ROME AND GERMANY.

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ROOME AND GERMANY

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Part 1. Germany.
Chapter I

Geographical Comments.

In earliest times the country east of the Rhenus Flumen and between that river and the Albis was inhabited by wild Celtic tribes, savage, nomadic, and barbarian. About 1,000 B.C. these tribes crossed the river and swarmed over all of what later became Gallia. (1) It is difficult to determine the date of such early and unchronicled incidents but it is believed by most authorities to have been about the seventh century before Christ. These barbarians became masters of all Gaul except what was later known as Aquitania. This is mainly the reason why the inhabitants of Gaul throughout ancient history are so closely allied in custom and manner of life with the tribes across the river.

The main authority concerning Germania, its tribes, and their customs is C. Tacitus the historian of the first century A.D. whose work treats of Germania down to his own time or about 95 A.D.. Strabo deals with the subject but not at very great length while his knowledge is limited. Julius Caesar in his commentaries on the Gallic wars mentions the Germans with whom he had frequent skirmishes but for the most part his impressions seem to be jotted down in passing and mingled with much guesswork. On the other hand Tacitus had evidently made a study of the subject and therefore it is his work which we propose to follow for the most part in this treatise.

(1) Duruy, History of Rome, Vol. 2, Chapter XL.
The Germania of Tacitus is in the main that section beyond the Rhenus between the Rhenus and the Albis, bordered on the south by the Danuvius (Danube) while at times the author crosses the Albis and treats tribes dwelling as far east as and in one or two instances, beyond the Vis­tula. At the same time we must realize that the name Ger­mania is also applied to the two provinces of Germania Superio and Germania Inferior. In discussing the boundaries of the country Tacitus says that the Western limit was the Rhenus, to the south flowed the Danuvius while the Mare Suebicum surged against the northern shores. (1) When mention­ing the eastern boundary the ancients are purposely vague. Tacitus speaks of "mutuus metus aut montes" as the limit: (2) Strabo the geographer is unsure of the further peoples and admits as much. To the north the tribes ex­tended right up to the sea and settled on the islands as well.

The nature of the land itself was hardly inducive to a civilized prosperity. The general contour sloped north to the Mare Suebicum and apparently consisted for the most part of swamps and forests and is usually described as a marshy waste consisting either of impenetrable forests or swamps, though there were mountains along the south. Yet in another section Tacitus mentions stretches of plains with good soil for agriculture. At any rate between the Rhenus

(1) Tac. Germ. I
(2) Tac. Germ. I.
and the Albis were tractless marshes and woods. We can imagine what an impregnable defense such country offered to the wild tribes of the hinterland accustomed as they were to its peculiarities and quick to take advantage of the opportunities it presented, as Caesar found to his cost. On the other hand such conditions inflicted a hardship on the inhabitants and made it all the more difficult to eke out an existence. The tribesmen lived in the temperate zone and days and nights were equally divided. Yet they experienced dismal weather, damp mists and constant rain and downpours. Referring to the march against the Chatti by Germanicus in 15 A.D. Tacitus writes, "Nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et omnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regrediente metuebantur." (1)

In Central Germany to the east of the Rhenus extended the mighty Hercynia Silva. This wood or Black Forest to give it its modern name, was either one or a succession of forests stretching from the borders of the Helvetii in south west Germany along the direct line of the Danuvius as far as the Daci and the Anartez. (2) Then it turned inland and wound its way through the numerous tribes to the north. It also had many offshoots spreading through and separating various tribes. (3) Caesar leaves it here and claims that no man ever reached the edge while it was a nine day's jour-

(1) Tac. Annals I, 56
(2) Caes. De B.G. VI, 25
(3) Caes. De B.G. VI, 26
ney through the breadth of the wood. It is more than likely that he is merely guessing for he never penetrated far into the country and so had no certain means of ascertaining the truth of this statement. Primitive animals roamed the virgin forest but nevertheless this did not detract from its value as a refuge for harassed tribes especially for the ferocious Seubi or Suevi during the campaigns of Caesar. A continuous mountain range cut the country into two sections running down the Danuvius and branching northward to the Albis.

Along the whole Western boundary of Germany was the valley of the Rhenus (Rhine). To the east was the river Albis (Elbe) flowing like all the German rivers north, to the Oceanus Germanicus. Generally speaking the writer will deal with the country and tribes between these two great waterways although some mention must be made of the more important tribes across the Albis mentioned by Tacitus. The barbarian tribes extended beyond the Albis but little was known of them and the ancient writers are either intentionally vague or as Strabo admittedly ignorant. Germania proper was really a network of waterways. Between the Rhenus and the Albis were the Amisia (Ems) a small river and the Visurgis (Weser) a mighty stream embracing many smaller ones at its source. Numerous tributaries on both sides of the river flowed into the Albis in the very heart of Germany while to the east was the Viadus another large river with numerous tributaries, great and small. Far to the east on the very borders of Sarmatia flowed the Vistula. This is mentioned because
Tacitus notes one or two possible German tribes beyond it.

In the time of Augustus the great emperor established the two districts on the left bank of the Rhenus after he had abandoned the idea of extending the boundaries of empire by conquering Germany. These two provinces so called were in reality defensive zones for the protection of the frontier against the wild tribes beyond and did not actually become provinces until the days of Hadrian. They were merely army commands. Germania Inferior was the country from the mouth of the river up stream to the bend at Moguntiacum where dwelt the Ubii, allies of Rome, while the Upper province was the triangular wedge about the southern half of the Rhenus.

South of Danuvius were Rhaetia and Noricum created by Augustus as the northern frontier to supplement the natural barrier of the Alps. This elaborate barrier indicates respect with which he held the German tribes for it was with the definite intention of strengthening the German frontier that Augustus undertook the conquest of these lands.
Chapter 2

The tribes and where they lived.

In former times the Gauls were by far superior to the Germans and made war upon them. (1) Thus, tribes lacking sufficient land of their own crossed the Rhenus and seized the best sections of the country. One example of these pioneers was the Volcae Tectosages who penetrated deep into the heart of the Danuvius country and seized the most fertile localities on the borders of the Silva Hercynia, remaining there and adopting German habits and their barbarian mode of living. Caesar tells us then that the Gauls deteriorated in strength and manliness and in his day were not even comparable to the Germans in valour. (2) From the foregoing it can be easily realized that no few of the tribes in Germany were of Gallic origin and that is why there was comparatively little fundamental difference between the Gauls and the Germans. (2)

The countries north of the Danuvius and east of the Rhenus were occupied by Galatic and Germanic tribes who apparently differed from the Celts only in that they were fiercer and more barbaric. (3) These led a barbarous and nomadic existence but despite their wanderings they generally returned to their base. Strabo writing in the time of Tiberius says that the Cimbri, one of the tribes most addicted

(1) Caesar, De Belli Gallica, VI, 24
(2) Strabo, VII, 1, 2.
(3) Strabo, VII, 1, 13.
to this nomadic type of life possessed to that day the country they had held in former times. Thus it is possible to affirm with some assurance the location of the various tribes despite their various and frequent changes of habitation. All these tribes became known by their wars with the Romans and mistrust was the surest defence as they submitted, revolted and changed their abodes.

The multitudinous tribes of Germany had no common name but nevertheless regarded themselves as being descended from a common ancestor in Mannus the first man and son of the god Tuisco. (1) It was the current belief among the tribes that Mannus had three sons from whom sprang the three great races of the Germans, the Istaevones, the Ingaevones and the Herminones. This view is preferable to that of Pliny who says, — "Germanorum genera quinque". (2) It was the Istaevones with whom the Romans had most contact since the offshoots of this branch occupied both banks of the Rhenus Flumen and were the most westerly of all the Germani. Of this division the more prominent tribes were the Ubii, who dwelt on the Rhenus between Colonia Agrippina and Moguntiacum on the right bank about their town, oppidum Ubiorum; the Usipites or Usipii, Tencteri, Sicambri or Sugambri and the Bructeri who extended down the river in the order named as far as Noviomagus; the Chatti who lived in the country between the Rhenus and the sources of the Visurgis;

(1) Tac. Germ. 1
(2) Pliny, N. H. IV, 14, 99.
and the Batavi later most loyal supporters of Rome who were situated on the west bank at the mouth of the Rhenus and who occupied the insula Rheni at the mouth and were according to Tacitus foremost in valour. (1) They were originally of the Chatti but left after internal dissension. Of this division the Usipetes and the Tencteri were driven from their original territory by the Suebi. They in turn expelled the Menapii, a Gallic tribe from the banks of the Rhenus and settled there. (2)

The second division, the Ingaevones included the Frisii who inhabited the country between the mouths of the Rhenus and the Amisia; the Chauci a large tribe found at the mouth of the Visurgis (3); and the densely peopled country of the Cherusci noblest of the German races (4), a fierce and troublesome people stretching from west of the Visurgis across the hills to the Albis, divided from the Suebi by a natural wall of forest. These Cherusci became notorious in history for their slaughter of Varus and his three legions in 9 B.C. The Frisii are worthy of note. Their country was divided by Tacitus into "maiores" and "minores". After their later revolt from Rome they did not disappear from history but formed a section of the English conquerors of Britain.

(1) Tac. Germ. 29
(2) Caes. De. B.G. IV, 4
(3) Tac. Germ. 35
In central Germania were found the last and largest group of peoples, the Herminones who enfolded the powerful Suebi, a race divided into separate tribes with names of their own, a race which had branches throughout the whole country and which gained repute early by their campaigns against Caesar; the Hermunduri a dense tribe friendly to Rome and probably Suebic in race whose territory extended north from the Danuvius in a wide sweep to the sources of the Albis; the Langobardi, also Suebic, who lived to the north of the Albis and south of the Chauci; the Vandali who were east of the Viadus about its sources; the Heruli who lived west of the Albis and in the islands to the north; and the Quadi a kindred nation of the Marcomanni in the south east corner of Germania north of the Danuvius. Tacitus tells us that in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, king Maroby-

duus of the Quadi added the Lugii, Zugi, Guttones, Mugilones and Sibini to his country.

The tribes of the Suebi were most predominant throughout Germany extending as they did from the Rhenus to the Albis, their family cut by a mountain range which ran right through their territory. Some dwelt within the forest while others stretched as far east as the Getae. In fact Strabo says that the Hermunduri and the Langobardi both members of the Suebic race occupied the district beyond the Albis. (1) According to Caesar these Suebi were the largest in number and the most warlike of all the Germani. (2) We

(1) Strabo, VII, 2, 1.
(2) Caes. De. B.G. IV, 3
would judge from him that they consisted of more than a hundred cantons and occupied by far the greater part of Germany. The whole race was distinguished by a national peculiarity in that they were accustomed to twist their hair back and knot it behind the head. Caesar has great respect for the Suebi and is therefore prone to exaggeration in his description of them. He tells us that for six hundred miles to the east of Suebia the land was untenanted but this is obviously absurd.

The largest offshoot of these fierce tribesmen was the Semnones the vastness of whose territory gave them just claim to being head of the Suebic race. Their lands were east of the Albig and north of the junction of that river with the Sala. The Langobardi who were a smaller branch of the family were fenced in by many lesser peoples who penetrated into the more remote regions of Germania. In the south end of modern Jutland Tacitus places the Angli while between the Albig and the Viadus lived the Suardones on the coast, the Varini, Eudoses, Reudigni, Aviones and the Nuithones, north to south in order, all Suebic tribes. In the upper waters of the Viadus on the west side of the river were the Marsigni, another branch of the Suebic family.

North of the Danuvius and between it and the sources of the Albig were the Marcomanni, another Suebic tribe who drove out the Boii in early times and occupied their lands while south of them and on the left bank of the river were found the Varisci called by Tacitus the Narisci.
Continuing along the Danuvius eastward were the Quadi a powerful Suebic tribe girt about by Mons Gabreta on the west, the Montes Sarmatici on the east, the Silva Hercynia to the north and the Danuvius Flumen to the south. South of the Marcomanni were the Boii and on the Danuvius itself due south lived the Campi. South of the Quadi on the Danuvius lived the Volcae Tectosages a Gallic tribe who had crossed the Rhenus in early times and settled in the most fertile country. (1) They adopted German customs and manners and were for all intents and purposes Germanic. All these Suebi were of a migratory nature and generally speaking extended north and south in central Germany.

At the sources of the Viadus were grouped the Osi, Gothini, Cotini and Buri. Then on both sides of the river extended the Lugii a large race embracing many smaller tribes including the Harii, Helvecones, Manimi, Elisii and Naharnavali. West of the Vistula on the north coast dwelt the Lemovii while across the Sinus Venedicus were the Aestii.

