AHIS1040 - War in the Ancient World
Course Outline

Course Co-ordinator: Jane Bellemore
Room: MCLG24
Ph: 4921 5231
Fax: 4921 6933
Email: Jane.Bellemore@Newcastle.edu.au
Consultation hours: Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays 2-5pm

Course Coordinator: Jane Bellemore
Semester: Semester 1 - 2009
Unit Weighting: 10
Teaching Methods: Lecture and Tutorial

Brief Course Description
This course will examine, by means of case studies, a number of aspects of the prosecution of war in the ancient world. The course will consider the attitudes, roles and actions of the warring parties, and the impact warfare has on combatants and non-combatants alike. Where nations are involved in prosecuting war, the course will also consider the reasons for the outbreak of warfare, and it will consider the nature of the societies participating in such conflict.

Contact Hours
Lecture for 2 Hours per Week for the Full Term
Tutorial for 1 Hour per Week for the Full Term
Tutorials commence in week 2 and end in week 13

Learning Materials/Texts

Course Objectives
On completion of this course students will:
1. be familiar with and able to analyse texts relevant to ancient warfare
2. be able to compare and contrast relevant texts for accuracy and credibility and to appreciate and express the limits of ancient evidence
3. have assimilated the terminology of the discipline

Course Outline Issued and Correct as at: Week 1, Semester 1 - 2009

CTS Download Date: 17th February, 2009
4. have investigated the periods of history and major events under consideration, as well as major political and military figures
5. have evaluated, investigated and written about military problems in ancient history
6. understand the place of warfare in different societies

Course Content
Content includes: the methods of war of the society, state or city and the benefits accruing from war (e.g. booty, indemnity, territorial acquisition); the structure of the army, with attention to the commander; logistical considerations of the army and campaigning - supplies and movements, weaponry, training in tactics, morale; strategies employed by warring generals, including aggressive warfare, sieges of towns, use of terror and psychology; battle tactics based on reconstructions of important battles; depiction and treatment of the enemy as combatants, hostages, prisoners (slavery, torture, execution); treatment of non-combatants (brutalising, rape, slavery, execution).

Assessment Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essays / Written Assignments</th>
<th>A source-commentary exercise, worth 30%. This exercise will require the student to analyse in detail two short extracts from the ancient sources, assessing each piece of evidence in terms of its context, content and bias. Each discussion will contain approximately 500 words, so 1000 words in total.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Essays / Written Assignments</td>
<td>The assessment will comprise one short essay, worth 20%. This essay will require the student to gather evidence from and analyse a large portion of a major ancient source. The results of this work must be presented in essay-form but contain only approximately 1000 words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essays / Written Assignments</td>
<td>One longer essay, worth 50%. This essay will concern a major problem of historical or thematic interest, and students will be expected to do research based on the ancient evidence, supplemented by modern authorities. The length of this essay will be 2000 words. TOTAL: 4000 words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group/tutorial participation and contribution
Students must enrol in a tutorial group, since all assessment items will be handed out during tutorials, all completed assignments will be collected from students during their tutorials, and all marked work will be returned to students during tutorial times. In addition, it is expected that students will attend tutorials and participate in any discussions. For these, students will need to do the set reading. Tutorials provide in-depth examination of various topics in such a way that they inculcate the methodology of the discipline.

Assumed Knowledge
No assumed knowledge

Callaghan Campus Timetable
AHIS1040
WAR IN THE ANCIENT WORLD
Enquiries: School of Humanities and Social Science
Semester 1 - 2009
Lecture Thursday 13:00 - 15:00 [STH]
and Tutorial Thursday 15:00 - 16:00 [V108] Commencing Wk 2 to 13 only
or Thursday 16:00 - 17:00 [V108] Commencing Wk 2 to 13 only
or Thursday 11:00 - 12:00 [V102] Commencing Wk 2 to 13 only
or Thursday 12:00 - 13:00 [MCLG44] Commencing Wk 2 to 13 only
or Thursday 10:00 - 11:00 [GP130] Commencing Wk 2 to 13 only
IMPORTANT UNIVERSITY INFORMATION

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity, honesty, and a respect for knowledge, truth and ethical practices are fundamental to the business of the University. These principles are at the core of all academic endeavour in teaching, learning and research. Dishonest practices contravene academic values, compromise the integrity of research and devalue the quality of learning. To preserve the quality of learning for the individual and others, the University may impose severe sanctions on activities that undermine academic integrity. There are two major categories of academic dishonesty:

**Academic fraud** is a form of academic dishonesty that involves making a false representation to gain an unjust advantage. Without limiting the generality of this definition, it can include:

a) falsification of data;

b) using a substitute person to undertake, in full or part, an examination or other assessment item;

c) reusing one’s own work, or part thereof, that has been submitted previously and counted towards another course (without permission);

d) making contact or colluding with another person, contrary to instructions, during an examination or other assessment item;

e) bringing material or device(s) into an examination or other assessment item other than such as may be specified for that assessment item; and

f) making use of computer software or other material and device(s) during an examination or other assessment item other than such as may be specified for that assessment item.

g) contract cheating or having another writer compete for tender to produce an essay or assignment and then submitting the work as one's own.

**Plagiarism** is the presentation of the thoughts or works of another as one's own. University policy prohibits students plagiarising any material under any circumstances. Without limiting the generality of this definition, it may include:

a) copying or paraphrasing material from any source without due acknowledgment;

b) using another person's ideas without due acknowledgment;

c) collusion or working with others without permission, and presenting the resulting work as though it were completed independently.

**Turnitin** is an electronic text matching system. During assessing any assessment item the University may -

- Reproduce this assessment item and provide a copy to another member of the University; and/or

- Communicate a copy of this assessment item to a text matching service (which may then retain a copy of the item on its database for the purpose of future checking).

- Submit the assessment item to other forms of plagiarism checking

RE-MARKS AND MODERATIONS

Students can access the University's policy at: [http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000769.html](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000769.html)

MARKS AND GRADES RELEASED DURING TERM

All marks and grades released during term are indicative only until formally approved by the Head of School.

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING ASSESSMENT ITEMS

*Extension of Time for Assessment Items, Deferred Assessment and Special Consideration for Assessment*
**Items or Formal Written Examinations** items must be submitted by the due date in the Course Outline unless the Course Coordinator approves an extension. Unapproved late submissions will be penalised in line with the University policy specified in **Late Penalty** above.

**Requests for Extensions of Time** must be lodged no later than the due date of the item. This applies to students:

- applying for an extension of time for submission of an assessment item on the basis of medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment; or
- whose attendance at or performance in an assessment item or formal written examination has been or will be affected by medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment.

Students must report the circumstances, with supporting documentation, as outlined in the Special Circumstances Affecting Assessment Items Procedure at: [http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000641.html](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000641.html)

**Note:** different procedures apply for minor and major assessment tasks.

**Students should be aware of the following important deadlines:**

- Special Consideration Requests must be lodged no later than 3 working days after the due date of submission or examination.
- Rescheduling Exam requests must be received no later than 10 working days prior the first date of the examination period.

