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THE GREAT COURSESSM

Ancient & Medieval History



Rome and the Barbarians

Taught by: Professor Kenneth W. Harl,
Tulane University

Part 2

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 1st 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, 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 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. These included 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 of the course deals with commerce and cultural exchange between imperial Rome and the frontier peoples. The cultural exchange created a unique Roman frontier society and 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 3rd through 6th centuries that transformed the Classical into the Medieval world.

Lecture Thirteen

The Price of Empire—The Roman Revolution

Scope: Rome's acquisition of empire eroded the republican constitution, Italian society, and the citizen legions. The influx of money and numerous slaves promoted commercial estates farming over subsistence farming. As the number of citizens with the property qualification for military service declined after 150 B.C., Roman armies suffered embarrassing defeats from barbarian opponents. Simultaneously, the political elite removed themselves from fellow citizens, creating an opulent Hellenized life of the villa staffed by slaves. Roman politics grew ever more violent as poorer citizens clamored for distribution of public land and relief from military service. Moderate reforms, proposed by the *populares* tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus in 133 and 123–121 B.C., ended in failure and violence. Gaius Marius solved the immediate military crisis by making property a reward rather than a requirement, but in 90 B.C., the Italian allies rose in rebellion when denied citizenship and their share of public lands.

The ensuing Social War resulted in the enfranchisement of all Italy, but it sparked another civil war that ended in the dictatorship of Lucius Cornelius Sulla. With Sulla's retirement from politics, power in the republic shifted from the Senate, magistrates, and assemblies to popular commanders (*imperatores*) who had the reputation to raise legions; win glory, money, and clients in frontier wars; and dictate Roman politics. The last generation of the republic witnessed the struggle among these great dynasts to secure legitimacy as monarchs in the guise of Roman magistrates.

Outline

- I. What were the results for Rome of her overseas conquests?
 - A. We started this lecture series with a sketch of Roman institutions in 264 B.C. We then looked at the wars that drew Rome into contact with barbarian peoples in northern Italy, Spain, North Africa, and southern Gaul. We have moved, in time, from 264 to 60 B.C.
 - B. In this lecture and the next one, we shall explore the transition of Rome from an imperial republic, through the career of Julius Caesar, to an imperial monarchy, later known as a *Principate*.
 - C. In the second third of these lectures, we shall study the new barbarian peoples, including Germans, Iranian-speaking nomads, and others, with whom the Romans came into contact under the *Principate*. In the last third of the course, we will look at the relationships of the Romans with

these new barbarians and how those relationships ultimately brought about the breakup of the empire.

- II. We begin by adding up some of the costs the Romans paid—politically, socially, and constitutionally—in acquiring their empire.
 - A. This exploration requires us to address three issues, the first of which is the Roman Revolution, a series of crises that brought about violent civil war and undermined the political consensus that had allowed Rome to function successfully for so many centuries.
 - B. Next, we shall look at efforts by the Romans to address some of the changes that were taking place in the state. The turning point was a land bill introduced in 133 B.C. by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, which initiated efforts to reform Roman society from within according to constitutional procedures. These efforts were thwarted, and the project ended in violence and civil war.
 - C. That failure of the Roman Republic to reform itself brought on the breakdown of the constitution, which is our third issue. We will also look at how Rome managed to retain its empire and come through these civil wars with a stable political and social organization.
- III. What were the costs of Roman imperialism?
 - A. As mentioned earlier, the bloodletting in the Roman wars of conquest was beyond imagination.
 1. In 190–180 B.C. and 155–150 B.C. in Spain, 46,000 Romans, Latins, and Italian allies are reported to have been killed in action. In addition, twice this number died from disease and attrition. Similarly horrifying statistics are reported in Cisalpine Gaul.
 2. The physical burden of acquiring the empire fell on citizens and allies who were of modest property status (*assidui*), were drafted into the legions, and had to do the bulk of the fighting.
 3. At least 150,000 men were serving in the military in the outlying regions of the empire in any given year, even when no war was taking place.
 4. A state cannot sustain this effort without suffering certain consequences, the most obvious of which were the mutinies that erupted in Spain in the 180s B.C., the low morale of the 150s–140s, and the setbacks in the Jugurthine War and in revolts in Macedonia and Asia.
 5. Rome attempted to address the state of her military by, for example, lowering the property qualification for service 90 percent in the inflationary period 200–160 B.C.
 - B. The economic costs of Roman imperialism can be measured in several ways.
 1. Ironically, the legions in Rome's wars were capturing their replacements in the labor market in the form of numerous slaves.

From 200–50 B.C., at least 1.5 million people were removed from their homelands and sold on the Italian slave markets.

2. The Roman upper classes had an incentive to use slaves, because they reaped the vast majority of the profits from this labor so that they went into the business of commercial farming, which rapidly destroyed subsistence agriculture. The peasants, dispossessed by this development, then moved into the cities, particularly Rome.
- C. The flood of newcomers into Rome had serious political and social consequences. The ties of patron and client were violated as peasants were pushed off the land. Further, the upper classes used their wealth to separate themselves from the majority of their clients. The result was that a great number of voters were no longer tied to patrons.
1. The sense of concord among the classes broke down as the tribal assemblies became more vocal and violent. The Roman upper classes were forced to pay attention to these problems when defeats were suffered in Spain and North Africa.
 2. In 133 B.C., some senators aimed to carry out reform. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a junior figure representing a powerful clique of senior senators, proposed to distribute public land to the dispossessed so that they would be eligible for the draft.
 3. The land bill was conservative, but it won the support of the *populares*. Whoever sponsored this bill would have gained numerous clients and future voters. Gracchus compromised the reform by the methods he used to secure passage of the bill.
 4. This land bill sent a signal that carrying out reform would benefit the reformers to such an extent that the political structure and voting patterns of the republic would be endangered. One clique could dominate so many voters as to pose a threat to the state.
 5. Ten years later, Gracchus's brother made a similar attempt to introduce reforms. In 124–122 B.C., he held two successive tribunates; he reactivated the land bill and made other efforts at reform but he was deserted by most Roman voters on the issue of granting citizenship to the Italian and Latin allies.
 6. The younger Gracchus was killed in a riot in 121 B.C., so that reformers took their revenge on the optimates through the Jugurthine War.
 7. The last serious effort at reform came in 91 B.C. from Marcus Livius Drusus, who proposed a bill to give citizenship to the Italian and Latin allies. Most Romans were against this bill, which would have more than doubled the size of the citizen body.
 8. Drusus was murdered, and by the spring of 90 B.C., the Italians rose in rebellion in the first of a series of Roman civil wars. This Social War was particularly brutal, and the only way that the Romans could win was to enfranchise the Italian allies.

- D. The *populares* saw that all efforts at constitutional reform had been shot down and believed that they would have to resort to violence. Hence, they had to ally with a popular commander, who could support reform with the threat of military force.
- E. In 88 B.C., Marius supported the allied enfranchisement bills championed by the tribune Publius Sulpicius Rufus in return for the Mithridatic command. But this power play drove the consul Lucius Cornelius Sulla to resort to violence by marching his legions on Rome. Sulla's brutal reprisals precipitated a second civil war, and by 82 B.C., he and the optimates had crushed the *populares*.

- IV. In 90–88 B.C., the threat on the Eastern frontier aggravated the Roman civil war and jeopardized the Republic's overseas empire.
- A. Any Roman commander, henceforth, could emulate Sulla. By defeating a barbarian foe in the provinces, he could forge a seasoned army, acquire provincial clients and vast amounts of wealth, and return to Rome to reorder the state according to his own wishes.
 - B. In 83–82 B.C., Sulla and his veteran army seized power. Sulla, as a dictator, rewrote the constitution along conservative lines, then retired in 77 B.C. The experience of Sulla marked the end of normal functioning of government in Rome.
 1. The Senate Sulla left on his death no longer had the prestige or senior members to govern effectively.
 2. Further, it became increasingly clear that the annually elected magistrates could not meet the crises that threatened Rome.
 3. Finally, all of Sulla's lieutenants, including Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, followed Sulla's example so that the constitution and the political consensus could not be reestablished.
 - C. The ensuing competition among the great commanders (*imperatores*) erupted into a second round of civil wars after 49 B.C. as the great leaders fought for primacy in the Roman state.
 1. Julius Caesar, by his conquest of Gaul, drove Pompey into alliance with the optimates. In the ensuing civil war in 49–45 B.C., Julius Caesar as dictator created the monarchical institutions that assured his assassination in 44 B.C.
 2. Caesar's assassination set off another series of civil wars, leaving Marc Antony and Octavian as potential heirs. These two overthrew Caesar's assassins (the Liberators) before Octavian defeated Marc Antony.
 3. In 31 B.C., Octavian (renamed Augustus) brought these wars to an end as Caesar's heir.
 - D. Ironically, the government that evolved in Rome in the aftermath of these wars was almost a constitutional monarchy. No one who aspired to a position of primacy in the Roman state could afford to pass himself

off as a king. The only way to run the far-flung Roman Empire was through the traditional political classes in Rome and by preserving the guise of the republic.

Readings:

Gruen, Erich. *Last Generation of the Roman Republic*.

Seager, Robin, ed. *The Crisis of the Roman Republic*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the profits of empire result in economic change in Italy? Why were the profits so unevenly divided among the conquerors? What factors were driving the development of commercial crops, manufacturing, mining, and banking at the expense of peasant subsistence agriculture?
2. Why did the tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus fail to achieve reform in 133 and 123–122 B.C.? Did these reforms promise success? How did the deaths of these tribunes mark a turning point in Roman politics? Why was the failure and assassination of M. Livius Drusus the signal for civil war?

Lecture Fourteen

Julius Caesar and the Conquest of Gaul

Scope: In 58 B.C., Gaius Julius Caesar, self-styled political heir to the *popularis* traditions of reform, assumed his governorships of Cisalpine Gaul, Transalpine Gaul, and Illyricum. In the next decade, he accomplished the extraordinary conquest of Gaul, that is, the Celtic heartland west of the Rhine River. In part, Caesar pressed the frontier policy of Marius to its conclusion; in part, he sought to elevate himself as *imperator* and first man at Rome. In 58 B.C., on invitation of Gallic allies, Caesar drove back two coalitions of migrating tribes, the Helvetians and Germans under Ariovistus. Each coalition posed a potential threat of invading Italy. In the next six years, Caesar imposed Rome's authority over Gaul. His campaigns were masterpieces of speed, and Caesar exploited tribal rivalries and courted Gallic princes. In 52 B.C. at the Alesia, Caesar broke the pan-Gallic insurgents under the charismatic Avernian chief Vercingetorix. In the world of late republican politics, Julius Caesar assured his political dominance by triumphing over the ancestral barbarian foe and forged veteran legions that won for him a civil war and a dictatorship. But he also laid the foundations of Western Europe, because the Gauls of the La Tène proved brilliant pupils of Rome and created a model provincial civilization for the next three centuries.

Outline

- I. This lecture deals with an important period in the career of Julius Caesar, one of the most memorable of the Romans and one of the great commanders of history.
 - A. We will concentrate on Caesar's conquest of Gaul, which would transform the axis of the Mediterranean world. With Caesar, the Romans conquered a vast area of central and northern Europe and, ever after, the Romans were committed to extending the range of Mediterranean civilization to farther frontiers.
 - B. Julius Caesar also brought the Romans into contact with new barbarian peoples, including the Germans in central Europe and the natives of the isle of Britain.
 - C. Caesar was hailed as the conqueror over the traditional Roman foe. The conquest of Gaul ended the primacy of Celtic civilization in western and central Europe, which had been dominant since the 5th century B.C.
- II. Caesar's political career, first as consul, then twice as proconsul, set the stage for an imperial monarchy and the end of traditional republican

government.

- A. In 59 B.C., Julius Caesar was elected as consul with the support of Pompey and Crassus, and the three forced through legislation on behalf of their clients. Together, these three men held so much power that they could dominate the Roman state, effectively suspending normal constitutional government.
- B. In 58 B.C., Julius Caesar was prorogued as proconsul for five years in the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), Illyricum (the Balkans), and Transalpine Gaul (southern Gaul).
 - 1. The security of Gaul rested on a network of alliances that had been forged in 121 B.C. between the Romans and the leaders of important tribes in central France.
 - 2. One of these tribes, the Aedui, controlled the trade route of the Saône River and acted as guardians for the Roman province.
 - 3. Caesar aligned Rome with the Aedui and so put the Romans at odds with the Avernii and their allies.
 - 4. When Caesar first went to Gaul, his attentions were directed east into the Balkans, but he received reports from the Aedui that there were movements, particularly of Germans, from central Europe into Gaul.
 - 5. These Germans, called Sueves, had been invited into Gaul by dissident Celtic tribes as allies and mercenaries. The Helvetii and Sequani, Celtic peoples from western Switzerland, were also migrating west at this time. This tribal movement threatened to pass through Genava (Geneva) in the Roman province.
- C. In 58 B.C., Caesar responded by moving in and taking on these groups of barbarian immigrants.
 - 1. The numbers of immigrants were probably exaggerated, but they gave Caesar the excuse to increase the size of his army. By the time he left his governorship in Gaul 10 years later, Caesar commanded 12 veteran legions.
 - 2. Caesar's conquest of Gaul also gave him the resources to return to Rome and wield political influence.
- D. Any other commander might have been overwhelmed by the dimensions of the Gallic conquest.
 - 1. In 58 B.C., Caesar brought down the Helvetii at Bibracte and, later that same year, defeated the German forces, under the leadership of King Ariovistus, in Alsace.
 - 2. Both of these battles showed Caesar at his best, and both are still remembered from the stirring speeches Caesar gave his men before they went into battle.

- 3. We have a good deal of information about this fighting from Caesar's *Commentaries*, which was based on reports that he sent back to Rome during the conquest.
- E. From 58–56 B.C., Caesar used the necessity of fending off these tribal migrations as an excuse to intervene in the whole of Gaul, that is, everything west of the Rhine, including France, the German Rhineland, the Low Countries, and western Switzerland.
 - 1. Caesar achieved his goals largely by dividing his army up into columns and by swift and audacious movements.
 - 2. In 57 B.C., Caesar defeated the Belgic tribes in northeastern Gaul, where his troops were surprised while making camp. He rallied his men to win a brilliant victory over the Nervii on the Sambre.
 - 3. Caesar also enrolled large numbers of Gauls into his cavalry, made personal friendships with members of Gallic communities, and even rewarded some Gallic leaders with citizenship.
 - 4. By a combination of diplomacy, speed, and logistics, Caesar pacified Gaul within two and a half years.
- F. Caesar had to keep his army mobile and divide his men into winter quarters quite frequently. For all the success of Celtic society at the time, it could not feed and house large numbers of Roman legions (75,000–80,000 men).
 - 1. Significant demands were placed on the local populations for grain and supplies, which caused a great deal of resentment among the lesser tribes.
 - 2. By 54 B.C., there was widespread discontent among Gallic tribes over Roman oppression.
 - 3. The Roman army's followers—entertainers, merchants, and investors—also sparked anti-Roman sentiment.
 - 4. Ultimately, the Gauls submitted, but they had not been defeated.

III. Caesar also carried off two operations that proved momentous for the later history of Rome and Rome's relations with barbarians.

- A. In 55 and 54 B.C., Caesar equipped a fleet, crossed the English Channel, and invaded Britain.
 - 1. The first expedition was, essentially, a reconnaissance in force. For the second attack, Caesar brought with him five legions and several Gallic nobles, whom he intended to set up as client kings in Britain.
 - 2. Caesar's forces penetrated into southeastern England, defeated the Catuvellauni, and received submissions. This invasion served as the "legal" basis for the Roman conquest of Britain in 43 A.D. by the emperor Claudius.

- B. Caesar also crossed into Germany twice, creating Germany as distinct from his province Gaul.
 1. Caesar crossed the Rhine by building pontoon bridges, which stunned the Germans.
 2. The Romans carried out swift punitive expeditions and reprisals, although the precise identity of their targets remains unclear.
 3. The pretense for the invasion was that the Germans were supporting Gallic rebels and harboring anti-Roman exiles, just as the Britons had been accused of harboring anti-Roman Druids.
- C. These expeditions distinguished the lands beyond the Rhine from those west of the Rhine, that is, the Celtic heartland, or Gaul.
 1. The Rhine was declared a barrier that designated the lands to the east as Germania.
 2. That demarcation cut across a cultural unity. Celtic civilization was centered in southern Germany and on both sides of the Rhine. Caesar arbitrarily drew a political boundary to signal his conquest of the Gallic foe.
 3. As we shall see, the distinction between lands on either side of the Rhine reoriented the axis of trade and connections in Gaul.

IV. Caesar's achievements as of 54 B.C. were stunning, and he was immensely popular in Rome.

- A. Indeed, Caesar's popularity drove Crassus to seek his own command against the Parthians, which proved disastrous, and drove Pompey to re cement his ties with the political conservatives (*optimates*) at Rome.
- B. Caesar had put himself in a constitutional dilemma. As soon as he laid down his *imperium* (the right to command), he was subject to political prosecution for his many illegal acts as consul in 59 B.C.
- C. In 54 B.C., there was also evidence that Gaul was not quite as pacified as Caesar had led the Romans to believe.
 1. Widespread resentment arose from the onus of supporting Roman armies.
 2. Caesar's expeditions into Britain and Germany had caused him to neglect the political alliances he had cultivated among the Gallic elites.
 3. In the fall of 54 B.C., the Eburones of northeast Gaul lured a Roman army of 6,000–9,000 men out of their camp and into an ambush. The army, led by Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, was destroyed.
 4. The Nervii also attacked the winter camp of Q. Tullius Cicero, but Caesar relieved Cicero and put down this and other revolts.

- D. These uprisings, however, were indicative of a much more general discontent that erupted in the spring of 53 B.C.
 1. The trouble started near the modern city of Orléans, where the local Celtic populations butchered the Roman merchants.
 2. The revolt then spread to the Aaverni, the leading tribe of central Gaul and long opponents of the Aedui, who were friends of Rome. The Aaverni found a leader in Vercingetorix, a charismatic prince.
 3. Vercingetorix managed to rally many of the Celtic tribes in a national revolt. Caesar responded quickly, but the revolt was so widespread that even the Aedui defected.
 4. Caesar suffered a minor setback when he failed to take Gegovia, but he rallied from this defeat and surprised the forces of Vercingetorix at the city of Alesia in central Gaul.
 5. Caesar trapped Vercingetorix in Alesia by constructing two concentric rings of fortifications, one 12 miles in diameter to besiege the city and one 14 miles in diameter to ward off a relieving army.
 6. In the late summer of 52 B.C., Caesar brilliantly drove off the Gallic relief army in two days of battles, compelled the surrender of Vercingetorix, and forced the collapse of the national revolt.

V. The conquest of Gaul gave Caesar the confidence and the legions to risk civil war in Rome—and win.

- A. By the conquest of Gaul, Julius Caesar disrupted the Celtic world forever. He brought the vast lands of Gaul into the Mediterranean empire of Rome and reoriented the axis of Western civilization from Rome into western and central Europe.
- B. As a result, the Germanic tribes emerged as the new barbarians in central Europe, and the foundations of French civilization were established.
- C. In a decade, Julius Caesar achieved in Gaul what it had taken the Roman Republic two centuries to achieve in Spain and, in the process, marked the birth of the Roman Empire.

Readings:

Gelzer, Matthias. *Caesar, Politician and Statesman*. Translated by P. Needham. Goldsworthy, Adrian. *Roman Army at War, 100 B.C.–A.D. 200*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the extent of Roman political and cultural influence in Gaul in 60 B.C.? How likely was a Roman conquest of Gaul in 60 B.C.? What forces

drove the Germanic Sueves and the Helvetians to migrate into eastern Gaul? What type of threat did these migrations pose?

2. What personal and political reasons motivated Julius Caesar to intervene in Gaul in 58 B.C.? Did Caesar's decision to conquer Gaul advance Roman security?
3. What were the consequences of the conquest and assimilation of Gaul into the Roman world? How did Julius Caesar, in effect, create Germany?

