

SECTION N

WAR AND EXPANSION

'The achievements of the deified Augustus by which he subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people' forms the first part of the 'heading' of the *Res Gestae*. Claims of Rome's right to world domination can be found in Augustan literature and iconography. Certainly the period of Octavian/ Augustus saw a huge increase in the size of the Roman Empire. Augustus list his conquests in *Res Gestae* 26–32; Suetonius, *Augustus* 20–21 provides a similar list, and see N1 below. Whether there was any fixed plan of military expansion is more difficult to determine. Augustus' will advised against further expansion of the empire (Dio 56.33). For a narrative account of Augustan expansion see *CAH X*² pages 147–197.

This section arranges material alphabetically by area. It includes areas which were certainly not brought within the Roman Empire by Augustus, but which are mentioned by him and by the poets.

N1 Eutropius' fourth-century perspective

Never before Augustus had Rome so flourished. For, with the exception of the civil wars, in which he was unbeaten, he added to the Roman empire Egypt, Cantabria, Dalmatia (which had often previously been beaten but was only then completely subdued), Pannonia, Aquitania, Illyricum, Raetia, the Vindelici and Salassi in the Alps, all the states on the Black Sea coast, the most notable of these being Bosphorus and Panticapaeum. He also defeated the Dacians in battles. He cut down huge numbers of Germans, and even moved them to beyond the Elbe which is in Barbarian land far beyond the Rhine. But he conducted this war through Drusus, his step-son, and similarly, through Tiberius, his other step-son, the Pannonian War in which he transferred 40,000 prisoners from Germany and located them across the bank of the Rhine in Gaul. He recovered Armenia from the Parthians. The Persians gave him hostages for the first time and returned the Roman standards which they had taken after the defeat of Crassus.

The Scythians and Indians, whose name had previously been unknown in Rome, sent him envoys and gifts. Galatia was also made a province under him: this had previously been a kingdom; Marcus Lollius as *propraetor* was its first governor. Many kings came from their kingdoms to do him homage and rushed to his carriage or horse, in Roman togas.

[Eutropius, *Brief History* 7.9–10]

The *Fasti Triumphales* (List of Triumphs) (N2)

A triumph was a spectacular parade through Rome, celebrated by a military commander (*triumphator*) who had won a major victory. The day was a public holiday. Something of the meaning and atmosphere can perhaps be captured by the tradition of a slave standing behind the *triumphator* to repeat to him the words 'Remember you are mortal.' Its award, properly by decree of the senate and vote of the people was the height of a Roman's ambition. Many examples can be cited of its lure affecting military objectives and the governing of provinces; and of the awarding of a triumph being a matter of political intrigue. Under the late republic and triumvirate, triumphs proliferated (14 between 43 and 33 BC), but they quickly die out under the principate, except for members of the imperial family. Reasons are easily found: jealousy of such honours on the part of a *princeps* notoriously not a natural general; a reduction in the number of areas of 'independent command' ('public' provinces), after the reorganisation of the provinces in 27 BC (see M2–M4); the well-publicised refusal of Augustus and Agrippa to celebrate triumphs (*RG* 4.1; Dio 54.11.6, 54.24.8). Instead, triumphal ornaments were awarded (see note on Vell. 2.104.2).

Two lists of triumphs survive at least in part from Rome, the *fasti triumphales Barberini* and the *fasti triumphales Capitolini*. The *Capitolini* list was found in the forum in 1546. The original location of the *Fasti Barberini* is unknown. The two lists seem to provide between them a complete list of triumphs celebrated in the age of Augustus.

- N2a** 29 BC Imp. Caesar over the Dalmatians. 13 August.
Imp. Caesar over Egypt. 15 August.

Octavian actually celebrated a 'triple triumph' – three full triumphs on consecutive days (**H16**). The *fasti triumphales Barberini* omit the middle triumph, that celebrated for Actium.

- N2b** 28 BC C. Calvisius Sabinus over Spain. 26 May.
C. Carrinas over the Gauls. 30 June.
L. Autronius Paetus, proconsul, over Africa. 16 August.

Gaius Calvisius Sabinus: a loyal supporter of Julius Caesar and his heir. He was consul in 39 BC and commanded Octavian's fleet against Sextus Pompey in 39–38 BC, and spoke against Antony in the senate in 32 BC (Plutarch, *Antony* 58). Proconsul of Spain in 29/28 BC, he followed Octavian/Augustus' call to those who had won triumphs to restore roads (Suet. *Aug.* 30.1; Dio 53.22.1), by using his spoils to restore the *via Latina* as shown by a milestone.

Gaius Carrinas: suffect consul in 43 BC, legate of Octavian in Further Spain, legionary commander against Sextus Pompey in 36 BC and proconsul in Gaul. Dio (51.21.6) gives his victories as being against the Morini and Suebi, though he also (wrongly) suggests that his triumph was celebrated jointly with the first of Octavian's triple triumph.

Lucius Autronius Paetus: consul in 33 BC.

- N2c** 27 BC M. Licinius Crassus, proconsul, over Thrace and the Getae. 2 July.
M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, proconsul, over Gaul. 25 September.

Marcus Licinius Crassus: consul in 30 BC (see **Section B**); as proconsul of Macedonia, he conducted campaigns in 29 and 28 BC (Dio 51.23–27), during which he killed Deldo, king of the Bastarnae. He claimed the *spolia opima*, see **P3–P4**.

Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus: consul in 31 BC (see **Section B**), governed Gaul, 28–27 BC, conquering the Aquitani. Like Calvisius he also helped restore the *via Latina* as encouraged by Augustus, a deed celebrated by the poet Tibullus (1.7.57–62 = **K68b** in Addenda).

- N2d** 26 BC Sextus Appuleius, proconsul, over Spain. 26 January.

Sextus Appuleius: the elder son of Augustus' step-sister Octavia. Governor (proconsul) of Nearer Spain in 28 BC. His command, and campaigns for which he triumphed thus pre-dated the settlement of 28/27 BC, after which generals in Spain, a province of Augustus were acting under his *imperium* and therefore not eligible for triumphs.

- N2e** 21 BC L. Sempronius Atratinus, proconsul, over Africa. 28 September.

Lucius Sempronius Atratinus: noted as an orator. At some point between 38 and 34 BC in command of Antony's fleet. Consul 34 BC, taking over from Antony on 1 Jan. The date or circumstances of his defection to Octavian are not recorded, but he left Augustus as his heir (see **T35**). Proconsular governors of Africa, a 'public province' under the settlement of 28/27 BC commanded their own legion and thus remained eligible for triumphs (See **M2–M4**).

- N2f** 19 BC L. Cornelius Balbus, proconsul, over Africa. 27 March.

Lucius Cornelius Balbus: see **M25** and **N9** for his campaigns. He built a theatre in Rome. (**K51**) presumably with the spoils of his campaign and prompted by an instruction from Augustus (Dio 54.18.2).

Triumphs of Tiberius: these are not recorded on the *Fasti Triumphales*, but are mentioned by Suetonius, *Tib.* 9.2 and 17.1–2; Vell. 2.122.1; Dio 55.6.5, 55.8.2, 56.17.1.

N3 Exceptional Honours for Generals (being hailed *imperator*)

Even Augustus had granted to a few of his generals the distinction (of being hailed as *imperator* by their legions), but Tiberius' grant to Blaesus was the last example of this honour.