*Late applications may not be accepted.* Students who cannot meet the above deadlines due to extenuating circumstances should speak firstly to their Program Officer or their Program Executive if studying in Singapore.

**STUDENTS WITH A DISABILITY OR CHRONIC ILLNESS**

University is committed to providing a range of support services for students with a disability or chronic illness. If you have a disability or chronic illness which you feel may impact on your studies please feel free to discuss your support needs with your lecturer or course coordinator.

Disability Support may also be provided by the Student Support Service (Disability). Students must be registered to receive this type of support. To register contact the Disability Liaison Officer on 02 4921 5766, email at: [student-disability@newcastle.edu.au](mailto:student-disability@newcastle.edu.au). As some forms of support can take a few weeks to implement it is extremely important that you discuss your needs with your lecturer, course coordinator or Student Support Service staff at the beginning of each semester. For more information on confidentiality and documentation visit the Student Support Service (Disability) website: [www.newcastle.edu.au/services/disability](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/services/disability).

**CHANGING YOUR ENROLMENT**

Students enrolled after the census dates listed below are liable for the full cost of their student contribution or fees for that term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For Semester 1 courses: 31 March 2009</th>
<th>Block Census Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For Semester 2 courses: 31 August 2009</td>
<td>Block 1: 16 January 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Block 2: 13 March 2009</td>
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<td>Block 3: 15 May 2009</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Block 4: 10 July 2009</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Block 5: 11 September 2009</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Block 6: 16 November 2009</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Students may withdraw from a course without academic penalty on or before the last day of term. Any withdrawal from a course after the last day of term will result in a fail grade. **Students cannot enrol in a new course after the second week of term,** except under exceptional circumstances. Any application to add a course after the second week of term must be on the appropriate form, and should be discussed with staff in the Student Hubs or with your Program Executive at PSB if you are a Singapore student.

**To check or change your enrolment online go to myHub:** [https://myhub.newcastle.edu.au](https://myhub.newcastle.edu.au)
STUDENT INFORMATION & CONTACTS

Various services are offered by the Student Support Unit:
www.newcastle.edu.au/service/studentsupport/

The Student Hubs are a one-stop shop for the delivery of student related services and are the first point of contact for students studying in Australia. Student Hubs are located at:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Callaghan Campus</th>
<th>Port Macquarie students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shortland Hub: Level 3, Shortland Building</td>
<td>contact your program officer or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter Hub: Level 2, Student Services Centre</td>
<td><a href="mailto:EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au">EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

City Precinct
City Hub & Information Common, University House

Central Coast Campus (Ourimbah)
Student Hub: Opposite the Main Cafeteria

Port Macquarie students
contact your program officer or
EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au
Phone 4921 5000

Singapore students
contact your PSB Program Executive

OTHER CONTACT INFORMATION

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<tr>
<th>Faculty Websites</th>
<th>General enquiries Callaghan, City and Port Macquarie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/business-law/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/business-law/</a></td>
<td>Phone: 02 4921 5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/education-arts/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/education-arts/</a></td>
<td>Email:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/engineering/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/engineering/</a></td>
<td><a href="mailto:EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au">EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/health/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/health/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/science-it/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/science-it/</a></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Rules Governing Undergraduate Academic Awards
www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html

Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic Awards

Rules Governing Professional Doctorate Awards
www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000580.html

General enquiries
Callaghan, City and Port Macquarie
Phone: 02 4921 5000
Phone: 02 4348 4030
Email:                      
EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au
Email:                      
EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au

Ourimbah
Phone: 02 4348 4123;
Fax: 02 4348 4145
Email:                      
resolutionprecinct@newcastle.edu.au
Email:                      
resolutionprecinct@newcastle.edu.au

Rules Governing Undergraduate Academic Awards
www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html

Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic Awards

Rules Governing Professional Doctorate Awards
www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000580.html

Studentmail and Blackboard: Refer - www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/

This course will not be altered after the second week of the term except under extenuating circumstances with Head of School approval. Students will be notified in advance of the change.

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End of CTS Entry
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Online Tutorial Registration:
Students are required to enrol in the Lecture and a specific Tutorial time for this course via the Online Registration system. Refer - http://studinfo1.newcastle.edu.au/rego/stud_choose_login.cfm

NB: Registrations close at the end of week 2 of semester.

Studentmail and Blackboard: Refer - www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/

This course uses Blackboard and studentmail to contact students, so you are advised to keep your email accounts within the quota to ensure you receive essential messages. To receive an expedited response to queries, post questions on the Blackboard discussion forum if there is one, or if emailing staff directly use the
course code in the subject line of your email. Students are advised to check their studentmail and the course Blackboard site on a weekly basis.

**Important Additional Information**

Details about the following topics are available on your course Blackboard site (where relevant). Refer - [www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/](http://www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/)

- Written Assignment Presentation and Submission Details
- Online copy submission to Turnitin
- Penalties for Late Assignments
- Special Circumstances
- No Assignment Re-submission
- Re-marks & Moderations
- Return of Assignments
- Preferred Referencing Style
- Student Representatives
- Student Communication
- Essential Online Information for Students
Lecture and Tutorial list

Lectures: Science Lecture Theatre (1.00-3.00pm)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Lecture date</th>
<th>Title of Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>5th March</td>
<td>Introduction to course Rome and its legions</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>No tutorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>12th March</td>
<td>Caesar’s life and career Caesar and the <em>Gallic Wars</em></td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>1. German invasion of Italy (ca 100 BC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>19th March</td>
<td><em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 1 <em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 2</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>2. Caesar’s early military career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>26th March</td>
<td><em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 3 <em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 4</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>3. Caesar on campaign in central Gaul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>2nd April</td>
<td>Sources on the Roman army The legion and its structure</td>
<td>HML</td>
<td>4. Nervii in 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>9th April</td>
<td><em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 5 <em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 6</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>5. <em>The Gallic Wars</em> - DVD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First paper (short essay) due Thursday 9th April (Week 6)

**FIRST SEMESTER RECESS - FRIDAY 10th April to FRIDAY 17th APRIL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Lecture date</th>
<th>Title of Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>23rd April</td>
<td>Recruitment Military careers and duties</td>
<td>HML</td>
<td>6. Caesar and the Veneti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>30th April</td>
<td><em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 7 <em>Gallic Wars</em> Book 8</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>7. Invasion of Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>7th May</td>
<td>Legionary pay and conditions Rewards and retirement</td>
<td>HML</td>
<td>8. Caesar’s ethnography: Gauls &amp; Germans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>14th May</td>
<td>POW’s, combatants and civilians Caesar’s civil war</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>9. Revolt of the Belgic Tribes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second paper (source-commentary) due Thursday 14th May (Week 10)
## Lecture and Tutorial list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>21st May</td>
<td>War and Imperialism</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>10. Siege warfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Caesar’s World and legacy</td>
<td>JB</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>28th May</td>
<td>Camps, forts, legionary bases</td>
<td>HML</td>
<td>11. Battle of Alesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social life: marriage, diet, etc.</td>
<td>HML</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>4th June</td>
<td>Developing a killing machine:</td>
<td>HML</td>
<td>12. The life of a Roman soldier</td>
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<td></td>
<td>From Marius to Augustus</td>
<td>HML</td>
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</tbody>
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### Summary of Assessment – see also under relevant weeks of tutorial programme:

1. **Short Essay** 20% (due Thursday, 9th April, in Week 6)
2. **Sources commentary** 30% (due Thursday 14th May, in Week 10)
3. **Major Essay** 50% (due Friday, 12th June)

**Note 1:** Hints on how to do assignments can be found in the booklet (see especially after Tutorials 6 and 10).

**Note 2:** Detailed topics and reading lists for all assignments will be provided during tutorials and will be handed out by the tutors well before each assignment is due.

