

PAX ROMANA

War, Peace and Conquest in the Roman World



ADRIAN GOLDSWORTHY

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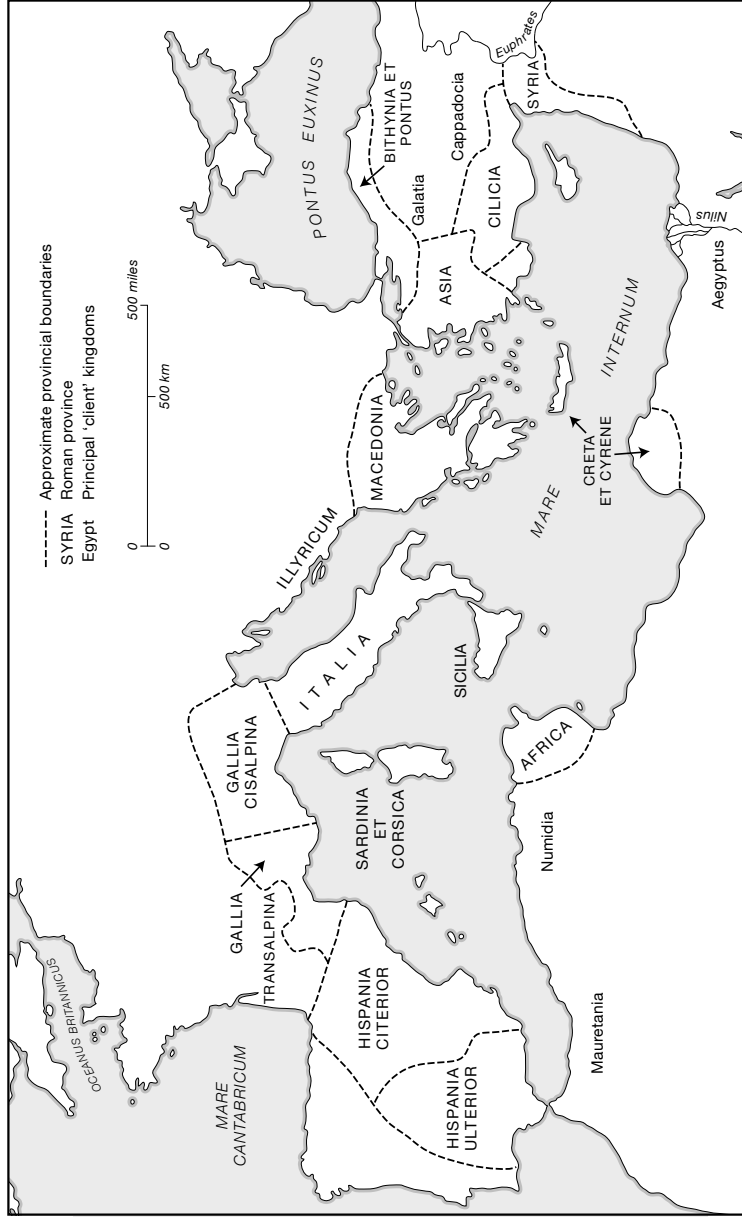
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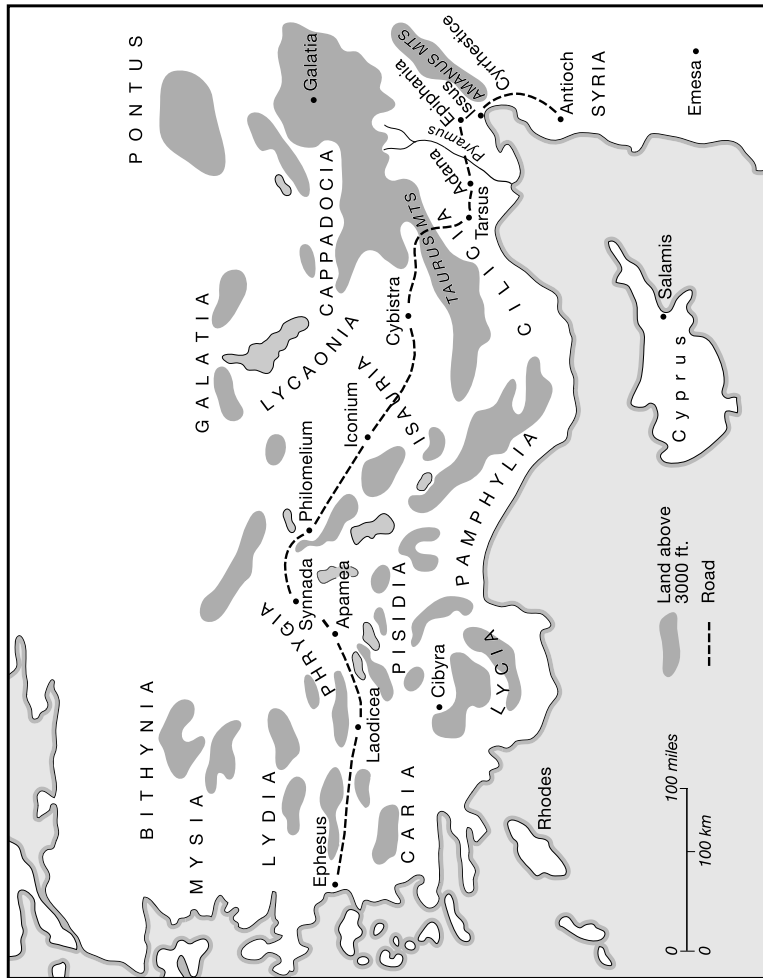
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The Roman Republic and its empire, c. 60 BC



Cicero's province of Cilicia





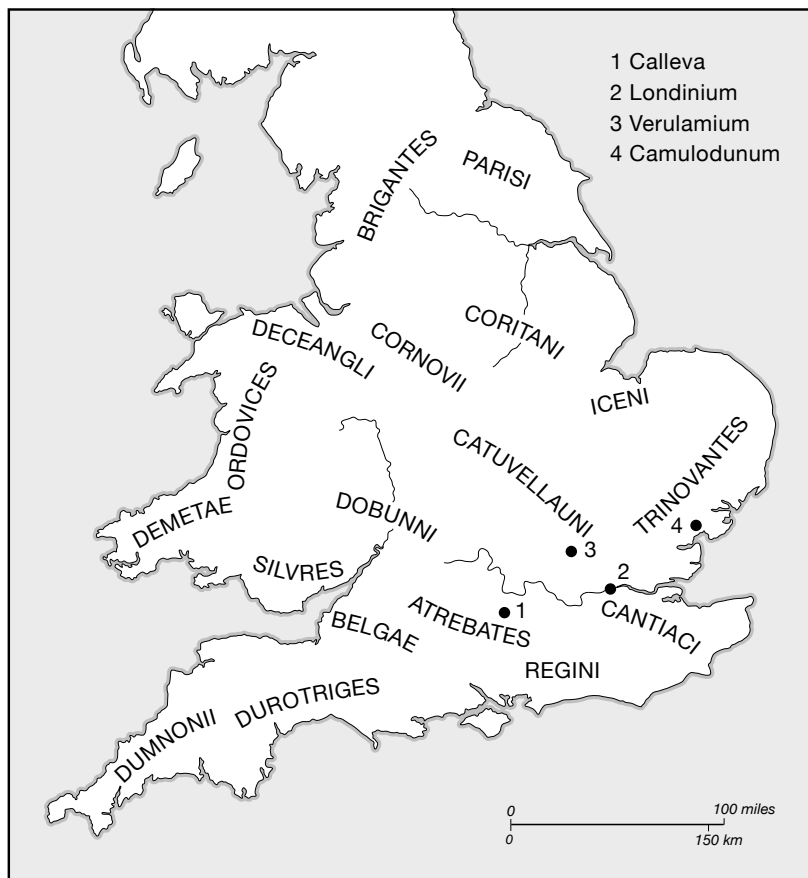


The Roman Empire in AD 60

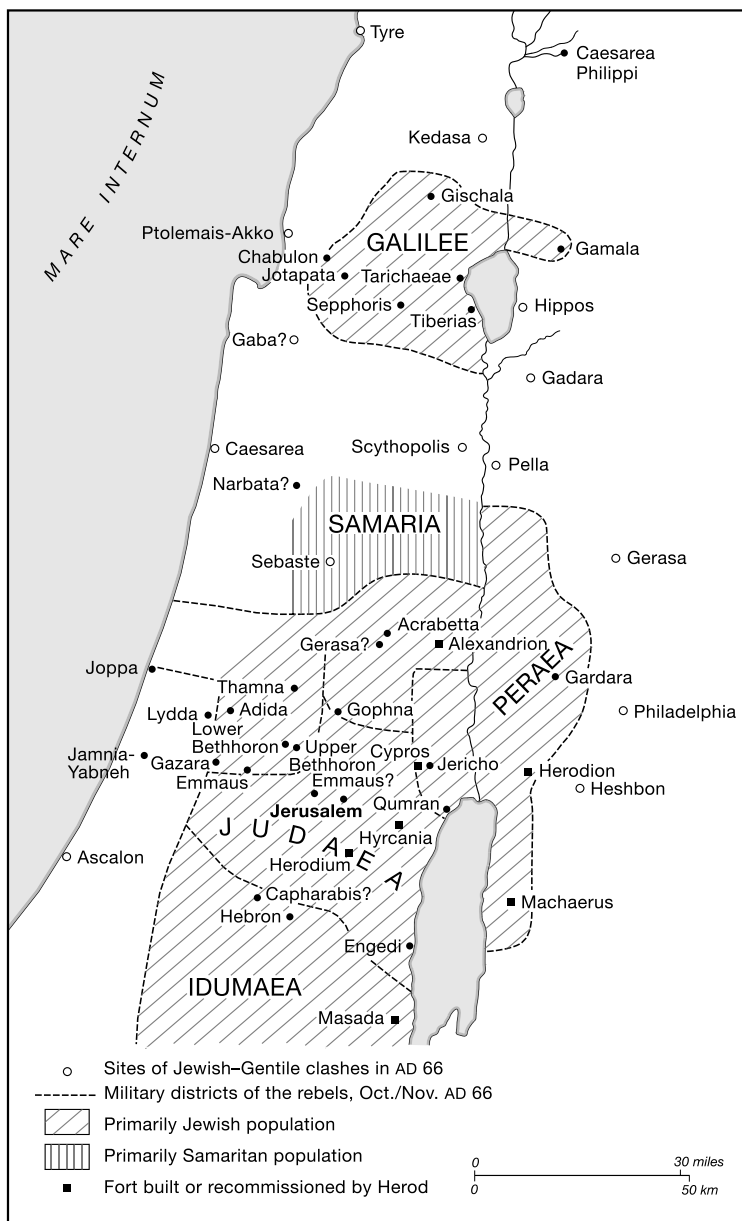




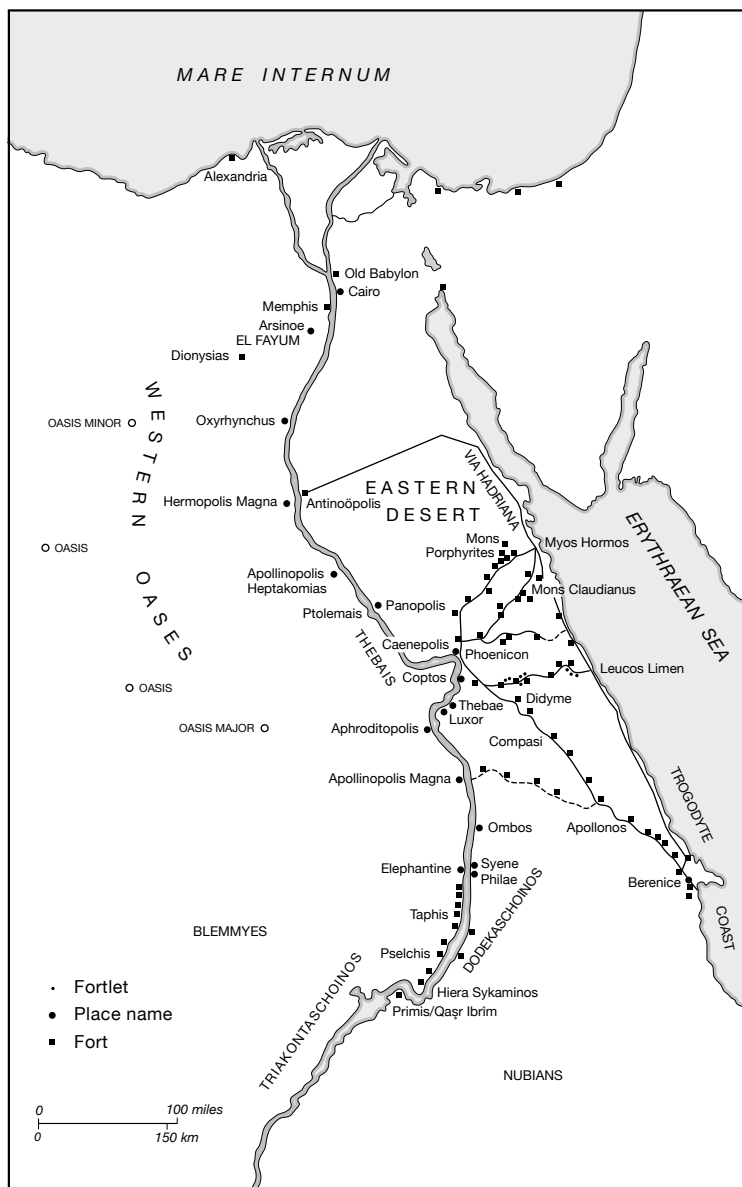
The Roman Empire at the death of Septimius Severus, AD 211



