



The Society of Ancient Military Historians

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Contents:

Message from the Secretary – p. 1	Book Reviews – p. 3-10
Conference Panel Reports – p. 1-2	Call For Papers – p. 10
Books Available for Review – p. 2-3	Membership Form – p. 11

Message from the Secretary

It is my pleasure to present the latest issue of our newsletter. As you are going to see, this volume contains reports on two panels presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Classical Studies in January 2015, as well as six, very informative book reviews.

I am also extremely glad to report that our society has now a brand new website, which can be accessed at <http://www.arkaion-bellum.com>

Please, feel free to visit it and give us some feedback!

Ioannis Georganas
Secretary, Society of Ancient Military Historians

Conference Panel Reports

Profits and Losses in Ancient Greek Warfare. Michael Leese and Matthew Trundle (co-organisers) Panel Presented at the Society of Classical Studies, New Orleans, Sunday 11th January 2015.

This panel presented at the Society for Classical Studies in New Orleans explored the role of profit and loss, notions of plunder and economic gain in the warfare of archaic and classical Greece. In a land known for its lack of resources, plunder from successful warfare became a principal means by which Greek communities and individuals might increase their resources. Herodotus (e.g. 5.77, 8.123, 9.81), Thucydides (e.g. 1.11-13, 2.13, 7.52), Plato (Phaedo 66c, Republic 372e-374a) and Aristotle (Politics 1.8, 1255b37, 1256b1, 1256b23-27, 1333) each knew the material benefits of a successful campaign, and many modern scholars agree that plunder could produce movable and consumable wealth on a far greater scale than other economic activities like trade or farming. All Greeks saw spoils of war as the victor's property (Andocides 1.507; On The Peace 11; Xen. Cyr. 7.1.44).

Matthew Trundle (Auckland) argued that the introduction of coinage did much to expand military campaigns, as the

sale of plundered goods and slaves for coins became the means to pay for food and military materials and concentrated military activity. Hence Thucydides (1.11-13) could rightly claim that coins (*chrēmata*) aided military activity as they acted as a medium of exchange facilitating the sale of plunder and the purchase of food for armies in the field.

Michael Leese (New Hampshire) examined the role that plundered property played in enriching Athenian generals rather than the state. He argued that as long as generals remained successful and popular the demos turned a blind eye to private gain from military activity, but as soon as generals failed or fell foul of the state such private gain became a matter of legal censure.

Ellen Millender (Reed) discussed the Spartan relationship to plunder in all its forms. In a state that scorned luxury and even wealth, but naturally glorified warfare, the profits of war presented significant issues for Spartans as the story of the corruption of several Spartan commanders and the damage done by the spoils of the Peloponnesian War illustrate. Millender focused on Herodotus' famous story of Pausanias' reaction to Persian wealth after Plataea to explore the ways that Spartans engaged with the huge resources that might be made from victory.

Finally, Graham Oliver (Brown) studied the relationship between the costs of wars to the profits that they yielded. In a detailed examination of the balance sheet of war, especially for poleis in the fourth and third century juggling the costs of defence with the benefits and potential disaster war might bring, the economics of military budgeting became increasingly complex. War was a risky business that did not always guarantee handsome returns or even any return at all, but could not be ignored in a world of Macedonian militarism and imperial ambitions.

The Other Side of Victory: War Losses in the Ancient World.

At the 2015 annual meeting of the Society for Classical



Studies, held January 8-11 in new Orleans, Jessica H. Clark and Brian Turner hosted a panel on responses to defeat in societies from the ancient Greek, Roman, and Near Eastern worlds. The panelists explored the political, military, and social consequences of military defeats, with examinations of rhetoric, historiography, comedy, ideology and, indeed, practicality. Their penetrating studies revealed the perplexing conundrum that it may not necessarily be on the battlefield that wars are won and lost, nor in the individual's experience of battle that the community's verdicts are forged.

Max Goldman examined how Demosthenes, in his funeral oration after the Athenian defeat at the battle of Chaeronea (338 BCE), used the features of that speech to transform the defeat into a type of victory. Accordingly, the Athenians who chose to stand in line and ultimately died in battle were actually victorious soldiers – paragons of Athenian civic identity.

Examining the aftermath of Alexander's victory over Darius III at Gaugamela in 331 BCE, John Hyland illustrated the plight of the Persian Empire's defeated army. Specifically, he highlighted the range of choices that the shattered army's non-elite soldiers had as they came to grips with the death of the Great King, and the end of their status quo.

Paul Johstono described the aftermath of the battle at Panion in 200 BCE, its consequences, and the complex and varied ways the Ptolemaic state tried to recover after the defeat. Significantly, he illuminated the structural

Books Available for Review

***Res Militares*, Society for Ancient Military Historians, Books Received, 2015.**

The following books have been received for review (those with an asterisk are already assigned to reviewers). Qualified volunteers should indicate their interest by sending a message to ll-brice@wiu.edu, with their last name and requested author in the subject line. They should state their qualifications (both in the sense of degrees held and in the sense of experience in the field concerned). Volunteers are expected to be familiar with the topics and will submit reviews of no greater than 800 words within 120 days. Graduate students are welcome to volunteer, but should contact their supervisor to ascertain that a review is appropriate.

