

BARBARIANS AS ROMANS: A SURVEY OF THE PRESENTATION OF WESTERN
BARBARIANS IN TRAJANIC LITERATURE AND ART

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2017

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Abstract

This paper examines how the monuments and literature during the reign of Trajan imbue the portrayals of western barbarians with Roman-like qualities in order to create sympathetic barbarian characters. The goal of this paper is to demonstrate that both imperial monuments and authors employed these presentations of Roman-like barbarians for political purposes. In order to achieve this goal, the portrayals of barbarians found both major imperial monuments at Rome and in the literature of Trajanic authors, such as the Column of Trajan and the historian Tacitus, are examined. The portrayal of barbarians in imperial monuments primarily serves to portray Trajan as virtuous ruler. The authors Frontinus and Pliny similarly use Roman-like barbarians in their works to glorify Trajan. The historian Tacitus employs Roman-like barbarians to criticize the morals of Rome during the reign of past emperors, namely Nero and Domitian. By examining these thematic similarities between the monuments and the authors of the time of Trajan, this paper demonstrates the importance of the portrayals of barbarians in politically charged art and literature of the time and the attentiveness the authors had towards the political stances of the principate.

I. Introduction:

The term “barbarian” was commonly used in ancient Roman and Greek civilizations to identify different cultural groups.¹ Romans and Greeks did not limit the term to particular groups in any one region, but freely applied it to non-Greco-Roman people ranging from the Britons in the West to the Parthians in the East. In *Histories* 1.1.10, Herodotus separates the world between the Greeks and barbarians. The subject of “the barbarian” continuously appears in ancient literature, in historical and other writings, and in monumental art. The relationships between the Greeks and Romans and barbarians were not static, but fluctuated over the course of history: barbarian foes could become allies, and vice versa. The descendants of people once considered barbarians could eventually become citizens of Rome or Greek city states. This paper will examine some of these complex and fascinating relationships, specifically looking at the ancient treatment of barbarians as enemies, as “others” living outside of Greece and Rome, and as barbarian allies.

One particular period that is rich in presentations of barbarians is the reign of Trajan (98-117 CE). The majority of these presentations are from a Romano-centric view, in that they present the conflicts of the barbarians through a Roman gaze rather than from a barbarian perspective. These presentations were both architectural and literary. The architectural representations of barbarians manifested from Trajan’s victory in the Dacian Wars. During his reign, Trajan personally led an expedition against the “barbarian” Dacians, and, after Roman victory in two wars, constructed a forum from the *spolia* of Dacia with many visual dedications celebrating the war. Among its many sculptural representations, the Forum of Trajan originally

¹ In this paper, I use the word “barbarian” in reference to non-Roman peoples, particularly those who lived outside of the Roman Empire in Europe, in the manner that was used by the ancient Greeks and Romans. By employing this term I do not imply that any of these peoples had inferior cultures.

contained Dacian statues; the Column of Trajan's spiral frieze displays representations of Dacians during the war; and friezes and statues of Dacians were despoiled from now -- lost Trajanic monuments and preserved on the Arch of Constantine. At the same time, various ancient authors were publishing their own works that touched on the subject of barbarians. Three of Tacitus' works, the *Agricola*, *Germania*, and *Annales*, deal in part with barbarians in relation to Rome. Outside of historiography, Pliny the Younger treats barbarians in his *Epistulae* and *Panegyricus*. Frontinus makes brief mentions of barbarians in his work, the *Strategemata*. The variety of sources during this period provides a unique opportunity to examine the perceptions of various barbarian peoples from a Roman perspective.

I hope not only to illuminate the importance barbarians have in literature and art during the time of Trajan, but to demonstrate that both media followed a similar theme in presenting particular groups of barbarians. In many instances, barbarians are presented with Roman-like attributes and are portrayed as sympathetic characters. I suggest that the similarities between Trajanic literature and art represent the impact of the imperial stance towards the presentation of barbarians as sympathetic individuals on the authors of the time. Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Frontinus all had political connections to Trajan, and thus may have been responding to this shifting stance towards barbarians in their writings. This response by the Trajanic authors I liken to the impact the Augustan stance towards Apollo had on the Augustan poets as discussed in Miller 2009.

For the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the Trajanic authors and architecture and recent scholars who have examined these works. First I will overview Tacitus' works chronologically and the scholars who have examined the importance barbarians serve in Tacitus' political commentary on imperial Rome and how the barbarians are presented to the reader. After

Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Frontinus will receive a similar treatment as well. Then the major Trajanic monuments will be introduced as well as scholarship over these monuments.

Among the literary sources written during the reign of Trajan, Tacitus's works contain some of the most prominent depictions of barbarians. The *Annales* treats Rome's interactions with Northern barbarian people. Tacitus's biography of his father-in-law, the *Agricola*, focuses on the British barbarians. The *Germania* provides scholars with one of the earliest ethnographies of German barbarians. Although Tacitus's works span different genres, each is politically charged with criticisms towards the morality of imperial Rome throughout the barbarian and Roman-centric passages.

In the *Agricola*, Tacitus' earliest work, Tacitus imbues the Britons with positive traits to emphasize the corruption at Rome during the reign of the Julio-Claudians and Domitian. In the work, the Britons voice criticisms against imperial rule while at the same time are shown to suffer a similar fate to the senatorial class at Rome, the loss of *libertas* to *servitus*. By creating this unity between the Britons and senators, Tacitus's *Agricola* maintains a constant topic of the condition of society under Domitian.

Liebenschutz (1966: 135) first highlights the continuous theme of the loss of *libertas* in passages dealing with both Rome and the British people. Lavan 2011 builds upon Liebenschutz to demonstrate the similarities of diction between the Roman senate and conquered barbarian peoples in terms of *libertas* and *servitus*. In regard to Calgacus' famous speech before the battle of Mons Graupius, Rutherford (2010: 315-319) has argued that the paired speeches of Calgacus and Agricola criticize Roman vices and imperial policy during the reign of Domitian. Clarke (2001: 105) goes further to suggest that Tacitus has set up Calgacus as a type of virtuous Roman

representing pre-imperial Rome. Lavan (2010: 304) even sees Calgacus as a “senator” of sorts during the reign of Domitian. I will expand upon their arguments for a Roman-like Calgacus in the *Agriocla* in chapter III.B.2.

Geography also plays a key role in the presentation of barbarians in both the *Agricola* and the *Germania*. Clarke (2001: 107) maintains that Tacitus represents Britain as a morally proper Republican Rome in contrast to a degenerate Imperial Rome. I plan to combine Clarke’s analysis with other analyses of the role of geography in Tacitus’s *Germania*, to demonstrate how Tacitus’ positive presentation of Germans serves to criticize the moral decay of imperial Rome in Chapter III.B.1. Other scholars have also argued for the positive Republican echoes that occur at various points in the *Germania* with regard to the Germans. O’Gorman (1993: 146-147) argues that the physical separation of Germania from Rome parallels the moral separation of Republican and imperial Rome. O’Gorman’s analysis, like Clarke’s, shows unity regarding the use of geography to describe barbarians in the *Germania* and the *Agricola*. Other authors have found Roman-like attributes given to barbarians in ethnographical passages as well. Thomas (2010: 68-69) argues that Tacitus also draws distinction between the German tribes to highlight traditional Roman virtues. Woolf (2013) compares several Germanic rituals described by Tacitus as having a Republican quality to them. Beare (1964: 11-12) finds that Tacitus creates a sharp contrast between the morally praiseworthy German families and the contemporary Roman family units. Finally, both Benario (1975) and Rives (1999) commentaries will be consulted for this chapter of the paper.