The British tribes and the rebellion of Boudica, AD 60



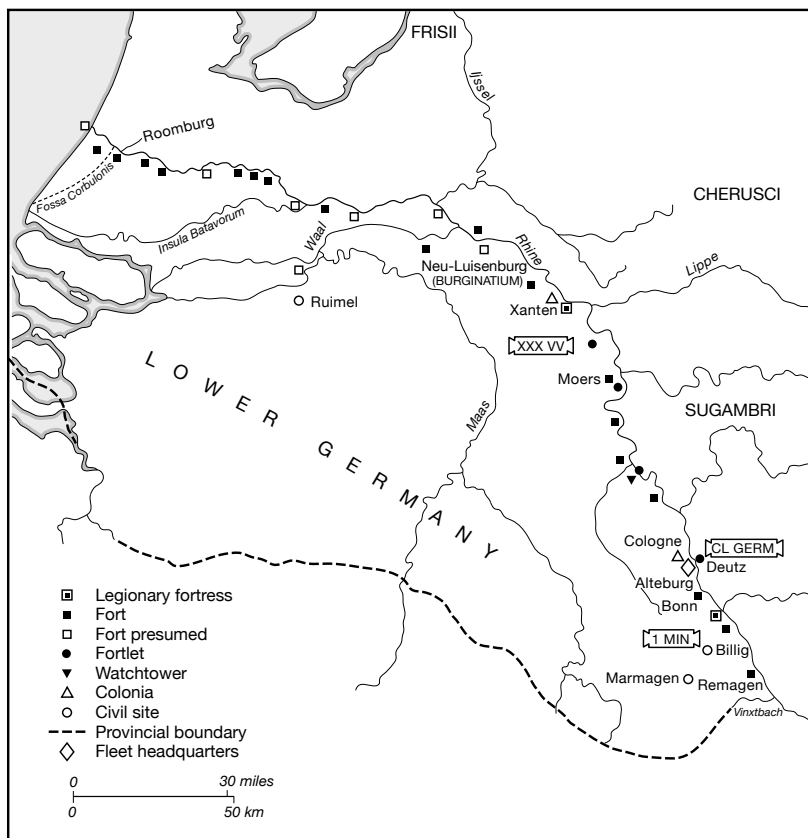
Judaea in AD 66



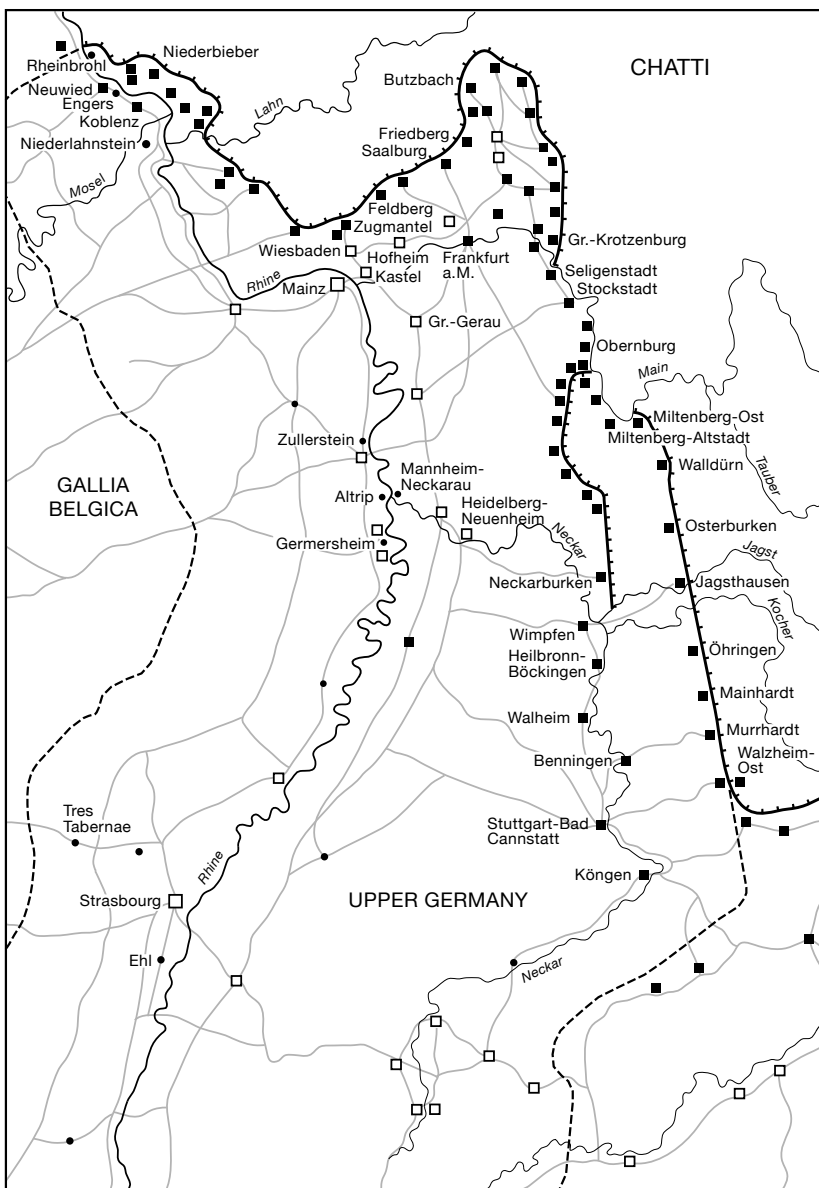
Egypt and the Red Sea ports

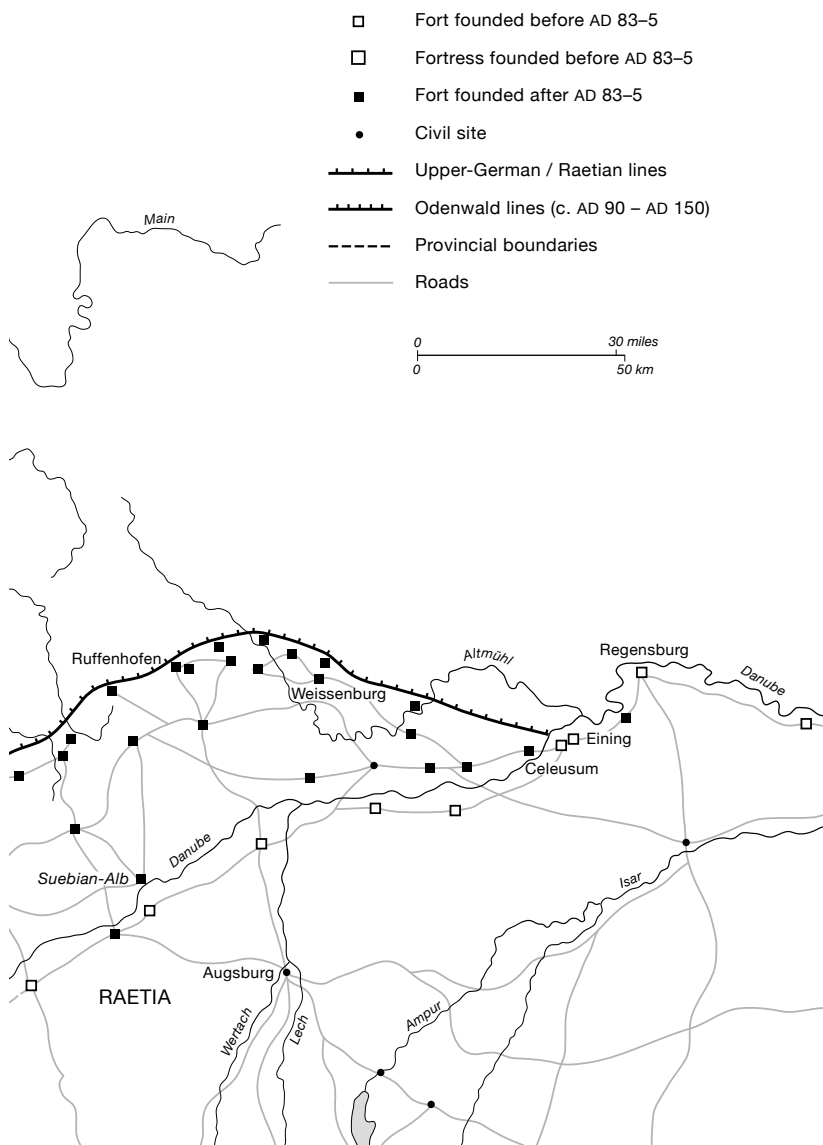
Pliny's province of Bithynia and Pontus





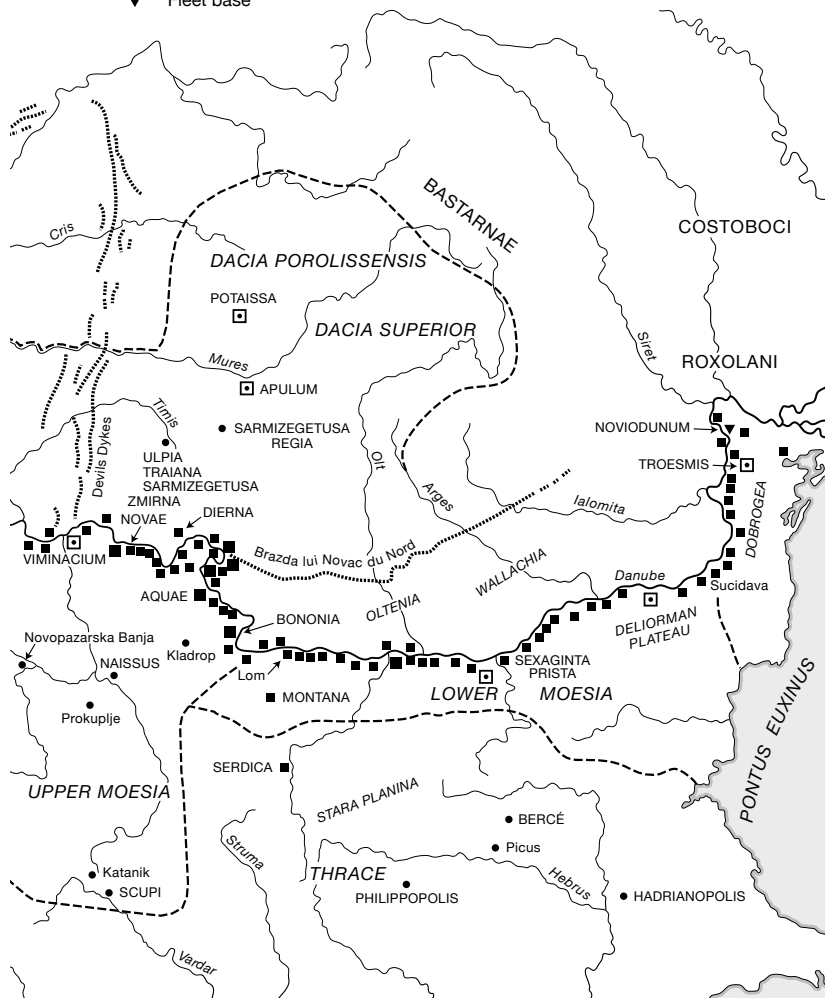
The Lower Rhine frontier





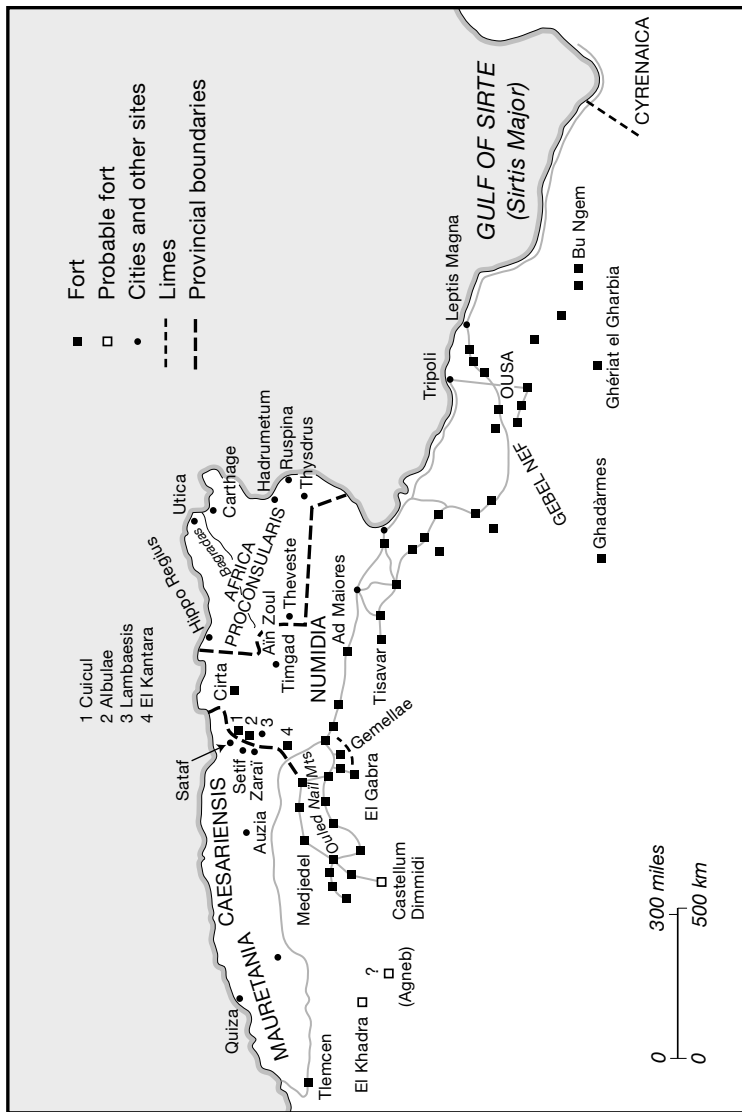
The Upper Rhine frontier

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|-----------------|
| □ | Legionary fortress | Dra | Natural feature |
| ■ | Forts, fortlets and bridgehead fortifications | AQU | Latin name |
| • | Other places mentioned | Hat | Modern name |
| ----- | Linear earthwork | IAZY | Tribe |
| --- | Provincial boundary (approx.) | TULLN | Natural feature |
| ▼ | Fleet base | | |



The Danubian frontier

Roman North Africa



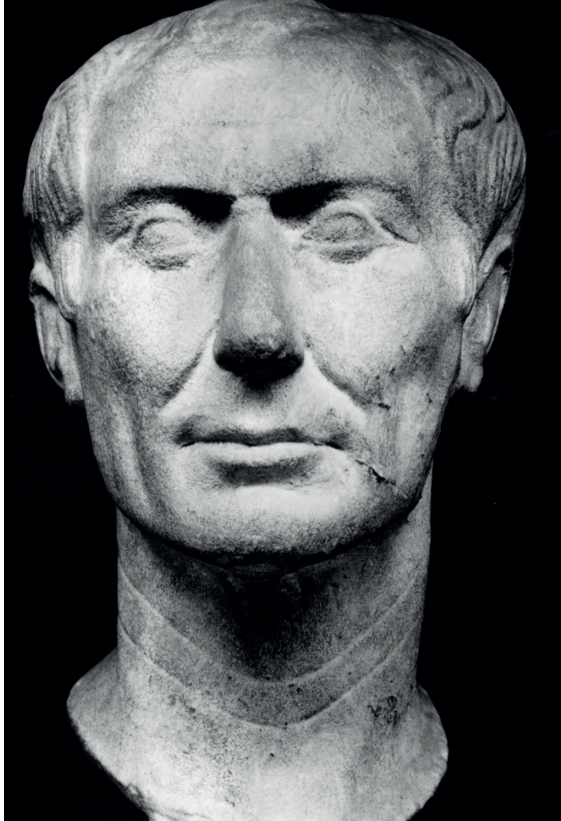


The frontier in Northern Britain and Hadrian's Wall



The frontier in the east and Parthia

Julius Caesar: Caius Julius Caesar was one of the greatest conquerors in the history of Rome, overrunning Gaul between 58–51 BC, and leading raids across the Rhine and to Britain. A million are said to have died during these campaigns and as many more were enslaved. His success provoked rivals in the Roman Senate, leading to the civil war and his rule as dictator. (W&N Archive)



Pax: This coin minted by the short-lived emperor Galba in AD 68 carries the slogan *Pax Augusta* on the reverse. Maintaining peace through Roman strength and success was one of the central jobs of the emperor. In Galba's case it was brief, and his murder precipitated a civil war lasting for over a year. (Guy de la Bédoyère)





Arles: Trade long preceded the arrival of the Roman legions in most areas. This relief from Arles depicts a barge trading on the River Rhône, carrying goods in barrels and amphorae. Vast quantities of wine from Italy went north into Gaul long before it became a Roman province.

Puteoli flour mill: By the end of the first century BC the population of the city of Rome had swollen to around one million people. The *Pax Romana* allowed wheat and other staples to be brought from all around the empire, but especially Sicily, Egypt and North Africa, to feed the population. These flour mills in the bustling port of Puteoli were part of the system developed to transport and prepare this food supply.



Trajan's Column, Germanic chieftains: Throughout Roman history, diplomacy always accompanied military force, and many leaders and peoples readily allied with Rome. In this scene from Trajan's Column we see a group of ambassadors from various barbarian tribes waiting to see the emperor. Several of these chieftains have their long hair tied into a knot on the side of their head, a style associated with the Germanic Suebi.



Trajan's Column, Decebalus: While some leaders welcomed the Romans, others refused to submit. King Decebalus created a powerful empire based around the kingdom of Dacia, raided into the Roman empire and forced Domitian to grant him generous peace terms. Attacked by Trajan, he chose to commit suicide rather than be taken alive, a moment depicted on Trajan's Column.



Trajan's Column, Romans looting: Aggressive warfare could be profitable and the Romans openly boasted of the plunder gained from victory over foreign enemies. This scene from Trajan's Column shows a Roman legionary loading looted metal vessels on to a pack mule. Gold from his Dacian victory paid for Trajan's lavish and extensive forum complex in the heart of Rome.





Cologne reconstructed coach:

In all periods, a Roman governor spent a lot of his time on the move, holding assizes in the main communities of their province. Although they travelled by river or sea when this was possible, most journeys were overland, using a carriage like this reconstruction in the Roman archaeology museum at Cologne. It was well designed, and Roman craftsmen would have had little to learn from carriage-makers in the eighteenth century.

Kalkreise reconstructed rampart:

In AD 9, the recently created province in Germany erupted into rebellion. In a carefully prepared plot, the rebel leader Arminius led the provincial legate and three legions into a trap. This reconstruction in the archaeological park at Kalkreise shows the rampart his followers built to channel the Roman column and destroy it. This was the most successful rebellion ever mounted against Roman rule.





Masada: Herod the Great built a number of luxurious fortified palaces, including this one at Masada beside the Dead Sea. Seized early on in the Jewish rebellion against Nero, a band of dissidents held out here for three years after the fall of Jerusalem. In spite of its immense natural strength, the Romans besieged and took the fortress. Famously, the defenders killed their families and then committed suicide rather than surrender.



Above Xanten reconstructed city walls: Some cities in the Roman provinces did not bother to construct fortifications. Others did, but, like this reconstruction at Xanten, they were intended more to look impressive than in anticipation of any attack. In this case the towers barely project in front of the curtain wall. Walls were a mark of status, and in conditions of the *Pax Romana* any attack was seen as unlikely.



Bath samian bowl with gladiators: This bowl of red samian ware from Bath is decorated with a pair of gladiators duelling. Gladiatorial games were popular throughout the empire, whether staged in purpose-built amphitheatres or other permanent or temporary venues. In some cases it proved necessary to legislate restricting the amount communities were allowed to spend on these entertainments as rival cities tried to outdo each other.



Villa: The Romans were always eager to win over local aristocracies, encouraging them to adopt Roman ways and to serve the empire. Especially in the western provinces, the coming of Rome introduced new styles of building to a region, such as the luxurious country villa as centrepiece to an estate. This reconstruction at Wroxeter gives an idea of a moderately large villa. (© Martyn Richardson/ Alamy Stock Photo)



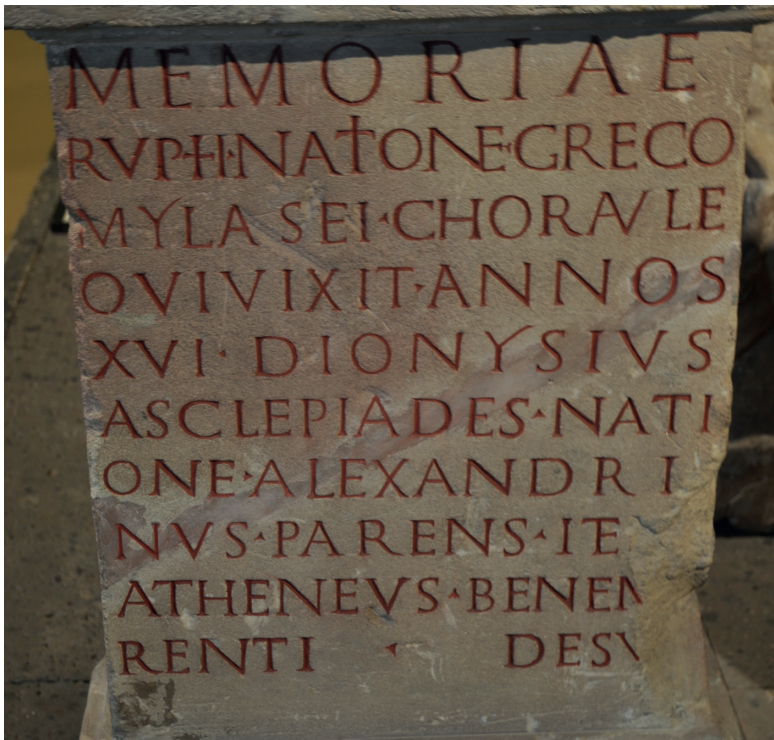
Caesarea Pontius Pilate inscription: This stone, later reused in the construction of a theatre at Caesarea, bears the only inscription naming Pontius Pilate, surely the most famous of all Roman governors. Somewhat clumsily executed, suggesting a man unwilling to spend too much, it records the construction of a Tiberieum – presumably a building honouring the emperor Tiberius. In the Gospels, Pilate is pressed into executing Jesus because it was claimed that the 'King of the Jews' was a rival to the emperor.



Bath Sulis Minerva: The Romans rarely suppressed local religions and more often encouraged them, incorporating them into the pantheon of Rome's gods and goddesses. This gilded statue head from Bath depicts Sulis Minerva, the combination of an old Celtic and a Roman goddess who presided over the hot springs and bath complex at Aquae Sulis.

Scythopolis: The city of Scythopolis was the only one of the Decapolis or 'Ten Towns' situated west of the River Jordan. Although overtly Greek, it had a substantial Jewish minority. In AD 66 these fought alongside other townsfolk to repel an attack by Jewish rebels. However, soon afterwards they were massacred by some of their Gentile neighbours.

Cologne tombstone of Athenian flute-player: Under Roman rule goods and also people moved further and more freely than ever before. This memorial stone from Cologne in Lower Germany was set up in honour of the sixteen-year-old flute-player Ruphus by his father, a native of Alexandria and a citizen of Athens.





Iron Age round house: Round houses were characteristically British and had a long history before the Romans arrived. Throughout the Roman occupation, many people continued to live in farming communities based around several of these houses as well as animal pens. Even so, such sites show that goods from the empire were far more readily available than in the past, and it is hard to portray such settlements as a sign of people rejecting the Roman world. (© DJC/ Alamy Stock Photo)



British victory: Commodus was the son of the much-admired Marcus Aurelius, but unlike his father he spent little time on the frontiers with the army, preferring life in Rome and displaying his prowess in the Colosseum. This coin celebrates a victory won in Britain by the provincial legate. Victories won by the provincial armies were attributed to the emperor, but so were defeats. (Guy de la Bédoyère)



Above left **Augustus:** Augustus was the first emperor, or *princeps*, and the last and greatest conqueror in Rome's history. Apart from a few later additions, such as Britain and Dacia, the basic shape of the empire formed under his rule. Much of his reign was spent touring the provinces.



Above right **Trajan:** Trajan came to power with modest military experience, and this may well have encouraged him to expand the empire. In two wars, he conquered Dacia and turned it into a province. Later, he embarked on a major campaign against the Parthians, but most of the gains were lost in a spate of rebellions or abandoned by his successor, Hadrian.

Septimius Severus: Septimius Severus fought his way to the throne in a civil war with rival provincial governors from Britain and Syria. It was no coincidence that he subsequently launched attacks on Parthia and the Caledonian tribes of Northern Britain. While these may have been necessary to reassert Roman dominance on the frontiers, they were also a means of confirming the loyalty of the legions in each region.

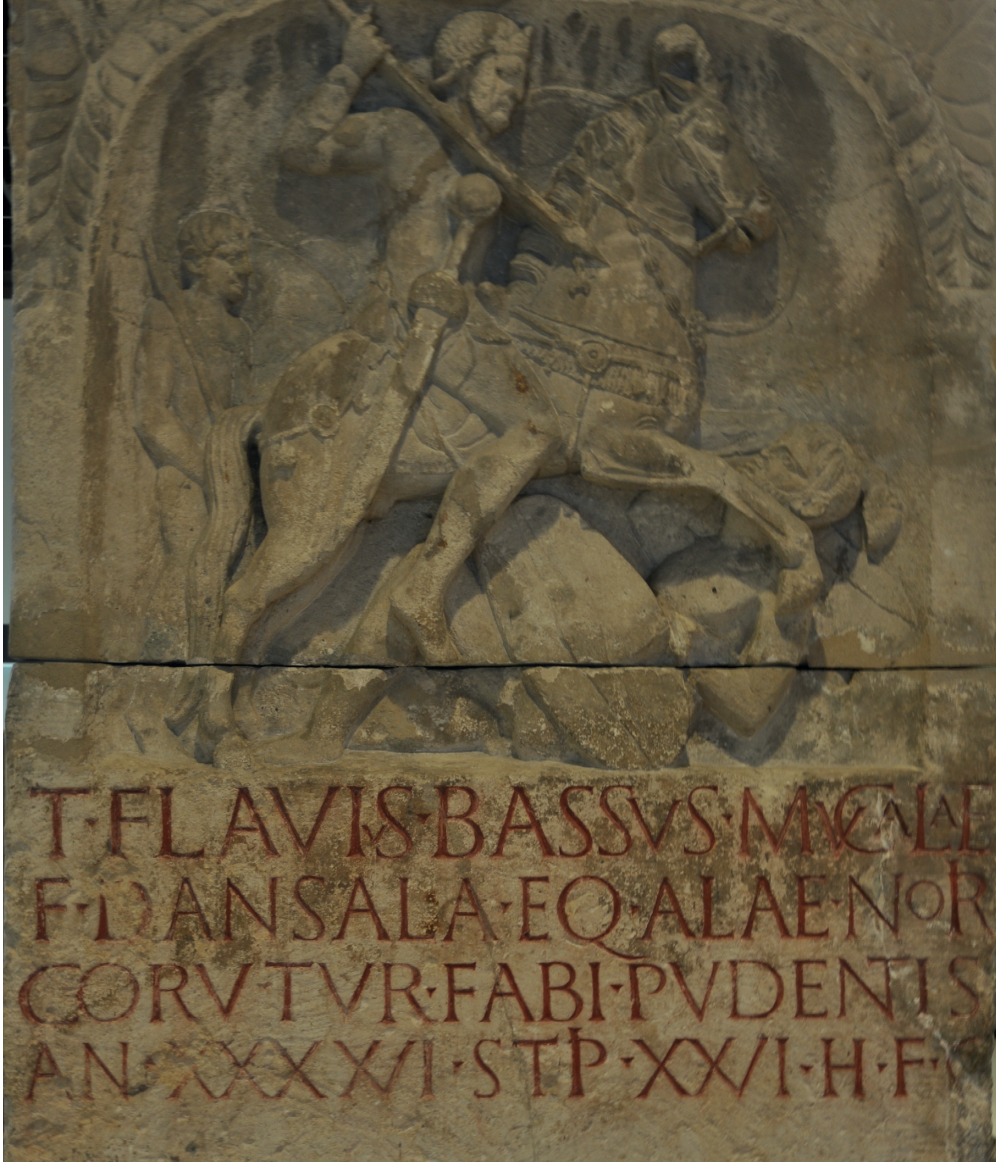




South Shields reconstructed fort gateway: This reconstructed gateway at the Roman fort of South Shields near the mouth of the River Tyne was built in the late twentieth century. It is probable that it should be a storey higher. Roman gateways were intended to look impressive, but once again the towers barely project in front of the curtain wall.



Saalburg reconstructed fort: In the nineteenth century, the German Kaiser encouraged the grand reconstruction of much of a Roman auxiliary fort at the Saalburg. While archaeologists today would change some aspects of this, it gives a good impression of the sheer scale and grandeur of one of these army bases. Legionary fortresses were more than ten times bigger.



