

Index

Page numbers in italics indicate figures.

```
Abinnaeus, archive of, 28, 121, 127
                                                     Aphrodisias, 126-7
Actium, battle of, 44, 111
                                                     Appian, 148, 165
administration, 146-9
                                                     Arabs
Adrianople, battle of, 12, 24, 47, 50-1
                                                        as allies, 20
adventus, 43
                                                        enslavement of Malchus by, 175
Africa
                                                        Islamic conquests, 14, 37, 179n2
  economic importance, 87-8
                                                     Arausio, battle of, 46, 48
                                                     Arbogast, 13, 110
  mutinies in, 102-3
  nomadic raiders, 175
                                                     Arcadius, 45, 146
  recruitment in, 122-3
                                                     Arch of Constantine, 45, 167
  soldiers' 'wives', 124
                                                     archaeological evidence, 29
  worship of local deities, 131
                                                        for impact of Gothic War, 177
  see also Bu Njem; Egypt; Numidia; Vandals
                                                        for military diet, 143-5
age of soldiers, 71n5, 71
aggression and bloodshed in Roman culture, 159
                                                        Neupotz plunder finds, 175-6
                                                        for Republican land-holding patterns,
Agrippina the Elder, 69
alae, 16, 18
                                                        for sacking of cities, 169-70
Alaric the Goth, 13, 39
                                                        for women and children in military bases,
Alesia, siege of, 79, 167
                                                          124, 143
Allectus, 110
                                                     archers, 19, 19, 137-8, 157
Allia, battle of the, 46-7
                                                        Syrian auxiliaries' religious practices, 145
allies
                                                     Arian heterodoxy, 37, 50, 103
  foederati, 19
                                                     Armenia
  Italian (socii), 15–16, 54n4, 141–2
                                                        armies of Justinian, 19
Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, 55
                                                        campaign of Paetus, 48
Amida, siege of, 158, 167, 169-70
                                                        campaign of Severianus, 49
Ammianus Marcellinus, 24, 50, 68, 90, 158, 167
                                                        as recruiting ground, 58
Anastasius (emperor), 13, 45, 79, 110, 112n72
                                                        troops under Tigranes, 135
Anatolia
  defeat of Antiochus III, 7
                                                        cross-cultural influences, 135, 138
  Gothic raids on, 175
                                                        evidence about, 29, 155, 157
  military-civilian relations, 125-7
                                                        self-provision, 80
  recruitment from, 58-9, 123
                                                     Asia (province), 87, 127
  see also Asia; Isauria
                                                     assidui, 55–6, 71
andreia see courage
                                                     Athens, capture by Sulla, 169, 170n57
Antiochus III, 7, 84
                                                     Attila, 13
Antiochus IV, 135
                                                     auctoritas, 91-2
                                                     Augsburg, 44
Augustine of Hippo, 40, 50
Antony, Mark, 8, 56, 107, 108n57
  battle of Forum Gallorum, 162-5
```