**Note 3:** All books and articles cited as reading for tutorials are available in the Short Loans Section of the Library or online.

**Note 4:** Your completed first and second assignments should be handed to the tutor at the start of the relevant tutorial (in Weeks 6 and 10 respectively).

**Note 5:** Marked assignments (first and second) will be returned during tutorials (approximately two to three weeks after the due date).

**Note 6:** The major essay may be sent to any Hub by 5.00pm on the due date (12th June). Information about the return of the major essay will be posted on Blackboard.

Sites useful to Classics and Ancient History may be accessed via the Library: http://www.newcastle.edu.au/services/library/subject/classics/internet.html

See also the site specifically devoted to Roman military sources

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/Topics/Warfare/home.html

There are a host of other sites to be found on ancient armies and warfare.

**Jane Bellemore, course co-ordinator**
Read the following account:

Plutarch *Life of Marius* 11-27 (composed ca AD100)

11 … the [Roman] state felt the need of a great general and looked about for a helmsman whom she might employ to save her from so great a deluge of war. Then the people … proclaimed Marius consul … 2 … what reports about the Teutones and Cimbri … said about the numbers and strength of the invading hosts was disbelieved at first, but afterwards it was found to be short of the truth. For 300,000 armed fighting men were advancing, and much larger hordes of women and children were said to accompany them, in quest of land to support so vast a multitude, and of cities in which to settle and live… 3 … The most prevalent conjecture was that they were some of the German peoples which extended as far as the northern ocean, a conjecture based on their great stature, their light-blue eyes, and the fact that the Germans call robbers Cimbri. … 8 Their … courage and daring made them irresistible, and when they engaged in battle they came on with the swiftness and force of fire, so that no one could withstand their onset, but all who came in their way became their prey and booty, and even many large Roman armies, with their commanders, who had been stationed to protect Transalpine Gaul, were destroyed ingloriously…

13 Setting out on the expedition, he [Marius] laboured to perfect his army as it went along, practising the men in all kinds of running and in long marches, and compelling them to carry their own baggage and to prepare their own food. …

14 And now, as it would seem, a great piece of good fortune befell Marius. For the Barbarians … streamed first into Spain. This gave Marius time to exercise the bodies of his men, to raise their spirits to a sturdier courage, and, what was the most important of all, to let them find out what sort of a man he was. 2 For his sternness in the exercise of authority and his inflexibility in the infliction of punishment appeared to them, when they became accustomed to obedience and good behaviour, salutary as well as just, and they regarded the fierceness of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and that ferocity of his countenance which gradually became familiar, as fearful to their enemies rather than to themselves…

15 Learning that the enemy were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps, and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought together an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgment. … 4 The Barbarians divided themselves into two bands … but the Teutones and Ambrones … made their appearance … Their numbers were limitless, they were hideous in their aspect, and their speech and cries were unlike those of other peoples. They covered a large part of the plain, and after pitching their camp challenged Marius to battle.

16 Marius, however, paid no heed to them, but kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was … the object of their ambition … how they might ward off so great a cloud of the enemy and secure the safety of Italy. 2 … he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries, which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to make themselves acquainted with their equipment and movements, thus in the course of time rendering what was only apparently formidable familiar to their minds from observation … 3 And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness …

18 But the Teutones, since Marius kept quiet, attempted to take his camp by storm; many missiles, however, were hurled against them from the fortifications, and they lost some of their men. They therefore decided to march forward, expecting to cross the Alps without molestation. So they packed up their baggage and began to march past the camp of the Romans. Then, indeed, the immensity of their numbers was made especially evident by the length of their line and the time required for their passage; for it is said they were six days in passing the fortifications of Marius, although they moved continuously. … But when the Barbarians had passed by and were going on their way, Marius also broke camp and followed close upon them, always halting near by and at their very side, but strongly fortifying his camps and keeping strong positions in his front, so that he could pass the night in safety. 3 Thus the two armies went on until came to the place called Aaquae Sextiae, from which they had to march only a short distance and they would be in the Alps. For this reason, indeed, Marius made preparations to give battle here …

19 … the throng of camp-servants … went down in a body to the river, some taking hatchets, some axes, and some also swords and lances along with their water-jars, determined to get water even if they had to fight for it. With these only a
few of the enemy at first engaged, since the main body were taking their meal after bathing, and some were still bathing. For streams of warm water burst from the ground in this place, and at these the Romans surprised a number of the Barbarians, who were enjoying themselves and making merry in this wonderfully pleasant place. 2 Their cries brought more of the Barbarians to the spot, and Marius had difficulty in longer restraining his soldiers, since they had fears now for their servants. Besides, the most warlike division of the enemy, by whom at an earlier time the Romans under Manlius and Caepio had been defeated (they were called Ambrones and of themselves numbered more than 30,000), had sprung up from their meal and were running to get their arms. 3 However, though their bodies were surfeited and weighed down with food and their spirits excited and disordered with strong wine, they did not rush on in a disorderly or frantic course, nor raise an inarticulate battle-cry, but rhythmically clashing their arms and leaping to the sound they would frequently shout out all together their tribal name Ambrones... Then the Romans ... charging down from the heights upon the Barbarians overwhelmed and turned them back. 6 Most of the Ambrones were cut down there in the stream where they were all crowded together, and the river was filled with their blood and their dead bodies; the rest, after the Romans had crossed, did not dare to face about, and the Romans kept slaying them until they came in their flight to their camp and waggons. 7 Here the women met them, swords and axes in their hands, and with hideous shrieks of rage tried to drive back fugitives and pursuers alike, the fugitives as traitors, and the pursuers as foes; they mixed themselves up with the combatants, with bare hands tore away the shields of the Romans or grabbed their swords, and endured wounds and mutilations, their fierce spirits unvanquished to the end. So, then, as we are told, the battle at the river was brought on by accident rather than by the intention of the commander.