Exploring down the Rhenus from its headwaters we find on its left bank the Tribocci followed closely by the Nemetes and Vangiones the last two mentioned tribes inhabiting both banks of the river. On the right bank and south of the Nemetes were the Helvetii in the country which is now modern Baden. Farther inland and north roamed the Turones. Below Moguntiacum and on the right bank were the Mattiaci followed by the Ubii a powerful nation tributary of

(1) Caes. De. B.G. VI, 24
the Suebi and once prosperous according to German standards. These latter were in close contact with the Gauls as was inevitable from their geographic position and so were more civilized than the rest of their Germanic brethren. (1) They were friendly to Rome and Tacitus says that the Romans left them in peace "ut arcerent non ut custodirentur". (2) West of the Rhenus in Gaul were the Nervii in the north and the Treveri west of Moguntiacum. Tacitus says that these tribes may have been German and leaves the matter open to question.

East of the Ubii were the Chatti mentioned previously whose territory bordered the forest, a tribe holding wide sway over the neighbouring peoples and a branch of the Herminones. These Chatti were always a thorn in the side of the Romans and were never completely subdued. Their capital was at Mattium in the north of their possessions. Down the Rhenus below the Sugambri lived the Marsi and north of the Cherusci and the Marsi from the river eastward were the Usipites and the Bructeri, the Tubantes and the Chassuarii, the latter bordering on the Visurgis Flumen. North of the Chassuarii were the Angrivarii while on the east bank was the land of the Fosi. Further down the Rhenus and near its mouth was the country which the Chamavi and Chattuarii called home. Far to the east at the mouth of the Vistula dwelt the Guttones on the very borders of Germania in its widest sense. At the headwaters of the Viadus lived

(1) Caes. De B.G. IV, 3

(2) Tac. Germ. 28
the Lugii a large tribe which spread over many states. North of them were the Harii and to the south the Buri, peoples who resembled the Suebi although not proven of that race. (1) These Harii were savage people. They were superior to most of the surrounding tribes in war and were by nature ferocious.

The Teutones and the Cimbri, important historically for their depredations at the end of the second century before Christ, had their base in the Chersonesus of Cimbrica. At the entrance to the peninsula were the Teutones while northwards in the country known as Cimbrica proper stretched the Cimbri, inhabiting what is now Jutland. We learn from Plutarch that these Cimbri and Teutones were Germanic nations belonging to those who extended as far as the northern ocean. (2) Celtica extended from the northern sea eastwards whence came the invaders who moved every spring on a warlike course, traversing the whole continent in their wanderings. The whole body, writes Plutarch, were Celtoscythians. These two races enjoyed fame among the Germani for their exploits against the Romans as mentioned but by the time of Tacitus they were merely minor tribes and known only for these past exploits. Their fame was on the wane long before Tacitus, in fact, for Strabo scoffs at the wild tales current about the Cimbri and the country they lived in. (3) Tacitus sums the Cimbri up as follows, — "Parva nunc civitas, sed gloria

(1) Tac. Germ. 43
(2) Plut. Life of Marius
(3) Str. VII, 21
North of Germania itself and east of the Chersonesus were groups of islands vaguely known to the Romans as the Insulae Scandiae. Over these islands wandered the Suiones, a naval race, and further northwards the Sitones, singled for mention by Tacitus because they were ruled by women. Both of these peoples were said to be Suebic in race while the name Suiones was often used to designate generally all the wandering barbarian tribes on these islands.
Chapter 3

Occupations of the Germans.

As has been previously noted a land such as Germany was in ancient times did not yield an easy living to its inhabitants. To cold and hunger their soil inured them. It was productive of grain but unfavourable to fruit bearing trees. It lent little or no assistance to the task of feeding its livestock and thus the flocks and herds although numerous were under sized and ill fed. Numerically speaking the tribes were rich in cattle but these were of poor quality in size and appearance. Yet the number itself was valued as being the only riches of the people. Of silver and gold they knew nothing and had no desire to posses it. It was undoubtedly there but they had no inclination to search for it and had no idea of its value. Tacitus in commenting on the nature of the land remarks that in the far easterly districts the land was in all probability of a better quality. West of the Vistula he even conjectures fruitful woods and groves.

Yet in the more open country the soil was rich and fertile and suitable for agriculture. Why then was there so little tillage of the soil in Germany? The truth was that the Germans cared little for husbandry. In sections of the country there was certainly rich soil but the Germans failed or perhaps did not care to realize its possibilities and value. All they required from the earth was
corn and that in small quantities. They were too busily occupied in the pursuit of war. In fact they even took steps to prevent a desire for the cultivation of the land from arising. The land was divided with no particular tract assignments for each occupant but no man could retain possession of one expanse for more than one year. At the end of that time he had to move on. This system of rotation was facilitated by the wide expanse of plains. It is true that the Suebi instituted a system which seemed to avoid neglect of the soil, by means of which they rotated their warriors from year to year from war to soil but even this does not disguise the fact that the chief interest for the Germans was warfare for the Suebi also forbade the holding of land for any length of time. The Chauci were an exception in that they were lovers of peace and avoided war, making little use of their peaceful inclinations. (1) One other exception was the tribe of the Aestii who were perhaps not German at all (2), most eastern of the Tacitean Germans. These were more patient in their attention to agriculture.

In consequence of this indifference to the soil there was not a very plentiful supply of food for eating purposes. In fact the food supply was slender. They lived generally upon cheese, wild fruit and game which they obtained from the chase. From their cattle also they obtained flesh for food. For drinking they had milk, very often curdled.

(1) Tac. Germ. 35
(2) Tac. 45
from the flocks while they made a kind of wine from barley or grain and allowed it to ferment. They were much addicted to drunkenness produced by this so called wine which was extremely potent. They had no delicacies and indulged in no elaborate preparations for meals, and were socialistic in that they shared their food supply. Small wonder that men living in such hardship and inured to a life for the most part in the open air should develop so magnificent a stature as all the classical authors comment on. The nature of the food itself aided in the conservation of strength and the production of hardy frames.

The tribesmen spent the greater part of their lives at war. When not campaigning they had no definite occupation. Their's was a day to day existence and they indulged mostly in hunting expeditions opportunities for which the densely wooded forests furnished in abundance. Upon their results of their forays they relied for most of their food and supplies. Apart from regular fighting they carried out periodic raids upon neighbouring tribes committing acts of brigandage which incurred no disgrace among fellow tribesmen. This also aided the food problem. Even in their recreation they seemed unable to depart from their militaristic code of life. They were accustomed to hold regular gatherings at each one of which naked youths danced amid a forest of swords and spears ever threatening a cruel death. "Experience gives skill and skill gives grace," (1) says Tacitus.

(1) Tac. Germ. 24
At these gatherings opportunities were made for the practice of the second of the great vices upon which Tacitus is so caustic and that is gambling. The Germans were inveterate gamblers. They apparently had a form of dice game and were commonly so venturesome that they would wager their very persons upon a throw and thus doom themselves to a miserable though to them honourable slavery. When not engaged in any one of these pursuits they did nothing while Tacitus writes that it was not uncommon for them to spend whole days on the hearth in front of the fire. (1)

Of building they had vague notions but of the art of architecture they knew nothing. They had no knowledge of the use of stone for building purposes but constructed their wretched huts in rude fashion from timber of which they had abundant quantities. They had little import trade but gave access to merchants more for the purpose of selling their booty than for buying necessities. They did not even import draught horses from Gaul which was noted in this respect but used their own breed and these like all other domestic cattle bred in Germany were ill-favoured and thin. Yet they were trained to a remarkable degree of usefulness. The tribes on the river bank imported wine from Gaul but these outer peoples were always as much Gallic as Germanic.

Thus it may be seen that as far as occupations and produce were concerned the Germans were essentially primitive. Tacitus scornfully suggests that this was mostly

(1) Tac. Germ. 29
a matter of ignorance. They had little sense of value but lived for their eternal fighting. Perhaps they were blessed despite their squalor and hardships in comparison to the vice, corruption, and often degeneracy of the civilized world of that time.
Chapter 4

Physical Characteristics of Germans.

In appearance the Germans were wildly barbaric and must have presented a terrifying spectacle to the first Roman armies against whom they fought. They were of huge stature with blue eyes and red hair predominating. They boasted huge frames, large close knit limbs and fierce countenance. The life they led aided their physical development and gave them an advantage over the Romans which was later offset by the Roman discipline and the strategy and experience of the Roman leaders. They were excellent in matters which called for great and sudden physical exertion but were unable to bear long and arduous strain or any degree of heat. They could not endure thirst for any length of time. They were a pure race, that is, they never intermarried with other races and thus were individual in their state of barbarism. According to classical description they certainly had no counterpart. They differed from the Celts only in physical superiority, their customs and manners being quite similar. In most of the tribes the hair was unkempt the Suebi alone being unique in paying attention to this part of their appearance. The Suebic chiefs were elaborate and did their hair in such a fashion as to emphasize their height and size, this aiding to awe the foe. To quote Tacitus once more they adorned themselves "for the eye of the enemy". (1) It was a custom among the Chatti for the

(1) Tac. Germ. 38
men to remain unshaven and unshorn until they had slain their first foe after reaching man's estate.

Their clothing was simple and modest in its very simplicity. The tribes of the river bank had more opportunity for trade across the river and this made them able to sport better robes worn in careless fashion than the skins of the interior tribesmen which were so daintily arranged. The Germans used a cloak of scanty nature fastened by a clasp or failing this a common thorn. They also used the skins of wild beasts the product of their numerous hunting forays. Caesar tells us that they employed reindeer (1) hide and fashioned small wraps with it. To produce effect they mingled ordinary skins with the spotted coverings of wild beasts. (2) The dress of the women differed little from that of the men while they also wore robes of linen, sleeveless and leaving the neck bare. The wealthier people set their own fashion for in many cases instead of the flowing robe worn by the plebeian multitude they wore their clothing of skin tight fitting, thus exhibiting the lines of the body. Since no mention is recorded of shoes among these tribes it must be assumed that they cared for no covering for the feet and legs.

(1) Caes. De B.G. VI, 21
(2) Tac. Germ. 27
Chapter 5

Women and Children.

A significant feature of the German mode of life was the part which women took in it. It has already been mentioned that the tribesmen counted war as their main object in life. In all their wars the women took part and were their inspiration. "They are to every man the most sacred witnesses of his bravery—they are his most glorious applauders." (1) When the men of the country went forth to war their women accompanied them. During the actual fighting they were nearby shrieking encouragement to the fighters, nursing the wounded and perhaps in extreme cases even taking a more active part in the fighting. Their excellent stature and vigorous bodies gave them the physical energy to do this. The men themselves venerated the women while the northern Sitones were ruled by women. "So low have they fallen," (2) adds Tacitus in his cutting Roman style. The greatest disgrace a German tribe could suffer was being compelled to give up their maidens into captivity and thus when during a battle these female warriors represented to the fighters the terrors of slavery an added incentive was supplied to secure victory. Caesar in writing of his early battles with the Germans pens the following vivid description of the part played by the German women.

(1) Tac. Germ. 7

(2) Tac. Germ. 45
"Upon wagons and carts they set their women who with tears and outstretched hands entreated the men as they marched out to fight not to deliver them into Roman slavery." (1) Caesar also mentions that during the encounter there were a few women slain and it is natural to presume that the latter, as the fortunes of war favoured the Romans, lent physical aid to their kinsmen. Classical writers speak of women taking an active part in the invasions of the Cimbri and the Teutones in the time of Marius. These were also fierce warrior women who incited the barbarians to plunder and slaughter.

According to Tacitus the Germans attributed a certain degree of sanctity to the whole sex and thus followed their counsels which the men considered as almost prophetic. There are even instances of German women who were regarded as divinities and one in particular achieved some little fame in the reign of Vespasian for her activity in arousing rebellion among the tribes. "But" says Tacitus, "they venerated them not with servile flatteries and sham deification." (2) In marriage the German code was strict, a fact which Tacitus heartily commends in comparison to life at Rome. (3) The maidens were married late and for the most part the tribesman could have only one wife to whom he brought a dowry, this custom being contrary to the univer-

(1) Caes. De B.G. I, 51
(2) Tac. Germ. 8
(3) Tac. Germ. 18
sal rule. The only men who possessed more than one wife were those whose high position in a tribe gave them special privileges. Not unexpectedly we learn that this dowry consisted often of military equipment such as swords, horses and shields. The bride to be returned similar gifts and offerings of this kind were counted a powerful bond of union. The wife was in no way separated from her husband in his pursuits which necessitated physical strength, and the marriage ceremony included a reminder that she and he were one in facing toil and danger, peace and war. Illicit affairs were practically unknown and the woman who sinned was summarily punished and driven from the tribe, an outcast. Loyalty between husband and wife dominated their common life.

The children, who were many, spent their early lives in nudity and filth. They dwelt with their parents in the dirty huts and endured all manner of hardships. Thus they developed the strong and muscular bodies for which the race was famed. Noble and slave were treated alike, no distinction being made in their childhood as to caste. They lived in the same surroundings and tended the same flocks until age separated them. They practiced the use of arms from their earliest age and were frequently present at the battles in which their fathers took part. In their mother's arms or hanging to her hand they learned to shout encouragement and applause. They imitated their parents and thus developed into generation after generation of sturdy warriors.
Of education they knew nothing and their upbringing was purely practical, devoted to the problem of how to live in the savage surroundings and how to attain ability in the handling of the primitive weapons. The children were the lawful heirs to their fathers and this avoided all the trouble of making wills and appointing successors. The Germans formed a united race men, women and children molded into one unified whole, tribe by tribe, living the same life, sharing the same interests, and doing the same things.
Chapter 6

German Warfare.

