romans.
 3. The earliest literary accounts dismiss these nomads as simple barbarians, known for their treachery. Given that the nomads did not live in towns, the Romans saw them as culturally inferior.
 4. Most nomads, however, were able to exploit the landscape in sophisticated ways. The inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the west survived through a combination of agriculture and herding. Along the desert rim of the Sahara, the people engaged in oasis farming and transhumance, that is, the practice of moving seasonally with the herds.
 5. With the Punic towns of the coast and the arid highlands of the Aurès region, North Africa was divided into four distinct zones. This diversity was somewhat puzzling to the Romans.
- III. For the first 50 years after the Third Punic War, the Romans annexed the province of Africa but did nothing with it.
 - A. Most of the Roman officials there were tax farmers, men of the equestrian order who held contracts to collect taxes.
 - B. Security in North Africa essentially fell into the hands of the nomads.
 1. The Romans had found an ally in Masinissa (204–148 B.C.), a chief of a tribe of Numidians and a former Punic mercenary leader, who had struck up a friendship with Scipio Africanus.
 2. The Numidians were renowned as light cavalry and were superb in reconnaissance and skirmishing techniques; in fact, 10,000 Numidians had fought on the Roman side at Zama when Hannibal was defeated.
 3. Masinissa adroitly exploited his friendship with the Scipionic family and his alliance with Rome, using his influence to weld several tribes together into an effective Kingdom of Numidia.

4. Masinissa also provided soldiers, grain, and elephants for Roman expeditionary forces in Spain and the Hellenistic East.
 5. Masinissa died at an advanced age in 148 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Micipsa (148–118 B.C.). When Micipsa died, succession problems arose immediately.
- C. An illegitimate grandson of Masinissa, Jugurtha, ultimately killed both of his rivals to the throne, his cousins Hiempsal and Adherbal. Jugurtha was a charismatic leader and had patronage ties to Rome.
1. In the process of warring against his cousins, Jugurtha's Numidian forces killed a group of Italian allies at Citra in 112 B.C.
 2. Jugurtha expected to make his apologies to the Roman Senate and so to rule as the new Masinissa, but he had stumbled onto political unrest in Rome.
 3. The *populares* were reformers at Rome who were agitating for redistribution of public lands and a revision of the draft. The *optimates* ("best men") were conservatives interested in maintaining the status quo.
 4. The *populares* used Jugurtha's debacle to criticize the Senate's policy in North Africa and to demand war. The *populares* represented a powerful coalition of the urban dispossessed, rural voters, and the equestrian order.
 5. The Senate sent in commanders to deal with Jugurtha but they bungled the operation. Jugurtha was even called to Rome under safe conduct to present his case to the Senate, but he failed to comprehend the depth of popular outrage against him.
 6. Jugurtha returned to Numidia with nothing settled and the war continued. Eventually, the Senate sent in the impeccably honest C. Caecilius Metellus, who waged an effective war of pacification in North Africa but was unpopular in Rome.
 7. Caecilius Metellus was undermined by one of his own subordinate commanders, C. Marius, who took over as consul in 106 B.C. Marius began to reform the Roman army, chiefly by dropping the property qualification for service and using land as a reward.
 8. Eventually, Marius drove Jugurtha out of Numidia. L. Cornelius Sulla, Marius's quaestor, arranged for the surrender of Jugurtha by King Bocchus of Mauretania.
- IV. With Jugurtha's surrender, the Romans reinstated the system that existed before the Jugurthine War. They installed another descendent of Masinissa in Numidia and maintained the existing provincial structure.
- A. Only during the dictatorship of Julius Caesar did the Romans rebuild Carthage, establish a provincial administration in Africa, and come to terms with the desert nomads.

- B. The Romans discovered that the only way to patrol the 2,500-mile-long frontier in Africa was to form a system of alliances with the nomadic chiefs.
1. The nomads could not really be conquered, but their princes could be given citizenship in return for patrolling the frontier. This system worked remarkably well.
 2. The coastal areas and the immediate hinterland of Carthage were subject to Roman colonization and exploitation.
 3. The intermediate region of Aurès was brought under intensive agricultural development. This region prospered the most because it was involved in feeding the coastal cities, Carthage, and Rome.
- C. As in Spain, the towns in Africa became Romanized by the end of the 1st century A.D. The intermediate region experienced a mixed Punic, Roman, and Libyan culture. The fringe areas had some ties with Rome but, in many ways, were still pursuing traditional ways of life. These divisions were also seen in the languages spoken in the different zones.
- D. The Roman success in North Africa was in coming to terms with the society there, rather than defeating it.

Readings:

Broughton, T. S. R. *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*.

Cherry, David. *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did climate, terrain, and economic conditions dictate developments in Africa from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.? What attracted Romans to settle in Africa? How did they interact with the native populations?
2. What factors led to the growth of cities in Roman Africa? Why did the pace of social and cultural change accelerate in the late 1st century A.D.? How were the agriculturalists, pastoralists, and desert nomads drawn into Rome's economic orbit? How were they and their societies transformed?

Lecture Eleven

Marius and the Northern Barbarians

Scope: While Rome battled Jugurtha in North Africa, the Teutones and Cimbri quit their homes in Jutland and migrated into the Celtic lands of the upper Danube and eastern Gaul. They were the first Germanic-speaking peoples to enter the Mediterranean world. They disrupted the network of Roman alliances among the tribes of central Gaul and ravaged the Roman province in southern Gaul (modern Provence), which had been organized to secure the routes between Italy and Spain. In 105 B.C., these German barbarians annihilated two Roman armies in the Rhône valley—the greatest single defeat inflicted by barbarians since 390 B.C. Gaius Marius, elected five times as consul, destroyed the invaders in 102–101 B.C. Marius, hailed as the savior of Rome, set dangerous precedents for future ambitious generals. But it was significant that the Celtic tribes in northern Italy did not make common cause with these invaders. Instead, they, along with their kinsmen in Transalpine Gaul (“Gaul beyond the Alps”), clamored for Rome’s protection from the Germans. Rome was, thus, drawn over the Alps to secure invasion routes into Italy and into northern Europe far beyond the limits of Mediterranean civilization. The stunning conquest by Julius Caesar was the logical conclusion to Marius’s success. But this conquest was delayed a generation by a Roman civil war and was the cause of a second civil war that ended the republic.

Outline

- I. This lecture introduces a new group of barbarians, the Teutones and the Cimbri. These were Germanic-speaking peoples whose home was what is now called Jutland, that is, the Danish peninsula.
 - A. Along with these barbarians, we continue to follow the career of the Roman general G. Marius, who defeated Jugurtha and advanced the Roman frontiers in North Africa.
 - B. How Marius and these barbarians ended up fighting a series of battles that shaped Roman foreign policy and Roman attitudes toward northern barbarians is a story that brings us back to the Celtic homeland.
 - C. As may be recalled, the Celtic peoples dominated most of central Europe, stretching from the British Isles deep into the Danube basin. Also remember that by 125 B.C., the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul were becoming integrated into Italy.
 - D. Our question, then, is how were the Romans drawn over the Alps into Gaul in the 2nd century B.C.?

- II. To answer that question, we must begin by exploring the development of the region that the Romans called *Transalpine Gaul*, particularly the southern areas along the Mediterranean shore (Provence and Languedoc).
 - A. Most of the population dwelling in this area in 125 B.C. was descended from Iberian peoples; they were not part of Celtic La Tène civilization.
 1. There were a number of Celtic tribes in the region, but they were relative newcomers. They had migrated in the preceding 100–200 years, bringing their skills in metallurgy and their construction of fortified towns (*oppida*).
 2. Certain zones of southern France were inviting to Mediterranean peoples, including the lower reaches of the Rhône valley. In 600 B.C., the Greeks had founded Massilia (Marseilles) and established a string of colonies running from the Ebro in northern Spain to the modern city of Nice.
 3. Along that coastal zone was the region of the valley of Carcassone, which offered fertile fields for grains, vineyards, and olive groves. The Greeks mingled successfully with the native populations in these areas.
 - B. The Celts who migrated to this region came down the Rhône from the heartland of La Tène civilization.
 1. One of the most important tribes was a group known as the Salluvi, who settled near the lower Rhône. In the region stretching from Lyons to Geneva today were the Allobroges. The upper Saône River was occupied by the Aedui. The region of central France was the homeland of the Avernii.
 2. Celtic tribes moved into areas that were suitable for their way of life; these migrations were not organized invasions. For example, Celts engaged in farming and stock raising in settlements around the town of Tolosa (Toulouse), which was primarily Iberian.
 - C. The Romans understood that Transalpine Gaul was quite distinct from the rest of Gaul, where the Celts were unquestionably in the majority.
 1. This area became known in Latin as the *provincia*, from which we derive the modern name Provence.
 2. The rest of Gaul, which was later divided into three parts by Julius Caesar, was called Gallia Comata (the “long-haired Gaul”).
 - D. The Celts in southern Gaul quickly saw the potential of the existing civilizations they found. An important Celtic site in the Rhône valley was Entremont, which includes typical Celtic “decorations,” such as heads nailed to the walls, along with Greek ceramics and imitations.
 - E. When the Romans moved into southern Gaul, they found a sophisticated culture. Institutions and trade routes were in place, on which the Romans could build an administration and urban civilization.