Fields, Nic. *AD 69: Emperors, Armies & Anarchy*. Barnsley, UK: Pen and Sword Military, 2014. Pp. xxii, 220; ISBN 9781781591888, \$34.95, hdbk.

changes the defeat brought to the organization and recruitment of the Ptolemaic army, and its shifting ideals of ethnicity, in the second century.

In a distinct, yet enlightening change of pace, Amy Richlin considered how the trauma of war captives, slaves in particular, was presented on the Roman stage in the third century BCE. Using Plautine comedy as a source, Richlin revealed that anxiety about the outcome of war was an ever-present feature and reality – one that historians would do well to emphasize.

In the panel's final paper, Craig Caldwell, explored the multiple surviving versions of the Persian capture of the emperor Valerian in 260 CE. As a result, he revealed how different communities – including Roman, Persian, and later Christian – described the disaster and its meaning in terms relevant to their own communities and times. Nathan Rosenstein, author of *Imperatores Victi* and respondent for the panel, emphasized the ways in which the papers examined the experience of defeat through a multitude of lenses, from grieving parents to captured slaves, from the choices of individual infantrymen to the sweeping reforms of states.

The work on this project continues, as Clark and Turner prepare an edited volume on defeat and loss in the ancient world.

Grainger, John D. *Roman Conquests: Egypt & Judea*. Barnsley, UK: Pen and Sword Military, 2013. Pp. xvii, 206; ISBN 9781848848238, \$39.95, hdbk.

Harl, Ortoft. *Hochtor und Glocknerroute: Ein Hocalpines Passheiligtum und 2000 Jahre Kulturtransfer zwischen Mittelmeer und Mitteleuropa*. Wien: Osterreichisches Archaisches Institut, 2014. Pp. 348; ISBN 9783900305680, 98,00 € , hdbk.

Hutchinson, Godfrey. *Sparta: Unfit for Empire*. London: Frontline Books, 2014. Pp. xiii, 281; ISBN 9781848322226, £25.00, hdbk.

Mayor, Adrienne. *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014. Pp. 483; ISBN 9780691147208, \$29.95, hdbk.

Nordling, John G. *Religion and Resistance in Early Judaism, Greek readings in 1 Maccabees and Josephus*.



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St. Louis: Concordia Publishing, 2011. 358 p., \$34.99, ISBN 9780758626677, hdbk.

Pitassi, Michael. *The Roman Navy: Ships, Men & Warfare 350 BC – AD 475*. Great Britain: Seaforth Publishing, 2012. Pp. vi, 171; ISBN 9781848320901, £25.00, hdbk.

Sampson, Gareth C. *The Collapse of Rome: Marius, Sulla & the 1st Civil War (91-70BC)*. Barnsley, UK: Pen and Sword Military, 2013. Pp. 284; ISBN 9781848843264, \$29.95.

Taylor, Michael. *Antiochus the Great*. Barnsley, UK: Pen and Sword Military, 2013. Pp. xvii, 183; ISBN 9781848844636, \$39.95, hdbk.

Publishers interested in submitting books for review should send them to the book review editor: Lee L. Brice,

Book Reviews

Iain Ferris, *The Arch of Constantine: Inspired by the Divine*. Gloucestershire, UK: Amberley Publishing, 2013. Pp. 160. ISBN 9781445601298. £18.99 (Pb).

Reviewed by Sarah E. Bond, University of Iowa, Sarah-Bond@uiowa.edu

The new book by archaeologist and art historian Iain Ferris approaches the Arch of Constantine in Rome with much the same tone, method, and length that he did the Column of Marcus Aurelius (2009). Aimed at an undergraduate audience, it is written in an accessible prose style and is accompanied by a number of photographs in both color and black & white. It is arranged in seven chapters with themes that go well beyond just the Arch itself: the life of Constantine and his image, the form and build of the Arch of Constantine, two chapters on the Arch's sculptural program, an analysis of other monuments in and around Rome, analysis of the use of spolia and collage in Late Antiquity, and a final consideration of the broader context and later reception of the monument. As many others have, Ferris uses the Arch as a dispersive prism that allows us access to a spectrum of issues during the reign of Constantine and beyond. There has always been an insatiable popular thirst for scholarship on Constantine; however, even Ferris himself recognizes that the world is currently in the midst of what might be termed a Constantinian hangover. A number of learned books were published in or around 2012 in order to commemorate the 1,700th anniversary of the victory of Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE. For instance, David Potter's *Constantine the Emperor* (2012) is also accessible to undergraduates and reasonably priced, as is the

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Karwansaray Publishers (Ancient Warfare, Medieval Warfare, etc) are delighted to offer the members of the Society of Ancient Military Historians a 10% discount on all their products when ordered through <http://www.karwansaraypublishers.com/pw/>

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second edition of the Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine (2011), edited by Noel Lenski. Ferris points out that what sets his work apart is that this is the first English language book focused explicitly on the subject of the Arch of Constantine since Bernard Berenson's study in 1954. While technically true, there have been exceptional, deep studies of the Arch included in recent scholarship, particularly within R. Ross Holloway's *Constantine and Rome* (2004). Undergraduate readers never suffer from the same scholarly fatigue that academics might, but it is worth pointing out that there is no shortage of ink spilt on the emperor or his eponymous arch.