Augustus (Octavian before 27 BC), 8–9, 179	Britain
battle of Philippi, 93, 111	cavalry troops in, 137, 145
and concept of peace, 37–8	conquest of, 9
military funding, 81	food supplies, 144
and military identity, 114–15	meat consumption, 145
and military record-keeping, 148	rebellion in, 11
military reorganisation, 17, 77, 101, 142	religion of troops in, 130, 145
oaths of loyalty to, 98	Brunt, Peter, 76, 176
opponents' defeated legions, 111	Brutus, Decimus, 162
and Parthians, 10	Bu Njem, 28, 131, 143, 147, 152
recruitment of non-citizens, 56	bucellarii, 20
reduction of mutinies, 104	Byzantine Empire, 14
rejection of commilito persona, 96	byzantine Empire, 14
	Caesar C Julius & 62n27
and religious calendar, 128–9	Caesar, C. Julius, 8, 63n37 civil war tactics, 106
and restriction of triumphs, 34–5, 43 siege of Perusia, 168	and cult of Victoria, 41
· .	as the
supplicationes, 42	Gallic campaigns, 8, 179
and Varian disaster, 48, 60	invasion of Italy, 93, 107
and victory ideology, 41, 44	military writings, 22–3, 98n25, 167
war against Antony, 107–8, 108n57	mutinies against, 101n38, 101
Aurelian, 11, 44	othering of troops of, 108n57
auxilia, 17–18, 60, 77, 179	and Parthian threat, 9–10
discharge diplomas, 26, 27, 60, 124	personal involvement in fighting, 90–1
recruitment to, 73	recruitment of non-citizens, 56
auxilia externa, 17–18, 75	supplicationes, 42
Avars, 14, 137–8, 171	see also Pharsalus, battle of
avoidance of service, 71–2	Callinicum, battle of, 51, 58–9
by self-mutilation, 74	campaign armies, size of, 79
awards for courage (dona militaria),	campaigning season, 32
64–7	camps and forts
D 1/111 L .	allied units within, 141
Bar Kokhba revolt, 10	bath-houses, 142–3
'barbarisation', 61–2, 138	establishment of permanent bases, 148, 178
bathing, 142–3	non-combatant presence, 121–2, 124, 143
battle	posting of laws, 151-2
ancient accounts of, 154–5	record-keeping, 148–9
combat behaviour and morale, 157–61	shrine for standards, 117, 118n25
tactics and mechanics, 156–7	see also Dura-Europos
unpredictability and confusion, 161–5	Campus Martius, 33, 53
battlefield archaeology, 29	Cannae, battle of, 6, 46
battles see name of location, e.g. Pydna, battle of	and introduction of <i>volones</i> , 54
Belisarius	treatment of survivors, 48
action against Hun raiders, 174	troop numbers, 79
blame for Callinicum, 51	capital punishment, 99
booty acquired, 85	capite censi, 55n6
identification with troops, 97	Caracalla, 61, 82
Justinian's public recognition of, 46	Carrhae, battle of, 9, 46
Procopius and, 24	return of standards, 10, 117
restoration to favour, 51-2	Cartagena, siege of see New Carthage, siege of
at siege of Rome, 168	Carthage, 6–7, 167
Beth-horon, battle of, 47	see also Hannibalic (Second Punic) War; Puni
billeting, 125–7	Wars
booty, 32, 84–6, 99, 107, 139	Cassius Dio
spolia opima, 63	on Pharsalus, 106
Boudicca, 10, 69	on second battle of Cremona, 106n52



casualty rates, 105-6	Civilis, Gaius Julius, 11, 111n70
Catiline, uprising of, 64	Clastidium, battle of, 63
Cato the Elder, 41, 63, 96	Claudius (emperor), 9
Caudine Forks, Roman surrender at, 46	Claudius Pulcher, Publius, 48
cavalry, 16, 18–19, 137, 157	cohorts, 16, 18
mounted archers, 19, 19, 137–8, 157	coinage, 41, 44–5, 66, 83
Celts, 135	collegia, military, 119
censors, 147–8	Column of Marcus Aurelius, 44–5, 173
census, 54, 71n5, 76	Column of Theodosius I, 45, 118
centuriate assembly, 22, 32–3, 53	Column of Trajan, 44–5
rank and military service, 54–6	comitatus, 18–19
chaos theory, 161	Commodus, 10, 109
children	conquisitores, 58, 71–2
in besieged cities, 168	conscription
evidence of in camps, 124	Republican <i>dilectus</i> , 71–2
inheritance rights from soldiers, 115–16	
recruitment of soldiers' sons, 74	Principate, 73 Late Antiquity, 73–4
	Constantine I, 11–12
treatment as prisoners, 172	
violent play, 159	Arch of, 45, 167
Christianity	bravery of, 67–8
Arian heterodoxy, 37, 50, 103	dynastic claims, 111
in army before Constantine, 131–2	military/civilian distinction, 36
in army from Constantine on, 132–3	personal risk in battle, 91
attitudes to war and peace, 40, 180	and religion, 40, 93, 132
celebration of victories, 44–6	Constantinople
divine favour in battle, 93–4	Column of Theodosius I, 45, 118
explanations of defeat, 49–51	Justinian's victory celebrations, 45–6
military oath, 98	mutiny of 602, 104
symbolism on military equipment, 117, 118	Nika riot, 51
Cicero	Persian threat to, 14
as commander, 90	shift of imperial power to, 11–12
correspondence with Galba, 162	Constantius II
on generalship, 89–91	battle of Mursa, 93–4, 106
on war and money, 70	management of supplies, 102n42
citizenship	redeployment of troops, 112n72, 123, 151
Edict of Caracalla, 60–1, 180	resettlement of prisoners, 171
extension to Italian allies, 16, 141–2	victory memorials, 45
extension to provincials, 2, 60	war with Persians, 12, 68
and military service, 31–2, 53–4, 59–62, 180	consulship, 146
and Roman identity, 108	contarii, 137
civil war	contubernales, 116, 160
battle of Forum Gallorum, 161–5	Cornelianus, L. Attidius, 47, 49
battle of Pharsalus, 64, 106, 111	Cornell, Tim, 176
celebration of victory, 45	courage, 62–9
chronology of outbreaks, 8, 10–13, 34, 105	in generalship, 90–1
and concentration of power, 179	Crassus, M. Licinius, 9, 48, 79
consequences of, 105-7, 141-2, 179	Cremona, second battle of, 105, 108, 170
divine signs in, 93-4	Cynoscephalae, battle of, 7, 16
fate of defeated troops, 111-12	•
incitement of mutiny, 101n35	Dacia/Dacians
justification and legitimation of, 93, 107-11	booty from, 85
Republican manpower demands, 56-8, 75-6	defeat of Oppius Sabinus, 47
siege of Valencia, 169–70	Domitian's peace terms with, 38
vs. mutiny, 100, 102n42, 104n47	economic significance, 87
written propaganda, 151	loss of province, 87
	_