- F. On the other hand, most of Gaul could still be classified as La Tène civilization, and there was always the possibility that other Gallic tribes could create pressures by moving into the region. Ultimately, this threat forced the Romans to become involved in southern Gaul.

III. The Romans had come to depend heavily on the Greek city of Massilia for their dealings with these northern barbarians.

- A. When the Romans received news that Massilia was under attack by the Salluvi, they retaliated.
1. In 124–123 B.C., Tourtomotulus, leader of the Salluvi, had amassed the wealth and forces to put Massilia under siege.
 2. The Romans sent in armies, who drove the Salluvi away and pursued them up the Rhône. Eventually, these Celts were defeated by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 123 B.C.
 3. Domitius Ahenobarbus also set in place the alliance networks to protect the area and, in 121 B.C., organized a province. He extended the franchise and cemented patron-client ties with the Celtic chiefs.
- B. This system held in place for a generation but broke down because of an unexpected wave of migrations out of northern Europe.
1. As far as we know, the Cimbri and Teutones were the first Germanic-speaking peoples to enter the Mediterranean world. Why they moved from the peninsula of Denmark is not known.
 2. There is evidence that sometime in the 2nd or early 1st century B.C., the Celtic settlements in southern Germany were disrupted and abandoned, and La Tène civilization there went into decline.
 3. There is no archaeological evidence to trace the migrations of these Celtic tribes, nor do we have any literary records from the tribes themselves.
 4. Nonetheless, there was a migration that brought a frightening new people into southern Gaul.
- C. By 113 B.C., the Cimbri and Teutones entered Noricum (Austria), an area rich in iron and gold deposits, and inflicted an embarrassing defeat on the consul, Cn. Papirius Carbo.
1. The Senate downplayed the defeat, largely because of the crisis that was brewing in North Africa and popular outrage at home.
 2. Meanwhile, the Germanic tribes moved across the Alpine areas and into southern Gaul. These tribes were looking for food and a new homeland; along the way, they picked up other tribes.
 3. By moving into southern Gaul, these tribes disrupted long-established trade patterns and broke up Celtic political alliances. The Aedui, Allobroges, and Aveni all had large networks of client tribes, which might be tempted to hire the Germanic warriors to cast off the control of their masters.

- D. The Roman Senate finally responded, sending in forces in 105 B.C. to deal with the Germans.
1. At Arausio, in the Rhône valley, the Cimbri and Teutones met and destroyed two separate Roman armies, one under the consul Cn. Mallius Maximus and one under the proconsul Q. Servilius Caepio.
 2. A much later report of the aftermath of this victory describes the destruction of booty in what may have been a dedication to the German god of war, later known as Odin.
- E. The result was a political crisis in Rome.
1. Marius, who had just completed his victory against Jugurtha, was elected consul to meet the menace; he crushed the invaders in 102–101 B.C.
 2. Some of the Germans got as far as northern Italy before their defeat, a fact that was later used by Julius Caesar as justification for invading Gaul.
 3. A radical political consensus in Rome, led by Appuleius and Glaucia, backed Marius for reelection to the consulship, which he held five times.
 4. Marius again proved his ability as a general, and a number of military reforms are associated with him. He recruited his soldiers from volunteers, drilled them to a professional level, and rewarded them with land on discharge.
 5. Henceforth, each Roman legion had its own eagle (*aquila*), which provided the religious power for the unit. Further, the soldiers now fought with the expectation of acquiring booty, donatives (bonuses), and grants of land.
 6. The result of the victories over the German barbarians was to professionalize the army. When Marius returned to Rome and found rioting in the streets, he used this army to restore order on behalf of the legitimate government. Later leaders, notably Sulla and Julius Caesar, would see the potential for turning the professional army against the government.

Readings:

Goldsworthy, A. *The Roman Army at War 100 B.C.–A.D. 200*.

Plutarch. *Fall of the Roman Republic*. Translated by Rex Warner.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Teutones and Cimbri prove to be such dangerous enemies to the Celts and Romans in 113–100 B.C.? What were the consequences of these invasions for Gaul and Rome?
2. How did the northern crisis catapult Gaius Marius to unprecedented political primacy? How was his example a potential threat to the republic?

Lecture Twelve

Rome's Rivals in the East

Scope: In the generation after the Second Punic War, Roman legions crossed the Adriatic Sea and swiftly crushed the great Hellenistic monarchies of Macedon and the Seleucid Empire. By 167 B.C., Rome exercised hegemony over the wealthy civilized lands of the eastern Mediterranean, but the Senate was reluctant to organize provinces lest ambitious generals emerge who could challenge the republic. The cities of the Greek world were ruthlessly exploited by Roman investors and tax farmers, while the republic offered neither protection nor justice. In 89 B.C., Mithridates VI Eupator, leader of the remote kingdom of Pontus in northeastern Asia Minor swept the Romans out of Asia, with mercenaries hired from barbarian races around the Black Sea, including the Thracians in the Balkans, Scythian nomads of southern Russia, and the warlike races of Armenia and central Anatolia. Rome responded with her traditional resolve, dispatching the commanders (*imperatores*) of the Late Republic—Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus. The Mithridatic Wars (89–63 B.C.) compelled Rome to reorganize her Eastern provinces and to advance her frontiers to the lower Danube and Euphrates. Rome next faced far more deadly barbarian rivals in the East, foremost the Parthians, steppe nomads famed as horse archers, who had succeeded to the Seleucid Empire in the Near East.

Outline

- I. We now shift our focus away from the West to the eastern half of the Mediterranean.
 - A. It might be wondered what barbarian peoples were living in this area, because the Aegean world was the home of Greek civilization and Egypt was one of the oldest civilizations in the Near East. Although the Nile valley and the Mediterranean zones from Greece through Asia Minor and along the Levantine shore were civilized, the interiors of these regions were anything but.
 - B. The Balkans were largely unexplored. The great plateau of Turkey and the high tableland of Armenia to the east (Transcaucasia) were also forbidding barbarian lands. Farther to the east were other groups: the Arabs, desert nomads, and the Parthians.
 - C. Initially, Rome battled the civilized states, but in reducing the Hellenistic powers, Rome inherited the problem of coping with frontiers and new barbarian peoples.
- II. We begin by looking at exactly what the Romans acquired when they took over the hegemony of the Greek world.
 - A. The defeat of the Greek civilized powers was accomplished quickly by the Romans. The kingdom of Macedon, for example, was reduced in 197 B.C. and again in 168 B.C.
 - B. The other leading rival in the region was the Seleucid Empire, that is, Macedonian kings who ruled over the Asian possessions of Alexander the Great. That empire was smashed in a decisive battle in 190 B.C. at Magnesia.
 - C. The Romans inherited a complicated political situation in the East, and as it had in North Africa and Spain, the Roman Senate did its best to dodge any responsibility for running these areas.
 1. The Senate hoped that the lesser Greek powers that were left in place, such as Pergamum or Athens, along with the reduced Seleucid Empire, would rule the area as dutiful clients.
 2. At the same time, these civilized areas bordered frontiers that would require the attention of Rome, because these regions were extremely profitable. Indeed, the preponderance of wealth and population was in the eastern half of the Mediterranean.
 3. The Romans never faced a serious opponent in the Balkans in the Late Republic. The Thracians, who lived in the region of Bulgaria, had been very much Hellenized and were brought into the republic under a client arrangement.
 4. East of the Aegean in Asia Minor, the Romans came into possession of Greek cities and installed governors. This region was also open to tax farmers, merchants, and bankers.
 5. On the whole, the Roman presence in the Greek world was rather unimpressive. The main barbarian opponents, the peoples in central Anatolia and Armenia and the steppe nomads of southern Russia, were probably not impressed with Roman power.
- III. This situation resulted in the emergence of a barbarian, Mithridates VI Eupator (c. 120–63 B.C.), King of Pontus in northeast Asia Minor, who styled himself as the new Alexander the Great.
 - A. Mithridates ruled a rugged area of what is now Turkey; for warriors, he could draw on a number of martial races, including the people of Pontus, the Galatians, and Iranian-speaking steppe nomads. He also had contacts with the Georgians, the Armenians, and the barbarians of the Balkans in central Europe.
 - B. Mithridates, along with other client kings in Asia Minor, was supposed to patrol the Roman frontiers in Anatolia under a system similar to what the Romans had used in North Africa.