Due to the expansive subject matter of the *Annales*, there is less focus on the presentation of barbarians in scholarship. Syme (1958: 126, 530-1) notes several barbarian groups with Roman-like qualities are portrayed throughout Tacitus’ works, but Syme devotes only a few

pages to the subject. Syme's monograph is more concerned with the relationship between the senate and the emperors. Syme does not draw comparisons between the plights suffered by the senate and the barbarians at the hands of imperial rule, as discussed earlier with Lavan, Rutherford, and Liebenschutz. Therefore my discussion of the presentation of barbarians in the *Annales* will primarily consult later scholars.

Just as in the case of the scholarship on Calgacus in *Agricola*, scholars have found that Tacitus presents barbarian leaders in the *Annales* with Roman-like attributes. On the German leader Arminius, Tylawsky (2002: 254-8) states that the meeting between Arminius and Flavius in *Annales* 2 displays a conflict of subservience and *libertas*, with Flavius acting as traitor figure. In regards to Boudicca, both Roberts and Alder see Boudicca as a sympathetic female figure. Roberts (1988: 126-127) suggests that Boudicca plays a sympathetic role in representing the inversion of *virtus* in Neronian Rome. Alder (2008: 180-1) focuses on Boudicca's portrayal as a cross between a Roman matron and Celtic leader. I will use these scholars to demonstrate that sympathetic Romano-Barbarian leadership was a continuous theme in Tacitus' work to criticize imperial Roman values in Chapter III.B.2.

Moving on from Tacitus, there has been significantly less scholarship on barbarians that appear in the works of Pliny the Younger and Frontinus. This lack of scholarship is partly due to the lesser role barbarians play in these sources. Schmidt (2002: 64) purposely avoids detailed discussion of some authors for his chapter on the image of barbarians during the reign of Trajan because of their minimal role in the authors' writings. I reject Schmidt's dismissal of the other Trajanic authors, because these writers provide different perspectives on the portrayal of barbarians from that of Tacitus. A survey of barbarians should not be limited to only a few authors, but should consider every viable source.

Pliny the Younger writes about barbarians in his *Epistulae* and *Panegyricus*. *Epistulae* 8.4 describes Pliny's advice to a friend, Caninius Rufus, on his composition of an epic poem about the Dacian Wars. Syme (1964: 750-759) briefly discusses Pliny's positive comment on the Dacian King Decebalus. Yavetz (1998: 105-6) similarly notes Pliny's marked praise for Decebalus in the letter although he was a recent enemy of Rome. Six sections of the *Panegyricus* deal with Trajan and barbarians before the Dacian Wars. Yavetz asserts that Pliny alludes to the peace struck between Domitian and the Dacians as shameful. Schmidt (2002: 64) argues that the Germans and the implied Dacians in the passage are negatively stereotyped to increase Trajan's glory. Frontinus's *Strategemata*, a book of military *exempla*, also makes use of barbarians. The *Strategemata* contains several *exempla* of successful actions performed by Barbarian leaders. Unfortunately, scholarship regarding these barbarian *exempla* appears to be nonexistent. For these authors I will argue their portrayal of barbarians shows a continuation of a trend to present barbarians in a positive light during the reign of Trajan in chapter III.A.

Moving on from the Trajanic authors, the monuments of the reign of Trajan continue this trend of presenting Roman-like barbarians. Three monumental groups dealing with the depiction of barbarians survive: the Dacian statues and the Great Trajanic Frieze on the Arch of Constantine, and the Column of Trajan in the Forum of Trajan. Among recent scholars, Ferris (2000) has produced the most focused study on the presentation of barbarians in Trajanic monuments. While I agree with some of the observations of Ferris (2000: 62-78) about the depiction of barbarians, I reach different conclusions on several key issues. Ferris does not believe that the Dacians on the column are presented as Roman-like, but as dehumanized enemies. He also treats the "Trajanic barbarian" as a solely architectural motif to the exclusion of the literature of the time. Ferris also does not differentiate between Roman and provincial

Trajanic monuments as separate architectural programs. It is necessary to consider both literature and art if one is to examine the “Trajanic barbarian.” Romans were consuming messages about barbarians in both the literature and art of the time. A more complete picture can only be achieved when both media are considered. Additionally, monuments that rest in or outside Rome should be considered as separate entities. Monuments in Rome had an entirely different audience and context from those of Egypt and Britain, for example. Monuments with the same context should share similar socio-political messages. With the consideration of context and literature, I will show that many Roman-like barbarians appear on the Column.

Of the three Trajanic monumental groups, the Column of Trajan has received the most scholarly attention. The commentaries of Rossi (1971), Lepper and Frere (1988), and Coarelli (2000) provide insights to scenes that pose interpretative challenges and I will offer my own opinions where the meaning of the compositions is highly questionable. Additionally, Rockwell *et al.* (2004: 89) takes a more in-depth look into several key scenes on the Column that are central to the portrayal of Dacians as Roman-like barbarians. Finally, I will employ the method used by Waddell (2013: 475-6) to analyze the juxtaposition of Dacian and Roman scenes on the Column of Trajan in order to decipher meaning between a pair of scenes that are often cited to demonstrate the savagery of the Dacians. Using Waddell’s method and a closer analysis of the figures, I will attempt to provide a new interpretation of these scenes, which supports a continuous theme of creating Roman-like barbarians in literature and art during the reign of Trajan in chapter II.B.

There are few dedicated studies of the Dacian statues on the Arch of Constantine. In his monograph on the Forum of Trajan, Packer (1997: 282) touches briefly on the Dacian statues that once stood there. Waelkens (1985: 685) treats the representation of the Dacians. I will argue

against their interpretation of these statues, as it conflicts with similar representations of Dacians found elsewhere in Trajanic monuments in regards to posture and position of the Dacians in chapter II.A.

Recent scholarship generally agrees that the Great Trajanic Frieze was not a part of Trajan's Forum. Packer (1997) does not include the frieze from his reconstruction of the forum and Holloway (2008: 31-31) also argues that the frieze may have not originated from Rome. Additionally the Great Trajanic Frieze both thematically and artistically differs from the other Trajanic monuments. The Frieze depicts a heroic *adventus* scene of Trajan, whereas the Column of Trajan focuses on Trajan's role as a leader and administrator instead of a warrior. On account of frieze's obscure origins and disunity between itself and the other monuments, I will exclude it from this examination.

Scholarship on the Trajanic monuments in Rome has recognized sympathetic portrayals of Dacians, but thus far the Roman-like qualities inherent in these depictions have not been considered. I will attempt to show the similarities between these sculptures and the Roman-like portrayals seen in Trajanic literature. I believe that both literature and art employed similar methods in the presentation of barbarians as Romans. The writings of authors who had political relations with Trajan seem to reflect similar beliefs about barbarians to those portrayed on Trajanic architecture. This similarity may reflect the authors' own response to the principate's stance towards the representation of barbarians. I will first discuss the Trajanic monuments and their sympathetic representation of the Dacians in chapter II and then move on to the Trajanic authors' sympathetic portrayals of barbarian peoples in chapter III to demonstrate this shared theme between the two mediums.

