

## WARFARE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Warfare was a recurrent phenomenon of fundamental importance throughout Roman history. Its scale and form varied across time and place, but it had wide-ranging impacts on politics, society and economy. This book focuses on important themes in the interplay between warfare and these broader contexts, including attitudes to war and peace, the values associated with military service, the role of material resources, military mutiny and civil war, and social and cultural aspects of the military. It also examines experiences of warfare, focusing on approaches to Roman battle and the impact of war on civilians. Importantly and distinctively, these different themes are traced across a millennium of Roman history from the Republic through to the end of Late Antiquity in the early seventh century, with a view to highlighting important continuities and changes across Roman history, and alerting readers to valuable but often less familiar material from the empire's final centuries.

DOUG LEE is a Professor of Ancient History in the Department of Classics and Archaeology at the University of Nottingham. Previous books include *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1993) and *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007).

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A. D. LEE

*University of Nottingham*



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*For my family*

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## *Abbreviations*

References to ancient sources generally follow abbreviations in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* or (for late Roman sources) the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*.

Other abbreviations (e.g., journals) follow those in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* or the *Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*.

## *Preface*

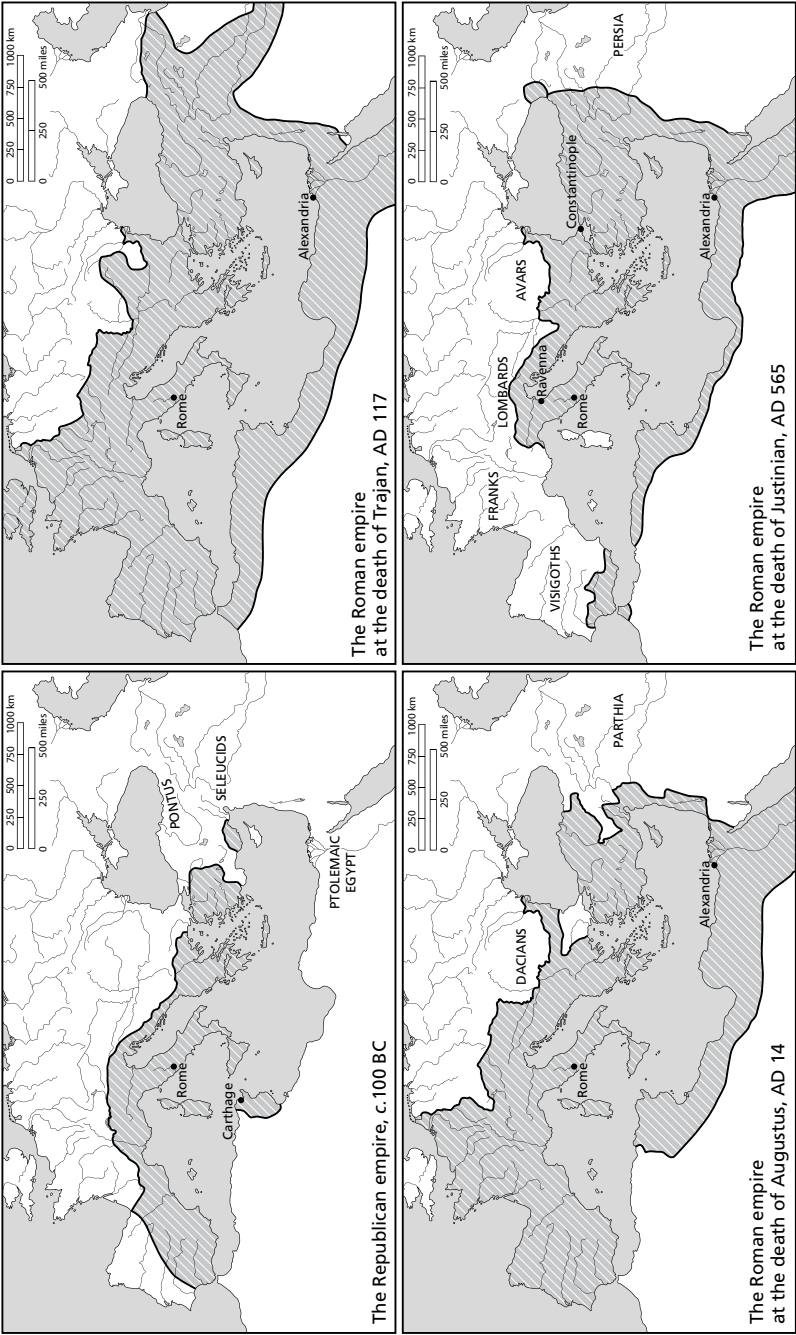
There is no shortage of books on Roman warfare and the Roman army, so the production of yet another warrants explanation. This volume differs from many existing publications in this field in a number of respects. First, it is primarily a social history of warfare in the Roman world – in other words, it is less concerned with the operational details of wars and battles (although these do receive some attention, especially in the final chapter), and more interested in the relationship between military affairs and other areas of Roman life, whether that be politics, the economy, society or religion. This broader focus reflects the series remit, but also arises from a concern to contribute to the ongoing integration of Roman military history into Roman historical studies more broadly. Because of this focus, the approach is a thematic one, although the Introduction includes a narrative overview of major Roman wars and an outline of the organisational evolution of Roman military forces, for purposes of orientation. Secondly, the chronological range of this volume is broader than that of many previous studies, which have tended to focus on the Republic and Principate, with the occasional nod towards developments in the early years of Late Antiquity. This volume aims to give due attention to all three of these main periods, with Late Antiquity defined as the period from the mid-third century to the early seventh century. This is partly due to personal interest – my own primary area of expertise is Late Antiquity – but it is also the case that inclusion of a late antique perspective on the themes considered in this volume has the potential to offer novel insights into familiar issues, particularly given the rich but often less well-known material available from that period.