Lecture Fifteen

Early Germanic Europe

Scope: The Germanic peoples, distinct linguistically by 500 B.C., traced their cultural roots to the brilliant northern Bronze Age in Scandinavia and northwestern Germany. Archaeology has revealed German settlements and burials as distinct from those of their Celtic contemporaries, and Germans quickly came to appreciate superior Celtic goods. Caesar's conquest of Gaul disrupted the Celtic world and facilitated the migration of Germanic tribes into central Europe. Germans displaced, assimilated, or subjected Celtic-speakers of La Tène, which resulted in cultural exchange. But the fortified settlements (*oppidum*) of La Tène often gave way to a simpler Germanic way of life based on slash-and-burn farming, stock-raising, fishing, and hunting. Warrior elites, described by Tacitus as the *comitatus*, were devoted to their lords and a god later known as Woden or Odin. This martial ethos and population pressure propelled Germanic migrations from the late 2nd century B.C. Twice, in 55 and 53 B.C., Julius Caesar crossed the Rhine to chastise Germans and, thus, drew a new political and cultural frontier (*limes*), marking off the Roman provincial world from the Germans. In 16 B.C., Augustus pursued the strategy of his adoptive father, opening a new war against the dreaded northern barbarians across the Rhine. Augustus expected triumphs hailing him as the newest savior of Rome, but instead, he encountered barbarians whom Rome never quite mastered.

Outline

- I. This lecture introduces the Germans, who came to epitomize the most ferocious barbarians that the Romans had ever encountered.
 - A. With this lecture, we also begin to bring in other new barbarians, including Iranian-speaking nomads of eastern Europe, the Parthians, the Arabs, and the Dacians of central Europe.
 - B. In his writings, Caesar portrays the Germans as uncivilized but noble, while the Gauls are seen as immoral, too influenced by the good things in Mediterranean life.
- II. The core of the Germanic peoples was the Baltic—the Danish peninsula, the Danish islands, southern Sweden, and the northern shores of Germany along the North Sea and the Baltic.
 - A. Archaeological evidence reveals a continuity in material culture of this civilization that goes back to the middle Bronze Age (1800–1700 B.C.).
 - B. By 500 B.C., the Germanic dialects had emerged as a distinct group of languages that were quite different from the Celtic languages then spoken in Gaul.

- C. Archaeology also indicates that there was a great deal of trade between the Germanic peoples and the Celtic world and that many skills, especially skills in metalworking, were transmitted from the Celts to the Germans. A bronze solar chariot, found at Trundholm, Denmark (c. 1100 B.C.), epitomizes the German metalworking skills.
- D. The Germanic peoples may have also learned about writing from the Celts, although scholars still debate this issue. North Italic alphabets were adapted as the Germanic *runes*, perhaps as early as 200 B.C.
- E. In his writings, Caesar noted the Germans' tendency to migrate, which also marked these peoples as distinct from the Celts.
 - 1. The agriculture in northern Germany and Scandinavia was rather simple. Forests were cleared using slash-and-burn techniques, and the soil was exhausted rather quickly.
 - 2. The area called Germania, which included all of central Europe—sections of what is now Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Scandinavia—was covered by dense, virgin forests. Northern Germany was filled with marshes and heaths, and in Scandinavia, the forests literally broke up the landscape.
 - 3. Settlements grew in the Danish islands and peninsula and the Swedish islands, because the arable land was accessible and connected by sea to trade routes. Tribes also occupied valleys along the river systems, including the Weser, Elbe, Oder, and Vistula Rivers.
 - 4. Large tracts of central Europe were, therefore, underpopulated or unpopulated. Caesar describes the Hercynian Forest (Black Forest), which extended from the lower Rhine across much of southern Germany and cut off the Celtic zone in the northern Danube valley.
- F. For all of their contact with Romans, the Germans never acquired the habit of living in cities.
 - 1. In the Celtic world, the *oppidum* became the basis for Roman provincial civilization. Such towns were organized as *civitates*, that is, communities with constitutions, and could evolve into Roman-style municipalities.
 - 2. In contrast, the urban culture associated with the Roman Empire and Mediterranean-based civilization never penetrated into the Germanic lands. In fact, most of those regions did not have the agriculture to sustain towns until the later Middle Ages, with the introduction of the coulter plough, the three-field system, and manorial arrangements.
 - 3. These aspects of the land and settlement patterns also explain some of the peculiarities of Germanic warriors, who excelled at ambush but were not successful in open battles or siege warfare.
 - 4. Although these people are often called Germans, the Germanic tribes never acquired any sense of being a distinct nation. Even

tribal ties were loose, and most people identified themselves by family and clan.

- III. Both Caesar and the imperial historian P. Cornelius Tacitus, writing about 100 A.D., give us a fairly detailed account of the Germanic tribes.
 - A. *The Germania* of Tacitus is relatively accurate in describing Germanic tribes living close to the Roman frontier but becomes increasingly fantastic as it moves into the northern reaches of Europe.
 - B. Tacitus tells us about the various gods and cults of the Germanic peoples, including the fact that the Germans had no priestly caste.
 - 1. Caesar reports that the Germans have no images of the gods, although that is probably an overstatement. Some attributes of the early Nordic gods from the Bronze Age and Iron Age can be matched with gods of Norse literature from the later Middle Ages.
 - 2. Tacitus tells us that the Germans worshipped Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter, which were his names for the Old Norse Odin, Tyr, and Thor. He also reports that tribes living on the Danish peninsula worshipped a mother goddess, Nerthus. Tacitus's description of this cult coincides with what is later reported about the cults of the Vanir, the gods of fertility, in Scandinavian sources.
 - 3. Both Caesar and Tacitus report on the casting of runes, and Tacitus, in particular, details the types of sacrifice practiced. The Cimbri, after defeating a Roman army, and the Hermandurii, after defeating the Chatti in 58 A.D., are reported to have sacrificed all prisoners and booty.
 - 4. Archaeological evidence and literary sources reveal a remarkable continuity in Germanic customs, material culture, and religious practices. Despite this continuity, we still have no sense of these people as a *natio* ("nation"), a fact that the Romans appreciated and, in some cases, delighted in.
 - C. Even if they were not skilled in open battles or siege warfare, the Germanic tribesmen were prized as warriors.
 - 1. The Romans adopted a number of German military practices, including raising the war cry (*barbitus*) as they went into battle. The Romans also used the German wedge formation (*cuneus*) later in the empire as a way of attacking in forest zones.
 - 2. Another practice that the Romans acquired from the Germans was the apparently ancient tradition of raising the king on a shield. In 360 A.D., the Roman emperor Julian was raised on the shield at Lutetia (Paris) by the Western army.
 - D. At the time of Caesar's and Tacitus's descriptions, the Germans appear to have had a rather limited set of political structures.

1. Most resolutions were passed in traditional tribal meetings, often compared to the *thing*, the assemblies reported in Germanic and Scandinavian sources of the later Middle Ages.
2. These meetings were attended by the warriors of Germanic communities to decide issues of law and war and to elect kings to lead them through a crisis in warfare.
3. The Germans did not seem to have a need to consolidate into larger political structures until Roman attacks forced these Germanic tribes into more comprehensive organization.
4. Tacitus describes a *comitatus*, that is, a body of warriors who attached themselves to a lord. These armed retinues formed the nucleus of Germanic tribal armies and were compared to later Scandinavian reports of *beseerkers*.

IV. Between 50 B.C. and 16 B.C., the cultural and linguistic landscape of central Europe was transformed into Germania of the Roman imperial age.

- A. Many of these areas had been part of the Celtic world, but by the time the emperor Augustus organized Gaul and moved across the Rhine to advance the Roman frontier, these lands were Germanic.
- B. In 16 B.C., when Augustus opened a new set of expeditions against the Germanic barbarians, he expected to win triumphs in the tradition of his adopted father, Julius Caesar. Ironically, he set the limits of Roman rule in Western Europe and placed Germania forever beyond the imperial frontiers.

Readings:

Millar, Fergus. *The Roman Empire and Its Neighbors*. 2nd ed.
Thompson, E. A. *The Early Germans*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Germanic tribes evolve into a distinct ethnic people in 500–50 B.C.? What was the impact of the Celtic world? What was the role of trade? What accounted for the migration of Germanic tribes in 125–50 B.C.? What was the nature of such migrations and settlement?
2. Given the nature of early Germanic society, was expansion across the Rhine by Augustus a sound policy? What were Roman expectations in 16 B.C.?

Lecture Sixteen

The Nomads of Eastern Europe

Scope: Between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D., Iranian-speaking nomads, the Sarmatians, dominated the steppes of southern Russia. Mounted on Mongolian horses and armed with the composite bow, they proved formidable light cavalry. Excavations of graves in the Kuban reveal that the Sarmatians prospered on the brisk trade with Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea and the caravans crossing the Eurasian steppes. By 50 A.D., scions of the Sarmatians had settled along the Danube frontier. The Iazyges in eastern Hungary and the Roxalani in eastern Rumania, by their contact with Germanic Sueves and the Dacians, gained the means to mount *cataphracti*, lancers in lamellar armor. Rome prized these newcomers as soldiers and colonists, and while Rome tolerated no raiders, she courted rather than conquered these steppe peoples as useful allies. Other Sarmatians, the Alans, migrated to the grasslands north of the Caucasus, threatening Roman Anatolia and Parthian Iran, but here, too, Rome appreciated the nomads as allies. In securing trade and alliances with the steppe nomads of eastern Europe, Rome gained security and prosperity in her northern provinces for nearly two centuries. This network of relationships was only disrupted by the arrival of the Goths in the 3rd century A.D.

Outline

- I. This lecture introduces the Iranian-speaking steppe nomads of eastern Europe, whose range probably extended from the lower Danube, across the steppes of southern Russia, along the northern and eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, and into central Asia. These people were long known to the Greeks, who called them Scythians.
 - A. Herodotus gives us our first report of steppe nomads from his account of a visit to a Greek town called Olbia on the northern shores of the Black Sea in about 450 B.C.
 - B. We can trace these people archaeologically even farther back, to the 7th and 8th centuries B.C. We have found evidence of their saddles and the fact that they moved their herds over great distances with the seasons.
- II. By Greek accounts, the Scythians were the most primeval of nomads.
 - A. They lived in felt tents, drank mare's milk, had no cities or institutions, and were constantly on the move. To the Greeks, the Scythians were barbarians both culturally and linguistically.
 - B. As warriors, the Scythians were thought of as absolutely ferocious. They were depicted as bowman and were known for using sophisticated light cavalry tactics.

1. By the 6th century B.C., the quintessential depiction of an archer in Greek art was an Iranian nomadic bowman, wearing a distinct conical cap and trousers.
 2. The Romans later used that same generic image to designate all barbarians of the East.
- C. Among the various customs that distinguished these nomads were their scalping of opponents and taking of heads. The Scythians were known for using the skulls of their enemies as drinking cups.
- D. We also have accounts that both the Scythians and the Sarmatians, the Iranian people who would displace the Scythians in the 2nd century B.C. and encounter Rome, valued women as warriors. About a third of the excavated *kurgans* ("barrows") in southern Russia are of women with arms and riding equipment.
- E. The earliest report of a Scythian war describes King Darius I of Persia, who in 512 B.C., marched from Asia Minor into Thrace, crossed the Danube, and tried to bring to battle nomadic Scythians.
- F. The Scythians proved adept at subjecting various peoples. They exacted tribute in metals from the Carpathians; in grains from the agriculturalists of southern Russia; and in furs, timber, and honey from tribes dwelling in the forested zones of European Russia.
1. The steppe nomads quickly learned that they could trade these goods for the prestige goods of the Mediterranean world. Indeed, Scythian wheat fed the Greek world from the 5th century B.C. on.
 2. The *kurgans* also reveal cultural exchange in the combination of Scythian animal-style decoration with Greek naturalistic traditions on such artifacts as jewelry, riding equipment, and quivers.
 3. The Greek cities on the northern shores of the Black Sea, including Olbia and the cities in what is now called the Crimea, which the Greeks called the Tauric Chersonesus, were the linchpin in this trade. These Greek cities had long-term connections with the nomads of eastern Europe, and these connections passed to the Romans.
- III. The Scythians were on the fringe of the Roman world through much of the republic. Only at the beginning of the imperial age did the Romans begin to encounter these nomadic horsemen of the steppes, who were quite different from the desert nomads they had encountered in North Africa or Syria.
- A. The Roman frontier in the east ran 750–800 miles, from modern Vienna to the mouth of the Danube. Along this frontier, the Romans found peculiar nomadic tribes, the Sarmatians, whom they came to both respect and dread.
 - B. The Sarmatians originally dwelled east of the Don River, on the lower Volga, and north of the Caspian Sea. Sometime in the 2nd or 1st century

B.C., they moved into the Scythian heartland from the lower Danube to the Don River.

- C. The Sarmatians did not represent a single, unified group, but they do embody a change in material culture. For example, the Sarmatians did not build the expensive tombs that the Scythians had constructed, so that we do not have as much information about the Sarmatians.
 - D. Some scholars have made efforts to link the Sarmatians to figures named in the annals of the Han Empire of China in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.
 1. Hence, the Chinese were supposed to have set in motion nomadic peoples with whom the Romans had dealt for centuries, and Romans oddly failed to have the foresight to build a similar wall and so send the nomads back to China.
 2. Under the Han emperors, the Great Wall resembled Hadrian's Wall or the *limes* in Germany. Strong points were fortified bases, and long sections of the frontier were simply patrolled.
 3. When nomadic tribes did move, as a result of a famine, plague, or similar catastrophe, they did so quickly. Within a generation, they could establish a new homeland thousands of miles away from their starting point.
- IV. The members of the eastern branch of the Sarmatians were called, by the Romans, Alans.
- A. The Alans settled on the eastern steppes, between the Black Sea and the Caspian, which put them in a favorable position for invading Transcaucasia, the region of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and eastern Turkey. From there, they could threaten Mesopotamia and Iran.
 - B. The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus reports fearful raids launched by these people in 35 and 72 A.D.
 - C. The Alans were one of the causes behind the Roman reorganization of the northeastern frontier along the Euphrates in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.
 - D. These Sarmatians fought differently than the Scythians had. By the 1st century A.D., they were equipping heavy cavalry, as well as horse archers.
 1. The Latin term for these heavily armed, mounted warriors was *cataphracti*. They wore overlapping leather armor, called *lamellar armor*, or chain mail and were armed with lances or two-handed swords for shock action.
 2. The Sarmatians also introduced a number of the military emblems that were used in the later Roman Empire, including inflated balloons of dragons and other heraldic devices.
 3. By the reign of the emperor Hadrian (117–138 A.D.), the Romans were mounting their own Sarmatians as *cataphracti*.

E. One of the most remarkable accounts we have of the Alans is by Flavius Arrianus (Arrian), a Greek writer and Roman senator and governor of Cappadocia in Asia Minor.

1. Arrian's work, *The Battle Line against the Alans* (c. 135 A.D.), tells how the Alans were armed and how they could be countered.
2. This manual reveals a shift from the Roman tradition of depending on swords to the dense phalanx formation that characterized Greek warfare.

V. Other kin of the Alans moved into eastern Europe.

A. One of the most important of these tribes was the Roxolani, who dwelled in eastern Romania, just north of the Danube.

B. The Iazyges moved into the basin of the Theiss (the great river system flowing into the middle Danube), the eastern plains of Hungary, Slovakia, and western Rumania. The Iazyges were involved with transmitting Roman goods from the Danube markets into central Europe.

C. The Sarmatians as a group, while feared and respected by the Romans were never targeted for conquest in the same way that the Germans were.

1. There are reports of Sarmatian nomadic armies, combinations of horse archers and heavy cavalry, numbering between 5,000 and 10,000.
2. There are also reports of Sarmatians, especially Roxolani, surrendering themselves to the Romans and being taken into military service.

D. The Romans never felt that these groups of barbarians posed a serious threat to their overall security. Instead, Rome evolved policies to regulate the flow of trade and immigrants across the imperial frontiers.

E. One of the best descriptions of the problem of a lack of formal boundaries comes from the funerary monument of Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, *legate* ("governor") of Moesia, erected at Tibur (modern Tivoli). Plautius Silvanus reports that he halted a migration of these nomadic peoples, settled some of them in vacant lands, and turned them into Roman provincials, thereby securing the peace.

F. Plautius Silvanus, in his own words, gives a sense that the Romans saw the Sarmatians as a secondary threat, which made them ill prepared for a new group of barbarians, the Turkic-speaking Huns, who swept out of the Russian steppes at the end of the 4th century B.C.

Readings:

Melyukova, A. I. "The Scythians and Sarmatians," in *The Cambridge History of Central Asia*, edited by D. Sinor, pp. 97–117.

Rice, T. Talbot. "The Scytho-Sarmatian Tribes of South-Eastern Europe," in *The Roman Empire and Its Neighbors*, edited by Fergus Millar, 2nd edition, pp. 281–294.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the means of contact between the Iranian nomadic peoples of the steppes of eastern Europe and the urban Greek and Roman civilizations between the 7th century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.? How did trade transform Scythian and, later, Sarmatian society? What accounts for the greater opulence of grave goods in Scythian *kurgans*, as opposed to later Sarmatian barrows?
2. What types of frontier policies were adopted by Rome? How formidable were the *cataphracti* and horse archers of the Sarmatians? Why did the Sarmatians fail to forge larger political confederations, as had the earlier Scythians?

Lecture Seventeen

Arsacid Parthia

Scope: By destroying Seleucid power at Magnesia in 190 B.C., ironically, the Romans created their most formidable barbarian rival in the East: the Parthians from the steppes of central Asia. The obscure Arsacid Parthian princes of northern Iran renounced Seleucid overlordship. In 140–129 B.C., the Parthians had overrun Iran and Mesopotamia, falling heirs to a great Near Eastern bureaucratic state. The Arsacid kings based their power on horse archers recruited from steppe nomads and *cataphracti*, lancers, furnished by the Parthian warrior caste. Hence, the Arsacids were, at best, tolerated by their Greek, Aramaic, and Persian subjects. Later Sassanid shahs blacked the reputation of Parthians as philhellenes and lax Zoroastrians. When Pompey reorganized the Roman East in 63 B.C., Rome confronted a unique foe on the upper Euphrates. The Parthians possessed the resources of a Hellenistic state and the military traditions of Asian steppes. At Carrhae in 53 B.C., Parthian cavalry annihilated the legions of M. Licinius Crassus, and twice, it checked expeditions of Marc Antony in Armenia. The emperor Augustus restored Roman honor by negotiating the return of captured standards and prisoners. Augustus preferred diplomacy to war and the services of a dutiful Armenian client king. In 54–66 A.D., the uneasy peace between Rome and Parthia erupted into a desultory war over the Armenian succession that revealed deficiencies in Roman logistics and policy. Emperors from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius were forced to rethink Roman aims and commitments against the Parthians.

Outline

- I. This lecture introduces the third group of new barbarians encountered by the Romans, the Parthians, who were ruled by the Arsacid kings.
 - A. The Parthians, who had originated from the steppe lands just north of Iran, settled in modern Khurasan. By the time the Romans encountered them, the Parthians had fallen heir to a bureaucratic, Hellenistic kingdom, the former Seleucid Empire.
 - B. This lecture explains how the Parthians became the dominant barbarian power in the Near East and, therefore, the great rival of Rome for almost 300 years.
 - C. We shall also look at the nature of the Parthian kingdom, although most of our information about these people comes from Latin and Greek authors who regarded the Parthians as foes.

- D. Finally, we shall explore the war of Nero against the Parthians and the implications that war had for Roman relations with barbarian peoples in the East.
- II. The Parthians were part of that large group of Iranian-speaking nomads that stretched from central Asia into eastern Europe.
 - A. They appeared on the scene as clients of the Seleucid kings, who had succeeded to the Asian empire of Alexander the Great. The Parthians asserted their dominance in the Near East, because the Seleucids were decisively defeated by the Romans at Magnesia in 190 B.C.
 - B. In 140 B.C., the Parthian King Mithridates I defeated and imprisoned the Seleucid King Demetrius II and so established Parthian power in the Near East. This Parthian king (not to be confused with his namesake, the King of Pontus) was named after the Persian god, Mithras.
 - C. The successors of Mithridates I nearly lost their position to the Pontic King Mithridates Eupator and his son-in-law, Tigranes I of Armenia, who divided the Seleucid Empire between them. But Mithridates VI Eupator clashed with Rome down to 63 B.C., while Tigranes briefly controlled most of the Near East and assumed the title “King of Kings.”
 - D. Again, the Parthians were helped by Rome. The Roman commander, L. Licinius Lucullus, humbled the Pontic King Mithridates VI and broke the power of Armenia in 73–69 B.C. Pompey imposed a Roman hegemony over Armenia in 65–63 B.C.
 - E. Ironically, in 190 B.C. and, again, two generations later with the defeat of the Mithridates VI of Pontus, the Romans enabled the Parthians to take over a position as heirs to the Eastern Empire of Alexander the Great.
 - III. The Parthians succeeded to a composite state.
 - A. The Parthian kings ruled as a warrior elite, but they were not well remembered in the later Iranian tradition. Oddly, the Iranian population did not welcome the Parthians as liberators from Greek oppression.
 - B. The Parthian kings styled themselves as *philhellenes*, cultivating the rich, Greek-style cities of Babylonia. The Parthians also tolerated all cults so that they were later viewed as dubious rulers because they were not strict Zoroastrians.
 - C. The Parthians, however, proved themselves to be remarkably adaptable. They ruled Babylonia as the fiscal center of their empire. They tolerated existing institutions and set in place their own bureaucratic class. Babylonia was also the nexus of the caravan trade, as well as commerce on the Persian Gulf.
 - D. The Parthian kings retained their connections with the nomadic tribes of central Asia, although they ruled as opulent Greek-style monarchs in the

capitals of Babylonia. Hence the Arsacid kings recruited allies from the steppes.