redeployment of Vitellian troops against,	Egypt
III	billeting in Oxyrhynchus, 126
religion among Roman troops in, 145	documentary evidence, 28
Roman conquest of, 9, 77, 79	importance to empire, 87
Danube frontier	integration of army in society, 121
second century, 10	Jewish revolt, 10
third century, 11	limits of documentary evidence, 147
fourth century, 12	local recruitment, 123
fifth century, 13	loss to Islamic forces, 37, 88, 179n2
sixth century, 14	petitions to soldiers, 126–7
mutiny of 602, 14, 103-4	prostitution in forts, 122
supplies of food, 144	Ptolemaic army, 135
see also Dacia/Dacians	Roman conquest of, 7
death see epitaphs; funerary practices	emperors
decimation, 99, 99n28	and <i>auctoritas</i> , 92
Decius, 11, 131	as military commanders, 49, 51
defeat, 46–52	and <i>virtus</i> , 66–8, 180
Deiotarus of Galatia, 135	see also names of individual emperors
Dentatus, L. Siccius, 65, 68	epitaphs, 3n5, 26–7, 67, 108n59, 114
desertion, 100	equestrian order, 35, 150
Dexippus, 174	1
diet, 143–5	farmer-soldier ideal, 55–9
siege shortages, 168–9	felicitas (good fortune), 92
war-induced famine, 177	Feriale Duranum, 28, 128–9, 133, 142
dilectus, 71–2	fetial law, 31
Diocletian	financial benefits of war, 84-8
'Great Persecution', 131-2	financial costs of war see military financing
military/civilian distinction, 36	Flaminius, Gaius, 47–8
service requirement for sons of soldiers, 74	foederati, 19
taxation under, 83	forts/fortresses see camps and forts;
Tetrarchy, 11	Dura-Europos, see camps and forts
victory over Persians, 11, 44	Forum Gallorum, battle of, 161–5, 163
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 31	Franks
diplomas, 26, 27, 60, 124	conflict with, 12-13
discharge benefits, 81, 83, 99	high-level cultural integration, 145–6
discipline and obedience, 97–9	funerary practices, 26-7, 62-3, 145
individual heroism, 65–6	mixed military/civilian cemeteries, 121
punishments, 66, 99	,
documentary sources, 26–8, 147–9	Gainas (Gothic leader), 45
evidence for literacy levels, 150-2	Galba, Servius Sulpicius, 162-5
see also inscriptions	Gallienus, 35
Domitian, 38–9, 81	Gaul/Gauls
Domitius Ahenobarbus, Altar of, 55	battle of Clastidium, 63
dona militaria, 64–5	Caesar's Gallic war, 8, 75
donatives, 83	see also Alesia, siege of
drill, 97	conflicts in Late Antiquity, 11
Dura-Europos	meat consumption, 145
archaeological evidence, 139n17, 158n15	revolt of Civilis, 11
and army as 'total institution', 120	sack of Rome (390 BC), 46-7
Christianity at, 131	wine production, 144
documentary evidence, 28, 147	generals
Feriale Duranum, 28, 128–9, 133, 142	and divine favour, 92–4
	ideal qualities of, 89–93
Eckstein, Arthur, 33–4	identification with soldiers, 96–7
Edessa, 126–7, 168	pre-battle speeches, 94–5
**	



```
Germanicus, 93n12
                                                      evidence on Germanic raiders, 174
                                                      evidence on soldiers' 'wives', 124
'Germanisation'
  of army see 'barbarisation'
                                                      Mithraic dedications, 130
                                                      on sling bullets, 141n23, 168n49, 172
  of diet in Britain, 145
good fortune (felicitas), 92
                                                    Isauria, 13, 45, 58, 110, 112n72, 123
Gothic War (535-554), 13-14, 170, 176-7
                                                    Issus, battle of, 106
  religious justification, 37
  siege of Rome, 167-8
                                                    Jewish uprisings, 10, 47, 67
Goths, 12-13, 47, 175
                                                      siege of Jerusalem, 167, 169n53
Gracchi, 56
                                                    Josephus, 23, 167
Greek language, 3, 149–51
                                                    Joshua the Stylite (attrib.), Chronicle, 25, 94-5, 167
                                                    Julian
Hadrian, 10, 115, 151
                                                      Ammianus and, 24
Hannibalic (Second Punic) War, 6-7
                                                      composition of forces, 61
  economic impact, 176
                                                      courage of, 68
                                                      defeat in Persia, 12, 47, 50-1
  indemnity imposed, 84
  mobilisation rate, 76-7
                                                      discipline under, 68
  number of legions, 75
                                                      military competence, 90
  Petelian women, 168
                                                      religion under, 132
  and Roman sword style, 136
                                                      resettlement of prisoners, 171
  sack of Gerunium, 170
                                                      success in Gaul, 12
Hellenistic kingdoms
                                                      support of troops for, 102n42, 123, 151
                                                    Jupiter Dolichenus, cult of, 130
  adoption of Roman military practices,
                                                    'just war', 31
  conquest of, 7, 88
                                                    Justin I, 58
  Seleucid indemnity payments, 84
                                                    Justin II, 14
helmets, 69
                                                    Justinian
Heracleia, battle of, 48
                                                      Belisarius and, 24, 51
Heraclius, 14
                                                      celebration of victories, 45-6
                                                      expansion of army, 19
Hirtius, Aulus, 162
                                                      military campaigns, 13-14, 36-7
Historia Augusta, 39
historiography, 20-5
                                                      mutiny under, 102-3
  battle descriptions, 155, 161
                                                      Procopius and, 24
  explanations of defeat, 49-51
                                                    Keegan, John, The Face of Battle, 156-7, 161
  siege descriptions, 166-7
  speeches in, 94-6
Homer, influence of, 155, 166-7, 169, 172
                                                    land grants, 86
Honorius, 146
                                                    land ownership see property ownership
Huns, 13, 46n66, 137-8, 171
                                                    language and culture, 140, 149
                                                    Late Antiquity, 4, 11-14
indemnities, 84
                                                      attitudes to peace, 38-40, 86
                                                      attitudes to warfare, 35-7, 180
individual heroism
  in emperors, 67-8
                                                      campaign army size, 79
  in ordinary soldiers, 64-5, 67
                                                      Christian persecutions, 131-2
  in Republican elite, 63-4
                                                      Christianisation of military, 132-3
infantry combat, 156-7
                                                      citizenship and military service, 61-2
inscriptions, 26-7
                                                      civil wars, 11-13, 105, 110-11
  dedications to Augustus, 37n27
                                                      civilian role in siege warfare, 167-8
  evidence on Germanic raiders, 44, 174
                                                      cultural background of commanders, 145-6
  evidence from Late Antiquity, 117, 125
                                                      divine signs and visions, 93-4
  evidence on marriage patterns, 57
                                                      equipment and techniques, 137-8
  evidence on military-community relations,
                                                      financial gains and costs of war, 85-6, 88
                                                      ideal of courage, 67-8
  evidence on military collegia, 119
                                                      identification of leaders with soldiers, 96-7
  evidence on mobility of units, 123
                                                      marriage of soldiers, 116, 124-5
```