"To abandon your shield is the basest of crimes," (1) says Tacitus of the German warrior, and in this sentence he sums up the whole structure of German life. As has been mentioned frequently military excellence was a type of mania to the tribesmen and it is necessary to stress this point in order to get into the mind of classical Germany to understand how they lived and their aims in life. When the tribes were not warring against a common external foe they were at variance with one another making plundering raids upon their neighbours or preparing for the next war. Of their weapons thanks chiefly to Tacitus and Caesar we know a great deal. As one would expect these were not standardized or embellished in any way. They were private property and each warrior fashioned his own. Tacitus at frequent intervals mentions the lack of iron in the country and thinks that this was responsible for the poor variety of arms possessed by the tribesmen. Thus weapons of this material were luxuries only owned by a select few generally the chiefmen of the villages. The same applies to long lances, spears and swords which were scarce among the common tribes peoples. The latter wore short spears with narrow flat heads of sharply pointed iron or wood. They were so light and easily manipulated that they could be managed

(1) Tac. Germ. 6
with equal ease at short or long range fighting. The main body on foot carried supplies of small missiles in the throwing of which they became dangerously proficient. These missiles probably consisted of miniature darts or javelins while one may assume that rocks and stones, always weapons of primitive peoples, had value in the eyes of the German warrior who entered the battle lightly clad and ready to act with perfect freedom. All carried shields these being the only parts of their equipment which were in any way gaudy painted as they were in bright colours. The Aestii used large clubs as weapons and on their shields wore the device of a wild boar. The Rugii and the Lemovii both used the short sword and the round shield. The Harii, a branch of the Ligii accentuated their natural ferocity by the aid of art and artificial means. They dyed their bodies and painted their shields black. They fought only at night and on dark nights if possible. Their weird appearance gave them an immediate advantage over the foe for "in all battles it is the eye which is first vanquished." (1) This last the whole German race realized to the full.

Armour was practically non-existent a select few owning helmets of leather or metal while some here and there wore corslets. It is significant that Caezma in 15 B.C. recovering the booty won from Varus by the Germans took the Roman armour and weapons from the very bodies of his foes. So scarce were fighting necessities.

(1) Tac. Germ. 43
Infantry was the strength of the German fighting machine. This body fought alongside the cavalry and made use of its speediest young men by stationing them on the wings. The cavalrymen carried only shields and spears but were a poorly equipped body. They were at a disadvantage in that their horses were not of very good quality, not particularly speedy and untrained in military manoeuvres. The whole army fought in a compact mass turning and wheeling in a body. The shape of the force was that of a wedge which moved to the attack with a wild rush accompanied by war cries and the cheers of camp followers, male and female. The very savagery of the first assault put many an enemy to flight and always created a terror not easily overcome in the ranks of opposing armies. Here was the real might of the Germans, the first assault. It was by this wildness, by their very appearance that the Cimbri and Teutones overcame so many Roman armies. A skilled general such as Marius with a trained force of veterans could withstand such an onslaught, and eventually prove victorious. Provided it was intended to return to the attack it was no disgrace among the Germans to retreat but on the other hand for a soldier to show cowardice was the unpardonable sin only erased by suicide.

The Germans also excelled in guerilla warfare. With their knowledge of the forest passes and the marshes they wreaked havoc upon the Roman armies in their neighbourhood. During the campaigns of Germanicus in Germany in 15 A.D.
the tribes stalked the Roman troops on their retreat and did
great damage. It was only through the courage of the Roman
commander that the Romans eventually reached safety.

The Suiones are the only naval tribe mentioned
in the Germania. (1) These peoples lived on the borders of
the Mare Suebicum among the islands and thus were forced to
rely upon their ships. These vessels were types of ferries
with prow and stern alike, this making for convenience in
landing. There were no sails or fixed caps but the rowing
facilities were free to be placed and used as needed. The
Suiones differed from the rest of the tribes in that the arms
of the people were not at general disposal but were state
possession and kept in one spot under the supervision of a
slave guard. The sea prevented sudden alarms or invasions
and thus these people were less warlike than the average
Germans. Considering the many tribes which bordered on the
coast it is remarkable that we find such little mention
made of ships of war or any other kind among the Germans.
It seems hardly likely that these tribes had no craft and
so we must assume that the Germans did not pursue sea fight-
ing and their naval strength was negligible although we do
know of a sea battle between Drusus and the Bructeri which
took place on the Rhine at its mouth.

To illustrate the spirit in which the Germans
entered battle we mention that Caesar writes of his German
opponents hedging their whole line with carts and wagons
(1) Tac. Germ. 44
"ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur". (1) This is a good instance of the German attitude. When Caesar (2) received envoys from the tribes they stated the German view of war to the Roman imperator. They pointed out that they did not make war themselves of their own accord but if provoked were perfectly capable of giving as good as they received, "Quod Germanorum consuetudo haec sit a maioribus tradita quicumque bellum inferant resistere neque deprecari." (3) They admitted inferiority to the Suebi alone. One chapter of Tacitus which is worth while quoting fails to support this attitude. "If their native state sinks into the sloth of prolonged peace, many of its noble youths voluntarily seek those tribes which are waging some war both because inaction is odious to their race and because they win renown more readily in the midst of peril and cannot maintain a numerous following except by violence and war.........The means of their bounty comes from war and rapine. Nor are they as easily persuaded to plough the earth and to wait for the year’s produce as to challenge an enemy and earn the honors of war and wounds. Nay, they actually think it tame and stupid to acquire by the sweat of toil, what they might win by their blood." (4)

(1) Caes. De. Belli Gallicae I, 51
(2) ibid IV, 7
(3) ibid IV, 7
(4) Tacitus, Germania, 4.
Chapter 7

Tribal Organization.

We know enough now of the Germanic mode of life to be able to state how a tribe was ruled, its organization, offices and councils. The organization of the average German tribe was loose, there being no complicated system of assemblies and councils. Like all other phases of German life internal organization was simple.

Chief officers in a tribe were the king, the chiefs, priests and finally the generals. Comparatively few tribes had kings, but all had their chiefmen and priests. The office of general was not really an administrative one but the latter was chosen for his merits on the field and for honours so won. Even so the generals held far more practical power in the tribe than the other officers which is natural in so warlike a race. When a tribe was ruled by kings these monarchs held sway by right of birth but at the same time were merely figureheads with no actual authority. The chiefmen were chosen at the councils of the tribes for their services to their peoples and these were generally of a military nature. None of these officials had any actual power to inflict punishment upon tribesmen even the generals being forbidden to do so upon refractory soldiers. Corporal punishment was allowed to the priests alone and even this was not inflicted for crime but as an offering to a tribal god through the priest. The priests we shall discuss later
in connection with the religion of the Germans.

The actual management of the tribe's affairs was in the hands of the chiefmen. If the matter under discussion were of too great import it was referred to the council. This council, the only one in the tribe, was an assembly of the whole tribe which convened at regular intervals, at the new or full moon as being the most auspicious occasions, only after a meeting of the chiefs. Except in unusual circumstances these tribal conventions were held only at the stated times. The tribesmen attended fully armed while it fell to the duty of the priests to retain order. The first spokesman was always the king or the chief of the village. Unpopular speeches drew murmurs of dissent from the rank and file while the violent brandishing of spears signified approval. The kings or chiefs had no real constitutional influence over the tribesmen their only weapons being their prowess in war and their resultant abilities of persuasion. Unlimited freedom of speech marked the councils and no hesitation was felt to express disagreement with the leading men.

The position of chief was reached after services to a tribe and noble deeds by a father gave a son the rank of chief. All the noble youths in a village attached themselves to a chief, according to choice, who vied with his brother leaders for the right of having the largest and most honourable escort. The followers themselves competed for the highest positions in the chief's retinue. Thus a
body consisting of a chief and a band of young and noble youths was, "an ornament in peace and a defence in war". (1)

The fame of an outstanding chief spread through neighbouring states and thus his reputation and influence were enhanced and often by this very thing he could settle an external dispute and keep order internally. But a permanent and stable power the chief had not. In war the escort fought alongside the chief and to return from battle without the chief was a signal disgrace. "The chief fights for his country, the vassals fight for their chief." (2)

It was to the chief that each man looked for leadership at home and abroad. In fact it was to the chief that the warrior in the retinue looked for his arms and horses taken from the booty won.

Little need be or can be said of the German menage. The house was managed not by the women in particular but by the oldest and weakest members, male and female. The young and active did nothing in the house but between campaigns led a life of sloth which was remarkable in so active a race.

Slaves at Rome were slaves as we in modern times understand the term but in Germany they were little more than feudal serfs although Tacitus calls them slaves. Slavery as understood by Tacitus was at a low ebb in Germany. What few serfs there were led a life of ease com-

(1) Tac. Germ. 13
(2) Tac. Germ. 14
pared to that endured by the average slave at Rome for example. Each man had a home of his own and was in reality only his master's tenant. The usual feudal tax was exacted on clothing, grain, and cattle but this marked the limit of subjection. Nor were the slaves ill-treated. It was an unusual thing for a slave to be punished and he was an ordinary member of the tribe to all intents and purposes except of course that he could not hold a tribal office. Freedmen hardly differed from slaves counting but little in the life of the tribe.
Chapter 8

Religious superstition in Germany.

Of German religion we know little. In the classical writers we find general references to the tribal gods but it is to Tacitus that we must turn if we wish to learn anything of a particular nature. The various tribes differed to some extent in their religious practices but generally speaking they were uniform. We shall mention these exceptions in due turn.

In their songs the Germans celebrated the earth born god Tuisco and his son Mannus and this root they claimed as the source of their race. The god whom they worshipped more than all others was Mercury while Hercules, Mars and Isis were also known to them and so appeased with offerings but never with human sacrifice. These gods did not take the form of images to be confined in temples or houses but on the other hand groves and woods were consecrated to them this being considered more in keeping "with the grandeur of celestial beings". (1) To Mercury they offered human sacrifice but such was not the case with the other deities. The worship of Isis was confined to a section of the Suebic race and these peoples certainly did build images indicative of a foreign deity according to Tacitus. It must be realized that the Germans themselves did not know the gods by the foregoing names. Tacitus however, judged the name of the particular deity by the form of worship and the qualities attributed to it by the tribe.
The Germans seem to have been a superstitious race and they believed heartily in auguries and divination as interpreted by the priest publicly or the father of the family privately. Their method of divination was complicated, several cut sections of a lopped bough, being cast over a white garment and selected by the priest. When the result was unfavorable action for the day was at an end but in the event of a favorable omen the sanction of the augury was sought.

For auguries they were familiar with the construction to be put upon the notes and flight of birds, an ancient type of augury known in Greece in the time of Aristophanes. More peculiar was their use of horses for such purposes. White unworked horses were kept in the sacred groves and their behaviour was studied by the priests or kings or chiefs. During the interpretation of the augury these animals were yoked to a car sacred to the god. Often the tribes took auspices to learn the result of an important war and this was done as follows. A prisoner of the particular enemy, was pitted against the local champion in single combat; each man with the weapons of his own tribe and the result foresaw the issue of the war itself.

We know little of the priests themselves, except that they were powerful members of the tribe and were regarded as the ministers of the deities.

It is as well to mention with Tacitus any unusual customs found in the various tribes. The Semnones were said to bear witness to their antiquity by their religious practice. At definite intervals the whole race assembled in the sacred
groves, where dwelt the all powerful deity whence the nation was believed to have its origin. As a mark of subservience, no man entered the grove unbound while, if a man had the misfortune to fall he was forced to crawl out of the grove before regaining his feet.

The Reudigni and their kindred Suebic tribes worshipped Ertha, goddess of the earth and believed that she controlled human affairs and visited the tribes in her sacred car represented by a consecrated chariot in the grove. The latter was covered with cloth and could be touched by the priest alone. At certain times, sensed by the priest the goddess drove among the tribesmen. Then all was peace and weapons were put away until wearied by human contact she returned in the chariot to her grove. Her periodical earthly visits, announced by the priest, brought festivity, rejoicing and cessation from warfare. Afterwards car and vestments were purified by slaves who immediately disappeared after bathing these in a mystic lake. All this added a terrifying and strange awe to the grove.

The Naharnavali had a sacred grove ruled by a priest in female attire. The god was Alois but Tacitus interprets the deities of the grove as Castor and Pollux, and notes that relations between god and man in this tribe were brotherly while the deities were considered as youths.