Cologne cavalry tombstone: The tombstone of Titus Flavius Bassus from Cologne shows the auxiliary cavalryman trampling an unarmoured and semi-naked barbarian. At least half of the Roman army consisted of non-citizens or auxiliaries who received Roman citizenship at the end of their twenty-five years of service. Bassus died at the age of forty-six, soon after being granted this honour and probably before he was formally discharged from the army.



Trajan's Column, rampart and severed heads: This scene from Trajan's Column shows a row of severed heads – some already decomposed – mounted on spears along the rampart of a Dacian fortress. Archaeology has shown that similar trophies were sometimes raised on the walls of Roman auxiliary forts. The security of frontiers relied on shows of force intended to intimidate potential enemies.

Hadrian's Wall milecastle: Hadrian's Wall is the largest monument left by the Roman army. Eighty Roman miles long, stretching from the Tyne to the Solway, there was a small outpost or milecastle like this one at intervals of close to a mile. This is milecastle 39, with the lake of Crag Lough in the background.

Hadrian's Wall milecastle gateway: Hadrian's Wall was subject to numerous changes of design. Here at milecastle 37, the gateway opened out on to a cliff.

Although at first given proper gates in this arch, this was later sealed up, apart from a narrow door allowing access to the outside, probably to permit maintenance of the wall.





Trajan's Column, watchtowers: Most Roman frontiers did not have a continuous wall or rampart like Hadrian's Wall. Wherever possible frontier lines were placed on a major river, the bank lined with forts and smaller watchtowers and outposts in between. This scene from Trajan's Column shows a watchtower on the Danube. Beside it are what looks like piled hay or timber, probably a warning beacon.

Adamklissi metope of family in cart: At times large groups of people journeyed looking for new land, while seasonal movement of pastoralists and nomads occurred in other areas. Roman frontiers and tower systems helped to ensure that such movement was controlled and regulated by the empire. This metope from the Roman monument at Adamklissi in Romania shows a barbarian family travelling in a wagon.



Adamklissi metope of battle around cart: Successful raiders acquired plunder and needed to transport this home. Inevitably this slowed them down. Time and again, the Romans only intercepted raiding bands while they were plundering or as they withdrew, burdened with loot and captives. This metope from Adamklissi shows a Roman legionary fighting a warrior beside a cart carrying a woman and child.





Adamklissi metope of woman and child as captives: Several sculptures from Adamklissi show captives taken by the Romans, in this case including a woman holding a baby. Captives had considerable value as slaves, and some raiding outside and across the frontiers was fuelled by the profits from selling prisoners.

Caerwent third-century walls: In the third century AD, the *Pax Romana* was undermined by frequent civil wars and problems on the frontiers as garrisons were stripped of men to go off and fight in the power struggles within the empire. Many cities acquired walls for the first time or strengthened existing defences. The third-century walls at Caerwent have projecting towers, allowing men in them to shoot missiles into the flank of anyone attacking the curtain walls.



CHRONOLOGY

- 753 BC** Traditional date for foundation of Rome by Romulus.
- 509** Traditional date for expulsion of Rome's last king and creation of Republic. First treaty with Carthage.
- 496** The Romans defeat the Latin League at the Battle of Lake Regillus.
- 396** Capture of Veii; the Romans introduce pay for their army.
- 390** Rome sacked by Gauls.
- 340–338** League of Latin cities rebels against Rome and is defeated.
- 296** Romans defeat alliance of Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls at Sentinum.
- 280–275** War against King Pyrrhus of Epirus.
- 264–241** First Punic War.
- 225** Invading Gallic army defeated at Telamon.
- 218–201** Second Punic War.
- 214–205** First Macedonian War.
- 200–196** Second Macedonian War.
- 192–189** The Syrian War against the Seleucid King Antiochus III.
- 189** Manlius Vulso attacks the Galatians.
- 172–167** Third Macedonian War.
- 151–150** Sulpicius Galba governs Further Spain and massacres Lusitanians.
- 149–146** Third Punic War.
- 149–147** Fourth Macedonian War.
- 147–139** Career of Viriathus.
- 146** Destruction of Carthage and sack of Corinth.
- 135–132** Major slave rebellion in Sicily.
- 133** Fall of Numantia in Spain.
- 118** Colony founded at Narbo in Transalpine Gaul.

- 113 Romans come to assistance of king of Noricum and are defeated by Cimbri and Teutones.
- 112–106 War against King Jugurtha of Numidia.
- 105 Cimbri and Teutones destroy a large Roman army at Arausio.
- 102–101 Marius defeats Cimbri and Teutones.
- 91–88 The **Social War**, the last great rebellion by Rome's Italian allies.
- 88 Sulla marches his legions on Rome. Mithridates orders massacre of Romans in Asia.
- 88–85 First Mithridatic War.
- 83–82 Civil War won by Sulla.
- 83–82 Second Mithridatic War.
- 74–66 Third Mithridatic War.
- 74 Cicero quaestor in Sicily.
- 73–71 Verres governs Sicily.
- 73–70 Spartacus' rebellion.
- 67 Pompey given extraordinary command against the pirates.
- 66–63 Pompey defeats Mithridates, who commits suicide.
- c.61 Ariovistus and the Sequani defeat the Aedui.
- 59 Ariovistus recognised as king and friend of the Roman people.
- 58–50 Caesar's Gallic campaigns.
- 58 Caesar defeats the Helvetii, and confronts and defeats Ariovistus.
- 53 Crassus defeated and killed by Parthians under Surenas at Carrhae.
- 52 Major Gallic rebellion led by Vercingetorix.
- 51–50 Cicero governs Cilicia as proconsul.
- 49–45 **Civil War** between Caesar and Pompey.
- 44 Caesar assassinated by conspiracy led by Brutus and Cassius.
- 44–31 Repeated Civil Wars, first between Caesar's supporters and the conspirators, and then between Antony and Octavian.
- 41–40 Parthians invade Syria and overrun neighbouring provinces.
- 38 Parthians expelled from Roman provinces.
- 36 Mark Antony invades Armenia and is forced into a very costly retreat by the Parthians.

- 31 Antony defeated by Octavian in naval battle at Actium. Octavian (soon to be given the name Augustus) becomes effectively the sole ruler of the Roman Empire.
- 27–AD 14 Principate of Augustus.**
- 16–15 Conquest of the Alpine tribes.
- 12–7 Conquest of Pannonia and Germany.
- 4 Death of Herod the Great. Varus leads army into Judaea to deal with disturbances.
- AD 6 Romans attack Maroboduus, but withdraw when news arrives of trouble in the Balkans.
- 6–9 Major revolt in Pannonia.
- 9 Major revolt in Germany. Varus and *Legiones XVII, XVIII and XIX* ambushed and massacred in the Teutoberg Wald.
- 14–37 Principate of Tiberius.**
- 14–16 War against Arminius continues until halted by Tiberius.
- 17–24 Rebellion of Tacfarinas.
- 19 Death of Germanicus. Trial of Calpurnius Piso.
- c.19 Arminius murdered by own chieftains.
- 21 Revolt of Florus and Sacrovir. Rebellion of some Thracian tribes.
- 26–36 Pontius Pilate governs Judaea as prefect.
- 28 Revolt of the Frisii.
- 37–41 Principate of Gaius (Caligula).**
- 40–44 Mauretania rebels and is fully conquered by Suetonius Paulinus and later Hosidius Geta.
- 41–54 Principate of Claudius.**
- 43 Invasion of Britain.
- 47 Rebellion by a group of Iceni put down by Ostorius Scapula. Corbulo campaigns east of the Rhine, but is recalled by Claudius.
- 54–68 Principate of Nero.**
- 55–64 War with Parthia over control of Armenia.
- 59 Violent confrontation between rival crowds from Pompeii and Nuceria.
- 60–61 Rebellion of Boudicca in Britain.
- 66–74 The Jewish Rebellion.
- 68–69 Civil War – ‘The Year of Four Emperors’. Galba, Otho and

Vitellius seize the throne in rapid succession, but war eventually won by Vespasian.

70–79 Principate of Vespasian.

70 Jerusalem captured after a long siege. Batavian Revolt.

73–74 Masada besieged and taken.

78–84 Agricola governs Britain and campaigns in the north.

79–81 Principate of Titus.

81–96 Principate of Domitian.

85–89 War with King Decebalus of Dacia.

96–98 Principate of Nerva.

98–117 Principate of Trajan.

101–102 Trajan's First Dacian War.

105–106 Trajan's Second Dacian War.

c.109–111 Pliny sent as legate to govern Bithynia and Pontus.

113–117 Trajan's Parthian War.

115–117 Rebellion by Jewish population of Egypt, Cyrenaica and Cyprus.

117–138 Principate of Hadrian.

122 Construction of Hadrian's Wall begun.

131–135 Bar Kochba Revolt in Judaea.

138–161 Principate of Antoninus Pius.

140–143 Construction of Antonine Wall begun.

161–180 Principate of Marcus Aurelius.

162–166 War with Parthia conducted and won by Marcus' co-ruler, Lucius Verus.

167–180 Warfare against German tribes on the Danube.

171/2 Revolt of the Boukoloï.

180–192 Principate of Commodus.

193–197 Civil War, eventually won by Severus.

197–211 Principate of Septimius Severus.

211–217 Caracalla's reign ends with his murder. This is followed by another period of civil war.

222–235 Principate of Severus Alexander.

476 Romulus Augustus, the last emperor in the West, is deposed.

GLOSSARY

Accensus: The senior clerk/secretary in charge of a proconsul's or propraeor's administrative staff. Such men were often well educated and trusted slaves or freedmen.

Aedile: The aediles were magistrates responsible for aspects of the day-to-day life of the City of Rome, including the staging of a number of annual festivals. Usually held between the quaestorship and the praetorship, there were fewer aediles than praetors and the post was not a compulsory part of the *cursus honorum*.

Aerarium militare: The Military Treasury or *aerarium militare* was established by Augustus in AD 6 to fund the army and in particular arrange for the pay and discharge bonuses of soldiers. Although he provided the bulk of the initial money from his own fortune, an unpopular inheritance tax was set up to support it in the future.

Aquilifer: The standard bearer who carried the legion's standard (*aquila*), a silver or gilded statuette of an eagle mounted on a staff.

Ala: (i) Republic: an *ala* was a legion-sized formation composed of Latin or other Italian soldiers. One *ala* usually accompanied each legion in the field.

(ii) Principate: an *ala* was a unit of auxiliary cavalry roughly equivalent in size to an infantry cohort.

Auctoritas: The prestige and influence of a Roman senator. *Auctoritas* was greatly boosted by military achievements.

Auxilia (auxiliaries): The non-citizen soldiers recruited into the army during the Late Republic and Principate were known generally as auxiliaries or supporting troops.

Ballista: A two-armed torsion catapult capable of firing bolts or stones with considerable accuracy. These were built in various sizes and most often used in sieges.

Beneficiarius: Experienced soldier attached to the staff of a provincial governor. They often performed policing functions and were detached as individuals or small groups.

Cataphract: Heavily armoured cavalryman often riding an armoured horse. These formed an important component of the Parthian army.

Centurion: Important grade of officers in the Roman army for most of its history; centurions originally commanded a century of eighty men. The most senior centurion of a legion was the *primus pilus*, a post of enormous status held only for a single year.

Century (*centuria*): The basic sub-unit of the Roman army, the century was commanded by a centurion and usually consisted of eighty men.

Cohort (*cohors*): The basic tactical unit of the legion, consisting of six centuries of eighty soldiers with a total strength of 480.

Consul: The year's two consuls were the senior elected magistrates of the Roman Republic, and held command in important campaigns. Sometimes the Senate extended their power after their year of office, in which case they were known as **proconsuls**.

Cornicularius: Clerk on the staff of a unit officer or provincial governor.

Cursus honorum: The term given to the career pattern regulating public life. Existing legislation dealing with age and other qualifications for elected magistracies was restated and reinforced by Sulla during his dictatorship, and subsequently modified by Augustus.

Decurio (decursion): Cavalry officer originally in command of a group of ten men. By the Principate a decurion commanded a *turma*, or about thirty men.

Dekanos: Civilian official in Egypt.

Denarius: The basic silver coin under the Principate. It was the 'penny' of the Authorised Bible, hence the pre-decimalisation abbreviation of *d* for pence.

Dictator: In times of extreme crisis a dictator was appointed for a six-month period during which he exercised supreme civil and military power. Later victors in civil wars, such as Sulla and Julius Caesar, used the title as a basis for more permanent power.

Diôgmitai: Police constables in many Hellenic cities. The name literally means 'chasers'.

Duplicarius: Soldier receiving double pay and probably acting as a junior officer.

Eirênarchai: Elected magistrates in many Hellenic cities whose duties included policing its territory.

Ephebe: Adolescent males in Greek cities underwent a process of state-supervised training at the gymnasium. This was mainly concerned with physical fitness, but often included elements of more specifically military training.

Equites (sing. *eques*): The equestrians or 'knights' were the group with the highest property qualification registered by the census. From the time of the Gracchi they were given a more formal public role as jurors in the courts, an issue that became extremely contentious. Only under Augustus was a separate senatorial order created as a distinct class.

Fasces (sing. *fascis*): An ornamental bundle of rods some 5 feet long in the middle of which was an axe. They were carried by **lictors** and were the most visible symbols of a magistrate's power and status.

Forum Augustum: The Forum constructed by Augustus with the Temple of Mars Ultor in its centre.

Forum Romanum: The political and economic heart of the City of Rome which lay between the Capitoline, Palatine, Quirinal and Velian hills. Public meetings were often held either around the **Rostra**, or at the eastern end of the Forum. The **Concilium plebis** and **Comitia tributa** also usually met in the Forum to legislate.

Frumentarii: Soldiers on detached service to supervise the military grain supply. Their duties involved regular travel to and from Rome and the provinces and over time they took on the role of an internal intelligence service.

Gladius: A Latin word meaning sword, *gladius* is conventionally used to describe the *gladius hispaniensis*, the Spanish sword which was the standard Roman sidearm until well into the third century AD. Made from high-quality steel, this weapon could be used for cutting, but was primarily intended for thrusting.

Hasmonean: In the second century BC, Judaea successfully rebelled against the Seleucids. An independent kingdom was created, ruled by the Hasmonean dynasty. Antony and Octavian eventually installed Herod the Great in place of the old royal family.

Imagines: Military standards bearing the image of the *princeps* or his family.

Immunis: Soldier exempt from fatigues, often because he possessed a specialist skill or trade.

Imperium: The power of military command held by magistrates and pro-magistrates during their term of office. Augustus and his successors were granted *maius imperium proconsulare* – i.e. proconsul power that was superior to that of all other proconsuls.

Legatus (pl. *legati*): A subordinate officer who held delegated *imperium* rather than exercising power in his own right and acted as the deputy of a governor. Under the Republic *legati* were chosen by a magistrate rather than elected. Under the Principate some were appointed by the *princeps*. Legates were also divided into two main

grades, known as the *legatus legionis* who commanded a legion, and the *legatus Augusti* who commanded a province.

Legion (*legio*): Originally a term meaning levy, the legions became the main unit of the Roman army for much of its history. Under the Principate the theoretical strength of a legion was around 4,800–5,000 men in ten cohorts each of 480 men, although sometimes the first cohort was enlarged to 800 men. There was also a contingent of 120 horsemen and each legion was equipped with artillery and included many specialists in its ranks. The effective strength of a legion on campaign was often much lower than its theoretical strength.

Librarius: Junior clerk in the headquarters of a unit.

Lictor: The official attendants of a magistrate who carried the *fascēs* which symbolised his right to dispense justice and inflict capital and corporal punishment. Twelve lictors attended a consul, while a dictator was normally given twenty-four.

Optio: A centurion's deputy and second-in-command of a century.

Ornamenta triumphalia: Augustus introduced the 'ornaments' of a triumph, given as a reward in place of a triumph itself. After 19 BC, no one outside his extended family was granted a full triumph, but provincial governors who had won a victory were awarded this distinction instead.

Ovatio (ovation): A lesser form of the triumph, in an ovation the general rode through the City on horseback rather than in a chariot.

Paraphylakes: Professional police commanders in some Hellenic cities.

Pilum (pl. *pila*): The heavy javelin which was the standard equipment of the Roman legionary for much of Rome's history. Its narrow head was designed to punch through an enemy's shield, the long, thin shank then giving it the reach to hit the man behind it.

Praesidium: A military garrison, ranging in size from small outposts to thousands of men.

Praetorian guard: Augustus established nine permanent praetorian cohorts to form his guard. At this stage they had no permanent barracks in Rome and only three cohorts were ever present in the City at one time. This changed under Tiberius, when all nine cohorts were concentrated in a fort in Rome. In most cases the praetorians only went on campaign if the emperor or a member of the imperial family led the army.

Praetor: Praetors were annually elected magistrates who under the Republic governed the less important provinces and fought Rome's smaller wars. When serving as governors their command might be extended, in which case they were given the title of praepositor.

Prefect (*praefectus*): (i) One of three senior officers leading a Republican allied *ala* and effectively equivalent to a tribune in a legion.

(ii) Governor of an equestrian province, e.g. Judaea till AD 66 and Egypt.

(iii) Commander of an auxiliary *ala* or cohort under the Principate.

Primi ordines: The centurions of the first cohort of a legion. These men were the most senior in the centurionate, and enjoyed considerable status.

Primus pilus: The commander of the first century of the first cohort and the senior centurion of the legion.

Principate: Modern term for the regime created by Augustus, meaning the rule of a *princeps*, sometimes less accurately referred to as an emperor.

Princeps: First citizen, and leader of the Senate, People and State, *princeps* was the term Augustus preferred for his own status. In the past the senatorial roll was headed by a *princeps senatus*, chosen by the censors supposedly as the council's most prestigious and respected member. In all usages, the term had no particular powers, but was a mark of esteem and respect.

Procurator: (i) Title for governor of equestrian provinces from c.40, replacing the earlier title of prefect.

(ii) Financial administrator similar to a quaestor, but serving in imperial provinces.

Quaestor: Magistrates whose duties were primarily financial, quaestors acted as deputies to consular governors and often held subordinate military commands.

Regionarius (fully *centurio regionarius*): A centurion placed in charge of a region or district.

Scorpion: The light bolt-shooting ballista employed by the Roman army both in the field and in sieges. They possessed a long range, as well as great accuracy and the ability to penetrate any form of armour.

Sesquiplicarius: Soldier receiving one and half times normal pay, and probably holding a specialist post or acting as a junior officer.

Signifer: The junior officer who carried the *signum* standard of a century. In the imperial army he was also responsible for a range of administrative roles within the unit, most notably supervising the soldiers' pay and savings.

Singulares: The elite bodyguards of a senior Roman officer under the Principate, such as a legionary or provincial legate. These men were normally auxiliaries seconded from their units. The *singulares Augusti* were an elite cavalry unit drawn from the entire empire and attached to the praetorian guard.

Stationarii: Soldiers detached from their unit to serve in a garrison.

Talent: The actual size of this Greek measurement of weight – and by extension money – varied considerably, from about 57 to 83 pounds. It is rarely clear from sources who employ the term which standard was in use.

Tesserarius: One of the junior officers within a century, the name was derived from the *tessera* tablet on which was written the watchword for the day.

Tribuni aerarii: The group registered below the equestrian order in the census. Relatively little is known about them.

Tribunus militum (military tribune): Six military tribunes were elected or appointed to each Republican legion, one pair holding command at any one time. Under Augustus the number remained at six, but of these one was pursuing a senatorial career and was senior. This man, the *tribunus laticlavus* from the broad stripe worn around his cuirass, was second-in-command to the legionary legate. The other five tribunes, the *tribuni angusticlavii* who wore a narrow stripe, were equestrians and had usually already served in command of an auxiliary cohort.

Triumph: The great celebration granted by the Senate to a successful general took the form of a procession along the Sacra Via, the ceremonial main road of Rome, displaying the spoils and captives of his victory, and culminated in the ritual execution of the captured enemy leader. The commander rode in a chariot, dressed like the statues of Jupiter, a slave holding a laurel wreath of Victory over his head. The slave was supposed to whisper to the general, reminding him that he was mortal.

Triumvir: In 43 BC Antony, Lepidus and Octavian were named as *triumviri rei publicae constituendae* (board of three to reconstitute the state) by the *lex Titia* proposed by a tribune and passed by the *Concilium plebis*. The triumvirate was granted dictatorial powers, initially for five years.

Urban cohorts: Three urban cohorts were raised by Augustus as a paramilitary police force for Rome itself. They were commanded by the urban prefect. It is possible that a fourth cohort was raised under Augustus to guard the imperial mint at Lugdunum in Gaul, since the unit was certainly there under Tiberius.

Vergobret: Elected senior magistrate in many Gallic tribes such as the Aedui.

Vexillation (*vexillatio*): (i) A detachment of troops operating away from their parent unit or units.

(ii) Name given to some cavalry units in the late Roman army.

Vexillum: A square flag mounted crosswise on a pole, the *vexillum* was used to mark a general's position and was also the standard carried by a detachment of troops. A general's *vexillum* seems usually to have been red.