[Tacitus, *Annals* 3.74]

The context is Tiberius' grant of this distinction to Quintus Junius Blaesus in AD 22. Being hailed as '*imperator*' was traditionally the first step to being granted a triumph. Other *triumphators* under Augustus were presumably allowed the title '*imperator*'. According to Dio 51.25.2, Marcus Licinius Crassus (**N2c**) was not, but it still appears on inscriptions (*ILS* 8810).

N4 Denarius, 32–29 BC



Obv: Female bust, possibly Venus.

Rev: Octavian in military dress.

CAESAR DIVI F (Caesar, Son of the Deified)

[RIC Augustus 251 / BMC Augustus 609]

The importance of the army to Octavian's position, as well as his continued desire to expand the territory of the Roman world, is reflected in the imagery of the coinage. Although this coin seems to allude specifically to the Battle of Actium, it is symptomatic of a wider tendency for coins to depict Octavian/Augustus in military guise. In this case Octavian is shown leading the troops into battle, a design linked with an obverse that seems to depict Venus (ancestress of the family of Julius Caesar). After this time military scenes, often connected with the celebration of victories, are frequently used on the coinage of Augustus.

N5 Denarius, 29–27 BC



Obv: Victory, standing right, on prow, holding wreath and palm.

Rev: Octavian standing in ornate quadriga, holding branch.

IMP CAESAR (Imperator Caesar)

[RIC Augustus 264 / BMC Augustus 617]

This coin contains many allusions to the themes of warfare and military success. The obverse depicts Victory standing on the prow of a ship – a reference to the naval victory at Actium. The reverse shows Octavian standing in a triumphal *quadriga* (four-horse chariot), a common scene from the celebration of a triumph. This coin specifically commemorates the triple triumph of Octavian in 29 BC (see **H16** and **N2 introduction**).

N6 Cistophorus (3 denarii) of Ephesus, 28 BC



Obv: Octavian, laureate, right.

IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERTATIS PR VINDE X (Imperator Caesar, Son of the Deified, Consul for the sixth time, Defender of the Liberty of the People of Rome)

Rev: Pax holding caduceus. Snake emerging from *cista mystica* (basket used in cult of Dionysus) to right
PAX (Peace)

[RIC Augustus 476 / BMC Augustus 691]

This coin from the mint of Ephesus, in the Roman province of Asia Minor, illustrates the seemingly contradictory link between war and peace as ideals of the Augustan period. Despite the obvious Roman ideology of world conquest and the prevalence of military imagery, *pax* ('peace' or sometimes 'pacification') was a concept at the heart of the Augustan ethos, as shown by the *Ara Pacis* (see K13) and the Temple of Janus (K47–K49). The reverse of this coin depicts and names the Roman goddess *Pax*, while the obverse affords Augustus the honorary title 'Defender of the Liberty of the People of Rome'. The implication here is that through war and his campaigns against Antony, Augustus was able to free the East, and restore peace and stable government.

N7 The use of geography

My original contention – that the majority of geographical studies have a practical application to political science – seems to be particularly true under modern conditions. The supreme test of military leadership lies in the ability to control the land and the sea and to unite nations and cities under a single authority and system of administration. Obviously, therefore, the whole corpus of geographical studies has a bearing on the art of military leadership, since its subject matter covers all land and sea, both inside and beyond the inhabited world. Geographical analysis is of critical importance to such men, since they need to know the precise truth about such matters and whether it is based on first-hand knowledge or guesswork. For they will discharge all their duties much more efficiently if they know the size of a given country, its orientation, and its particular characteristics, whether of climate or terrain.

[Strabo, *Geography* 1.1.16]

The claim that geography should be useful, especially to those with an empire to conquer and rule, might seem obvious. However, the Hellenistic period had seen a great flourishing of rather abstract and theoretical geography through the works of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus and others, with mathematical calculations of the earth's circumference and discussions of relative lines of latitude. However, Caesar's commentaries had shown the importance of practical geography in military campaigns, and Strabo himself explicitly links the growth in geographical knowledge to the conquests of Alexander, Mithridates, the Parthians, and the Romans (1.2.1). Agrippa's commentary and map (N8) may provide further evidence that practical knowledge of the world was important for the ruling Romans. However, one may question the true utility of Strabo's account for anyone wishing to travel around the world he describes. Instead he provides a fascinating guide to the general nature of the peoples and places of the empire.

N8 M. Agrippa's *commentarii*

[Agrippa's *Geographical Commentary* does not survive, but Pliny's Index to *Natural History* cites Agrippa prominently as a source for information in books 3–6 where Pliny discusses geography. Pliny also refers to him specifically in his text as his source for information on the following:]

3.8	origin of settlements on coast of Baetica	5.9	the Atlantic? coast of Africa
3.16	dimensions of Baetica	5.40	length of (Med) coast of Africa
3.86	circumference of Sicily	5.102	Lycia
4.77	circumference of the Black Sea	6.3	Black Sea
4.78	distance from Byzantium to the Danube	6.39	Caspian sea area
4.81	area from Danube to Ocean	6.57	India measurement
4.83	the North coast of the Black Sea	6.136–7	Media, Parthia, Mesopotamia, orientation and size
4.91	Sarmatia, Scythia, Taurica		
4.98	Germany, Raetia, Noricum	6.196	Length of Ethiopia
4.105	coastline of Gaul		

AFRICA (N9–N10)

Various campaigns against tribes to the south of the Roman province of Africa are known, probably as deterrents or reactions to incursions threatening the dependent kings of the area or the province of Africa. Governors of this 'public' province could still hope for triumphs, and two were gained at the start of the period by Atratinus in 21 BC and Balbus in 19 BC (N2e, N2f) but later Passienus Rufus in AD 2 and Cossus in AD 6 receive only triumphal ornaments (Vell. 2.116.2, N10).

N9 Balbus' campaigns against the Garamantes in the Sahara desert

Beyond the Black Mountain lies the desert and then the Garamantean town of Thelgae, together with Debris (where there are springs which pour out boiling water from midday to midnight and then for the same number of hours ice-cold water till midday), and Garama, the world-famous capital of the Garamantes. All these fell to Roman arms and earned a triumph for Cornelius Balbus, his award of a foreigner's triumphal chariot being a unique honour, together with a grant of full citizen rights. For though he was born in Cadiz, he and his great-uncle Balbus were both accorded Roman citizenship. It is a remarkable fact that our sources have handed down to us the names of the captured cities already described above; but they also state that as well as Cydamum and Garama, the names and effigies of all the other tribes and cities which he defeated were carried in his triumph.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 5.36]

Pliny goes on to give a specific list of 25 fortified towns, tribes and places captured by Balbus. On Balbus, see M23, on his triumph in 19 BC, N2f.

N10 Gaetolian war

During this period too, in Africa, Cossus, a general of Caesar, confined within narrower boundaries the Musolani and Gaetulians who had been wandering freely, and forced them, through fear, to keep away from Roman frontiers.

[Orosius, *Against the Pagans* 6.21.18]

This was in AD 6 (Dio 55.28.3–4). See also a dedication to Mars Augustus (M4). Cossus Cornelius Lentulus received triumphal decorations only, and a *cognomen* 'Gaetulicus' (Vell. 2.116.2 – Section E).

The ALPS (Noricum, Raetia) (N11–N17)

Part of the Alps remained under the control of King Cottius (see M33). Varro campaigned against an Alpine tribe, the Salassi, in 25 BC, founding a veteran colony of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta). Tiberius and Nero Drusus pacified the area in campaigns of 15–14 BC. *Res Gestae* 26.3 records the pacification of the region. Horace, *Odes* 4.4 and 4.14 (G42, G44) celebrate the campaign.