This is practically a summary of the remarks of Tacitus on the subject since he is the only reliable authority Caesar merely states that the Germans counted as gods only visible and helpful things such as Sun, Moon, Stars and Fire. He claims that they knew nothing of others. (1) Tac. Germ. 43.
We may add, however, that it is worth noting that the religion of the Germans was as simple as the other phases of life in that country.
Chapter 9

Customs.

Many of the customs of the German tribes have been mentioned and explained in other sections of this treatise where the context is more suitable. It is the intention of this chapter to gather in the loose ends so as not to omit any phase of German life if possible. We have had nothing to say yet on the subject of the administration of German justice and we propose to devote a small amount of attention to it before garnering in stray German customs.

The German court of justice was the council or assembly of all the tribesmen. This was also an elective body which chose minor magistrates who administered law in the outlying districts of the tribe. Each of these had one hundred assistants for advisory purposes. In criminal cases the condemned man was punished according to the nature of his crime. "This distinction in punishment means that crime they think ought in being punished to be exposed while infamy ought to be buried out of sight." (1) Thus traitors and deserters were hanged while cowards and hardened degenerates were cast into the marshes and buried there. Minor offenses drew minor penalties such as fines to be paid in horses and cattle, half going to the king or the state and half to the plaintiff and his family. Homicides and feuds could also be settled by the payment of cattle.

(1) Tac. Germ. 12
These were their methods of administering justice but seldom was it necessary to put them into effect. The Germans were remarkably free from vice and here is another instance of the simplicity of their barbarian life which has been stressed so often. "No one in Germany laughs at vice nor do they call it the fashion to corrupt and to be corrupted." (1)

No business, public or private, was transacted unarmed and the bestowal of a lad's first arms involved no little ceremony. Arms were granted to a German youth after he had proven his ability to wear them in battle. Then at the next assembly of the people a shield and a spear were presented publicly either by a chief or the father of the recipient. From this time on the youth was primarily a member of the state as well as a private household member.

The tribesmen did not dwell in cities or in-habit houses closely contiguous to one another. They erected their huts scattered in the fields just as fancy attracted them. Each house had open spaces on all sides while parts of the building were stained with a certain kind of clay which gave the impression of gaudy painting. They also dug caves from the level ground which they blocked with piles of earth and used either as warm shelters in their cold winters or merely as safe storehouses for their food and plunder. There was an added value to this plan. When an enemy approached he generally laid waste the sur-

(1) Tac. Germ. 14
rounding country with fire and sword but he was more than likely to overlook underground retreats.

As a race the Germans were generous in their hospitality. Any and every guest, friendly or otherwise, was well received, it being thought a breach of piety for a stranger to be sent away. When the meagre supplies were exhausted guest and host moved to the next habitation and partook of the neighbour's hospitality and fare. At the departure of the guest it was customary to exchange gifts, a custom which delighted the simple German heart.

In peace the tribespeople lived a lazy life. They arose late in the day and bathed in warm water before eating. Then there were festivals or assemblies to which they proceeded, armed as usual. Their spare time they spent hunting or in leisure. Nights were often spent in prolonged drinking bouts ending frequently in quarrels and bloodshed. Their assemblies more often than not coincided with their tribal feasts and not only did they elect chiefs and other officers and transact regular business but they also decided upon private matters such as matrimonial alliances.

In their funeral rites they were simple as in all else. They practiced cremation, burning the man's arms and horse with the corpse. Leading men were burned along with a certain kind of wood but they had no use for spices and scented material for the pyre. No lofty monument graced the grave but a mere turf mound sufficed as homage.
to the dead. They set little value in ostentatious tears and lamentation. "It is thought becoming for women to bewail and men to remember the dead." (1)

So much for the general customs of the Germans. The customs peculiar to certain tribes have been mentioned in due place.

(1) Tac. Germ. 27
Chapter 10
Attitude of Rome to the Germani.

Example -- Tacitus.

It is interesting to note in what light the Romans considered the Germans, whether they admired or des-pised them, feared them or scorned them.

The Romans always treated a foreign people with disdain and to a certain degree this was no exception. In 390 B.C. the Romans were haughty to the Gauls until the latter brought Rome to her knees. When the Cimbri and the Teutones appeared on the borders of Italy the usual Roman contempt for the barbarians was tempered somewhat by an ever increasing fear as one after another of her armies fell before the furious onslaughts of the invaders. Never-theless the reply to the demand for lands made by the Cimbri and their allies was couched in typically proud Ro-man fashion. Rome feared them but yet despised them as be-neath her. Her lordly manner had no influence in this case and she was forced to treat the Cimbri as very dangerous foes.

Caesar writes of the tribes as barbaric and uncivilized but wonderfully good fighters. The true Roman speaks when he writes of the Ubii, - "once prosperous ac-cording to German standards". (1) He continues to describe the Germans and their customs as if they belonged to an in-

(1) Caes. De. B.G. IV, 3
fierior race honoured highly to be even noticed by him. The work of Strabo is written in a purely impersonal manner and for one under Roman influence is remarkably untainted by personal opinion.

It is in Tacitus that we find reflected the true Roman viewpoint. He is essentially Roman in style, in the lofty tone which we can feel throughout the Germania and yet at times he cannot help comparing Roman and German very often to the detriment of the former. He is not slow to recognize the merits of these so called barbarians but we feel that only does so to strike shrewd blows at Roman society in a cryptic phrase or clause. "In the rude and simple virtues of the Germans Tacitus saw a conspicuous contrast to Roman degeneracy. . . . . . . . . . . . . There are certainly passages in the Germany which suggest a comparison between the merits of barbarian simplicity and the complicated evils of a highly artificial and luxurious civilization." (1) A few instances will suffice. He mentions that the Germans knew nothing of usury and then adds; - "A more effectual safeguard than if it was prohibited." (2) At the back of his mind is always the greatness of Roma and her faults which were many. In speaking of the subjection of the Batavi he says; - "For the greatness of the Roman people has spread reverence for our empire beyond the Rhine and the old boun-

(1) Church & Bovet. Minor Works of Tacitus. Introd. to Germ.
(2) Tac. Germ. 26
daries." (1) Yet he realizes that the Germans were a great people for all his Roman imperialistic views. He tells us that the Ubii never blushed to own their origin as Germanic.
(2) Again we see the Roman when we read; - "For Germans these tribes have much intelligence and sagacity." (3) Once more the imperialist is glimpsed when Tacitus commenting on tribal wars writes unrelentingly; - "May the tribes, I pray, ever retain, if not love for us, at least hatred for each other............fortune can grant us no greater boon than discord among our foes." (4) In this section the Roman gazes with joy on the spectacle of these savage barbarians slaughtering each other. He recognizes German faults and is very critical on the German habit of drinking and gambling to excess.

But what a tribute is paid to German arms! Here is a genuine appreciation of a bitter and dangerous foe. He admits that Germany was never been conquered by the Romans. Writing of the invasions of the Cimbri in relation to his own day he remarks; - "So long have we been in conquering the Germans," (5) and this in a respectful tone. He counts Germany as Rome's greatest foe who "deprived the Roman people of five consular armies and robbed even a Caesar

(1) Tac. Germ. 29
(2) Tac. Germ. 27
(3) Tac. Germ. 30
(4) Tac. Germ. 33
(5) Tac. Germ. 37
of Varus and his three legions. Not without loss to us were they discomfited." (1) And then in another of those pithy observants of which he is so fond; - "We have celebrated triumphs over them rather than won conquests." (2) He appreciated the Germanic love of independence and is quite fair in his observations on these savage nomads at least according to Roman standards of fairness. At the back of his mind there seems always to be the knowledge that he is a Roman, a citizen of the greatest city in the world, a city controlling the world and mistress of all other peoples in the world. This, one might say without contradiction, sums up the attitude of the average Roman citizen to the Germans; a superior pride of civilization as opposed to barbarism, tempered by a grudging recognition and a hidden fear of military achievement, and the acknowledgement of advantages of barbarian simplicity over civilized self indulgence. We must not overlook the undercurrent of fear which the Romans always felt, a fear inaugurated by the Gauls in 390 B.C., increased by the Cimbri and Teutones from 113 to 101 B.C., assuaged by the victories of Caesar and renewed by the disaster of 9 A.D., a fear which remained faint at times it is true but a fear which remained all the same in Roman hearts to the end of her history.

(1) Tac. Germ. 37
(2) Tac. Germ. 37
Chapter 11

The German Attitude.

Tacitus is inclined to write of the Germans through Roman eyes. To understand the German view of life and its attitude to the Romans we are compelled to a certain extent to read between the lines. We are told definitely a little in the Germania while we can infer a great deal. In the Annals there are several speeches made by German leaders which are representative of German feeling and it is from these that we propose to form our own conclusions.

The Germans coveted their liberty beyond all else in life and we can sense this feeling whenever we read of them. Admittedly the Cimbri and the Teutones were aggressors although in a sense looking for freedom in a new environment but from that time on the Germans were defenders fighting for their land and country against the hated Roman invader. "German independence truly is greater than the despotism of an Arsaces." (1) and here lies the real cause of the love of war which was ingrained in every tribesman. They fought because they loved doing so, true, but they loved it because they were fighting for all that was theirs by right of birth, by right of possession, sometimes by right of conquest. It was with this spirit behind them that they discomfited so many a Roman leader and his well-disciplined forces. It was with this spirit behind them that they caused so much trouble to the Romans throughout the

(1) Tac. Germ. 37
whole history of the Empire and even as early as the campaigns of Caesar. Thus they forced the elaborate northern boundary considered by Augustus to be so necessary.

In the first book of the Annals the outstanding characters on the German side are Segestes and Arminius, in fact these two chiefs are the outstanding characters of the whole campaign across the Rhenus. These two held views in direct contrast to one another for Segestes was friendly to Rome while Arminius had been a leader of the Cherusci who destroyed Varus and his three legions in 9 A.D. Segestes was more a thinker than the average German while Arminius demands our admiration because he was more a German than his fellow chief. A comparison of the speeches of the two men will illustrate the point.

Segestes in his speech to Germanicus says, "Non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies............neque odio patriae........verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam." (1) He speaks of the conflict with Varus, "Quae secuta sunt deflari magis quam defendi possunt". (1) Later he states that he wishes to be, "genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit." (1) This view is perfectly sane and as such is too sane for any true German and therefore we cannot consider him a typical German for nowhere else are these views agreed with in classical writers. His words appear tame when we contrast them with the fiery

(1) Tac. Annals I, 58
exhortations of his brother-in-law Arminius to his men. Tacitus attempts to paint Arminius in a bad light and marks him as a rebel against the Romans. Yet we cannot but admire the spirit of the Cheruscan chief in defying the whole might of the Roman Empire which stood behind Germanicus, its chosen representative. Arminius is called, "Turbator Germaniae". (1) Perhaps he was but is it so rebellious for a chief to wish to free his people from the shackles of a foreign foe?

Tacitus attempts to show Segestes as a pathetic figure in the speech we have quoted. Yet it is Arminius who earns our sympathy in his courageous efforts to beat back the Romans, a task which even he must have recognized as hopeless. Repulsed at least for the moment, despised by his Roman enemies, stripped of his loyal wife he is a noble figure as he harangues his wild Cherusci in a speech which endears him to the hearts of all understanding readers. Here speaks the true German imbued with the true German love of freedom. His speech is a masterpiece of its kind and since it illustrates as no modern writer can the German attitude to these arrogant Romans who were taking their own country from them it is well worth quoting in a body.

"Arminius volitabat per Cheruscos arma in Segestem arma in Caesarem poscens; neque probris temperabat; egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortrem exercitum quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. sibi tres legiones totidem legatos (1) Tac. Annals I, 55
procubuisse; non enim se prodigione neque adversus feminas gravidas sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucos signa Romana quae dis patriis suspenderit. coleret Segestes Victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum; Germanos numquam satis excusatoros quod inter Albin et Rhenum virgas et securis et togam viderint; aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exuerint inrē-tusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus ille delectus Tiberius ne inpertum adulescentulum ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitirosae servitutis ducem sequerentur." (1) Not only does this typify the German point of view; it is also one of the finest examples of patriotic feeling in all literature. Granted that this is written by Tacitus the speech itself being merely reported, but at the same time Tacitus would not give more than his due to any German leader judging from his bitter outbursts in the Germania. (2) We can therefore take it for granted that this was the substance of Arminius' address to his tribesmen and we point to this as containing the essence of the German point of view.

Germanicus addressed his soldiers on the eve of battle in Germany later in his campaigns and states that the

(1) Tac. Annals I, 59
(2) Tac. Germ. 37
Germans are cowardly, prone to flight and unenduring soldiers. 
(1) But here it seems he is mistaken. The Germans were anything but cowards as the Romans found only too frequently. All classical writers are unanimous in hailing them as wonderful fighters, fit opposition for any army of the day. Thus we must conclude that these remarks of the Roman leader were only propaganda to his troops to raise their spirit for the coming battle.