Vigiles: Formed by Augustus in AD 6, the seven cohorts of *vigiles* acted as a fire brigade and night police for the City of Rome. Each cohort was placed in control of two of the fourteen regions formed at the same time.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE = *L'Année Épigraphique*

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*

Appian, BC = Appian, *Civil Wars*

Appian, Bell. Hisp. = Appian, *Spanish Wars*

Appian, Mith. = Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars*

Broughton, MRR 2 = T. Broughton & M. Patterson (1951), *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* Vol. 2

Caesar, BC = Caesar, *The Civil Wars*

Caesar, BG = Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*

CAH² IX = J. Crook, A. Lintott & E. Rawson (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd edn Vol. IX: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC*

CAH² X = A. Bowman, E. Champlin & A. Lintott (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd edn Vol. X: *The Augustan Empire, 43 BC–AD 69*

Cicero, ad Att. = Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*

Cicero, ad Fam. = Cicero, *Letters to his friends*

Cicero, ad Quintum Fratrem = Cicero, *Letters to his Brother Quintus*

Cicero, Verrines = Cicero, *Verrine Orations*

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

Dio = Cassius Dio, *Roman History*

Galen, Comm. In Hipp. Epid., CMG = C. Kühn, *Galenus Medicus* (1821–33), supplemented by H. Diels et alii (1918–)

Hist. = *Histories*

ILLRP = A. Degrassi (ed.) (1963–5), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*

ILS = H. Dessau (1892–1916), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

JARCE = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

Josephus, Ant. = Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*

Josephus, *BJ* = Josephus, *The Jewish War*

JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

Livy, *Pers.* = Livy, *Roman History. Periochae.*

OGIS = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (1903–5)

PCPS = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

Pliny the Elder, *NH* = Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*

Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* = Pliny the Younger, *Letters*

Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* = Sallust, *The Catilinarian War*

Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* = Sallust, *The Jugurthine War*

SEG = P. Roussel, M. Tod, E. Ziebarth & J. Hondius (eds),

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (1923–)

Strabo, *Geog.* = Strabo, *Geography*

Tacitus, *Ann.* = Tacitus, *Annals*

Valerius Maximus = Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*

Velleius Paterculus = Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History*

ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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NOTES

PREFACE

- 1 Tacitus, *Agricola* 30. 5.

INTRODUCTION – A GLORY GREATER THAN WAR

- 1 Virgil, *Aeneid* 1. 278–9 (Loeb translation).
- 2 E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* Vol. 1 (1776; Penguin Classics edn, 1995), p. 103; this passage seems to have been inspired by very similar comments made by William Robertson some years before, see R. Porter, *Gibbon* (1988), pp. 135–6.
- 3 In the UK, very large protests were staged against the Iraq War, without in any way preventing most of the people involved for voting for the same government at the next election. Earlier this year there was a general election. The violence in Ukraine, Iraq and Syria and so many other places was barely mentioned by any of the parties, whose focus was almost entirely domestic. Clearly the opinion polls guiding the parties did not suggest that voters cared about such things. However, given that the opinion polls were proved dramatically wrong in their prediction of the outcome, this may be just another reminder of their many flaws.
- 4 Ovid, *Fasti* 1. 709–18 (Loeb translation).
- 5 Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 851–3 – *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*
(*Hae tibi erunt artes*) *pacisque imponere morem,*
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
- 6 G. Woolf, ‘Roman Peace’, in J. Rich & G. Shipley, *War and Society in the Roman World* (1993), pp. 171–94, 189; ‘robbery with violence’, see N. Faulkner, *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (2nd edn, 2004), p. 12.
- 7 N. Morley, *The Roman Empire. Roots of Imperialism* (2010), p. 69.

CHAPTER I – THE RISE OF ROME

- 1 Polybius 1. 2. 7, 3. 6 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For Rome's early history, T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c.1000–264 BC)* (1995) is an excellent introduction, see esp. pp. 1–30 on sources, and pp. 48–80 on Rome's origins. A lively and challenging look at similar questions is A. Carandini (trans. S. Sartarelli), *Rome. Day One* (2011). Nearly every aspect of this period and the evidence for it continues to be fiercely debated by scholars.
- 3 On early warfare, see S. Oakley, 'The Roman conquest of Italy', in J. Rich & G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World* (1993), pp. 9–37, esp. pp. 12–14; on the treaty with Carthage, Polybius 3. 22. 1–23.6, 26. 1–2 with comments in F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* Vol. 1 (1970), pp. 337–55 for detailed discussion.
- 4 Livy 1. 6, 9–10, 2. 16, 4. 4.
- 5 Cornell (1995), pp. 304–9; Herodotus 7. 170 for the quote.
- 6 Cornell (1995), pp. 309–13; pay, see Diodorus Siculus 14. 16. 5, Livy 4. 59. 11.
- 7 Cornell (1995), pp. 313–22.
- 8 For a good recent narrative of the Roman conquest of Italy see R. Cowan, *Roman Conquests – Italy* (2009), with Cornell (1995), pp. 322–6, 345–68 and Oakley (1993), pp. 14–33.
- 9 Refusal of Latin communities to accept Roman citizenship, see Livy 23. 20. 2–3; for a rare example of enfranchisement by Athens of surviving Plataeans, see J. Lendon, *Song of Wrath. The Peloponnesian War Begins* (2010), pp. 202–3, p. 472 n. 3; on Athenian manpower see H. Van Wees, *Greek Warfare – Myths and Realities* (2004), pp. 241–3.
- 10 Pliny the Elder, *NH* 33. 16 with comments in Cornell (1995), p. 208; Polybius 2. 24. 1–15, with Walbank (1970), pp. 196–203, and more recently D. Baronowski, 'Roman military forces in 225 BC (Polybius 2. 23–4)', *Historia* 42 (1993), pp. 181–202.
- 11 On the Roman army see L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (1984), pp. 14–56.
- 12 On politics see the useful survey in M. Crawford, *The Roman Republic* (1978), pp. 30–37, 74–83, Cornell (1995), pp. 242–71, 327–44; for more detailed discussion of the magistrates see A. Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (1999), esp. pp. 94–120.

- 13 On the triumph see in general M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (2007); for aristocratic self-advertisement see in particular Polybius 6. 53. 1–54. 5.
- 14 On the military obligations of citizens and their impact on society see N. Rosenstein, *Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic* (2004).
- 15 Cowan (2009), pp. 103–47, Cornell (1995), pp. 363–8.
- 16 On the Punic Wars in general see J. Lazenby, *The First Punic War* (1996), *Hannibal's War. A Military History of the Second Punic War* (1998) and A. Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars* (2000) (= *The Fall of Carthage*, 2003) as surveys and introductions to the vast literature on the subject.
- 17 See S. Dyson, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (1985), esp. pp. 7–125 for northern Italy and pp. 174–98 for Spain; on the wars against the Hellenistic world see E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (1984), F. Walbank, 'Polybius and Rome's eastern policy', *JRS* 53 (1963), pp. 1–13 and P. Derow, 'Polybius, Rome and the east', *JRS* 69 (1979), pp. 1–15 for a glimpse of the extensive literature on the subject.
- 18 N. Purcell, 'The creation of provincial landscape: the Roman imprint on Cisalpine Gaul', in T. Blagg & M. Millet (eds), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (1990), pp. 7–29.

CHAPTER II – WAR

- 1 Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 7. 3–6 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For age of service, see the plausible suggestions in N. Rosenstein, *Rome and the Mediterranean 290 to 146 BC. The Imperial Republic* (2012), pp. 94–6, 112–16 and 'Marriage and Manpower in the Hannibalic War: *Assidui*, *Proletarii* and Livy 24. 18. 7–8', *Historia* 51 (2002), pp. 163–91; on military decorations see Polybius 6. 39. 1–11, with in general V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981).
- 3 For centurions, see the case of Spurius Ligustinus in Livy 42. 34. 1–35. 1 and discussion in R. Smith, *Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army* (1958), pp. 4–6; on governors see A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration* (1993), pp. 43–69.
- 4 For Galba and his campaign, the fullest account is in Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 55–60, with comments in S. Dyson, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (1985), pp. 203–9, J. Richardson, *Hispaniae. Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218–82 BC* (1986), pp. 126–7, 136–7; for the Lusitanians, see Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 3. 3–8, with 3. 3. 7 on wearing their hair long.

- 5 On fear of Carthage in 149 BC see J. Rich, 'Fear, greed and glory: the causes of Roman war-making in the middle Republic', in J. Rich & G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World* (1993), pp. 38–68, esp. 63–64, and for the course of the war see A. Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars* (2000) (= *The Fall of Carthage*, 2003), pp. 331–56; Polybius 35. 1 for the 'fiery war' and 4. 3–14 on the problems of recruiting and the role of Scipio Aemilianus, the popular young nobleman.
- 6 Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 56–57 on the captured Roman standards and crossing to Africa.
- 7 For the quote see Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 59 (Loeb translation); Galba had served in the Third Macedonian War, see Livy 45. 35. 8–39. 20, but nothing else is known of any other time with the army; on the use of resettlement, see Dyson (1985), pp. 54–5, 100–01, 104–5, 213–14, 226.
- 8 Suetonius, *Galba* 3. 2 for the total of 30,000 Lusitanians, and note that later Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 61 claims that 10,000 survivors gathered by 148 BC; women's costume, Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 3. 7.
- 9 For Wounded Knee, see the thorough reconstruction in R. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (2nd edn, 2004), pp. 200–30.
- 10 Frontinus, *Stratagems* 1. 12. 4 for blood on shields and chests of horses; Livy 31. 34. 4–5 (Loeb translation) for Livy's description of wounds inflicted by the Spanish sword in a skirmish during the Second Macedonian War.
- 11 Livy, *Pers.* 49, Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 3. 6–7 on human sacrifice and comments in Dyson (1985), pp. 204–6.
- 12 There is a convenient list of temples and other monuments vowed and constructed by victorious commanders in the list of building work at Rome in the early centuries in S. Oakley, 'The Roman conquest of Italy', in Rich & Shipley (1993), pp. 9–37, 33–5.
- 13 Polybius 1. 1. 5 (Loeb translation).
- 14 On Polybius see F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* Vol. 1 (1970), pp. 1–6.
- 15 For the traditional view see E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic* (1968), R. Errington, *The Dawn of Empire: Rome's Rise to World Power* (1971); the most powerful criticism of this came with the hugely influential W. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 BC* (1979), but important contributions include K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978) and Richardson (1986) which looks at the Spanish

- experience emphasising the aggression and opportunism of provincial governors eager for plunder and glory.
- 16 See Harris (1979), pp. 9–53 on attitudes to warfare; Richardson (1986), pp. 128–37 on the shifting pattern of sending consular or praetorian governors to the Spanish provinces.
 - 17 On the change to the start of the consular year, see Richardson (1986), pp. 12–129.
 - 18 First Punic War, see Polybius 1. 11. 1–3; Second Macedonian War, Polybius 18. 1. 1–12. 5, Livy 32. 32. 1–37. 6; Third Macedonian War, Livy 43. 1. 4–12.
 - 19 Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 50–55, with Dyson (1985), pp. 202–3, Richardson (1986), pp. 136–7 for contrasting assessments.
 - 20 Livy 38. 44–50.
 - 21 E.g. Livy 39. 6, 45. 40, Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus* 34.
 - 22 On triumphs see Rich (1993), pp. 4–53; for 1,192,000 deaths in Caesar's campaigns see Pliny the Elder, *NH* 7. 92, although Velleius Paterculus 2. 47. 1 gives a figure of 400,000; on the Roman sword see the provocative study by S. James, *Rome and the Sword. How Warriors and Weapons Shaped Roman History* (2011), *passim*.
 - 23 Polybius 10. 15. 4–5 (Loeb translation).
 - 24 For emphasis on Roman ferocity, citing this passage, see Harris (1979), pp. 50–53.
 - 25 On Roman looting see A. Ziolkowski, 'Urbs direpta, or how the Romans sacked cities', in Rich & Shipley (1993), pp. 69–91.
 - 26 P. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 BC–AD 14* (1971), pp. 391–472, Harris (1979), pp. 44–6.
 - 27 Polybius 31. 13. 7 (Loeb translation) for the quote; more generally on the profits of expansion see Harris (1979), pp. 54–104, Hopkins (1978), pp. 1–98 and E. Gruen, 'Material rewards and the drive for empire', in W. Harris (ed.), *The Imperialism of Mid-Republican Rome* (1984), pp. 59–82.
 - 28 'massive violence' see Harris (1979), p. 53; for a good survey of problems with Harris' thesis see Rich (1993).
 - 29 Rich (1993), pp. 47–55 on triumphs; Harris (1979), pp. 189–90 on alliances pretext for war and 201–05 with Richardson (1986), pp. 20–30 on Saguntum and the start of the Second Punic War.
 - 30 By far the most important recent contribution to the debate on Roman imperialism is A. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the*

- Rise of Rome* (2006), which thoroughly demolishes the idea of Rome as uniquely aggressive.
- 31 On Greek warfare in general see H. Van Wees, *Greek Warfare – Myths and Realities* (2004), esp. pp. 77–85, 115–50, D. Dawson, *The Origins of Western Warfare. Militarism and Morality in the Ancient World* (1996), pp. 47–107, and Eckstein (2006), pp. 37–180; piracy and trade at Athens, see van Wees (2004), pp. 202–3; none of this is to claim that Greek states were in permanent conflict. Peaceful co-operation did occur, see for instance J. Ma, ‘Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age’, *Past & Present* 180 (2003), pp. 9–39.
 - 32 Eckstein (2006), pp. 200–04 comparing Roman ferocity with that of others, and noting that Polybius believed the Macedonians and not the Romans to be the most naturally fierce and effective soldiers.
 - 33 Caesar, *BG.* 6. 15, 23, cf. 1. 2.
 - 34 See for instance the evidence for significant fighting at the very large and organised Iron Age *oppidum* or town at Manching in P. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak. How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* (1999), pp. 28–31, 77–79; on head-hunting see Poseidonius quoted in Strabo, *Geog.* 4. 4. 5, and Diodorus Siculus 5. 29. 2–5; on the use of heads and other body parts in ritual, one example is Ribemont-sur-Ancre, for which see T. Derks, *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices: The Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul* (1998), pp. 48, 234–5.
 - 35 Eckstein (2006), pp. 244–316.
 - 36 Harris (1979), pp. 175–254 attempted a survey of Rome’s wars in the period he covered presenting almost all as caused by Roman aggression. This has generally been seen as the weakest section of his book by critics and supporters alike, e.g. A. Sherwin-White, ‘Rome the aggressor?’, *JRS* 70 (1979), pp. 177–181 and J. North, ‘The development of Roman imperialism’, *JRS* 71 (1981), pp. 1–9.
 - 37 Diodorus Siculus 5. 34. 6–7.
 - 38 Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 3. 5.
 - 39 On weaponry see F. Quesada Sanz, *Arma de la Antigua Iberia de Tatessos a Numancia* (2010), with pp. 171–80 on mercenary service.
 - 40 Attempt to permit owners to reclaim recaptured booty in 193 BC, see Livy 35. 1.
 - 41 Livy, *Pers.* 49.
 - 42 Cato quoted in Cicero, *de Oratore* 1. 228 (Loeb translation), see also

- Cicero, *Brutus* 89, Livy, *Pers.* 49, Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 60, with comments and further references in Dyson (1985), pp. 205–6.
- 43 Valerius Maximus 6. 4. 2.
- 44 On Viriathus see Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 61–75, with Dyson (1985), pp. 206–13; for locals rather than Romans as the chief focus of his attacks, note that the stratagems attributed to him, Frontinus, *Stratagems* 2. 5. 7, 13. 4 describe tactics used against the Romans, but 3. 10. 6, 11. 4, 4. 5. 22 all deal with fighting the Segobrigenses.
- 45 Dyson (1985), pp. 220–24 on lessening of warfare first in Nearer Spain and then in Further Spain, while noting repeated talk of banditry, e.g. Diodorus Siculus 3. 54. 7, Plutarch, *Marius* 6.

CHAPTER III – FRIENDS AND RIVALS

- 1 Cicero, *ad Att.* 1. 19.
- 2 Caesar, *BG* 1. 44 (Loeb translation).
- 3 In general see Caesar, *BG* 1. 31–43, 6. 12.
- 4 Caesar, *BG* 1. 42, and for the nickname *equestris* see L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (1984), pp. 84, 204.
- 5 For the dating of the *Commentaries* see M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (1968), pp. 170–72, C. Meier, *Caesar* (1996), pp. 254–64. For the arguments in favour of annual publication see K. Welch & A. Powell (eds), *Julius Caesar As Artful Reporter* (1998), and especially the article by P. Wiseman, ‘The publication of the *De Bello Gallico*’, pp. 1–9, and also T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar’s Conquest of Gaul* (1911), pp. 202–9. See also Caesar, *BG* 8 preface and Suetonius, *Caesar* 56. 3–4. In general also C. Kraus, ‘*Bellum Gallicum*’, in M. Griffin (ed.), *A Companion to Julius Caesar* (2009), pp. 159–74, and J. Osgood, ‘The Pen and the Sword: Writing and Conquest in Caesar’s Gaul’, *Classical Antiquity* 28 (2009), pp. 328–58.
- 6 On the archaeological evidence see S. Dyson, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (1985), pp. 126–73, B. Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction* (1988), esp. pp. 38–58 and 80–105, N. Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul: An Anthropological Perspective*. *Cingula* 12 (1990), esp. pp. 17–47, P. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak* (1999), pp. 48–85 and T. Burns, *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 BC–AD 200* (2003), pp. 88–139.
- 7 On the power of noblemen expressed by the number of retainers see Caesar, *BG* 6. 15; on the wine trade see Cunliffe (1988), pp. 59–105, esp. 74, and Roymans (1990), pp. 147–67 and A. Tchernia, ‘Italian wine in

- Gaul at the end of the Republic', in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins & C. Whitaker (eds), *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (1983), pp. 87–104.
- 8 Strabo, *Geog.* 4. 3. 2 on conflict to control the Saône and its trade route. More generally see Dyson (1985), pp. 141–3, 172.
 - 9 See discussion in Wells (1999), pp. 44–7, 75–85, Burns (2003), pp. 76–87.
 - 10 Caesar, *BG* 1. 3, 4–5, 31, 6. 12, Cicero, *ad Att.* 1. 19. 2.
 - 11 On *amicitia* in general see P. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (1988), pp. 351–81, C. Steel, 'Friends, associates, wives', in Griffin (2009), pp. 112–25, esp. 112–14; on the Aedui see D. Braund, 'The Aedui, Troy, and the Apocolocyntosis', *Classical Quarterly* 30 (1980), pp. 420–25.
 - 12 Diviciacus in Rome, see Cicero, *de Divinatione* 1. 41. 90, cf. *ad Att.* 1. 19. 2–3, and Caesar, *BG* 1. 31, 35, 43 and 6. 13–14 on druids and druidic training; Pliny the Elder, *NH* 2. 67 describes an encounter between a Metellus as proconsul with a king of the Suebi. The purpose of the anecdote is the unlikely claim that the German leader handed over sailors who had come from India and been washed ashore in his territory.
 - 13 See Dyson (1985), pp. 169–71.
 - 14 Caesar, *BG* 1. 3–4, 18; for differing views on what the Helvetii and their leaders planned see T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (1911), pp. 218–24, and H. Delbrück (trans. J. Renfroe), *History of the Art of War* Vol. 1: *Warfare in Antiquity* (1975), pp. 459–78, and A. Goldsworthy, *Caesar: The Life of a Colossus* (2006), pp. 205–11.
 - 15 Desire to be first, Plutarch, *Caesar* 11; the focus on the Balkans, see C. Goudineau, *César et la Gaule* (1995), pp. 130–48.
 - 16 Caesar, *BG* 1. 9; in general see the useful discussion in J. Thorne, 'The Chronology of the Campaign against the Helvetii: A Clue to Caesar's Intentions?', *Historia* 56 (2007), pp. 27–36.
 - 17 Caesar, *BG* 1. 11 for raiding; for the narrative of the campaign see Goldsworthy (2006), pp. 212–23.
 - 18 Caesar, *BG* 1. 17–20.
 - 19 Caesar, *BG* 1. 30–33.
 - 20 Caesar, *BG* 1. 34–6, with quote from 1. 34.
 - 21 See N. Rosenstein, 'General and imperialist', in Griffin (2009), pp. 85–99, esp. 88–91; on depiction of the Germans see J. Gardner, 'The "Gallic menace" in Caesar's Propaganda', *Greece and Rome* 30 (1983), pp. 181–9; see M. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* (1987), pp. 11–13, *The Early Germans* (1992), pp. 8–13, C. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus* (1972),

- pp. 14–31 and Wells (1999), pp. 42–7, 99–121, and Burns (2003), pp. 111–18.
- 22 Caesar, *BG* 1. 39–41; Dio 38. 35. 2 claims that some felt Caesar was exceeding his remit as governor by leading his army so far from his province.
 - 23 Caesar, *BG* 1. 47.
 - 24 Caesar, *BG* 1. 43–47.
 - 25 Caesar, *BG* 1. 47–54; women 1. 51, cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 7–8, with the unnecessarily sceptical comments in Burns (2003), p. 120–22; subsequent death of Ariovistus, Caesar, *BG* 5. 29.
 - 26 Caesar, *BG* 1. 54; on displays of submission see H. Sidebotham, ‘International Relations’, in P. Sabin, H. van Wees & M. Whitby (eds), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* Vol. 2: *Rome from the Late Republic to the Late Empire* (2007), pp. 3–29, esp. 16–22; Caesar’s inexperience in 58 BC see Goldsworthy (2006), pp. 184–5, Rosenstein (2009), pp. 86–8.
 - 27 Caesar, *BG* 2. 1, 3–5.
 - 28 Caesar, *BG* 2. 6–7, 12–15.
 - 29 E.g. Caesar, *BG* 4. 21 and 7. 76 on favours to Commius of the Atrebates, and other cases in 5. 25, 27.
 - 30 Caesar, *BG* 5. 6–7.
 - 31 Caesar, *BG* 5. 2–4.
 - 32 Caesar, *BG* 5. 24–25, 26–27, 54, 55–58; for the narratives of the campaigns see Goldsworthy (2006), pp. 297–312 or M. Sage, *Roman Conquests: Gaul* (2011), pp. 84–95.
 - 33 Caesar, *BG* 5. 54, 6. 2, 4, 9.
 - 34 Caesar, *BG* 7. 1–2; on Caesar’s attitude to the Gauls see J. Barlow, ‘Noble Gauls and their other in Caesar’s propaganda’ and L. Rawlings, ‘Caesar’s portrayal of the Gauls as warriors’, both in K. Welch & A. Powell (eds), *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter: the War Commentaries as Political Instruments* (1998), pp. 139–170, and 171–192 respectively.
 - 35 Caesar, *BG* 7. 4, 6. 6, 7. 76; friendly relations between Vercingetorix and Caesar, see Dio 40. 41. 1, 3.
 - 36 Caesar, *BG* 7. 32–3, 37–43, 54–5, 59.
 - 37 Caesar, *BG* 7. 63 on Aedui seeking to lead rebellion; for the campaign overall see Goldsworthy (2006), pp. 315–342, Sage (2011), pp. 105–40.
 - 38 Caesar, *BG* 8. 49.
 - 39 For Commius see Caesar, *BG* 8. 6, 7, 22–23, 47–48, and Frontinus, *Stratagemas* 2. 13. 11; for quote 8. 48.
 - 40 On ‘pacifying’ see for instance Caesar, *BG* 3. 7, 20.