20 After destroying many of the Ambrones the Romans withdrew and night came on; but … the Barbarians made no attack either during that night or the following day, but spent the time in marshalling their forces and making preparations. 4 Meanwhile, since the position of the Barbarians was commanded by sloping glens and ravines that were shaded by trees, Marius sent Claudius Marcellus thither with 3,000 men-at-arms, under orders to lie concealed in ambush until the battle was on, and then to show themselves in the enemy’s rear. The rest of his soldiers, who had taken supper in good season and then got a night’s sleep, he led out at day-break and drew up in front of the camp, and sent out his cavalry into the plain. 5 The Teutones, seeing this, could not wait for the Romans to come down and fight with them on equal terms, but quickly and wrathfully armed themselves and charged up the hill. But Marius, sending his officers to all parts of the line, exhorted the soldiers to stand firmly in their lines, and when the enemy had got within reach to hurl their javelins, then take to their swords and crowd the Barbarians back with their shields; 6 for since the enemy were on precarious ground their blows would have no force and the locking of their shields no strength, but the unevenness of the ground would keep them turning and tossing about...

21 Accordingly, the Romans awaited the enemy's onset, then closed with them and checked their upward rush, and at last, crowding them back little by little, forced them into the plain. Here, while the Barbarians in front were at last forming in line on level ground, there was shouting and commotion in their rear. For Marcellus had watched his opportunity, and when the cries of battle were borne up over the hills he put his men upon the run and fell with loud shouts upon the enemy's rear, where he cut down the hindmost of them. 2 Those in the rear forced along those who were in front of them, and quickly plunged the whole army into confusion, and under this double attack they could not hold out long, but broke ranks and fled. The Romans pursued them and either slew or took alive over 100,000 of them, besides making themselves masters of the tents, waggons, and property... it is said that the people of Massalia fenced their vineyards round with the bones of the fallen, and that the soil, after the bodies had wasted away in it and the rains had fallen all winter upon it, grew so rich and became so full to its depths of the putrified matter that sank into it, that it produced an exceeding great harvest in after years...

24 ... [Marius] crossed the Po and tried to keep the Barbarians out of the part of Italy lying this side of the river. But the Barbarians declined battle, alleging that they were waiting for their brethren the Teutones and wondered why they were so long in coming; this was either because they were really ignorant of their destruction, or because they wished to have the appearance of disbeliefing it... Marius ordered the kings of the Teutones to be produced in fetters...

25 When these things had been reported to the Cimbri, they once more advanced against Marius, who kept quiet and carefully guarded his camp... And now Boeorix the king of the Cimbri, with a small retinue, rode up towards the camp and challenged Marius to set a day and a place and come out and fight for the ownership of the country. 3 Marius replied that the Romans never allowed their enemies to give them advice about fighting, but that he would nevertheless gratify the Cimbri in this matter. Accordingly, they decided that the day should be the third following, and the place the plain of Vercellae, which was suitable for the operations of the Roman cavalry, and would give the Cimbri room to deploy their numbers. 4 When, therefore, the appointed time had come, the Romans drew up their forces for battle. Catulus had 20,300 soldiers, while those of Marius amounted to 32,000, which were divided between both wings and had Catulus between them in the centre... As for the Cimbri, their foot-soldiers advanced slowly from their defences, with a depth equal to their front, for each side of their formation had an extent of ... [about 6 km]; 7 and their horsemen, 15,000 strong, rode out in splendid style, with helmets made to resemble the maws of frightful wild beasts or the heads of strange animals, which, with their towering crests of feathers, made their wearers appear taller than they really were; they were also equipped with breastplates of iron, and carried gleaming white shields. For hurling, each man had two lances; and at close quarters they used large, heavy swords.
26 ... 4 The Romans were favoured in the struggle ... by the heat, and by the sun, which shone in the faces of the Cimbri. For the Barbarians were well able to endure cold, and had been brought up in shady and chilly regions... They were therefore undone by the heat; they sweated profusely, breathed with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields before their faces. For the battle was fought ... three days before the new moon of ... August... 5 Moreover, the dust, by hiding the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For they could not see from afar the great numbers of the foe, but each one of them fell at a run upon the man just over against him, and fought him hand to hand, without having been terrified by the sight of the rest of the host. And their bodies were so inured to toil and so thoroughly trained that not a Roman was observed to sweat or pant, in spite of the great heat and the run with which they came to the encounter...

27 The greatest number and the best fighters of the enemy were cut to pieces on the spot; for to prevent their ranks from being broken, those who fought in front were bound fast to one another with long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives, however, were driven back to their entrenchments, where the Romans beheld a most tragic spectacle. 2 The women, in black garments, stood at the wagons and slew the fugitives — their husbands or brothers or fathers, then strangled their little children and cast them beneath the wheels of the wagons or the feet of the cattle, and then cut their own throats. It is said that one woman hung dangling from the tip of a wagon-pole, with her children tied to either ankle; 3 while the men, for lack of trees, fastened themselves by the neck to the horns of the cattle, or to their legs, then plied the goad, and were dragged or trampled to death as the cattle dashed away. Nevertheless, in spite of such self-destruction, more than 60,000 were taken prisoners; and those who fell were said to have been twice that number ... the entire success was attributed to Marius... Above all, the people hailed him as the third founder of Rome, that peril which he had averted from the city was not less than that of the Gallic invasion [390 BC]...


Questions:

1. What were the ‘Cimbri’ seeking? By what routes were they trying to enter Italy? Are the numbers given credible? How can these be tested?

2. Who was Gaius Marius?

3. Discuss the main battles? Were these easy victories for the Romans?

4. How are the Germans characterised? What are the possible reasons for Plutarch’s slant?

5. Did the Romans have reason to fear the Germans?

Modern Reading

Evans, R. J.  
_Gaius Marius: a political biography_, Pretoria, 1994 (937.05092 MARI-2 EVAN)
Tutorial 2 (Week 3)

Caesar’s early military career

Ancient sources

Velleius Paterculus 2.41-3 (trans F.W. Shipley, London, Cambridge (Ma), 1924)

Plutarch Caesar 1-12 (trans B. Perrin, London, Cambridge (Ma), 1918)

Suetonius (Life of Iulius) Caesar1-16 (trans J.C. Rolfe, London, Cambridge (Ma) 1913)
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Julius*.html

Read also the following extracts:

Appian Civil Wars (trans. H. White, London, Cambridge (Ma), 1913) 2.8: Caesar, who had been chosen praetor for Spain, was detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces5 in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction of public business, the administration of justice, and all matters of that kind because he considered them of no use to his purposes, but he raised an army and attacked the independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph.