II. Barbarians in Trajanic Art

Along with literature, art produced during the reign of Trajan must be considered when analyzing the portrayal of barbarians. In contrast to literature, public art was available daily for all the citizens in Rome to consume. Since public art simply requires one to observe it, art becomes one of the most effective ways of presenting socio-political messages to the entire Roman populace. Trajan used artistic representation of Dacians throughout imperial art from Rome to the Tropaeum Trajani in Moesia. The portrayal of barbarians in Trajanic Rome was both literary and monumental in nature.

Perhaps the most well-known representations of barbarians during the reign of Trajan come from the Trajanic monuments in Rome. The Forum of Trajan and the Column of Trajan share a focus on the Dacian Wars, and in particular the presentation of the defeated Dacians. Of these monuments, only the Column of Trajan remains mostly intact. Statues of Dacians from the Forum of Trajan survive without their original context. These surviving monuments are instrumental to understanding the presentation of barbarians at Rome under the reign of Trajan from an imperial perspective. In this chapter I argue that there was a uniformly sympathetic portrayal of Dacians displaying Roman like virtues attributes in Trajanic architecture at Rome and that the. Unfortunately the Dacian statues and the Column of Trajan only represent a small fraction the imperial art during the reign of Trajan. Therefore my argument is partially based on the absence of material. The portrayal of the Dacians on the surviving monuments of Rome supports my argument that both imperial art and literature at the time of Trajan employed a similar of portraying barbarians.

A. Dacian Statues in the Forum of Trajan

Construction began on the Forum of Trajan in 107 CE under the master architect Apollodorus of Damascus and was finished with the forum's inauguration in 112 CE.² The colonnades on either side of the forum were decorated with male Dacians serving as *atlantes*.³ Although this presentation of Dacians appears simplistic compared to the complex narratives presented on the Column of Trajan, the posture and the use of Dacians as *atlantes* sends a message of Dacian subservience to Rome. Instead of enemies the Dacians act literally as supports for their conqueror's forum and bow down their heads in submission.

Although the appearance of the Dacians varies slightly, they all assumed a similar posture as *atlantes*. The Dacian in Figure 1 stands with an upright back and with a slightly down cast head. His arms are placed before his waist with one hand overlapping the other's wrist. The long cloak and dress closely resembles their counterparts on the Column of Trajan. The statue in Figure 1 was removed from the forum and used for the Arch of Constantine. Other Dacian *atlantes* present on the arch share a similar posture to that of Figure 1, with slight variations in appearance such as the inclusion of caps, which also appear on Trajan's column.

At first glance the statues appear to be captives or prisoners of war as Packer (1997: 282) and Waelkens (1985: 685) describe them. Packer describes their role as dejected prisoners who both figuratively and literally support the building of the forum by serving as *atlantes* and through their origins in *spolia* from the Dacian campaigns. Conversely, Ferris (2000: 78-9) emphasizes that the statues served as imposing figures who display a combination of pride and pathos, and may serve as a reminder to the Roman people that Trajan defeated such dangerous

² Dates established by Richardson (1992: 175-8) and Jones (2000: 168).

³ The *atlas* is the proper term for a male counterpart of a caryatid.

enemies. Rather than enemies that are to be admired for being ferocious, I believe the statues probably portray Dacian barbarians who voluntarily submitted to Trajan during the Dacian Wars. It is unlikely that the statues represent Dacians in the state of capture. Elsewhere in Trajanic art, prisoners of war are typically bound at the wrists with their hands behind their back, such as in Figure 9. The surviving forum statues do not have bonds on the Dacians and their arms are placed in front of them. Throughout the Column of Trajan, there are many scenes of unbound Dacians performing acts of supplication toward Trajan, such as scenes XXXIX, XLVI, LXI, LXVI, LXXV, CXVIII, and CXXIII. The Dacians are not physically forced to perform these acts by Roman soldiers, but do so of their own accord.

With this in mind, another interpretation of the Dacian statues of the forum should be considered. The Dacian statues symbolize willful obedience to Trajan and Rome rather than forced servitude. These statues do not glorify the Dacians, but show to the citizen of Rome that worthy, yet inferior foes have subjected themselves to the might of Roman rule and the glory of Trajan. Their downcast heads with unbound hands display austere submission without the need of physical compulsion. The Dacian statues represent individuals who have put themselves under superior Roman rule and act according to Rome's will (in this case serving as *atlantes*). The double meaning suggested by Packer can still apply to this view; with the modification that the forum was built upon the spoils of war and the submissive Dacians rather than captives. The act of submission conveys the idea that an individual has recognized another as their superior, in contrast to reject another displays an unwillingness to recognize another as an authority figure. Submission of an enemy then is significant since it represents a physical and ideological victory over another, whereas captives enemies still reject the victor and no ideological victory is achieved.. Therefore, submissive barbarians would in turn bring more glory to Trajan than

captive ones. With the act of submission, the statues show that they have recognized Trajan as superior to them. If the trend of Romanizing barbarians in literature during Trajanic times (see page 22) is a response to the imperial architectural program for the presentation of barbarians, as will be discussed further in the chapter on the Column of Trajan, then Romanized barbarians submitting themselves to Trajan would indicate that Trajan represented ideal Roman leadership.

B. Dacians on the Column of Trajan

The Column of Trajan provides modern scholars with the largest source of representations of barbarians in art from the reign of Trajan. Designed by Apollodorus of Damascus, it stands in the Forum of Trajan between two libraries. Dedicated in 113 CE, the column features a 24-layered spiraling frieze that depicts the two Dacian Wars during the years 101-102 and 105-106 CE.⁴ Aside from the Dacians, the column features other barbarian peoples such as the Sarmatians and barbarian allies of Rome. This chapter, however, will focus on the Dacians, since more scenes on the column are devoted to them than other groups and they serve as the primary opposition to the Roman forces.

The Dacians on the column play the generic roles of enemy combatants and dead enemies. The column also includes many scenes that deal with the Dacians off the battlefield as suppliants, prisoners, and even scenes without Romans, sometimes including women and children. These nuanced scenes, both of battle and the Dacian homefront, are key to understanding constant theme of presenting sympathetic barbarians during the reign of Trajan. Many of these scenes show sympathy towards the barbarians and some of the scenes seem to evoke Roman-like qualities. The purpose behind the portrayal of the barbarians is twofold: the

⁴ Dates of Richardson 1992:175-178; Lepper and Frere 1988: 1.

presentation of the Dacians creates a worthy opponent for Trajan to face as the defining achievement of his early reign; and the emphasis on supplication and pathos creates an image of Trajan as an ideal emperor. Before I discuss the scenes of pathos and supplication, I will first briefly address two scenes that may be construed as representing the Dacians in an inhumane or savage light; LXXII and XLV.

Scene LXXII shows two auxiliaries presenting the heads of Dacians to Trajan. The presentation of Dacian heads occurs in scenes XXIV, LVI, and LXXII on the column, including that of the head of Decebalus, as identified by Coarelli (2000: 217), in scene CXLVII. It is easy to view these scenes as a Roman attempt to dehumanize the Dacians, but the Dacians also partake in the presentation of heads in scene XXV. Coarelli (2000: 69) suggests that these are skulls of Romans taken during the campaigns of Domitian. The presentation of heads was standard practice among ancient armies. Romans and Dacians perform this practice on the column. Furthermore, according to Frontinus' *Strategemanta* 2.9.3-4, both Sulla and Arminius used the heads of defeated enemies to demoralize their foes in order to end a war. Since the column and Frontinus show both Roman and barbarians participating in this practice, the severed the heads of Dacians on the column was not meant to dehumanize the Dacians, but to reproduce standard military practice. Therefore, this presentation of the Dacians does contradict the theme of presenting Roman-like barbarians during the reign of Trajan.