CHAPTER IV – TRADERS AND SETTLERS

- 1 Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 5. 167–8 (Loeb translation).
- 2 He was awarded twenty days of public thanksgiving, see Caesar, *BG* 4. 38; for excitement see Cicero, *ad Att.* 4. 17, *ad Quintum Fratrem* 2. 16. 4.
- 3 Marcus Mettius, Caesar, *BG* 1. 47, 53.
- 4 Caesar, *BG* 1. 1 for Belgians rarely visited by traders, 2. 15 for the refusal of the Nervii to admit any traders and 4. 2 for the Germans, with comments in J. Barlow, 'Noble Gauls and their other in Caesar's propaganda', in K. Welch & A. Powell (eds), *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter: The War Commentaries as Political Instruments* (1998), pp. 139–70; the use of the alleged morality of the simple Germanic peoples in contrast to the decadence of 'sophisticated' society in Rome is especially pronounced in Tacitus, *Germania*.
- 5 Caesar, *BG* 4. 20–21; see in general M. Todd, *Roman Britain* (3rd edn, 1999), pp. 1–3, B. Cunliffe, *Hengistbury Head* Vol. 1 (1987) and *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its peoples 800 BC–AD 1500* (2001) pp. 261–310, on Caesar and the Veneti see B. Levick, 'The Veneti Revisited: C. E. Stevens and the tradition on Caesar the propagandist', in Welch & Powell (1998), pp. 61–83.
- 6 For very different attempts to understand events in Britain after 54 BC see G. Webster, *The Roman Invasion of Britain* (rev. edn, 1993), pp. 41–74, J. Manley, *AD 43. The Roman Invasion of Britain – A Reassessment* (2002), pp. 37–50.
- 7 Cicero, *ad Att.* 4. 17; Caesar and pearls, see Suetonius, *Caesar* 47; Strabo, *Geog.* 4. 6. 12 on Scipio Aemilianus; on the absence of commercial motives in Roman decision-making see W. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 BC* (1979), pp. 54–104.
- 8 Polybius 34. 10. 10, with Strabo, *Geog.* 4. 6. 12.
- 9 See Appian, *Celtica* 13, with S. Dyson, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (1985), pp. 75–6; see G. Alföldy (trans. A. Birley), *Noricum* (1974), pp. 44 for Pompauius Senator, 44–47 on the Magdalensberg settlement.
- 10 On Romans abroad see A. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Expansion* (1966); for Greek colonisation see in general R. Garland, *The Wandering Greeks: The Ancient Greek Diaspora from the Age of Homer to the Death of Alexander* (2014), J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* (4th edn, 1999).

- 11 Polybius 3. 22. 1–23. 6; on the treaties with Carthage. F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* Vol. 1 (1970), pp. 337–56; on Carthage in general see G. Picard & C. Picard, *Carthage* (rev. edn, 1987), S. Lancel, *Carthage* (Oxford, 1995) and R. Miles, *Carthage Must be Destroyed. The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Civilization* (2010), pp. 1–176.
- 12 Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 5. 11.
- 13 For Romans in Carthage see Appian, *Punic Wars* 92; E. Palmer, *Carthage and Rome at Peace* (1997), pp. 32–62.
- 14 Exchanging a slave for an amphora see Diodorus Siculus 5. 26. 3–4; on coinage see C. Howgego, ‘The Monetization of Temperate Europe’, *JRS* 103 (2013), pp. 16–45, esp. 26–31, 35–7.
- 15 Livy 44. 13. 1; Cunliffe (2001), pp. 311–64.
- 16 Polybius 2. 8. 1–4, with T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* Vol. 1 (1933), pp. 102–3 and Harris (1979) pp. 195–7 noting that the Romans appear to have let this piracy continue for some time before taking action; Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 5. 149–50, 167–8
- 17 Colonisation see Wilson (1966), pp. 44–5, 64–5; inscription from Sicily, *ILS* 1. 864 = *CIL* 1². 612; Cossutius see *Inscriptiones Graecae* 3. (1) 561 and Vitruvius, *De architectura* 8. 160, with Wilson (1966), pp. 96–7.
- 18 Strabo, *Geog.* 14. 2. 5; on Delos in general see Wilson (1966), pp. 99–121, with J. Hatzfeld, ‘Les Italiens résidant à Délos’, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 36 (1912), 143¹ for dealers in oil; on the Agora of the Italians see M. Trümper, *Greco-Roman Slave Markets. Fact or Fiction?* (2009), pp. 34–49 who is sceptical, but presents a good bibliography of the debate over this site.
- 19 A. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (2nd edn, 1996), pp. 399–402.
- 20 Caesar, *BG.* 6. 37 for traders caught outside the camp; *BG* 7. 3, 38, 42, 55 for massacres of Romans in 53–52 BC.
- 21 Appian, *Iberica* 38. 115, with J. Richardson, *Hispaniae. Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218–82 BC* (1986), pp. 53, 57; Carteia, see Livy 43. 3. 1–4, with Richardson (1986), pp. 118–19.
- 22 Strabo, *Geog.* 4. 1. 5, with Wilson (1966), pp. 64–7.
- 23 Cicero, *pro Fronteio* 11–12, cf. *pro Quintio* 11 describing Romans buying cattle from the province, and in *Catilinam* 2. 14 and Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 34. 2 on a merchant who had done business with the Allobroges tribe.
- 24 Caesar, *BG* 7. 3, 38, 42, 55; Cicero, *pro Fronteio* 46; raising forces from Roman citizens in the provinces, see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14. 84

- for armed civilians in Judaea, and Cicero, *ad Fam.* 15. 4 for re-enlisting demobilised soldiers in Cilicia.
- 25 Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 21, 23–7, 47, 67.
- 26 Appian, *Mith.* 22 (Loeb translation).
- 27 Appian, *Mith.* 22, Athanaeus *frag.* 5. 213, Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 14; Valerius Maximus 9. 2. 3 gives a death toll of 80,000, although Plutarch, *Sulla* 24 claims the total was 150,000; for handy introductions to the background see P. Matyszak, *Mithridates the Great. Rome's Indomitable Enemy* (2008), pp. 43–7, A. Mayor, *The Poison King. The Life and Legend of Mithridates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy* (2010), pp. 170–75.
- 28 Cicero, *de imperio Cn. Pompeio* 11; 20,000 massacred on Delos and elsewhere, see Appian, *Mith.* 28; on the general hatred of Romans see Sherwin-White (1996), pp. 399–402, referring to the Sibylline Oracles circulating in the eastern Mediterranean. However, it should be noted that similar prophecies in the past had foretold the humbling of other nations, notably the Macedonians.
- 29 Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 1. 63–76.
- 30 Romans in provinces seen as greedy, see Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem* 1. 1. 16.
- 31 Humiliation and execution of Q. Oppius by Mithridates, see Appian, *Mith.* 20–21; see Matyszak (2008), pp. 43–8 for a good analysis of Mithridates' motives.
- 32 However, anger at such an outrage might make Roman legionaries fight with more than usual fury, e.g. at Avaricum in 52 BC, Caesar, *BG* 7. 17, 29.

CHAPTER V – 'HOW MUCH DID YOU MAKE?' – GOVERNMENT

- 1 Cicero, *ad Fam.* 15. 5 (Loeb translation).
- 2 Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 1–15 for letters written on the journey and describing his itinerary. The month of July was not yet named after Julius Caesar and was still called Quinctilis, but I have used the later term to avoid confusion.
- 3 In general see A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration* (1993), pp. 22–7, 46–8.
- 4 On Cicero's career in general and his appointment to Cilicia see D. Stockton, *Cicero: A Political Biography* (1971), esp. pp. 225–6; for a detailed

- discussion of his appointment see A. Marshall, 'The *Lex Pompeia de provinciis* (52 BC) and Cicero's *Imperium* in 51–50 BC: Constitutional aspects', *ANRW* 1. 1 (1972), pp. 887–921.
- 5 Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 15 for the quote; for pleas to prevent any extension of his command e.g. Cicero. *ad Att.* 5. 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 6. 1, 3, with letters to incoming magistrates *ad Fam.* 15. 7, 8, 9, 12.
 - 6 Cicero, *ad Fam.* 2. 12.
 - 7 On Petreius see Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 59. 6 describing him in 62 BC, but probably referring to his entire career; for Caesar see A. Goldsworthy, *Caesar. The Life of a Colossus* (2006), pp. 184–5; Catullus 10. 8.
 - 8 Cicero, *pro Cn. Plancio* 64–6.
 - 9 Cicero, *ad Att.* 6. 1. 15, Valerius Maximus 8. 15. 6; on edicts see Lintott (1993), pp. 60–62, A. Marshall, 'The Structure of Cicero's Edict', *The American Journal of Philology* 85 (1964), pp. 185–91.
 - 10 For a survey of the province and Cicero's governorship see Stockton (1971), pp. 227–53; on relations with the Parthians see D. Kennedy, 'Parthia and Rome: Eastern Perspectives', in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East. JRA Supplementary Series* 18 (1996), pp. 67–90.
 - 11 For subordinates and staff see Lintott (1993), pp. 50–52, and on quaestors see A. Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (1999), pp. 133–7; on the *accensus*, Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem* 1. 1. 13.
 - 12 Lintott (1993), pp. 53–4; Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 5. 29, 39–42.
 - 13 A. Marshall, 'Governors on the Move', *Phoenix* 20 (1966), pp. 231–46, Lintott (1993), pp. 54–65; captured praetor killed because he was old and fat, Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 63.
 - 14 Marshall (1966), p. 246; for Caesar see Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 56–7.
 - 15 Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 14, 15, 16, 17, *ad Fam.* 3. 6, 15. 4.
 - 16 assizes as he travelled along the road, Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 20.
 - 17 For the quote, Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 20, and the campaign in general see also *ad Fam.* 2. 7, 10, 15. 1, 2, 4, with discussion in A. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC–AD 200* (1996), pp. 95–7, 99–100.
 - 18 'perpetual enemies', Cicero, *ad Fam.* 2. 10, Bibulus' defeat, *ad Att.* 5. 20; tribes in the Alps, Caesar, *BG.* 3. 1.
 - 19 E.g. Lintott (1993), pp. 53–4, Marshall (1966), pp. 239–40.
 - 20 Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 21.
 - 21 Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 4 *passim* on Verres' alleged thefts or compulsory purchases of artworks.
 - 22 Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 21.

- 23 Quotes from Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 15; efforts to keep tight control over expenses, e.g. *ad Att.* 5. 15, 16, 17, 21 (for a blemish on the record), 6. 2, 3.
- 24 Cicero, *ad Att.* 6. 1, with R. Syme, 'Who was Vedius Pollio?', *JRS* 51 (1961), pp. 23–30.
- 25 Polybius 6. 17. 1–9, and in general see E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (1972).
- 26 Second Punic War, Livy 23. 48. 4–49. 4, 25. 3. 9–5. 1, with Badian (1972), pp. 17–20; Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 2. 10 on mining, quoting a lost passage from Polybius, with Badian (1972), pp. 31–6; the latter's visit to the area, Polybius 3. 59. 7; mines in Macedonia, Livy 45. 18. 3–5, with Badian (1972), pp. 40–41, 127–8 ns. 40–41.
- 27 Cicero, *ad Att.* 1. 17. 9, 18. 3, 2. 1. 8, with Badian (1972), pp. 101–04.
- 28 On size of contracts see Badian (1972), pp. 67–70; quote from Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem* 1. 1. 32–5, cf. *ad Att.* 6. 1 for his own relations with the *publicani* in Cilicia.
- 29 Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 3 which deals at length with abuse of the grain tithe; 2. 182, 3. 167, 182 for companies keeping records. This oration was never delivered in court because Verres had already gone into exile. For recent discussion see the collection of papers in J. Prag, *Sicilia Nutrix Plebis Romanae. Rhetoric, Law, and Taxation in Cicero's Verrines* (2007); quote from Livy 45. 18. 4; on Rutilius Rufus see Badian (1972), pp. 90–92, and for suggestion of guilt A. Lintott, 'Leges Repetundae and associate measures under the Republic', *ZSS* 98 (1981) pp. 194–5.
- 30 Badian (1972), pp. 102–5.
- 31 Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 5. 158–73.
- 32 Cicero, *ad Fam.* 13. 55, 53, and 56 respectively (Loeb translation).
- 33 Cicero, *ad Fam.* 8. 9, 2. 11, *ad Fam.* 5. 21.
- 34 Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 21, 6. 1, 2, 3.
- 35 Quote from Plutarch, *Brutus* 6.
- 36 For Ariobarzanes see Cicero, *ad Fam.* 15. 2, *ad Att.* 5. 20, 6. 1.
- 37 Cicero, *ad Fam.* 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 for letters to Appius, *ad Att.* 5. 15, 16, 6. 1, 2, with 6. 1 for the joke about a doctor resenting someone else curing his patient.
- 38 Cicero, *ad Att.* 6. 2 on corruption among local magistrates.
- 39 Cicero, *ad Fam.* 15. 4, 5, 6 for exchange of letters with Cato.
- 40 In 44 BC Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Caesar's assassins and by this time governor of Cisalpine Gaul, sent a punitive expedition into the Alps 'not so much in quest of the title *imperator* as desiring to satisfy my

men and make them firm for the defence of our concerns', see Cicero, *ad Fam.* 11. 4 (Loeb translation).

41 Risk of famine, Cicero, *ad Att.* 5. 21.

42 On putting his quaestor in charge see Marshall (1972), pp. 899–921.

CHAPTER VI – PROVINCIALS AND KINGS

1 Polybius 31. 20 (Loeb translation).

2 On the establishment of a permanent presence in Macedonia see discussion in R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire. The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 BC* (1995), pp. 11–41, and for Asia, pp. 97–122.

3 Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 30–40, E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (1984), pp. 429–36, and A. Eckstein, 'Hegemony and annexation beyond the Adriatic 230–146 BC', in D. Hoyos (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Imperialism* (2013), pp. 79–97; on the course of the Via Egnatia see Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 347–9 and N. Hammond, 'The western part of the via Egnatia', *JRS* 64 (1974), pp. 185–94.

4 M. Hassall, M. Crawford & J. Reynolds, 'Rome and the Eastern Provinces at the end of the Second Century BC', *JRS* 64 (1974), pp. 195–220, esp. pp. 201–7 for text and 207–29 for translation of the law.

5 Plutarch, *Cimon* 1. 2–2. 1 tells the story but is unclear about the date of the incident. For this see Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 280–81, and esp. p. 280 n. 77.

6 On homosexuality in the army see Polybius 6. 37 and the incident in Plutarch *Marius* 13–14 where a soldier received the highest award for valour, the *corona civica*, when he killed his commander after the latter had abused his authority in an effort to seduce the man.

7 In general see Gruen (1984), pp. 523–8 on Greece, pp. 529–610 on Asia, Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 223–334.

8 Polybius 31. 2. 1–6, Appian, *Syrian Wars* 45–46, with Gruen (1984), p. 664 esp. fn. 244 with fuller references, pp. 714–15 for another tour by a delegation led by a distinguished senator, in this case Scipio Aemilianus.

9 For a good survey see Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 161–83, and for the background see J. Ma, 'Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age', *Past & Present* 180 (2003), pp. 9–39.

10 For the declaration of the Second Macedonian War see Livy 31. 5. 1–8. 4; and comments and doubts over the true motive in W. Harris, *War and*

- Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 BC* (1979), pp. 212–18, F. Walbank, ‘Polybius and Rome’s eastern policy’, *JRS* 53 (1963), pp. 1–13, P. Derow, ‘Polybius, Rome and the east’, *JRS* 69 (1979), pp. 1–15, and in general J. Rich, *Declaring War in the Roman Republic in the Period of Transmarine Expansion. Collection Latomus 149* (1976); On Popillius Laenas see Livy 44. 20. 1, 29. 1–5, 10. 45. 2–15, 12. 1–3, with Gruen (1984), pp. 656–60.
- 11 On declining offers of aid see the case of the Ptolemies in Gruen (1984), pp. 672–85; on Roman decisions to act and priorities see T. Hillard & L. Beness, ‘Choosing friends, foes and fiefdoms in the second century BC’, in Hoyos (2013), pp. 127–40.
 - 12 In general see Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 162–77; on receiving embassies in February see T. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* Vol. 3 (1986), pp. 97–8.
 - 13 Caesar and Cicero as students, see Cicero, *Brutus* 316, Suetonius, *Caesar* 4; Horace, *Epistles* 2. 1. 156–7 for quote.
 - 14 On Athens see Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 203–5, with Cicero, *de Oratore* 3. 75 for Crassus; on Ptolemies and the cat incident see Diodorus Siculus 1. 83. 1–9, 1. 44. 1; in general see M. Siani-Davies, ‘Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans’, *Historia* 46 (1997), pp. 306–40, esp. 317–22, and G. Hölbl (trans. T. Saavedra), *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (2001), pp. 225–7.
 - 15 Delegation led by philosophers, see Pausanias 7. 11. 4–8, Polybius 33. 2, Plutarch, *Cato the Elder* 22; on Menippus see L. Robert & J. Robert, *Claros* Vol. 1: *Décrets hellénistiques* (1989), Menippus 23–44 with Kallet-Marx (1995), p. 128.
 - 16 Cicero, *ad Att.* 15. 15; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 35. 10; ban on delegation borrowing money, see Diodorus Siculus 40. 1. 1.
 - 17 Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 33. 1; Polybius 30. 18. 1–19. 17, cf. Gruen (1984), p. 574; on Roman attitudes towards monarchs see E. Rawson, ‘Caesar’s Heritage. Hellenistic kings and their Roman equals’, *JRS* 65 (1975), pp. 148–59.
 - 18 Valerius Maximus 5. 1f, Diodorus Siculus 31. 18. 1–2, with comments in Gruen (1984), pp. 694–6.
 - 19 In general see J. Prag, ‘*Auxilia and gymnasia*: A Sicilian model of Roman Imperialism’, *JRS* 97 (2007), pp. 68–100; on Caesar and the pirates and Mithridates see Suetonius, *Caesar* 4. 2, 74, Plutarch *Caesar* 2.
 - 20 Slave rebellions in Sicily, see the useful collection of sources in B. Shaw (ed.), *Spartacus and the Slave Wars. A Brief History with Documents* (2001), pp. 79–129; one or two slave revolts against Athens, see Orosius 5. 9.