- C. Mistakes in handling these regions, however, resulted in a military crisis that nearly toppled the Roman Republic in the eastern half of the Mediterranean.
 1. First, no regular military forces were stationed east of the Aegean, although the Romans had sent in governors and tax farmers and had built some important highways.
 2. The Romans exploited the Greek cities ruthlessly. The worst corruption that one could imagine occurred in the Roman province of Asia. Tax collecting, in particular, was contracted out to equestrians, who were also charged with hearing charges of corruption in this business in the courts.
 - D. King Mithridates had been warned by Marius in 99 B.C. to make either himself stronger than the Romans or to obey the will of Rome in silence.
 1. Not only did Mithridates style himself after Alexander the Great, but he also possessed a good deal of Alexander's organizational skill and knowledge of warfare.
 2. Mithridates was, to some extent, bullied into a war with the Romans in 90 B.C. But he was also looking for an issue to test his power against Rome.
- IV. In 90 B.C., the Italian allies of southern and central Italy rose in rebellion against their Roman masters.
- A. These allies, many of them veterans, had been clamoring for citizenship. When the Roman politician who had tried to broker an honest agreement to meet their demands was assassinated, 150,000 Italian allies rose and threatened to destroy Italy.
 - B. In 89 B.C., Mithridates declared war. While the Romans were fighting for their lives in Italy, the armies of the king of Pontus swept Asia Minor. In the course of three months, Mithridates smashed three Roman armies and the army of one client king, overran the Roman province of Asia, and sent his forces into Greece.
 - C. The news that the Eastern Empire had been overtaken brought about the near collapse of money markets in Rome.
 - D. The Romans did not realize the depths of Greek hatred, brought on by Roman misrule over the last generation and a half. Mithridates did not have to give the Greeks much encouragement to slaughter the Romans in their midst, and 60,000 Romans and Italians were said to have been killed in the province of Asia.
 - E. In the aftermath, Mithridates proved himself to be not so much Alexander the Great as a barbarian king. He began to tax the Greeks, and he quartered his barbarian soldiers in Greek cities.
 - F. In 88 B.C., the Romans concluded the Social War with the Italian allies quickly in order to take on Mithridates.

- V. The political scene in Italy was complicated.
 - A. The Italian allies were enfranchised by a series of bills in 89 B.C. The Romans also extended the potential of the franchise to the people of Cisalpine Gaul.
 - B. All these new voters had to be included in the Roman constitution, registered in tribes, counted in a census, and so on. In fact, new citizens would now make up 60 percent of the citizen body.
 - C. Whoever registered these allies would become the patron of a great number of potential voters. Again, this caused political upheaval in Rome.
 - D. Marius came out of retirement to back the *popularis* faction, which wanted to distribute the new citizens evenly among the tribes and property districts so that they would have full representation in the assemblies. The conservatives wanted to manipulate the unit voting system to neutralize the power of the new citizens.
 - E. Marius also believed that he should be chosen to take on Mithridates, even though he had been inactive as a commander for 12 years. The consul who was supposed to receive this command was L. Cornelius Sulla, who had become the darling of the Roman conservatives.
 1. At one point, Sulla agreed to give Marius the command, but he then convinced his former legions to march on Rome, claiming that Marius had taken command illegally.
 2. Sulla's forces reached Rome, defeated the *populares* in a bloodbath, and initiated the first Roman civil war. Sulla then marched east and handily defeated the armies of Mithridates.
 3. Mithridates negotiated a treaty and retreated to his kingdom in 85 B.C. Sulla decided to consolidate his position in the East, tax the Eastern provinces, raise more forces, and return to Italy. In the meantime, Marius and the *populares* had reoccupied Rome in 87 B.C. and declared Sulla a rogue consul.
 4. Sulla returned, swiftly crushed his opponents, carried out brutal reprisals, and imposed a dictatorship on Rome.
 - F. The experience in the First Mithridatic War proved that a general who had been victorious against barbarians could take power in Rome and legitimize himself.
 - G. Mithridates challenged Rome again in 74 B.C. when the Romans were involved in repeated civil war actions.
 1. In response, the Senate sent out, first, L. Licinius Lucullus, followed by Pompey the Great.
 2. The Romans had extended the commands of consuls in the past but never on the order that they did with Lucullus and, especially, Pompey.

3. In the East, Pompey had 120,000 men under his command, 120 warships, and 24 *legates* (lieutenants), along with overriding power to make treaties and supercede the orders of any governor. He was, in effect, a king.
4. Pompey defeated a number of different barbarians, reordered the Eastern provinces, installed a provincial administration, and set up a system of client kingdoms. He made all these arrangements as a "super-magistrate," a man who held powers above the Roman constitution.
5. Like Marius, Pompey was reluctant to seize power in Rome, but he had written the blueprint for doing so for Julius Caesar.

Readings:

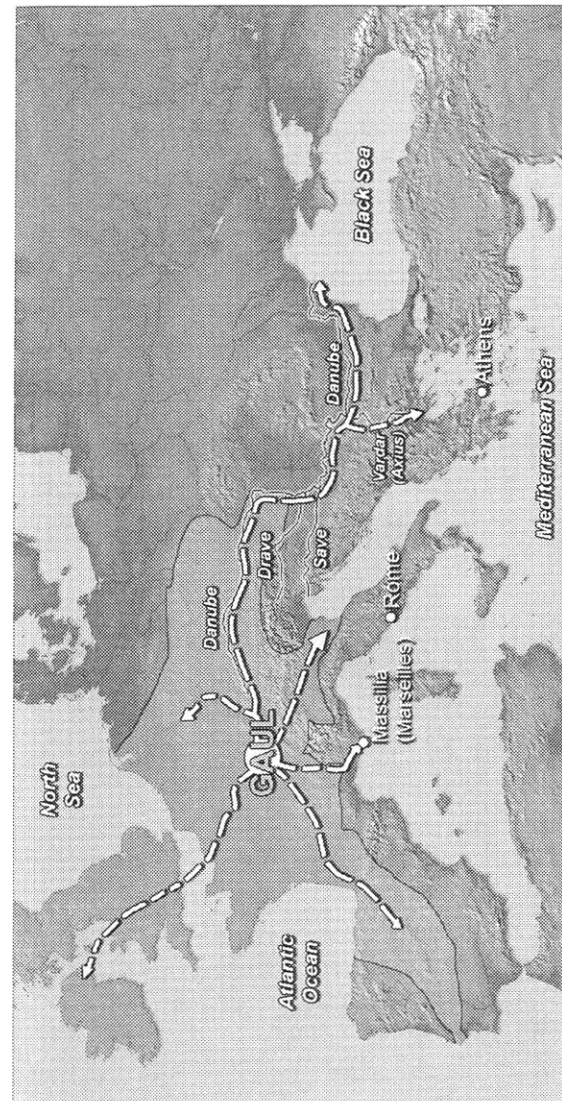
Magie, David. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century A.D.* 2 vols.