- E. The Parthian kings never forged fiscal institutions and provincial administration comparable to those in the Roman Empire. The Parthian kings remained a warrior elite propped up by their nomadic allies, but they never welded their diverse subjects into an effective state.
- F. The Parthian period was prosperous, but as a state, the Parthian kingdom was not effective.

IV. Why, then, did the Parthians receive so much attention from the Romans?

- A. By 63 B.C., with the reorganization of the Roman East, Rome took over the guardianship of the Greek cities of the Near East and had provinces and client kingdoms in Transcaucasia and the Levant.
- B. The Romans initially took an arrogant view of the Parthians, but their attitude changed abruptly in 53 B.C., when they suffered a defeat at the hands of the Parthians.
 - 1. In 56 B.C., M. Licinius Crassus, one of the associates of Julius Caesar, received Syria as his province and campaigned in the East in 55–53 B.C., with the expectation of matching the exploits of Caesar in Gaul.
 - 2. Crassus, who hoped to exploit a Parthian civil war, invaded Mesopotamia with 50,000 men.
 - 3. On the arid plain of Carrhae (Harran in southeastern Turkey), the Romans first clashed with Parthian horsemen under Surena, the leading general of the Parthian king.
 - 4. Surena probably had a smaller army than Crassus, but he had secured the water sources and his men had a seemingly inexhaustible supply of arrows.
 - 5. The Roman army maintained discipline for as long as possible but eventually succumbed to the relentless missile barrages and scattered. Crassus and 20,000 Roman legionaries were killed, and 10,000 prisoners were taken.
- C. This disaster resulted in no major change in the political frontier. The Parthian king, Orodes II, might have been relieved that a Roman army had not invaded Babylonia.
- D. For Rome, however, this defeat was a humiliation that would have to be avenged. In 39 and 37–36 B.C., Marc Antony twice led expeditions in Armenia to bring the Parthians to battle.
- E. When the emperor Augustus consolidated the Roman world after 31 B.C., he inherited this Eastern frontier, as well as the angry political sentiment in Rome that the eastern barbarians must be humbled.

- V. The astute Augustus, who understood the difficulties of campaigning in the arid climates of the Near East, preferred diplomacy to war.
 - A. Augustus had no intention of waging difficult wars in the East, well beyond the logistical bases of the Roman army. He preferred to use diplomatic pressure to keep the Parthians in line.
 - B. In 20 B.C., by the threat of invasion, Augustus persuaded the then-ruling king of the Parthians, Phraates IV, to agree to a treaty. The terms of the treaty were celebrated in Roman literature and the visual arts as the equivalent of a military victory.
 - C. The Parthian king agreed to return the prisoners taken at Carrhae, as well as the standards that had been captured. Roman honor was restored.
 - D. The Parthian king also sent four of his sons to Rome as “privileged hostages” to be trained in the household of Augustus. These hostages served as pretenders that Augustus could use in the future to incite a civil war.
 - E. A significant Roman military presence was maintained in the East; at the time of Augustus, four Roman legions were stationed in the cities of northern Syria. These forces kept the Parthian and Armenian kings in line with Roman wishes.
 - F. This arrangement by Augustus was quite successful; it lasted through the whole of the Julio-Claudian period, until the reign of Nero.
 - 1. The arrangement broke down under Nero, largely because of Parthian politics. The then-reigning king of the Parthians, Vologaeses I, designated his brother, Tiridates, as king of the Armenians to stave off any attempts on the Parthian throne by Tiridates.
 - 2. Armenia was the strategic gateway between the Roman East and the Parthian Empire, and her king was supposed to be crowned by Rome.
 - 3. The Armenian nobles, however, accepted this Parthian prince, whom they preferred to the kings sent from Rome.
 - 4. This situation resulted in the first formal war between Rome and the Parthians since the late republic.
 - 5. In 54 A.D., when Nero came to the throne, he sent Cn. Domitius Corbulo, a strict disciplinarian, into Asia Minor with two legions from Syria. Corbulo worked these legions for four years to elevate them to battle readiness.
 - 6. In 58 A.D., Corbulo marched into Armenia and captured the capitals of Artaxata and Tigranocerta in a brilliant campaign.
 - 7. Corbulo imposed a pro-roman Armenian king, Tigranes, who blundered into warring with the Parthians so that Tiridates returned as Armenian king in 62.

8. By agreement in 64, Tiridates retained the Armenian throne, but he had to receive his crown from Nero at Rome in 66.
- G. This arrangement satisfied both empires, but it also revealed certain weaknesses in Roman organization in eastern Asia Minor. Above all, the Romans saw that their Eastern frontiers would require major fiscal and military commitments for the future.

Readings:

Isaac, Benjamin, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*.

Millar, Fergus. *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.–A.D. 337*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were Rome's interests in the East during the late republic? How did Romans view the Parthians before and after the disaster at Carrhae? Did the Parthians ever pose a serious threat to Roman security?
2. Why did Augustus devise such a successful policy towards the Parthians and Armenians? What was the strategic importance of Armenia and why was it so difficult to control?

Lecture Eighteen

The Augustan Principate and Imperialism

Scope: The emperor Augustus proved to be the greatest conqueror of barbarians, doubling the size of the Roman world. He pursued expansion to legitimize his extraordinary constitutional position as he transformed himself from the revolutionary military dictator into *princeps*, the leading senator of a restored republic. Augustus ended civil war and secured peace at the price of republican government. He transformed the senatorial aristocracy from a political into an administrative elite, and henceforth, members of Augustus's family monopolized the great commands and received the privilege of a triumph. Foremost, Augustus advanced the northern frontiers of the Roman world. His friend and general, Marcus Vispanius Agrippa, conquered northwestern Spain and broke the power of the tribes in the Balkans, securing the routes between Italy and Greece. In 16–12 B.C., Augustus's stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, pacified the German tribes between the Rhine and Danube. Their ultimate target was Maroboduus who had transformed his Marcomanni into an effective Germanic kingdom in Bohemia. The Pannonians and Dalmatians of the Balkans rose in a great rebellion in 6–9 A.D., diverting imperial efforts away from Germany. In 9 A.D., unexpectedly, a charismatic leader, Arminius, destroyed three legions, thereby shattering Roman rule in Germany and Augustus's confidence. The Varian disaster forever changed Roman perceptions of Germanic barbarians and the course of Western history.

Outline

- I. In this lecture, we again turn our focus back to the Roman world and look at some of the key developments of the early empire that will explain the relationship between Rome and the new barbarians we have been discussing.
- II. We begin by looking at the nature of the "republic" under the first Roman emperor, Augustus.
 - A. Augustus would have described himself as the "leading citizen of the state" (*princeps*), rather than "emperor," which was later derived from the word for a military commander, *imperator*.
 - B. In his inscription, *The Deeds of the Divine Augustus*, the emperor tells us that on January 13, 27 B.C., he resigned his extraordinary powers to the Senate, whereupon the Senate immediately voted him new powers.
 1. Consulships were reserved for Augustus each year beginning in 27 B.C. into perpetuity. He was also given tribunician power (*tribunica*

potestas), that is, the power of one of the ten tribunes who were the legislative officials of the republic.

2. Augustus was also given proconsular *imperium*, the power to command armies, which he could exercise in his provinces of Gaul, Illyricum, and "the East."
 3. Augustus had the legitimate powers of a Roman magistrate to run the provinces and the armies in the provinces and to legislate in Rome, and he did not have the limitations of office. He had established a constitutional basis for his own military dictatorship.
- C. This arrangement in 27 B.C. is usually marked as the birth of the Roman Empire. Augustus also received his name at this time.
 - D. The Senate and the people of Rome still officially governed many of the provinces of the Roman world. The offices of consul, praetor, magistrate, and so on had not been abolished under the empire. The provinces ruled by Augustus were run by legates, who were senators acting as his deputies.
 - E. All these arrangements had precedents in the republic, and all served to the benefit of the upper classes. The great 30 families that had run Rome since the early republic could still claim the traditional offices and honors. The difference was that while Augustus kept the old political forms in place, he subtly transformed them into administrative posts.
 - F. In 23 B.C., Augustus carried out a new settlement that set up the constitutional means of appointing his successor. Because he was not a monarch in law, Augustus knew that his death would result in renewed civil wars.
 1. In this settlement, Augustus ceased to hold the consulship, kept the proconsular *imperium* and the tribunician power, and claimed the right to associate these powers with a colleague, who would follow him as *princeps*.
 2. This arrangement embodied a constitutional weakness: If the emperor died without designating a successor, there was the possibility of civil war.
- III. Under this arrangement, Augustus had to designate a successor, but he was plagued by several difficulties in this regard.
- A. First, he had only one child, his daughter, Julia, from his first marriage. He had two stepsons by his second marriage, the future emperor Tiberius and Drusus. To choose his successor, Augustus came up with five plans over the course of his career.
 - B. The reason that Augustus had to revise his plans so frequently is that he outlived four of his designated heirs.
 - C. The heir to the Roman Empire had to be, first of all, an adult male with Julian blood, that is, who could be traced through Augustus to Julius Caesar (who had adopted Augustus). Only those who were descended from Augustus's daughter, Julia, or from the children of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, could claim Julian blood.
 - D. In addition, Augustus wanted to link the Julian family to the Claudian family, that is, the children of Augustus's second wife, Livia Drusilla. Ultimately, the Julio-Claudian heir that was produced by these complicated arrangements was the emperor Caligula.
 - E. Under Augustus's first plan, Julia was to marry Augustus's nephew, but he died in 23 B.C., Julia was then married to the great general Agrippa, and they had five children. Two of their sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, were designated as the heirs of Augustus, but they predeceased him, as did Agrippa in 12 B.C.
 - F. Under the third dynastic plan in 11 B.C., Julia married Tiberius, Augustus's oldest stepson, but the two never got along and never had any children. Despite these difficulties, Tiberius was ultimately left as the only remaining adult male heir.
 - G. Tiberius, on Augustus's orders, adopted as his heir Germanicus, the eldest son of Drusus, Tiberius's brother. Augustus had always favored the charming Drusus over the morose Tiberius and so transferred this favor to Drusus's eldest son, Germanicus.
 - H. When the final dynastic plans were made in 6 A.D., it was understood that Tiberius would follow Augustus and Germanicus would follow Tiberius, even though Tiberius had his own son from an earlier marriage. Not only was Germanicus of half Julian blood, but he was also married to one of Julia's daughters, Agrippina the Elder, and their children merged the Julian and Claudian lines.
- IV. Why was this convergence of bloodlines so important? To answer that question, we must return to the patron-client arrangements.
- A. By the time of Augustus's death in 14 A.D., he was the patron of the Roman world and he wanted only a member of his household to inherit the loyalty that accompanied the ties of patron and client.
 - B. The urban dispossessed were on a grain dole paid by Augustus. The Roman army swore its allegiance to Augustus and his family. Many of the provincial elites owed their loyalty directly to Augustus.
 - C. The constitutional illusion that Rome was a restored republic was maintained for the benefit of the political classes, who were needed to staff the imperial bureaucracy and the upper echelons of the military.
 - D. From 25 B.C. on, the only military commanders of any merit were members of the household of Augustus.

Lecture Nineteen

The Roman Imperial Army

Scope: The emperor Augustus turned the Roman army into a professional service, comprising 28 legions, along with auxiliary units, whose total strength was 325,000 men. By 235 A.D., this army stood at perhaps 450,000 strong. Increases in pay and improved conditions of service attracted recruits. Legionaries, citizens who volunteered for 20 years, henceforth, fought with cool professionalism, rather than the tenacious patriotism of the republic. Auxiliaries, recruited from warlike provincials, were drilled by Roman officers to professional levels, learned Latin, and received citizenship upon discharge. Hence, the imperial army became a primary agent of Romanization. Furthermore, the army was stationed in base camps along the frontiers, where soldiers constructed highways, canals, depots, and fortresses that protected and promoted a provincial Roman society. Few armies in history have played so decisive a civilizing role, and few armies have ever enjoyed such success on the battlefield. But this army was an expensive professional force, perhaps representing three-quarters of the imperial budget. Emperors had to maintain the discipline and loyalty of their forces and guard against the rivalries that emerged among the three great frontier armies of the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates.

Outline

- I. The Roman imperial army was a different institution than it had been under the republic, and to a great extent, it reflected the larger history of the Roman Empire.
 - A. Augustus transformed the legions of the late republic into a full-time, professional imperial army that defended the frontiers against barbarians and civilized the provinces.
 1. In the empire, soldiers signed on for 16–25 years, depending on their rank, and were paid an annual wage. In the republic, service in the army was not a career.
 2. In some ways, the Roman imperial army could be classified as an *ordo*.
 - B. The symbols, traditions, and military rituals of the republic were focused on the imperial family.
 1. The oaths (*sacramentum*) earlier sworn to military commanders and the republic were now sworn to Augustus and the Julian family.
 2. The legionary standards (*aquila*) were decorated with signs of the zodiac and protective symbols. These standards exemplified the

1. For example, Agrippa, a close associate of Augustus, carried out the final pacification of Spain in 25–19 B.C. and was given military forces to crush resistance in the Balkans. Of course, Agrippa was also married to Augustus's daughter, and his loyalty was unquestioned.
 2. With the death of Agrippa in 12 B.C., command devolved on the two stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, who were responsible for the great Roman expansion in northern Europe.
 3. Even subordinate commanders, such as P. Quinctilius Varus and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, were linked to the imperial family. Varus, for example, was married to one of Augustus's grandnieces and owed his position to family connections.
 4. This situation caused some resentment among the upper classes in the 1st century A.D. because it meant that expansion in the provinces was controlled. Governors could no longer seek glory and booty in the provinces, because, henceforth, the *princeps* controlled expansion.
- E. Even the symbols of bravery that were so important to the Roman upper classes were increasingly monopolized by the imperial family. Triumphs were no longer awarded to anyone except members of the imperial household.
- F. In short, Augustus ensured that the achievements of the Roman Empire in defeating the barbarians were accorded to the emperor.

Readings:

Brunt, P. A., and J. M. Moore, trans. and ed. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*.

Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were the constitutional settlements in 27 and 23 B.C. so important for the stability of the Roman Empire? What did Augustus intend to achieve by these settlements? How was imperial power to be exercised and transmitted?
2. How was Augustus the embodiment of a traditional Roman politician and general? In what ways did he alter the rules of imperial expansion? Why were campaigns against the northern barbarians so important to Augustus and his future heirs?

history and traditions of the military units, which had a powerful effect in socializing recruits.

- C. In 6 B.C., Augustus fixed the number of legions at 28, numbering about 150,000 fighting men. We know a good deal about the Roman imperial army at this time from archaeological evidence, literary sources, and several relief works, including Trajan's column, erected to celebrate the Dacian Wars.
1. As a fighting force, the Roman soldiers of the Principate still depended on the sword (*gladius*) as their shock weapon and were trained to fight in close for the kill.
 2. The soldiers under the empire were organized into larger tactical units, called *cohorts*, each of which numbered about 480 men.
 3. The legions were still recruited from among Roman citizens. Funerary inscriptions from the 1st century A.D. indicate that 80 percent of legionaries in the West were recruited from Italy, Narbonensis, or Baetica. This situation would change in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, when increasingly, soldiers would be recruited on the frontier.
 4. In the East, Galatians and Cappadocians in Anatolia and Greco-Macedonian military colonists in Egypt and Syria were enrolled in the army, often on the grant of citizenship.
- II. Another component of the army was the auxiliary units, which tended to increase in number over time.
- A. These units were commanded by Roman officers but recruited from allies. The cohort, for example, was the basic tactical unit of allied forces, originally numbering 500–600 men. The *ala* ("wing") was for cavalry, numbering again, about 500 men.
 - B. Auxiliary units often provided the specialties that the legions didn't have, including light infantry, archers, cavalry forces, and slingers.
 - C. Augustus professionalized these units, as well. Auxiliary soldiers signed on for 25 years and were paid a good wage, although not as much as the legionaries were paid. On discharge, auxiliary soldiers received Roman citizenship.
 - D. The auxiliary units were smaller, but they, too, had certain standards and traditions. Often, they were recruited as ethnic units; for example, 10 Batavian cohorts fought with the renowned legion XIV Gemina.
 - E. The Romans specifically selected auxiliaries from among warlike peoples, such as Thracians, eastern Syrians from Palmyra, northeastern Gauls, Germans from the Rhineland, Berbers from North Africa, and Spaniards from northwest Spain.

- III. In this way, for the first time in the Western tradition, Augustus forged a full-time, standing professional army, perhaps numbering 325,000.
- A. These forces were comparatively small to protect the thousands of miles of frontier, to deal with the great variety of barbarians beyond the frontier, and to defend the Roman Empire.
 - B. This army would remain a professional force for the next 300 years, and its breakdown would be closely associated with the demise of the Roman Empire.
 - C. The legionaries were not only highly trained soldiers but also superb engineers. Roman military manuals instructed soldiers to build entrenchments, roads, and fortifications.
 1. The Roman army built an elaborate system of all-weather roads for strategic mobility, as well as canals, bridges, and depots.
 2. In the time of the republic, the armies had perfected the marching camp, which was built in a grid pattern. This plan would be applied to the stone fortresses of the 2nd century A.D. and would survive as the downtown of many cities in Western Europe today.
 3. Their vast construction programs increased the Romans' strategic mobility and the advantage they had over their opponents. We see this advantage at work, in one instance, in the civil war of 69 A.D., when two columns of the Rhine legions, 45,000 and 35,000 strong, crossed the Alps in winter and arrived at the Po, ready for battle, respectively, within 10–12 weeks.
 - D. The Roman army would also be an important agent in Romanization. Wherever the army set up camp against the barbarians, they brought with them tools and material luxuries. *Canabae*, civilian communities, also emerged near legionary bases to supply soldiers with necessities and vices.
 - E. The Roman army both defended the frontiers and assisted in assimilating the provincials and barbarians, thus proving the truth of Livy's maxim that the Romans not only knew how to win victories but also how to use them as agents of Romanization.

Readings:

Parker, H. M. D. *The Roman Legions*.

Roth, Jonathan. *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C.–A.D. 235)*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the crucial measures taken by Augustus to turn the Roman army into a fully professional force? How important were drill, discipline, and the conditions of service? What was the role played by Roman officers?
2. How did the imperial army assimilate auxiliaries and provincial populations? What types of exchange resulted between Roman soldiers and

frontier peoples? How did frontier society evolve during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire?

Lecture Twenty

The Varian Disaster

Scope: In 9 A.D., Publius Quinctilius Varus, governor of Germany, was lured into an ambush by Arminius, chief of the Cherusci, in the Teutoburger Wald. Three legions were annihilated in a ghastly running retreat in the pathless forests. Varus and his officers committed suicide. This celebrated disaster (*clades Variana*) convinced Augustus to abandon Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe. The Romans were taken by surprise, because Arminius came from a loyal family with citizenship. Many Germans in auxiliary units were, just as the Gauls, being assimilated as Roman soldiers. But German society, far simpler than that of Celtic Gaul, could not sustain garrisons of legions or a Roman provincial administration. Legions from base camps on the Rhine had cowed the tribes into submission by demonstrations in 16–9 B.C. Therefore, in 9 A.D., Augustus accepted the Rhine as the frontier. The emperor Tiberius restrained his heir, Germanicus, from reviving the conquest in 14–16. Instead, eight legions, one-third of the imperial army, mounted guard on the Rhine, and the Germans became the most dreaded barbarians in Roman imagination. By his fateful decision, Augustus marked the northern limits of Mediterranean civilization and dictated the course of future Western history.