- 5, Athaneus 6. 272e; house at Segesta, see Prag (2007), pp. 98–9 with references.
- 21 Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 2. 95–100, cf. 2. 4. 41; Silanus, see Valerius Maximus 5. 8. 3, Cicero, *de finibus* 1. 7. 24, Livy, *Pers.* 54.
- 22 Ref. Popillius Laenas from Lintott in 173 attacking the Ligurians; Livy 43. 2–3 (Loeb translation for quote).
- 23 On the *repetundae* court see A. Lintott, ‘*Leges Repetundae* and associate measures under the Republic’, *ZSS* 98 (1981), pp. 162–212 and *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration* (1993), pp. 97–107, J. Richardson, ‘The purpose of the Lex Calpurnia de Repedundis’, *JRS* 77 (1987), pp. 1–12, A. Sherwin-White, ‘The date of the Lex Repetundarum and its consequences’, *JRS* 62 (1972), pp. 83–99; Lintott (1981), pp. 209–12 for results of trials between 149–50 BC.
- 24 Verres’ comment from Cicero, *Verrines* 1. 14; in general see T. Frazel, ‘The composition and circulation of Cicero’s “In Verrem”’, *The Classical Quarterly* 54. 1 (2004), pp. 128–42, A. Vasaly, ‘Cicero, domestic politics and the first action of the Verrines’, *Classical Antiquity* 28. 1 (2009), pp. 101–37 and the papers in J. Prag, *Sicilia Nutrix Plebis Romanae. Rhetoric, Law, and Taxation in Cicero’s Verrines* (2007).
- 25 For the sums of money involved in Verres’ trial see Lintott (1993), pp. 106–7, quoting Cicero, *Verrines* 1. 56 for forty million and Plutarch, *Cicero* 8 for three million.
- 26 Cicero, *de Officiis* 2. 26–7 (Loeb translation, slightly modified).
- 27 On Caesar see A. Goldsworthy, *Caesar. The Life of a Colossus* (2006), pp. 70–74; for the theme of changing attitudes to the empire see L. Beness & T. Hillard, ‘*Rei Militaris Virtus . . . Orbem Terrarum Parere Huic Imperio Coegit*: The transformation of Roman *Imperium*’, in Hoyos (2013), pp. 141–53.
- 28 Cicero, *de imperio Cn. Pompei* 2. 6 (Loeb translation).
- 29 Power over the globe, e.g. Cicero, *de Republica* 3. 35, with Beness & Hillard (2013), pp. 142–3, cf. the theme of Pompey’s triumph in 61 BC see Pliny, *NH* 7. 97, Plutarch, *Pompey* 45, Dio 37. 21. 1–4, Appian, *Mith.* 116–17; Sicily see Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 2, 3. 12; Cicero, *de prov. consularibus* 31 (Loeb translation).
- 30 Cicero, *de prov. consularibus* 4 (Loeb translation, slightly modified).
- 31 Cicero, *de prov. consularibus* 31 (Loeb translation).
- 32 Cicero, *de imperio Cn. Pompei* 55 (Loeb translation).
- 33 On the pirate problem see Appian, *Mith.* 91–3, Plutarch, *Pompey* 24–5,

- and for Pompey's campaign see Appian, *Mith.* 94–6, Plutarch, *Pompey* 26–8.
- 34 Epirus, see Polybius 30. 15, Livy 45. 34. 1–6, Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 29. 1–3; Caesar in Gaul, see Plutarch, *Caesar* 15, Pliny, *NH* 7. 92, Velleius Paterculus 2. 47. 1, with comments in C. Goudineau, *César et la Gaule* (1995), pp. 308–11; *publicani* enslaving debtors see Diodorus Siculus 36. 3. 1–2.
- 35 On supply of slaves, see W. Harris, 'Demography, Geography, and the supply of slaves', *JRS* 89 (1999), pp. 62–75; Spartacus, see Appian, *BC* 1. 118.
- 36 On slavery in general see K. Bradley, 'Slavery in the Roman Republic', in K. Bradley & P. Cartledge (eds), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery* Vol. 1: *The Ancient Mediterranean* (2011), pp. 241–64 and W. Scheidel, 'The Roman slave supply', in Bradley & Cartledge (2011), pp. 287–310.
- 37 For Flaminius see Polybius 18. 46. 1–15, with Gruen (1984), pp. 133–47, 448–9; on free and other cities see Lintott (1993), pp. 36–41.
- 38 For the framing of legal questions in the Roman style, see the law discussed in J. Richardson, 'The Tabula Contrebiensis: Roman law in Spain in the early first century BC', *JRS* 73 (1983), pp. 33–41; Cicero, *ad Att.* 6. 1 for quote, with Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 130–35.
- 39 See Hillard & Beness (2013), pp. 138–40, Beness & Hillard (2013), pp. 141–53.
- 40 F. Millar, 'The Mediterranean and the Roman Revolution: Politics, war and the economy', *Past & Present* 102 (1984), pp. 3–24.
- 41 For Cleopatra's career see A. Goldsworthy, *Antony and Cleopatra* (2010), *passim*.
- 42 For an introduction to the depiction of Cleopatra see A. Goldsworthy, *Augustus. From Revolutionary to Emperor* (2014), pp. 180–85, with more detail in K. Scott, 'The Political Propaganda of 44–30 BC', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11 (1933), pp. 7–49, esp. 33–49, J. Osgood, *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* (2006), pp. 335–49, Pelling in *CAH* X, pp. 40–48, and R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1960), pp. 276–8.

CHAPTER VII – EMPERORS

- 1 Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 851–3 (Loeb translation, slightly modified).
- 2 Dio 47. 25. 3, and Appian, *BC* 4. 100–01; for examples of Brutus' coinage

- see M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), pp. 498–508.
- 3 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14. 314–16, and 14. 301–12 (quotes from Loeb translation); see also in general J. Osgood, *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* (2006), pp. 105–6.
 - 4 On the Parthian invasion see D. Kennedy, 'Parthia and Rome: eastern perspectives', in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East. JRA Supplementary Series* 18 (1996), pp. 67–90, esp. 77–81, Osgood (2006), pp. 185, 225–8, G. Bowersock, 'The mechanics of subversion in the Roman Provinces', in *Opposition et résistance à l'empire d'Auguste à Trajan, Entreteniens sur L'antiquité classique* (1987), pp. 291–317, esp. 295–6.
 - 5 *Historia Augusta, Hadrian* 15. 13; on the emperor and the army in general see J. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC–AD 235* (1984), *passim*; on Augustus and the army see A. Goldsworthy, *Augustus. From Revolutionary to Emperor* (2014), pp. 245–53, 436–7.
 - 6 For concise introductions to the career of Augustus and the system he created see D. Shotter, *Caesar Augustus* (2nd edn, 1991), W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (2003), K. Galinsky, *Augustus. Introduction to the Life of an Emperor* (2012), J. Richardson, *Augustan Rome 44 BC to AD 14. The Restoration of the Republic and the Establishment of the Empire* (2012), and for more detail see Goldsworthy (2014).
 - 7 The fullest discussion of the imagery of the Augustan regime is P. Zanker (trans. A. Shapiro), *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988).
 - 8 Dio 53. 12. 2–16. 3, with W. Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of a System* (1996), pp. 89–95, J. Liebeschuetz, 'The settlement of 27 BC', in C. Deroux, *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* (2008), pp. 346–53, J. Ferrary, 'The powers of Augustus', in J. Edmondson (ed.), *Augustus* (2009), pp. 90–136, esp. 90–99; on the role of provinces and warfare in general for Caesar's justification of his position see J. Rich, 'Augustus, War and Peace', in Edmondson (2009), pp. 137–64, esp. 153–7.
 - 9 Dio 53. 13. 1.
 - 10 For quote see *Res Gestae* 34 (Loeb translation, slightly modified), on the *ara pacis Augusti* see D. Conlin, *The Artists of the Ara Pacis. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome* (1997), M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982), pp. 27–61, Zanker (1990), esp. pp. 158–60, 179–83, 203–4, K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (1996), pp. 141–55, and R. Billows, 'The religious procession of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Augustus' *supplicatio* in 13 BC', *JRA* 6 (1993), pp. 80–92.

- 11 Horace, *Epodes* 7. 1–10 (Loeb translation); on the popular desire for a victory over the Parthians and conquests in Britain see Rich (2009), pp. 137–64, esp. 143–6, = L. de Blois, P. Erdkamp, G. de Kleijn & S. Mols (eds), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network, Impact of Empire (Roman Empire 200 BC to AD 476)*. Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20–23, 2002 (2003), pp. 329–57.
- 12 Ovid, *Fasti* 1. 709–18 (Loeb translation) for the *ara pacis*.
- 13 Dio 51. 20. 4–5, 53. 26. 1–5, 27. 1–2 and 54. 36. 2 (where a third opening was ordered, but then countermanded because a fresh war broke out), Suetonius, *Augustus* 22, *Res Gestae* 13, with comments in T. Barnes, ‘The Victories of Augustus’, *JRS* 64 (1974), pp. 21–6.
- 14 Rich (2009), pp. 137–64, and E. Gruen, ‘The expansion of the Empire under Augustus’, in *CAH* X, pp. 147–97.
- 15 Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 853, Horace, *Odes* 3. 5. 2–4 (Loeb translation, slightly modified).
- 16 On the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus see Zanker (1990), pp. 81–2, 113–14, 193–215, S. Dyson, *Rome. A Living Portrait of an Ancient City* (2010), pp. 128–31, and Lacey (1996), pp. 193, 197–202; embassies from India and Britain, *Res Gestae* 31–2.
- 17 R. Syme, ‘Military Geography at Rome’, *Classical Antiquity* 7 (1988), pp. 227–51.
- 18 For accounts of the campaigns see Goldsworthy (2014), pp. 433–9, 446–55; ten legions concentrated, see Velleius Paterculus 2. 113. 1.
- 19 Suetonius, *Augustus* 23. 2 for the quote about Varus; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 11 for Augustus’ advice.
- 20 There is an especially useful discussion of this question in T. Cornell, ‘The end of Roman imperial expansion’, in J. Rich & G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World* (1993), pp. 139–70.
- 21 See Suetonius, *Augustus* 25. 2, Velleius Paterculus 2. 110. 6–111. 2, with L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (1984), pp. 168–9; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 5 on Gaul and other provinces.
- 22 Cornell (1993), pp. 145–9 provides a good survey with references of the debate over these questions, and B. Rankov, ‘A “secret of empire” (*impe-rii arcanum*): an unacknowledged factor in Roman imperial expansion’, in W. Hanson (ed.), *The army and the frontiers of Rome: papers offered to David Breeze on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday and his retirement from historic Scotland*. *JRA Supplementary Series* 74 (2009), pp. 163–72.

- 23 Strabo, *Geog.* 17. 3. 24, and 2. 5. 8.
- 24 Appian, *praef* 7.
- 25 Suetonius, *Nero* 18 for the claim that he considered abandoning Britain, with the scepticism of M. Todd, *Roman Britain* (3rd edn, 1999), pp. 67–8.
- 26 B. Levick, *Claudius* (1990), pp. 29–39 for discussion of the circumstances of his accession.
- 27 Campbell (1984), pp. 59–69, 417–27.
- 28 Tacitus, *Ann.* 11. 20; for a range of views on the invasion of Britain see Todd (1999), pp. 45–6, G. Webster, *The Roman Invasion of Britain* (rev. edn, 1993), pp. 84–5, and Levick (1990), pp. 137–44.
- 29 ‘Shameful peace’, Tacitus, *Ann.* 15. 25; suicide of Corbulo, note the interesting comments in Bowersock (1987), pp. 316–17.
- 30 Comparisons with Alexander, Dio 68. 29. 1–4.
- 31 Dio 69. 1. 1 denied Hadrian’s adoption.
- 32 Hadrian’s prediction of his own death, *Historia Augusta*, *Hadrian* 16. 7; Marcus Aurelius’ campaigns, see A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* (rev. edn, 1987), pp. 159–79, 206–10.
- 33 Dio 75. 3. 2–3
- 34 Contrast Dio 68. 6. 1–2, with 68. 17. 1.
- 35 Strabo, *Geog.* 6. 4. 2 (Loeb translation).
- 36 Velleius Paterculus 2. 126 .3

CHAPTER VIII – REBELLION

- 1 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 356 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For the invasion army in AD 43 see G. Webster, *The Roman Invasion of Britain* (rev. edn, 1993), pp. 85–92.
- 3 Dio 60. 19. 1–22. 2, Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4. 1, with discussion in Webster (1993), pp. 94–110; on the Roman army in the field and levels of fighting see A. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC–AD 200* (1996), pp. 79–105 and ‘War’, in P. Sabin, H. van Wees & M. Whitby (eds), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* Vol. 2: *Rome from the Late Republic to the Late Empire* (2007), pp. 76–121, esp. 85–9.
- 4 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 34–37, with quote from 12. 37.
- 5 Togidubnus, see *Roman Inscriptions in Britain* 91, Tacitus, *Agricola* 14, with G. Webster, *Rome against Caratacus* (rev. edn, 1993), pp. 24–7, 124–30, J. Manley, *AD 43. The Roman Invasion of Britain – A Reassessment* (2002), pp. 64–5, 114–15, 120–21; J. Hind, ‘A. Plautius’ campaign in Britain: an

- alternative reading of the narrative in Cassius Dio (60. 19. 5–21. 2)', *Britannia* 38 (2007), pp. 93–106, esp. 96–100, argues that Togidubnus was the Togodumnus, son of Cunobelinus who fought the Romans in AD 43, but then made peace and became a client king. While possible, the evidence is inadequate to prove the case one way or the other.
- 6 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 31–2 for the rebellion; in general see P. Brunt, 'Did Imperial Rome disarm her subjects?', *Phoenix* 29 (1975), pp. 260–70.
- 7 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 31.
- 8 The main narratives of the rebellion are Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 29–39 and *Agricola* 5, 14–16, Dio 62. 1. 1–12. 6; a concise and critical survey of the evidence is provided by M. Johnson, *Boudicca* (2012).
- 9 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 32, 14. 31–2.
- 10 Caesar, *BG* 6. 13–14, 16–18; for an insightful assessment of the changing role of druids before and after conquest by Rome see J. Webster, 'At the end of the world: Druidic and other revitalization movements in post-conquest Gaul and Britain', *Britannia* 30 (1999), pp. 1–20; on Roman attitudes to the cult see also M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea. The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome AD 66–70* (1987), pp. 240–48.
- 11 Roman hostility to human sacrifice, see Pliny, *NH* 30. 13, with comments and further references in Webster (1999), p. 13; on the destruction of the groves on Mona see S. Rutledge, 'The Roman destruction of sacred sites', *Historia* 56 (2007), pp. 179–95, esp. 191–2; for the tendency for rebellion to catch the Romans by surprise see S. Dyson, 'Native Revolts in the Roman Empire', *Historia* 20 (1971), pp. 239–74, esp. 250, 252–4, 263–4.
- 12 For these towns and the rebellion in general see J. Wachter in *CAH² X*, pp. 508–9, 511–13.
- 13 Dio 52. 7. 2 (Loeb translation). It should be noted that this lurid passage comes from a later epitome of Dio's longer history. The author of this summarised version was inclined to include the most dramatic passages and make them more prominent than in the original version, but it is unlikely that he invented them; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 33 for casualties and the rebels' unwillingness to take prisoners.
- 14 *RIB* 12.
- 15 M. Todd, *Roman Britain* (3rd edn, 1999), pp. 71–3.
- 16 On rebellions in general see S. Dyson, 'Native Revolts in the Roman Empire', *Historia* 20 (1971), pp. 239–74 and 'Native Revolt Patterns in the Roman Empire', *ANRW* 2. 3 (1975), pp. 138–75.

- 17 For an overview of AD 9 see A. Goldsworthy, *Augustus. From Revolutionary to Emperor* (2014), pp. 446–53, and for more detail see P. Wells, *The Battle that Stopped Rome* (2003) and A. Murdoch, *Rome's Greatest Defeat. Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest* (2006).
- 18 On Lanhau-Waldgirmes see R. Wolters, *Die Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald* (2008), pp. 65–9.
- 19 Dio 54. 21. 1–8.
- 20 For Varus see Velleius Paterculus 2. 117. 2–4 including the quotes, Dio 56.1 18. 1–5; for Pannonia see Dio 56. 16. 3 (Loeb translation).
- 21 Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 72–4; for the size of cattle and livestock see M. Todd, *The Early Germans* (2nd edn, 2004), pp. 76–8.
- 22 Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 46–51; for the quote see Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 14; on the origins of the Batavian rebellion see Dyson (1971), pp. 264–7 and K. Wellesley, *The Year of Four Emperors* (3rd edn, 2000), pp. 168–83.
- 23 For Arminius and his early life see esp. Velleius Paterculus 2. 118. 1–3, Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 9–10, 88.
- 24 For attempts to interpret the remarkable archaeology of part of this battle, see A. Rost, 'The Battle between Romans and Germans in Kalkriese: Interpreting the Archaeological Remains from an ancient battlefield' and S. Wilbers-Rost, 'The site of the Varus Battle at Kalkriese. Recent Results from Archaeological Research', both in A. Moirillo, N. Hanel & E. Martín, *Limes XX: Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol. 3 (2009), pp. 1339–45, 1347–52; the main ancient sources are Dio 56. 19. 1–22. 2, Velleius Paterculus 2. 119. 1–5, Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 61–2.
- 25 Tacitus, *Germania* 37.
- 26 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 39–79 for Varus in 4 BC; there is much of relevance to the way rebellions develop in the early twentieth-century military manual, C. Callwell, *Small Wars. A Tactical Textbook for Imperial Soldiers* (rev. edn, 1990), pp. 26, and esp. 71–84.
- 27 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 31.
- 28 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 37, Dio 62. 8. 1.
- 29 Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 88.
- 30 Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 57–9, Velleius Paterculus 2. 118. 4.
- 31 E.g. Dio 54. 20. 4–6, Suetonius, *Augustus* 23. 1, with Dyson (1975), pp. 154–6.
- 32 Dyson (1975), pp. 156–8.
- 33 See J. Spaul, *Ala²* (1994), pp. 52–3.

- 34 Caesar, *BG* 6. 15 for aristocrats basing their power on the number of warriors in their household.
- 35 For the full narrative see Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 41–7.
- 36 Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 54 for druidic prophecies and 2. 61 for Mariccus.
- 37 For instance, G. Woolf, ‘Roman Peace’, in J. Rich & G. Shipley, *War and Society in the Roman World* (1993), pp. 171–94, esp. 186–8, and S. Mat-tern, *Rome and the Enemy. Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (1999), pp. 100–03, esp. 101 fn. 95, citing T. Pekàry, ‘Seditio: Unruhen und Revolten im römischen Reich von Augustus bis Commodus’, *Ancient Society* 18 (1987), pp. 133–50, but of his list, pp. 136–45, only a handful of incidents could be described as revolts against Roman rule.
- 38 Herod Agrippa II’s speech, Josephus, *BJ* 3. 348–404, with quote from 3. 352; Petilius Cerealis in Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 43–4.
- 39 The literature on this subject is vast and there are a range of opinions about almost every detail. For the Roman military viewpoint see A. Goldsworthy, ‘“Men casually armed against fully equipped regulars”: The Roman military response to Jewish insurgence 63 BCE–135 CE’, in P. Tomson & J. Schwartz (eds), *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: How to Write their History* (2014), pp. 207–37; for the narrative of rebellion from AD 66–73, a lively and provocative account is N. Faulkner, *Apocalypse. The Great Jewish Revolt against Rome AD 66–73* (2002).
- 40 Dio 69. 14. 1; on Galilee see S. Freyne, ‘The Revolt from a regional perspective’, in A. Berlin & J. Overman (eds), *The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology* (2002), pp. 43–56, and R. Horsley, ‘Power vacuum and power struggle 66–7 CE’, in Berlin & Overman (2002), pp. 87–109 and other papers in the same volume, Z. Safrai, ‘Socio-economic and cultural developments in the Galilee from the late first to early third century CE’, in Tomson and Schwartz (2014), pp. 278–310, E. Meyers, ‘Roman Sepphoris in the light of new archaeological evidence and recent research’, in L. Levine (ed.), *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (1992), pp. 321–8.
- 41 F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (1993), pp. 337–74.
- 42 For some notable discussions of the causes of the revolt see Goodman (1987) and S. Mason, ‘Why did Judaeans go to war with Rome in 66–67 CE? Realist-Regional perspectives’, in Tomson & Schwartz (2014), pp. 126–206; for Roman attitudes see E. Gruen, ‘Roman perspectives on the Jews in the age of the Great Revolt’, in Berlin & Overman (2002), pp. 27–42.