The next scene, XLV, can also be interpreted as a defamation of the Dacians, but on closer examination reveals a commentary on barbarians who serve for or against Trajan. In Figure 4, women appear to torture bare chested prisoners with firebrands. Ferris (2000: 66-67) describes this scene as Dacian women torturing Roman prisoners. Both Lepper and Frere (1988: 90) and Rossi (1971: 156) describe the males as Dacians; Lepper and Frere, however, describe

the women as Moesians and the men as Dacians and Sarmatians. To identify the actors within this scene is extremely difficult due to its brevity and the lack of literary evidence of this event. I suggest that the men and women are in fact all Dacians, based on the appearance of the individuals. The women clearly wear the same garb and hair style as other Dacian women who appear in Figures 5 and 6. The men are more difficult to identify due to their lack of garb and armaments. Nowhere else on the Column are Romans portrayed as dead or in a state of capture. For one scene to portray the Romans in a scene of defeat and humiliation would be particularly unfitting for a war monument celebrating the triumphs of Rome. The uppermost male in the composition clearly bears a long beard and moustache characteristic of those worn by the Dacian males. The central male figure's face is in poor preservation and little can be said about it except that it may once have had a moustache to indicate that he is a Dacian. The lower male figure does not bear either a beard or a moustache.

If the males in this scene are in fact Dacian, why are the Dacian women torturing them? Following the argument of Waddell (2013) about juxtaposition on the Column of Trajan and the *Annales*, an explanation can be made. In the previous scene, Figure 7, Trajan presides over the distribution of awards to the auxiliaries and their celebration. With the scenes juxtaposed, the meaning of scene XLV becomes clear. When defeated, the barbarians who fought against Trajan receive no rewards, but rather punishment at home for losing the war. When barbarians choose Trajan as their leader, they are victorious and are rewarded for their service. These paired scenes fit the theme of sympathetic portrayals of barbarians, where Trajan is presented as a just ruler whom "virtuous" barbarians willingly serve under.

Though the majority of the barbarians on the column are not subservient to Trajan, sympathy is still given to the defeated Dacians on the battlefield. Three methods are used on the

column to convey sympathy for the Dacians: Roman like organization on the battlefield, care for the wounded and “noble” suicides. Several of the battle scenes on the column show barbarian organization, rather than the unorganized masses. The barbarians fight with organization like the Romans on the column. In Figure 8, a number of barbarians engage in battle with the Roman forces, while some behind the frontline carry off their wounded and dead, as interpreted by Rossi (1971: 142). Not only do the barbarians show order and ability to fight against the Romans, they also display care for the wounded and dead by protecting and carrying them off of the battlefield. Similar organization and protection of fallen allies on the part of the Dacians can be seen in scenes XLI, LXIV, and LXXI. The act of carrying away the wounded does not occur in these scenes, but retreating barbarians are seen behind the frontlines in these scenes. These acts instead can be interpreted as the last line of Dacian defense to hold off the Roman advance while their Dacian comrades depart to fight another day. Importantly, caring for the wounded is a quality that the Dacians share with the Romans on the column. Roman soldiers care for their wounded on the column in scene XL. Instead of appearing as opposing forces of humanity and savagery, the Romans and Dacians are united in tending to their own wounded comrades. The barbarian combatants on the Column are shown to have some redeeming qualities. The barbarians therefore are shown as defeated foes, but not devoid of humane qualities and still are able to invoke pathos.

Sympathy continues to be given to the Dacians on the column in the non-militaristic scenes featuring warriors and non-combatants. Suicide was laudable in certain circumstances such as that of Seneca, where Tacitus refers to Pompeia Paulina’s wish to commit suicide with Seneca as *gloriae eius* in *Annales* 15.63.1. Griffin (1986: 192-193) discusses the various forms of socially acceptable suicides in Rome, e.g. protecting one’s property, “adherence to social code

of conduct,” and a preferable end to capital punishment for the aristocracy. In the case of the Dacians, their suicides can be categorized as an attempt to avoid a final defeat. Scenes CXL and CXX-CXXI present groups of barbarians committing suicide on the column, and scene CXLV displays the suicide of Decebalus. These suicide scenes represent barbarians who do not recognize the superiority of Rome and instead elect to control their own fate through suicide. Although these barbarians do not submit to Trajan, the suicide scenes invoke sympathy through the actions and facial expression of the Dacians. Scenes CXX-CXXI portray Dacian priests handing out what appears to be poison to distressed Dacians as a form of mass suicide, as seen in Figure 11. Most of the barbarians before the priest hold their arms outstretched before them. In the center of the crowd, one nobleman raises both of his arms into the air as he looks up to the sky with an open mouth. In the back of the crowd, one Dacian supports another who has already consumed poison and now leans on him, while another body is raised up by two more Dacians. Two barbarians in the back hold their hands up to their foreheads as they gaze downward in sorrow. Another barbarian stretches out his arm to comfort a comrade. This poisoning scene clearly shows the Dacians as humane foes with passion for their comrades and their liberty. The Dacians commiserate and once again show compassion for the dead.

Another suicide scene, Scene CXL, also presents Dacians with dignity. In this scene, a group of Dacians commits suicide with daggers. One Dacian raises a dagger above his collar bone while he kneels on one knee. Beside him a comrade already lies dead from suicide. To the right of this pair, one barbarian bears a sword above the head of another barbarian in preparation to behead him. This barbarian kneels down on one knee, head lowered, and his hands touch the

ground in a dignified pose.⁵ What must be highlighted about both of these scenes is the lack of Roman participation; these barbarians are not forced to do these acts but elect suicide for themselves. For the theme of sympathetic barbarians during the reign of Trajan, these acts of suicide represent the unfortunate outcome when barbarians choose to take their own lives rather than submit to Trajan.

The suicide scenes must be put into context with the supplication scenes. Scenes of Dacian supplication to Trajan himself occur much more frequently than the suicide scenes, such as scenes XXXIX, XLVI, LXI, LXVI, LXXV, CXIII, and CXXIII. The larger number of supplications scenes seem to indicate that more Dacians accepted Trajan rather than commit suicide. The largest mass supplication occurs in Figures 9 and 10, where Trajan presides over a large group of Dacians including Decebalus in the action of supplication at the conclusion of the first Dacian war, as interpreted by Coarelli (2000: 211). Trajan sits on a throne above the suppliant barbarians, one of whom grasps his knees. In the front of him, barbarians with their hands bound behind their backs stand, while behind them, unbound barbarians kneel with their hands outstretched towards Trajan. Behind this kneeling group, another group stands upright on elevated terrain with their arms outstretched, with Decebalus on a higher point of elevation. In this composition, Decebalus stands as a rival to Trajan who has not fully submitted to his foe. Decebalus stands farthest away from Trajan at the highest point above other standing barbarians. This elevated group represents Dacian dissent against Roman subjugation after the First Dacian War, as they do not perform a full supplication like the rest of the Dacians on the lower terrain. Instead they stand elevated just as high, if not higher in the case of Decebalus, as Trajan. The composition fits with the trend of portraying sympathetic barbarians in that it shows that, at the

⁵ I find these scenes to be highly evocative of the Attalid Gaul statue group, where Galatians are similarly presented in the act of suicide. This scene is perhaps a continuation of that tradition.

end of the First Dacian War, there were Dacians who accepted Trajan as their ruler; and at the same time alludes to the future conflict with Trajan's rival Decebalus.