Outline

- I. This lecture deals with the expansion of Roman power in central Europe, primarily Germany, but also the Balkans.
 - A. Augustus inherited a number of unresolved frontiers from the republic, especially in North Africa and Spain, but he quickly put these in order. For example, massive forces were brought into Spain to crush the final resistance in the northwest by 19 B.C.
 - B. The control of these regions allowed Augustus to concentrate his main efforts into Europe. The first zone that attracted his attention was the Balkan provinces, which would be difficult to pacify.
 - C. Some areas of the Balkans, such as Pannonia (western Hungary), were inviting to the Romans, offering rolling hills and arable land. Other regions, such as Dalmatia (encompassing parts of Serbia and Bosnia), had rough, mountainous terrain.
 - D. The keys to the operations conducted by Augustus and his heirs, Agrippa and Tiberius, were two important highways that ran from the Julian Alps to the two rivers today known as the Save and the Drave. The highways intersected at Singidunum (Belgrade), followed along the

Danube briefly, then cut inland up the Margus River, and eventually led into Macedonia and Greece. This axis was a traditional invasion route.

1. Along these highways, the strategic lower Danube and the valley of the Margus were organized into the Roman province of Moesia.
 2. Most of the effort of the Roman army in securing these highways was not in pacifying the tribes but in building roads. This task occupied the army for almost a generation after Augustus.
 3. Once the Balkan provinces were pacified, the Romans could strategically march forces from Italy and Western provinces to Greece and points east. All military expeditions in the later Roman Empire followed these land routes.
 4. Further, the Romans discovered gold mines in the region, especially in Bosnia, prompting a gold rush in the 1st century A.D.
 5. The native peoples, the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and Moesians, were ideal fighting material for the Roman auxiliary armies. The Thracians, for example, were prized as cavalry and the Pannonians served as infantry throughout the empire.
- E. A dangerous revolt erupted in 6 A.D. among the Dalmatian tribes in what are now Bosnia and Serbia, then spread to Pannonia.
1. The rebellion occurred just when Augustus was planning the conquest of Germany, so that he had to divert forces to bring these regions back under control.
 2. The rebels in each region were led by a former Roman auxiliary, each named Bato. Typically, the leaders of such revolts in the imperial period were men who had served in the Roman military and, in some cases, enjoyed Roman citizenship.
 3. From 6–9 A.D., 70,000 men were massed into the Balkans to bring the region under control.
- II. It can be argued that success in the Balkans was purchased at the cost of Germany.
- A. Again, note that for the Romans, Germania encompassed the lands east of the Rhine and north of the Danube; today, this region includes southern Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.
- B. Augustus decided to move into central Europe once Spain was brought under control and after his initial successes in the Balkans.
1. Caesar had left little administration in Gaul, but Augustus arrived there in 16 B.C. to take the census and institute administrative reforms.
 2. Gaul was organized into three provinces: Aquitania in the far southwest; Lugdunensis in central Gaul; and Belgica in the northeast. The regions of the Rhineland were organized into two

military districts, Upper and Lower Germany, where Augustus massed his legions.

- C. In 12 B.C., major advances were launched from bases along the Rhine, commanded by Tiberius and Drusus.
1. The German tribes submitted, but the Romans found different social and economic patterns among these peoples than they had encountered in Gaul. The Germans had no cities or towns; they lived in scattered villages and concentrated on stock raising over agriculture.
 2. Despite their submission, the Germanic tribes were, by no means, conquered. Further, the agricultural and economic base was too weak to support the Roman army over the winter; hence, the legions chastised the tribes during the summer, but pulled back to winter on the Rhine. Nonetheless, by 9 B.C., Augustus could declare a victory in Germania.
- D. Of all the German tribes, the one that was seen as the most dangerous dwelled in what is now the Czech Republic: the Marcomanni.
1. These people had been led to the region by their warrior-king, Maroboduus, who took the throne in about 20 B.C. This tribe was related to the Sueves, the tribe of Ariovistus.
 2. As Roman legions pushed east of the Rhine, Maroboduus had moved his people away from Roman power. They migrated into Bohemia, subjected a Celtic population, and built up an impressive kingdom from the existing towns and mining operations there.
 3. The Marcomanni reputedly fielded an army of 70,000 and so looked like serious opponents to Rome.
 4. Augustus had slated the kingdom of Maroboduus for conquest when the rebellions broke out in the Balkans. Once the rebellions were crushed, Augustus returned his attention to Maroboduus, but the destruction of the legions in the Teutoburger Wald (“German forest”) thwarted his plans again.
- III. The events in the Teutoburger Wald were among the most dramatic in Roman imperial history on the frontiers.
- A. Sometime in 9 A.D., P. Quinctilius Varus took over as governor of the German province between the Rhine and the Elbe. He had at his disposal five legions; three of these, Varus’s main field force, were based in a camp on a northern tributary of the Rhine.
- B. A leader, Arminius, emerged among the Cherusci, one of the major tribes in the region. Arminius lured Varus into an ambush by claiming that there was the possibility of a rebellion among his people.
- C. Arminius had massed the tribes together and prepared the battlefield well. An earth wall has recently been found, which would have blocked a Roman retreat.

- D. Under repeated attacks and in the midst of thunderstorms, the Roman soldiers lost their cohesion. Many of the auxiliaries defected, and the 15,000 Roman legionaries were slaughtered in battle or killed as captives. Varus committed suicide.
- E. This defeat was a complete military catastrophe and changed Roman perceptions. Never again were the numbers XVII, XVIII, and XIX used for Roman legions. Augustus sent eight legions to the Rhine to protect the Gallic provinces from a Germanic attack that never came.
- F. For the future, Augustus called a halt; Roman armies would not retrieve that lost province. Henceforth, the Germans emerged as the most dreaded foes in the eyes of the Romans and their presence on the other side of the frontiers in northwest Europe would have long-term consequences for the Roman world.

Readings:

Wells, Colin M. *The German Policy of Augustus*.

Wells, Peter S. *The Battle That Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburg Forest*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Augustus consider the conquest of the Balkans and central Europe vital to the security of Rome and of his own Julian dynasty? How did these barbarian opponents differ from the Gauls who had opposed Julius Caesar?
2. What accounted for the success of the Dalmatian tribes and Arminius in raising general revolts against Rome? What motivated these recently conquered barbarians to rebel? What were their strategies and aims?

Lecture Twenty-One

The Roman Conquest of Britain

Scope: In 55 and 54 B.C., Julius Caesar led two punitive expeditions into southeastern Britain to chastise the tribes for aiding their kinsmen, the Belgae of northeastern Gaul. The Britons in southeastern England participated in the wider Celtic civilization based on trade and towns. Britain was also home to celebrated schools of Druids, the Celtic priestly caste that opposed Roman rule. In the early 1st century A.D., Cunobelinus (Shakespeare's Cymbeline), king of the Catuvellauni, overran southeastern Britain. The emperor Claudius invaded Britain, officially to restore British exiled princes, but he sought to emulate Julius Caesar. The Roman province was initially based on the towns of La Tène, while the Iceni in East Anglia and the Brigantes in northern England entered into alliance. But Rome was drawn into desultory frontier wars in Wales, Cornwall, and northern Britain. In 60 A.D., the British provincials rebelling under Queen Boudicca were decisively defeated by the governor C. Suetonius Paullinus. Hence, the Flavian emperors ordered the conquest of the island in 71–85 A.D.. The Caledonians of the Scottish highlands escaped Roman rule because new barbarians on the Danube, the Dacians, threatened Rome. The emperor Hadrian thus accepted another limit to Roman power, ordering the construction of a great wall to mark off the province. South of the wall, Britons enjoyed the benefits of the imperial peace, but just as in Gaul, Roman success in Britain rested on the achievements of Celtic civilization.

Outline

- I. This lecture looks at a new frontier in the northern reaches of the Roman world, the isle of Britain, and the Celtic civilization that was in place there when the Romans arrived in 43 A.D.
 - A. In the last lecture, we discussed the emperor Augustus's attempt to claim the Julian heritage by his conquests in Germany. Augustus could also have looked to Britain, where Julius Caesar had led expeditions in 55 and 54 B.C.
 - B. A number of the kings ruling over the tribes in southeastern England acknowledged the authority of Rome based on the second expedition by Caesar in 54 B.C.
 - C. The most unlikely of Caesar's heirs, the emperor Claudius, directed the Roman invasion of Britain. Claudius believed that he had to prove himself by emulating the great deeds of Caesar, which he could do by conquering Britain.

- D. The Romans conquered what is today England and Wales, with an indirect control over the Scottish lowlands, but they had no interest in the Scottish highlands or Ireland.
1. The regions conquered by the Romans had been influenced by Celtic La Tène civilization.
 2. About 75 B.C., Belgic tribes had emigrated into southeastern Britain, bringing with them the La Tène technology. In 43 A.D., the Romans found the land bristling with *oppida*.
 3. Beyond the core area of Belgic civilization, which included what would today be the Midlands, London and the Home Counties, and the southern shore, the technology had been transmitted west and north. The Brigantes tribes in the north, for example, are known to have adopted the burial customs of Belgic La Tène civilization.
 4. Cornwall was home to a Celtic tribe known as the Dumnonii, who had been involved in the tin trade with the Mediterranean world since the beginning of the Iron Age. The Dumnonii were also linked by trade to the Venetii of Brittany.
 5. Two tribes, the Silures and the Ordovices, dominated Wales, and proved to be tough opponents of Rome.
- E. When Claudius decided to invade Britain, he was motivated largely by political concerns. He was unpopular in Rome and not seen as a Julian emperor. His wars of expansion were conducted to gain honor and triumph in the empire.
- F. At the same time, Claudius was also motivated by political reasons.
1. The links between Gaul and Britain were close. Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul and the development of the provinces did not interrupt the trade and contact between the Celts in the British Isles and those now under Roman rule.
 2. In the period 54 B.C. to 43 A.D., southeastern England saw an influx of Roman goods. A number of Belgic tribes in this region, including the Catuvellauni and Artebates, minted Roman-style coins, imported Roman wares and wine, and fused Roman traditions with their own native Celtic style in art.
 3. Further, the Romans outlawed the Druids but were not opposed to the Celtic gods. In fact, many of the Celtic gods were readily assimilated to Roman counterparts.
- II. In 43 A.D., when Claudius decided to invade Britain, he left nothing to chance.
- A. He mobilized four veteran legions, probably about 50,000 men, under experienced officers. This was the largest organized army ever to land in England.
- B. Claudius's principal target was the Catuvellauni, who had subjected tribes friendly to Rome, occupied Camulodunum (Colchester), and failed to pay the tribute.
- C. Claudius reasoned that if the Romans smashed this tribe, they could overrun the island, which is essentially what happened. The existing network of roads and hill forts in Britain sustained this large Roman force on the move.
- D. By 47 A.D., most of southeastern England had been incorporated into the empire, or the tribes had submitted and become clients and friends of Rome.
- E. In moving a massive military force into Britain, Claudius committed his successors to securing this province.
1. The initial areas of Britain overrun were part of the Belgic civilization. But in the rugged regions of Wales and Cornwall, tribes offered stubborn resistance to Roman control.
 2. Throughout the 40s and 50s A.D., the Romans found themselves drawn into difficult guerilla wars in western Britain.
 3. These operations climaxed in 60 A.D. when the governor C. Suetonius Paullinus, an expert in guerilla warfare, captured and sacked the Druid sanctuary on the island of Mona (Anglesey) to break the resistance of the Welsh tribes.
- F. The dispersal of so many Roman forces across the province invited a major rebellion.
1. The revolt was led by Queen Boudicca of the Iceni, who has been immortalized as a British heroine opposing Roman oppression.
 2. The king of the Iceni, Prasutagus, had ruled as a client of Claudius and Nero. When he died in 60 A.D., Nero sent in his procurator and freedmen to annex the Icenian kingdom.
 3. The queen and her daughters were abused by the Romans, and the Iceni resented the Roman tax collectors and census takers. Boudicca rallied her tribe against the oppressors just at the time that the Romans were engaged in Wales.
 4. This insurrection spread across most of southeastern Britain and was joined by the Trinovantes, the Catuvellauni, and lesser tribes. These tribes resented Roman taxation, the order to disarm themselves, and the loss of land to Romans at the military colony of Camulodunum.
 5. The insurgents swept over the southeastern portions of the island, burned Camulodunum to the ground, and butchered the colonists. The rebels also sacked Verulamium (St. Albans) and Londinium (London).
 6. Suetonius Paullinus quickly returned with two legions, evacuated London, and drew the Britons into a decisive battle on the Watling Road in the Midlands. The Romans cut the rebel forces to pieces;

many of the Britons were trampled in the panic; and Queen Boudicca committed suicide.

7. The Romans were faced with rebuilding the island frontiers, but at the time, they were also involved with consolidating control over the Belgic heartland. A civil war following the suicide of Nero in 69 A.D. plunged the empire into turmoil and interrupted the process of bringing Britain under control.

III. The civil war of 69 forced the Flavian emperors to settle the issue of Britain.

- A. Tough professional governors were sent in to undertake the conquest of Wales, northern Britain, and most of Scotland.
- B. The third of these governors was Gnaeus Julius Agricola, father-in-law of Tacitus, who depicted Agricola as a model Roman governor in a biography. Tacitus attributes to his father-in-law the conquest of the northern tribes and the construction of road systems running up the east and west coasts of England.
- C. The push to conquer the whole of the island was cut short, however, by the third Flavian emperor, Domitian, who had concerns closer to home on the Danube. The garrison of four legions in Britain was permanently reduced to three, and the Roman advance was halted.
- D. The Roman frontier in Britain approximated the boundary between England and Scotland today. The Romans constructed the famous wall marking the northern limit of the frontier during the reign of the emperor Hadrian.
 1. Hadrian's Wall was 15 feet high and 10 feet thick and ran for 77 miles. The wall acted as a political barrier and as a platform for aggressive patrols. These patrols operated along four major highways emanating from the forts along the wall deep into lowland Scotland.
 2. Behind the wall was a barrier to stop raiders returning to Roman territory with loot and cattle. The wall acted as a deterrent for low-level dangers. The legions were based in York and Chester, ready to move in the event of a major Celtic threat.
 3. Auxiliary soldiers numbering about 15,000 were well placed along the wall. The wall also had a series of gates, forts placed about every 5–7 miles, and signal towers. This system secured the northern limit of the island.
 4. Briefly, in 139–140 A.D., the wall was advanced north to a much shorter line, about 45 miles across.
- E. The Hadrianic Wall was never breached; it secured the northern frontier of Britain into the early 5th century A.D. Behind the wall, a successful Romano-British civilization developed based on Belgic achievements.
- F. The threat to the Romans would come later, in the early Middle Ages, not from the northern tribes, but from the east, across the North Sea,

from the Anglo-Saxons, and so Hadrian's Wall lost its strategic importance and was abandoned.

Readings:

Birley, Anthony. *The People of Roman Britain*.

Hanson, W. S. *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What factors, other than the need for legitimacy, led Claudius to conquer Britain? What conditions assisted in a rapid and successful Roman conquest of Britain, in contrast to the conditions that obtained in Germany east of the Rhine?
2. What accounted for the outbreak of the British revolt under Boudicca in 60? How did this revolt resemble other native uprisings against Roman rule?
3. How did the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls epitomize the frontier policy of the high Roman Empire? Why were these systems so successful in securing the northern frontiers?

Lecture Twenty-Two

Civil War and Rebellion

Scope: In 68 A.D., the suicide of the emperor Nero plunged the Roman world into civil wars and rebellions that revealed imperial weaknesses to all. In the transfer of imperial power, the three great regional armies of the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates henceforth were the ultimate arbiters. In 69 A.D., the legions of the Rhine championing Vitellius were pitted against legions of the Danube and the East declaring for Vespasian. The decisive battles in northern Italy between rival legions put Vespasian on the throne, but the northern frontiers, denuded of garrisons, were exposed to barbarian assault for the first time. Roxalani raided the lower Danube; the Brigantes and Welsh tribes defied Rome in Britain. In 69–70 A.D., Gaius Julius Civilis, an auxiliary officer, led his fellow Batavians, Germans dwelling on the Lower Rhine, in a rebellion that briefly united Gallic provincials and German barbarians against Rome. Quintus Petillius Cerialis, kinsman of the emperor Vespasian, crushed this rebellion, but the Flavian emperors had to reorganize the army and rethink their frontiers and relations with the barbarians.

Outline

- I. This lecture discusses the civil wars and rebellions that tore apart the Roman Empire in 68–70 A.D. These events are important for two reasons.
 - A. First, they illustrate the institutional weaknesses we discussed earlier in the constitutional and military arrangements made by Augustus.
 1. When the last representative of Augustus's family, Nero, committed suicide on June 9, 68 A.D., there was no adult male heir with the appropriate constitutional powers to succeed him.
 2. Without a recognized emperor in Rome, the *acrana imperii* ("the secret of the empire") was revealed. The three regional armies that had been created to defend and advance the frontiers became the arbiters of power. These armies included the legions of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.
 3. The key to power was for a single leader to emerge who could command the loyalty of at least two of these armies, put himself on the throne, and gain legitimacy from the Senate.
 - B. The civil war in 69 A.D. also revealed weaknesses in the Romans' relationship with the various provincials and frontier peoples.
 1. The legions of the Rhine and of the Danube essentially fought the same battle, almost at the same location, twice in one year. These battles were fought on the Via Postumia, running from Venice to Genoa, midway between Cremona and Bedriacum.

2. The casualties in such battles must have been horrendous, giving the provincials and barbarians the opportunity to seek independence against weakened Roman forces.
- II. From 62 A.D. on, Nero had alienated the imperial aristocracy and provincial elites. He also erred in not campaigning on the frontiers, especially in the Rhineland.
 - A. Nero was opposed initially by the Roman elites in Spain; one of the governors there, Servius Sulpicius Galba, was declared emperor by the provincials and legions in Spain. By the time Galba reached Rome, Nero had committed suicide.
 - B. Galba secured the necessary powers for ruling in Rome from the Senate; however, he was in his 80s and had no children.
 - C. The man who had helped engineer the revolt in Spain was Otho, from a relatively new aristocratic family. When Galba failed to adopt Otho as his heir, Otho bribed the Praetorian Guard to mutiny and slay Galba, then proclaim Otho emperor on January 15, 69.
 - D. This change of power in Rome went unnoticed by the regional armies.
 1. The armies of the Rhine had been subject to poor discipline under Nero, and on January 1 and 3, 69 A.D., they mutinied.
 2. The two men behind the revolt were legates, A. Caecina Alienus (IV Macedonica at Mainz) and Fabius Valens (I Germanica at Cologne).
 3. The legions saluted L. Vitellius, the governor of Lower Germany, or the northern province. The armies marched on Rome to put their man on the throne.
 4. By mid-April of 69 A.D., some 70,000 men from the Rhineland had poured into northern Italy. The first column of these armies engaged Otho's hastily improvised forces.
 5. Otho suffered defeat at Bedriacum and committed suicide in an effort to save the empire from civil war.
 - E. Meanwhile, T. Flavius Vespasianus (Vespasian) was in command in the war against the Jews in the East, who had revolted in 66 A.D.
 1. Vespasian had built up a coalition of equestrians, leading senators, and high officials of state and had secured loyalty among the armies in Syria and the Danube.
 2. On July 1, 69 A.D., the two Egyptian legions in Alexandria saluted Vespasian as emperor. Vespasian then sent an army from the East to contest the decision of April 69 A.D.
 3. As in the case of the mutiny on the Rhine, junior officers in the Danube legions seized the initiative. The legate L. Antonius Primus led the Danube legions into Italy.

4. These forces were spoiling to settle scores from the defeat several months earlier. A second battle was fought at Bedriacum between the Rhine and the Danube legions over the course of two days.
5. The Danube legions won and forced their way farther into Italy, but the fighting continued in the streets of Rome. By December 22, 69 A.D., the civil war had been decided in Vespasian's favor.