Dio Cassius Roman History (trans E. Cary, London, Cambridge (Ma) 1914) 37.52: While these things were happening in the city, Caesar had obtained the government of Lusitania after his praetorship; and though he might without any great labour have cleared the land of brigandage, which probably always existed there, and then have kept quiet, he was unwilling to do so. He was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time or another had had great power, and his aspirations were anything but small; 2 in fact, he hoped, if he should at this time accomplish something, to be chosen consul immediately and to display mighty achievements. He was especially encouraged in this hope by the fact that while at Gades, when quaestor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should enjoy great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Hercules, he had groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as yet. 3 Accordingly, though he might have been at peace, as I have said, he proceeded to the Herminian Mountains and ordered the inhabitants to move into the plain, in order, as he claimed, that they might not use their fastnesses as a base for marauding expeditions, but really because well he knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should have some ground for war. 4 This was exactly what happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms, he overcame them. When some of their neighbours, fearing that he would march against them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Durius, he first occupied their cities, while they were thus engaged, and next joined battle with the men themselves. 5 They put their herds in front of them, with the intention of attacking the Romans when the latter should scatter to seize the cattle; but Caesar, neglecting the animals, attacked the men and conquered them.

53 Meanwhile he learned that the inhabitants of the Herminian Mountains had withdrawn and were intending to ambush him as he returned. So for the time being he withdrew by another road, but later marched against them and, being victorious, pursued them in flight to the ocean. 2 When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was, for his supply of boats was not large; but he put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a
part of his army, and lost a number of men. For the man in command of them landed at a breakwater near the island and disembarked the troops, thinking they could cross over on foot, when he was forced off by the returning tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. 3 All but one of them died bravely defending themselves; Publius Scaevius, the only one to survive, after losing his shield and receiving many wounds, leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. 4 Such was the result of that attempt; later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army, and reduced the people there without a blow, as they were hard pressed for want of food. Thence sailing along to Brigantium, a city of Callaecia, he alarmed the people, who had never before seen a fleet, by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them.

54 On accomplishing this he thought he had gained thereby a sufficient stepping-stone to the consulship and set out hastily for the elections even before his successor arrived.

All of these sources are available through Lacus Curtius, via translations in the Loeb Classical Library series: [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html)

**Questions:**

1. Find out some biographical material on each of the four sources listed above. What are their dates, and what genres of writing are they using? What bias might be present in each source?

2. What characteristics of Caesar does each source focus on?

3. How much military training had Caesar actually had prior to his consulship in 59BC (after which he went to Gaul)?

4. Was Caesar’s early military service important?

5. From the evidence of Caesar’s early military career, can we say whether he would perform effectively in a large command?

6. In Rome, what criteria fitted a man to be a general?

**Modern Reading**

Gelzer, M.  
*Caesar, Politician and Statesman*, Oxford, 1968 (937.05092 CAES-2 GELZ) 61-3

Goldsworthy, A.K.  

Goldsworthy, A.K.  
*Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200*, Oxford, 1996 (937.06 GOLD) 116-25

Harris, W.V.  
*War and imperialism*, Oxford, 1979, 9-41 (on-line resource)

Rosenstein, N.,  
‘War, failure, and aristocratic competition’, *Classical Philology* 85 (1990) 254-65
Tutorial 3 (Week 4)

*Caesar on campaign in central Gaul*

In this tutorial we shall focus on aspects of Caesar’s campaigns in the main against the Helvetians, but also against Ariovistus’ Germans. We will consider how Caesar reports the events in which he is a protagonist, and from this we may be able to comment on his credibility.

**The battles**

Romans v. Helvetii (Caesar *GW* 1.24-6)
- Who initiated battle? What tactical advantage was gained?
- What was Caesar’s battle plan? What about the Helvetii and their allies?
- Was it an easy victory for the Romans? Why did the battle take so long and why did so many Helvetians get away?

Romans v. Germans (*GW* 1.51-3)
- Who initiated battle? What tactical advantage was gained?
- What was Caesar’s battle plan? What about the Germans?
- Was it an easy victory for the Romans?
- Why did so few Germans get away? See Plutarch *Caesar* 19.

**The campaigns**

Romans v. Helvetii
- How does Caesar justify his ambush on the Helvetii prior to the start of hostilities (*GW* 1.11-14)?
- What other justification did he offer (*GW* 1.2, 1.10, 1.28, 1.30, 1.35)?
- Was the threat posed by the Helvetii balanced by their ‘body count’ (*GW* 1.29)? How did these people die? See, for example, Plutarch *Caesar* 18.
- Was Caesar’s action against the prisoners who tried to get away a second time justified (*GW* 1.28)?

**Caesar’s credibility**

How did Caesar’s forces manage to conquer those of the Helvetii, given his claims of a drawn-out battle and of the numerical superiority of the latter (e.g. 1.29)?

Is it possible that the Germans were leaving Gaul to escape the Roman onslaught, rather than had plans for conquest of Italy (*GW* 1.33)?

What elements of the two campaigns does Caesar promote, and what does he suppress?

How would you rate Caesar’s credibility?
Modern Reading


Goldsworthy, A.K. *Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200*, Oxford, 1996 (937.06 GOLD)


Ramage, E.S. ‘The *bellum iustum* in Caesar’s *de Bello Gallico*’, *Athenaeum* 89 (2001), esp. 149-54

Riggsby, A.M. *Caesar in Gaul and Rome*, Austin, 2006 (937.05092 CAES-2 RIGG)

Tutorial 4 (Week 5)

Caesar and the Nervii in 57

In this tutorial we shall examine Caesar as a general further, as detailed in Book Two of the Gallic Wars. We shall focus in the main on Caesar's interaction with the Nervii. As part of this examination, we shall consider his depictions of the enemy, his own soldiers and of the troops allied with him. This will allow us to comment on some aspects of his narrative: his attitudes to the enemy, to fighting, and his credibility.

Consider the following questions:

1. From GW 2.1, can we say whether Caesar had long-term military ambitions in Gaul? Why does he repeat such claims in his account? Note GW 2.35

2. Does Caesar give the Belgae any opportunity to seek peace (2.2-5)?

3. What is Caesar’s attitude to the Nervii (2.15, 19, 21, 27, 28)?

4. How does he portray his own actions (2.17, 19, 20-2, 25-6)?

5. How do his legionaries perform (2.20-1)?

6. How does Caesar report the activities of his light-armed sections and of his cavalry (2.19, 23-4, 26, 27)?

7. How does Caesar treat his various enemies (2.5, 2.11, 2.13-5, 2.28)?

   Note the huge number of the Nervii still around just three years later reported in GW 5.38-48; 2.30-3

What is your overall assessment of Caesar as a general and as a reporter of his campaigns? Have literary considerations played any part in his account?
Modern Reading

Bell, B.M. ‘The contribution of Julius Caesar to the vocabulary of ethnography’, *Latomus* 54 (1995) 753-67


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*Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200*, Oxford, 1996 (937.06 GOLD)

King, A. *Roman Gaul and Germany*, Berkeley, 1990 (936.4 KING)


In this tutorial we will watch part of a DVD that covers Caesar’s campaigns, as depicted in Books One and Two of the *Gallic Wars*.

To prepare for this tutorial, consider again the Roman campaigns against the Helvetii and the Nervii, as described in Books One and Two.