In contrast to the supplications of warriors and nobles in LXXV after defeat, non-combatant barbarians perform an entirely different act that draws the strongest comparison between the Dacians and Republican Romans. Coarelli (2000: 133) and Rockwell *et al* (2004: 89) suggest that scenes LXXVI and CLV portray barbarian families departing into exile. In scene LXXVI (Figure 12), men, women, children, and livestock are all present. Juxtaposed to the left are two barbarians destroying the walls of their previous settlement, as interpreted by Rossi (1971: 172). The central focus of the scene is on a pair of barbarian males. While glancing back at his lost land, an older man leads along a child by the wrist, likely a father and son. Scene CLV, although damaged, appears to have a similar pairing as well. When the entire composition of scene LXXVI is taken into consideration, I believe this scene may be an attempt to portray Roman *pietas*, perhaps mimicking the flight of Aeneas and Ascanius from Troy. The composition is not perfect fit. The man does not carry an elderly figure holding statues of gods. Therefore this scene may just be an attempt to create a scene of familial *pietas* using familiar imagery, rather than direct copy of a famous Roman story. Nevertheless, if the scene does seek to portray Roman *pietas*, then the Dacian people, rather than being foreign barbarians, now appear as virtuous Romans.⁶ Sympathy can arise for the Dacians now that they are shown to share similar values to the Romans. These scenes continue the trend of Romanizing barbarians in Trajanic art and literature and serve as a defining scene of pathos for the Dacians on the column.

⁶ The term *pietas* calls forth ideas of loyalty and duty to family, country, and to the gods as discussed in McLeish 1972. This term is often associated with the *Aeneid*, but *pietas* has been a central virtue of Rome since the Republic. Cicero describes *pietas* as *pietatem quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat* in *De Inventione* 2.66 as discussed by Emilie 1944. *Pietas* is not exclusive to Romans however. Mezentius and Lausus are a notable example of familial piety in Book 10 of the *Aeneid*, which greatly affected Aeneas as discussed by Bruke 1974: 206-209.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius is a useful *comparandum* with the portrayal of barbarians on Trajan's Column. In contrast to Trajan's Column, the Column of Marcus is devoid of mass supplication and suicide scenes performed by the Germans. Additionally the Germans are shown as incapable fighters. The Germans never fight back, but instead are lying dead on the battlefield or are in the act of being killed by Roman soldiers such as in scene XCVII. The violence acted upon the Germans by the Romans is much more graphic compared to the violence done to the Dacians. On the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the flesh of the Germans is frequently pierced by Roman weapons such as in scene L. Additionally the treatment of German prisoners by the Romans displays brutality. Women and children are often man handled by soldiers resulting in the exposure of women's breasts as seen in Figure 2. Roman soldiers also execute male German prisoners in mass as seen in Figure 3. Violent scenes such as these are not present on the Column of Trajan. While the Dacians on the Column of Trajan appear virtuous, the Germans on the Column of Marcus Aurelius appear as weak and ineffectual.

C. Conclusion

The Dacians in Trajanic art at Rome are not presented as mindless savages, but are emotional and sympathetic people, not unlike the Romans. On the Column of Trajan, the Dacians share qualities with the Romans and perform acts of pathos. The Dacians show organization in battle and care for the wounded and dead just as the Romans. Both the *atlantes* and the Column of Trajan put a focus on the supplication of the Dacians to Trajan. Since the Dacians are characterized by Roman like qualities, Trajan achieves greater glory by being recognized as a rightful ruler by a Roman-like people. In defeat, the Dacians are given powerful

scenes of pathos that highlight their misfortune for not recognizing Trajan as leader.⁷ The juxtaposition between the rewards offered to the auxiliaries and the punishment faced by the Dacian males serves to demonstrate Trajan's just rule and the punishment that befalls the Dacians from their own people. When Dacians choose death over Roman rule, the suicide scenes display a wealth of emotion and sympathy for the Dacians' error of rejecting Rome. With the wars ended, the column presents the exile of non-subservient Dacians as a parallel to the story of Aeneas.

This portrayal of the Dacians glorifies Trajan as a just emperor. In architecture Trajan is presented as an emperor whom barbarians recognize as a superior ruler through the various forms of supplication that appear in the Forum of Trajan. These acts further his glory because the barbarians are portrayed as Roman-like, and are thereby recognizing a true Roman emperor. On the Column of Trajan, the barbarians who serve under Trajan and who supplicate to him are treated mercifully. The Dacians who continue to resist Trajan endure tragic episodes of death rather than merciless executions at the hands of the Romans. The Dacians are not presented as equals to the Romans. The torture of Dacian men at the hands of their women alongside the scene where Trajan rewards his auxiliaries suggests the flaws of Dacian culture in comparison with Trajan's benefactions towards his auxiliaries. This sympathetic trend for the representation of barbarians in the art and architecture of Rome achieved a complex system of messages that maintained a balance between glorifying Trajan and creating a sympathetic view of his opponents, the Dacians.

⁷ Trajan's benevolent treatment of the Dacians can be seen as a form of *clementia* (clemency/forgiveness). This term is often considered a virtue of an individual. Images and titles of *clementia* were used by Roman rulers for self-fashioning, such as Caesar, Augustus, and Marcus Aurelius as discussed in Konstan (2005).

III. Barbarians in Trajanic Literature

The authors in this chapter all approach the topic of barbarians in varying degrees. These multiple perspectives are invaluable for examining the representation of western barbarians during the reign of Trajan. In this chapter I will examine *exempla* from Frontinus, Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* and one of his letters, and several of Tacitus' works. By examining these works, I will highlight how the authors Romanize or give sympathetic portrayals of barbarian peoples and follows a similar theme to Trajanic architecture.

A. Frontinus and Pliny the Younger

Frontinus and Pliny had political ties of Trajan. Frontinus served twice as a consular colleague of Trajan, and Pliny both served as consul and famously corresponded with Trajan during his governorship of Bythnia. Both Frontinus and Pliny often give positive presentations of barbarians. I will demonstrate that their writings seem to respond to the trend of presenting barbarians in a positive light during the reign of Trajan. Frontinus' *Strategemata* uses several positive barbarian *exempla* in order to provide military strategies worthy of emulation. Pliny's *Epistulae* 8.4 deals with the Dacian wars and his *Panegyricus* to Trajan also makes references to barbarians.

Frontinus' use of barbarians in the *Strategemata* is best represented by his use of Hannibal's success at Cannae for *exempla* of successful military strategies at 2.2.7, 2.3.7, and 2.4.27. Frontinus' use of positive barbarian exempla and avoidance of describing barbarians pejoratively when they are the victims of a successful strategy may reflect Frontinus' reaction to the imperial treatment of barbarians. Barbarians could now be represented in a positive light rather than as dehumanized enemies.