Chapter One approaches the life and times of the emperor Constantine in order to layout a biographical context for the Arch. A helpful outline of the family life and political accomplishments of the emperor, particularly between 306 and 337 is established, though it should be noted emphatically that Christianity's later dominance was not a foregone conclusion in the early fourth century. Moreover, Fausta is Crispus' step-mother and not (as Ferris asserts) his mother (20). It makes their alleged affair a bit more understandable.

The author hits his stride in the second chapter, which describes the Arch of Constantine itself and its topographical context. Rightful emphasis is placed on the use of multi-colored marble in the structure and the finding in the 1990s that the 16,000 or so blocks that make up the Arch are spolia from the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius. Consideration of how the Arch related to and even framed neighboring monuments is insightful, though a map would aid those unfamiliar with the area in and around the Colosseum and Forum Romanum both at this



junction and when reading the Appendix on Constantine's Rome (133-135).

Chapters Three and Four argue for the deliberate, curated use of spolia to create a direct visual link between Constantine and the three aforementioned 'good emperors,' as well as Septimius Severus, whose own arch was a nearby template. The decorations also form a narrative that, when viewed in a certain order, could transition a viewer from war to civic stability. Overall, the strategic spolia and this "pictorial timeline" placed the army in the center alongside Constantine (89).

Chapter Five explores the impact of Maxentius and then Constantine on the urban topography of Rome and argues for other monuments perpetuating the message of the Arch.

Chapter Six would have perhaps worked best as chapter Five, since it goes back to the theme of spolia, its use to connect past with present, and its common incorporation in late antique building. An innovative and important final chapter treads where few have ambled by looking at the later reception and manipulation of the Arch predominantly within the Renaissance and Early Modern periods. A few minor quibbles remain and are here listed. Constantine would likely disagree with Ferris that the Arch was a "monument to civil war" (90) and instead view it solely as a triumph over a tyrant; moreover, *damnatio memoriae* (94, 99) is a modern rather than ancient term for memory sanctions. To his credit, Ferris highlights the continued modern discussions over the Arch's chronology and who selected the visual program it disseminated. These are scholarly issues important for undergraduates to recognize and to delve into, so that ancient monuments do not seem undisputed in their modern interpretation. As a whole, the book is an accessible, brief introduction to an important monument that—like the Arch of Constantine itself—interweaves text and images in order to make a cogent argument.

Luis Silva, *Viriathus and the Lusitanian Resistance to Rome, 155-139 BC* Barnsley, UK: Pen & Sword Military, 2013. Pp. 327. ISBN: 1781591288. \$39.95 (Hb).

Reviewed by Robert M. Frakes, Clarion University, rfrakes@clarion.edu

The most important native leader in the Celtiberian and Lusitanian Wars of the second century BCE was Viriathus. A master of guerrilla warfare, Viriathus led the Lusitanians against the Romans and allied with other Iberian groups. Viriathus is described by Appian (who

probably derived his knowledge from lost parts of Polybius' history) in an extended account, and also appears in the works of Diodorus Siculus, Cassius Dio, and a handful of other sources. As "Viriato," he is honored as a proto-national hero in Portugal, appears in the sixteenth-century Portuguese epic *Os Lusíadas* by Luís Vaz de Camões, and was even the subject of a recent television series in Spain ("Hispania, la leyenda," 2010-2012). But aside from Portuguese and Spanish scholars, most European and American ancient historians have not given Viriathus much direct attention (aside from a few scholars like Adolf Schulten). Even the spelling of his name is unclear in primary sources (Viriathus or Viriatus, perhaps derived from the Celtic necklace he might have worn). It took the Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie* until 1961 to devote an entry to him (by Hans Gundel) and the Oxford Classical Dictionary has only a short one-paragraph entry.