mass enslavement, 170-1	Martial, 39
military financing, 82-3	masculinity, 62, 68
military identity, 117–20	material evidence, 29
military organisation, 18–20, 117	see also archaeological evidence
military-civilian relations, 126–7	Maurice, 14
mutinies, 102-4	mutiny under, 103–4
notable defeats, 47	resettlement of prisoners, 171
numbers of troops, 78–9	Strategikon (attrib.), 26, 96, 133, 150–1
oaths of allegiance, 98	Maxentius, 45, 111n68
political and military leadership, 92	Maximian, 44
recruitment, 73-4, 138	Maximinus, 96–7, 102
regions affected by warfare, 166	Maximus of Tyre, 58
responses to defeat, 49-52	Mesopotamia
soldier-farmers, 58–9	Jewish revolt in, 10
troop mobility, 123	and overthrow of Parthians, 180
Latin, 140–1	raiding by Arabs, 175
leadership see auctoritas; generals; officers	Roman conquest of, 10, 77
legions	war with Persia in, 25, 79, 167
numbers of, 17, 75–7	see also Carrhae, battle of; Dura-Europos;
size of, 76–7	Edessa
el-Lejjūn, 118n25	military bases see camps and forts
Leo, 47	military financing
levy see recruitment	Republic, 80–1
Libanius, 50, 146	Principate, 81–2
Licinius, 67n63, 93, 111, 151	Late Antiquity, 82–3
limitanei, 19, 59	military organisation
literacy, 150–2	chronological overview, 14–20
Livy, 22, 31, 161	groupings of soldiers,
logistics, 79	116–17
Lucilius, 46	military service
Lucullus, L. Licinius, 92–3, 101	development during Republic, 15–16
	as formalised employment, 114
Macedon, 7, 80, 87	length of, 4, 17, 71, 102
see also Pydna, battle of	payment for, 80–2
Magnentius, 12, 45, 110–11, 112n72	see also recruitment; soldiers
battle of Mursa, 93, 106	military treatises, 25–6, 96
Magnesia, battle of, 7, 135	see also Vegetius, Maurice
Magnus Maximus, 13, 45, 111	Milvian Bridge, battle of the, 93
mail shirts, 135–6	mines, 86–7
Mainz, burials at, 121	Mithras, cult of, 129–30
Malchus (enslaved monk), 175	Mithridates of Pontus, 75, 84, 93, 135
maniples, 15–16	command against, 89, 107
Marcellus, M. Claudius, 63, 68	mobilisation rates, 76–9
Marcomannic Wars, 67, 172	Mons Claudianus, 28, 143
Marcus Aurelius, 10	Mons Graupius, battle of, 91n7
Column of, 44, 173	Mursa, battle of, 93, 106
maritime archaeology, 29, 41	mutinies, 99–104
Marius, Gaius, 8	
identification with troops, 96	naval warfare
influence on standards, 128	archaeological evidence, 29, 41
justifications for war against, 107	construction of first Roman fleet, 136
recruitment of <i>proletarii</i> , 56–8	defeat of Carthage, 6
victory memorials, 41	rowing service, 56
marriage of soldiers, 115–16, 124–5	Nero, 10, 109
Marshall, S. L. A., 158–60	Neupotz metalware finds, 175–6