N11 Alpine tribes subdued by Augustus

Beyond Lake Como, situated at the foot of the Alps, lie the lands of the Raeti and Vennones sloping towards the east and on the other side, the Lepontii, Tridentini, Stoni and other small tribes which previously kept a hold on Italy through their banditry and inaccessibility. But now some have been completely destroyed, others so completely subdued that the mountain passes through their territory, formerly few and treacherous, are now numerous, safe from harm from local people and as easily passable as building technique allows. For Augustus not only eliminated banditry but built roads wherever possible.

[Strabo, *Geography* 4.6.6]

N12 The Alpine Salassi

This Alpine tribe possessed gold mines and controlled their territory, at least through brigandage, even at the time of Julius Caesar and the triumvirate. Later, however, Augustus completely overthrew them, and sold them all as booty at Eporedia, a colony which the Romans had established as a garrison against the Salassi, but which could only offer slight resistance until the tribe had been wiped out. 8,000 fighting men were captured and 36,000 other people, but Terentius Varro, the general who overthrew them, sold them all as war-booty. Caesar sent 3,000 Romans to found the city of Augusta at the site where Varro had set up camp, and now the whole area, up to the highest mountain-passes is at peace.

[Strabo, *Geography* 4.6.7]

Dio 53.25.2–5 gives a slightly longer account of the campaign, mentioned in the summary of Livy 135 (D4). The claim to be suppressing brigands and pirates and to be civilising the world had been made by Roman commanders throughout the whole of the first century BC, but Augustus used such claims to support the important notion of the *pax Augusta* (Augustan Peace: see RG 26.3).

Salassi: mentioned on the Alpine triumphal arch, Pliny *NH* 3.136, below.

Augusta: Augusta Praetoria, now Aosta, see N13.

Terentius Varro: it is not clear whether this is the same Terentius Varro as named on the consul list for 23 BC or the governor of Syria (M38) or neither.

N13 Augustus honoured at new colony of Augusta Praetoria, 23–20 BC

To Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the Deified, consul for the 11th time, hailed as victorious general 8 times, holder of tribunician power. The Salassi locals, who at the start settled themselves into the colony, (set this up) to their patron.

[EJ 338 = ILS 6753]

The colony of Augusta Praetoria Salassorum (modern Aosta) in the Alpine region of north-west Italy was founded by Terentius Varro c. 25 BC. The local inhabitants (the Salassi) were forcibly evicted from the best land in the area, which was distributed to 3,000 veterans, including members of the praetorian guard (N12 and Dio 53.25). The colony was on a strategically significant site, controlling the River Duria, the lower stretches of which were rich in gold; it also straddled the Great and Little St Bernard passes. This inscription shows how the Salassi evidently thought that it was in their interests to embrace this new state of affairs.

N14 Pacification of the Alpine tribes.

Tiberius and his brother Drusus put an end to their free incursions in a single summer campaign so that there has now been peace and regular payment of tribute for thirty-three years.

[Strabo, *Geography* 4.6.9]

Dio's account of the campaigns of 15–14 BC at 54.22

N15 Augustus receiving triumphal branches, aureus, 15–12 BC

Obv: Augustus, head bare, left

AVGVSTVS DIVI F (Augustus, son of the Deified)

Rev: Augustus seated on platform, receiving branches from two men in military dress

IMP X (Hailed *imperator* (victorious general) for the tenth time)

[RIC Augustus 164b / BMC Augustus 447]

This coin, issued between 15 and 12 BC in Lyons, has a clear image of Augustus' military success. The figure seated on the platform is identified as Augustus, while the two figures in military dress handing triumphal branches to the *princeps* are normally identified as Tiberius and Drusus. The date of this coin therefore suggests the commemoration of the conquest of Raetia by the stepsons of Augustus in 15 BC. The title IMP(erator) is used here in its more traditional sense of a commander saluted by his troops. However it is the *princeps*, rather than his generals as was traditional, who receives this accolade. It was vital that Augustus was seen as the supreme commander of the troops.

N16 Triumphal monument to Alpine victories 7–6 BC

[136] This seems an appropriate moment to record the inscription from the triumphal monument for our Alpine victories, which runs as follows:

To Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the Deified, Pontifex Maximus, hailed as victorious general 14 times, in his 17th year of tribunician power, the Senate and People of Rome (set up this monument) in commemoration of the fact that by his leadership and under his auspices all the tribes of the Alps stretching from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean were brought under the power of the Roman People. The following Alpine tribes were defeated: the Triumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, [137] Vennonetes, Isarchi, Breuni, Genaunes, Focunates, four tribes of the Vindelici, the Cosuanetes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates, Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixentes, Leponti, Uberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Varagri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Ucenni, Caturiges, Brigiani, Sobionti, Brodionti, Nemaloni, Edenates, Vesubiani, Veamini, Gallitae, Triullati, Ecdini, Vergunni, Eguituri, Nematuri, Oratelli, Nerusi, Velauni, Suetri.

[138] I have not included the fifteen non-belligerent states of the Cottiani, nor those that were controlled by the Italian municipalities under the *Lex Pompeia*.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 3.136–138]

Part of the inscription (CIL 5.7817) from the monument, at modern La Turbie (overlooking Monaco) has also been found and the monument has been reconstructed.

Cottiani: the peoples ruled by the friendly king, Cottius – M33

N17 An equestrian procurator.

Q. Octavius Sagitta, procurator of Caesar Augustus in Vindeliccia and Raetia and the Poenine valley for four years.

[EJ 224 = *ILS* 9007]

Despite its conquest, the area was not made into a formal province by Augustus. Instead it was ruled by an equestrian procurator, responsible to Augustus himself.

ARABIA (N18–N22)

Aelius Gallus' expedition to Arabia took place in 26–25 or 25–24 BC. Strabo, who describes Aelius Gallus as 'my friend and comrade' (2.5.12), thus provides excellent evidence for the aims of the expedition, the wealth of an area often known as *Arabia Felix* ('Fortunate Arabia'). He also provides much detail about the expedition itself.

N18 Aims of the expedition against Arabia

The recent Roman campaign against the Arabs, led in my own time by Aelius Gallus, has given us a great deal of information about the distinctive characteristics of the region. Augustus Caesar sent him out to secure intelligence about the local tribesmen and the topographical features of the area, and of Ethiopia as well, since he realised that the Trogodyte country adjacent to Egypt also borders closely on Arabia, since the Arabian gulf separating the Arabs from the Trogodytes is extremely narrow. His strategy was to either win over the Arabs to an alliance or to conquer them. But there was an additional consideration: from time immemorial it was rumoured that the area was very rich and that they traded spices and precious stones for gold and silver, but never parted with the proceeds of their trading to outsiders. It was Augustus' hope either to acquire wealthy allies or to conquer wealthy enemies. His expectation of assistance from the Nabataeans encouraged him further, since they were allies and had promised to help him in every way they could.

Therefore Gallus launched the expedition. But the Nabataean viceroy, Syllaenus, deceived him: for though he promised to guide him on the route, to supply everything, and to collaborate with him, he acted treacherously throughout ...

[Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.22]

N19 Expedition into Arabia

Aelius Gallus, of the equestrian order, is the only one so far to have led Roman armies into this area. For Augustus' son, Gaius Caesar, contented himself with viewing Arabia from afar. But Gallus actually destroyed certain strongholds not hitherto mentioned by our previous authorities. They were: Negrana, Nestus, Nesca, Magusus, Caminacus, Lambaetia, as well as Mariba (with its 6 mile circumference, already described) and Caripeta, which was as far as he went.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 6.160]

The advance to Mariba is mentioned in the *Res Gestae* (26.5). Despite Pliny's positive report, the expedition failed, perhaps because of heat and disease (Dio 53.29), perhaps because of the treachery of Syllaenus, the Nabataean, as Strabo states.

N20 Herod sends troops for the expedition

It was at about that time that Herod sent to Caesar a supporting force of some 500 picked members of his bodyguard. These Aelius Gallus took with him on his expedition to the Red Sea and they proved extremely useful to him.

[Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.317]

N21 Hollow military successes in Arabia

The next country he marched through belonged to Nomads and most of it was truly desert: it was called Ararene and its king was Sabos. He spent fifty days passing through this country without roads, reaching a city called Negranoi, and a fertile and peaceful country. The king had fled and so the city was captured in the first attack. From here he reached the river in six days. Here the barbarians joined battle, and about ten thousand of them fell, but only two Romans: they were naive in their use of weapons, being utterly unwarlike, with bows, spears, swords and slings, but mostly double-edged axes. Immediately afterwards, he took a city called Asca, which had been abandoned by its king. From there he went to the city of Athrula, and after taking it without resistance, established a garrison, prepared for supplies of corn and dates for the march and advanced to the city of Marsiaba, belonging to the Rhammanitae tribe, who were subjects of Ilasaros. For six days he attacked and besieged the city, but gave up for lack of water. He was only two days' march from the country which produced spices, according to what he heard from prisoners, but had wasted six months' time on his journey, through being badly guided.

[Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.24]

Augustus, *Res Gestae* 26.5, manages to give these hollow military successes a positive spin, with the failure to capture Marsiaba being reported as 'penetrated as far as Mariba'.

Athrula: near the modern border between Saudi Arabia and Yemen. The tombstone of a cavalryman, Publius Cornelius, who must have been from Gallus' expedition, has been found there (see G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, (Harvard 1983) pages 148–153).

N22 Failure of the expedition

The whole journey took him less than sixty days on the way back, although the outward journey had taken six months. Then he took his army across to Myus Harbour within eleven days, then to Coptus, and landed at Alexandria with those who had been able to survive. He had lost the others, not through enemy action, but disease, exhaustion, starvation and the harsh terrain: only seven men had been killed in action. For these reasons, this expedition did not provide great benefit towards knowledge of the region, though it did contribute a little. But the man to blame for what happened, Syllaenus, paid the penalty at Rome: though he pretended friendship, he was convicted for his treachery in the expedition and other wrongdoing, and was beheaded.

[Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.24]

Disease: Dio's account of the expedition concentrates on describing the disease (53.29.3–8).

Syllaenus: chief minister of the dependent kingdom of Nabataea in Arabia. Strabo consistently blames Syllaenus for deliberately misleading Gallus, though the motive he ascribes – that Syllaenus wished to become ruler of the area once the Romans had destroyed the local tribes but had been 'wiped out by starvation, exhaustion, disease and whatever else he treacherously contrived' – seems far-fetched. Though Strabo implies that Syllaenus was executed as a direct result of the failed expedition, Josephus' accounts of Herod's reign show that he was still chief minister of Nabataea and even a guest of Augustus in Rome in the first decade BC, though executed around 7 BC, see **M40–M41**.

ARMENIA (N23–N25)

Armenia Major was not of much value to Rome, but became a prize in the propaganda struggle between Rome and Parthia (*RG* 27.2). The Romans kept hostages to deploy against incumbent Parthian and Armenian monarchs or to fill gaps.

N23 Relations with Armenia up to around 1 BC

(This passage continues N46 and is continued in N25)

The Armenians had no love for Rome, thanks to the treachery of Mark Antony who had seduced their king, Artavasdes (I), with the promise of friendship, but then imprisoned and finally executed him. Mindful of his father's experience, his son, Artaxias (II), remained hostile to Rome and protected himself and his kingdom by alliance with the powerful Arsacids. But thanks to the treachery of his relatives he was assassinated and Tigranes (II) was appointed by Augustus as the new ruler of Armenia and introduced to his kingdom under escort by Tiberius Nero. He did not last long. His children's reign was similarly brief, though in the custom of foreign nations brother and sister shared a marriage bed as well as their kingdom.

[Tacitus, *Annals* 2.3]

Tacitus is explaining the background to hostilities between Rome and Parthia in AD 16.

Artavasdes (I): he had not proved a reliable ally to Mark Antony in his Parthian expedition.

Artaxias (II): his replacement by his brother Tigranes (II) took place in 19 BC. Roman coins announced the capture of Armenia see N24.

Tigranes (II): he died before 6 BC. Tacitus underestimates the length of his reign.

His children's reign: Erato, with her brother-husband, Tigranes (III) had taken the throne after the death of their father Tigranes (II). They were deposed and returned in about 1 BC until his death during Gaius' mission, when she abdicated.

N24 Capture of Armenia, aureus of 20 BC or 19–18 BC

Obv: Augustus, head bare, right

Rev: Victory, right, cutting the throat of bull

ARMENIA CAPTA (Armenia captured)

[RIC Augustus 514 / BMC Augustus 671]

In the *Res Gestae* (RG 27), Augustus boasts that he could have established a province of Armenia after its king Artaxes had been killed, but chose instead to establish a client kingdom. The imagery used on the coinage which marked this event also clearly suggests the subjugation of Armenia, while the legend 'ARMENIA CAPTA', together with the depiction of Victory slitting the throat of a bull, reflects the inequality of the client kingdom and Rome, reflected in the *Res Gestae* and other sources.

N25 Rome and Armenia, around 1 BC to AD 16.

(This passage continues N23)

[4] Augustus then proceeded to appoint Artavasdes (II) to the throne, but he was deposed with disastrous results for Rome. Gaius Caesar was given the task of settling the Armenian problem and he appointed Ariobarzanes as the new king. A Mede by origin, his splendid appearance and admirable character won the approval of the

Armenians, but after his accidental death they refused to accept his son and experimented instead with the rule of a woman, called Erato. They soon got rid of her and were now disorganised and bewildered, in a state of anarchy rather than liberty. As a result they readily accepted the exiled Vonones as their king.

[Tacitus, *Annals* 2.4]

Artavasdes (II): he held Armenia in the period of Erato's exile, some time between 6 and 1 BC.

Gaius Caesar: Augustus' grandson and adopted son was sent out in 1 BC to restore Roman influence. He made an accord with Parthia but was fatally wounded in the disturbances in Armenia (see J59).

Vonones (I): eldest son of Phraates IV, king of Parthia. He had been in Roman custody since 10 BC and was deployed as king in AD 6 after unrest in Parthia, but dethroned in AD 12 (see N46). He found the throne of Armenia vacant and occupied it between AD 12 and 15/16.

The BALKANS (Illyricum (Dalmatia/Pannonia)) (N26–N28)

Under Augustus the area was known as Illyricum (as at RG 30.1). At some point Illyricum was divided into two provinces, Dalmatia and Pannonia, but our sources use the names so flexibly that the division cannot be dated.

Octavian had instigated a campaign in Illyricum between 35–33 BC which enhanced his dubious military reputation and provided him with one of his three triumphs of August 29 BC. He later produced memoirs of the campaign.