In the work under review, Luis Silva offers the first book-length study in English on this important historical figure. Silva starts by outlining the nature of Hispania at the end of the Second Punic War and examines how the Romans set up two provinces, quite possibly because of the topography and continuing native resistance. In the second chapter, he provides an overview of the First Celtiberian War (mostly derived from Livy). The next chapter provides an overview of Iberian weapons, supported by references to ancient and modern authors, as well as to material remains. Chapter Four is devoted to "Viriathus the Man" and analyzes the primary and secondary source accounts of his background (and gives some attention to applying the "trifunctional hypothesis" of Georges Dumézil to legends about Viriathus). Chapter Five examines the beginnings of the First Lusitanian War. Chapter 6 treats the Viriathan War (or Second Lusitanian War) itself while Chapter 7 is devoted to the end of the Viriathan War. Chapter 8 provides a treatment of the campaigns of Lusitanian Pacification (up through Julius Caesar). All four of these chapters have plentiful citations to primary and secondary sources (including several works by Iberian scholars on material remains). Chapter 9 provides a generalized view of the process of the Romanization of Lusitania, developing several topics including roads, agriculture, pottery, and textiles. Chapter 10 has two parts: the first examining the argument that Viriathus should be perceived as a king and the second, which I found very interesting, treating the afterlife of the legend of Viriathus, including use by Franco and Salazar for nationalistic reasons. An experienced soldier who has seen service in more than one army, Silva attempts to make wide use of primary and secondary sources. The author uses his knowledge of the geography and topography of the Iberian Peninsula to assist his



development of the sources. He also makes good use of the archaeological record to support his overview. His use of Portuguese and Spanish scholarship, in addition to German and English scholarship, is especially useful. His own military experience allows him to analyze ancient tactics with a trained eye. The author obviously has a passion for the topic which he is able to convey to the reader. A bibliography, especially of secondary sources, would have been a helpful addition. The endnotes have many citations to primary and secondary sources, but there is need for more editorial oversight for consistency, style, and mechanics. In addition to the plentiful citations to primary and secondary sources, the author also uses a handful of citations to Wikipedia articles, which would be better served by using the sources from which they are derived. Some stylistic infelicities in the text itself could have been prevented by more editorial oversight. Silva has provided an important service in providing this first book in English on Viriathus. He has synthesized much material (in terms of both primary and secondary sources). His handling of Portuguese and Spanish scholarship and archaeological evidence is very useful. The work is especially good at distilling such information into an approachable overview. While scholars will still want to start with Schulten and Gundel, this book should be a useful work for general readers interested in ancient warfare and ancient Iberian history.

William M. Murray *Age of Titans: The Rise and Fall of the Great Hellenistic Navies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; ISBN: 9780195388640; \$47.95

Reviewed by Kris Lorenzo, University of Richmond, klorenzo@richmond.edu

In his book Murray formulates a new answer to an old question. What were the reasons for the introduction and rapid development of warships larger than triremes (“threes”), the standard warship in major fleets of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, known in modern scholarship as polyremes during the fourth through first centuries BC? For Murray the answer does not lie in a shift from “maneuver-and-ram” battle tactics, popular with the Athenians in the fifth century BC, to “grapple-and-board” tactics, favored by the Romans during the third century BC, as it does for most twentieth-century naval historians. These earlier scholars constructed this theory, which very quickly became established in the scholarship, upon an examination of the surviving literary sources such as Thucydides, Livy, and Polybius for Classical and Hellenistic warships and naval battles. Murray was able to take a more inclusive approach thanks to the gradual accumulation of new material evidence. Therefore, based on an analysis of not only the textual, but also the

archaeological evidence, Murray’s new answer argues that polyremes were actually built to excel in frontal ramming so that they could play critical roles in naval siege warfare, in which specialized units either attacked or defended coastal cities. Murray’s book offers a number of important contributions. Its powerful and compelling revisionist argument about the introduction and rapid development of polyremes in Hellenistic navies stands out first. This argument helps to refute the modern scholarly explanation that polyremes were only built and employed to turn naval battles into land battles, the type of battles that historians since antiquity seem to find more interesting. Another significant contribution is the well thought out combination of new (e.g. the ram sockets of Octavian’s Actian Victory Monument) and relatively new (e.g. the Athlit ram) archaeological evidence for the rams and prows of polyremes with the sometimes conflicting and incomplete literary sources. With respect to the textual sources, Murray’s analysis of the relevant sections of Philo the Byzantine’s third-century BC “The Compendium of Mechanics” brings this little known author even more firmly into the discussion. In providing a new more credible explanation for the origin and development of polyremes, Murray has also produced the same kind of explanation for Mark Antony’s puzzling tactics at the Battle of Actium. Both Antony’s insistence on keeping Cleopatra with him and his decision to escape with as much of his fleet as possible were not, as Murray shows, driven by tactical folly or overpowering love. Antony followed the course he did because only the possession of a fleet of polyremes able to besiege and hold one of Italy’s ports would have allowed him to live to fight another day, and shift the theater of war to Octavian’s home territory.

Murray’s book also possesses a few drawbacks. Some of his conclusions are of necessity conjectural, due to the relative lack of evidence for important aspects of Hellenistic naval warfare. The amount of technical detail included will limit his readership to mostly graduate students and specialists. Nevertheless, it is a very welcome addition to scholarship on Hellenistic naval warfare.