CHAPTER IX – RESISTANCE, RIOTING AND ROBBERY

- 1 Dio 72. 4. 1 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For the garrison of Egypt see R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History* (1995), pp. 20–38.
- 3 For the rebellion see Dio 72. 24, with Alston (1995), pp. 77–8; for a document possibly demonstrating Avidius Cassius' connection with Egypt see A. Bowman, 'A letter of Avidius Cassius?', *JRS* 60 (1970), pp. 20–26.
- 4 For discussion see J. Winkler, 'Lollianos and the desperadoes', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980), pp. 155–81, esp. 180–81.
- 5 Diodorus Siculus 20. 100. 3–4, and P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (1990), pp. 80–91 for a good survey of Alexandria's origins and culture.
- 6 Tacitus, *Hist.* 1. 65–6 for Gaul, 4. 50 for Africa.
- 7 Tacitus, *Hist.* 2. 21 for Placentia; Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 17 for Pompeii and Nuceria, with R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1966), pp. 169–70.
- 8 *ILS* 5947 = *CIL* 10. 7852, with B. Shaw, 'Bandits in the Roman Empire', *Past & Present* 105 (1984), pp. 3–52, 7 fn. 12.
- 9 S. Mason, 'Why did Judaeans go to war with Rome in 66–67 CE? Realist-Regional perspectives', in P. Tomson & J. Schwartz (eds), *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: How to Write their History* (2014), pp. 126–206, esp. 170–74, and for the history in general E. Schürer, G. Vermes & F. Millar, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol. 1 (1973), pp. 125–232; Good Samaritan, Luke 10. 30–35, cf. John 4. 4–30 for the Samaritan woman at the well.
- 10 For Cleopatra see Plutarch, *Antony* 36, Dio 49. 32. 5, Strabo, *Geog.* 14. 669, 671, with M. Grant, *Cleopatra* (1971), pp. 135–41, G. Hölbl (trans. T. Saavedra), *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (2001), p. 242; for Herod see Schürer, Vermes & Millar (1973), pp. 287–329.
- 11 On the Olympic Games see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 16. 149, *Jewish War* 1. 427, and his own Hellenic-style festival 15. 268–71; on Herod's gifts to Greek communities see G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), pp. 54–6, and A. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution. Greek Culture in the Roman World* (2012), pp. 84–6; on Herod's troops see M. Speidel, 'The Roman army in Judaea under the Procurators', in M. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* Vol. 2: *Mavors* (1992), pp. 224–32.
- 12 Josephus, *Ant.* 19. 356–9 for joy at Herod Agrippa I's death; for the region

- in general see F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (1993), pp. 43–69, 337–66.
- 13 For Augustus' joke see Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2. 4. 11; for a public act of opposition to Herod and the subsequent executions see Josephus, *BJ* 1. 648–53.
 - 14 Herod's war, see Josephus, *Ant.* 16. 271–99; Herod Antipas' campaign against the Nabataeans, see *Ant.* 18. 109–15, 120–25.
 - 15 D. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (1992), pp. 182–217 has suggested that Pontius Pilate held office for even longer, from AD 18 to 36/37; for the standards see Josephus, *BJ* 2. 169–74, *Ant.* 18. 55–9.
 - 16 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 184–7, 192–203, *Ant.* 18. 257–309, Philo, *Legatio* 199–205; for discussion see Mason (2014), p. 178.
 - 17 Josephus, *BJ* 175–7, *Ant.* 60–62.
 - 18 Josephus, *Ant.* 18. 85–9.
 - 19 Josephus, *Ant.* 20. 97–9 (quote from Loeb translation), Acts 5. 36.
 - 20 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 261–3, *Ant.* 20. 97–8 and Acts 21. 38.
 - 21 Josephus, *Ant.* 20. 106–12, *BJ* 2. 224–7
 - 22 Josephus, *Ant.* 20. 113–17, *BJ* 2. 228–31, and in general Mason (2014), pp. 180–82.
 - 23 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 232–46, *Ant.* 20. 118–36; Claudius considers posting the garrison to Pontus, *Ant.* 19. 365–6, with Mason (2014), p. 180.
 - 24 For embassies and decisions in favour of the Jewish leaders see P. McKechnie, 'Judaean embassies and cases before Roman Emperors, AD 44–66', *Journal of Theological Studies* 56 (2005), pp. 339–61; agitators, see Philo, in *Flaccum* 20; on the incident at Alexandria see Philo, in *Flaccum* 18–114, with B. Decharneux, 'The Carabas affair (in Flacc 36–39): An incident emblematic of Philo's political philosophy', in Tomson & Schwartz (2014), pp. 70–79.
 - 25 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 1. 408–16, 266–70, *Ant.* 20. 173–8, 182–4, with McKechnie (2005), pp. 353–6.
 - 26 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 289–90 (Loeb translation).
 - 27 Josephus *BJ* 2. 285–92, with Mason (2014), pp. 184–7; cohort massacred in Jerusalem, but commander spared, see *BJ* 2. 450–554.
 - 28 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 460–62 (Loeb translation).
 - 29 Josephus, *BJ* 2. 461–80.
 - 30 Josephus, *Ant.* 20. 121, *BJ.* 2. 235 also mentions an 'Alexander' as one of the leaders of these raids; bandits hired as mercenaries in Galilee,

Josephus, *BJ* 3. 581–3; *sicarii*, see *BJ* 2. 254–7, 425, *Ant.* 20. 162–6, 186, 204.

- 31 Digest 49. 15. 24
- 32 On bandits and pirates in general see R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1966), pp. 192–212, 255–68, B. Shaw, ‘Bandits in the Roman Empire’, *Past & Present* 105 (1984), pp. 3–52, ‘The bandit’, in A. Giardina (ed.), *The Romans* (1993), pp. 3–52, T. Grünewald (trans. J. Drinkwater), *Bandits in the Roman Empire. Myth and Reality* (2004), P. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman world* (1999), and C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire. Soldiers, Administration and Public Order* (2012).
- 33 See Grünewald (2004), pp. 72–90, P. de Souza, ‘Pirates and politics in the Roman world’, in V. Grieb & S. Todt (eds), *Piraterie von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (2012), pp. 47–73, esp. 61–73.
- 34 Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 3. 8, and A. Morillo Cerdán, ‘The Augustean Spanish Experience: The origin of the *limes* system?’, in A. Moirillo, N. Hanel & E. Martín, *Limes XX: Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol. 1 (2009), pp. 239–51, esp. 244–7.
- 35 Grünewald (2004), pp. 91–109, B. Shaw, ‘Tyrants, bandits and kings: personal power in Josephus’, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993), pp. 176–204; Matthew 22. 17, ‘sons of thunder’, Mark 3. 17, and for Barabbas Luke 23. 19.
- 36 For discussion of the social and economic problems see M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea. The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome AD 66–70* (1987), pp. 51–75.
- 37 Velleius Paterculus 2. 126. 3.
- 38 See B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (rev. edn, 1992), pp. 68–100.
- 39 Sifre Deuteronomy, 318 (ed. Finkelstein) quoted in Isaac (1992), p. 115.
- 40 Examples taken from Isaac (1992), pp. 83–4, 85–8, 117–18.
- 41 Dio 69. 12. 3 (Loeb translation); Y. Sharar, ‘The underground hide-outs in Galilee and their historical meaning’, in P. Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (2003), pp. 217–40.
- 42 Isaac (1992), pp. 85–9 suggests some ambiguity in rabbinic attitudes to bandits, but no active or enthusiastic support for them; Marcus Aurelius’ comment mentioned because it was misquoted by the Emperor Julian in the fourth century AD, Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 5. 5.
- 43 Isaac (1992), pp. 116–17.

- 44 MacMullen (1966), pp. 84–90, and for the texts see H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs, Acta Alexandrinorum* (1954).
- 45 Millar (1993), pp. 337–66, 408–14.

CHAPTER X – IMPERIAL GOVERNORS

- 1 Suetonius, *Domitian* 8. 2 (Loeb translation).
- 2 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 15–18. Pliny's letters are not dated and there is a question over whether his provincial command began in AD 109, 110 or 111, but there is no means to resolve this debate and it does not matter for our purpose. On his appointment and for background to the province and the letters, see A. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary* (1966), pp. 526–55.
- 3 Sherwin-White (1966), pp. 1–84; see also R. Gibson, 'On the nature of ancient letter collections', *JRS* 102 (2012), pp. 56–78, esp. 67–9.
- 4 For *mandata* see G. Burton, 'The issuing of *mandata* to proconsuls and a new inscription from Cos', *ZPE* 21 (1976), pp. 63–8, and D. Potter, 'Emperors, their borders and their neighbours: the scope of imperial *mandata*', in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East. JRA Supplementary Series* 18 (1996), pp. 49–66.
- 5 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 106–7, mentioning a centurion from a *cohors VI equitata*, and in general see J. Ritterling, 'Military forces in senatorial provinces', *JRS* 17 (1927), pp. 28–32, esp. 28.
- 6 e.g. Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 4. 9, 5. 20, 6. 5, 13, 7. 6, 10, with P. Brunt, 'Charges of provincial maladministration under the early principate', *Historia* 10 (1961), pp. 189–227, esp. 213–14, 227.
- 7 For an early-third-century AD summary of the two types of governors see Dio 3. 13. 2–14. 4; on senatorial careers see E. Birley, 'Senators in the emperor's service' and 'Promotion and transfers in the Roman army: senatorial and equestrian officers', in E. Birley, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986* (1988), pp. 75–114, with J. Campbell, 'Who were the *virii militares*?' *JRS* 65 (1975), pp. 11–31.
- 8 Note the scepticism of this raised in G. Woolf, 'Pliny's province', in T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Rome and the Black Sea Region: Domination, Romanization, Resistance* (2006), pp. 93–108.
- 9 Suetonius, *Augustus* 53. 1.
- 10 For the province see J. Madsen, *Eager to be Roman. Greek Response to Roman Rule in Pontus and Bithynia* (2009), esp. pp. 11–57.

- 11 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 21–2.
- 12 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 25, cf. Sherwin-White (1966) pp. 394–5 on legates; Fronto, *Correspondence with Antoninus Pius* 8. 1 with translation and comments in B. Levick, *The Government of the Roman Empire. A Source-book* (2nd edn, 2000), p. 14.
- 13 J. Oliver, 'A Roman governor visits Samothrace', *American Journal of Philology* 87 (1966), pp. 75–80; prefect of Pontic Shore, Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 21–2; Maximus, Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 27–8.
- 14 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 19–20, 77–8.
- 15 See B. Rankov, 'The governor's men: the *officium consularis*', in A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (eds), *The Roman Army as a Community in Peace and War. JRA Supplementary Series* 34 (1999), pp. 15–34, esp. 23–5 on numbers, A. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC–AD 200* (1996), pp. 22–5 on men on detached service; for *Legio III Augusta* see M. Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches to the African Army – A New Text* (2006), p. 8, field 2, lines 3–4 of the inscription; for a discussion of literacy and the importance of the written word for auxiliaries see I. Haynes, *The Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to Severus* (2013), pp. 313–36.
- 16 Matthew 27. 19, 24.
- 17 Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 33–4, with A. Marshall, 'Tacitus and the governor's lady: a note on *Annals* iii. 31–4', *Greece and Rome* 22 (1975), pp. 11–18 and A. Barrett, 'Aulus Caecina Severus and the Military woman', *Historia* 54 (2005), pp. 301–14.
- 18 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 120–21 for use of the imperial post by Pliny's wife; see also S. Mitchell, 'Requisitioned transport in the Roman empire: a new inscription from Pisidia', *JRS* 66 (1976), pp. 106–31.
- 19 G. Burton, 'Proconsuls, assizes, and the administration of justice under the empire', *JRS* 65 (1975), pp. 92–106, A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration* (1993), pp. 148–60.
- 20 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 81–2.
- 21 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 47–8.
- 22 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 58–9, 79–80, 112–15.
- 23 Lintott (1993), pp. 122–3, and E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (1972) for an overview of organisation of the *publicani*.
- 24 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 96–7 (quotes from Loeb), with Sherwin-White (1966), pp. 691–712.
- 25 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 19–20, 32–3 (quote from Loeb).

- 26 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 37–41 for these projects.
- 27 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 22–3.
- 28 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 41–2, 60–61, 90–91, 98–9.
- 29 *AE* 1954, 137, and see C. Serafina, ‘A Roman engineer’s tales’, *JRS* 101 (2011), pp. 143–65 for discussion.
- 30 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 34–5 (quote from Loeb)
- 31 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 34–5 (quote from Loeb), with Sherwin-White (1966), pp. 606–10; 10. 65–6 on foundlings.
- 32 Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse* 46. esp. 8, 11–14; on Dio see Madsen (2006), pp. 107–19.
- 33 Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4. 3.
- 34 Digest 1. 18. 13
- 35 For banditry see especially R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1966), pp. 192–241, 255–68, and B. Shaw, ‘Bandits in the Roman empire’, *Past & Present* 105 (1984), pp. 3–52 and ‘The Bandit’, in A. Giardina (ed.), *The Romans* (1993), pp. 300–41.
- 36 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 6. 25 (Loeb translation).
- 37 *CIL* 3. 8242, and for other tombstones see Shaw (1984), pp. 10–12, fn. 25; 2 Corinthians 11. 26; Epictetus, *Diss.* 4. 1. 91, praise of governor, see Apuleius, *Florida* 9. 36 and discussion in C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire* (2012), pp. 182–4.
- 38 On soldiers see Fuhrmann (2012), pp. 186–94, 201–38, R. Davies, ‘The investigation of some crimes in Roman Egypt’, in R. Davies, D. Breeze & V. Maxfield (eds), *Service in the Roman Army* (1989), pp. 175–85; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2. 18 (Loeb translation).
- 39 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7. 7–8 (Loeb translation).
- 40 *AE* 1956, 124 and F. Millar, ‘The world of the Golden Ass’, *JRS* 71 (1981), pp. 63–75, 66–7.
- 41 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8. 16–17 (Loeb translation); Aelius Aristides, see Fuhrmann (2012), pp. 67–8, fn. 76, citing *Orations* 50. 63–94.
- 42 Shaw (1984), pp. 14–18, Fuhrmann (2012), pp. 66–87.
- 43 *Florida Ostraka* 2, cf. O. Mons Claudianus 175 requesting that a man be sent to serve in a watch-tower as a *skopelarios*.
- 44 Quote from Mons Claudianus *Ostraka* 48; in general see R. Bagnall, ‘Army and police in upper Egypt’, *JARCE* 14 (1976), pp. 67–88, V. Maxfield, ‘Ostraca and the Roman army in the eastern desert’, in J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (2003), pp. 153–73.

- 45 M. Bishop, 'Praesidium: social, military, and logistical aspects of the Roman army's provincial distribution during the early Principate', in A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (eds), *The Roman Army as a Community in Peace and War*. JRA Supplementary Series 34 (1999), pp. 111–18.
- 46 Galen, *On anatomical procedures* 1. 2 (trans. C. Singer, 1956); for Social Bandits see E. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (1969), with critical comments in Shaw (1984), pp. 4–5, and 'The Bandit', in A. Giardina (ed., trans. L. Cochrane), *The Romans* (1993), pp. 300–41, and Fuhrmann (2012), pp. 134–6, 156 with the fictionalised stories about Bulla Felix and Maternus; for another period, see the comments on Hobsbawm in C. Esdaile, *Outpost of Empire. The Napoleonic Occupation of Andalucía, 1810–1812* (2012), pp. 119–23, 158–9.
- 47 Shaw (1984), pp. 9–10.

CHAPTER XI – LIFE UNDER ROMAN RULE

- 1 Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 74 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For the importance of courtesy in dealing with provincials especially in the eastern provinces, see C. Kokkinia, 'Ruling, inducing, arguing: how to govern (and survive) a Greek province', in L. de Light, E. Hemelrijk & H. Singor (eds), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives. Impact of Empire* Vol. 4 (2004), pp. 39–58; on the importance of formality and courtesy in general see J. Lendon, *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (1997), *passim*.
- 3 See S. Schwartz, 'The Rabbi in Aphrodite's bath: Palestinian society and Jewish identity in the High Roman Empire', in S. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (2001), pp. 335–61, esp. 337 emphasising how rare it is for rabbinic literature to express hostility to the pagan environment; on the Greeks see Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 45. 6, 48. 2, Plutarch, *Præcepta gerendae reipublicae* 17, with S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (2005), esp. pp. 289–328, R. Preston, 'Roman questions, Greek answers: Plutarch and the construction of identity', in Goldhill (2001), pp. 86–119.
- 4 Matthew 22. 17–22, with F. Millar, 'State and Subject: the impact of monarchy', in F. Millar & E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (corrected paperback edn, 1990), pp. 37–60, esp. 44–5.
- 5 Strabo, *Geog.* 10. 5. 3 (Loeb translation), with Millar (1990), pp. 44–5 and

- J. Rea, 'Lease of a Red Cow called Thayris', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982), pp. 277–82.
- 6 Dio 69. 6. 3 (Loeb translation); on emperors as benefactors see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (31 BC–AD 337) (1977), pp. 135–9.
- 7 Arrian, *Periplus* 1.
- 8 SEG 28. 1462. 1–3, see O. van Nijf, 'Local heroes: athletics, festivals and elite self-fashioning in the Roman East', in Goldhill (2001), pp. 306–34, esp. 318; for the cities in Asia Minor see R. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969), no. 65.
- 9 On Hadrian's buildings in Athens see J. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (2001), pp. 199–208.
- 10 See G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (1998), pp. 48–76, 112–41.
- 11 D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession. Britain in the Roman Empire* (2006), pp. 271–2.
- 12 S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* Vol. 1: *The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule* (1993), pp. 80–98, esp. 87–8 on the tribal boundaries.
- 13 Tacitus, *Agricola* 21 (Loeb translation).
- 14 Tacitus, *Agricola* 21 (Loeb translation).
- 15 Woolf (1998), pp. 135–68, Mattingly (2006), pp. 255–350.
- 16 Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 35.15.
- 17 Tacitus, *Agricola* 24, Strabo, *Geog.* 17. 24, Appian, *praef.* 7.
- 18 For taxation and the economy in general important studies include K. Hopkins, 'Rome, taxes, rent and trade', in W. Scheidel & S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy* (2002), pp. 190–230, which restates his earlier argument that tax stimulated production, and the recent P. Temin, *The Roman Market Economy* (2013); on deforestation see Mattingly (2006), pp. 363–6.
- 19 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 32. 2 for quote; surprise at rarity of rebellion provoked by over-taxation see D. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity. Experiencing the Roman Empire* (2011), pp. 137–8.
- 20 For a good discussion of several estates in an eastern province see T. Corsten, 'Estates in Roman Asia Minor: the case of Kibyrtis', in S. Mitchell & C. Katsari (eds), *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor* (2005), pp. 1–51, esp. 17–27.
- 21 For some discussion of olive oil see S. Mitchell, 'Olive oil cultivation in the economy of Roman Asia Minor', in Mitchell & Katsari (2005), pp.

- 83–113; on levels of pollution see A. Wilson, 'Machines, power and the Ancient Economy', *JRS* 92 (2002), pp. 1–32, esp. 17–29.
- 22 On the roads in Anatolia see Mitchell (1993), pp. 124–36, 245–53.
- 23 Josephus, *Vitae* 16, on Livia as a patron see A. Barrett, *Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome* (2002), pp. 195–9.
- 24 P. Brunt, 'Charges of provincial maladministration under the early Principate', *Historia* 10 (1961), pp. 189–227, with A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration* (1993), pp. 120–21; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3. 9. 4, 7, 9. 2–3, quote from Loeb translation.
- 25 Figures from Brunt (1961), pp. 224–7; Tacitus, *Agricola* 19, Licinus in Gaul from Dio 54. 21. 2–8.
- 26 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3. 9. 13 for the quote, and the whole letter for the case.
- 27 On overall effectiveness see the pessimistic assessment of Brunt (1961), pp. 206–23.
- 28 On *frumentarii* see N. Austin & B. Rankov, *Exploratio. Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople* (1995), pp. 136–7, 150–54; on Lucullus see Suetonius, *Domitian* 10. 3; for Avidius Cassius see A. Goldsworthy, *The Fall of the West (= How Rome Fell)* (2009), p. 51.
- 29 For Piso see Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 55, 57–8, 69–81, 3. 7–18, with M. Griffin, 'The Senate's story', *JRS* 87 (1997), pp. 249–63 for the inscription.
- 30 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3. 4. 5–6.
- 31 I. Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severus* (2013), pp. 339–67; on veterans and villagers see R. Alston, 'The ties that bind: soldiers and societies', in A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (eds), *The Roman Army as a Community. JRA Supplementary Series* 34 (1999), pp. 175–95.
- 32 Strabo, *Geog.* 3. 5. 3; on citizenship in general see A. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (1973), pp. 221–87.
- 33 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3. 9. 3; Claudius and the Gauls, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 11. 23–4, *ILS* 212, with a convenient translation in B. Levick, *The Government of the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook* (2nd edn, 2000), pp. 178–82.
- 34 *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Pertinax* 1. 1–4. 4, 5. 7–13. 8, with Goldsworthy (2009), pp. 56–7.
- 35 Woolf (1998), pp. 148–60.
- 36 Mattingly (2006), pp. 367, 375–7, 383.

- 37 See P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (1988), *passim*.
- 38 Josephus, *Ant.* 15. 305–16.
- 39 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 65–6, S. Pomeroy, ‘Coprynisms and the exposure of infants in Egypt’, in A. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity* (1983), pp. 207–22, and also T. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (1992), pp. 91–133; Varro, *de re rustica* 2. 10. 9.
- 40 On runaway slaves see C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire* (2012), pp. 21–43, on demands for services see S. Mitchell, ‘Requisitioned transport in the Roman empire: a new inscription from Pisidia’, *JRS* 66 (1976), pp. 106–31; on the mining in Jordan see Mattingly (2011), pp. 167–99, esp. 181–2, 197.
- 41 B. Frier, ‘Roman Demography’, in D. Potter & D. Mattingly (eds), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (1999), pp. 95–109, W. Scheidel, ‘Germs for Rome’, in C. Edwards & G. Woolf (eds), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (2003), pp. 158–76.
- 42 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9. 39–10. 1; John the Baptist, see Luke 3. 14; for Simon the Cyrenian see Matthew 27. 32, Mark 15. 21, Luke 23. 26.
- 43 Acts 16. 16–40.
- 44 Acts 18. 12–17.
- 45 Acts 21. 35–7, 22. 24–9, 24. 22–7, 25. 1–21.
- 46 Acts 27. 1–28. 31; on the *cohors Augusta* see M. Speidel, ‘The Roman army in Judaea under the Procurators’, in M. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* Vol. 2: *Mavors* (1992), pp. 224–32; on the executions under Nero see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2. 25.
- 47 Josephus, *Vitae* 13.
- 48 John 18. 3; a useful historical survey of the trial of Jesus and Pontius Pilate’s role in it is H. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 100* (1998), pp. 94–207.
- 49 John 19. 12 for quote; Joseph of Arimathea, Matthew 27. 57–60 (not mentioning his membership of the Sanhedrin), Mark 15. 42–6, Luke 23. 50–53, John 19. 38–40 (again not mentioning his membership of the Sanhedrin); on the Tiberieum see Bond (1999), pp. 11–12.
- 50 Luke 23. 16, 22; for Barabbas and the release of a prisoner, Matthew 27. 15–26, Mark 15. 6–15, Luke 23. 18–25, John 18. 40; Pilate’s wife, Matthew 27. 19; placard, Matthew 27. 37, Mark 15. 26, Luke 23. 38, John 19. 19–22.
- 51 Bond (1998) is a good survey of all that is known about Pilate. In the fourth century AD Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2. 7 claimed that

'tradition' maintained that the former prefect later committed suicide, but there is no earlier evidence for this and it may well be an invention. The so-called *Acts of Pilate* were certainly a later invention by a pagan author hostile to Christians. We should note that such obscurity over an individual after he held office is normal for equestrians and very common even for senators.