New Carthage, siege of, 64-5, 91	Philippicus, 52, 91, 94
Numantine War, 46, 48	Phocas, 14, 104n47
siege of Numantia, 122	Pistoria, battle of, 64
numbers of troops	plagues, 73n13, 78–9
Republic, 75–7	Pliny the Elder, 20, 37
Principate, 77–8	Pliny the Younger, 60
Late Antiquity, 78–9	political life, Republican, 3, 31–2, 91–2
Numidia, 120, 127, 130–1	Polybius, 21–2
1vaimaia, 120, 12/, 130–1	on army punishments, 99
oaths of obedience and loyalty, 97-9, 116-17,	on courage, 62
133	on dangers of peace, 33
Octavian see Augustus (Octavian before 27 BC)	on dona militaria, 64–5
officers	on Punic Wars, 53–4, 136, 167
absence of formal training, 90	on record-keeping, 148
civilian appeals for help to, 126–7	on Scipio Africanus, 92n9
collegia, 119	pomerium, 33
literacy, 150–1	Pompey the Great
and Mithraism, 130	capture of Valencia, 169–70
perspective on battle, 164	Cicero on, 89–91
religious role, 128–9	defeated troops of, 111
see also generals	eastern campaigns, 8, 179
Onasander, 25, 90n3, 91	recruitment of non-citizens, 56
Oppian, 171–2	recruitment through patronage, 72
Oppius Sabinus, 47, 49	supplicationes, 42
optiones, 150	temple dedications, 41
Orosius, 50–1	theatre of, 63
ostraca, 28, 147	see also Pharsalus, battle of
Otho, 108	Pompey, Sextus, 8
ovatio, 42	Praetorian Guard, 18, 108n59, 119
Oxyrhynchus, 126	Principate, 8–11, 179
	attitudes to warfare, 34–5
Paetus, L. Caesennius, 47–9	campaign army size, 79
Palmyra, 11, 44	Christianity under, 131
religion of troops from, 145	citizenship and military service, 59–61
Pannonia, 67	civil wars, 105, 108–10
Pansa (C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus) see Forum	concept of peace, 37–8
Gallorum, battle of	cultural background of commanders, 145
papyri, 27-8, 147	desertion, 100
Parthia/Parthians, 9–10, 47	distribution of forces, 19, 114–15
Crassus' campaign, 48, 79	divine signs and visions, 93
defeat by Sasanian Persians, 10, 179–80	financial gains from war, 85, 87
defeat of Paetus, 47	ideal of courage, 66–7
influence on Roman military, 137, 139	identification of emperors with soldiers, 96
patronage, 72	mass enslavement, 170
pax Romana, 37	military equipment, 136-7
payment of soldiers, 80-3	military financing, 81-2
peace, 37-40	military identity, 114–17
payments for maintenance of, 86	military oaths, 98-9
Pelagius I, Pope, 177	military organisation, 17–18, 116–17
Persia see Sasanian Persia	military-civilian relations, 125–7
Pertinax, 109	mutinies, 101–2
Perusia, siege of, 168, 172	notable defeats, 47
Pharsalus, battle of, 64, 106, 111	numbers of troops, 77–8
Philip V of Macedon, 7	quasi-marriage patterns, 124
Philippi, battle of, 8, 93, 105, 111	records and administration, 148–9