Seager, Robin. *Pompey: A Political Biography.*

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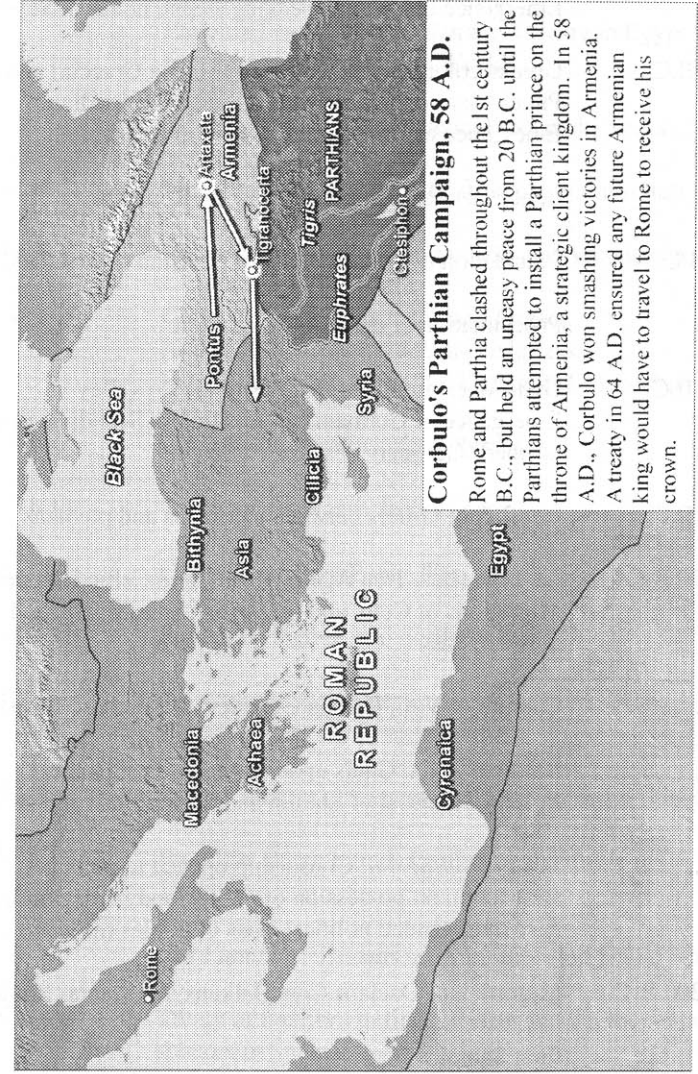
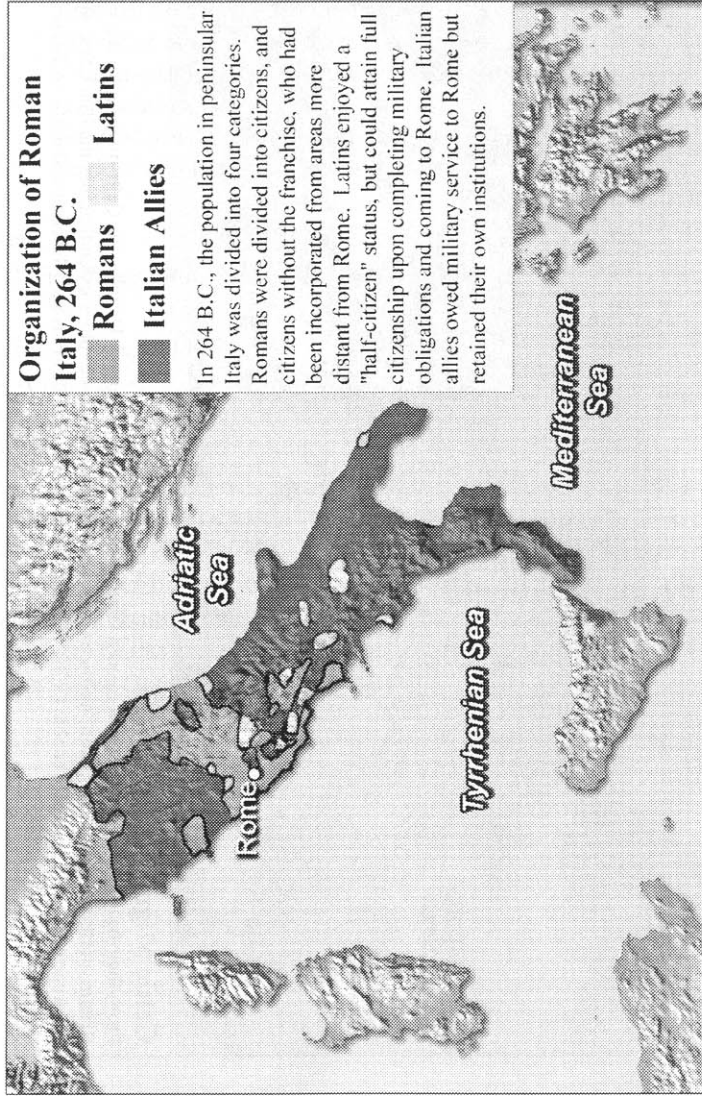
Questions to Consider:

1. Why was the Roman Senate so reluctant to assume responsibility for administering the Greek world? How did the acquisitions of provinces in 146 and 133 B.C. alter this policy? Did the Senate's policy make the outbreak of the Mithridatic Wars inevitable?
2. What factors resulted in Mithridates VI emerging as Rome's barbarian foe in the East? Did Mithridates deserve the title as the greatest king since Alexander the Great?



Celtic Migration

From their heartland in northern and eastern Gaul and the lands of the upper Danube, the Celts migrated to settle in Britain, northern and central Spain, northern Italy, and the Balkans. Trade routes extending into the Black Sea and the Aegean would eventually enable Celtic tribes, dubbed the *Gallatians*, to ravage Macedonia and northern Greece, and cross into Asia Minor.



Timeline

ca. 814 B.C.	Foundation of Carthage by Phoenicians
ca. 800-450 B.C.	Hallstatt (Early Iron Age) civilization in Celtic Europe Emergence of Iranian-speaking steppe nomads, Scythians
775-650 B.C.	Greeks colonize southern Italy (Magna Graecia) and Sicily Phoenicians colonize western Sicily and Sardinia Emergence of Etruscan city-states in central Italy
753 B.C.	Legendary foundation of Rome by Romulus
ca. 600 B.C.	Foundation of Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles)
509 B.C.	Proclamation of the Roman Republic
500-400 B.C.	Gauls overrun Etruscan cities in the Po valley Emergence of Germanic civilization in Scandinavia and northern Germany
494-287 B.C.	Conflict of Orders between patricians and plebians
ca. 450-50 B.C.	La Tène (Late Iron Age) civilization in Celtic Europe Migrations of Celts into the British Isles, Spain, and northern Italy
396 B.C.	Capture of Veii; Roman Conquest of Southern Etruria
390 B.C.	Battle of Allia: Gauls under Brennus sack Rome Roman Conquest of Latium and Central Italy
367 B.C.	<i>Lex Licinia-Sextia</i> : Consulship opened to plebians Restriction on possession of public land (<i>ager publicus</i>) Rise of expanded political class of nobles (<i>nobiles</i>)
ca. 350-200 B.C.	Migration of Dacians from Balkans into Dacia (Rumania)
343-341 B.C.	First Samnite War
340-338 B.C.	Latin Revolt: Reorganization of Roman alliances in Italy
334-323 B.C.	Alexander the Great conquers Persian Empire
326-304 B.C.	Second Samnite War: Rome emerges as leading power in

Italy

ca. 325 B.C.	Pytheas of Massilia visits northern Europe
323 B.C.	Death of Alexander the Great Partition of Macedonian Empire Ptolemy I establishes Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt Emergence of Hellenistic World
312 B.C.	Seleucus I establishes Seleucid monarchy in Asia
298-290 B.C.	Third Samnite War: Pacification of southern Italy
283-282 B.C.	Roman victories over Gallic Boii and Senones on lower Po
281-279	Galatians invade Macedon and Greece Antigonos II Gonatas defeats Galatians Establishment of Antigonid Dynasty of Macedon
280-275 B.C.	War of Rome against King Pyrrhus
279-277 B.C.	Galatians cross into Asia Minor
264 B.C.	Outbreak of First Punic War
ca. 250-230 B.C.	Parthians migrate into northern Iran
241 B.C.	Surrender of Carthage: End of First Punic War Rome annexes Sicily as province
238 B.C.	Roman seizure of Corsica and Sardinia from Carthage
237-230 B.C.	Hamilcar Barca founds Carthaginian empire in Spain
232 B.C.	<i>Lex Flaminia</i> : Romans settle confiscated Gallic lands
226 B.C.	Treaty of the Ebro defines Roman and Carthaginian spheres in Spain
225 B.C.	Battle of Telamon: Defeat of last Gallic invasion of Italy
223 B.C.	Accession of Philip V, Antigonid King of Macedon Accession of Antiochus III, King of Seleucid Empire