*Modern Reading*

Week Six - First Assessment

Short Paper – Essay (1000 words)
Topics will be handed out during tutorials

Paper due in your tutorial time on Thursday 9th April

This paper is worth up to 20% of the semester’s marks

Base your answer on a close reading and interpretation of the text of Caesar’s *Gallic Wars*.

Notes for students:

This exercise requires you to focus in depth on the work of Caesar as you undertake the rudiments of research, and to practice composing an essay in a style appropriate for Ancient History. You will need these skills later in the semester for the major essay.

Your paper should be presented in essay-form, comprising the three general areas:

1. An examination of the problem inherent in the question, and notice of the precise topic/s you will examine in the essay and why you consider that this will throw light on the problem (introduction and methodology);

2. A mustering of the evidence under the topics you have outlined (the evidence and argument). An analysis of the evidence is required rather than simply a narrative of events, although some **limited** narrative may be required for the material to make sense – remember that the marker will know the story; and

3. A conclusion based upon the evidence that will specifically address the question under examination.

Focus on the text and its context. You need not cite outside reading for this exercise, but the suggested reading may help you form your ideas and should be referenced if you use it.

In research work in Ancient History, it is common practice to base your main discussion on the ancient evidence and to cite such works **in the body of your essay**: e.g. This point is illustrated by the speech by Ariovistus (Caesar *Gallic Wars* 1.44, or abbreviated as Caes. *GW* 1.44). Footnotes
should not contain a single reference to the text of Caesar, although they might be used for multiple references to ancient sources. Footnotes may contain a reference to a modern author, if you have noted the idea of that author in the body of your work, or they may even present the idea of a modern author relating to the point you are making in your work based on the ancient sources, if that idea is relevant to your argument or you wish to refute it. If you make any point based on an ancient source, you **must** provide an explicit reference for this, and similarly with modern authors. Try not to quote passages from the modern sources as a substitute for your own argument, but if you do quote, say whether or not you agree with the author and why. Direct quotes do not count in the word tally, but these must be clearly indicated by inverted commas, or with indents, as follows.

> The primary purpose of any army is to defeat the enemy in battle. This is true, even if few of its soldiers ever experience battle directly.¹

In terms of the mechanics of footnotes, you may give full or abbreviated details, for example, citing a modern author by name and page number (Pelling, 741), but in the latter case make sure that you give full details of the author and work in your bibliography.

Do not forget to include a separate **bibliography** containing details about the text of Caesar that you are using (e.g. name of translator) and of any commentaries or books that you have read for the purposes of this task, even if not cited in your notes. Separate your bibliography into ‘Ancient’ and ‘Modern’ sections. Italicise the titles of books or journals.

Footnotes, Bibliography and Appendices are not counted in word tally.

Although Caesar is the only contemporary source for the events he describes, do not be afraid of criticising his ideas, since he was not an impartial observer of the events. On the other hand, you must supply good reasons for dismissing or ignoring his account (e.g. if he contradicts himself; represents the thoughts of other people, etc.)

Tutorial 6 (Week 7)

Caesar and the Veneti

In this tutorial we shall examine how the Romans coped with naval warfare, although this was not their preferred fighting milieu (e.g. GW 3.9). We will examine two episodes recounted by Caesar: the first, his conquest of the Veneti (GW 3.7-16); the second, his ‘amphibious’ landing in Britain (4.20-6). The Veneti were a maritime tribe inhabiting the lower reaches of the Loire River in Brittany, in settlements facing onto the Bay of Biscay, part of the Atlantic coast. Caesar undertook the first campaign in 56, and the second, to Britain, at the end of 55. It is possible that the campaigns were linked, since Caesar alleged that the Veneti had influence in Britain (3.7, 4.20).

Consider the following questions:

1. How does Caesar justify his attack on the Veneti (GW 3.7-8, 9, 10, 16)?
2. What special difficulties did Caesar face in capturing the strongholds of the Veneti (GW 3.9, 12)?
3. How did Caesar prepare for this campaign? (GW 3.11, 14)?
4. Did Caesar overcome the Veneti by his tactical skill or good luck (GW 3.15-6)?
5. What effect did Caesar’s severe punishment of the Veneti cause (GW 7.75)?
6. How effective was Caesar’s reconnaissance of the British coastline described in GW 4.21, 23?
7. What manoeuvres did Caesar’s troops have to undertake to gain a foothold in Britain; see GW 4.24-6)?

Does Caesar reveal the versatility of his leadership through these campaigns?

Was Caesar constructing a rod for the Romans’ back by attacking tribes further and further from the Roman province?

Was Caesar, in 56, concealing his real target, the Britons, or were the Veneti a genuine challenge or threat?
**Modern Reading**


Hawkes C.  ‘Britain and Julius Caesar’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 63 (1977) 125-85


Tutorial 7 (Week 8)

Caesar’s Invasion of Britain

Read closely Caesar’s description of his two invasions of Britain, in 55 and 54 B.C., given in *Gallic Wars* 4.20-37 and 5.1-23.

Why did Caesar undertake these campaigns?

Were these campaigns excessively risky? What about Gaul in his absence? Note the troubled circumstances in Gaul after his return in 54 (5.24 ff.)

What did Caesar achieve by his forays into Britain? Did Caesar feel defensive about his actions at this time (e.g. 5.22, 6.1)?

What do these campaigns reveal about Caesar’s organisational ability?

Modern Reading:

Dando-Collins, S. Caesar’s legion, New Jersey, 2002, 30-49

Ellis, P.B. *Caesar's invasion of Britain*, London, 1978 (936.2031)


Salway, P. *The Oxford illustrated history of Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1993 (936.2 SALW)

Salway, P. *Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981 (936.104 SALW)

Wacher, J. *The coming of Rome*, London, 1979 (936.1044)

Webster, G. *The Roman invasion of Britain*, London, 1980 (936.204 WEBS)
Tutorial 8 (Week 9)

Caesar’s ethnography: Gauls and Germans

In Book Six, Caesar gives a description of the culture and lifestyle of the Gauls (6.11-20) and Germans (6.21-8), and he outlines various aspects of their countries.

Questions:

In what way does Caesar consider that his coming to Gaul altered the balance of power in the region?
How does Caesar characterise Gallic society? Note the role of druids.
What does Caesar say about Gallic religion and family life?

What does Caesar say about German religion and family life?
How does Caesar characterise German culture?
What does Caesar say about the topography and fauna of the country?

What is the purpose of Caesar’s excursus?
How would you rate his credibility?

Modern Reading:

Goldsworthy, A.K. Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200, Oxford, 1996, 39-60 (937.06)
Riggsby, A.M. Caesar in Gaul and Rome: war in words, Texas, 2006, 47-71 (937.05092 CAES-2 RIGG)

See also (for background only)
Tutorial 9 (Week 10)

Revolt of the Belgic Tribes

Caesar describes the revolt of the Belgae during the winter of 54/53BC and the subsequent ‘mopping up’ campaigns of summer 53 in *Gallic Wars* 5.24-58 and 6.1-10, 29-44.