Only a race well schooled to adversity and with an untamable courage could have waged a losing battle for so many years against the Roman people, rebelling at every opportunity, never quiet enough to be left alone and always being a problem to the Roman Emperor. And so we conclude this discussion no more fittingly than with the cry of Arminius, "Aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?" (2)

(1) Tac. Annals II, 14  
(2) Tac. Annals II, 15
ROME AND GERMANY

PART II.

CONTACT OF ROME WITH GERMANY
Chapter I.

The Roman knowledge of Germany

Up to a late period, Rome knew comparatively little of Germany and the Germans. In early times, at least until after 125 B.C., she had only vague ideas concerning the peoples and tribes to the north. The Romans themselves were never very far from the Mediterranean, the Roman Lake. As far as the Romans were concerned the Gauls and their kindred races were merely a barbarian menace somewhere to the north of the Alps. Of course, the early invasion of Italy by the Gauls and the subsequent sacking of the city left impressions upon the citizens which lasted for centuries. The early disaster occurred in 390 B.C., just after the destruction of Veii, by Camillus. Before that time Rome had absolutely no knowledge of the northerners. To them "they were a distant and therefore unknown people." They were an "enemy never seen or heard of before" and to the Romans their coming heralded the existence of a horde of uncivilized barbarians to the north. The Romans at this time had never ventured far from the Mediterranean and their own narrow sphere of influence while "beyond the Alps were Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic tribes, barbaric manners, encampments here and there, a nomadic or unsettled life, the authority of chiefs, and in the germ many of the customs which the mediaeval period inherited. Rome had not sought to cross her barrier." This held true

up to the end of the second century B.C. Plutarch in his life
of Marius speaks of the origins of the Cimbri and the Teutones,
but adds; - "But all this is rather founded on conjecture than
on sure historical evidence." Thus we see Rome a strong city
state in Italy and after the fall of Veii, a leader in the
peninsula but all the while blissfully ignorant of the peoples
of the north. Then came the barbarian hordes across the Alps
and into Italy to wreak havoc on the Romans and to imprint a
terror into hearts which was destined to last all through
her history as a ruling power. Admittedly these tribes were
Gauls and not Germans but Rome knew not of what race they
sprang. They were all one to her at this time and all she
cared was that across the Alps dwelt barbarians fierce and
terrible in battle and an ever present menace to the city
itself. After the successes of Marius in 102 and 101 B.C.,
the menace to the north was somewhat abated but a shadow of
the old fear remained. The northern peoples were still wild
barbarians and still the Romans knew little of them; they had
not as yet penetrated northwards into the country of the
invaders.

Then came Caesar and his expeditions into Gaul and
across the Rhine. This was the first occasion on which a
Roman force had taken offensive measures against the northern-
ers. On the publication of the works of the great general it
was possible for the Romans to gain more information about
the Germans, but nevertheless most of Caesar's comments merely
heightened the vague impressions which the civilized world
(1) Plutarch "Life of Marius."
already had. According to Caesar the tribes were still wild and nomadic. They were savage enemies and good fighters as always. But Caesar did not penetrate far into Germany and so only dealt truthfully with the tribes near the Rhine and indulged in guesswork for the rest. Nevertheless most of his information is accurate for he spent ten years campaigning in Gaul and Germany or at least on the borders of Germany.

Prone as he is to exaggeration in certain sections, it must be remembered that he enlisted Germans in his army and derived a great deal of information from them.

Most of the Roman writers evaded the issue when speaking of the Germanies. Strabo writing in the time of Augustus says that the Romans had not yet sailed coastwise beyond the Albin; and so he is unsure of conditions across the river. He treats a few of the farther peoples but admits in unconscious agreement with Plutarch that, "all this is a matter rather for conjecture than of sure knowledge." As a matter of fact there are very few references in classical writers to the German tribes which in itself accentuates the ignorance prevalent in the ancient world.

Finally late in the first century A. D., Tacitus compiled his work the "Germania." This is the most complete record which we have of the north country, its tribes, their customs and religions which prevailed at that time. We must accept his information as true for it is believed by many authorities that he spent the years 89 to 93 A. D. in Germany.

In addition the elder Pliny who had campaigned in Germany had
written twenty books describing the Germanic wars and the historian doubtless had access to these which are now lost. (1) Furthermore he had opportunities at this time of conversing with Romans who had actually taken part in the wars in Germany and who therefore knew the country. At any rate his treatise rings true and sheds much light on hitherto unknown tribes and facts concerning the tribes and his knowledge is fuller than that of any other writer whose work is extant. He writes with decision as opposed to his predecessor Strabo and is bitingly cynical at times when commenting on simple German customs as against Roman follies. He writes conscientiously and it is quite likely that he checked his information for he ends as follows; "All else is unauthenticated and I shall leave it open." (2)

The mystic and terrifying mist which had surrounded the Germans first began to clear after the arrangements of Augustus with regard to the frontiers. The defensive zones of Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, were created and Roman legions quartered on the Rhine. Under the Empire, Roman generals waged numerous wars on the east side of the Rhenus, in the territory of and against the Germans. The slaughter of Varus with his three legions in 9 A. D. certainly renewed Roman fears which had been lulled but the successes of Germanic under Tiberius did much to nullify them. As far as Rome was concerned these legions on the borders of Empire not only had a tremendous influence on Roman politics but also opened the way for further information concerning the ferocious (1) Tac. Annals, I, 69, (2) Tac. Germ. 46.
tribes and their country beyond the river and made it possible for Roman explorers and historians to gather material more or less in safety. During the Empire, most of the dread felt by the Romans against the German tribes themselves disappeared. Perhaps this was partly because ROME began to feel the power of the forces stationed on the Rhenus and to realize what a weapon they formed against herself. Not all the dread was banished, however, for a trace remained and not without reason for it was from the northern hinterland that the overwhelming avalanche swept, which was to annihilate Rome and her Empire.
Chapter II

Earliest Contact with the Northern Peoples

Livy tells us that the Gauls crossed the Alps into Italy long before they sacked Rome, that they fought many engagements with the Etruscans, who dwelt between the Appenines and the Alps. Nevertheless, the first contact of Rome with these barbarians from the north occurred after the destruction of Veii by Camillus and the subsequent banishment of the Dictator. Gallic tribes wandering in their nomadic fashion, poured across the Alps and into Italy and defeated a Roman army in the north. The Romans were terrified by this strange foe, by their ferocious methods of warfare and by their very appearance which was wild and rough. The Gauls advanced and the citizens evacuated Rome. Thereupon they proceeded to the city and sacked it but the able-bodied Romans in the citadel itself, defended this last retreat, beating off the savage attacks on it. Finally after a long siege M. Furius Camillus was recalled and he beat the Gallic hosts who were demanding a ransom of one thousand pounds of gold. The ransom was paid (2) but Camillus recovered it and redeemed the name of his country. The sack of the city occurred in 390 B.C., but the Gauls did not actually withdraw until 348 B.C. In that year the Gauls were a menace and continued so until as late as 285 B.C., when they were utterly defeated by the Romans. After the retreat of the Gauls from Camillus the city was rebuilt under the direction of the general, the saviour of the city but the Romans themselves never forgot the harrowing experience and for centuries the northern threat hovered over the city of seven hills. (1) Livy, V, xlv. (2) Diodorus.
Chapter III.

The Cimbri and the Teutones.

For two and a half centuries Rome remained unmolested from the north. During this time the city state had no outlet over the Alps into Gaul, Spain and Asia and her next relation with the peoples to the north was due to the desire to effect roads into these countries. The Alps were a good defense but certainly passable as first the Gauls and then Hannibal had made inroads into Italy by this route. Obviously it was necessary to establish out-posts in Spain and in Gaul not only as bulwarks against invasion and for the sake of roads to Spain and Greece but also for economic reasons. The earliest ventures beyond the mountain barrier took place in 125 B. C., when on the complaint of the people of Greek Massilia, the Oxybii and the Deciates two Gallic tribes were defeated by Fulvius Flaccus and Sextius. In 122 B. C., after war in Gallia, Aquae Sextiae was founded in Gallia Narbonensis, as its name implies, by Sextius. In the next year, the Gallic Allobroges were defeated by Domitius Ahenobarbus, who cleared the Via Domitia to Spain. The next few years saw Roman generals warring against Gallic tribes, to gain possession of the Alps. In 118 B. C., Marcius secured the Alpes Maritimae, by the destruction of the Stoeni. Next, Aemilius Scaurus defeated the Carni, to gain the Alpes Carnicae; while Porcius Cato won the Illyrian Alps, in wars against the savage Scordisci—who had appeared on the borders of Illyria, although the Roman leader perished in battle in (1) Durny, Hist. Rome Vol. II, Ch. xi.
114 B. C. These Scordisci had caused real terror in Rome by their appearance in 116 B. C., on the eastern coast of the Adriatic; but they were repelled by the legions of Macedonia and Thracia as far back as the Danuvius.

Thus far affairs were progressing well for the Romans. They had secured possession of the Alps and had made possible the roads they needed. Then, from a seemingly clear sky, a new horde of barbarians from the north swooped down upon the Roman horizon, to throw confusion into Roman arms, and to harass the legions, and even the city itself for twelve years. These were the Cimbri and the Teutones who terrified their foes; - "Quo metu Italia omnis contremuit." The first clash of many occurred in 113 B. C., when the Cimbri, totally defeated the army of the consul Papirius Carbo and in the three following years, 113, 112, 111, B. C., the barbarian host ravaged Pannonia, Noricum, and Illyricum. In 110 B. C., after an alliance with the Belgae, Gaul was overrun and devastated. This exploit was followed by a second engagement with the legions in 109 B. C., when another consul, M. Junius Silanus confronted the invaders with a strong force. He also fell before the Cimbri. The enemy was now on the very borders of Italy and a threat to the life of the city itself. The victors now appealed to the senate claiming lands and promising peace in payment. Not unnaturally for Romans, the senate refused and treated the envoys rather curtly. The Cimbri and Teutones had been joined during the plundering by the Tugeni, Tigurini of the Gauls and the Ambrones a branch of the Helvetii and this according to Plutarch swelled the numbers of the bar-

(1) Sallust, Jug. 114.
barbarians to three hundred thousand strong. In 107 B.C., Cassius Longinus suffered the fate of his two predecessors against the Tigurini while the Cimbri and Teutones scattered the troops of Aemilius Soaurus. These disasters following upon early defeats caused Rome to realize that her danger was very real indeed. Yet two years later Cn. Manlius and Servilius Caepio failed to check the invaders. Their armies were utterly routed and both the legionary camps were destroyed and razed. This made a total of six Roman armies, five of them consular, scattered by the barbarians. Florus phrases the defeats succinctly as follows: "Sed nec primum impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Caepio sustinere potuerunt." These victories in the Rhodanus district placed Rome at the mercy of the intolerably arrogant northmen. In addition the prestige of the Roman name began to wane in the minds of these barbarians who had now so often defeated the legions. Then Rome had a stroke of luck. The Cimbri and the Teutones with the city at their mercy and the whole Roman world dazed at their accomplishments separated. They forfeited this splendid opportunity, when the way lay clear, for the sake of minor plunderings, when the Cimbri proceeded westwards to Spain and Gaul and the Teutones ravaged the neighbouring country for the following three years. This gave a brief respite for the militia of Rome to be reorganized and a leader to be found for the purpose of opposing the inevitable final onslaught of the barbarians.

At this time the rising man in Rome was Marius. It

(1) Florus, I, 38.

(2) Plutarch: Life of Marius.
was to Marius that Rome turned in her emergency and it became his life work to save Rome from being submerged by a state of barbarism. In 105 B.C., after the two terrible defeats suffered by the Roman generals he was elected consul for 104 B.C., "propter Cimbrici Belli metum." Marius immediately began preparations for the reorganization of the army—given time as mentioned above by the move of the Cimbri to Hispania. Marius introduced military innovations in Rome by calling for volunteers, thus paving the way for a professional army to take the place of the former system of conscription. He made numerous other changes, trained his army to perfection and was elected consul year after year by necessity. Velleius Paterculus writes of Marius "Tertius consulatus in apparatu bellico consumptus." and between the separation and reunion of the Cimbri and Teutones in 105 B.C., this phrase can be applied to all the intervening years. By 102 B.C., when the Cimbri after their depredations abroad returned to rejoin their allies in Gallia Narbonensis, Marius had at his command a strong and well-trained army. The stage was now set for the last act in the drama between barbarism as personified by the invaders and civilization as represented by Rome and her domains through her leader Marius.

The consuls for 102 B.C., were Catulus and Marius. Catulus marched to Gallia Cisalpina while Marius proceeded as far north as the Rhodanus Flumen. The climax was not long delayed. The Teutones engaged with Marius but this time their unorthodox and wild fighting methods were no match for the genius of Marius at the head of one of the most efficient

(1) Velleius, II, 2.
armies ever before produced by Rome and the barbarian tribe was cut to pieces at Aquae Sextiae in a most bloody battle. Once more the invaders had erred in dividing their fighting force. In the meantime the other consul Catulus, was hesitating to join battle with the Cimbri and preferred to wait for the reassuring presence of Marius for the latter to assume the responsibility. The victorious general reached his confrere in the next year 101 B.C., and soon afterwards, absolutely annihilated the Teutones and the remnants of the Cimbri at Vercellae in another savage encounter. This put an end to the threat which had hovered over Roman hearts for so long and re-established Roman supremacy and reputation in the ancient world.