Seven chapters bracketed by an introduction and a conclusion comprise Murray’s book. The Introduction defines the general subject as the “genesis and evolution of a distinctly Macedonian model of naval power” and the problems inherent in examining it, such as ship classifications and their internal layouts. Chapter 1 focuses on the origin of the polyreme concept and the development of the first classes (i.e. “fours” and “fives”), noting the importance of the Athenian siege of Syracuse in 415-413. Chapter 2 examines the new physical



evidence mentioned above not available to earlier scholars. Chapter 3 traces the development of naval siege warfare from the fifth to the third century BC, with the conclusion that the principal role of an ancient navy lay in its ability to hamper the activities of the besieged. Chapter 4 discusses the sections of Philo's "Compendium" that offer instructions on how to conduct naval sieges. The author includes an accessible translation and paraphrase. Chapter 5 challenges the theory that naval artillery and boarding tactics drove the construction of polyremes and concludes that the main purpose of these ships was ramming. Chapter 6 examines the third-century highpoint of polyreme construction and deployment. It also repeats an earlier assertion that polyremes were intended as floating siege platforms in harbors. Chapter 7 analyses the attested performance of mid-sized polyremes in important battles from Chios (ca. 201 BC) down to Actium. After the conclusion six thorough appendices make this book a useful reference work by providing a collection of ancient sources for all size polyremes, and the use of naval artillery. A good number of helpful maps, figures, and photos are scattered throughout the seven chapters and Appendix E.

Peter Crawford, *The War of the Three Gods: Byzantines, Persians, and the Rise of Islam* (South Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword, 2013).

Reviewed by Walter Roberts, University of North Texas,
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This book is 226 pages of main text with 15 pages of front matter and 32 pages of back matter. A product of Pen and Sword press, it is meant as a basic introduction for a general audience to the crucial events of the seventh century CE in what is known today as the Middle East (broadly defined as the area from Turkey to the Persian Gulf, north to south, and Egypt to Iran, east to west), which saw the collapse of the last two imperial powers from Classical Antiquity (Byzantium and Persia) in this region and the rise of the first Islamic caliphate. The author, Peter Crawford, is an independent scholar who holds a PhD in Ancient History from Queen's University in Belfast.

The main part of the text is broken into eleven chapters with an epilogue. The first four chapters look at the last of the great wars between the Persians and the Byzantines from 610-628 CE. Chapters Five and Six cover Muhammad's rise to power, the formation of Islam, and how Abu-Bakr faced a crisis of keeping Muhammad's Islamic empire intact after Muhammad's death in 632. Chapters Seven and Eight give an in-depth look at Muslim advances into Byzantine Syria and Persian

Mesopotamia from 636-638. The major focus of Chapter Nine is the fall of Byzantine Egypt and southern Mesopotamia to the Muslims from 639-642. The final chapter is a brief overview of how the Muslim Caliphate used its victories over the Persian and Byzantine Empires as a springboard to establish its own empire stretching from Spain to China via the Mediterranean by 750. Crawford's major argument is that Islam was the prime mover for the transition from Classical Antiquity to the Medieval period in the Mediterranean world and Europe. He argues that the disruption of the imperial powers of Persia and the Byzantium by Islam in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia in the seventh century fundamentally altered world history, enabling the eventual dominance of Europe, China, and the Islamic caliphates for the next 1000 years.

Overall, this book has an important place in the current scholarship of the crucial seventh century in the Middle East. Crawford does a very good job of providing the general reader with a basic narrative that does not stray too far into more radical interpretations of the events in question. The focus is on how the military actions of the last great Persian-Byzantine war shattered the political and religious unity of the Byzantine Empire and left the Persian Empire dangerously overextended. It is Crawford's contention that neither of these great empires was in a position to be challenged by the nascent military and religious movement that had been brewing in the Arabian Peninsula. Crawford does a great job in putting developments in Arabia in the two centuries prior to Islam into a broader context of Persian/Byzantine relations. Essentially, he argues that Persian and Byzantine influence in the northern portions of the peninsula disrupted traditional Bedouin tribal culture and introduced the notion of a territorial state under the control of dominant political and religious elites for the area. According to Crawford the real impetus for Islamic expansion outside of the Arabian Peninsula, however, was the death of Abu Bakr in late 634 and the accession of Umar. The new caliph needed military victories to shore up his legitimacy, especially in the face of opposition from Ali and his supporters. Crawford does an excellent job of piecing together a coherent and reasonable account of the key battles of Yarmuk, Qadisiyyah, Jalulah, Alexandria, and Navahand from the fragmented sources.

The major quibble I have with this work is that it presents the issues through a very simplistic lens. Crawford too often takes the sources at face value. While he acknowledges that many of the literary sources often had



their own rhetorical agendas, in the end he simply accepts what they have to say. While this is necessary for a work geared towards a general audience, such uncritical reception of the sources perpetrates some very dangerous and problematic understandings of key concepts that continue to plague relations between Islamic and Judeo-Christian cultures in the region to this day.