III. What were the repercussions of these civil wars on the frontier?

- A. In some instances, there were minor disturbances, as in Britain. In addition, some rivalries arose among client rulers and cities in Gaul.
- B. The real danger, however, was on the Rhine. The lack of discipline in the forces there and the tendency to keep German and Gallic auxiliary forces recruited in the Rhineland close to home almost undermined Roman authority in the northwestern provinces.
 1. The man who organized the rebellion in the Rhineland was Julius Civilis, a Batavian but a typical auxiliary commander who was at least partially assimilated to the Roman system.
 2. In the summer of 69 A.D., while the other legions were battling out the succession in northern Italy, Civilis launched his revolt.
 3. The reaction in the Rhineland was mixed. Most of the best Roman forces were in Italy, and the only forces remaining in the Rhineland were detachments left to defend the camps. The northern camp, Castra Vetera, was defended by only about 2,500 men. There was no organized response to the action of Civilis.
 4. Civilis enjoyed initial success but had difficulty maintaining discipline and loyalty. The only way he could achieve unity was by appealing to Roman symbols. It is significant that this separatist military revolt in Gaul and Roman Germany could only express itself in Roman terms.
 5. In the spring of 70 A.D., Vespasian's cousin Q. Petilius Cerialis, with a massive force, crossed the Alps, and swept down the Rhine. The majority of Celtic tribes and Romanized towns in the Rhineland welcomed these Roman forces, who smashed the insurgents.
 6. Civilis eventually arranged terms for his tribe, which came back under Roman control, and Cerialis put the military garrisons back in place in the Rhineland in the summer of 70 A.D.
- C. The Flavian emperors thus reformed the military system to ensure that the frontiers would never be compromised again.
- D. Ultimately, the civil wars revealed weaknesses in the imperial system. Far more damage was caused in the Roman Empire by Roman armies in civil war than by any barbarian rebellion.

Readings:

Levick, Barbara. *Vespasian*.

Wellesley, K. *The Long Year: A.D. 69*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did civil war reveal the institutional weaknesses of the Roman Principate? What were the qualifications for a successful emperor? How did the frontier armies determine the transfer of power among dynasties? Why was control of Rome so vital for legitimacy to any emperor who won a civil war?
2. Why were civil wars so destructive to the professionalism of the Roman army? How did civil war lead to the collapse of morale and discipline in the Rhine army? Why did this not happen among the Danube and Eastern legions? How important was the leadership of an emperor, such as Vespasian, in civil war?

Lecture Twenty-Three

Flavian Frontiers and the Dacians

Scope: Vespasian, founder of Rome's second, Flavian, dynasty, was a pragmatic soldier who reorganized the imperial armies and frontiers. The upper Euphrates was fortified as a *limes*, or a system of highways and bridges based on the legionary fortresses of Satala and Melitene in Asia Minor. From hard experience, the Romans had learned to appreciate the threat of a Parthian invasion. In Britain and Germany, governors humbled barbarians who had sought to exploit the Roman civil war. Vespasian occupied and fortified the strategic Black Forest (Agri Decumates) in southern Germany. His son and successor, Domitian, waged a preemptive war against the Chatti, ancestors of the Hessians. Despite success, Domitian faced a deadly foe in Decebalus, who welded the Dacians of Rumania into an effective barbarian kingdom. Since the 2nd century B.C., the Dacians had created an urban civilization based on their gold mines and trade with the Greek world. Imposing taxes on his subjects and discipline on his warriors, Decebalus fielded a formidable army that inflicted three defeats on the legions of the lower Danube in 85–88 A.D. Domitian, fearful for this throne, purchased out of this frontier war by an unfavorable treaty and left the crisis to his successors.

Outline

- I. No more pragmatic man ever came to the throne as emperor than Vespasian, and he was greatly appreciated by many members of the Roman Senate.
 - A. By 70 A.D., the Senate comprised families who had risen in imperial service; most of the old republican senatorial families had died away. A new group of men, many of them equestrians, had been elected, and Vespasian came from the ranks of these men.
 - B. Vespasian had two sons, Titus, who would have been 31 in 70 A.D., and Domitian, who was about 11 years younger than Titus. Domitian was a troubled man and really not fit to play the role of emperor, but Titus was extremely popular.
 - C. Vespasian reorganized the military system after the civil war. Four legions that had defected during the rebellion were cashiered. Some of the men in these legions were then reassigned to create new legions.
 1. Vespasian appointed strong, aggressive governors on the frontiers to build up a sense of loyalty in the new units.
 2. The auxiliary units were also reformed. The Flavian emperors renewed the policy of posting auxiliary units away from their homelands.
 - D. The Flavians took aggressive action on the frontiers to restore the majesty and image of Rome. The dynasty was desperate to earn a military reputation.
 1. Governors were ordered to conquer the island of Britain.
 2. Even more important were the punitive expeditions launched against the Germans; these were massive retaliatory strikes on the part of the Romans.
 3. Further, the Roman camps on the Rhine served as springboards for operations into the free German zone to incorporate more of Germany into imperial control.
 4. Vespasian initiated an advance into southern Germany with construction of a line of forts stretching from modern-day Mainz to Regensburg, including a region known in Latin as the Agri Decumates.
 5. The Flavians launched strikes into other regions of Germany. Notably, the emperor Domitian waged a war against the Chatti in Hesse.
- II. Another important frontier was the Euphrates in the eastern section of Anatolia.
 - A. Earlier, this frontier did not have adequate roads for logistical support, but it was reorganized under the Flavians.
 - B. A strategic highway was constructed from Trapezus on the Black Sea to the cities of Melitene and Samosata, enabling travel into Mesopotamia, across the Euphrates, or into Syria. The rough terrain of the region would have made construction of forts and highways a daunting task.
 - C. On this frontier, the Romans created a base from which to move in and impose Roman hegemony in Armenia and, if necessary, to attack into Mesopotamia or farther east into Iran and pressure the Parthian king.
 - D. In part, the construction on the frontiers paralleled other construction in the Roman world.
 1. From 70 to 235 A.D., the Romans essentially constructed the tourist industry of the Mediterranean world today. The period was one of great prosperity; the population increased; taxes rose; and the provinces became more Romanized.
 2. The roads, bridges, and fortifications built by the Romans were impressive structures, especially to the barbarians.
- III. Although the Flavian emperors achieved success in northwestern Europe, Domitian faced a new barbarian threat along the 1,000-mile frontier of the Danube: the Dacians, who occupied modern Rumania.
 - A. This region had been conquered by Augustus and his stepson Tiberius. The Balkan provinces were important for the strategic highways that linked Italy to the Greek world, as well as for the lucrative mines.

- B. Between the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the focus of Roman military power was shifted to the Danube and the East; eventually, 13 legions were posted in the Rhineland and 10 on the Euphrates and in Syria. Germany and Britain were handled by much smaller garrisons.
- C. In 85 A.D., Decebalus came to the throne of the Dacians, a group of tribes related to those living under Roman control in the Balkans. Although they were involved in different activities, the Dacians had a conscious identity as a group at least since the 2nd century B.C.
1. The Dacians had learned to exploit their iron and gold mines in trade with the Greek world. Increasingly, these people moved toward an urban-based culture without Roman intervention. When the wars opened in 101 A.D. during Trajan's reign, the Dacians had been living in towns for a number of generations.
 2. The Dacians had also acquired a great deal of knowledge and technology from the Classical world, which they married with their own traditions. Above all, by the end of the 1st century B.C., the Dacians were already prized as warriors.
 3. In 44 B.C., Julius Caesar had contemplated a war against the Dacians, because they had been united under King Burebistas and were raiding into Thrace and other regions.
 4. The Roman conquest and development of the Balkan provinces probably altered patterns of trade and migration there. The Romans set up a political boundary along the middle and lower Danube, which ran through a line of communication and divided two zones that had been culturally related.
 5. By 85 A.D., the Dacians again coalesced around a powerful king, Decebalus, and began to pose a military threat on the Danube. Further, through trade and contact with the Romans, the Dacians had learned to equip themselves more effectively, and because of their mineral wealth, they were able to hire large numbers of Germans and Sarmatian nomads to fight in the ranks of their army.
- D. The initial attacks of Decebalus were treated as operations that could be handled by a single legion. The governors tried to carry out the preemptive strikes against the Dacians that had been used in Germany, but at least two legions were annihilated in these operations.
- E. Domitian discovered that these opponents were not just raiding tribes; these were disciplined forces led by an effective king. The success of the Dacian attacks on the middle and lower Danube incited German and Iranian nomads to attack along the upper Danube.
- F. Domitian came to terms with Decebalus in 92 A.D. by agreeing to pay the Dacians a subsidy and to provide Roman engineers and technical support to fortify Dacian towns. This king had forced the Romans to make concessions that no Roman emperor had previously made, and he would continue to press his advantage.

- G. The trials with the Dacians brought forth the greatest of Roman emperors, Trajan, the *optimus princeps*, to carry out the first significant conquest since the invasion of Britain.

Readings:

Jones, B. W. *The Emperor Domitian*.

Levick, B. *Vespasian*.

Luttwak, E. N. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Flavians extend so much effort on the frontiers and the imperial army? What lessons did they learn from the rebellions and civil wars of 69–70 A.D.? How significant were Flavian military victories over barbarian foes?
2. What were the advantages of the construction of permanent frontier fortresses, signal towers, and highways, known as the *limes*? How were these frontiers to be defended? Did the northern barbarians pose a threat that justified these measures?
3. What was the nature of the threat posed by the Dacians? How did Domitian compromise the Danube frontier by his treaty in 92 A.D.? Was a future war between Rome and the Dacians inevitable in 96 A.D.?

Lecture Twenty-Four

Trajan, the Dacians, and the Parthians

Scope: Trajan, the first Roman emperor descended from provincials, was hailed *optimus princeps*, “best emperor,” for his victories over the barbarian foes, Dacians and Parthians. Twice, in 101–102 and 105–106 A.D., Trajan overran Dacia by a strategy of two columns totaling over 100,000 men that converged on Decebalus’s capital, Sarmizegethusa. From the booty, captives, and profits from mining, Trajan funded an imperial patronage that secured his dynasty for the next century. In 115–117 A.D., Trajan deployed the same strategy against the Parthians with devastating effect. Although Hadrian relinquished Trajan’s eastern conquests, Dacia proved a model in Romanization. At Rome, Trajan erected a commemorative column decorated with reliefs depicting his Dacian wars. This remarkable record, paralleled by literary sources and coins, reveals that Romans appreciated the nobility and tragic defeat of the Dacians. Trajan’s reign was the climax of five centuries of confident Roman imperialism, but within a generation, perceptions and policies changed profoundly when Marcus Aurelius faced new barbarian challenges from Parthians and Germans.

Outline

- I. The emperor Trajan (98–117 A.D.) was hailed as “the best of emperors” (*optimus princeps*); he was the first man of provincial origins to become emperor.
 - A. With the death of Trajan in 117 A.D., Roman expansion was concluded. Trajan’s conquests beyond the Euphrates are often viewed by modern historians as expensive and unnecessary but were immensely popular among the Romans themselves.
 1. Further, these wars paid off. The Dacian wars, for example, won the Romans 50,000 captives and 1.5 billion denarii.
 2. The Dacian wars financed an enormous building program in Italy and, indeed, funded the dynasty of the Five Good Emperors.
 - B. Trajan also set the strategy for defeating the Parthian foe in the East.
- II. Trajan inherited the problem of dealing with the Dacians from Domitian.
 - A. Domitian had compromised imperial defense along the middle and lower Danube. His actions led to the massing of large numbers of forces on the Danube frontier and the development of highways in the Balkan provinces.

- B. In 101 A.D., Trajan massed more than 100,000 men to humble Decebalus, king of the Dacians. These forces were to operate in two columns, one coming from the west and one coming from the south.
 1. The two columns converged in western Dacia, ravaging the agricultural heartland of the kingdom and threatening to advance against the Dacian capital, Sarmizegethusa.
 2. The Roman army wintered on the imperial side of the frontier, then returned in the summer of 102 A.D.. This time, the southern column came into Dacia from the East, taking Decebalus by surprise.
 3. Decebalus surrendered and was probably required to return the skilled captives that he had negotiated from Domitian and pay reparations.
- C. Decebalus had been humbled but not defeated. As soon as the Roman forces withdrew, he reopened the war. Trajan reacted promptly, assembling a comparable force to return to Dacia within two years.
 1. Trajan used essentially the same strategy that he had in 101–102 A.D., but this time, the two columns converged on the Dacian capital in 105 A.D. and sacked it.
 2. By 106 A.D., resistance had collapsed, and Trajan decided to organize the former kingdom into a province. The nature of the conquest in Dacia led to rapid Romanization.
- D. The Dacian wars were hailed as a great triumph for Trajan, who reportedly penned a commentary similar to the one Julius Caesar had written describing the Gallic wars.
 1. The account no longer exists, but Trajan’s Column, which today stands in Rome, gives us a remarkable insight into official attitudes toward barbarians in the high empire.
 2. The marble column stands in Trajan’s forum, a complex completed in 113 A.D. from the profits of the war. It rests on a square cube, in which the ashes of Trajan and his wife, Plotina, were later deposited in a golden urn, but this urn no longer survives.
 3. The column is constructed of 23 marble drums and faced with 400 marble slabs. It spirals up to 100 feet and is covered with reliefs that narrate the Dacian wars in pictures.
 4. The reliefs contain more than 2,500 figures and constitute the most detailed pictorial record available of the Roman army on campaign. The bridge of ships across the Danube is depicted, as well as scenes of rituals and the capture of cities and prisoners.
 5. Trajan is shown as a serene, resolved commander, often according clemency to the barbarian foes.

- III. The victory in Dacia allowed Trajan to perfect the logistics and strategy necessary to take on the Parthian king.
- A. Part of Trajan's success rested on the Flavians' reorganization of the upper Euphrates frontier, although Trajan also contributed to the strengthening of the Eastern frontier.
 - B. Trajan could have settled with the Parthian king by diplomatic agreement, as Augustus and Nero had done.
 - 1. In 112 or 113 A.D., the then-reigning Parthian king, Oroses, put his brother on the throne of Armenia without consultation with Rome.
 - 2. In response, Trajan moved east with large numbers of forces. By 114 A.D., Roman armies had overrun Armenia. The next year, two huge Roman columns moved into Mesopotamia and converged on the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon. The Romans stormed and sacked the city, and the Parthian kingdom broke out in civil war.
 - 3. With this victory, Trajan may have seen himself as a new Alexander the Great. Undoubtedly, the reports sent back to Rome were spectacular. Yet the victory resulted in no permanent annexations.
 - 4. Trajan was forced to pull back, in part because of rebellions among the Jewish populations in Mesopotamia and Cyrenica. He died unexpectedly on August 4, 117 A.D..
 - 5. Hadrian faced opposition as Trajan's successor and had no taste for the Eastern war. He called a halt to the offensive against Parthia.
 - C. The successes of Trajan over the Dacians and Parthians gave later Roman emperors the winning strategy to defeat the eastern foe.
 - 1. Several later Parthian wars took place. In 161–166 A.D., C. Avidius Cassius, the leading general of Marcus Aurelius, repeated the strategy of Trajan to humble Parthia.
 - 2. The emperor Septimius Severus waged two Parthian wars, again employing the same tactics and logistics as Trajan.
 - 3. In 199–200, Septimius Severus also organized the province Mesopotamia in northern Iraq that gave the Romans the bases to attack the Parthian political heartland ever after.
- IV. The northern frontiers were not as quiescent as the eastern ones had become.
- A. The last of the Five Good Emperors, Marcus Aurelius, faced the first serious Germanic incursions into the Roman Empire in 100 years.
 - B. Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180 A.D.) was a Stoic philosopher and probably the noblest man to sit on the throne of Rome.
 - C. The emperor had waged a Parthian war with great success, but it was not a profitable war, and returning legions carried with them a plague. Perhaps 15 percent of the men in the army were killed by the plague in 166–169 A.D..

- D. Both this Parthian war and the war against German invaders into the Balkans that came almost immediately afterward had to be financed by debasing the currency. The Romans had used this technique in the past to cover short-term needs for cash but had always restored the currency once the fiscal emergency had been met.
- E. Historians are not sure what caused the invasions of the Germans. These may have been tribes moving up the Oder valley into Bohemia.
 - 1. In 167–170 A.D., these tribes invaded the Balkan provinces, Italy, and Greece. Even tribes that had been long associated with Rome, such as the Sueves, started to raid into Roman territory.
 - 2. Marcus Aurelius might have been planning a punitive strike against these Germanic tribes, but the Germans struck first.
 - 3. By 171 A.D., Marcus Aurelius took the offensive and, for nine years, waged war north of the Danube. When he died in 180 A.D., the Romans were ready to incorporate these regions into the empire; however, the emperor's son and successor, Commodus, cancelled these plans.
- F. Marcus Aurelius also commissioned a column, similar in construction to Trajan's Column, in celebration of the German wars. But the serenity and clemency of Trajan's Column are nowhere present in this one; the perceptions of the German wars are much more menacing and may have been even more significant than the victory.

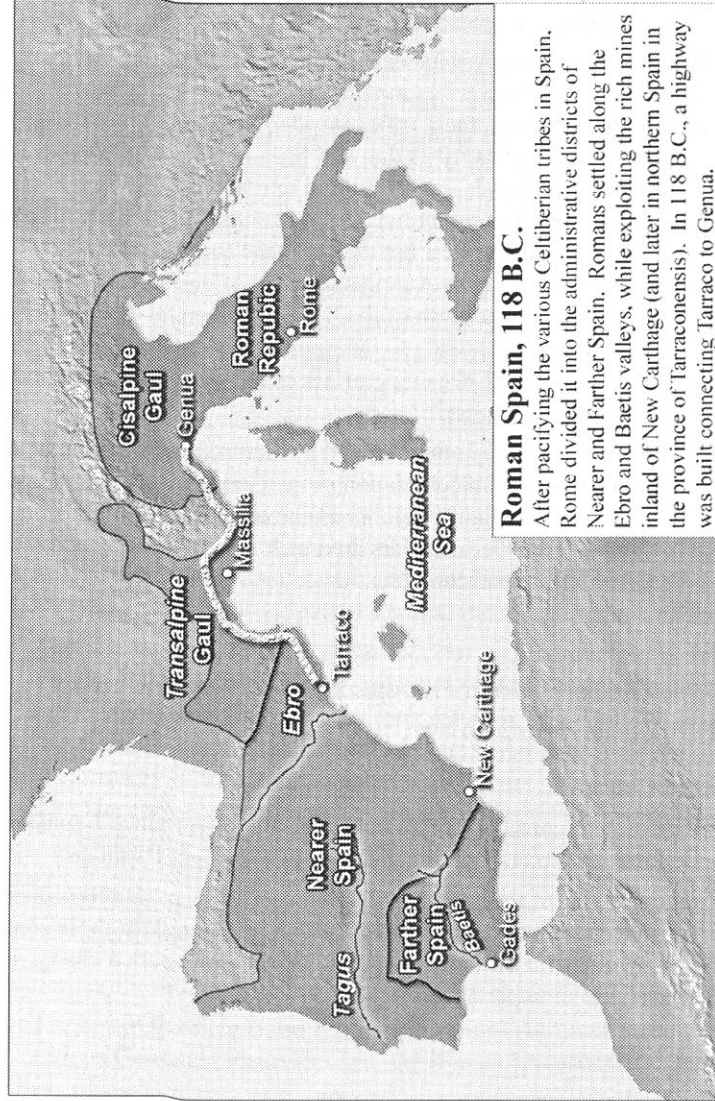
Readings:

Bennet, Julian. *Trajan Optimus Princeps*. 2nd ed.

Lepper, F. A. *Trajan's Parthian War*.

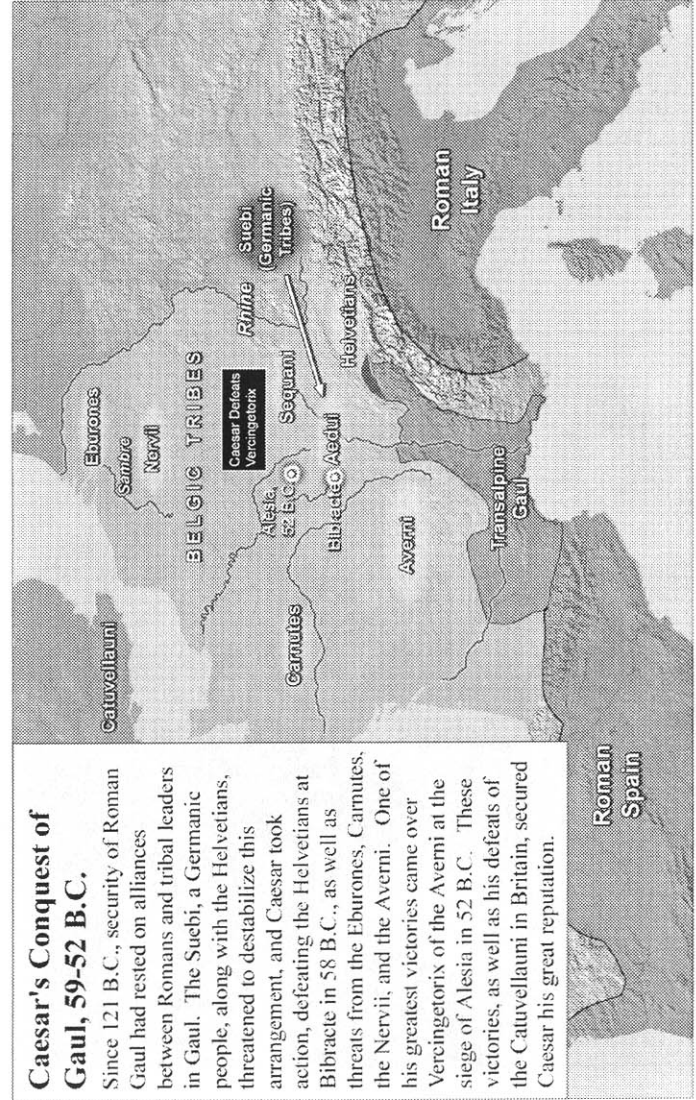
Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did Romans consider Trajan the greatest emperor since Augustus? How important were his victories over the Dacians and Parthians?
- 2. How do the reliefs of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius document a shift in perceptions of the barbarians? What accounted for these changes? How do the reliefs on the column of Marcus Aurelius mark a change in style and presentation in imperial arts?