Rome had been saved when all seemed lost. The inability of the barbarians to seize their opportunities, coupled with the later genius of Marius, had plucked success from what seemed hopeless defeat. Yet this invasion had far reaching consequence for the power gained by Marius with his veterans, the repute he gained by his victory, and the successive consulships which were so unconstitutional, caused civil strife in Rome which was not finally settled, as far as he was concerned, until his death in 86 B.C. Thus, this was no light matter but a landmark in Roman history from the point of view of cause and effect and a mere foreshadowing of the influence Germany and her tribes were to have upon the affairs of Rome in years to come.
Chapter IV

Caesar and the Germans

After the defeat of the Cimbri and the Teutones by Marius in 102 and 101 B.C., the Germans remained unmolested and unmolesting as far as the Romans were concerned until the time of Caesar's ten year governorship in Gaul, between the years 59 and 49 B.C. In the meantime there were happenings in Gaul itself which concerned the Germans. It was not until Caesar's actual command that the clashes with the tribes occurred and forced Caesar to cross the Rhenus twice to reduce the peoples living there.

The primary cause of the campaigns against the Germans in Caesar's time was the invasions of the German chief Ariovistus into Gaul at the request of the Arverni and Sequani to assist them against the Aedui. The German came and defeated the Aedui but then attracted by the fecundity of the Gallic country he remained and settled there reinforced by the fresh swarms who poured across the Rhenus. Soon, even the Sequani realized that Ariovistus, from being their ally had become their master.

Accordingly the Sequani and the Arverni joined forces with the Aedui, now allies of Rome, their erstwhile foes, in an attempt to expel the German invaders. All to no avail however for the combined Gallic army received a crushing defeat in 61 B.C., when they forced battle. This was another example of the age old evil of calling upon an outside people for aid against an internal foe. Before the deciding battle the Gauls had applied to Rome for help which was refused al-
though all future Roman governors in Gaul were entrusted with consulting Aeduan interests on all occasions. In the meantime Ariovistus and his German barbarians remained ensconced in modern Alsace which had previously been ceded to them by the Sequani. In addition they threatened to drive the Gauls from their own country and there was always the danger which hung over Italy.

The Helvetii a semi Germanic tribe, in their turn feared the Germans now living in Gaul lest the latter should sunder them from their Celtic kinsmen. Therefore they planned an invasion into the heart of Gaul itself with a view to establishing themselves in that country permanently. In the years immediately preceding the governorship of Caesar it was obvious that the Germans would overrun Gaul and this terrified the Romans who had the disasters suffered at the hands of the Cimbri and their allies fresh in their minds. In addition there was the Helvetian danger.

This was the state of affairs in 59 B.C., when the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Transalpine Gaul, were voted to Caesar and it became his task to teach the Germans a lesson, to remind them that the Rhenus Flumen was their boundary and across that they might not come.

In 58 B.C. The Helvetii and their allies, including the Boii, began their march into the Roman province. Caesar immediately proceeded from Rome to his governorship prepared to restore order in Gaul and to drive out the hostile Ariovistus if necessary for the peace of the country. The Helvetii opened hostilities by asking permission to cross the Rhodanus and Caesar after dallying for a few weeks refused
this request and then forcibly prevented the tribes from doing so. The Helvetii promptly marched northwards through the country of the Sequani but the Roman general followed closely and after several skirmishes defeated the tribal force near Bibracte. This was in 58 B.C. The Helvetii were sent home after the engagement while many of the Boii remained with the Aedui who appreciated their warrior strength.

There remained the inevitable conflict with the German Ariovistus who was becoming more and more arrogant to the Gauls in whose country he had settled. Envoys came to Caesar from the Aedui and the Sequani seeking aid against the German, who was reported as being a bloodthirsty tyrant. Caesar promised aid realizing only too well that if the hordes were not checked in their stream across the Rhenus there might very easily be another invasion of Italy. The Romans' request for a consultation was arrogantly refused leaving the way open for an aggressive policy on the part of the Romans. Then came the news of the appearance of the fierce Suebi on the German side of the Rhenus and Caesar knew that the time had come to act and to do so immediately. These Suebi were obviously awaiting the issue between Caesar and Ariovistus and in the event of the defeat of the former were ready to cross the river and rush into Gaul. Furthermore in this event the Gauls, now his allies, would rise against him on the side of the Germans. Accordingly he made all possible haste to siege Vesontio, a Gallic stronghold. Thence he proceeded to carry the war to Ariovistus and held an abortive conference with him. Finally after preliminary manoeuvring Caesar attacked the German force
and completely defeated it near Argentum. The remnants fled to the Rhenus and crossing it made for home. The Suebi, awaiting the outcome of the battle learned of the crushing defeat sustained by their kinsmen and returned home at once. For the moment Caesar was master.

Between 58 and 55 B.C., Caesar was busy subduing the Galli and the Belgae. In the latter year the Usipetes and the Tencteri crossed the southern waters of the Rhenus and occupied the territory of the Menapii after slaughtering its inhabitants. Caesar made no delay in marching against his new opponents and first attempted to negotiate but this proved fruitless as indeed did all attempts to come to terms with the Germans before the outbreak of hostilities. Finally the Roman attacked his opponents and in a battle that was virtually a massacre totally routed the Germans. Another invasion was checked in its infancy. Yet Caesar did not leave matters finished at this stage but determined to take the offensive. Accordingly he bridged the Rhenus and crossed the river thus displaying what Roman science could do in the face of seemingly impossible odds. A section of his recent foes had found refuge with the Sugambri to the north and these people Caesar intended to punish. He marched against them and ravaged their country on their withdrawal to their forests and marsh. Although asked by the Ubii to help them against the Suebi Caesar considered the time to be inopportune and refused. In the meantime the Suebi were in the forests ready for battle with the Romans. "But Caesar had neither the force or the inclination to undertake the conquest of Germany. Having accomplished every object for which he had entered the country
punished his enemies, reassured his friends, and made the name of Rome respected—he recrossed the Rhenus and destroyed his bridge."

53 B. C. brought the next encounter with the Germans. Ambiorix, a Gallic chief, of the Eburones, had rebelled and enjoyed some success against Caesar. He had been aided by the Germans across the river. Caesar in his campaign of vengeance first undertook to punish the allies. He crushed the Menapii as a preliminary step and then made preparations to cross the Rhenus. He bridged the river and prepared his campaign after making allies of the Ubii. His enemies in this case were the fierce Suebi. The latter massed, and waiting as of old in the woods Caesar found that they were too far inland to be reached with safety and so contented himself with destroying the eastern end of the bridge and setting up a watch tower there, as warning and reminder to the Germans beyond. Then he returned to Gaul to take stern measures against Ambiorix. He was now free of the German menace.

This was Caesar's final campaign against the Germans although all during his wars with the Gauls the Germans and especially the Suebi, were sending aid to Caesar's foes. During these conflicts German and Roman learned to know each other better and thus to respect each other; though the Roman never admitted as much. The value of Caesar's work can never be over emphasized. Not only did he accomplish an innovation in actually carrying the war to the Germans and crossing the Rhenus into their country, but he also by his wars and his descriptions of wars opened up a new source of information concerning Germany and the Germans which was destined to stand—
Romans in good stead in the future. Caesar certainly treated the Germans savagely. Against the Usepetes and Tencteri he adopted a deliberate policy of terrorization. Thus he hoped to secure peace for the future. How far he succeeded we shall see in following chapters.
Chapter V.

Germany under Augustus.

It was not long before Augustus realized the German danger which ever threatened Italy. Early in his reign the problem was forcibly presented to him by risings among the northern tribes. Thus, after his safe establishment in the principate he turned his attention to the boundary question. He decided eventually to extend the northern limit as far as the Albis but this necessitated the conquest of Germany. On the other hand it meant the subjugation of the tribes and this, he hoped, would make for peace to the north.

These resolutions were only undertaken after trouble with the Germans and the northern boundary. The first brush with the tribes occurred in 17 and 16 B.C., when the Sugambri, Usipetes and Tenoteri crossed the Rhenus and ravaged Gallia Belgica. They enjoyed some small success and even went so far as to defeat the army of Lollius and capture its standard. Accordingly Augustus took Tiberius with him to Gaul to check the Germanic rising. The tribes, however, retreated and after crossing the Rhenus came to terms with the Roman leaders.

In 15 B.C., Drusus and Tiberius were campaigning along the Danuvius frontier against the Rhaeti, and their kindred tribes. Brilliant success marked the progress of the Roman generals and the result of the struggle was the formation of the provinces of Noricum and Rhaetia. All this time, Augustus had been in Gaul settling the Gallic and Germanic differences but in 14 B.C., the emperor returned to Rome, leaving Drusus in charge on the Rhenus frontier.
In 12 B.C., disturbances in Pannonia caused the immediate despatch of Agrippa to that country. The latter, however, died upon his arrival; this event encouraging new risings in Pannonia. Tiberius succeeded Agrippa in the Pannonian command and soon reduced the rebels. Further disturbances forced Augustus to incorporate the district in the province of Illyricum but about 10 A.D., after the Varian disaster it was made into a separate province with a strong military force. The rest of Illyricum then became known as Dalmatia, the whole area extending northwest as a powerful barrier as far as the Danuvius.

From 12-9 B.C., Drusus continued a definite policy of aggression in Germany. The Sugambri provoked the Romans by again crossing the river and inviting the Gauls to join them against the Romans. Drusus drove the tribesmen across the river and bridging it carried the war into their country. He beat the Usipites and the Sugambri and then sailed with his fleet along the coast past the Amisia and the Visurgis as far as the Albis. It was now his definite aim, acting on the orders of Augustus no doubt, to extend the Roman boundary as far as the Albis Flumen. In the same year he reduced the coast tribes as far as the Visurgis. In the next year, 11 B.C., this policy was continued when Drusus advanced inland and occupied the territory of the Cherusci establishing numerous forts in the country. The following year was spent in subduing the Chatti, while in 9 B.C., he reached the Albis and erected a trophy there, marking the limit of Roman advance. At this point Drusus' career was cut short by an accident which caused his
subsequent death on his return from the Albis and Tiberius succeeded his brother in the command.

In 8 B.C., Tiberius commenced to follow the policy of Drusus by an attack against the Sugambri. Rome was now definitely on the offensive. Since other tribes treated for peace the Sugambri did likewise and Augustus seized hostages to ensure the peace being kept. In 7 B.C. Tiberius celebrated his triumph which was held jointly with the name of the deceased Drusus. Thus for a time Germany was quiet. The successors of Tiberius strengthened his and Drusus' conquests and from time to time led expeditions into the country to ensure superiority.

This last step was forced upon Roman commanders because the country between the two rivers was not officially a Roman province and yet had been subdued and practically conquered by Tiberius and Drusus. Accordingly it had a measure of Roman civil administration.

Tiberius himself returned to the command in 4 A.D., and at once emulated Drusus by an aggressive march into the hinterland. On his route to the Albis he reduced the Langobardi Cheruscì and Cherusci supported all the while by his fleet which sailed a little way up the Albis. Opposition was promised by Maroboduus and his Marcomanni and accordingly he planned a skilfully prepared campaign against the tribe, a campaign which would have resulted in the acquisition of Germania as a new province. The attack was to take place from two directions converging upon the territory of the Marcomanni. When all was ready to strike a deadly blow at German independence, a sudden uprising in Dalmatia and Pannonia prevented further
operations in Germany. Tiberius made hurried terms with Maro boduus and rushed away to Pannonia. After a long and wearisome struggle he finally subdued the rebels after three to four years of fighting. In fact, Tiberius had finished with his campaigning as far as Germany was concerned. "Sic perdomuit Germaniam ut in formam paene stipendiariae redigeret provinciae." (1)

During this period (9 A.D to 7 A.D) the whole area from the Rhenus to the Albis was controlled by Rome, although the main force remained on the banks of the Rhenus. The whole country was consolidated and roads were built for the transportation of Roman troops.

The German command passed into the hand of P. Quintilius Varus and this appointment proved to be the turning point in the policy of Augustus and destined to topple all the plans of the Emperor for a trans-Rhenum empire. Varus had previously been governor of Syria and now he attempted to bring Syrian methods of extortion into his occupancy of Germany between the Rhenus and the Albis, overlooking the fact that this district was not a Roman province. On the other hand "the Germans were under no such illusion and in no way regarded themselves as Roman subjects. The Romans were only masters of so much as their camps could control." The Germans chafed under this form of occupancy and accordingly the Cherusi, Ghatti, Marsi and Bructeri under the leadership of Arminius plotted a great rising against the tyrant Romans. The plans of Arminius and his kinsmen came to a head in 9 A.D., when the allied Germans totally defeated the Roman legions, (1) Velleius. II, 97. (2) Shuckburgh "Augustus" Chap. 10.
somewhere between the sources of the Luppia (Lippe) and the Amisia. The remnants of the Roman army marched back to the Rhenus only after incurring tremendous losses from the barbarians who carried on a guerrilla warfare from their woods and marshes.