Pursuing this subject across a millennium of history – from the mid-fourth century BC to the early seventh century AD – is ambitious, particularly within the constraints of this particular series, whose volumes are rather shorter than a typical monograph. This has forced me to be selective in the themes considered and in the depth of treatment, but

I hope to have struck an appropriate balance, while also providing sufficient guidance to further reading. I have tried to take account of relevant recent literature, but given the time periods and range of subjects covered, I am bound to have overlooked some items. I particularly regret not having been able to take account of Simon James' new book on Dura-Europos.

My thanks to Peter Garnsey, Paul Cartledge and Michael Sharp for inviting me to contribute to this series, for their exemplary patience in waiting for me to deliver and for their comments on the text. Much of the work for this book was undertaken during an extended period of leave granted by the University of Nottingham in 2013–14, with support from the Dean's Fund, and then a further semester's leave in 2016–17, for which I thank the University, as also the School of Humanities for help with the costs of indexing. John Rich kindly gave very detailed feedback on earlier drafts of the first four chapters, correcting various misconceptions about aspects of Republican and Augustan history, and offering valuable suggestions for improvement, for all of which I am greatly indebted to him. More recently, Philip Rance and Greg Woolf read a complete draft and provided very helpful comment on a range matters, for which I am most grateful to both. For help with specific queries, my thanks to Kate Gilliver, Emily Kneebone, Simon Malloch, Conor Whately and George Woudhuysen; I am grateful to Wayne Boucher, Hal Churchman, Daria Lanzuolo, Berna Polat and Thomas Zühmer for assistance with images, as also to Philippa Jevons for her production of the index, to Barbara Wilson for the copy-editing, and to Sarah Starkey and Ishwarya Mathavan for overseeing production of the book. My thinking on a number of subjects that feature in this book has been stimulated by questions and comments from MA students at Nottingham in ancient warfare modules in which I have been involved over a number of years. Recent PhD students have also benefited my work on aspects of this book through our discussions of their research, so it is a pleasure to acknowledge Stuart McCunn, Nikki Rollason, Robert Stone, Rebecca Usherwood and Michael Wuk.

The members of my family have taken a patient and encouraging interest in the completion of this book. In the period since my previous book, the family has expanded significantly as our three children have married and in some cases added a new generation, enriching our life together in so many ways. So my thanks and love go to James, Sarah and Madison, Phil, Becs and Sebastian, and Naomi and Tom – and, as always, to my wife Anna, for her love, forbearance and common sense. This book is dedicated to them all.