221 B.C.	Hannibal assumes command in Carthaginian Spain
218 B.C.	Outbreak of Second Punic War Founding of Latin colonies at Placentia and Cremona Invasion of Italy by Hannibal Rebellions of Ligurians and Celts in northern Italy
217-211 B.C.	Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio battle Carthaginians in Spain
216 B.C.	Battle of Cannae: Hannibal defeats two consular armies Rebellion against Rome in Campania and southern Italy
215 B.C.	King Philip V declares war on Rome Outbreak of First Macedonian War
210 B.C.	Scipio Africanus arrives in Spain with proconsular <i>imperium</i>
209 B.C.	Scipio Africanus captures New Carthage
205 B.C.	Election of Scipio Africanus consul with command in Africa
204 B.C.	Scipio Africanus invades Africa
202 B.C.	Battle of Zama: Scipio Africanus defeats Hannibal
201 B.C.	Surrender of Carthage: End of Second Punic War Masinissa confirmed as King of the Numidians
200 B.C.	Outbreak of the Second Macedonian War Battle of Panium: End of Ptolemaic power Antiochus III restores Seleucid power in Asia Minor
200-187 B.C.	Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria
197 B.C.	Battle of Cynocephalae: Defeat of Philip V of Macedon Outbreak of First Celtiberian War Organization of provinces of Nearer and Farther Spain
195-194 B.C.	Marcus Porcius Cato, the Elder, campaigns in Nearer Spain

192 B.C.	Outbreak of Asian War against King Antiochus III
190 B.C.	Battle of Magnesia: Scipio Asiaticus defeats Antiochus III
188 B.C.	Treaty of Apamea: Antiochus III cedes lands west of Taurus mountains Consul Gnaeus Manlius Vulso breaks power of Galatians Attalid kings of Pergamum rules western Asia Minor as Rome's client Rise of Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia in Asia Minor Rise of the Parthians in Iran
180-178 B.C.	Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus secures peace in Spain Growth of cities and Roman exploitation of mines in Spain
175-129 B.C.	Han emperors of China subject Hsiung-nu (putative ancestors of Huns)
173 B.C.	Grants of public land <i>virgum</i> in Aemilia
172 B.C.	Outbreak of Third Macedonian War against King Perseus
171 B.C.	Court <i>de repetundis</i> investigates administrative abuses in Spain
169 B.C.	Refounding of Latin colony of Aquileia, in Venetia
168 B.C.	Battle of Pydna: Lucius Aemilius Paullus defeats King Perseus of Macedon Reorganization of Macedon into four client republics Foundation of Corduba (Cordova) in Spain
154 B.C.	Outbreak of Lusitanian War
153 B.C.	Outbreak of Second Celtiberian War Fiscal reforms in Spanish provinces
150 B.C.	Servius Sulpicius Galba massacres Lusitanians Viriathus rallies Lusitanians and wages guerilla war Sarmatians extend control over eastern European steppes
149 B.C.	Outbreak of Third Punic War Outbreak of Macedonian revolt led by pretender Andriscus

	<i>Lex Calpurnia</i> : permanent courts <i>de repetundis</i> against provincial abuses
148 B.C.	Annexation of province of Macedonia Romanization of Transpadana, Venetia, and Liguria Death of King Masinissa of Numidia; accession of Micipsa
147 B.C.	Scipio Aemilianus elected consul with command against Carthage
146 B.C.	Scipio Aemilianus sacks and razes Carthage Annexation of provinces of Africa and Achaea (Greece)
145 B.C.	Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus recruits volunteers for war in Spain
143 B.C.	Outbreak of Third Celtiberian (Numantine) War
140 B.C.	Parthian conquest of Iran and Mesopotamia
141 B.C.	Rejection of Spanish treaty of consul Quintus Pompeius
137 B.C.	Defeat and humiliation of Gaius Hostilius Mancinus by Numantines Political trials over Spanish War at Rome Popular agitation over draft and land reform
134 B.C.	Scipio Aemilianus, consul, besieges Numantia
133 B.C.	Tribunate and death of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus Failure of land reform at Rome Beginning of Roman Revolution Scipio Aemilianus captures Numantia: End of Third Celtiberian War Roman annexation of province of Asia
129 B.C.	Legal recognition of equestrian order (<i>ordo equester</i>)
125 B.C.	Massilia appeals to Rome against Salluvian prince Tourtomotulus Romans conquer southern Gaul
124-122 B.C.	Tribunates of Gaius Sempronius Gracchus: Second land reforms Agitation of Latins and Italians for Roman citizenship.

	Equestrians secure fiscal exploitation of Asia
121 B.C.	<i>Popularis</i> demonstrations at Rome over repeal of reforms Riots and murder of Gaius Sempronius Gracchus Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus organizes province of Gallia Transalpina Accession of King Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus
120-115 B.C.	Migration of Cimbri and Teutones from Jutland into Central Europe Decline of La Tène towns (<i>oppida</i>) in southern Germany
118 B.C.	Death of King Micipsa: Civil wars in Numidian kingdom Repeal of agrarian legislation of Gaius Gracchus
113 B.C.	Cimbri defeat consul Gnaeus Papirius Carbo at Noreia Cimbri and Teutones disrupt eastern and southern Gaul
112 B.C.	Jugurtha reunites Numidia Outbreak of Jugurthine War
111 B.C.	Defeat and humiliation of consul Lucius Calpurnius Bestia by Jugurtha
110-109 B.C.	Gaius Mamilius Limetanus investigates senatorial corruption in conduct of Jugurthine War
109-107 B.C.	Quintius Caecilius Metellus campaigns against Jugurtha Gaius Marius intrigues for the command in Africa
107 B.C.	Marius elected consul and recruits landless volunteers
106 B.C.	Capture of Capsa by Marius: Flight of Jugurtha Surrender of Jugurtha to Lucius Cornelius Sulla
105 B.C.	Battle of Arausio: Cimbri and Teutones destroy two Roman armies Election of Gaius Marius as consul Alliance of Marius with radical <i>popularis</i> Lucius Appuleius Saturninus
104-103 B.C.	Marius reorganizes and trains Roman army
103 B.C.	<i>Lex Appuleia</i> : Roman veterans settled in Africa

102 B.C. Battle of Aquae Sextiae: Marius defeats Teutones in southern Gaul

101 B.C. Battle of Vercellae: Marius annihilates the Cimbri

100 B.C. Collapse of coalition between Marius and *populares*
Marius suppresses disorder in Rome
Arrest and murder of radicals Saturninus and Glaucia
Optimates assert authority of the Senate

100-50 B.C. Romanization of Liguria, Transpadane Italy, and Venetia
Romanization of Transalpine Gaul (Narbonnesis)

99 B.C. Accession of Tigranes I, the Great, of Armenia

94-93 B.C. Publius Rutilius Rufus reforms administration in Asia

93 B.C. Alliance of Mithridates VI and Tigranes

92 B.C. Trial and exile of Publius Rutilius Rufus
Sulla, governor of Cilicia, receives submission of Parthian envoys
Tigranes I conquers Media and Mesopotamia

91 B.C. Tribune and assassination of Marcus Livius Drusus the Younger

90 B.C. Outbreak of the Social War

89 B.C. *Lex Plautia-Papiria*: Enfranchisement of Latins and Italians
Lex Pompeia: Latin status extended to residents of Cisalpine Gaul
Outbreak of the First Mithridatic War
Mithridates overruns Roman Asia Minor
Cities of Greece revolt against Rome

88 B.C. Sulla's march on Rome: First Civil War
Proscriptions and exiles of Marians
Mithridates VI orders the massacre of Romans in Asia

87 B.C. Marius and *populares* reoccupy Rome and purge optimates
Death of Marius, consul VII
Lucius Cornelius Cinna reforms Rome
Sulla, as proconsul, defeats Pontic armies in Greece

85 B.C. Treaty of Dardanus between Sulla and Mithridates VI

82 B.C. Battle of Colline Gate: Sulla occupies Rome
Quintus Sertorius organizes *populares* exiles in Spain

82-78 B.C. Dictatorship of Sulla at Rome: proscriptions and exiles of Marians
Sulla reforms Roman constitution

77 B.C. Death of Sulla

76 B.C. Pompey assumes command in Spain against Sertorius

ca. 75-60 B.C. Migration of Belgic tribes from Gaul into southeastern Britain

74 B.C. Outbreak of Third Mithridatic War

73 B.C. Lucius Licinius Lucullus defeats Mithridates at Cyzicus
Lucullus invades and conquers Pontus

72 B.C. Murder of Sertorius: Collapse of *popularis* cause in Spain
Pompey reorganizes Spanish provinces

70 B.C. Consulships of Pompey and Marcus Licinius Crassus
Lucullus reforms administration of Asia

69 B.C. Battle of Tigranocerta: Lucullus defeats King Tigranes I of Armenia
Mutiny of legions and recall of Lucullus

67 B.C. *Lex Gabinia*: Pompey commands war against Cilician pirates

66-63 B.C. Pompey commands war against Mithridates VI of Pontus
Pompey imposes Roman hegemony over Armenia
Tigranes relinquishes his conquests in Media, Mesopotamia, and Syria
Parthians extend control to Upper Euphrates