CHAPTER XII – THE ARMY AND THE FRONTIERS

- 1 Josephus, *BJ* 3. 72–4 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For the army in general see G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries AD* (3rd edn, 1998), Y. Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army* (1994), and A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (2003).
- 3 On demography see B. Frier, 'Roman Demography', in D. Potter & D. Mattingly (eds), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (1999), pp. 95–109. Estimates based on the ability of land to support population remain heavily influenced by K. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (1886); for more recent studies see R. Bagnall & B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (1994), T. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (1992), W. Scheidel, *Measuring Sex, Age, and Death in the Roman Empire. Explorations in Ancient Demography. JRA Supplementary Series* 21 (1996), and D. Rathbone, 'Villages, land and population in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *PCPS* 36 (1990), pp. 103–42, and C. Edwards & G. Woolf (eds), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (2003), esp. W. Scheidel, 'Germs for Rome', pp. 158–76 for a very bleak assessment of urban life.
- 4 Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 5; M. Bishop, *Handbook to Roman Legionary Fortresses* (2012) offers an excellent survey of all known legionary fortresses and their garrisons.
- 5 For the movements of the legions, a useful survey is Le Bohec (1994), pp. 24–6, 165–78.
- 6 Aelius Aristides, *Roman Oration* 80–82 (Brill translation), Appian, *Praef.* 7 (Loeb translation), Herodian 2. 11. 5 (Loeb translation).
- 7 Webster (1998), pp. 167–230; see also B. Dobson, 'The rôle of the fort', in W. Hanson (ed.), *The Army and the Frontiers. JRA Supplementary Series* 74 (2009), pp. 25–32.
- 8 See A. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC–AD 200* (1996), pp. 13–38.

- 9 Quote from Tacitus, *Agricola* (Loeb translation); on the differences between legionary and auxiliary equipment see M. Bishop & B. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment. From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (2nd edn, 2006), pp. 254–9.
- 10 Tacitus, *Agricola* 35; on order in the pursuit see Arrian, *Ectaxis* 27–8.
- 11 Josephus, *BJ* 3. 73–6 (Loeb translation).
- 12 R. Fink, *Roman Military Rewards on Papyrus* (1971), p. 87.
- 13 R. Fink, *Roman Military Rewards on Papyrus* (1971), p. 99.
- 14 N. Austin & B. Rankov, *Exploratio. Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople* (1995), pp. 158–9 for *thetatus*; discharge document B. Grenfell, A. Hunt, H. Bell *et alii* (eds), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1898–), p. 39 and R. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (1989), p. 227.
- 15 Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (trans. A. Liddle, 2003), 6. 1–2, 9. 3–4, 9. 5; Latin report, 6. 2; exercises, 3. 1, 10. 3–4; pay, 6. 1, 10. 3.
- 16 The excellent M. Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches to the African Army – A New Text* (2006) provides the best text and analysis of this inscription and the quotes are from his translation; to III Augusta, 2. 1–8; archers, 22. 1–11; ‘nothing must ever . . .’ 26. 9; legionary cavalry, 6. 5–10; *ala I Pannoniorum* 29. 5–7.
- 17 Speidel (2006), fields 19, 20, 30 for Hadrian’s comments on mounting horses and jumping.
- 18 R. Tomlin, ‘Making the machine work’, in A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (eds), *The Roman Army as a Community. JRA Supplementary Series* 34 (1999), pp. 127–38, with M. Speidel, ‘The missing weapons at Carlisle’, *Britannia* 38 (2007), pp. 237–9, esp. 238–9 on the *subarmales*.
- 19 Austin & Rankov (1995), pp. 155–69.
- 20 On centurions see E. Birley, ‘The origins of legionary centurions’, and ‘Promotion and transfer in the Roman army II: the centurionate’, in E. Birley, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986* (1988), pp. 189–220, B. Dobson, ‘The significance of the centurion and *primipilaris* in the Roman army and administration’, *ANRW* 2. 1 (1974), pp. 392–434, ‘Legionary centurion or equestrian officer? A comparison of pay and prospects’, *Ancient Society* 3 (1972), pp. 193–207; Fortunatus *ILS* 2658 = *CIL* 8. 217, Honoratus, *ILS* 2655 = *CIL* 8. 14698.
- 21 J. Thomas & R. Davies, ‘A new military strength report on papyrus’, *JRS* 67 (1977), pp. 50–61, col. 1, lines 2–7.
- 22 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 2. 13. 2 (Loeb translation); on the *ab epistulis* and

- his military role and the *frumentarii* see Austin & Rankov (1995), pp. 135–41.
- 23 Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 55 (Loeb translation).
 - 24 M. Griffin, 'The Senate's story. Review of *Das Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre* by Werner Eck; Antonio Caballos; Fernando Fernández', *JRS* 87 (1997), pp. 249–63, quote from p. 251.
 - 25 Germanicus, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 35.
 - 26 Statius, *Silvae* 5. 1. 83–100 on the duties of the *ab epistulis*.
 - 27 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 25; for the relationship with the army see B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC–AD 235* (1984).
 - 28 Dio 77. 15. 2.
 - 29 Much of the debate was sparked by E. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century AD to the Third* (1976); significant contributions include F. Millar, 'Emperors, frontiers and foreign relations, 31 BC to AD 378', *Britannia* 13 (1982), pp. 1–23, B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (rev. edn, 1992), E. Wheeler, 'Methodological limits and the mirage of Roman Strategy. Parts 1 & 2', *The Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), pp. 7–41 and 215–40, C. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study* (1994) and *Rome and its Frontiers. The Dynamics of Empire* (2004), S. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy. Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (1999) and D. Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome* (2011).
 - 30 For Roman relations with Parthia see B. Campbell, 'War and diplomacy: Rome and Parthia, 31 BC–AD 235', in J. Rich & G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World* (1993), pp. 213–40, and D. Kennedy, 'Parthia and Rome: eastern perspectives', in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East. JRA Supplementary Series* 18 (1996), pp. 67–90.
 - 31 Plutarch, *Crassus* 21.
 - 32 On Parthian armies see Goldsworthy (1996), pp. 60–68, Kennedy (1996), pp. 83–4.
 - 33 Isaac (1992), pp. 20–23.
 - 34 Tacitus, *Ann.* 6. 35.
 - 35 Tacitus, *Germania* 13–14, and in general Goldsworthy (1996), pp. 42–60.
 - 36 Tacitus, *Germania* 30 (Loeb translation).
 - 37 Caesar, *BG* 6. 23.
 - 38 Velleius Paterculus 2. 109. 1–2, Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 45.
 - 39 Goldsworthy (1996), pp. 74–5.

- 40 See B. Rankov, 'A "secret of empire" (*imperii arcanum*): an unacknowledged factor in Roman imperial expansion', in Hanson (2009), pp. 163–72.
- 41 Strabo, *Geog.* 17. 1. 54 (Loeb translation); in general see A. Goldsworthy, 'War', in P. Sabin, H. van Wees, & M. Whitby (eds), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* Vol. 2: *Rome from the Late Republic to the Late Empire* (2007), pp. 76–85, 106–20.
- 42 An insightful survey of Roman relations with the Parthians is found in Wheeler (1993), pp. 30–37.
- 43 Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 51.
- 44 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 50; for an overview of the campaign see A. Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome* (2003), pp. 273–87.
- 45 Tacitus, *Ann.* 13. 9; for a narrative of the wars between Rome and Parthia see R. Sheldon, *Rome's Wars in Parthia: Blood in the Sand* (2010).
- 46 Dio 75. 3. 2.
- 47 *Tabulae Vindolandes* II 164.
- 48 B. Campbell, 'Who were the *viri militares*?', *JRS* 65 (1975), pp. 11–31 is sceptical about clear career paths for a distinct group of military men, but this does not mean that ability was not an important factor in appointments.
- 49 Suetonius, *Domitian* 7. 3.
- 50 E.g. J. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496 (Caracalla to Clovis)* (2007), pp. 14, 49 on women.
- 51 *ILS* 986, see P. Conole & R. Milns, 'Neronian frontier policy in the Balkans: the career of Ti. Plautius Silvanus', *Historia* 32 (1983), pp. 183–200; translation taken from B. Levick, *The Government of the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook* (2nd edn, 2000), pp. 34–5.

CHAPTER XIII – GARRISONS AND RAIDS

- 1 Ammianus Marcellinus 27. 2. 11 (Loeb translation).
- 2 For Tacfarinas and the first campaign see Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 52.
- 3 For the region under Augustus and Tacfarinas see D. Whittaker in *CAH*² X, pp. 591–6, E. Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army. BAR International Series* 53 (1979), pp. 66–8 and D. Cherry, *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa* (1998), pp. 24–43.
- 4 Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 21, Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5. 6. 14, *ILS* 2637; on veterans see A. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC–AD 200*

- (1996), p. 16, on decimation see G. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (1969), pp. 119–20.
- 5 Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 20–21.
 - 6 Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 32, 73.
 - 7 Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 74.
 - 8 Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 23–6.
 - 9 Cherry (1998), pp. 24–71, esp. 63–6 on the *fossatum*.
 - 10 'To separate the Romans from the barbarians', *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Hadriani* 11. 2; on the sources for Hadrian's Wall see D. Breeze, *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (14th edn, 2006), pp. 25–34, and for the wall in general see this and D. Breeze & B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (4th edn, 2000); two fragments of an inscription, *RIB* 1051, have been reconstructed to state Hadrian's official intention in building the wall, but this is highly conjectural.
 - 11 See B. Rankov, 'Do rivers make good frontiers?', in Z. Visy, *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003* (2005), pp. 175–81.
 - 12 For the frontiers in general see D. Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome* (2011); on caution on guessing the function of a fort's garrison purely from its position see the cautionary comments in B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (rev. edn, 1992), pp. 409–10.
 - 13 For arguments that the severe limitations of Roman maps made many aspects of central strategic planning impossible see Isaac (1992), pp. 387–408, with emphasis on political geography, and C. Whittaker, 'Mental maps and frontiers: seeing like a Roman', in *Rome and its Frontiers. The Dynamics of Empire* (2004), pp. 63–87, which opens with the naive assertion that Julius Caesar getting lost on the way to the River Rubicon reflects a lack of maps. Given how easy it is to lose the way even with a map, especially in poor visibility or at night, this is strange. For sensible criticism of pushing such views to an extreme see E. Wheeler, 'Methodological limits and the mirage of Roman Strategy' Part 2, *The Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), pp. 236–9.
 - 14 D. Wooliscroft, *Roman Military Signalling* (2001), pp. 51–78, 95–7, 109–35, 155–7.
 - 15 Tacitus, *Agricola* 22. 1–2.
 - 16 On forts in general see A. Johnson, *Roman Forts* (1983) and P. Bidwell, *Roman Forts in Britain* (2007); on South Shields see summary and references in Breeze (2006), pp. 115–28.

- 17 On Hadrian's Wall see Breeze & Dobson (2000), pp. 25–83; on the Gask ridge see D. Wooliscroft & B. Hoffman, *Rome's First Frontier. The Flavian Occupation of Northern Scotland* (2006), esp. pp. 175–88.
- 18 *Tabulae Vindolandes* II 154.
- 19 RMR 100, and see discussion in F. Lepper & S. Frere, *Trajan's Column* (1988), pp. 244–59; on dispersal of units see Goldsworthy (1996), pp. 22–8.
- 20 On forts and their function see M. Bishop, 'Praesidium: social, military, and logistical aspects of the Roman army's provincial distribution during the early Principate', in A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (eds), *The Roman Army as a Community. JRA Supplementary Series* 34 (1999), pp. 111–18 and B. Dobson, 'The rôle of the fort', in W. Hanson (ed.), *The Army and the Frontiers. JRA Supplementary Series* 74 (2009), pp. 25–32; on Chester see T. Strickland, 'What kind of community existed at Chester during the hiatus of the 2nd c.?', in Goldsworthy & Haynes (1999), pp. 105–9.
- 21 RMR 10, Florida Ostraka 3, 5.
- 22 P. Bidwell, 'Systems of obstacles on Hadrian's wall and their relationship to the turrets', in A. Moirillo, N. Hanel & E. Martín, *Limes XX: Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol. 3 (2009), pp. 1119–24.
- 23 N. Hodgson, 'Gates and passages across the frontiers: the use of openings through the barriers of Britain, Germany and Raetia', in Visy (2005), pp. 183–7; *centurio regionarius Tab. Vind. II* 250. 8, centurions attending tribal councils, Dio 73. 2. 4.
- 24 *CIL* 8. 2495.
- 25 T. Kinsella, *The Táin. From the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cuailnge* (1969), p. 52; Homer, *Odyssey* II. 397–403 (Loeb translation).
- 26 The expressions are used by E. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century AD to the Third* (1976). His usage is subtle and does not imply a sharp divide between these levels of warfare, but this seems assumed by many who have used his works, including his critics; accepting raiding, but seeing this as not a threat, see J. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496* (2007), pp. 11–42, who suggests emperors invented a 'barbarian threat' to satisfy their own political needs.
- 27 *CIL* 3. 3385.
- 28 Tacitus, *Germania* 5. 1–2.

- 29 On *comites* see Tacitus, *Germania* 13; finds of weapons and other equipment dedicated as the spoils of victory in Scandinavian bogs can be interpreted to suggest forces of 200–300 men as the followers of a war leader, see X. Jensen, L. Jørgensen & U. Hansen, ‘The Germanic army: warriors, soldiers and officers’, in B. Stoorgard & L. Thomsen (eds), *The Spoils of Victory. The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire* (2003), pp. 310–28.
- 30 Caesar, *BG* 6. 34–5, 41; fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus 17. 10. 5–6, 18. 2. 2–3, 7–8; Hannibal, see Livy 22. 13. 5–9.
- 31 Tacitus, *Germania* 41 (Loeb translation); Dio 72. 11. 2–3.
- 32 Jerusalemite Talmud, *Erubin* 4, p. 21, col. 4, Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yebamoth 48 and see discussion in M. Gichon, ‘Life on the borders reflected in rabbinical sources’, in A. Morillo, N. Hanl & E. Martín (eds), *Limes XX. Estudios Sobre La Frontera Romana Roman Frontier Studies Vol. 1* (2009), pp. 113–18.
- 33 Tacitus, *Ann.* 13. 54. 1, *Hist.* 1. 79, Ammianus Marcellinus 31. 10.
- 34 Caesar, *BG* 8. 3, Cicero, *Verrines* 2. 4. 95, 96, Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Qama* 83a.
- 35 H. Cuvigny, *Ostraca de Krokodilô* (2005), p. 87, with V. Maxfield, ‘Ostraca and the Roman army in the eastern desert’, in J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (2003), pp. 153–73, esp. 166–7.
- 36 Observation of nomads and others by military outposts in North Africa, see R. Marichal, *Les Ostraca du Bu Njem* (1979), pp. 436–52; villa at Regensburg-Harting, Drinkwater (2007) pp. 78–9; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8. 16–17.
- 37 Caesar, *BG* 6. 34 (Loeb translation).
- 38 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 27 for quote (Loeb translation), 12. 39 for the Silures, Ammianus Marcellinus 27. 1–2.
- 39 M. Todd in A. Bowman, P. Garnsey & A. Cameron, *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12 (Second Edition): The Crisis of Empire, AD 193–337* (2005), p. 442; Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 6. 2.
- 40 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 27–8.
- 41 *RIB* 1142.
- 42 D. Potter, ‘Empty areas and Roman frontier policy’, *American Journal of Philology* 113 (1992), pp. 269–74.
- 43 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 31, *Agricola* 18.

CHAPTER XIV – BEYOND THE *PAX ROMANA*

- 1 Tacitus, *Agricola* 24. 1–2 (Loeb translation).
- 2 On maps and boundaries, note the sensible comments in E. Wheeler, ‘Methodological limits and the mirage of Roman Strategy. Parts 1 & 2’, *The Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), pp. 7–41 and 215–40, esp. 24–6 and 228–30.
- 3 Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 64–65 (Loeb translation).
- 4 H. Cuvigny, *Ostraca de Krokodilô* (2005), p. 252, with translation and discussion in D. Nappo & A. Zerbinì, ‘Trade and taxation in the Egyptian desert’, in O. Hekster & T. Kaizer (eds), *Frontiers in the Roman World. Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Durham, 16–19 April 2009)* (2011), pp. 61–77, esp. 72–74; see also V. Maxfield, ‘Ostraca and the Roman army in the eastern desert’, in J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (2003), pp. 153–73, esp. 154–6, 164–7.
- 5 P. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak. How the Conquered People Shaped Roman Europe* (1999), pp. 122–47, D. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study* (1994), pp. 98–131.
- 6 In general see C. Sebastian Sommer, ‘The Roman army in SW Germany as an instrument of colonisation: the relationship of forts to military and civilian *vici*’, in A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (eds), *The Roman Army as a Community. JRA Supplementary Series* 34 (1999), pp. 81–93.
- 7 B. Shaw, ‘Fear and Loathing: the nomad menace and Roman Africa’, in B. Shaw, *Rulers, Nomads, and Christians in Roman North Africa* (1995), VII, pp. 25–46, esp. 42–5.
- 8 J. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496 (Caracalla to Clovis)* (2007), pp. 80–116.
- 9 *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 49, translation taken from L. Casson (ed.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (1999).
- 10 On Roman trade with India see R. Tomber, ‘Pots, coins and trinkets in Rome’s trade with the East’, in P. Wells (ed.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices. JRA Supplementary Series* 95 (2013), pp. 87–104, C. Whittaker, ‘Indian trade within the Roman imperial network’, in Whittaker (2004), pp. 163–80; Pliny the Elder, *NH* 12. 84.
- 11 Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 62 (Loeb translation, slightly modified); Pliny the Elder,

- NH 37. 45; Q. Atilius Primus, see AE 1978, 635; on Marcomani and Quadi see L. Pitts, 'Relations between Rome and the German "kings" on the Middle Danube in the first to fourth centuries AD', *JRS* 79 (1989), pp. 45–58, esp. 46–51.
- 12 In general see D. Mattingly (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Fazzān* Vol. 1: *Synthesis* (2003), pp. 76–90, 346–62; Ptolemy, *Geography* 1. 10.
 - 13 Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 50, Ptolemy, *Geog.* 1. 8.
 - 14 Mattingly (2003), pp. 85, 88–9, 355–62.
 - 15 In general see Wells (2013), *passim*, and (1999), pp. 224–58, M. Todd, *The Early Germans* (2nd edn, 2004), pp. 84–102; on bog finds see J. Ilkjaer, 'Danish war booty sacrifices', in B. Stoorgard & L. Thomsen (eds), *The Spoils of Victory. The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire* (2003), pp. 44–65.
 - 16 Tacitus, *Ann.* 13. 57; X. Jensen, L. Jørgensen & U. Hansen, 'The Germanic army: warriors, soldiers and officers', in Stoorgard & Thomsen (2003), pp. 310–28.
 - 17 Tacitus, *Germania* 5, with Todd (2004), pp. 98–102; F. Hunter, 'Iron age hoarding in Scotland and northern Britain', in A. Gwilt & C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies* (1997), pp. 108–33.
 - 18 See D. Harding, *The Iron Age in Northern Britain. Celts, Romans, Natives and Invaders* (2004), pp. 179–99, F. Hunter, 'Roman and native in Scotland: new approaches', *JRA* 14 (2001), pp. 289–309 and 'The lives of Roman objects beyond the frontier', in Wells (2013), pp. 15–28; Friested, see C. Schmidt, 'Just recycled? New light on the Roman imports at the "central farmstead" of Fienstedt (central Germany)', in Wells (2013), pp. 57–70.
 - 19 Todd (2004), p. 91.
 - 20 Todd (2004), pp. 94–5.
 - 21 Digest 49. 15. 6, *RIB* 2174–8 with E. Birley, 'Marcus Cocceius Firmus: an epigraphic study', in E. Birley (ed.), *Roman Britain and the Roman Army. Collected papers* (1953), pp. 87–103; on raiding for slaves to sell to the Romans see B. Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction* (1988), pp. 171–89.
 - 22 Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 52, 11. 16–17, with Todd (2004), pp. 84–7.
 - 23 Wells (1999), pp. 246–56, Todd (2004), pp. 62–80, 97–8.
 - 24 A. Jørgensen, 'Fortifications and the control of land and sea traffic in the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age', in Stoorgard & Thomsen (2003), pp. 194–209; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 19.

- 25 For a fuller narrative of this later period there is A. Goldsworthy, *The Fall of the West* (= *How Rome Fell*) (2009).
- 26 Drinkwater (2007), pp. 117–44 on society and population.
- 27 *AE* 1993, 1231; see R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1966), pp. 196–234 and *Roman Government's Response to Crisis AD 235–337* (1976).

CONCLUSION – PEACE AND WAR

- 1 Caesar, *BG* 8. 44.
- 2 G. de la Bédoyère review of D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession. Britain in the Roman Empire 54 BC–AD 409* (2006), in *History Today* (August 2006), p. 62, with reply in D. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity. Experiencing the Roman Empire* (2011), p. 274, fn. 3.