Two notable *exempla* presented by Frontinus are of barbarian leaders whose tribes were at one time at war with Rome. He describes a Dacian general, Scorylo at 1.10.4:

Scorylo, dux Dacorum, cum sciret dissociatum armis civilibus populum Romanum neque tamen sibi temptandum arbitraretur, quia externo bello posset concordia inter cives coalescere, duos canes in conspectu popularium commisit iisque acerrime inter ipsos pugnantibus lupum ostendit, quem protinus canes omissa inter se ira adgressi sunt. Quo exemplo prohibuit barbaros ab impetu Romanis profuturo. (Loeb, 1925 edition)

When Scorylo, leader of the Dacians, knew that the Roman people were disunited in a civil war, and he didn't think an attack should be made, because with the advent of foreign war unity could join the Roman citizens, he let loose two hounds in sight of his people, and once the hounds were bitterly fighting one another he added a wolf. Immediately the hounds set aside their anger for each other and attacked the wolf. With this example, he prevented the barbarians from making an attack that would be beneficial for the Romans.

This *exemplum* is striking because of its use of a Dacian leader who was an enemy of Rome. Rome was at war with Dacia as recently as Domitian's reign and soon to be at war with Dacia under Trajan. Additionally, this *exemplum* is to the disadvantage of Rome. Frontinus, although the Dacians were enemies of Rome, recognized the Dacians as capable of performing *exempla* that were worthy of imitation by Roman generals. This portrayal of the Dacians falls in line with the trend of creating positive portrayals of barbarians in literature and art during the reign of Trajan. Frontinus' portrayal of Scorylo may have been impacted by principate's own presentation of the Dacians as sympathetic and Roman-like individuals as discussed in chapter II.

The other notable barbarian *exemplum* is of the now infamous Arminius of the Cherusci. The *exemplum* of Arminius is paired with that of the famous Roman general, Sulla, where Frontinus gives *exempla* on how to end a siege at 2.9.3-4:

L. Sulla his, qui Praeneste obsidebantur, occisorum in proelio ducum capita hastis praefixa ostendit atque ita obstinatorum pervicaciam fregit.

Arminius, dux Germanorum, capita eorum, quos occiderat, similiter praefixa ad vallum hostium admoveri iussit. (Loeb, 1925 edition)

To those besieged at Praeneste, Lucius Sulla displayed the heads of their leaders who fell in battle fixed to spears and thus broke the stubbornness of the defenders.

Arminius, leader of the Germans, ordered the heads of those whom he killed to be brought to the wall of the enemy.

Frontinus' choice of *exempla* is notable. Arminius was infamous for betraying Rome and leading the German forces in the Varian disaster (see *Annales* 1.55.2). To pair Arminius with one of Rome's most famous Republican figures at first seems absurd. This unusual pairing can be explained if one considers the impact principate's stranding towards barbarians may have had on the authors. By pairing Sulla and Arminius, Frontinus has made Arminius appear to be as good a strategist as Sulla. Furthermore, Arminius employs the same tactics as a Roman general. In effect, Frontinus makes Arminius resemble a Republican general, so that the failures of previous imperial rulers and generals to subdue Arminius might appear to be the result of Arminius' Republican-like leadership. These *exempla* presented by Frontinus display a new willingness to portray barbarians in a positive light that was acceptable during the reign of Trajan.

The *Panegyricus* was given in 100 CE when Pliny was made consul. Trajan had been emperor for two years and had not gone to war against the Dacians. The principate's sympathetic portrayals of barbarians may have not started yet, since Trajan's interactions with barbarian nations had yet to fully develop. After the Dacian Wars, Pliny's presentation of barbarians is positive. This change could reflect Pliny responding to the imperial presentation of barbarians in his writings.

In chapter 16 of his *Panegyricus*, Pliny makes a pronouncement against all barbarian kings that wish to wage war against Rome:

Quod si quis barbarus rex eo insolentiae furorisque processerit, ut iram tuam indignationemque mereatur: ne ille, sive interfuso mari, seu fluminibus immensis, seu praecipiti monte defenditur, omnia haec tam prona, tamque cedentia virtutibus tuis sentiet, ut subsedis montes, flumina exaruisse, interceptum mare, illatasque non classes nostras, sed terras ipsas arbitretur. (Weise, 1843 edition)

Because if any barbarian king should proceed to this point of insolence and madness, that he earns your wrath and disdain. May that one not be defended, even if by the division of the sea, or immense rivers, or by a steep mountain. He will sense that all these things are so favorable and so submissive to your virtues, that would think that mountains have sunk, rivers have dried up, the sea has been seized, and not our fleets, but the land itself has attacked him.

Pliny presents barbarians as uncultured savages with the words *insolentiae* and *furoris*. Barbarian kings appear to be so utterly helpless against Trajan's power that even the natural boundaries that act as protection betray them in the face of Roman might. In the *Panegyricus* the barbarians are ineffectual, and prone to emotion without any redeeming qualities.

Years after the *Panegyricus*, Pliny makes a passing comment on Decebalus in *Epistulae* 8.4, where he gives advice to his friend, Caninius Rufus, about composing an epic on the Dacian Wars. Pliny surprisingly does not condemn Decebalus for the Dacian wars. Instead, Pliny highlights Decebalus' perseverance in the face of adversity, *pulsum regia pulsum etiam vita regem nihil desperantem*, "driven from his kingdom, even driven from his life a king despairing not at all." Yavetz (1998: 105) highlights that Pliny could have criticized Decebalus, since the Dacian king broke the initial peace treaty with Rome and because of his well-known history of raiding Roman occupied lands. This approach to barbarian rulers is completely different from his panegyric before the outbreak of the Dacian Wars. Since his initial consulship under Trajan, Pliny held many high offices under Trajan.⁸ As a result of his increased exposure to the current principate's policies, Pliny may have responded to these changing perceptions in his works. By casting Decebalus as a steadfast opponent for Trajan, Trajan's victory over Decebalus becomes

⁸ Consulship 100 CE, Augur 103 BCE, President of the Curators of the Tiber 104 BCE, Governor of Bithynia 110 CE; Syme 1958: 78-81.

all the greater since he defeated a strong foe rather than a weak one. Like Frontinus with Dacians, Pliny has created a worthy opponent for Trajan.

Both Frontinus and Pliny employ positive portrayals of barbarians, which may have been partly influenced by the presentation of barbarians by the principate. Although Frontinus does not directly valorize barbarians, his objectivity and employment of positive barbarian *exempla* marks a departure from treatments in authors such as Livy and Valerius Maximus. The use of barbarian *exempla* by Frontinus implies a socio-political environment in Rome that is accepting of neutral or positive representations of barbarians. Between the *Panegyricus* and *Epistulae* 8.4, Pliny displays a notable change in his attitude towards barbarians. In his *Panegyricus*, Pliny presents barbarians as generic hostile enemies to Rome, but in the letter, Pliny's short comments about the Dacian king, Decebalus, are complimentary. The difference in time and subject matter could explain Pliny's different treatments of barbarians. Pliny initially portrayal of barbarians changes to a positive one after Trajan's increased interaction with barbarian peoples. Coincidentally, Pliny and Frontinus created sympathetic portrayals of barbarians that glorify Trajan just as the architecture of the time. Both authors create images of barbarians that are worthy opponents, in particular the Dacians, whom Trajan defeated. I will now demonstrate how Tacitus, another politician active during the reign of Trajan, who created sympathetic portrayals of barbarians to criticize pre-Trajanic Rome.