Consider first the episode outlined in *GW* 5.24-38.
What are the main features of Caesar’s account?
How does Caesar present the main actors?
How could he have obtained such detailed knowledge of the events, or did he simply ‘flesh out’ a basic outline?
How much faith should we place in such material?

Consider the leadership of Caesar (*GW* 5.46-52, 6.3-6). Was he effective?
How important was the pursuit of Ambiorix (*GW* 6.29-31, 33-4, 43-4)?
Why did Caesar build a bridge across the Rhine (*GW* 6.9-10, 29)?
Did Caesar make a mistake in offering up the territory of the Eburones to plundering and almost inviting the Germans against his own men (*GW* 6.35-41)?

Does Caesar attempt to place the impetus for the Belgic revolt in the period after the death of Sabinus and Cotta, not before (*GW* 5.53-4; cf. 5.25-8, 38-9, 55-6, 6.1-2)?

Was Caesar correct to blame the incompetence of his legates for the losses (*GW* 5.52, 6.42)?
Modern Sources:


Cunliffe, B. *Greeks, Romans and barbarians: spheres of interaction*, London, 1988 (937 CUNL)


Goldsworthy, A.K. *Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200*, Oxford, 1996 (937.06)


Tutorial 10 (Week 11)

Siege Warfare

Let us consider three successful Romans sieges described by Caesar in Book Seven: that of Vellaunudunum (7.11), Cenabum (7.11) and Avaricum (7.15-28, 32).

Note that Caesar was unsuccessful at Gergovia (7.36-53).

Vellaunudunum, Cenabum:
How did Caesar manage to force the people of Vellaunudunum to surrender so quickly? Why was he so lenient towards the them?
How did Caesar take Cenabum so easily? What do you think happened to the townsfolk?
What do these two episodes reveals about Roman siege craft?

Avaricum
What role did Vercingetorix play at Avaricum?
What details of Roman siege warfare does Caesar reveal?
Why does he praise the Gauls for their efforts in countering the Romans?
What happened to the 10,000 men mentioned in 7.21?
Why did the Romans take such vengeance on the inhabitants of the town (7.28)

What was Caesar’s usual practice in dealing with enemy towns?
What was Caesar’s strategy in this period?
How does Caesar portray his leadership?

Modern Reading

Goldsworthy, A.K.  Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200, Oxford, 1996 (937.06 GOLD)
Harris, W.V.  War and imperialism, Oxford, 1979 (on-line resource)

See also

Second Assessment – due Week 10

Commentary/Sources Test (Two passages, 500 words each = 1000 words total)

Due Thursday 14th May, during tutorial time

This paper is worth up to 30% of the semester's marks (each commentary @ 15%)

How to deal with a source-examination exercise

Do not write an essay but focus on content and source criticism. There should be reliance placed on the ancient sources, not on modern interpretations.

Divide your work under three headings. The following is an exemplar to help you deal with commentary-style answers, but there is no set response, and you should let the nature of the extract guide you.

‘… the Nervian envoys declared that they had been reduced from 600 senators to three, from 60,000 men capable of active service to a mere 500. Caesar was eager to preserve their safety and to be seen to exercise clemency towards the wretched people who were pleading with him. He ordered them to confine themselves to their own territories and towns, and commanded their neighbours to refrain from doing the Nervii and their people harm or injury.’

[Caesar Gallic Wars 2.28]

1) **Set the piece of evidence given within a context**, both the immediate and the broader context. Often this will include a specific reference to the episode and general story-line of a particular work, and you should cite dating or geographical details if possible:

After the ‘Battle of the Sambre’ in 57 BC (2.19-28), Caesar boasts indirectly of his annihilation of the once powerful Nervii (2.16), and he demonstrates his dominance by ordering the neighbours of the Nervii not to attack them (2.28). Because of victories over the Belgae (including the Nervii), Caesar claimed to have pacified the whole of Gaul in 57, an achievement trumpeted at Rome (2.35; 3.7).

2) **Discuss the problems or issues raised by the extract**, citing where possible other evidence to substantiate or contradict the extract:

Over winter 54/3 the Nervii launched an attack on one of Caesar’s legions in camp in their territory (5.24). Caesar indicates that the Nervii alone could easily have wiped out the legion, had the 5,000 or so Romans left their camp (5.38), and he adds that the Nervii held sway over many of the tribes involved in the attack (5.39). He goes on to describe the difficulties that his legion had in fending off the combined force of Nervii, Aduatuci and Eburones (5.39-48), and he stresses the size of the attacking host (5.42), which he later notes was over 60,000 armed men (5.49).

Caesar’s evidence is contradictory for the numbers and influence of the Nervii, whom he claims to have wiped out in 57, yet who later were powerful and numerous enough to lead and sustain an attack on a legionary camp, and then to organise to confront Caesar’s
opposing force in 54/3. Even after they lost to the Romans on this occasion, Caesar says that the Nervii sent a force of 5,000 to Alesia in 52 (7.75).

3) **Resolve the problem/s.** Explain what the author intended by his comments, or what is the historical impact of the information given in the extract. Is the information correct and how are we to understand it?

Caesar was possibly deceived by the Nervian elders who claimed that only 600 of their fighting men had survived the ‘Sambre’, but it seems more likely that Caesar himself inflated the figures of the enemy, not just of the dead at the ‘Sambre’, but also on many other occasions. In parallel, we should note that the Aduatuci had allegedly also been extirpated by the Romans, with 53,000 sold into slavery in 57 (2.33), yet Caesar claims that the combined fighting force of Nervii and Aduatuci (with small numbers of Eburones) numbered over 60,000 (5.49), even after a large number of them had been killed (5.41). This number is not only incredibly large (and coincidentally 60,000, as at the ‘Sambre’), but it is also inconsistent with the narrative. Caesar describes how the Nervii, for nearly two weeks, attacked his one legion, which he remarks had been reduced to only a handful of defenders (5.45), yet they could not kill the remaining men nor capture the camp. Caesar also states that, when he confronted this enemy force, his 7,000 legionaries relatively easily defeated it (5.49-51). The number of the Nervii was relatively small but more than 600.

Caesar has exaggerated the numbers of the enemy and their losses. This served to add tension to his account, since it made the Romans the ‘underdogs’ and magnified his victories. This ‘flexible’ feature of Caesar’s reporting seems to have gone unnoticed in antiquity because the record of each year was published separately, and this made it difficult to compare the numbers given in different years. Whatever the understanding of the anomaly, Caesar’s figures for the enemy are not to be trusted.
Tutorial 11 (Week 12)

Battle of Alesia

In this tutorial, we shall be examine Caesar’s evidence and then consider a depiction of this battle on DVD.

This tutorial is based on Caesar’s description of the Gallic uprising of 52 BC, given in Gallic Wars Book 7, and we shall focus on the famous battle of Alesia (GW 7.68 ff.).