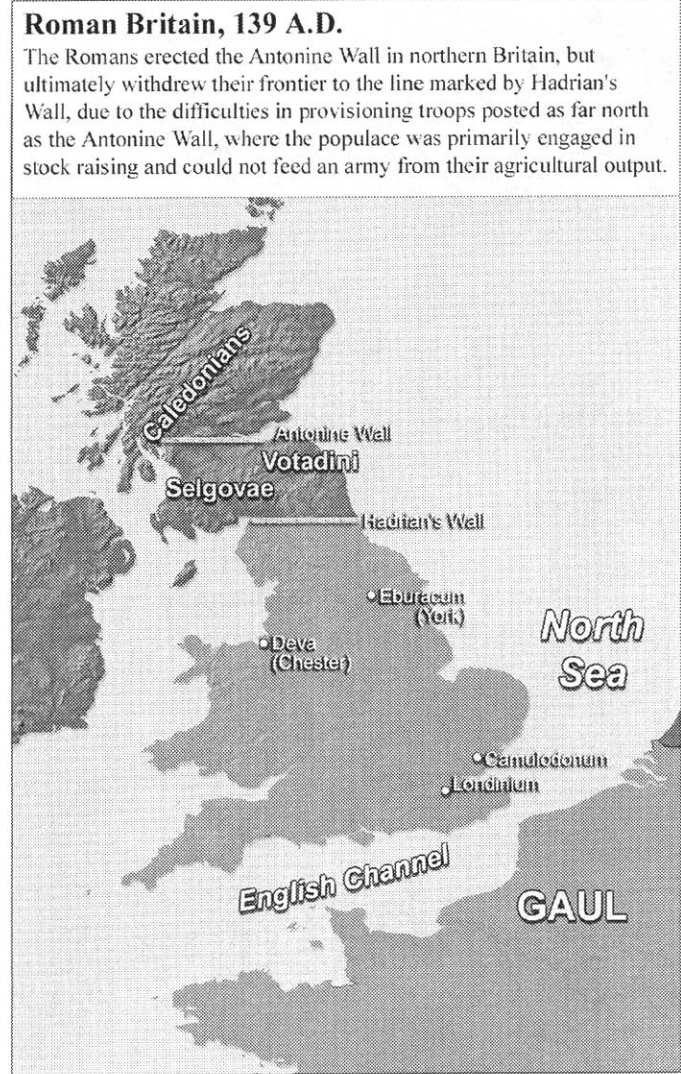
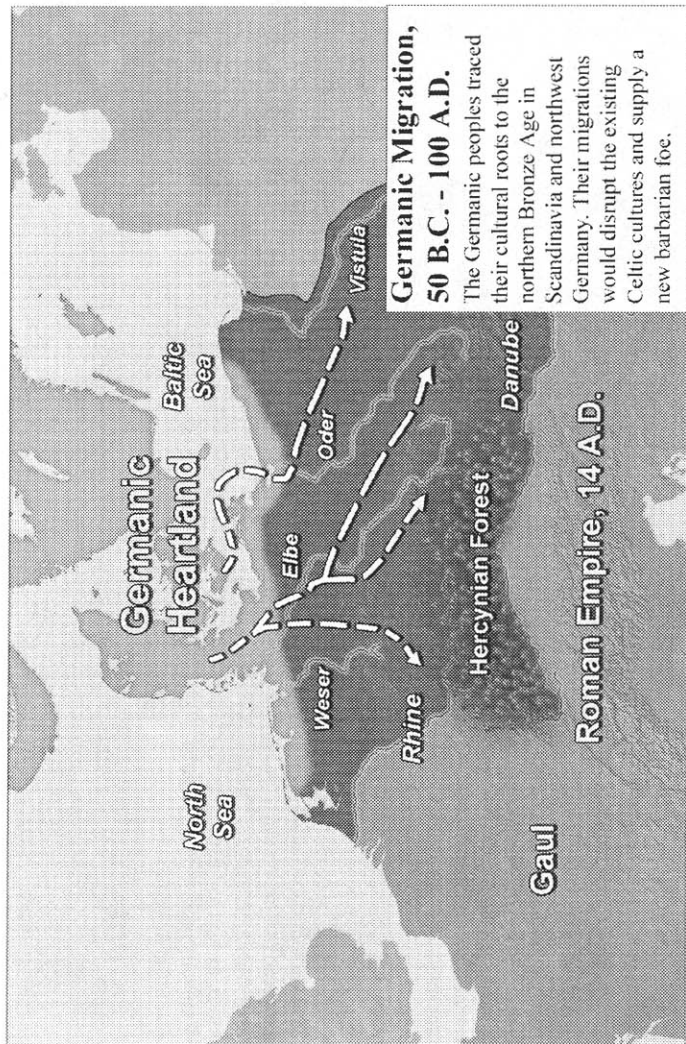
Roman Spain, 118 B.C.

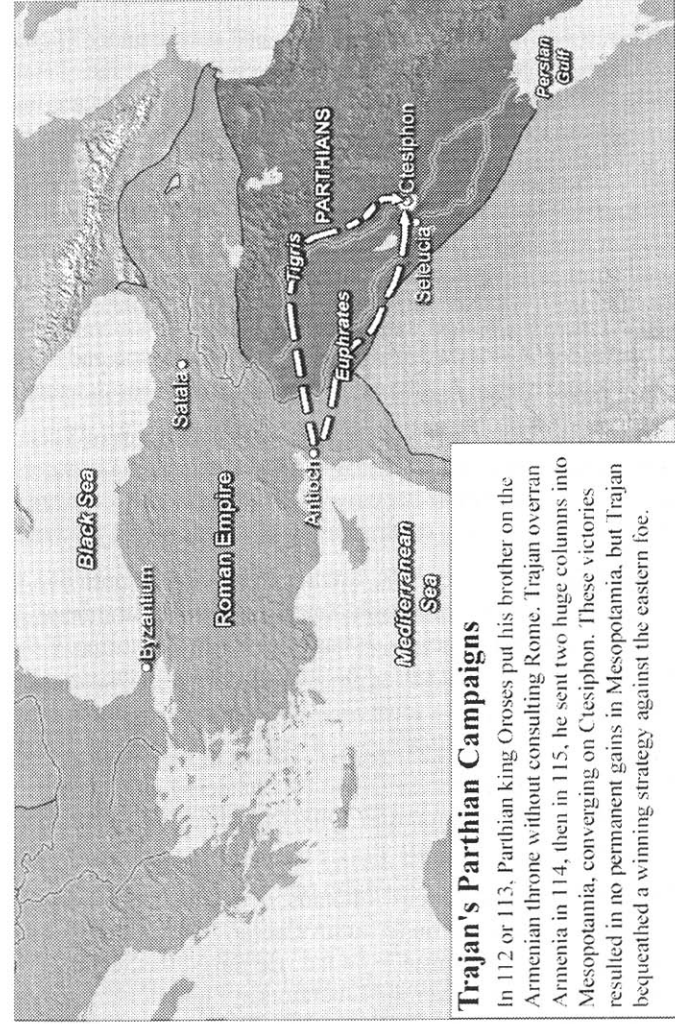
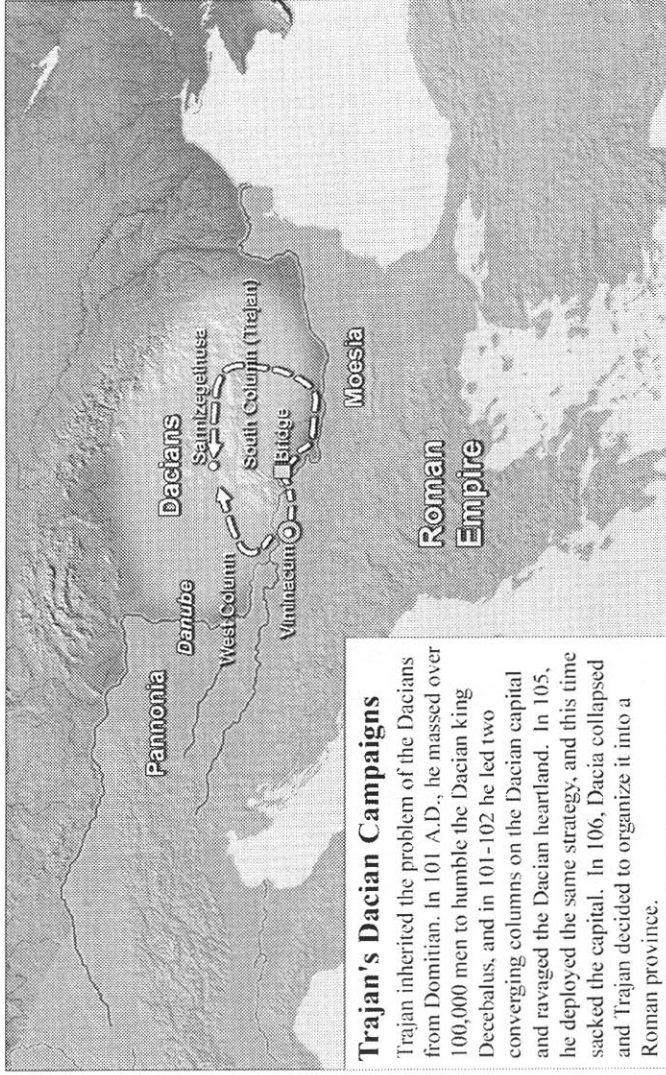
After pacifying the various Celtiberian tribes in Spain, Rome divided it into the administrative districts of Nearer and Farther Spain. Romans settled along the Ebro and Baetis valleys, while exploiting the rich mines inland of New Carthage (and later in northern Spain in the province of Tarraconensis). In 118 B.C., a highway was built connecting Tarraco to Genua.



Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, 59-52 B.C.

Since 121 B.C., security of Roman Gaul had rested on alliances between Romans and tribal leaders in Gaul. The Suebi, a Germanic people, along with the Helvetians, threatened to destabilize this arrangement, and Caesar took action, defeating the Helvetians at Bibracte in 58 B.C., as well as threats from the Eburones, Carnutes, the Nervii, and the Averni. One of his greatest victories came over Vercingetorix of the Averni at the siege of Alesia in 52 B.C. These victories, as well as his defeats of the Catuvellauni in Britain, secured Caesar his great reputation.





Biographical Notes

Aemilian (born c. 208; r. 253 A.D.). Marcus Aemilius Aemilianus, governor of Moesia, was declared emperor by his legions. He defeated and slew the emperor Trebonianus Gallus, but three months later, Aemilian was defeated and slain by Valerian, who was declared emperor by the Rhine legions.

Alaric (r. 395–410 A.D.). King of the Visigoths, had served under Theodosius I. Alaric, denied high command by the imperial government, led the Visigoths into Greece in 395–397, then to Italy in 400–402. Stilicho checked Alaric until 408. In 410, Alaric sacked Rome in a bid to pressure the emperor Honorius for a command, but Alaric died soon after.

Aetius (d. 454 A.D.). Flavius Aetius, *magister militum* (425–454), was from a military family in Moesia. By his influence with the kings Ruga and, later, Attila, Aetius secured Huns as federates and dominated policy at the court of Western emperor Valentinian III. In 454, Aetius was executed on grounds of treason.

Agrippina, “the Elder” (14 B.C.–33 A.D.). Daughter of Agrippa and Julia, married Germanicus circa 5 A.D., and bore three sons and three daughters.

Amalasantha (r. 526–535). Queen of the Ostrogoths, daughter of Theoderic, and regent for her son Athalaric, who died in 534. Amalasantha was compelled to marry and elevate to the throne her cousin Theodahad, who arranged the queen’s murder. Justinian seized on the murder of Amalasantha to invade Italy.

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–395). Soldier and historian, born of a military family from the Roman colony of Berytus (modern Beirut). Ammianus, a pagan who served under Christian emperors, is hailed as the last historian of the imperial reign. Only the last portions of his history, covering the reigns from Trajan to Valens, survive.

Antiochus III (born 242 B.C., r. 223–187 B.C.). King of the Seleucid Empire, emulated the career of Alexander the Great. He blundered into a war with Rome (192–188 B.C.). His defeat at Magnesia (190 B.C.) reduced the Seleucid state to a power of the second rank.

Antony, Mark (83–30 B.C.). Marcus Antonius, of a noble family, distinguished himself as a cavalry commander under Julius Caesar. Mark Antony was tribune of the plebians in 49 B.C. and consul in 44 B.C. He joined the Second Triumvirate in 43 B.C. and won the victory over the Liberators at Philippi (42 B.C.). Mark Antony, charged with reordering the Roman East, lost support at Rome by his marriage to the Ptolemaic Queen Cleopatra VII. In 31 B.C., he was decisively defeated by Octavian at Actium. Antony fled to Egypt and committed suicide in 30 B.C.

Appuleius Saturninus, Lucius (c. 145–100 B.C.). *Popularis* tribune of the plebians in 103 B.C., entered into political alliance with Gaius Marius. His

radical politics and use of violence during the consular elections of 100 B.C. alienated Marius. Saturninus was arrested and murdered during the rioting.

Arcadius (r. 395–408 A.D.). Elder son of Theodosius I and Aelia Flaccilla, born in 377 A.D. He was proclaimed Augustus in 383 and, in 395, succeeded to the eastern half of the Roman Empire. He proved a weak-willed emperor, dominated by his ministers, who averted the crisis posed by Alaric and the Visigoths.

Ardashir (r. 227–241 A.D.). The first Sassanid shah of Persia, who overthrew the Parthian king Artabanus V and waged war against the emperor Severus Alexander in 229–232.

Arminius (c. 18 B.C.–20 A.D.). Prince of the Cheruscii who led the revolt that destroyed the three legions under Publius Quinctilius Varus in the Teutoburger Forest in 9 A.D. Arminius, resented as a tyrant, was overthrown and murdered by his tribesmen circa 20 A.D.

Arrian (c. 90–150 A.D.). Flavius Arrianus, born of a wealthy Greek provincial family of Nicomedia. He entered imperial service under Trajan (r. 98–117). As governor of Cappadocia in 134–135, he defeated an Alan invasion. He wrote the best surviving account of the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

Athaulf (r. 411–415 A.D.). King of the Visigoths, succeeded his brother-in-law Alaric. He arranged with the emperor Honorius a treaty whereby the Visigoths departed Italy and, as imperial allies, restored order in Gaul and Spain. He established the Visigothic kingdom at Toulouse in southern Gaul.

Attila (born c. 410; r. 434–452 A.D.). He and his brother Bleda succeeded their uncle Ruga (r. 420–434) as joint kings of the Huns. In about 445, Bleda was murdered by Attila. In 442–443 and 447, Attila launched devastating raids into the Balkans, earning the sobriquet “Scourge of God.” In 451, he invaded Gaul and suffered a strategic defeat at Châlons from a Roman-Gothic army under Aetius. In 452, he invaded northern Italy but withdrew as a result of the intercession of Pope Leo I. Attila died from overindulgence at his wedding celebrations. The Hun Empire collapsed within two years after his death.

Augustus (born 63 B.C.; r. 27 B.C.–14 A.D.). By the settlements of 27 and 23 B.C., Augustus (previously Octavian) established the constitutional basis of the Principate. Augustus, a genius in organization, founded the fundamental institutions of the Roman Empire, sponsored Latin letters and Roman arts, and gave 45 years of peace to the Mediterranean world. He was succeeded by his stepson Tiberius (r. 14–37). See also **Octavian**.

Aurelian (born c. 207; r. 270–275 A.D.). Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, born of a military family in Dalmatia, distinguished himself as a cavalry commander under Gallienus and Claudius II. In 270, the Danube army saluted Aurelian as emperor, and he secured Rome after a brief civil war. Aurelian restored the political unity of the Roman Empire, defeating Zenobia of Palmyra in 272 and the Gallo-Roman emperor Tetricus in 274.

Aurelius, Marcus (born 121; r. 161–180 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, perhaps the noblest of Roman emperors, succeeded his adoptive father, Antoninus Pius. In 161–169, he shared power with his adoptive brother Lucius Verus. Marcus Aurelius waged tough frontier wars against the Parthians (161–166) and Germans (167–180), but his hard-won victories over the Germans were thrown away by his unbalanced son Commodus.

Avidius Cassius, Gaius (d. 175 A.D.). Son of a Greco-Roman equestrian, Avidius Cassius was adlected into the Senate, holding a consulship in the early 160s. He commanded the Parthian expedition of Lucius Verus in 161–166. In 175, he led a revolt of the army of Syria on false reports of the death of Marcus Aurelius, but the revolt collapsed and Avidius Cassius committed suicide.

Belisarius (c. 505–565 A.D.). Born of an humble Illyrian family, Belisarius rose to commander of the Eastern army in 530–532. His victories marked him as the emperor Justinian's most brilliant general. Belisarius overthrew the Vandal kingdom in 533 and commanded the forces against the Ostrogoths in Italy in 535–540 and 546–549. With the death of Theodora, his patroness at court, Belisarius fell into disfavor in 549 and was forced to retire.

Boudicca (died 60 A.D.). Queen of the Iceni, she led the revolt of Britons in 60 A.D. The insurgents were defeated by Gaius Suetonius Paullinus, and Boudicca committed suicide.

Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, Quintus (consul 109 B.C.). An optimate senator who commanded the Roman army against Jugurtha in 109–107 B.C. Metellus was undermined and replaced by his own protégé, Gaius Marius. Thereafter, Caecilius Metellus headed the opposition to Marius.

Caligula (born 12 A.D.; r. 37–41 A.D.). The son of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, Gaius Julius Caesar was nicknamed Caligula ("little boots") by soldiers of the Rhine legions. He succeeded his uncle Tiberius as a popular ruler of Julian descent. But Caligula's arbitrary and savage rule, aggravated by madness, led to his assassination by officers of the Praetorian Guard.

Caracalla (born 188; r. 211–217 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the elder son of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, was nicknamed Caracalla after his favorite Gallic cloak. He ruled as co-emperor with Septimius Severus from 198. In 211, he succeeded jointly with his brother Geta. In 212, Caracalla murdered Geta, then issued the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, granting citizenship to all free residents of the Roman Empire. He was murdered by his Praetorian prefect Macrinus during the Parthian expedition (214–217).

Caratacus (r. 40–51 A.D.). King of the Catuvellauni; succeeded his father, Cunobolinus. After the Romans captured his capital, Camulodunum, in 43, Caratacus organized resistance among the tribes in Wales in 44–51. In 51, he fled to Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes, who surrendered Caratacus.

Carausius (r. 287–293 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius Carausius, a naval officer under Maximianus, repelled Saxon pirates raiding Britain, then declared himself emperor. He ruled a Romano-British Empire until his murder by his finance minister, Allectus (r. 293–296).

Cartimandua (r. c. 40–69 A.D.). Queen of the Brigantes, she proved a loyal ally of Rome, surrendering the exiled Caratacus. In 69, she was expelled by her husband, Venutius.

Carus (r. 282–283 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius Carus, the Praetorian prefect of Probus, was declared emperor by the Eastern legions. He elevated his sons, Carinus (r. 283–285) and Numerian (r. 283–284), as co-emperors. He invaded Mesopotamia, defeating the Persian army, but he was killed by lightning near Ctesiphon.

Cicero. See **Tullius Cicero, Marcus.**

Claudius Caecus, Appius (consul 307 and 296 B.C.). Distinguished himself as censor in 312 B.C. when he reformed the census and Senate. He ordered the construction of the Appian Way (*Via Appia*), the first great highway project. An eloquent orator, Appius Claudius persuaded the Senate to reject the overtures of King Pyrrhus of Epirus in 279 B.C.