Map 1 The expansion and contraction of the Roman empire

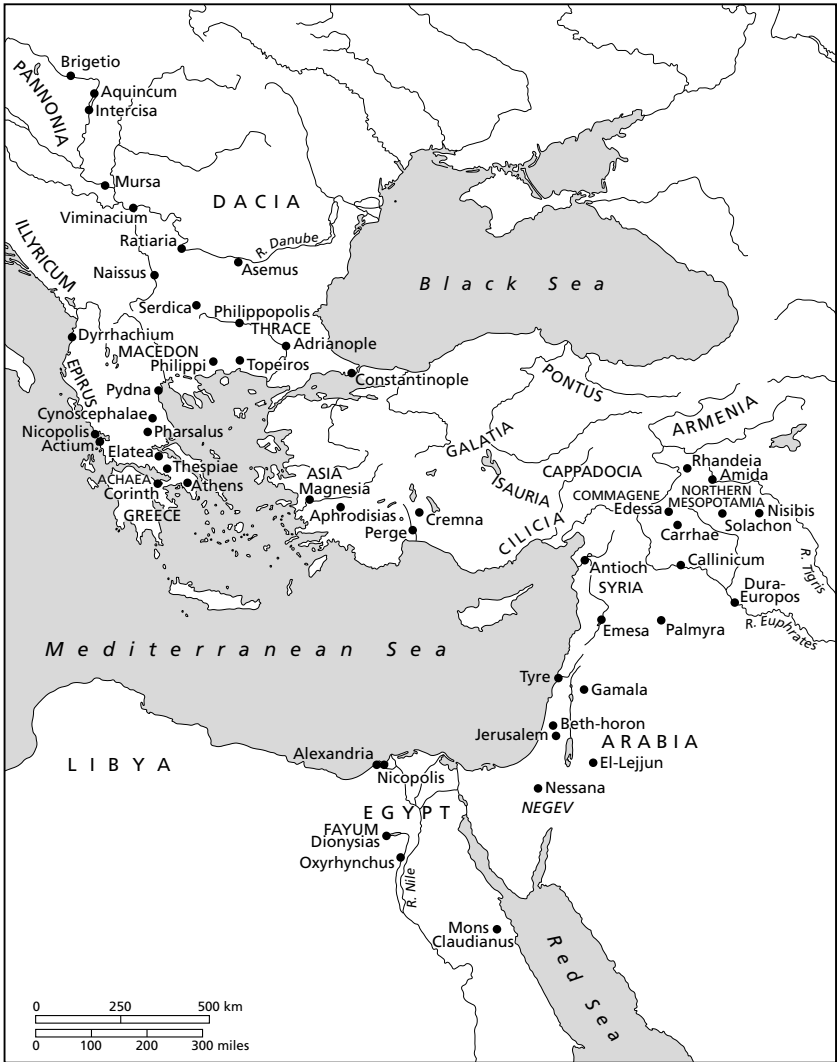


Map 2 Roman Italy

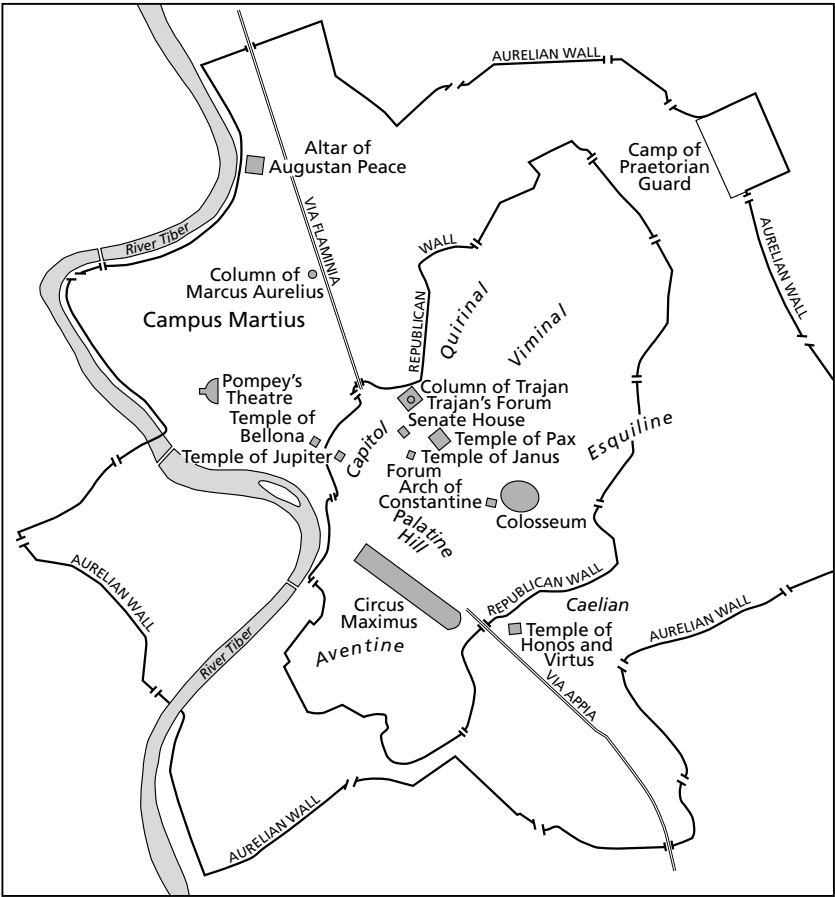


Map 3 The Roman west





Map 4 The Roman east



Map 5 The city of Rome