B. Tacitus

Tacitus pays particular attention to individual leaders of barbarian tribes. Tacitus was an active politician during the reign of Trajan and served as a Proconsul in Asia 112-113. Tacitus' writings, like the works of Frontinus and Pliny, seem to respond to the theme of sympathetic

portrayals of barbarians during the reign of Trajan. Tacitus often creates sympathetic or Roman-like representations of barbarians. These portrayals of barbarians are often critical of imperial morals. The barbarians are frequently described with Roman-like qualities that are under threat of a morally questionable imperial Rome, in particular the loss of their *libertas* and *virtus* to vices introduced by the imperial Romans. In this chapter, I will examine how Tacitus appears to respond to the trend of presenting sympathetic and Roman-like barbarian peoples and leaders during the reign of Trajan and to undermine the condition of pre-Trajanic Rome with these representations. First I examine presentations of barbarians as a collective in the *Agricola* and *Germania* and then the leaders Calgacus in the *Agricola* and

1. Peoples

Tacitus frequently characterizes the various barbarian peoples that appear in his works. These characterizations range from ethnographies such as the *Agricola* and *Germania*, to short comments in the *Annales*. Tacitus' representation of barbarians is not uniform. He often imbues barbarians with Republican virtues, and at other times barbarians appear as uncivilized savages. Tacitus underlines the ongoing political opposition of *libertas* and *servitus* during pre-Trajanic Rome in many of his works through the presentation of barbarians. In this chapter, I will show how Tacitus continues the theme of presenting sympathetic and Roman-like barbarians just as the other Trajanic sources and criticizes pre-Trajanic Rome through his portrayals of barbarian people.

In the *Agricola* and *Germania*, Tacitus frequently employs barbarians to comment on Republican virtues that were lost to Rome prior to the reign of Trajan. In the *Agricola*, parallels are drawn between the *libertas* of the Roman senate with that of the Britons, especially the loss of *libertas* to *servitus*. While the *Germania* does not touch on the subject of *libertas* and *servitus*

in the same manner as *Agricola*, Tacitus applies Roman virtues to barbarian peoples and emphasizes the geographical separations of the barbarian tribes from imperial Rome to account for the Roman-like attributes of the barbarians.⁹ Since the tribes have yet to come under the influence of Rome, they do not exhibit the vices often associated with imperial Rome. The *Agricola* contains a parallel theme of the loss of *libertas* in imperial Rome under Domitian and the threatened *libertas* of the barbarians in Britain. Tacitus uses the same terminology when he addresses both the loss of *libertas* of the senators and barbarians at the hands of imperial Rome and portrays both groups to suffer similar vices of *servitus*.

Tacitus begins the *Agricola* by characterizing the Roman Empire of the past as a place of *servitus* at 2.3, *et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio* “and just as the old age saw what was the extreme in liberty, thus we saw what was the extreme in servitude, with the dealings even of speaking and listening snatched away through investigations.” Syme (1958: 28) summarizes Tacitus’ definition of *libertas* for the nobility as “free speech and free criticism.” Syme’s definition, while suitable for Roman senators, needs to be expanded in the case of *Agricola*. *Agricola* is not threatened by his words but by the renown he gained in Britain, where he was free from *servitus* and displayed *virtus*.¹⁰ As Clark (2001: 106-9) has argued, Tacitus paints Britain as a remote island where *Agricola* can practice *virtus* during the oppressive reign of Domitian that is characterized by *servitus*. In Britain, *Agricola* was able to gain major victories against the barbarians and the renown he gained followed him to Rome,

⁹ Clarke (2001: 107); O’Gorman (1993: 146-147)

¹⁰ The word *virtus* is commonly translated “manliness.” Frequently it is associated with military prowess such as in Sallust’s *Bellum Jugurthinum*. *virtus* in some cases can deal with the steadfastness of the moral character of an individual in the face of vices that would make him “womanly.” In the case of the *Agricola*, *virtus* appears to evoke both the military and moral aspects of the concept. Throughout the biography, Tacitus portrays *Agricola* as a successful and morally sound senator in a time that was hostile to such qualities. For more on the role of *virtus* in Roman society and literature see McDonnell (2006).

causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. (Woodman, 2014 edition)

The cause of peril was not any charge or a complaint of some injury, but an emperor hateful to virtue and the glory of a man and the most hateful kind of enemy, those who praise. (*Ag.* 41.1)

It was his accomplishments in Britain and the praise he gained that led to Domitian's ire, not any words spoken by Agricola in Rome. Words of other would continue to plague Agricola in chapter 41.1 where the Domitian becomes enraged at Agricola when the people of Rome called upon Agricola to become a general again. Once Agricola returns to Rome he assumes a state of *servitus* where he is silenced, as Lavan (2011: 305) has noted. When Domitian receives him, Agricola quickly places himself in a position devoid of *libertas* and *virtus*:

exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. ceterum uti militarem nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit. (Woodman, 2014 edition)

Having been received with a brief kiss and with no conversation he intermingled in the crowd of slaves. Moreover, so that he restrains the military name, unpleasant among those of leisure, with other virtues, he completely consumed stillness and leisure. (*Ag.* 40.2-3)

Agricola's loss of speech is indicated by *nullo sermone* once he enters a crowd of slaves. Additionally, Agricola needed to take up idleness, *tranquillitatem atque otium*, as a new inverted virtue during a time of *servitus*, instead of being a man of action as he was in Britain. Tacitus described a similar *servitus* that Agricola endured under the reign of Nero:

tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora (Woodman, 2014 edition)

A time so savage and hostile to virtues. (*Ag.* 1.4)

Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. (Woodman, 2014 edition)

Soon between his quaestorship and tribunate of the plebs and even the very year of the tribunate he passed over into repose and leisure, mindful of the times under Nero, in which inaction was in the place of wisdom. (*Ag.* 6.3)

Agricola in Britain is free from the *servitus* of Rome and finds *libertas* in a far off land. The theme of the *libertas* and the *servitus* of Agricola must be kept in mind when examining the presentation of barbarians in *Agricola*. The idea that Britain serves as a suitable realm for the exertion of Roman *virtus* is also reflected in Tacitus' description of the native barbarians. Tacitus applies the concepts of *libertas*, *servitus*, *virtus*, and *otium* to the barbarians of Britain when they succumb to Roman influence. He thus creates a parallel narrative between the senate's loss of *libertas* under tyrannical emperors and the barbarians' loss of *libertas* under Roman rule. Romans and barbarians are now unified in their suffering. Tacitus thus provides a critique of Domitian's Rome that permeates the *Agricola*.

Tacitus uses nearly identical terminology when he describes the condition of the Britons who have or have not been conquered by Rome:

Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox **segnitia** cum **otio** intravit, amissa **virtute** pariter ac **libertate**. quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt. (Woodman, 2014 edition)

However the Britons displayed more ferocity, just as those whom long peace has yet to soften. For we have learned that the Gauls also have excelled in wars; soon **laziness** with **leisure** entered them, with **virtue** and **liberty** having been lost equally. Which once befell to those conquered of the Britons: the rest remain just as the Gauls were. (*Ag.* 11.4)

Here, Tacitus has paired the acquisition of *otium* with the loss of *virtus* and *libertas* for the barbarians just as he had done regarding Agricola at Rome. The loss of *libertas* did not occur because of their own vices but through conquest and the influence of a corrupt Rome. Tacitus again equates the Britons' fall into *servitus* with the acquisition of *otium*:

Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles **quieti et otio** per voluptates adsuescerent. . . . Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars **servitutis** esset. (Woodman, 2014 edition)

And so that people scattered and uncultured, and for this reason prone to war, would become accustomed to **repose** and **leisure** through pleasures . . . and this among the conquered was called refinement, when it was a part of **slavery**.