63 B.C. Suicide of King Mithridates VI
Pompey annexes Syria and organizes the Roman East

60 B.C. Formation of First Triumvirate (Pompey, Crassus, and

	Julius Caesar) Burebistas forges first Dacian kingdom	43 B.C.	Formation of Second Triumvirate (Octavian, Mark Antony, Lepidus) Proscriptions and executions of optimates in Italy
59 B.C.	Consulship of Julius Caesar: <i>Popularis</i> reforms at Rome		
58 B.C.	Caesar, proconsul of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum, defeats the Helvetians and Ariovistus, king of the Suevi	42 B.C.	Liguria, Transpadana, and Venetia incorporated into Italy Battle of Philippi: Mark Antony and Octavian defeat Liberators
57 B.C.	Julius Caesar campaigns against the Belgic tribes Battle of Sambre: Caesar defeats Nervii Caesar pacifies central and southern Gaul Outbreak of civil war in Parthian Empire	41-37 B.C.	Mark Antony reorganizes the Roman East Octavian reforms Rome and settles Roman West
56 B.C.	Consul of Luca: Renewal of First Triumvirate Extension of proconsulship of Caesar Election of Pompey as consul	40 B.C.	Marriage of Mark Antony and Octavia (sister of Octavian)
55 B.C.	Election of Crassus as consul First British and First German Expedition of Julius Caesar	38 B.C.	Marriage of Octavian and Livia Drusilla
54 B.C.	Second British Expedition of Julius Caesar Revolt of Nervii and Eburones in northeastern Gaul	37 B.C.	Marriage of Antony and Cleopatra VII, Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt
53 B.C.	Second German Expedition of Julius Caesar Outbreak of the Gallic Revolt under Vercingetorix Battle of Carrhae: defeat and death of Crassus by Parthians Pompey renews political links with optimates	36 B.C.	First Armenian Expedition of Mark Antony
52 B.C.	Siege of Alesia: Surrender of Vercingetorix to Caesar	34 B.C.	Second Armenian Expedition of Antony
49 B.C.	Outbreak of Civil War: Caesar vs. Pompey and optimates Roman citizenship extended to Liguria, Transpadana, and Venetia	32 B.C.	Outbreak of civil war between Mark Antony and Octavian
48 B.C.	Battle of Pharsalus: Julius Caesar defeats Pompey Flight and death of Pompey in Egypt	31 B.C.	Battle of Actium: Octavian defeats Antony and Cleopatra
46 B.C.	Battle of Thapsus: Caesar defeats optimates in Africa Annexation of Numidia and refounding of Carthage as Roman colony	30 B.C.	Suicides of Mark Antony and Cleopatra Octavian annexes Egypt and reorganizes Roman East
44 B.C.	Assassination of Julius Caesar by Liberators Clash between Mark Antony and Octavian Liberators organize forces in provinces	27 B.C.	First Constitutional Settlement: Legal definition of powers of Augustus Octavian reigns as first emperor Augustus
		25 B.C.	Marriage of Julia, Augustus' daughter, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus Outbreak of Cantabrian War in northwestern Spain Founding of colony at Antiochia at Pisidiam
		23 B.C.	Second Constitutional Settlement of Augustus Death of Marcus Claudius Marcellus Agrippa pacifies northwestern Spain
		21 B.C.	Marriage of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa and Julia

20 B.C.	Augustus concludes settlement with King Phraates IV of Parthia; secures return of standards of Crassus's legions Macromanni under Maroboduus migrate to Bohemia	14	Death of Augustus, and accession of Tiberius Mutinies among legions in Germany and Pannonia
16 B.C.	Augustus reorganizes Gaul and the Rhine frontier Tiberius and Drusus annex Raetia Roman frontier (<i>limes</i>) organized on Upper Danube	14-16	Germanicus campaigns in Germany
14-9 B.C.	Roman conquest of Illyricum (Dalmatia and Pannonia)	19	Death of Germanicus Maroboduus, exiled by subjects, received into Roman Empire
12 B.C.	Death of Agrippa in Illyricum	20	Overthrow and murder of Arminius, Prince of Cherusci
12-9 B.C.	Campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus in Germany and Illyricum	37	Murder of Tiberius and accession of Caligula
11 B.C.	Death of Octavia; Rise of Livia Drusilla Marriage of Tiberius and Julia	39	German and abortive British expeditions of Caligula
9 B.C.	Death of Drusus the Elder in Germany Imperial cult at Cologne founded for German province	41	Murder of Caligula and Praetorians salute as emperor Claudius
6 B.C.	Tiberius retires from public life to Rhodes	42	Annexation of Mauretania (Morocco and western Algeria)
2 B.C.	Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, legate of Illyricum, crosses Elbe	43	Claudius leads Roman invasion of Britain
4 A.D. ¹	Return of Tiberius to Rome and adoption as heir by Augustus Tiberius adopts Germanicus as his heir	45-64	Kujula Kadphises establishes Kushan Empire in Central Asia
6	Outbreak of revolts of the Batones in Pannonia and Dalmatia Annexation of Moesia and establishment of <i>limes</i> on Lower Danube	46	Annexation of Thrace as province
9	Germans rebel under Arminius, Prince of Cherusci P. Quinctilius Varus and three legions slaughtered in Teutoburg Forest Tiberius campaigns in Germany and secures Rhine frontier	48	Claudius secures admission of Gallic nobles into Senate
ca. 10-40	Cunobelinus extends power of Catuvellauni over southeastern Britain	50	Jazyges, Sarmatian nomads, settle in Theiss basin Roxolani settle in Wallachia and Moldavia Cologne (Colonia Agrippinensis) elevated to Roman colony Development of trade with Germanic and Sarmatian tribes
		51	Accession of King Vologaeses I of Parthia
		53	Tiridates I, brother of Vologaeses, accepted as king by Armenians
		54	Murder of Claudius and accession of Nero Outbreak of Parthian War over Armenian succession Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, legate of Cappadocia, commands Roman forces in Armenia

¹Henceforth all dates are A.D.

58	Corbulo captures the Armenian capitals Artaxata and Tigranocerta Tiridates flees to Parthia War between Hermandurii and Chatti	70	Quintus Petilius Cerealis crushes revolts in Rhineland Julius Civilis and Batavians surrender on terms Titus captures Jerusalem Vespasian initiates reform of army and frontiers Growth of Trans-Saharan trade
59	Armenia restored as client kingdom under Tigranes V	71	Triumph of Vespasian and Titus at Rome Petilius Cerialis, legate in Britain, campaigns against Brigantes
60	Gaius Suetonius Paullinus, legate of Britain, captures Mona Revolt of Boudicca in Britain Recall of Corbulo and Suetonius Paullinus	72	Reorganization of Anatolian provinces and frontier on Upper Euphrates Legionary bases established at Satala and Melitene Alans, Sarmatian nomads, invade Armenia and Iran
62	Tiridates I recovers Armenia and expels pro-Roman Tigranes V	74-77	Sextus Julius Frontinus, legate of Britain, pacifies northern Wales
63	Corbulo, legate of Syria, campaigns in Armenia Tiridates submits to Roman hegemony	78-85	Gnaeus Julius Agricola, legate, conquers northern Britain
66	Peace between Rome and Parthia over Armenia Tiberius Plautius Silvanus, legate of Moesia, secures Danube <i>limes</i> Outbreak of First Jewish War	79	Death of Vespasian, and accession of Titus
68	Revolt of Gaius Julius Vindex in Gaul Galba proclaimed emperor in Spain Suicide of Nero: End of Julio-Claudian Dynasty	81	Death of Titus, and accession of Domitian
69	Civil War: The Year of the Four Emperors Rhine legions hail Vitellius emperor Murder of Galba at Rome; Praetorian Guard hail Otho as emperor Danube legions recognize Otho: Outbreak of Civil War Raid of Roxolani into Moesia First Battle of Bedriacum: Defeat and suicide of Otho Senate receives Vitellius as emperor Eastern legions hail as emperor Vespasian, legate of Judaea Gaius Julius Civilis raises revolt of Batavians in Rhineland Danube legions recognize Vespasian and invade Italy Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes exiled by Venutius Second Battle of Bedriacum: Defeat of Vitellian legions Julius Civilis declares <i>Imperium Galliarum</i> ("Empire of the Gauls") Capture of Rome by Flavian legions; Murder of Vitellius Senate recognizes as emperor Vespasian: Founding of Flavian Dynasty	83-84	Domitian campaigns against the Chatti The <i>limes</i> of Upper Germany and Agri Decumates fortified
		85	Battle of Mount Graupius: Agricola defeats Caledonians under Calgacus Recall of Agricola and Roman withdrawal from Caledonia Accession of Decebalus, King of the Dacians Dacians raid Moesia and defeat legate Oppius Sabinus
		86	Domitian campaigns against the Dacians
		87	Dacians annihilate army under Cornelius Fuscus in Vulcan Pass
		88	Domitian concludes unfavorable treaty with Decebalus Domitian campaigns against Marcomanni, Quadi, and Jazyges
		96	Murder of Domitian: End of Flavian Dynasty Proclamation of Nerva as emperor