Overall this book is a very good general introduction to an obscure, but pivotal, period of historical transition. The end of Byzantine and Persian imperial dominance in the area that is today known as the Middle East and the advent of Islam in the middle of the seventh century are subjects that have long needed an introduction for a general audience. Any such analysis, however, is fraught with several pitfalls, including the available source material, the need for scholars to command this source material (which comes from three distinct cultures), and the fact that this whole era is the subject of intense debate that continues to resonate with current societies. Dr. Crawford is to be commended for adding to the literature in this field and making the information accessible to a more general audience, but scholars will need to use this work more carefully.

Allison, Penelope M., *People and Spaces in Roman Military Bases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; ISBN 9781107039360. \$96.00.

Reviewed by Brian Turner, Portland State University, brian.turner@pdx.edu

According to Tacitus, Aulus Caecina Severus, one the severest of Tiberius' senators, complained bitterly that women had no place on military campaigns (Ann. 3.33). Perhaps because of his severity, his strictures are better known than the response he received from his fellow senators, and their spokesman, the eloquent Valerius Messalinus, who seems to have suggested that women were already accompanying and comforting Rome's soldiers (and perhaps even their allied forces) (Tac. Ann. 3.34). Although the harsher viewpoint tends to dominate interpretations of social relations within the Roman army, recent archaeological studies have tended to confirm Messalinus' view. Allison, in a thorough analysis – although defined by the narrow boundaries created by a case study approach – seeks to illuminate the socio-spatial organization of Roman military installations, and specifically the impact of women and children on daily life in these military spaces.

The bulk of the book can be usefully divided into three parts. The first five chapters introduce a range of problems and debates as well as explain the

methodological and theoretical approaches underpinning the volume. The next five present and interpret the archaeological evidence, and the final three describe the consequences of the analysis and offer broad conclusions. A plethora of subheadings, tables, maps, and images augment these thirteen chapters. A series of appendices describe the digital components of the project, explain the preparation and organization of the archaeological data, and present clear drawings and images of the artefacts discussed in the book. A bibliography and index complete an attractively printed and bound volume.

In a wide-ranging review of modern scholarship, Allison illustrates how myopic ancient texts (alongside modern biases) helped form the implicit assumption that Roman military forts and bases were almost entirely male domains – although room was inevitably made for the wives and families of the senior officers. These texts – especially those that so neatly described the layout of Roman military forts and bases (such as Polybius and Pseudo-Hyginus) – and the assumptions they produced (and reinforced) in turn affected the identification of structures at archaeological sites. Since our texts are demonstrably male, the buildings in Roman military installations were then interpreted as demonstrably male domains. Women and children, it followed, must have been confined to the *canabae* and *vici*, the concomitant civilian communities. In short, function followed form regardless of what other material(s) might have been found *in situ*. Seeking to absolve us from this unsatisfying and circular logic, and no doubt building upon the mounting evidence and growing chorus of scholars challenging such segregated military communities, Allison proposes the careful examination of the full archaeological record of these installations and especially the varied mass of so-called 'small finds' – the items of daily life – to illuminate what she calls the socio-spatial practices of the Romans.

These artefacts include all manner of items: the remnants of combat equipment, drop handles, buckles and fasteners, brooches, hairpins, belts, shoes, jewelry, textiles, tools and implements, and even toiletries. Following and expanding upon the methodology she so fruitfully developed in her work on Pompeii (*Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture*, 2004), Allison carefully ascribed basic activity and identity attributes (e.g. combatant/non-combatant, male/female, age, status, etc.) to these artefacts. Of course, she recognizes that categorizing these artefacts with identification attributes is not without problems. In a lengthy and systematic discussion she successfully defends her cautious approach that sought to avoid the over-feminization of a male community. She readily



accepts and welcomes the debate that her identity ascriptions will inevitably engender (chapter 5). Allison then examines how collections of these ascribed items, or artefact assemblages, were distributed throughout five military bases along the Rhine and Danube frontier: Vetera I, Rottweil (actually two forts), Oberstimm, Hesselbach, and Ellingen. To do this she entered the data into a GIS environment in which the location of every single artefact could be mapped according to any combination of attributes. With a few clicks of the mouse, for example, a user of this Geographic Information System could quickly compare the location of all the artefacts that were ascribed to female non-combatants with those ascribed to male combatants in a single Roman military base or even within a single structure in that same base. The distributions of these artefact assemblages are readily visible and manipulated on digital maps available through the Archaeology Data Service website (readers can search for “Allison” here <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/>). As a brief tour of the sites’ other datasets illustrates, the digital availability of such information has generally become standard, or at least expected, practice.