In 27 BC Roman control was mainly confined to the Adriatic seaboard, but it was extended to the Danube by the conquests of 13–8 BC. The Pannonian revolt of AD 6–9 posed a serious threat to Rome's stability, but was crushed and Augustus was able to set in place the military commands on which the two provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia were established.

'The sources are more interested in Germany and tell us little about these campaigns. Dio, our main source, presents them merely as crushing revolts: he appears to have thought that all Illyricum had been conquered by Augustus' campaigns of 35–33 BC.' (J. Rich, *Dio* page 210). The main sources are:

War in Pannonia under Tiberius: 13–9 BC: Vell. 2.96.2–3; Dio 54.31.2–4; 54.34.3–4; 54.36.3; 55.2.4

The revolt of AD 6–9: Vell. 2.114.4–117.1; Dio 55.28–31; Dio 56.11–17.

N26 Summary of Livy, book 141 (10 BC)

Drusus' brother, Nero, subdued the Dalmatians and the Pannonians.

[Summary of Livy 141]

N27 A distinguished career at Alexandria Troas (Asia Minor), c. AD 14

To Gaius Fabricius Tuscus, son of Gaius, of the Aniensis tribe, joint chief magistrate, augur, prefect of the Apulan cohort and of the works which have been executed in the colony by Augustus' command; military tribune of the 3rd Legion Cyrenaica for 8 years, tribune of the levy of freeborn men which Augustus and Tiberius Caesar carried out at Rome; prefect of engineers for 4 years, prefect of the praetorian cavalry wing for 4 years; he was presented with the untipped spear and golden crown by Germanicus Caesar, commander in the German war. By decree of the town councillors.

[EJ 368 = AE 1973.501]

The use of Latin on this stone plaque found at modern Tuzla, Turkey points to its original location as the colony of Alexandria Troas. The town's council honours a local man who has held local magistracies, as well as completing a distinguished military career, which culminated in his being granted military decorations by Germanicus c. AD 14. He may be identical with the author mentioned by Pliny the Elder as being a source for some of his *Natural History*. The inscription illustrates the atmosphere of crisis at Rome around AD 6 following the Pannonian revolt, since the act of holding a levy of soldiers at Rome is highly unusual (compare Dio 55.31.1). Usually troops were recruited from volunteers rather than being conscripted.

N28 Freedmen enlisted

In both Germany and Illyricum Augustus Caesar enlisted several cohorts of freedmen, whom he nicknamed his 'volunteers'.

[Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.11.32]

Dio (56.23) tells us that emergency measures, including conscription of freeborn Romans and enrolment of freedmen followed news of the Varus disaster of AD 9. Velleius (2.111.1) and Dio (55.31.1) tell us that freedmen were enlisted following the revolt in Illyricum, AD 6.

BRITAIN (N29–N30)

Britain is regularly mentioned by the poets of the period (see **G3**, **G27**, **G44**, Propertius 2.6). Public opinion may have expected an invasion by Augustus. According to Dio, Augustus projected expeditions to Britain in 34, 27 and 26 BC (Dio 49.38.2; 53.22.5; 53.25.2), but nothing came of it.

Strabo's comments on the lack of profit to be gained from annexing Britain as a province might be seen as serious economic analysis, but may simply provide an excuse for the failure of Rome to conquer the island. This would be in line with Strabo's presentation of Rome and its imperialistic project which is surprisingly sympathetic given that Strabo himself came from the margins of the empire and from a family which had been in favour with the local ruling dynasty before Rome took control.

N29 No profit in invading Britain

As far as strict military requirements go, there would be no great advantage in researching the truth about such far distant countries and their inhabitants, especially if they inhabit islands which are incapable of offering us profit or injury thanks to their inaccessibility. Take Britain, for example. The Romans could have annexed it to their empire; but they regarded it with contempt, since they realised that it posed no threat to them whatsoever (lacking as they did the military resources to cross the channel and attack us), and that if they did capture it they would derive no advantage from doing so. For it is quite clear that Rome now gets more from customs dues than any direct taxation could possibly bring in, once you deduct the cost of a military garrison and revenue collection. The same practical considerations apply even more in the case of the other islands around Britain.

[Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.8]

it posed no threat: Julius Caesar claimed British reinforcements being sent over to Gaul as the pretext for his expeditions to Britain in 55 and 54 BC (Caesar, *Gallic War* 4.20.1).

N30 Taxation from Britain

Julius Caesar won two or three victories over the Britons, even though he only shipped two legions from his army across the channel. He also brought back hostages, slaves, and a massive collection of other booty. But now some of the tribal chieftains there have won the friendship of Augustus Caesar by sending embassies and paying homage to him. They have even dedicated offerings to him on the Capitol and have almost managed to make the whole island a sort of Roman enclave. They are so tolerant of the heavy taxes imposed on their exports to Celtic lands and the imports from those same lands (ivory chains, necklaces, red-amber gems, glass vessels, and similar frippery) that the island has no need of a garrison. The minimum requirement for such an exercise would be one legion and supporting cavalry just to collect the tribute, so that the cost of the army would equal the income accruing from the revenues. Inevitably, the revenue brought in by the taxation would consequently be diminished and the risks of confrontation increased if we decided to use force.

[Strabo, *Geography* 4.5.3]

Julius Caesar: his accounts of his expeditions of 55 and 54 BC are Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.20–38, 5.1–23.
tribal chieftains: *Res Gestae* (32.1) names Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius.

EGYPT (N31–N32)

Egypt was acquired directly as a result of Octavian's defeat of Antony and Cleopatra VII, last Ptolemaic queen of Egypt. The Civil Wars had highlighted the danger presented by Egyptian independence. Only the establishment of direct Roman control could ensure that the power and wealth of Egypt were never again used against Rome. Thereafter Augustus' main concern was the administration of the large and important province, see **M6–M14**, but he also ensured that his annexation of this large, famous, ancient and wealthy kingdom was not forgotten, by coinage and the striking symbolism of transporting obelisks to Rome.

N31 Capture of Egypt, denarius of 27 BC

- Obv: Augustus, head bare, right
CAESAR DIVI F COS VII (Caesar, Son of the Deified, Consul for the seventh time)
- Rev: Crocodile, right
AEGVPTO CAPTA (Egypt captured)

[RIC Augustus 544 / BMC Augustus 655]

The importance of the capture and annexation of Egypt cannot be overestimated. The achievement was celebrated on both gold and silver coinage, such as on this *denarius* of Augustus dating to 27 BC. This coin shows a beautifully rendered crocodile, symbolic of Egypt and the announcement 'EGYPT CAPTURED'. 'Capta type' coins are a common form of commemoration of military success.

N32 Obelisks

[69] Above all else, there was the added difficulty of transporting obelisks to Rome – so much so that the ships which carried them became a focus of public attention. [70] To celebrate such a remarkable event, the deified Augustus dedicated the first ship to transport an obelisk in a permanent dock at Puteoli. It was later destroyed by a fire.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 36.69–70]

On Augustus' inventive use of the obelisks, see **K35–K36**. Egyptian obelisks now also decorate Thames Embankment, London, and Central Park, New York.

ETHIOPIA (N33–N35)

Soon after the annexation of Egypt, Roman thoughts turned towards expansion towards the south. Cornelius Gallus had already commemorated his excursions into Ethiopia (**P5**) by Spring 29 BC. Petronius campaigned in 25 or 24 BC and put down a revolt in around 22 BC (Dio 54.5.4–6) after which stable relations seem to have been maintained with Roman power extending to Napata (*RG* 26.5) well into modern Sudan. Modern Ethiopia lies south-east of the area the Romans called Ethiopia.