recruitment, 58, 72–4, 122–3, 142 regions affected by warfare, 166 religion and ritual among troops, 128–32, 142 responses to defeat, 48–9	citizenship and property status of soldiers 53–8 civil wars, 8, 75–6, 105–8 culture and language of army, 141
terminology, 3–4 Priscus (historian), 171n67	divine signs and visions, 92–3 financial gains from war, 84–8
Probus, 39–40, 102	idea of peace, 37
Procopius (historian), 24–5	ideal of courage, 62–6
accounts of single combat, 68	identification of leaders with soldiers, 96
on battle of Callinicum, 58–9	manpower and mobilisation rates, 75-7
on Gothic War, 167, 177	mass enslavement, 170
on mounted archers, 138	military financing, 80-1
Procopius (usurper), 12, 111	military impositions on civilians, 125
'professionalisation', 17	military oaths, 98
proletarii, 55–8	military organisation, 15–17
property ownership	military technology, 135–6
inheritance from soldiers, 115	mutinies, 100–1
and military service, 54–9	notable defeats, 46
and provision of recruits, 73-4	punishments, 99
prostitution, 122	recruitment, 70–2
Punic Wars, 6–7	regions affected by warfare, 166
destruction of Carthage, 167 naval forces, 29, 136	religion and ritual among troops, 127–8 responses to defeat, 47–8
troop motivation, 54	role of warfare, 30–4
see also Hannibalic (Second Punic) War	Roman expansion and identity, 139–40
Pydna, battle of, 7, 135, 141	requisitions, 125–6
Scipio Nasica at, 63	revolts <i>see</i> mutinies; rebellions and revolts;
Pyrrhus of Epirus, 6, 48	usurpers
7 1 7 7 1	Rhandeia, battle of, 47
raiding, 172–6	Rhine frontier
rape, 126, 172	Agrippina the Elder at, 69
rebellions and revolts, 10-11, 13, 73	Augustan expansionism, 9
see also mutinies; usurpers	fifth-century invasions, 13
recruitment	finds of plundered metalware, 175–6
Republican legionary levy, 53–4, 56–8, 70–2	food supplies, 144
Republican provincial levy, 16–17	meat consumption, 145
of slaves after Cannae, 54	mutiny (AD 14), 102, 104
Principate, 72–4, 108–9, 122–3, 142	recruitment from beyond, 61
Late Antiquity, 73–4, 123, 138, 152n73	religious dedications, 131
religion and ritual	third-century threats, 11
in celebration of victory, 40–6, 62–3	Roman, defined, 2–3
divine favour and signs, 92-4	'Romanisation', 139–46, 179
dona militaria, 65 military and local cults, 119, 129–31, 145	Rome, city of battle of the Milvian Bridge, 93
military <i>collegia</i> , 119	commemoration of defeats, 47
military totalgai, 119	cult of Honos and Virtus, 63
and perception of Republican militarism,	cult of Victoria, 41, 45, 50
31-3	Gallic sack (390 BC), 46–7
in responses to defeat, 47–51	Gothic sack (410), 13
standards, 117	Gothic siege (409), 169
state religion among troops, 127-9, 142	Gothic siege (537–8), 167–8
see also Christianity	indemnity-funded building, 84
Republican period, 3, 5-8, 179	limits to Republican militarisation, 33
administrative records, 147–8	Praetorian Guard, 18, 108n59, 119
campaign army size, 79	shift of power to east, 12