Claudius (born 10 B.C.; r. 41–54 A.D.). Tiberius Claudius Drusus was the second son of Drusus and Antonia Minor. His stutter and grotesque appearance due to infantile paralysis led the family to assume he was weak-minded, and he received no political training. In 41 A.D., after the assassination of Caligula, the Praetorian Guard declared Claudius emperor. He proved an able administrator and, in 43 A.D., led the invasion of Britain. He is believed to have been murdered by his fourth wife and niece, Agrippina the Younger, in the interests of her son Nero.

Claudius II Gothicus (born c. 215, r. 268–270 A.D.). An Illyrian provincial, Claudius rose through the ranks to become a senior officer of Gallienus. He participated in the murder of Gallienus and ascended the throne as the first "soldier emperor." In 269, he defeated a major Gothic force at Naissus in upper Moesia and was hailed "Gothicus." He died of plague early in 270.

Clovis (r. 482–511 A.D.). King of the Franks, Clovis made the Merovingian kingdom the most important state in Western Europe. In about 496, he converted to Catholic Christianity and won the cooperation of the Gallo-Roman elites.

Constantine I, the Great (born c. 272; r. 306–337 A.D.). Flavius Valerius Constantinus, son of Constantius I and St. Helena, initiated the transformation of the Roman Empire into a Christian world. He served as an officer under Diocletian and Galerius. In 306, he joined his father, Constantius, Augustus of the West, in a British expedition. Upon his father's death, Constantine was declared emperor by the Western army. Based at Treveri (Trier), Constantine waged civil wars, reuniting the Roman world in 323. At the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312), Constantine defeated Maxentius and credited his victory to the

Christian God. In 325, he summoned the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea and, in 330, dedicated Constantinople, "New Rome," as a Christian capital.

Constantius I Chlorus (r. 305–306). Flavius Valerius Constantius, from an Illyrian military family, served under Probus and Diocletian. In 293, Maximianus adopted Constantius as his heir and Caesar. In 305, Constantius I succeeded as Augustus of the West. He died in 306 after conducting an expedition against the Picts.

Constantius II (born 317; r. 337–361). Flavius Julius Constantius, son of Constantine I and Fausta, was proclaimed Caesar in 324 and succeeded jointly as Augustus with his brothers Constantine II and Constans in 337. Constantius ruled in the East, waging a war against the Persians. He crushed the rebellion by Magnentius and the Western army in 350–353. In 361, Constantius died of illness while en route to face his cousin Julian, who had been declared emperor by the Western army.

Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, Lucius (consul 190 B.C.). The younger brother of Scipio Africanus, Lucius decisively defeated King Antiochus III at the Battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C.

Cornelius Scipio, Publius (consul 218 B.C.; died 211 B.C.). In 218 B.C., Publius sent his main forces into Spain under his brother Gnaeus, while he opposed Hannibal. In December 218 B.C., Scipio and his consular colleague, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, were defeated by Hannibal at the Battle of Trebia. In 217 B.C., Publius, with *pro-imperium*, joined his brother Gnaeus in Spain. He was defeated and slain by the Carthaginians on the upper Baetis River in 211 B.C.

Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius (236–183 B.C.). The son of Publius Cornelius Scipio (consul 218 B.C.) and one of the greatest Roman commanders. In 210 B.C., he arrived in Spain with proconsular *imperium*. Scipio captured New Carthage (209 B.C.), won over the Celtiberian tribes, reformed Roman tactics and weapons, and expelled the Carthaginians from Spain by 206 B.C. He was elected consul of 205 B.C., and by invading Africa (204–201 B.C.), he compelled Hannibal to withdraw from Italy. Scipio defeated Hannibal at Zama (202 B.C.) and ended the Second Punic War.

Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, Publius (185–129 B.C.). The second son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (consul 168 B.C.), adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus so that he became Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. In 147 B.C., he was elected consul. In 146 B.C., he captured and razed Carthage. In 134, he was again elected consul and captured Numantia in 133 B.C., ending the third Celtiberian war.

Cornelius Sulla, Lucius (138–77 B.C.). Sulla, descended from a patrician family, led a dissolute youth. As Marius's quaestor, Sulla negotiated the surrender of Jugurtha in 105 B.C. Sulla distinguished himself in the Social War and was elected consul, with the command against Mithridates VI of Pontus in

88 B.C. When the *populares* transferred the command to Marius, Sulla marched his legions on Rome, thereby initiating the first civil war. In 87–84 B.C., Sulla defeated Mithridates VI, restored Roman rule in the East, then invaded Italy. In 84–82 B.C., he crushed the *populares*, and as dictator (82–78 B.C.), he rewrote the Roman constitution in favor of the Senate and the optimates.

Cornelius, Tacitus (56–120 A.D.). From a northern Italian or southern Gallic provincial family, Tacitus entered a senatorial career under Vespasian. In 77, he married Julia, daughter of Gnaeus Julius Agricola. In 97, he was consul, and in 112–113, proconsul of Asia. He is the greatest historian of imperial Rome. He wrote *Annals* and *Histories*, covering the periods 14–68 and 69–96 A.D., respectively. His *Germania* and *Agricola* are fundamental sources for the northern barbarians.

Crassus. See **Licinius Crassus, Marcus.**

Cunobelinus (r. 10–40 A.D.). Shakespeare's Cymbeline. King of the Catuvellauni, he made his tribe paramount in southeastern Britain. Rome saw his actions as violations of an agreement made by his predecessor, Cassivellaunus, with Julius Caesar in 54 B.C.

Decebalus (r. 85–106 A.D.). King of Dacia, he raided the provinces of Pannonia and Moesia and defeated Roman expeditions sent against him in 85–88. In 92 A.D., Domitian concluded a favorable treaty with Decebalus. Trajan defeated Decebalus in two wars (101–102 and 105–106), and the king committed suicide in 106 A.D.

Dio Cassius Cocceianus (c. 150–235 A.D.). A native of Nicaea, Dio Cassius was descended from a noble Greek family and entered the Senate under Commodus. He was twice consul, in 194 and 229. He wrote a Roman history in 80 books; the earlier books do not survive. His account of the late republic and Augustus is a fundamental source.

Diocletian (born c. 248; r. 284–305 A.D.). Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, from an humble Dalmatian family, was hailed emperor by the Eastern legions in a civil war in 284–285. Diocletian reformed imperial administration, established the emperor as an autocrat, and upheld the worship of the pagan gods. He created collegial rule, the so-called Tetrarchy, whereby imperial power was shared by two senior emperors, Augusti, and two junior emperors, Caesars. His reforms put the Roman Empire on a sound fiscal footing, but his efforts to secure the succession by collective rule failed.

Domitian (born 51; r. 81–96 A.D.). Titus Flavius Domitianus was the younger son of Vespasian and succeeded his popular brother Titus as emperor. Domitian warred against the Chatti in 82–85, but he faced criticism for setbacks in Dacia and his treaty with Decebalus in 92. Domitian, suspicious by nature, terrorized the Senate after 93 and was murdered in a palace plot.

Domitius Corbulo, Gnaeus (c. 4–66 A.D.). Consul in 39, Corbulo was linked to the imperial family and distinguished himself as legate of Lower Germany in 47. He commanded the Roman forces in Armenia in 54–64. Corbulo was too successful; Nero forced the general to commit suicide in 66.

Drusus, the Elder (39–9 B.C.). Drusus Claudius Nero was the second son of Tiberius Claudius Nero (praetor 42 B.C.) and Livia Drusilla. Drusus, a popular prince, was married to Antonia Minor, daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia. Their children were favored by Augustus. In 16–9 B.C., Drusus campaigned in Rhaetia and Germany. He died in Germany from injuries sustained from the fall of his horse.

Gaiseric (r. 427–477 A.D.). King of the Vandals, Gaiseric invaded North Africa in 429 and, in 439–442, secured a Vandal kingdom based in Carthage and the cities of the province of Africa. In 455, he sacked Rome when the court of Ravenna failed to fulfill matrimonial and treaty obligations.

Galerius (born c. 250; r. 305–311 A.D.). Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximinus, a Balkan officer, was created Caesar of the East in 293 and married Diocletian's daughter Galeria Valeria. In 305, Galerius succeeded Diocletian as Augustus of the East, but his political arrangements denied the succession to both Constantine and Maxentius (each the son of an emperor) so that civil war erupted after 306. Galerius was credited with the initiative for the Great Persecution of Christians in 303–313 A.D.

Gallienus (born 218; r. 253–268 A.D.). Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, son of Emperor Valerian I, ruled as co-emperor with his father, taking charge of the western and Danube frontiers. The death of his two sons and the capture of his father by the Persians ended any hopes for founding a dynasty. After 260, Gallienus faced rival emperors in Gaul and the East, as well as repeated Gothic invasions and rebellions in the Balkans. He was the last emperor of the traditional senatorial elite.

Germanicus (15 B.C.–19 A.D.). Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus was the elder son of Drusus the Elder and Antonia Minor. In 4 A.D., Augustus had Tiberius adopt Germanicus as his heir. In 5 A.D., Germanicus married Agrippina the Elder, the favored granddaughter of Augustus. In 14–16 A.D., Germanicus campaigned against the Germans, recovering two Varian eagles. He clashed with his uncle Tiberius over policy. The dashing prince died of fever while in Syria, but his son, Caligula, succeeded Tiberius.

Gordian III (born 225; r. 238–244 A.D.). Marcus Antoninus Gordianus was the grandson of Gordian I (a senatorial emperor who had opposed Maximinus I in 238). His father-in-law and Praetorian prefect, Timisitheus, directed policy. In 242–244, Gordian took the field against the Persian Shah Shapur I. The young emperor was slain in a mutiny staged by his prefect Philip the Arab (who had succeeded Timisitheus in 243).

Gratian (born 359; r. 367–383 A.D.). Flavius Gratianus, son of Valentinian I, was elevated as co-Augustus in 367 and succeeded his father as Western emperor in 375. A Nicene Christian, he had stormy relations with his uncle Valens, the Eastern emperor. In 379, he elevated Theodosius to emperor to restore the situation in the East after the defeat at Adrianople. In 383, Gratian was overthrown and murdered in a revolt by the Western army led by Magnus Maximus (r. 383–388).

Hadrian (born 76; r. 117–138 A.D.). Publius Aelius Hadrianus, left fatherless as a child, was reared as the ward of his second cousin, the future emperor Trajan and his wife, Plotina. He succeeded his adoptive father and relinquished Trajan's eastern conquests. By inclination an architect and philhellene, Hadrian was unpopular with the Senate, but he proved a brilliant emperor.

Hamilcar Barca (died 229 B.C.). From a distinguished military family, Hamilcar commanded Carthaginian forces in Sicily late in the First Punic War (247–241 B.C.). In 241–238 B.C., he crushed the revolt of the mercenaries in Africa. In 237–229 B.C., he founded the Carthaginian colonial empire in Spain. His three sons—Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago—all swore vengeance against Rome.

Hannibal (247–183 B.C.). The son of Hamilcar Barca, Hannibal succeeded as Carthaginian commander in Spain in 221 B.C. One of the greatest commanders, Hannibal invaded Italy and fought the Romans to a strategic draw during the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). In 202 B.C., he was defeated by Scipio Africanus at Zama. As *sufete* (chief magistrate) of Carthage, Hannibal sponsored popular reforms in 196 B.C. that resulted in his exile. He committed suicide lest he fall into Roman hands.

Heraclius (r. 610–641 A.D.). Son and namesake of the *exarch* (governor-general) of Carthage, Heraclius seized the Byzantine throne during a civil war. He defeated the armies of Shah Chosroes II and recovered the Eastern provinces. But he witnessed the loss of Syria and Egypt to the Islamic armies in 636–641. Heraclius's reign marked the shift from the late Roman to the Byzantine Empire.

Herodotus (c. 490–425 B.C.). A prominent citizen of Halicarnassus, a Greek city on the shores of Asia Minor, Herodotus is hailed as "the father of history." His *Histories*, dealing with the Persian wars, provides a wealth of information on the "barbarians" known to the Greeks.

Honorius (born 384; r. 395–421 A.D.). Flavius Honorius, second son of Theodosius I and Aelia Flaccillia, was created Augustus in 393 and succeeded as Western emperor in 395. Real power was in the hands of Stilicho down to 408. Honorius, at his capital at Ravenna from 402 on, witnessed the loss of northwestern and Spanish provinces.

Jovian (born 337; r. 363–364 A.D.). Flavianus Jovianus, a Nicene Christian commanding the imperial guard, was elected as emperor after the death of Julian. Jovian surrendered provinces in Mesopotamia to Shah Shapur II in exchange for

the safe return of the Roman army. In February 364, Jovian was found dead in his tent during the march to Constantinople.

Jugurtha (r. 118–105 B.C.), King of Numidia, Jugurtha was a grandson of Masinissa. In warring against his cousins Adherbal and Hiempsal for mastery of Numidia, Jugurtha blundered into a war with Rome (112–105 B.C.). The *popularis* politicians and Gaius Marius exploited outrage over Jugurtha's atrocities. In 107–105 B.C., Marius drove Jugurtha out of Numidia, and the exiled king was surrendered by Bocchus, king of Mauretania. After gracing Marius's triumph in 104 B.C., Jugurtha was executed.

Julia (39 B.C.–14 A.D.). The daughter of Augustus and his second wife, Scribonia. She was married successively to Marcus Claudius Marcellus (25–23 B.C.), Agrippa (21–12 B.C.), and Tiberius in 11 B.C. By Agrippa, she had five children. In 2 B.C., Julia was banished by Augustus for scandalous affairs to the island of Pandataria, where she died in exile.

Julian II, the Apostate (born 332; r. 360–363 A.D.). Flavius Claudius Julianus, nephew of the emperor Constantine, had been reared for a religious career. Julian converted secretly to paganism. In 355, he was created Caesar by Constantius II to restore the situation in Gaul. In 357–359, Julian expelled barbarian invaders, but in 360, the Western army declared Julian emperor. Julian, sole emperor with the sudden death of Constantius II, restored the worship of the old gods. In 363, Julian was killed on his Persian expedition, and the efforts to restore paganism ended.

Julius Agricola, Gnaeus (c. 40–93 A.D.). From a senatorial family of Forum Iulii (Fréjus) in southern Gaul, Agricola was consul in 77, then legate of Britain (78–85). He completed the conquest of Britain, save for Caledonia. Agricola, recalled by Domitian, retired to private life. His biography was penned by his son-in-law Tacitus.

Julius Caesar, Gaius (101–44 B.C.). Julius Caesar, a brilliant commander and politician, created the Roman imperial monarchy. He joined the First Triumvirate as a junior member. As consul in 59 B.C., he passed *popularis* laws. As proconsul (58–49 B.C.), he conquered Gaul. Caesar's primacy threatened Pompey and the optimates devoted to republican rule, who chose war to humble Caesar. Caesar won the civil wars (49–45 B.C.) and, as dictator, reformed Rome. His monarchical aspirations led to his assassination by the Liberators on March 15, 44 B.C.

Julius Civilis, Gaius (no known dates). Commander of the Batavian auxiliaries; raised a rebellion in the Rhineland against Rome in 69–70 A.D. He proclaimed an *Imperium Galliarum* and summoned German allies from east of the Rhine. The revolt collapsed in 70, and Julius Civilis obtained terms for his tribe.

Justinian I, the Great (born 482; r. 527–565 A.D.). Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus was the nephew and adopted son of Justin I (r. 518–527), the Eastern

Roman emperor. Justinian aimed to restore the Roman Empire of Constantine and waged wars of reconquest in Africa (533–548), Italy (535–554), and Spain (550–551). Justinian overtaxed the resources of the empire, which suffered attacks from new barbarian foes after 565.

Licinius Crassus, Marcus (115–53 B.C.). A lieutenant of Sulla, Crassus amassed wealth during the proscriptions in 82–78 B.C. As propraetor, he crushed the slave rebels under Spartacus (72–71 B.C.). Consul in 70 B.C., Crassus quarreled with Pompey. In 60 B.C., he entered the First Triumvirate, obtaining a second consulship in 55 B.C. As proconsul of Syria (55–53 B.C.), he invaded Parthia, but he was defeated and slain at Carrhae in 53 B.C.

Licinius Lucullus, Lucius (c. 118–55 B.C.). Quaestor in 88 B.C., Lucullus served under Sulla in the first Mithridatic war and civil war (83–78 B.C.). Lucullus, consul in 73 B.C., deserved the credit for defeating Mithridates VI in the third war. As proconsul (72–68 B.C.), Lucullus reformed the administration of Asia and advanced Roman frontiers into Armenia. Recalled in 68 B.C., Lucullus thereafter opposed Pompey, who assumed the command against Mithridates. Lucullus, after 59 B.C., retired into a hedonist private life.

Licinius I (born c. 265; r. 308–324 A.D.). Valerius Licinianus Licinius, a Dacian officer of Galerius, was elevated as Augustus of the West in 308. Licinius succeeded Galerius to the Balkan provinces in 311 and, thus, allied with Constantine against Maximinus II in 313. Licinius, defeated and deposed by Constantine in 323, was executed on grounds of treason.

Livia Drusilla (58 B.C.–29 A.D.). Brilliant wife of Augustus; divorced her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, in 39 B.C. to marry the future emperor. Her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, were reared in the household of their stepfather, Augustus. From 11 B.C. on, Livia managed the imperial family and aided in the adoption of Tiberius as Augustus's heir.

Livius Drusus, Marcus, "the Younger" (died 91 B.C.). Drusus, as tribune of the plebians (91 B.C.), proposed fundamental reforms, including the enfranchisement of Latin and Italian allies. Drusus failed to pass the bill on allied enfranchisement, and his assassination precipitated the Social War (90–88 B.C.).

Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D.). Titius Livius, born at Patavium (modern Padua), enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Augustus and the future emperor Claudius. A brilliant stylist, Livy penned a history of Rome (in 142 books) from Romulus to Augustus. The extant 35 books are a fundamental source of Roman history.

Lucullus. See **Licinius Lucullus, Lucius.**

Magnentius (born c. 303; r. 350–353 A.D.). Flavius Magnus Magnentius, born of a German family settled in Gaul, commanded the cavalry under Constans. In 350, the Western army revolted, declaring Magnentius emperor and slaying Constans. In the ensuing civil war, Constantius II defeated Magnentius, who

committed suicide. The fighting weakened defenses on the Rhine, enabling the Franks and Alemanni to overrun Gaul in 355–357.

Marcian (born c. 390; r. 450–457 A.D.). Flavius Valerius Marcianus, an officer of Illyrian origin, was adlected into the Senate at Constantinople. In 450, the empress Aelia Pulcheria married Marcian, and he was hailed as Eastern Roman emperor. Marcian refused to pay tribute to Attila, reformed the Eastern army, and summoned the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451).

Marius, Gaius (157–87 B.C.). Marius, a *novus homo* (“new man”), exploited *popularis* outrage against the Senate to gain seven consulships (107, 104–100, and 87 B.C.). In 107–105 B.C., he won the Jugurthine War; in 104–101, he defeated the Cimbri and Teutones. In 88 B.C., he intrigued with Publius Sulpicius Rufus to secure the command against King Mithridates VI, but he provoked his rival Sulla to march on Rome. In 87 B.C., Marius, an embittered man, reoccupied Rome after Sulla departed to the East and conducted brutal reprisals. Marius died shortly after entering his seventh consulship.

Maroboduus (r. c. 20 B.C.–19 A.D.). King of the Marcomanni, he led his tribesmen from the upper Main to Bohemia, where he established an effective Germanic kingdom. In 6 A.D., Augustus planned to attack Maroboduus, but the revolts of the Batones and of Arminius distracted Rome and saved Maroboduus. In 19 A.D., Maroboduus, expelled by his subjects, was received by Tiberius.

Masinissa (born c. 240; r. 205–148 B.C.). Masinissa, a Numidian prince commanding cavalry in Carthage’s employ in Spain, won the admiration of Scipio Africanus. In 204 B.C., he joined Scipio, and his cavalry were decisive at the Battle of Zama. As a client and friend of Scipio Africanus, Masinissa united the Numidian tribes. He waged border wars against Carthage and, thus, exploited his ties among Roman senators to bring on the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.).

Maximianus (born c. 250, r. 285–305 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, a Pannonian comrade of Diocletian, was promoted as Augustus in the West. Maximianus abdicated in 305, but he reentered politics, first as co-emperor with his son Maxentius, then with his son-in-law Constantine. Maximianus committed suicide at Massilia in 310 after he failed to raise a revolt against Constantine.