N33 The Ethiopians

The Ethiopians stretching towards the south and Meroe are not numerous nor populous, inhabiting the long, narrow, winding stretch of river land I have previously described. Nor are they well prepared for war or any other way of life. And now the whole country is similarly disposed, as evidenced by the fact that the country is sufficiently garrisoned by the Romans with three cohorts, not even at full strength. But when the Ethiopians dared to attack them, they endangered their own country.

[Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.53]

The Ethiopians may have learnt that an expedition was planned against them and tried to pre-empt it, perhaps when Rome was engaged on the expedition to Arabia.

N34 Petronius' expedition to Ethiopia (25/24 BC)

The Ethiopians, made over-confident by the fact that part of the force in Egypt had been detached to campaign with Aelius Gallus against the Arabs, attacked the Thebaid and the garrison of three cohorts at Syene and, taking them by surprise, overran Syene, Elephantine and Philae, enslaved the inhabitants and pulled down statues of Caesar. Petronius set out with fewer than ten thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry against thirty thousand. He first forced them to flee to Pselchis, a city in Ethiopia ... From Pselchis he went to Premnis, a fortified city ... he attacked and captured the fortress at the first onset, and next set out for Napata. This was the royal residence of Candace, and her son was there: she herself was residing in a place nearby. She sent an embassy to treat for friendship and the return of the prisoners from Syene and the statues, but Petronius attacked and captured Napata, after her son had fled, and razed it to the ground. Having enslaved the inhabitants, he turned back with his plunder, judging that the regions further south would be hard to cross. But he fortified Premnis more strongly, put a garrison in place with two years' supply for four hundred men, then departed for Alexandria.

[Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.54]

Dio 54.5.4–6 gives a similar, but briefer account. Pliny (*NH* 6.181) mentions some other towns being captured.

Syene, Elephantine, Philae: important settlements all in the area of the modern Aswan Dam.

statues of Caesar: a bronze head of Augustus was found at Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, in front of some sort of victory monument.

Premnis: actually Primis. A Roman garrison has been excavated there, modern Qasr Ibrim on the Nile on the Egypt-Sudan border.

N35 Ethiopian revolt and peace settlement, c. 21 BC

Meanwhile Candace advanced against the garrison with many thousands of men. Petronius, however, went to relieve it and got to the fortress first. After making it secure in various ways, he told the ambassadors to go to Caesar: they replied that they did not know who Caesar was or where they would have to go to find him, so he gave them escorts. They went to Samos, where Caesar was staying, on his way to Syria, after sending Tiberius to Armenia. The ambassadors achieved everything they asked, and Caesar also remitted the tribute which he had imposed.

[Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.54]

Strabo implies that Candace's attack occurred while Petronius was returning from his campaign above, but the embassy to Augustus shows that this campaign must be a few years later as Augustus spent the winter of 21/20 BC on Samos.

GERMANY (N36–N38)

Germany was the scene of the most difficult, prolonged and ultimately unsuccessful campaigns of Augustus' reign. The most detailed account of the various campaigns is given by Velleius, 2.97.1–4; 2.104–114 and then on the Varus disaster, 2.117–122. The major events in Germany seem to be:

Defeat of Lollius (16 BC): Vell. 2.97.1; Dio 54.20.4–6; Tac. 1.10.4; Suet. *Aug.* 23.1.

Preparation for invasion (16–13 BC).

Drusus' invasions of Germany (every year 12–9 BC): Dio 54.32–33; 54.36.3; 55.1.2–5; Vell. 2.97.2–3; Livy 139–142.

Tiberius invades Germany (8 BC): Dio 55.6.1–3; Vell. 2.97.4.

Peace 8 BC – AD 1.

Revolt (AD 1) crushed by M. Vinicius (AD 1–3): Vell. 2.104.2 and Tiberius (AD 4–5) Vell. 2.104.3–114.

Varus disaster (AD 9): Suet. *Aug.* 23; Vell. 2.117–122.

N36 The geography of Germany

[98] Along the whole seaboard as far as the Scaldis, a German river, the land is occupied by tribes with territories of indeterminate extent – our sources differ widely on the subject. The Greek authorities, and some of our Roman ones, state that the German coastline measures 2,300 miles; Agrippa claims that together with Raetia and Noricum its length is 631 miles and its breadth 228 miles, though Raetia alone is almost wider than that. But of course it was only conquered at about the time of his death, while the exploration of Germany went on for many years after and is still incomplete. [99] As far as one can guess, its coastline will turn out to be little short of what the Greeks assert and its length about that suggested by Agrippa.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 4.98–99]

Scaldis: modern river Schelde, on which Antwerp (Belgium) now stands.

Germany's length: the distance from the coast of Germany to the Italian Alps is around 580 miles.

its breadth: Romans probably regarded Germany as being bounded by the Rhine to the west and the Elbe to the east. The distance between these two rivers which run roughly parallel varies between about 200 and 300 miles. Agrippa's figures can thus be seen to have been impressively accurate, unlike the figure quoted for the coastline.

N37 Exploration of the North Sea

Most of the northern ocean was explored under the auspices of the deified Augustus, when our fleet sailed round Germany as far as the Cimbric promontory. From there, having been confronted by a vast sea of which they had also heard reports, they sailed on to the lands of the Scythians, an area of excessive cold and damp.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 2.167]

Cimbric promontory: modern Denmark. The fleet was sent under Tiberius in AD 5. Augustus mentions this expedition in *Res Gestae* 26.4.

Scythians: Scythia referred sometimes to the area which we might term modern Russia, but it was often used much more generally to refer to 'the North', when the earth was divided up schematically into four regions – the West (Celts), the South (Ethiopians), the East (Indians), the North (Scythians).

N38 Tombstone of a soldier killed in the Varus disaster

To Marcus Caelius, son of Titus, of the Lemonia tribe, from Bononia, [centurion] of the 18th legion. In his 53rd year, he fell in the Varian war. It will be permitted to bury the bones [of his freedmen]. Publius Caelius, son of Titus, of the Lemonia tribe, his brother set this up.

(*Portrait bust*) Marcus Caelius Privatus, freedman of Marcus.

(*Portrait bust*) Marcus Caelius Thiaminus, freedman of Marcus.

[EJ 45 = *ILS* 2244]

This tombstone, found at Castra Vetera, Lower Germania (modern Xanten, Germany) commemorating one of the soldiers (from Bononia, modern Bologna) massacred by the Germans in the Varus disaster of AD 9 is dominated by a depiction of the deceased wearing his military decorations and holding his staff of office as centurion. He is flanked on either side by portrait busts of his two freedmen, bearing their names in small letters. As so often with inscriptions, parts of the text crucial for our understanding have disappeared, so it is unclear how his official rank is referred to, and whose bones are mentioned, but it is likely that permission is being granted to bury his freedmen here.

INDIA (N39–N40)

What prompted Indian rulers to seek Roman friendship is unknown, but the embassies to Augustus were the first Roman diplomatic contacts with India and were of great value to the regime. India is mentioned in the context of world conquest at *RG* 31.1 and by Horace *Odes* 4.14.41 (G44); Propertius 2.10.16 (G17) and 3.4.1 (G30); Virgil *Aeneid* 6.795 (G37).

N39 Indian envoys reach Augustus

Meanwhile, envoys from India and Scythia, having crossed the whole world, finally found Augustus at Tarraco in Further Spain. This represented the end of their quest which reflected on Augustus the glory of Alexander the Great.