Rome, city of (cont.)	enslavement through raiding, 174–6
site of levy, 71	at siege of Perusia, 168
temple of Janus, 32	as soldiers, 54, 59–61
temple of Pax, 37	to soldiers, 121
triumphal memorials, 43–5, 167, 173	war as opportunity for flight, 177
triumphal processions, 42, 44	small-group cohesion, 158, 160–1
see also centuriate assembly	Social War, 34, 57–8, 80
	Solachon, battle of, 91, 94
Sabin, Philip, 157	soldier emperors, 11, 35–6
sacking of captured cities, 169–72	soldiers
Sallust, 38, 57, 64	communal identity, 116–20
Samnite Wars, 6, 41, 46, 80	distinction from civilians, 113–16, 120
Sarmatians, 137, 139	interaction with civilian communities, 125-7
Sasanian Persia, 10	literacy of, 150-2
third century, 11, 36, 51, 179–80	marriage of, 115–16, 124–5
fourth century, 12	motivation and morale, 157–61
sixth century, 13, 37	religious practices, 127-33
seventh century, 14	see also camps and forts; military service;
enslavement of Romans, 171	recruitment
equestrian influence, 137, 139	sources of evidence, 20-9
notable Roman defeats to, 47	documentary, 26-8, 147-9
scars see wounds and scars	see also inscriptions
scholae see collegia, military	historiographic, 20–5, 57
Scipio Aemilianus, 22, 48, 63, 72, 167	instructional writing, 25-6
Scipio Africanus, 65, 91–3	material, 29
mutiny at Sucro, 101	Spain
Scipio Nasica, 63	Carthaginian influence, 6
Second World War, as comparator for Roman	maintenance of troops in, 56, 75
battle, 158–60	mutiny at Sucro, 100-1
Seleucid empire, 7, 135	Republican wars in, 7–8, 41, 101n40, 106,
indemnity payments from, 84	169–70
Septimius Severus	see also New Carthage, siege of; Numantine
campaigns of, 10	War
civil wars, 10, 109	taxation of, 87
dreams, 93	territorial gains of Augustus, 9
increase in military pay, 73, 82	'Spanish sword', 136
and marriage of soldiers, 116	speeches before battle, 94–6
number of legions under, 77	spolia opima, 63
Sertorius, Quintus, 93, 170	standards, 117–18, 128
Severianus, M. Sedatius, 47, 49	Stilicho, 92, 146
sexual violence, 126, 172, 173	stipendium, 80
Shapur I of Persia, 51	Stoll, Oliver, 130–1
	Strasbourg, battle of, 12, 24, 68
Shapur II of Persia, 12	Sulla, L. Cornelius, 8
shield styles, 136–7	
shield walls, 138	and cult of Victoria, 41
Sicily	march on Rome, 93, 107
exile of defeated troops from Cannae, 48	personal courage, 90
and First Punic War, 6, 29	siege of Athens, 169, 170n57
and Republican civil wars, 8	supplicationes, 41-2
Roman acquisition and taxation, 87	sword styles, 136–7
siege of Syracuse, 169	Syria
siege warfare, 166–72	disparagement of Syrian legions, 38, 49, 109
single combat, 63–6, 68	local religious influence, 108, 130, 145
slaves	loss to Islamic forces, 88, 179n2
enslavement of the defeated, 85–6, 170–2, 178	Persian invasions, 11