According to Allison, the assembled data, especially as presented in these digital maps, illuminate the use of – and the users of – space in Roman military bases. Although the study actually confirms many of the traditional identifications of particular spaces within a base (i.e. barracks or workshops), it also challenges some of these identifications and usefully illustrates the diversity of activities that occurred in these spaces. The volume of material evidence should leave little doubt that items used by non-combatants, females, and/or children were found throughout Roman military bases, especially in the more public areas along the main thoroughfares and around the gates, but also in structures formally classified as male barracks. But the real question is how did that material get there? Women and children were no doubt a regular feature of the camps, but did they reside in them or did they simply visit them as part of their regular daily routine? From her evaluation of the evidence, Allison suggests that women and children probably accounted for between seven and fourteen percent of a base’s inhabitants – a cautious refiguring of her own initial calculation of a number between five and twenty-four percent (353). An (over)abundance of speculative vocabulary (perhaps, probably, likely, etc.) throughout the volume illustrates Allison’s recognition that this conclusion might not be readily accepted, however likely it may be.

But regardless of who (or how many) actually lived in

these bases, Allison has shown that these Roman military spaces were much more diverse than previously thought. Her methodology can be, and ought to be, copied, modified, and improved so as to examine even more military spaces throughout the empire, especially in the Greek East. She has illustrated the great benefit that GIS can have in evaluating our often too thin evidence. In doing so, she has shown how this complicated digital approach not only serves as a repository for datasets, but can also be used as a genuine tool to ask and answer questions about antiquity. Second, and perhaps most importantly, Allison’s study continues the expansion of military history beyond the traditional battles and swords approach. Studies of military communities, of social organization, of logistics have increasingly shown their explanatory power across other historical sub-fields. Similar approaches can only illuminate our understanding of the Roman army, its peoples, and its spaces.

Ian Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces: the Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans*. Oxford: OUP, 2013. Pp. xviii, 430, 49 figs, ISBN 978019-9655342 \$150.00 (Hb).

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Blood of the Provinces supersedes all previous work on the auxiliary forces of the Roman army in the Empire. Tacitus, Hist. 4.17 provides the title and gives the historian’s verdict on Rome’s campaigns ca. 110, set in a context 40 years earlier. The auxilia’s 300+ infantry cohortes and 80+ cavalry alae were more than half of Rome’s armed forces and merit an examination independent of the legions, praetorians, and navy. The Preface and Introduction set out Haynes’ approach developed in 22 chapters spread through seven Parts. Expected knowledge of 275 years of Roman history renders the book too technical for beginning students, but scholars of Rome and every institutional library should have a copy.

Recruited largely from the non-citizen inhabitants of the Empire, the auxiliaries reflected the societies from which they originated; the units gradually became indistinguishable from the legions and the soldiers progressively blended into society. This evolution features enormous regional variety within imperial unity. Rome’s longstanding policy of incorporating foreigners into the citizen body is rightly pervasive, from Pompeius Strabo’s grant of citizenship to a squadron of Spanish cavalrymen at Asculum in the Social War of 89 BCE, through the casualty lists from Trajan’s complex at Adamklissi and the column in his forum at Rome – revealing the auxiliaries



as the full partners of the legionaries by the early second century — to the Severan reforms of the third century. Part 1, “The Auxilia and the Structures of Imperial Power,” surveys the history of the auxiliaries to 235. Augustus’ creation of the professional army privileged citizen legionaries over non-citizen auxiliaries by excluding the latter from *praemia* at discharge and *donativa* in his will. This policy simultaneously established civilian and military as separate societies; his successors stressed their ties with the soldiers whom they (but not Augustus) addressed as *commilitones*. Diplomas conferring citizenship became standard from 54, but sometimes occurred before discharge. Hadrian liberalized inheritance provisions, but Pius restricted children’s rights. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 211/12 extended citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire; diplomas awarding *civitas* cease after 206 (excepting a few to the imperial horse guard to 237). “The Human Resource: the Recruitment of the Auxilia and its Consequences”, part two, stresses that Rome’s ability to “harvest” provincial manpower from peoples with traditions of militarism (notably Thracians and Batavians) was almost as important to the empire’s survival as its ability to harvest natural resources; recruitment was a form of taxation and soldiers were in some ways similar to slaves in spite of military privileges. Units were not automatically moved from their homelands: transfers occurred according to need.

Parts 3 and 4 are the heart of the study and analyze the relationship between military and civil society. “A Home from Rome: Daily Life in the Auxilia” details the similarity of army camps to towns; in the East units were commonly quartered in cities. Families and servants were ubiquitous. Military routine marked soldiers’ lives off from that of civilians, from grooming to meals. Higher-paid cavalrymen had better accommodations than infantrymen and were more likely to commission impressive tombstones. Soldiers’ guaranteed regular rations of food and wine or beer were an attractive incentive to enlistment. The men regularly ground their own grain and did their own baking and cooking, chores outside the army normally relegated to women and slaves. Meals were consumed in the barracks, as there are no known mess halls or large kitchens.