Thus at one blow all the carefully laid plans of Augustus, Drusus and Tiberius perished. Tiberius rushed post haste to the Rhenus but only managed to strengthen the forts on the river banks. One Roman fort held out for a time on the Luppia and the garrison finally escaped by night after a brave defense. This fort was at Aliso and its successful defense alone prevented the rush of Germans across the Rhenus. The trans-Rhenenum possessions were gone and Germany was once more an independent nation. In 12 A.D., Tiberius was succeeded by Germanicus who made no aggressive move during the remaining years of Augustus. Rome was on the defensive.

The late disaster to Varus seems to have been the cause of the forming of the two army commands, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior. Although they had existed unofficially before, and troops were stationed in them, now they were strengthened and recognized as regular defensive zones and army commands. In Rome itself some fear was felt and in consequence Germans and Gauls were dismissed from the urban soldiery as an added precaution against possible German aggression. Augustus had definitely abandoned the Albis boundary while he had a strong defensive system on the Rhenus
and the Danuvius. In 6 A.D., Moesia had been made into a province thus massing the whole boundary on the south Danuvius as a barrier for the protection of Rome from the north. The two German commands were each to be under a consular legate with a strong military force while to the south the Pannonian legions safeguarded Roman interests. Before the campaigns of 16 to 7 B.C., these two zones had been in existence and legions were stationed at Castra Vetera, Moguntiacum and Vindonissa. Now all these posts were strengthened and four legions were assigned to each section, two being stationed at Castra Vetera and Colonia Agrippinensis respectively and two each at Moguntiacum and Vindonissa. The whole command was separated from that of the Gallic provinces.

Augustus had made his bid for Germany and failed. Nevertheless there was now a strong barrier against possible German aggression and it must be remembered that the princeps had this idea in view all during the campaigns of his generals in the barbarian country. The formation and defense of the provinces on the lower Danuvius were definite protective measures against the Germans. It now remained for Tiberius decide whether or not the policy of Augustus should be followed or whether the attempt to extend the Empire to the Albis should be made once more.
Chapter VI

Germany Under Tiberius.

After the disaster to Varus the army on the Rhenus was, for the first time divided into two separate commands. All territory across the Rhenus, with the exception of small expanses near the bank, was German since hopes of a Roman Empire there had been shattered. "What we have to describe, therefore, in this section is not strictly speaking the circumstances of a Roman province but the fortunes of a Roman army." (1)

About this time, soon after 9 A.D., the limes in the upper waters of the Rhenus seems to have been constructed. A section of the country on the right bank was depopulated and a picketed frontier road marked off. Thus between the limes and the Rhenus was "no man's land" to the Germans and another unit in the elaborate boundary system, although the limes was not fortified strongly until the time of Vespasian and his successors. This early limes was built by Tiberius and according to Mommsen was the foundation of the Augustan military system. "The tribes on the right bank of the Rhenus," says a well informed author of the time of Tiberius, "have been in part transferred by the Romans to the left bank, in part withdrawn of their own accord into the interior." (2)

Although at this stage the two provinces on the left bank of the Rhenus were supposedly under separate commanders the sole command system was actually retained for some years.

(1) Mommsen, Pr. of R. Em. Vol. I Chap. IV, Page 118.
(2) Mommsen, Pr. of R. Em. Vol. I Chap. IV, Page 123.
Tiberius remained on the Rhenus during 11 and 12 A. D., but in the next year Germanicus relieved him as sole commander and there was actually a state of war with Germany although nothing definite was done. Germanicus had to remember that he was an officer of Augustus and that the latter had now determined upon the Rhenus Flumen as the boundary. Germanicus was young, however, and the son of a great father in Drusus, the man who first carried the Roman standards to the Albis. Furthermore, it was irksome for a leader such as he, to recall the three Roman eagles in the hands of the barbarians. While Germanicus chafed on the Rhenus banks in his unnatural inactivity, Augustus in Rome was rapidly sickening. In the meantime, Germanicus was solidifying the Rhenus frontier and reorganizing. It was 14 A. D., before the princeps died whereupon the Rhenus general made preparations for hostilities against the tribes. The curbing influence of Augustus was gone and the imperator could expect condonement for his aggression from Tiberius, who had been consort with Drusus in subduing Germany. The campaigns of Germanicus formed a definite policy of a war of revenge for the shame incurred in 9 A.D.

Early in 14 A. D., Germanicus began his operations by crossing the Rhenum, and penetrating deep into the Luppia country, laying waste the surrounding territory far and wide. The tribes were slaughtered mercilessly;—Germanicus did not easily forget his father and Varus—and temples were destroyed the Bructeri, Tubantes and Usipetes being the chief sufferers. On the return journey, the stalwarts of the legions acquitted themselves nobly and accordingly, thanksgiving honors were
decreed to Germanicus. Encouraged by this, Germanicus attacked the Chatti and the Marsi and the Cherusci with his two forces. Against the Cherusci, he was aided by the internal dissension between Arminius the patriot and Segestes, his brother-in-law and the friend of Rome, whose dramatic story is so strikingly portrayed in the first book of the Annals, by Tacitus.

In the same year, the Roman leader reached as far as the Amisia. His legate, Caecina, led the second force, and together they ravaged the possessions of the Bructeri finally erecting a monument at the scene of the Varian disaster.

The homeward journey was fraught with peril for the Romans as Arminius and his fierce followers harassed them every inch of the way and inflicted disheartening damage upon the Romans. Caecina accomplished a difficult march from the Amisia to the Rhenus while the ships encountered foul weather and suffered accordingly. Caecina's march was an epic all its own. Faced with a certain ignorance of the country and the bitter hostility of the Germanic nations under the savage Arminius the Roman general, with his skill and courage, was all that saved a repetition of the fate that befell Varus, coming upon the legions. When the Roman troops finally reached the Rhenus, the losses in men, horses, and baggage amply counter balanced the success in the field of the previous few weeks.

Germanicus returned to the attack with as much venom in 16 A. D., Since the coast tribes, the Frisii, the Chauci, and the Batae were not unfriendly to the Romans the advance was made by sea. A huge fleet, carrying all the Romans, put out to sea, and reached the mouth of the Amisia. The
soldiery marched up-stream and even reached as far as the upper waters of the Visurgis. Two fiercely fought battles with the Cherusci ensued, with Rome holding a slight advantage. The persistent Arminius and his loyalists fought as of old, but the former himself, badly wounded barely escaped with his life. Matters at any rate looked bright for the Romans, but all their plans went astray once more, on the return journey to the Rhenus. The fleet ran into storms, and was partially destroyed. Once more success on the advance was nullified by adverse fates on the return. After this Germanicus scored several telling victories over tribes near the Rhenus. "But taken as a whole the campaigns of the year 16, as compared with those of the preceding year ended in more brilliant victories doubtless but also in much more serious (1) loss." Nevertheless, Germanicus now believed that a single campaign would complete the conquest of Germania as far as the Albis.

At this point, at the height of his career on the border, Germanicus was recalled and never again did a sole commander function on the Rhenus frontier. The return of Germanicus to Rome, despite his pleas to the contrary, marked a new policy or perhaps the renewal of an old one on the frontier. "The mere division of the command put an end to the conduct of the war as heretofore pursued; the circumstance that Germanicus was not merely recalled but obtained no successor was tantamount to ordaining the defensive on the Rhenus.---It is more than probable that Tiberius from the outset allowed rather than sanctioned the enterprises of

(1) Mommaen, P. R. E. Vol I. Ch. 17.
Germanicus on the Rhenus.” Tacitus suggests that the recall of Germanicus was due to jealousy on the part of Tiberius. Surely the historian is biased in assigning such a motive to an emperor who had experienced the success which he had in Germany and could therefore sympathize personally with the ambition of the youthful Germanicus. The opening years of the new reign at least hint at an emperor who was broad minded and fair as befitted a man with such a brilliant military record. On the other hand he was conservative and believed in the policy of Augustus in this instance namely that it was not practical to annex the country from the Rhenus to the Albis. In view of this we must believe that Germanicus was recalled from Germany with reluctance for later the young man was entrusted with important duties in the East and this alone seems to rule out the jealousy motive. From this time on Germany was left by Rome to the Germans. Even the fortress Aliso was given up and the garrison withdrawn.

Left to themselves German fought with German in customary savagery. Maroboduus and his Marcomanni were overcome by Arminius and his allied Cherusci and the former king finally died at Rome an exile from his country.

Arminius, noblest figure in early German history, now stood alone in Germany. Further quarrels caused civil wars and Arminius perished at the hands of an assassin, a miserable and undeserved end. Arminius should be ranked with the highest of national heroes. A German to the core, brave and with spirit unquenchable he resisted the Roman at every step.

(1) Mommsen, Pr. of R. Em. Vol. I, Chap. 1.
"To the high spirited man who at the age of six and twenty had released his Saxon home from the Italian foreign rule, who thereafter had been general as well as soldier in a seven years struggle for that freedom regained, who had staked not merely person and life but also wife and child for nation, to fall at the age of thirty-seven by an assassin's hand—-to this man his people gave what it was in their power to give, an eternal monument in heroic song." 

Chapter VII.

From Tiberius to the death of Nero.

After the recall of Germanicus by Tiberius Germanic affairs were at peace until near the end of the reign. The tribes on the Rhenus banks embracing the Frisii, Batavi, and Chauci were friendly to Rome and in fact had taken little or no part in the rising of the Cherusci under Arminius. They had been led into alliance by Drusus, the Batavi and Frisii with ease, but the Chauci after some opposition. Sections of the Sugambri had settled on the right bank and were considered as subject allies while all these tribes were subject to the Roman tribute which was small and hardly a burden. Thus the Romans still possessed a certain amount of territory on the right bank. This was the state of affairs on the German boundary for nearly twenty years and at the end of that time hostilities blazed up afresh.

The cause of the new rising was the oppressive measures used in collecting the tribute mentioned above. As a result the Frisii revolted, slew the tax gatherers and besieged the Roman leader in charge, in the fortress of Flevum, which was situated in the eastern mouth of the Rhenus. The rebellion itself assumed large proportions in Roman eyes for both the Rhenus armies marched against the Frisii. The latter however, on the retreat knew their own country only too well and inflicted several defeats upon Roman detachments although avoiding a major engagement. Thus the war was left in abeyance for Tiberius was nearing his end and in the meantime, the Chauci were growing restless. This was only natural
since they lived so near the Frisii. In 41 A. D., an expedi-
tion against them met with mediocre success while in 47.
A. D., they pillaged the Gallic coast in a piratical raid. In
this year Corbulo was appointed governor of Germania Inferior
by the Emperor Claudius and he took firm steps immediately
upon assuming his command. His fleet put to flight the
raiding Chauci while he thoroughly subdued the recalcitrant
Frisii, reorganizing their government and establishing Roman
garrisons in their country. He then prepared to take offensive
measures against the Chauci having first executed their leader
the deserter Gannascus. It seemed at this stage that there was
to be a repitition of the Germanic policy of the days of
Germanicus.

At this point the Emperor Claudius stepped in.
Corbulo was not only forbidden to cross the Rhenus but was
also ordered to withdraw all garrisons from the right bank
and prevent Roman occupation of that territory. The far
reaching policy of Augustus was still not without its influence.
"In this step there was a conclusive admission of defeat
\(^{(1)}\)
which had been but partially owned after the battle of Varus."
says the militaristic Mommsen. Here we must disagree. It
is much more likely that Claudius perceived only too well
the conservative wisdom of Augustus and himself realized the
impracticability, not the impossibility of offensive steps
against the Germans. In addition the Emperor was then engaged
with the occupation of Britain and could ill afford the
additional troops necessary for the two projects. Nevertheless
the Romans still looked upon sections of the right bank as
\(^{(1)}\) Mommsen Pr. of R. E. IV.
their territory and in fact relied upon the conciliated Frisii and Chauci to protect their frontier. "The lower Rhenus was crossed doubtless by the Roman rule but not like the Upper Rhenus by Roman culture." (1)

(1) Mommsen Ch. IV, p. 127.
Chapter VIII

The Year of the Four Emperors and the Flavians.