Maximinus I Thrax (born 173; r. 235–238 A.D.). Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus was a Thracian peasant who rose through the ranks and entered the equestrian order. In 235, he was proclaimed emperor after the murder of Severus Alexander. His reign marked the inception of 50 years of civil wars. Maximinus, the first soldier-emperor of low social origin, was detested by the landed classes despite his success in waging frontier wars. In 238, a revolt first in Africa, then at Rome, precipitated his downfall.

Maximinus II Daia (r. 309–313 A.D.). Galerius Valerius Maximinus Daia, nephew of Galerius, was named Caesar of the East in 305. In 309, he proclaimed

himself Augustus and warred against Galerius and, later, Licinius. In 313, Maximinus II, defeated by Licinius, died a refugee at Tarsus.

Mithridates VI Eupator (r. 121–63 B.C.). King of Pontus in northeastern Asia Minor; forged a powerful state based on the lands surrounding the Black Sea. In 90 B.C., Mithridates declared war on Rome. In 89 B.C., he overran Bithynia and Asia, while the cities of Greece revolted. The proconsul Sulla drove Pontic armies out of Greece and ended the first Mithridatic war (90–85 B.C.) by treaty. Mithridates amassed resources to renew the contest. The third Mithridatic war (74–63 B.C.) ended in the defeat of the Pontic kingdom and the suicide of Mithridates, an exile in the Crimea.

Nero (born 37; r. 54–68 A.D.). The last Julio-Claudian emperor, Nero, born as Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, was the son of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul 32) and Agrippina the Younger (the great-granddaughter of Augustus). In 49, his mother married Claudius and secured Nero’s adoption as Claudius’s heir. Nero took the name Nero Claudius Caesar. In 54, Nero succeeded as emperor, but because he craved popularity as an artist, he entrusted the affairs of state to his ministers down to 62. Nero, by his outrageous conduct, alienated the ruling classes and frontier legions and precipitated his own downfall and suicide in 68.

Octavia (died 11 B.C.). Elder sister of Augustus; first married to Gaius Claudius Marcellus (consul 50 B.C.). In 40 B.C., after Marcellus’s death, she married Mark Antony, by whom she had two daughters, Antonia Maior and Antonia Minor. She supervised the imperial household until her death.

Octavian (63 B.C.–14 A.D.). Born Gaius Octavius, he was the grand-nephew and adopted son of the dictator Gaius Julius Caesar. Called by convention Octavian, his legal name was Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. In 43 B.C., Octavian allied with Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in the Second Triumvirate to defeat the Liberators. Octavian secured Italy, while his popular colleague Antony ordered the Roman East in 41–32 B.C. In 31 B.C., Octavian defeated Antony and his consort, Cleopatra VII, queen of Ptolemaic Egypt, at Actium. The suicides of Antony and Cleopatra left Octavian master of the Roman world. In 27 B.C., Octavian relinquished his extraordinary powers as triumvir. The Senate voted Octavian tribunician power, proconsular *imperium*, and the name Augustus. Henceforth, Octavian ruled as the emperor Augustus. See also **Augustus**.

Odenathus (r. 262–267 A.D.). Septimius Odenathus, merchant prince of the caravan city Palmyra, was also a Roman senator and general (*dux*). He imposed his authority over the Roman Eastern frontier after the capture of Valerian I in 260. In 262, he captured Ctesiphon and imposed a treaty on Shah Shapur I

Odoacer (r. 476–491 A.D.). King and commander of the barbarian federates in Italy, Odoacer deposed the last Western emperor, Romulus Augustus, in 476. Odoacer ruled as king of Italy and *magister militum*. In 489–491, he was defeated and executed by Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths.

Otho (born 32, r. 69 A.D.). Marcus Salvius Otho, a dissolute senator, was a friend of Nero. Otho supported Galba as emperor in 68, but when Galba failed to name Otho as his heir, Otho arranged the murder of the emperor on January 15, 69. Otho then faced the invasion of Italy by the Rhine legions. His forces suffered a setback at Bedriacum; on April 17, 69, Otho committed suicide to spare the empire civil war.

Petillius Cerealis, Quintus (consul 70 and 74 A.D.). A kinsman of the emperor Vespasian, Petillius Cerealis served as legate of Legion IX Hispana in Britain (58–60). In 70, he crushed the insurgents under Gaius Julius Civilis, then served as governor in Britain (71–73).

Philip I, “the Arab” (r. 244–249 A.D.). Marcus Julius Philippus, an equestrian of Arabian origin, succeeded Timisitheus as Praetorian prefect of Gordian III in 243. Philip instigated the murder of Gordian and succeeded as emperor. In 249, he was defeated and slain by Trajan Decius, who had been hailed as emperor by the Danube legions.

Polybius (c. 200–118 B.C.). A historian and statesman of the Achaean League, Polybius was a native of Megalopolis in the Peloponnesus. In 168 B.C., he was deported to Rome. As an honored prisoner, Polybius attached himself to the circle of Scipio Aemilianus and wrote an insightful history explaining the rise of Roman power and offering a wealth of information on Roman political, religious, and social institutions.

Pompey the Great (106–48 B.C.). Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, son of Pompeius Strabo, raised three legions and joined Sulla in 83 B.C. Pompey gained rapid advancement, by extraordinary military commands and the threat of violence. He defeated the Marians in Sicily, Africa, and Spain in 82–72 B.C. In 70 B.C., he was elected consul. In 67 B.C., he was granted *imperium infinitum* to defeat the Cilician pirates, then concluded the third Mithridatic war and reorganized the Roman East (66–62 B.C.). He joined Julius Caesar and Crassus in the First Triumvirate, gaining consulships in 56 and 52 B.C. The rise of Caesar and death of Crassus drove Pompey into the optimate camp at the outbreak of the civil wars. In 48 B.C., Julius Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus. Pompey fled to Egypt and was murdered on orders of King Ptolemy XIV.

Porcius Cato, Marcus, “the Elder” (234–149 B.C.). A pragmatic conservative of peasant origin, Cato attained the consulship in 195 B.C. Although a new man (*novus homo*), Cato upheld Roman tradition in his writings and actions. He served as governor in Nearer Spain (195–194 B.C.) and volunteered to serve as a military tribune in the war against Antiochus III in 191 B.C. In 184 B.C., he was elected censor and henceforth presided over the Senate as the senior statesman (*princeps Senatus*). On Cato’s recommendation, the Third Punic War was declared against Carthage. A prolific writer of more than 150 tracts, Cato was praised by Cicero for his oratory and historical prose.

Postumus (r. 260–269 A.D.). Marcus Cassianius Licinius Postumus, commander of the Rhine legions, rebelled against Valerian and Gallienus. Postumus founded a Gallo-Roman Empire (260–274).

Quinctilius Varus, Publius (consul 13 B.C.). Married to Claudia Marcella, grand-niece of Augustus, Varus administered well the provinces of Africa and Syria. As legate of Germany in 9 A.D., Varus and three legions were lured into the Teutoburg Forest and slaughtered by Arminius and the German insurgents.

Sallust (86–35 B.C.). Gaius Sallustius Crispus, a Caesarian, penned partisan accounts of the Jugurthine War and the Catalinarian conspiracy. His general history of Rome survives in fragments. Of equestrian birth, Sallust owed his advancement to Julius Caesar. He was elected praetor in 47 B.C., but his public service was marred by charges of corruption.

Scipio Aemilianus. See **Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, Publius.**

Scipio Africanus. See **Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius.**

Sempronius Gracchus, Gaius (died 121 B.C.). The second son of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Cornelia, Gaius, elected tribune of the plebians in 124–122 B.C., revived the legislation of his brother Tiberius. Gaius offered a comprehensive reform of the Roman state. His proposal to enfranchise Latin and Italian allies forfeited him many voters, and he failed to be elected to a third tribunate. In 121 B.C., as a private citizen, he demonstrated in protest of the repeal of his legislation and was killed in a riot.

Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius (died 154 B.C.). He owed his career to Scipio Africanus, whose daughter, Cornelia, Gracchus married. Gracchus, praetor in 180 B.C., pacified Nearer Spain by offering generous settlements to the Celtiberians in 179 B.C. As consul (177 B.C.), he ruthlessly pacified Sardinia, and he was elected censor in 169 B.C.

Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius (died 133 B.C.). The son of his namesake and Cornelia (daughter of Scipio Africanus). He was a cousin and brother-in-law of Scipio Aemilianus. As tribune of the plebians in 133 B.C., Tiberius Gracchus proposed a moderate land bill to reclaim public land, which was to be distributed as long-term leases to poor citizens so that they could be eligible for the draft. Many senators objected to Gracchus’s methods, and his decision to stand for an unprecedented second tribunate provoked rioting in which Tiberius and his supporters were slain.

Septimius Severus (born 148; r. 193–211 A.D.). Lucius Septimius Severus, a native of Lepcis Magna in Africa, was legate of Upper Pannonia in 193. In 193–195, he defeated his rivals in the second civil war of imperial Rome and founded the Severan dynasty. Septimius Severus took harsh reprisals against opponents in the Senate, but he secured the frontiers and forged links with the provincial elites, especially those in the East and Africa.

Sertorius, Quintus (c. 125–73 B.C.). An officer of Gaius Marius, Sertorius fled Italy in 82 B.C. and organized resistance in Spain. Sertorius forged a coalition of Celtiberian tribes and provincial Romans that checked optimate forces. In 76–73 B.C., Pompey waged a war of attrition, in which Sertorius was deserted by his allies and murdered by his own officers.

Severus Alexander (born 208; r. 222–235 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander was the last Severan emperor. Severus Alexander ruled judiciously under the guidance of his mother, Julia Mamaea. He respected the Senate, but his inconclusive wars against the Persians and Germans led to his assassination by mutinous soldiers of the Rhine army.

Severus II (r. 306–307 A.D.). Flavius Valerius Severus, an Illyrian officer, was created Caesar of the West by Galerius in 305. In 306, after the death of Constantius I, Galerius elevated Severus II to Augustus of the West. In 307, Severus invaded Italy, but he fell into the hands of Maxentius, who executed Severus.

Shapur I (r. 241–272 A.D.). The second Sassanid shah of Persia, Shapur I waged three successful campaigns against the Roman Empire (242–244, 253–255, and 258–260). In 260, he captured the emperor Valerian and sacked Antioch, third city of the Roman Empire, either in 253 or 260.

Shapur II (r. 309–379 A.D.). Sassanid shah of Persia, he pursued aggressive policies against Armenia and Rome. In 255–261, he waged a desultory frontier war over the Roman fortresses of Mesopotamia. In 363, he checked the invasion of Julian and compelled Jovian to surrender the strategic fortresses of Mesopotamia, thereby giving Persia the initiative in future wars against Rome.

Stilicho (died 408 A.D.). Flavius Stilicho, *magister militum* of the Western army (395–408), directed the policy of the Western court. In 395–397 and in 402–408, Stilicho used the threat posed by Arcadius to secure control over Honorius. Stilicho's policies led to the loss of the northwestern provinces in 406. In 408, he was arrested and executed on grounds of treason.

Suetonius Paullinus, Gaius (consul 42 and 66 A.D.). As legate of Mauretania, he pacified the Gaetulians and was the first Roman to cross the Atlas Mountains. As legate of Britain (58–60), he sacked Mona, the Druid sanctuary, and crushed the insurgents under Boudicca. He fought for Otho in 69 and survived into the reign of Vespasian.

Sulla. See **Cornelius Sulla, Lucius.**

Theoderic the Great (r. 489–526 A.D.). Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, invaded Italy at the behest of the Eastern emperor Zeno in 489. In 491, Theoderic treacherously murdered Odoacer and, henceforth, ruled as king of Italy. Theoderic, although an Arian, cooperated with the papacy and Roman senate so that Italy prospered under his reign.

Theodosius I, the Great (born c. 346; r. 379–395 A.D.). The son of Count Theodosius, a leading general of Valentinian I, Flavius Theodosius rose to high command under Gratian. In 379, as Augustus of the East, Theodosius restored order, granting a treaty to the rebellious Goths who henceforth served as federates. A devout Nicene Christian, Theodosius outlawed pagan sacrifices, resulting in the revolt of the Western army in 392–394. By the victory at Frigidus (394), Theodosius crushed the rebels and reunited the Roman Empire. In 395, he was succeeded by Arcadius and Honorius, his sons by his first wife.

Theodosius II (born 401; r. 408–450 A.D.). Flavius Theodosius, the son of Arcadius and Eudocia, succeeded as a minor. The emperor was directed by his ministers and his older sister, Aelia Pulcheria. Theodosius agreed to humiliating treaties dictated by Attila the Hun in 443 and 447.

Tiberius (born 42 B.C., r. 14–37 A.D.). Tiberius Claudius Nero was the son of Livia Drusilla and her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero (praetor 42 B.C.). Reared in the household of Augustus, Tiberius married Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa, in about 20 B.C. In 11 B.C., Tiberius, as the new heir of Augustus, divorced Vipsania and married Julia, but he retired from public life to Rhodes in 6 B.C. In 14 A.D., Tiberius succeeded as emperor on the death of Augustus. After 26 A.D., Tiberius withdrew to Capri and fell into depravity. The suspicious Tiberius, although an able administrator, feared his family and failed to prepare for the succession. He was succeeded by his great-nephew Caligula, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina.

Tigranes I, the Great (r. 99–56 B.C.). He forged the kingdom of Armenia and married Cleopatra, daughter of King Mithridates VI of Pontus. He conquered Media and Mesopotamia, Syria, and Cilicia and assumed the title “King of Kings.” He erred in receiving the fugitive Mithridates VI. In 69 B.C., Lucullus defeated Tigranes at Tigranocerta. In 66 B.C., Tigranes submitted to Pompey and surrendered his conquests.

Titus (born 39; r. 79–81 A.D.). Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the elder son of the emperor Vespasian, served on his father's staff in the first Jewish war. In 70, Titus, elected as consul, captured Jerusalem and ended organized Jewish resistance.

Totila (r. 541–552 A.D.). Totila, elected king by the Ostrogoths at Pavia, resumed the offensive against the Byzantine garrisons. Totila reconquered most of Italy and compelled Justinian to send out, first, Belisarius (546–549), then Narses (549–552). Totila fell at the decisive Battle of Busta Gallorum (552) that ended the Ostrogothic kingdom.

Trajan (born 52; r. 98–117 A.D.). Marcus Ulpius Traianus was the son of the senator and namesake of a Hispano-Roman family of Italica. Trajan was adopted by Nerva (r. 96–98) and succeeded as the first Roman emperor of provincial origin. Trajan conquered Dacia (101–102, 105–106) and smashed Parthian power in 113–117. He initiated a spectacular building program at Rome. Hailed

optimus princeps, Trajan founded the third dynasty of imperial Rome and was succeeded by his adopted son, Hadrian.

Trajan Decius (born 201; r. 249–251 A.D.). Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius, a Pannonian provincial, attained senatorial rank under Severus Alexander. As legate of Upper Pannonia, he was declared emperor by the Danube legions. He defeated and slew the emperor Philip at Verona (249), but was himself slain by the Goths at Abrittus in Lower Moesia. Trajan Decius initiated the first empire-wide persecution of Christians in 250–251.

Trebonianus Gallus (r. 251–253 A.D.). Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, a legate of Trajan Decius, was declared emperor by the Roman army after Decius's death. Gallus faced attacks by northern barbarians and Persians. In 253, he was defeated and slain by Aemilian, governor of Moesia.

Tullius Cicero, Marcus (106–43 B.C.). Cicero, son of an equestrian, made his career as a forensic orator. In 70 B.C., he successfully prosecuted Gaius Verres, praetor of Sicily, for extortion, and he won the consulship in 63 B.C. Cicero became the spokesman for the optimates and a supporter of Pompey. Opposed to the First Triumvirate, he labored to win Pompey back to the optimate cause. After 49 B.C., Cicero retired, but he emerged from private life to oppose Mark Antony in 44–43 B.C.; hence, he was murdered on Antony's orders. Cicero's letters, orations, and philosophical works set the standard for Latin prose.

Vaballathus (r. 267–282 A.D.). Lucius Julius Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus was the son of Odenathus of Palmyra and Zenobia. The young prince was advanced by Zenobia as Augustus of the East, but he never received recognition by Gallienus. In 272, he was defeated and captured by Aurelian.

Valens (born c. 328; r. 364–378 A.D.). Flavius Valens, born of a military family in Pannonia, served under Julian and Jovian. In 364, his brother Valentinian I created Valens emperor of the East. His Persian war was inconclusive. In 378, he was decisively defeated and slain by the Goths at Adrianople.

Valentinian I (born 321; r. 364–378 A.D.). Flavius Valentinianus, of a Pannonian military family, was a senior officer acclaimed emperor by the Eastern army after the death of Jovian. Valentinian appointed his brother Valens emperor of the East. Valentinian campaigned against the Germans on the Rhine and upper Danube and strengthened fortifications. He was succeeded by his two sons, Gratian (r. 367–383) and Valentinian II (r. 375–392).

Valentinian III (born r. 419; 425–455 A.D.). Placidius Valentinianus, son of Galla Placidia and Constantius III; as Western Roman emperor, he lost the remaining provinces in Spain and North Africa. His mother, Galla Placidia, who directed affairs of state, clashed with the powerful *magister militum* Aetius. Valentinian III, murdered by a clique of senators, left no heirs, and the Western Roman Empire disappeared within 20 years.

Valerian I (born c. 195; r. 253–260 A.D.). Publius Licinius Valerianus, a senator of noble origins, was legate of Raetia in the civil war of 253. He was proclaimed emperor by the Rhine legions and defeated his rival, Aemilian. Valerian faced barbarian assaults along the northern and eastern frontiers. He waged two Persian wars (253–256, 258–260) but was treacherously captured by Shah Shapur in 260 and died in captivity.

Varus. See **Quinctilius Varus, Publius.**

Vercingetorix (died 46 B.C.). Prince of the Gallic Averni, he headed the great Gallic revolt against Julius Caesar in 53 B.C. He was defeated and besieged in Alesia. Vercingetorix was compelled to surrender to Caesar in 52 B.C. He was executed after Caesar's triumph in 46 B.C.

Vespasian. (born 9; r. 69–79 A.D.). Titus Flavius Vespasianus, born of an Italian equestrian family, was adlected to the Senate and served as praetor in 40. He commanded Legion II Augusta in Britain in 43–47. He was consul in 51 and, in 66–69, commanded Roman forces against the Jewish rebels. On July 1, 69, he was declared emperor by the Eastern legions. Vespasian, the victor of the civil war, founded the second imperial dynasty, the Flavian. A tough, pragmatic emperor, he reformed the imperial army and frontiers, restored finances, and reorganized provincial administration.

Vispanius Agrippa, Marcus (64–12 B.C.). An equestrian and boyhood friend of Augustus, Agrippa proved the emperor's most brilliant general. He was a close friend of Octavia, the sister of Augustus. In 21 B.C., he married Julia, ensuring that his children were destined to succeed Augustus. In 12 B.C., he died after the exertions of campaigning in Illyricum.

Viriathus (died 138 B.C.). A Lusitanian shepherd, he escaped the massacre by the praetor Servius Sulpicius Galba in 150 B.C. A superb guerrilla leader, Viriathus defeated successive Roman armies sent into Farther Spain until he was assassinated on Roman orders.

Vitellius (born 15; r. 69 A.D.). Lucius Vitellius, son of the distinguished senator Aulus Vitellius, was appointed legate of Lower Germany in 68. He was declared emperor by the legions of the Rhine in 69, but Vitellius, of indolent character, was a figurehead for his ambitious junior officers. He was murdered during the final fighting in Rome on December 20, 69.

Vologaes I (r. 51–78 A.D.). Arsacid king of Parthia, he placed his brother Tiridates on the Armenian throne and, thereby, precipitated a war over the Armenian succession. After 66, with the Armenian succession resolved, Vologaesus remained on cordial terms with Rome.

Wittigis (r. 536–540 A.D.). Wittigis, elected king by the Ostrogoths when Belisarius invaded Italy, conducted a war of attrition against the imperial army. He besieged Rome in 537–538. In 540, Wittigis and his court at Ravenna were compelled to surrender to Belisarius.

Zenobia (r. 267–272 A.D.). Septimia Zenobia was the wife of Odenathus of Palmyra and mother of Vaballathus. In 267, she succeeded to her husband's position in the Roman East. Styling herself as empress, Augusta, she advanced her son Vaballathus as emperor in 270. In 272, she was defeated by Aurelian and allowed to retire to a Campania villa.