Part 4, “Through the Eyes of Believers. Religion, Ritual Activity and Cult Practice,” illustrates the variety in local customs that flourished alongside official ceremonies pertaining to Roma and the imperial family. Tolerance prevailed, but a few practices such as human sacrifice were banned. Auxiliaries imported beliefs, artwork, and architecture from their homeland and soon borrowed from the inhabitants surrounding their new stations;

reciprocally, locals picked up new ways from the soldiers. Haynes designates the complex fusion “cult practice,” in preference to the simplistic “military religion” derived from Tertullian’s *religio castrensium*. We face insuperable difficulties in understanding the meaning of physical objects — temples, statues, dedications. Archaeological discoveries increase facts but also ambiguity. Tombstones and fulfilment of vows indicate personal beliefs, temples and statues indicate actions by entire units at moments in time, but can we know how deeply and widely the attitudes spread or how long they endured? What did Pannonians make of the ecstatic worship of Elagabal imported to Intercisa by the garrison of eastern archers? Dura on the Euphrates is the primary case study for a unit quartered in a town. Data from Vindolanda increases steadily and excavations at Maryport in Cumbria are promising.

Part 5, “Arms and the Men. Equipment, Tactics, and Identity,” opens with Arrian’s description of the colorful *hippika gymnasia*, flashy demonstrations of ancient customs on parade but not battle attire. As men and units moved around the Empire differences in equipment, arms and ethnicity gradually disappeared. Before the 80s, auxiliaries sometimes did most of the fighting; Agricola’s decision at Mons Graupius to spare Roman (= legionaries’) blood (*Agr. 35.2*) was no novelty.

Part 6, “Pen and Sword. Communication and Cultural Transmission,” discusses the reliance of the army on record-keeping, the range of languages spoken (many unwritten), and the degree of literacy. Functional literacy was greater in the army than in civilian society, among officers than enlisted men, legionaries than auxiliaries, cavalry than infantry. Latin was never the official language, as in the East Greek was its equal. Monumental inscriptions were easier to read than the tablets and papyri displaying (often bad) handwriting. Officers had to be literate, though they often used dictation and interpreters. “A Roman army without bureaucracy would not have been a Roman army... Everyone in the military community was exposed to the written word on a daily basis,” (318-20). From this perspective, the importance of the Vindolanda tablets is their ordinariness: all forts must have produced similar quantities annually around the Empire, legionary fortresses perhaps proportionately more than auxiliary forts.

“Auxiliary Veterans and the Making of Provincial Society” covers soldiers’ lives after their time of service. Diplomas conferring citizenship were purchased, not given automatically, and became standard at discharge only from 110. Veterans were not necessarily model citizens; many seem to have opted for brigandage or



drifting. Nor did veterans contribute much to Romanization as there were too few of them in the population as a whole. The concluding chapter sums up the themes through four monuments: the tombstone of the Thracian cavalry trooper Longinus buried in Colchester in far-off Britannia, a bust of the Thracian emperor Maximinus Thrax, the tombstone of the Thracian eques singularis Bithus buried in Rome, and the memorial to the Palmyrene P. Aelius Theimes. Errata are few. Page 47 misdates Herod the Great's death and the fighting over the annexation and census to 6 CE, but it's correct on page 117. The missing reference on page 50 note 95 is to page 97. On page 274 "Pacencia" in 69 CE should be "Placencia". "Internment" on page 370 should be "interment" and "crenellated" bones should be "crenulated."

Call For Papers

International Ancient Warfare Conference 2016

This conference will be held from the 28th of June to the 30th of June 2016 at the Department of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden. Conference Organiser(s): Geoff Lee and Helene Whittaker.

The conference is aimed equally at postgraduate students, early career researchers and established academics. The intent is to facilitate a multi-disciplinary discussion and therefore researchers from any relevant discipline are en-

couraged to participate. Papers on any aspect of Ancient Warfare are sought. These will be of thirty minutes duration with ten minutes for comments/questions.

Ancient Warfare in this context is from the Prehistoric era until the 'Fall of Constantinople'. However, papers that show a continuation from these periods to other periods, including those relating to future warfare, will be considered. Submissions relating to all cultures and regions of the globe will be considered.

The deadline for submission of abstracts, which should be of c. 300 words, is October 31st 2015. All contributors will be required to pay a conference fee, £25.00 for current students or the unwaged and £35.00 for other participants. This is a reduced fee and also covers attendance at the conference.

If you are an experienced academic, willing to act as a chair or able to offer help with choice of abstracts, and other aspects of organising the conference, please contact me.

The conference BLOG, which is currently being developed, will be available at: <https://ancientwarfare2016.wordpress.com/>

To submit an abstract or for more information please contact Geoff Lee at: geofflee101@yahoo.co.uk

To have your event or news included in the next issue of *Res Militares*, please contact Dr. Ioannis Georganas: i_georganas@yahoo.com with details. If you have any suggestions or feedback on this issue of *Res Militares*, please send it to Dr. Georganas.



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