[Orosius, *History* 6.21.19]

The embassy is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Augustus* 21.3. Augustus was in Spain 27–24 BC. Alexander the Great's conquests had actually reached as far as India.

N40 A second Indian embassy to Augustus

This may be an appropriate point at which to add the report of Nicolaus of Damascus. He says that at Antioch, near Daphne, he happened upon a group of Indians, an embassy on its way to Caesar Augustus. Judging by the letter they carried, there had clearly been more of them originally, but only the three whom he claimed to have seen had actually survived, the rest having died mainly as a result of the arduous journey. Their letter, written in Greek on vellum, made it clear that it had been written by Porus, overlord of six hundred lesser kings, who nevertheless set great store by winning the friendship of Augustus. He said that he was ready to grant him safe conduct through his domains, wherever he wished to go, and assured him of his co-operation whenever appropriate. Such, says Nicolaus, were the contents of the letter; as for the accompanying gifts for Caesar, they were carried by eight slaves, sprinkled with perfumes and naked except for their loincloths. The gifts included the Hermes, a dwarf deprived of his arms since birth, whom I myself have seen with my own eyes, huge vipers, a snake some five metres long, a river tortoise of some three cubits, and a partridge bigger than a vulture.

[Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.72–3]

Nicolaus of Damascus wrote a universal history in 144 books at the time of Augustus, which now exists only in a very fragmentary form. Nicolaus was friend and historian of Herod the Great and tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra. Dio (54.9.8–10) also includes some details of this embassy. This embassy reached Augustus in Syria in 20 BC.

PARTHIA (IRAQ) (N41–N46)

Roman and Parthian claims to control the eastern end of Asia Minor had come into conflict in the mid-first century BC. The Arsacid dynasty had scored signal victories (as against Marcus Crassus and Mark Antony, 53 and 36 BC), but Augustus recovered by diplomacy the standards that the Romans had lost (20 BC) and succeeded in making a Roman nominee king of Armenia Major, which Parthian monarchs needed for ambitious members of the royal family. The Parthian kingdom was unstable and claimants to the throne, the

sons of the king's various wives and concubines, numerous. After a down-turn in relations, Gaius Caesar was sent out in 1 BC to restore Roman influence. Crinagoras wrote a poem on his departure (G48). His mission culminated in an accord with Parthia in AD 2, but he was fatally wounded in the disturbances in Armenia (AD 3). See Velleius 2.101–102; Dio 55.10.20–1; J59–J61.

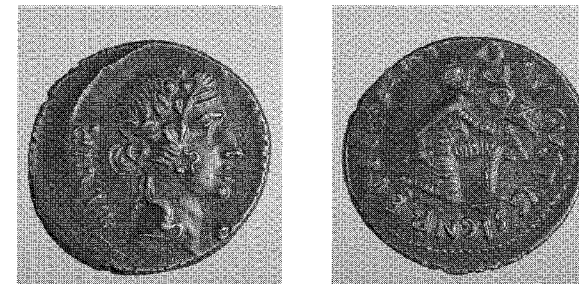
N41 Ovid on Roman standards lost by Crassus in 53 BC

Crassus by the Euphrates lost his standards, son, and soldiery, and then 465
Himself his last surrender made to death. "Tell me, O Parthian",
The goddess said, "Why do you gloat? Those standards you'll return.
And for the death of Crassus will arise an Avenger seeking retribution."

[Ovid, *Fasti* 6.465–468]

The coincidence on 9 June of the Vestalia, the festival of Vesta, with the anniversary of the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC allows Vesta to prophesy that Crassus' defeat by the Parthians will be avenged: this is likely to allude to Gaius' expedition of 1 BC (cf. on *Ars Amatoria* 1.177–216, G47).

N42 Parthian standards recovered, *denarius* of 18 BC



- Obv: Head of Liber, wearing ivy-wreath, right
TVRPILIANVS III VIR ((P Petronius) Turpilianus, moneyer)
Rev: Trousered Parthian, kneeling right, holding out a standard
CAESAR AVGVSTVS SIGN RECE (Caesar Augustus, Receiver of the standards)

[RIC Augustus 287 / BMC Augustus 10]

The significance of the return of the Roman standards is clear from the numerous coin issues that commemorate the event (see also K14), but also from the fact that this same scene was chosen as the centre-piece of the cuirass of the *princeps*, as depicted on the famous *Prima Porta* statue of Augustus. Although there was no military campaign, it was represented as a military victory: 'Phraates accepted the Roman *imperium* on his knees' (Horace, *Epist.* 1.12.27–28 G34). The reverse of this coin beautifully demonstrates the Roman perception of this episode.

N43 Phraates IV sends his children to Rome

(This passage is continued in N46)

Even though he had defeated Rome's armies and generals, Phraates (IV) had always shown the utmost respect for Augustus himself and had sent him several of his children as a means of cementing their friendship – though his motives were not so much fear of Rome as distrust of the loyalty of his own people.

[Tacitus, *Annals* 2.1]

Tacitus is explaining the background to hostilities between Rome and Parthia in AD 16. Phraates IV was king of Parthia 38 BC – 2 BC. He defeated Antony's invasion in 36 BC. A rival for the throne took Phraates' son to Rome, but Augustus returned the prince in 24 BC (Dio 53.33.2). Strabo (N44) names four sons, two of whom died in Rome as shown by their funerary inscriptions, N44b in Addenda, page 415.

N44 Phraates' Children in Rome

Orodes' successor, Phraates (IV), was so eager to maintain friendly relations with Caesar Augustus, that he even returned the standards which the Parthians had dedicated as trophies in celebration of their victory over the Romans. He also invited Titius, the current governor of Syria, to a conference at which he handed over to him as hostages four of his legitimate sons, Seraspadan, Rhodaspes, Phraates, and Vonones, together with the wives of two of them and four of their sons. His real motive was fear of conspiracy and assassination attempts on his own life, since he realised that no-one could get the better of him unless he gained the support of a member of the Arsacid dynasty, since they enjoyed huge popularity among the Parthians.

[Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.28]

N45 Preparations for Gaius' expedition to the East

Charax is a fortified township situated deep within the Persian Gulf... I am not unaware of the fact that it was the birthplace of Dionysius, our most modern authority on the geography of the world. The deified Augustus sent him to the east to compile a detailed report on every aspect of the area, at the time when his eldest son (Gaius) was about to lead an expedition into Armenia to challenge the Parthians and Arabians. But I hold to the opinion stated in the introduction to this work that every author is at his most thorough when describing his own country. However, in this section, I have decided to follow the reports of the Roman armies, and of King Juba in his despatches to the above-mentioned Gaius Caesar on the subject of this same expedition to Arabia.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 6.141]

Dionysius of Charax is unknown, but Isidorus of Charax wrote on routes across the desert to Syria, regularly cited by Pliny for distances and seems also to have written more generally on geography. This passage like N7 and N8 shows the military importance of geographical information.

Juba: Juba the Younger (II) is known to have written a history and description of Africa.

N46 Vonones appointed Parthian King

(This passage continues N43 and is continued in N23)

[2] After the death of Phraates and his successors in a series of bloody civil wars, a delegation came to Rome from the leading Parthians to invite Vonones, as the eldest son of Phraates, to succeed to the throne. Augustus took this as a significant compliment to himself and showered him with gifts. The barbarians gave him a delighted welcome, as usually happens with new rulers. But their delight was soon replaced by a sense of shame that Parthia could have sunk so low as to have asked for a king from a foreign power; that their king was the product of an alien culture and therefore tainted; and that the throne of the Arsacid dynasty was now merely one of Rome's provinces, the property of the Roman people to be disposed of as they wished. The glory of those who had slain Marcus Crassus and driven out Mark Antony would count for nothing, if the Parthians were to be ruled by a slave of Augustus who had learned over many years to tolerate slavery.