What successes did Caesar enjoy during this period, and what military blunders did he make?

Why did Caesar win a victory at Alesia when he was allegedly so outnumbered (GW 7.68-89)?

Was Vercingetorix a worthy opponent for Caesar?

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Fuller, J. F. C.  

Gelzer, M.  
Caesar, Politician and Statesman, Oxford, 1968 (937.05092 CAES-2 GELZ)

Goldsworthy, A.K.  

Goldsworthy, A.K.  
Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200, Oxford, 1996 (937.06 GOLD)

Kagan, K.  
Eye of command, Ann Arbor, 2006, 136-48 (355.48 KAGA)
Consider the mutiny depicted by Caesar in GW 1.39-41. See also GW 7.17.

Also read the following material from Plutarch, ‘Life of Marius’ (some of which was given above), as he describes Marius’ treatment of his soldiers at the time of the Cimbric invasion:

13 Setting out on the expedition, he [Marius] laboured to perfect his army as it went along, practising the men in all kinds of running and in long marches, and compelling them to carry their own baggage and to prepare their own food. Hence, in after times, men who were fond of toil and did whatever was enjoined upon them contentedly and without a murmur, were called Marian mules. …

14 … the Barbarians … streamed first into Spain. This gave Marius time to exercise the bodies of his men, to raise their spirits to a sturdier courage, and, what was the most important of all, to let them find out what sort of a man he was. 2 For his sternness in the exercise of authority and his inflexibility in the infliction of punishment appeared to them, when they became accustomed to obedience and good behaviour, salutary as well as just, and they regarded the fierceness of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and that ferocity of his countenance which gradually became familiar, as fearful to their enemies rather than to themselves. 3 But it was above all things the uprightness of his judicial decisions that pleased the soldiers; and of this the following illustration is given.

Caius Lusius, a nephew of his, had a command under him in the army. In other respects he was a man of good reputation, but he had a weakness for beautiful youths. This officer was enamoured of one of the young men who served under him, by name Trebonius, and had on made unsuccessful attempts to seduce him. 4 But finally, at night, he sent a servant with a summons for Trebonius. The young man came, since he could not refuse to obey a summons, but when he had been introduced into the tent and Caius attempted violence upon him, he drew his sword and slew him. Marius was not with the army when this happened; but on his return he brought Trebonius to trial. 5 Here there were many accusers, but not a single advocate, wherefore Trebonius himself courageously took the stand and told all about the matter, bringing witnesses to show that he had often refused the solicitations of Lusius and that in spite of large offers he had never prostituted himself to anyone. Then Marius, filled with delight and admiration, ordered the customary crown for brave exploits to be brought, and with his own hands placed it on the head of Trebonius, declaring that at a time which called for noble examples he had displayed the most noble conduct.

15 Learning that the enemy were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps, and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought together an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgment. 2 The conveyance of what was needful for his army, which had previously been a long and costly process where it was by sea, he rendered easy and speedy. That is, the mouths of the Rhone, encountering the sea, took up great quantities of mud and sand packed close with clay by the action of the billows, and made the entrance of the river difficult, laborious, and slow for vessels carrying supplies. 3 So Marius brought his army to the place, since the men had nothing else to do, and ran a great canal. Into this he diverted a great part of the river and brought it round to a suitable place on the coast, a deep bay where large ships could float, and where the water could flow out smoothly and without waves to the sea. This canal, indeed, still bears the name of Marius…

16 Marius, however, … kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was not, he said, triumphs or trophies that should now be the object of their ambition, but how they might ward off so great a cloud and thunder-bolt of war and secure the safety of Italy. 2 This was his language in private to his officers and equals; but he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries, which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to make themselves acquainted with their equipment and movements, thus in the course of time rendering what was only apparently formidable familiar to their minds from observation. For he considered that their novelty falsely imparts to terrifying objects many qualities which they do not possess, but that with familiarity even those things which are really dreadful lose their power to affright. 3 And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness, so that indignant speeches of his soldiers reached the ears of Marius. 4 “What cowardice, pray, has Marius discovered in us that he keeps out of battle like women under lock and key? Come, let us act like freemen and ask him if he is waiting for other soldiers to fight in defence of Italy, and will use us as workmen all the time, whenever there is need of digging ditches and clearing out mud and diverting a river or two. 5 For it was to this end, as it would seem, that he exercised us in those many toils, and these are the achievements of his consulships which he will exhibit.
to his fellow-citizens on his return to Rome. Or does he fear the fate of Carbo and Caepio, whom the enemy defeated? But they were far behind Marius in reputation and excellence, and led an army that was far inferior to his. Surely it is better to do something, even if we perish as they did, rather than to sit here and enjoy the spectacle of our allies being plundered.”

17 Marius was delighted to hear of such expressions, and tried to calm the soldiers down by telling them that he did not distrust them, but in consequence of certain oracles was awaiting a fit time and place for his victory. And indeed he used to carry about ceremoniously in a litter a certain Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy, and he would make sacrifices at her bidding. ... As a general thing she was carried along with the army in a litter, but she attended the sacrifices clothed in a double purple robe that was fastened with a clasp, and carrying a spear that was wreathed with fillets and chaplets. 3 Such a performance as this caused many to doubt whether Marius, in exhibiting the woman, really believed in her, or was pretending to do so and merely acted a part with her. The affair of the vultures … is certainly wonderful. Two vultures were always seen hovering about the armies of Marius before their victories, and accompanied them on their journeys, being recognized by bronze rings on their necks; for the soldiers had caught them, put these rings on, and let them go again; and after this, on recognizing the birds, the soldiers greeted them, and they were glad to see them when they set out upon a march, feeling sure in such cases that they would be successful...

18 … when the Barbarians had passed by and were going on their way, Marius also broke camp and followed close upon them, always halting near by and at their very side, but strongly fortifying his camps and keeping strong positions in his front, so that he could pass the night in safety. 3 Thus the two armies went on until came to the place called Aquae Sextiae, from which they had to march only a short distance and they would be in the Alps. For this reason, indeed, Marius made preparations to give battle here, and he occupied for his camp a position that was strong, but poorly supplied with water, wishing, as they say, by this circumstance also to incite his soldiers to fight. 4 At any rate, when many of them were dissatisfied and said they would be thirsty there, he pointed to a river that ran near the barbarian fortifications, and told them they could get water there, but the price of it was blood. “Why, then,” they said, “dost thou not lead at once against the enemy, while our blood is still moist?” To which Marius calmly replied: “We must first make our camp strong.”

Compare Caesar and Marius in their approaches to leadership. What aspects were similar and what different?

In what ways might Roman generals spur on their men?
Did Roman legionaries serve willingly? What did they not like about military service?

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Goldsworthy, A.K. Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200, Oxford, 1996 (937.06 GOLD)
------------- The complete Roman army, London, 2003 (355.00937 GOLD)
Harris, W.V. War and imperialism, Oxford, 1979 (on-line book)