	Era of Five Good (or Adoptive) Emperors
98	Death of Nerva, and accession of Trajan Cornelius Tacitus composes his <i>Agricola</i> and <i>Germania</i>
101-102	First Dacian War: Trajan imposes Roman hegemony over Decebalus
105	Outbreak of the Second Dacian War
106	Capture of Sarmizegethusa and suicide of Decebalus Annexation of Dacia as Roman province Annexation of Arabia Petraea and organization of desert <i>limes</i> in Syria
112	Dedication of Forum, Column, and Markets of Trajan
113-117	Outbreak of the Parthian War
114	Trajan conquers and annexes Armenia as province
115	Trajan conquers and annexes northern Mesopotamia Outbreak of Jewish Revolt in Cyrene
116	Trajan captures Ctesiphon; Conquest of Lower Mesopotamia Jewish Risings in Cyprus and Egypt compel withdrawal of Trajan to Syria
117	Death of Trajan, and accession of Hadrian Hadrian surrenders conquests east of the Euphrates Armenia restored as Roman client kingdom
122	Aulus Platorius Nepos, legate of Britain, constructs Hadrian's Wall along Tyne-Solway line
123	Hadrian visits the Syrian and Cappadocian <i>limes</i>
128	Hadrian reorganizes <i>limes</i> of North Africa
135	Flavius Arrianus repels Alan invasion into Cappadocia
138	Death of Hadrian, and accession of Antoninus Pius
139-141	Construction of Antonine Wall in northern Britain

ca. 150-235	Goths migrate from Sweden to eastern Europe Disintegration of Confederation of Hsiung-nu Westward migration of Turkomen tribes across Asian steppes
161	Death of Antoninus Pius, and joint accession of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus Outbreak of Parthian War
162	Gaius Avidius Cassius, legate of Syria, commands Eastern expedition
164	Avidius Cassius captures Ctesiphon Roman withdrawal from Antonine to Hadrian Wall in Britain
166	Peace between Rome and Parthia
167	Outbreak of German Wars
169	Death of Lucius Verus Collapse of Roman defenses on Upper Danube Roxolani attack across the Lower Danube into Moesia
170	German tribes ravage the Balkan provinces Marcommani besiege Aquileia in Italy
171-75	Marcus Aurelius invades homeland of Marcomanni and Quadi
ca. 174/5	Battle of Rain Miracle: Roman victory over Quadi
176	Dedication of Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome
177	Commodus hailed co-Augustus
178-80	Renewed fighting against Germans and Sarmatians Marcus Aurelius organizes provinces of Marcomannia and Sarmatia
180	Death of Marcus Aurelius, and accession of Commodus Commodus abandons Marcomannia and Sarmatia
192	Assassination of Commodus: End of Antonine Dynasty

193	Successive proclamations and murders of Pertinax and Didius Julianus Civil War among Didius Julianus, Septimius Severus, and Pescennius Niger, respective commanders of the Western, Danube, and Eastern armies
195	Septimius Severus establishes Severan Dynasty Apex of imperial civilization
198-200	Parthian War: Septimius Severus sacks of Ctesiphon Organization of Roman province of Mesopotamia
208-211	British campaign of Septimius Severus
211	Death of Septimius Severus Joint accession of Caracalla and Geta
212	Caracalla murders his brother Geta <i>Constitutio Antoniniana</i> : Roman citizenship granted to all free residents
214-217	Parthian War of Caracalla
217	Murder of Caracalla by his Praetorian Prefect Macrinus Eastern army hails Macrinus as emperor
218	Elagabalus declared emperor by Syrian legions Defeat and death of Macrinus in civil war: Restoration of Severan dynasty
222	Murder of Elagabalus, and accession of Severus Alexander
227	Shah Ardashir I overthrows Parthians and establishes Sassanid Empire
230-233	Inconclusive Persian-Roman War
235	Murder of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea Maximinus I Thrax proclaimed emperor by the Rhine army Beginning of Political and Military Crisis
238	Senatorial revolts in Africa and at Rome against Maximinus Maximinus murdered by mutinous soldiers at Aquileia

	Accession of Gordian III
241	Accession of Shah Shapur I Extension of Sassanid rule into Central Asia
242	Outbreak of Persian War against Shah Shapur I
244	Murder of Gordian III instigated by Praetorian Prefect Philip I Philip I hailed emperor and purchases peace from Shapur
246-249	Goths attack Dacia, Pannonia, and Moesia Franks and Alamanni attack the Rhine frontier Saxon pirates raid the shores of Britain and Gaul
249	Danube legions hail as emperor Trajan Decius Trajan Decius defeats and slays Philip I in civil war
251	Battle of Abrittus: Goths defeat and slay Trajan Decius Danube legions declare as emperor Trebonianus Gallus
253	Shah Shapur invades Syria, sacking Antioch Danube legions declare as emperor Aemilian Trebonianus defeated and slain by Aemilian in civil war Valerian, legate of Raetia, defeats and slays Aemilian Joint Accession of Valerian I and Gallienus
253-256	First Persian Expedition of Valerian
258-260	Second Persian Expedition of Valerian
260	Valerian captured by Shah Shapur I Persians overrun Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Syria Postumus founds Gallo-Roman Empire in West Revolt of Macrianus and Quietus in East Odenathus of Palmyra assumes command of Eastern frontier
ca. 260-300	Consolidation of Germanic confederations of Franks, Saxons, Alemanni, Sueves, and Goths Migration of East Germanic Vandals, Gepidae, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, and Burgundians into Central Europe
262	Goths ravage Aegean world, burning Artemisium of Ephesus

	Odenathus captures Ctesiphon and imposes peace on Shapur I
267	Herulians invade Balkans, sacking suburbs of Athens Murder of Odenathus: Queen Zenobia directs policy of Palmyra
268	Assassination of Gallienus by Illyrian officers Accession of Claudius II Gothicus, first of soldier emperors
269	Battle of Naissus: Claudius II Gothicus defeats Goths
270	Aurelian hailed as emperor by Danube legions Zenobia of Palmyra aspires to rule Roman East
271	Aurelian withdraws from Dacia and Agri Decumates Fortification of Rome by Aurelian
272	Aurelian captures Palmyra and restores imperial rule in East
274	Aurelian conquers Gallo-Roman Empire and reunited Roman Empire
276-282	Reign of Probus: End of Gothic Threat Franks and Saxons attack northwestern provinces
282-283	Persian Expedition of Carus: Sack of Ctesiphon
284	Accession of Diocletian: Creation of the Dominate Reforms of army and administration
285	Diocletian nominates Maximianus as Augustus of the West Formal Division of the Roman Empire
287	Rebellion of Carausius: Creation of Romano-British Empire
293	Galerius and Constantius I proclaimed Caesars of the East and West Creation of the Tetrarchy ("rule of four")
296	Constantius I recovers Britain: End of Romano-British Empire