[3] So they sent for another member of the Arsacid blood-line, Artabanus (III), who had grown to manhood among the Dahae. After an initial defeat he re-grouped his forces and seized power. The defeated Vonones took refuge in Armenia, a buffer kingdom between the two great powers of Rome and Parthia, whose throne was currently vacant.

[Tacitus, *Annals* 2.2-3]

Vonones (I): eldest son of Phraates IV, king of Parthia. He had been in Roman custody since 10 BC.

Artabanus (III): his maternal relatives, the Dahae, were a tribe with a suitably warlike reputation. He defeated Vonones in AD 12 and kept his throne until about AD 38.

SPAIN (N47-N49)

Parts of Spain had been ruled by Rome from 218 BC, but other parts remained as theatres of war, with 6 triumphs claimed between 36 and 26 BC. Augustus set out finally to pacify Spain in person in 26 BC, claiming success the following year by closing the gates of the Temple of Janus, symbolising peace. In reality resistance was only crushed finally by Agrippa in 19 BC. Velleius 2.90.2-3 (Section E) gives a very brief summary of the two hundred years of fighting in Spain.

N47 Spain finally subdued by Augustus

The nature of its geography and inhabitants means that in Spain, more than in Italy or any other part of the world, it is harder to hold onto captured territory. Therefore, the first province to be entered by the Romans, at least on the mainland, was the last of all to be completely subdued – only in our lifetime, under the leadership and auspices of Augustus Caesar.

[Livy, 28.12.12]

N48 Cantabrian War

Since it was announced that the rebellion was rather serious, Caesar undertook an expedition himself rather than entrusting it to someone else. He came to Segisama himself, positioned his camp and then, dividing his army into three sections, he encompassed the whole of Cantabria and surrounded the fierce people like wild beasts caught in a trap. Nor was there any respite on the side of the Ocean since the fleet was attacking the enemy in the rear. The first battle against the Cantabrians was fought under the walls of Bergida. They quickly fled from there to the heights of Mount Vindius, believing that the Ocean's waters would reach them there sooner than Roman arms. Thirdly the town of Aracelum was eventually taken after stout resistance. Finally there was the siege of Mount Medullus. When it was surrounded by a continuous ditch of eighteen miles and the Romans were advancing on all sides, the barbarians, seeing that their last hour had come, struggled to hasten their deaths by fire and sword and a banquet of poison which there is commonly extracted from the yew tree. So most saved themselves from captivity which seemed worse than death to those never before conquered. Caesar received reports of these operations carried out by his legates, Antistius and Furnius, and by Agrippa, while wintering on the coast at Tarraco. He was soon there himself to bring some of the enemy down from the mountains, to secure the obedience of others by taking hostages and to sell some into slavery, by right of conquest. His achievement seemed to the senate to deserve a laurel crown and triumphal chariot; but so great was Caesar that he despised the glorification of a triumph.

[Florus, *Summary of Wars: Cantabrian and Asturian War* 2.33.48-53]

(*Gaius*) *Antistius (Vetus)*: consul 30 BC. (*Gaius*) *Furnius*: later governor of Tarraconensis c 22-19 BC.

despised... a triumph: Augustus however accepted the privilege of wearing triumphal dress on the first day of every year and ceremonially closed the gates of the Temple of Janus (Dio 53.26.5). Augustus' autobiography closed with the successful end of the Cantabrian campaign (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1). His return was celebrated by Horace (G29).

N49 Cantabrian revolt, 19 BC

An attempt by the Cantabri to revolt was crushed.

[Jerome, *Chronicle* 20 BC]

Dio (54.11.2-5) dates this revolt to 19 BC. His account mentions 'many reverses' and that 'Agrippa lost many of his soldiers'.

THRACE (N50-N51)

Major campaigns were conducted in Thrace by M. Licinius Crassus in 29-27 BC and by L. Piso around 14-11 BC. In between two other governors of Macedonia had intervened: M. Lollius 19-18 BC and L. Tarius

Rufus 17 BC. In each case the campaigns were in support of the Thracian King Rhoemetalcēs. On the division of his kingdom after his death, see **M34**.

N50 Crassus' campaigns 29–27 BC

[134] Also recorded are the wars waged by Marcus Crassus against the Bastarnae, the Moesians, and other tribes. [135] This is the record of the wars waged by Marcus Crassus against the Thracians.

[Livy, Summary 134–5]

For Crassus' campaigns against the Bastarnae (a tribe on the north of the Black Sea) and his claim for 'Spoils of Honour', see **P3–P4**.

N51 The Thracians were brought to heel by Lucius Piso.

[Livy, Summary 140]

N52 Troop dispositions

[4] Tiberius gave a brief survey of the number of legions deployed and the provinces which they guarded. I think it would be useful if I did the same, so as to make clear the extent of Rome's military manpower at that time, the number of her client kings, and the significantly smaller size of her empire under Augustus.

[5] Two fleets, based on Misenum and Ravenna, guarded the twin coastlines of the Italian peninsula. The adjacent coastline of Southern Gaul was defended by warships captured by the victorious Augustus at the battle of Actium and despatched with a full complement of crews to the town of Forum Julii (Fréjus). But our main strength lay on the Rhine, where eight legions provided defence against Gauls and Germans alike. Three more legions held down the recently conquered provinces of Spain. King Juba ruled Mauretania, transferred to him by gift of the Roman People, while the rest of Africa and Egypt were each garrisoned by another two legions. Beyond Egypt, from the borders of Syria all the way to the river Euphrates, a whole vast swathe of territory was controlled by four legions, while along its boundaries a number of client kings (Iberian, Albanian, and others) were afforded protection from external threats by the formidable power of Rome. Rhoemetalcēs (II) and the children of Cotys (IV) held Thrace; four legions defended the banks of the Danube, two in Pannonia and two in Moesia. Two more, located behind the forward provinces, provided a strategic reserve from their bases in Dalmatia, whence they were close enough to be able to be summoned to Italy if support was suddenly needed there. But of course Rome also had its own garrison, the three urban and nine praetorian cohorts, recruited mainly from Etruria, Umbria, ancient Latium, and the old Roman settlements. Then in the provinces at key locations and of comparable strength there were allied warships, cavalry squadrons, and light infantry. But details are unreliable, since their locations varied according to circumstance and their numbers were increased or sometimes reduced accordingly.

[Tacitus, *Annals* 4.4–5]

Tacitus gives this review under the year AD 23, though implying in [4] that any difference lay between his own day and Augustus, rather than between AD 14 and AD 23. Compare figure 2, page 20.

The smaller size of her empire under Augustus: This tells against the idea that Roman imperialism waned after the beginning of the Principate. Tacitus wrote his *Annals* under Trajan. Suetonius, *Augustus* 49 gives a briefer account of the army under Augustus.

Recently conquered provinces of Spain: see **N47–N49**.

King Juba: on this client king, see **M31–M32**.

Rhoemetalcēs (II) and the children of Cotys (IV): see **M34**.

Etruria, Umbria, ancient Latium: The recruiting grounds of the élite praetorians had been those of the legions under the Republic: Italians were privileged.