Thus the Germans themselves gave little trouble until the turbulent year of the four emperors, 69-70 A.D., In these years Roman affairs were in chaos and the results were far reaching. The whole empire was affected by the riotous condition of the capital and it was not to be expected that Germany should remain immune with another chance of shaking free from the Roman yoke, however tacitly it was applied. The rising of Vindex had left Gaul and its occupants in a state of disorder and uncertainty, while the行为 of Roman troops stationed in Gaul and on the Rhenus boundary was little short of disgraceful. At the time the Batavian auxiliaries, the mainspring of the Roman army, and the Frisii, and other German detachments were in Gaul. Before the death of Nero the Batavi had revolted after unjust treatment had been accorded their leaders, Paulus and Civilis, and the former summarily executed. Upon the accession of Galba Civilis and his troops were sent back to Britain. While on the way Vitellius was proclaimed emperor and after some hesitation the German troops joined the new movement. Thus they marched to Italy for Vitellius and fought against the army of Otho displaying their usual valour. They were then ordered to Britain with their former enemies, the 14th legion. These two forces were unable to act toward each other with anything but hostility and the Batavi proceeded to Germany where Civilis was incited to rebellion by the newly proclaimed Emperor Vespasian. The Frisii and many smaller peoples joined
the Batavi and together they defeated Roman forces and marched for Italy, for Vespasian.

Ostensibly proceeding against Vitellius on behalf of Vespasian these Germans formed another northern threat against Rome itself. They were openly antagonistic to the Rhenus armies and needed little incitement to commence a wholesale expulsion of the Romans from Gaul. Germany had entered Roman politics. Upon initial successes the true Germans on the right bank flocked to the standards of Civilis, these including the Chauci, Bructeri, Tenoteri, Mattiaci, Chatti, and Usipites, agelong enemies of Rome, either openly or secretly. The reinforced body now badly defeated the regular army of Germania Inferior under Hordeonius Flaccus. German troops still fighting under Roman colors deserted to their countrymen and "now the banners of Roman cohorts stood by the side of the animal standards from the sacred groves of the Germans." (1)

Then Vespasian and Vitellius clashed at Betriaecum in Italy and the former became Emperor. Civilis had to make up his mind now and this he did. All pretence of supporting Vespasian was gone and the Batavian announced his intention of driving out the Romans from Gaul. He was no longer a Roman soldier of the auxiliary cohort fighting for his candidate to the principate, he was a true German fighting for the freedom of his country. The Batavian besieged and partly captured Gelduba. In the meantime the Roman armies of the frontier were in a state of open revolt and chaotic confusion. Finally Julius Classicus, a Gaul of the Treveri, set up a Gallic

(1) Mommsen Prov. of the R. Em. Chap. IV.
Empire, after taking Castra Vetera. Thereupon Gaul and German joined forces though Civilis had no intention of recognizing this empire in miniature.

While Gaul was insurgent, Vespasian was being established in Rome, and as soon as this was effected the mighty machinery of the Roman Empire was set in motion against the disaffected northerners. Classicus and his empire soon fell but the Germans were made of sterner material. Still the Romans, their civil disorders settled, were bound to win. The Germans true to precedent fought a gallant but losing battle and although a few isolated successes were the rewards of their bravery, Civilis himself was pushed back to the Rhenus in the deciding battle. Late in 70 A. D., the auxiliaries of the Batavi surrendered and the struggle was over. The task of reorganization could begin.

Vespasian, though he punished many of the Germans, in particular the mutinous Batavi, was on the whole merciful. One step the newly crowned emperor did take and that was to disallow the Germanic allies to be commanded by members of their own race. Henceforth Romans commanded these auxiliaries in an attempt to avoid a future rising or the power of another Arminius or Civilis. Vespasian also prevented another revolt of Germans under Roman colors by stationing the tribal auxiliaries as far away as possible from their own country.

It was by Vespasian that the Limes Germanicus was consolidated. The new frontier line stretched from Moguntiacum south east to the Danubius at a point on the boundary of Rhaetia. The territory between the rivers south of the Limes
was annexed to Rome. The Limes itself now became a veritable bulwark. It consisted of a wall with a ditch and a palisade on the outside. It was picketed by watch towers while inside the line were military camps. Although the main forces were still stationed on the Rhenus. All these precautions were undertaken by the Flavian dynasty and were finished by Trajan and the Antonines. The Limes was really in two sections, the Germanicus and the Rhaeticus meeting at Lauriacum. The former was a strongly fortified barrier built by Vespasian while the latter was not so firm as its forerunner being composed largely of a wall of stones loosely piled and meeting the Limes of Germanicus at Lauriacum.

Within this area were Gauls with a few Germans scattered throughout the country. These Gauls acted as a splendid buffer for the Romans who encouraged them to stay in the Agri Decumates. The Limes itself was an expedient measure since it so diminished the mileage of the frontier which now took a direct route of 336 English miles, the Limes Germanicus including 228 miles and the Limes Rhaeticus 108, the whole system stretching from Moguntiacum to Rhaetia, instead of winding up the Rhehus and down the Danuvius in a clumsy line. In addition it must be remembered that this southern corner of Germany was the weakest spot in the whole northern boundary for defensive purposes. It was here that invaders could cross the Rhehus and penetrate into Gaul most easily as did the Cimbri and other invading tribes. Thus Rome had now a strongly fortified buffer for the protection of the weak link in her chain of defenses.
link in her chain of defenses.

Under the Flavians Rome's dominion was extended by campaigns such as that of Domitian in 83 A.D., when the princeps pushed forward the Roman limit across the river. It is here that Roman leaders first departed from the conservative policy of the first emperor.

The territory within the Limes was governed as a Roman province with Germania Superior. Roads were constructed while a centre of loyalty was made in the midst of the country by the erection of altars, the Arae Flaviae, for the worship of Rome and Augustus.

For many years all was quiet on the German front, at least as quiet as those wild tribes could be.
Chapter IX

Marcus Aurelius

Apart from the hostile exchanges to be expected, Germany and Rome remained for many years in a state of mutual respect. The German tribes acknowledged the overlordship of Rome in a tacit manner while on the other hand the Romans were not anxious to try conclusions with the barbarians again. Germany and Rome did not clash again until the reign of Marcus Aurelius late in the second century A. D.

In this case the Romans were not to blame for hostilities, while the Germans could not be severely censured. Germany had always been a restless country and now the tribes in the west were pressed by movements in the interior behind them. Consequently these in turn, encroached upon Roman Territory. A body of Quadi, Langobardi, Marcomanni, and Buri appeared on the borders of Pannonia and sought new homes there. It was natural for the Romans to resist them as indeed they had always resisted the influx of the peoples across the Rhenus and the Danuvius. The invaders were driven back and their request for a grant of land was refused by the Roman governor of Pannonia. In the meantime, the Chatti, had crossed the Rhenus in the north west and were in open combat with the garrison on the Rhenus, in the Lower province. Marcus Aurelius was busy in the east against the Parthians and thus matters on the Rhenus and the Danuvius became dangerous. Marcus had only just celebrated his triumph over the Parthians when the storm burst. 166 A. D. A force composed of allied German tribes poured across the Danuvius and after laying waste the
Danuvius provinces, proceeded into Italy itself, this being the first time an external foe had set foot in the country since the time of the Cimbri and the Teutones. The Germans besieged Aquilea and after a long delay Marcus marched against them in person. When it came to the test the Germans had no intentions of fighting a pitched battle and they retreated hurriedly. The Quadi offered terms for peace and went back to their native land after returning their captives. Then the Danuvius provinces were cleared of the invaders and Marcus had to confront the Marcomanni who alone held out against the Romans. Verus who, with the Emperor, was managing the war, died and this caused some delay. Marcus returned to the scene in 169 A.D., but the Roman troops suffered several defeats at the hands of the fierce tribesmen. For three years the war dragged on with the Germans holding the upper hand and then the Romans finally inflicted a severe defeat upon the Marcomanni. The war appeared to be nearing its end but at this point the Quadi returned to the conflict. After driving out their king, who was of Roman sympathies, Ariogaeus newly elected king was soon driven out and finally surrendered to the Romans while the leaderless Quadi were easily suppressed.

Mere subjugation of these wild tribes however, was not sufficient as Marcus clearly foresaw. He realized the permanent danger on the northern frontier and may have anticipated to a certain extent the barbaric invasions of the future from that quarter. Accordingly he decided to create the new province of Marcomannia, along with that of Sarmatia.
The Marcomanni and the Quadi were compelled to evacuate a strip of land along the Danuvius about ten miles in breadth and strong Roman garrisons were established among the German tribes themselves.

It was hardly to be expected however that the liberty loving Germans would remain long at peace. Taking advantage of the fact that the Roman emperor was busy quelling the revolt of Cassius, they rebelled against the garrisons in their country thus bringing on the second Marcomannic War. The conflict lasted from 178-180 A.D., but the actual details of the campaign are unknown. It is sure at least that a certain Paturnus completely defeated the allied Germans and the war ended as most of these engagements ended with the absolute capitulation of the Germans, chiefly the Marcomanni, and the Quadi. In fact the latter incurred such severe losses that they attempted to move from their own lands into the territory of the Semnones but were prevented from doing so by the Roman troops. Marcus Aurelius now prepared to take definite aggressive measures against Germany on the northern frontier. It was his intention to push the Roman boundary to the Albis and so consummate the dreams of Augustus, Drusus and Germanicus in the early days of the Empire. But misfortune had always dogged the steps of Roman commanders in any crisis in Germany and this occasion proved no exception. Marcus Aurelius died in camp at Vindobona in the spring of 180 A.D., and his worthless son Commodus abandoned all his father's plans. Terms were made with the mutinous Germans and the project of Marcus was forgotten.
And so we leave Germany, hemmed in by a strong Roman boundary, to her west and south, but now as ever a menace to the safety of Rome and her people.
Chapter X.

Germany—A Summary.

We have represented the Germans as a freedom loving race menacing Rome always and intensely hostile to the people of Rome. Yet in remembering all this we must not forget what services the Germans rendered to Rome and her emperors.

As one might readily suppose, these services were chiefly military. From the beginning of Rome’s relations with Germany, German auxiliaries were attached to the legions, at first chiefly on the Rhenus but later all over the empire. It was a German unit which became the most valuable force in Rome’s militia. This was the Batavian Cohort which was enlisted in the Roman empire during the campaigns of Tiberius in Germany, and gave splendid and valiant service to the enemies of its native land. By the middle of the first century this cohort had won repute throughout the Roman world by dint of its achievements on the field. It served in Britain under Claudius with distinction and even after the mutinies of 70 A. D., it was considered, by Roman commanders, as a brilliant and daring body of troops. Nor were these the only Germans to fight under Roman standards. Arminius himself, bitter foe of Rome for many years had endured military service in the legions and had even been granted the Roman citizenship, although in his case the call of country became greater than the call of Rome. The extent to which some of the Germans had become Romanized is demonstrated by the conversation of Arminius with his brother Flavus across the Visurgis during the campaigns of Germanicus. Flavus had long been a

(1) Tac. Annals. 2, 10.
legionnaire and had become imbued with the Roman spirit. This he pointed out to his brother mentioning the greatness of Rome and the Caesars and the kindness shown to her foes in captivity. Here is one German thoroughly Romanized expounding the greatness of Rome to another German, thoroughly German, her relentless enemy. Germans from all the tribes found their way into the Roman legions and even in the time of Julius Caesar there were German auxiliaries in the Roman troops.

Some of the tribes were comparatively quiet. The Ubii gave little or no trouble to Rome, and in fact adopted Roman customs with a remarkable readiness. Such tribes as this living near the river bank were of immense value to Rome by their very position as buffers against the more hostile tribes of the interior. The Frisii and the Chatti were other friendly tribes who allied themselves to Rome and were on the whole loyal with the exception of the troubles resulting from 70 A. D.

Yet on the whole the German tribes had to be watched closely. As we have said some of them were loyal, yet they were quick to offence and in no way overlooked any measures which they thought interfered with their freedom. The Romans exercised overlordship in these tribes but were forced to do so in a most tactful manner to avoid risings. From the time of the first campaigns in Germany the Romans always possessed a certain amount of territory on the right bank, even when the emperors forbade aggressive steps being taken on the part of the Rhenus commanders.

In 172 A. D., Marcus Aurelius began a system which
whom lasted all through the empire. He developed a policy of settling German colonies in Moesia, Dacia, and Pannonia and even went so far as to establish a section of Germans in northern Italy. The latter coloni true to type no sooner arrived at their new home than they began ravaging the surrounding country and even dared to attack Ravenna. These coloni cultivated the soil and performed military duties while they were forbidden and often forcibly prevented from moving from their own domicile.

Yet in spite of all these friendly relations we cannot avoid the conclusion that Germany was always Rome's most bitter and persistent foe. From the earliest relations of the countries with each other down to the end of Rome's existence as an empire these barbarians hovered continually over Italy, continually defeated but always returning to the combat with their characteristic courage. Finally it is worth noting that it was from the north that the wave poured which eventually engulfed Rome and her empire.

The Germans were a great people at all stages of their relations with the Romans. They set by their code of life and morals an example which Rome might well have followed, and by their prowess in the field a standard which was always admired by Romans. They loved their country and its freedom and were willing, even glad, to fight for their ideals.

In conclusion let us point out that the militarism of Germany of classical times was a trait which continued in the race as far as the present age and is an inherent quality in the Germans of today, still as then a great people.
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