recruitment in, 123	portrayal as barbarian, 110
Roman control of, 7	troop support for Julian, 123
	usurpation and mutiny, 100, 102
Tacitus, 23-4	see also Magnentius
on civil war, 108–9, 111	-
on dangers of peace, 38	Valencia, 169–70
on mutinies, 66	Valens, 12, 47, 50–1
on women and the military, 69	Valentinian II, 50
Tarentum, 6	Valerian, 11, 47, 49–51, 131
taxes	Vandals
exemptions for veterans, 83	defeat of Leo by, 47
funding of military treasury, 81	loss of north Africa to, 13, 87
rates in Late Antiquity, 83	mutiny over measures against, 102-3
rates under Principate, 82	reconquest of north Africa from,
revenue from conquered territories, 87–8, 178–9	13, 36–7, 45–6
taxation in kind, 83	Varian disaster, 9, 46–7, 72n12
tributum, 80	archaeological site, 29
troop provision, 32, 74	blame for, 49
Tella, siege of, 169	death of Varus, 49
Tetrarchy, 11, 44	response of Augustus, 48
Teutoburg Forest, battle of see Varian disaster	Vegetius, 25, 29, 58, 146–7, 152
Thapsus, battle of, 111	Velleius Paterculus, 49
Themistius, 39	Vercellae, battle of, 63
Theodosius I	Vespasian, 10, 37, 93, 109
battle of the Frigidus, 94	victimarii, 129
Column of, 45, 118	Victoria, cult of, 41, 44, 50
dynastic position, 36	victory, ideology and celebration of
peace with Goths, 12, 39 prohibition of sacrifice, 132–3	Principate, 43–4 Republican period, 40–3
rebellions under, 12–13, 110	Late Antiquity, 44–6, 180
Theodosius the Elder, 97	Vindolanda, 28, 147, 149–50, 152
Thucydides, influence of, 1, 23–5, 94, 155, 169	virtus, 62–3, 66–8, 90, 180
	see also courage
Tiberius II. muriny under 102	Vitalian, 13, 110
Tiberius II, mutiny under, 103	Vitalian, 13, 110 Vitellius
'total institution', army as, 120-1	
Compute Marriage 52	'foreignness' of forces, 108
Campus Martius, 53	defeated troops of, 111
conformity through drill, 97	volones, 54
leadership experience, 90, 92	wanton
in literacy, 152	warfare, 1–2 battles <i>see</i> battle
Strategikon as leadership handbook, 96	
Trajan, 9–10, 60	motivation and morale, 157–61
second Dacian campaign, 79	naval see naval warfare
Trasimene (lake), battle of, 47–8	protracted, 176–7
tributum, 80	purpose and consequences for Roman state,
triumphs D. Ll. 1 L. 2 C. 2	178–80
Republican period, 32, 42–3, 84–5, 128	raiding, 172–6
Principate, 43	siege warfare, 166–72
Late Antiquity, 44, 45n62, 46	weapons, 15, 136–8
tyrannny and freedom, rhetoric of, 107, 111	and reconstruction of fighting styles,
uniforms, 97	women
usurpers	military authority of, 69
commemoration of defeat of, 45	prostitution, 122
descent and legitimacy, 111	sexual violence against, 126, 172, 173



228

women (cont.)
under siege, 168
[quasi-]wives of soldiers, 124–5
wounds and scars
as marks of courage, 63–7
potential of ancient weaponry, 159
writing tablets, 28, 147

Index

Year of the Four Emperors (68–69), 10, 108–9, 111 second battle of Cremona, 105, 108, 170

Zeno (emperor), 13 Zenobia, 44, 69 Zosimus, 50–1 on Zenobia, 69n66