298-300	Galerius wages Persian War
300	Shah Narses cedes to Rome Mesopotamian fortresses on Upper Tigris Construction of <i>Strata Diocletiana</i> along desert frontier in Syria
305	Abdications of Diocletian and Maximianus Galerius and Constantius I succeed as Augusti Maximinus II Daia and Severus II hailed Caesars
306	Death of Constantius I in Britain Western army proclaims as Augustus Constantine Praetorians and Senate at Rome hail as emperor Maxentius Outbreak of civil wars
308	Galerius summons Council of Carnuntum to settle political crisis Licinius elevated by Galerius as Augustus of the West
311	Death of Galerius, and Licinius rules as Augustus in Balkans
312	Constantine defeats and slays Maxentius at the battle of Milvian Bridge; Conversion of Constantine to Christianity
313	Alliance of Constantine and Licinius "Edict of Milan" extends toleration to Christians Licinius defeats Maximinus II, and conquers Roman East
323-324	Constantine defeats Licinius and reunites the Roman Empire
330	Dedication of Constantinople (Byzantium) as New Rome
337	Accession of sons of Constantine: Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius II
340	Constantine II defeated and slain by Constans in civil war Constans rules henceforth the entire Roman West
342-311	Bishop Ulfilas converts Goths to Arian Christianity
355-364	Shah Shapur II wages war against Rome

350-353	Revolt of Magnentius in Gaul and murder of Constans Civil War between Constantius II and Magnentius
355-357	Franks, Alemanni, and Saxons overrun northern frontiers
357-360	Caesar Julian defeats Alemanni, and settles Franks as federates in Brabant
360	Proclamation of Julian II as emperor by Western army
361	Death of Constantius II; Julian as sole emperor restores paganism
363	Abortive Persian expedition and retreat of Julian II Death of Julian and accession of Jovian
364	Jovian cedes eastern Mesopotamian fortresses to Persia Eastern army proclaims as emperors the brothers Valentinian I in West and Valens in East
367	Saxons overrun imperial defense of Britain Count Theodosius restores order in Britain
375	Death of Valentinian, and accession of Gratian in West Huns and Alans defeat Goths; Suicide of King Ermanaric Goths admitted into Roman Empire by Valens Huns extend sway over steppes of eastern Europe
378	Battle of Adrianople: Goths defeat and slay Valens
379	Theodosius I created Eastern Emperor by Gratian
382	Theodosius resettles rebel Goths as federates on Lower Danube frontier
383-388	Western army rebels under Magnus Maximus
ca. 386	Rome and Persia partition Armenia
391-392	Theodosius I issues laws against paganism
392-394	Revolt of Western army led by <i>magister militum</i> Arbogast
394	Battle of the Frigidus: Theodosius I reunites Roman Empire

395	Death of Theodosius I Division into Eastern and Western Roman Empires Accession of Arcadius and Honorius Alaric and Visigoths invade Thrace
396-397	Stilicho, <i>magister militum</i> of West, intervenes against Alaric in Greece Stilicho settles Alaric and Visigoths in Epirus
400	Alaric and Visigoths migrate to Italy
402	Alaric and Visigoths invade Italy Honorius removes the Western court to Ravenna
406	Great Barbarian Migration across Rhine Saxons, Franks, and Burgundians overrun northern and eastern Gaul; Sueves and Alans overrun Spain
408	Accession of Eastern Theodosius II in East Honorius executes Stilicho; Collapse of imperial defense in Italy
410	Usurper Constantine III and field army of Britain invade Gaul Alaric and Visigoths sack Rome; Death of Alaric in southern Italy
411	Athaulf leads Visigoths as federates in Aquitaine
413	Burgundians settled as federates at Worms in Rhineland Construction of walls of Constantinople
423	Death of Honorius: Dynastic Crisis in Roman West
425	Accession of Western Emperor Valentinian III Aetius as <i>magister militum</i> dominates imperial policy in the West
429	Vandals, Alans, and Sueves under Gaiseric invade Africa
ca. 430-450	Emergence of Romano-Celtic warlords in Britain Saxons, Angles, and Jutes raid shores of eastern Britain
433	Accession of Attila as king of the Huns

439	Vandals capture Carthage	474	Accession of Zeno as Eastern Roman Emperor
441-443	Attila ravages Balkan Provinces	476	Odoacer, <i>magister militum</i> , deposes Romulus Augustulus Zeno confirms Odoacer as <i>magister militum</i> and patrician End of the Western Roman Empire
442	Valentinian III acknowledges by treaty the Vandal Kingdom (Africa, Sardinia, and Corsica)	482	Accession of Clovis as Merovingian king of the Franks
443	Attila imposes annual tribute on Theodosius II Collapse of Roman Frontier on Upper and Middle Danube Burgundians secure federate treaty in eastern and southern Gaul	486	Clovis conquers the Romano-Gallic kingdom of Soissons
444	Attila murders his brother Bela and seizes sole power of Hun Empire	496	Conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity Submission to Clovis of Burgundians, Alamanni, and Thuringians
447	Attila imposes new tribute (6,000 pounds of gold) on Theodosius II	489-491	Ostrogoths under Theoderic defeat Odoacer Foundation of Ostrogothic Kingdom (Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, and Provence)
450	Accession of Marcian in East Marcian ends annual tribute to Attila; Empress Honoria appeals to Attila Anglo-Saxon migration into southern and eastern Britain	491	Death of Zeno, and accession of Anastasius I
451	Attila invades Western Roman Empire Battle of Châlons: Aetius and Visigoths check Attila in eastern Gaul	507	Battle of Vouillé: Clovis expels Visigoths from Aquitaine
452	Attila invades northern Italy and is halted at Po by Pope Leo I Retreat and Death of Attila	518	Death of Anastasius I, and accession of Justin I
454	Valentinian III orders execution of Aetius	523	Accession of King Hilderic: Crisis in Vandal kingdom
455	Death of Valentinian III: Dynastic crisis at Ravenna Gaiseric and Vandals sack Rome	526	Death of King Theoderic of the Ostrogoths Accession of Athalaric under regent Queen Amalasantha Outbreak of Persian War
456	Ricimer, <i>magister militum</i> , king maker in Roman West Imperial court at Ravenna loses control over remaining Western provinces	527	Death of Justin I, and accession of Justinian I
457	Death of Marcian, and accession of Leo I as Eastern Emperor	530	Battle of Daras: Belisarius defeats Persian army Gelimer deposes Hilderic: Crisis in Vandal Kingdom
466	King Euric II initiates Visigothic conquest of Spain	532	Perpetual Peace: Justinian pays 11,000 pounds of gold to Chosroes I
		533	Belisarius conquers the Vandal Kingdom
		534	Death of Athalaric, and Marriage of Amalasantha and Theodahad
		535	Revolts and Moorish attacks in Africa

	Theodahad murders Queen Amalasantha: Justinian declares war Belisarius conquers Sicily from Ostrogoths
536	Ostrogoths depose Theodahad and elect Wittigis as king Belisarius reoccupies Rome
537-538	First Ostrogothic Siege of Rome
540	Belisarius captures Wittigis and Ostrogothic court Organization of Byzantine administration at Ravenna Outbreak of Second Persian War
541	Belisarius assumes command of Eastern army Ostrogoths elect Totila king and overrun Italy
542-543	Outbreak of Plague in Mediterranean world, Europe, and Near East Beginning of Pandemics: Demographic collapse
544	Belisarius assumes command in Italy
545-547	Second Ostrogothic Siege of Rome
552	Battle of Busta Gallorum: Defeat and death of Totila End of Ostrogothic Kingdom and restoration of imperial rule in Italy
554	Justinian issues Pragmatic Sanction to reorganize Italy
562	Justinian concludes Fifty Year Treaty with Chosroes
565	Death of Justinian I, and accession of Justin II
568	Migration of Lombards under Alboin into northern Italy
572	Outbreak of Persian War
578	Death of Justin II, and accession of Tiberius II
582	Death of Tiberius II, and accession of Maurice Tiberius Imperial recovery in the Balkan provinces
591	Maurice Tiberius restores Shah Chosroes II to Sassanid throne and concludes peace with Persia

602	Phocas overthrows and murders Maurice Tiberius Outbreak of Persian War Collapse of the frontier on lower Danube Slavs and Avars migrate into the Balkans
610	Overthrow of Phocas, accession of Heraclius Administrative, military and fiscal reforms
622	The "Flight" (Hegira) of Muhammad from Mecca Heraclius launches offensive against Persia
630	Muhammad received in Mecca: Unification of Arabia under Islam Heraclius received in triumph at Jerusalem
634	Accession of Caliph Umar I Creation of Islamic Empire (Caliphate)
636-639	Muslim conquest of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine Collapse of Eastern Roman frontier
639	Battle of Qadisiya: Muslim conquest of Sassanid Empire
641	Death of Heraclius: Succession crisis at Constantinople Muslim conquest of Egypt