(*Ag.* 21.1-2)

Like the Roman senate under Nero and Domitian, the barbarians surrender *virtus* for *otium* caused by Roman luxuries. Liebeshuetz and Lavan note this strong parallelism between the barbarians and the Roman senate. Liebeshuetz (1966: 138-9) first proposes that Tacitus did not draw a strong comparison between the Roman nobility and the Britons. He suggests that Tacitus is merely portraying the subjugation of Britain in familiar Roman terminology. Liebeshuetz claims that the similar terminology reflects Tacitus' dramatization of the narrative to further glorify Agricola. Lavan (2011: 305) also suggests that the parallelism is unintended. Liebeshuetz and Lavan too readily dismiss this strong comparison between the barbarians and the Roman senate. The shared terminology serves to further undermine Domitian's imperial Rome. Through his employment of *libertas* and *servitus* in regard to the senate, Agricola, and the Britons, Tacitus constantly reminds his readers that Rome before Nerva and Trajan was characterized by the loss of *libertas* and submission to *servitus*, and that the scope of the *servitus* reached to the corners of the Empire.

Tacitus devotes a final climatic scene of pathos for the Britons after the battle of Mons Graupius in *Ag.* 28. In this chapter, Tacitus describes the desolation of the Britons after their defeat against the Romans:

Britanni palantes mixto virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. Satisque constabat saevisse quosdam

in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum unicum silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvisus. (Woodman, 2014 edition)

The Britons wandering with the mixed lamentation of men and women drag the wounded, call the unharmed, abandon their homes and through anger burn them on their own accord, choose hidden places and at once relinquishing them; they exchange some deliberations in turn, then separate; sometimes they are broken by the sight of their relatives, more often they are provoked. It is agreed enough that certain individuals raged at wives and children, as though they feel pity. The next day uncovered more widely the appearance of victory: devastation and silence everywhere, remote hills, far off smoking houses, no one was seen by the scouts.

(*Ag* 38.1-2)

This passage displays scenes that provoke sympathy similar to those that would later appear on the Column of Trajan. The Britons are shown to weep and care for their comrades by searching for them and dragging the wounded from the battlefield. Some even burn their homes down in defiance against Rome. The men are devastated upon their return to their families likely at the thought of their loss of freedom. The description of the land also reflects the bleakness of the situation. Such pitiable scenes are often reserved for defeated Romans, such as the aftermath of Cannae in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* 22.7-8 and the end of the final battle in Sallust's *Catilinae Coniuratio* 61.7. The triumph over the Britons is not focused on the glory of the Romans, but the unfortunate situation faced by the Britons. By placing the emphasis on the Britons in a Roman-like defeat, Tacitus highlights the inversion he has made between imperial Rome and Britannia. The subjugation of the Britons evokes a Roman defeat rather than a triumph.

In the *Germania*, Tacitus describes many German tribes at the borders of the Empire and beyond, including some with qualities that are evocative of pre-imperial Rome. Tacitus creates idealized Roman-like barbarians to emphasize the effects of long lasting corruption on Rome. Both O'Gorman (1993: 146) and Thomas (2010: 68-9) have noted that physical distance from Rome plays a role in the apparent Republican virtues that appear among some barbarian tribes

that are under less Roman influence. One such virtue is the weak hold luxury has on the Germans in comparison to the imperial Romans. In *Germania* 5.2 Tacitus discusses the lack of substantial gold or silver mines in Germania as a possible blessing or curse, *argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito*, “I am uncertain whether the gods were favoring or wrathful when they denied them silver and gold.” Tacitus here refers to the blessings and curses of wealth. With wealth, the power and posterity of a people increases, but love of gold and silver may lead to luxury. Tacitus then states in *Germania* 5.3 that, as a result of lacking abundant gold and silver mines, the Germans do not typically value gold or silver, *possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur: est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur*, “they are not at all afflicted in like manner by possession or use: it is possible to see silver vases among those people, given as gifts to their legates and chieftains, regarded to be as cheap as clay.” As Rives (1999: 133) has noted, gold typically was associated with moral corruption, and the mining of minerals was an aspect of the Iron Age rather than the mythical Golden Age. Tacitus’ choice of *adficiuntur* is particularly evocative of an illness of the mind and body. The Germans in this passage appear to live in a state of the “Golden Age,” where they have no desire for earthly metals. Tacitus portrays the Germans as a people who have not succumbed to the illness of gold, unlike the Romans who have long departed from the “Golden Age.” Finally, Tacitus notes that silver and gold have gained value among the border tribes, whereas the distant tribes still use bartering:

quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. (Furneaux, 1900 edition)

Although those nearest hold gold and silver in value on account of the use of trade and they recognize and choose certain forms of our coinage; the more interior people make use of bartering of goods in a more simple and ancient manner.

(*Ger.* 5.3)

In contrast to other Germans, the Germans on the borders of the empire now recognize gold and coinage. O’Gorman (1993: 140) argues that this manipulation of space is used by Tacitus to present the invasiveness of the Roman Empire on barbarian culture. In these passages Tacitus has shown that Roman influence causes barbarians to depart from their “Golden Age” state into a less pure existence in which gold and silver have value. Tacitus is subtly commenting on imperial Rome’s corruption. The Germans, unlike the Romans, do not desire precious metals, until they are influenced by Rome. Years of past Roman corruption have now begun to affect other nations. Tacitus presents a picture of a Rome that has fallen into corruption since its foundation. The corrupting influence of Rome reappears in a later chapter:

nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. (Furneaux, 1900 edition)

Nor is it investigated or understood what nature or reason produces it (amber), since they are barbarians; but for a long time it was lying among the refuse of the sea, until our luxury gave it a name. For them it was in no use: they pick it up rough, they carry it unformed, and amazed they accept a price for it.

(*Ger.* 45.5)

Once again, blame falls upon Rome for introducing its own corruption to barbarian civilization. The corrupting influence of Rome is stressed by *luxuria nostra* as O’Gorman (1993: 141) notes. Before Roman influence, amber was treated like silver and gold as a material with little extra value. As in the *Agricola*, Tacitus presents a barbarian people, free from pervasive Roman influence, as lacking the vices associated with imperial Rome and representing Rome’s former moral integrity. These passages present Tacitus’ criticism against past Roman morals that had reached such a point of decay that they infected other nations. Tacitus has continued to show the moral degeneracy of the former imperial Rome through his presentation of the corrupting affects

Rome's love of wealth had on untainted Germans. Tacitus continues to portray the purity of the Germans untouched by Rome when he describes the nature of individual tribes.

Tacitus's theme of geographical distance from Rome influencing the virtues of the barbarians reappears in the latter half of the *Germania*. As noted by Woolf (2013: 146), Tacitus here typically describes tribes on the borders of the empire through their relationship with Rome rather than in terms of their own culture. Five tribes on the borders of empire, the Batavians, Mattiaci, Hermunduri, Marcomani and the Quadi, are primarily defined by their allegiance to Rome at *Germania* 29, 41, and 42. Once Tacitus moves to the immediate interior tribes, Roman-like virtues begin to appear. Through this separation of border tribes and interior tribes, Tacitus continues his criticism of the moral decay suffered by Rome. Tacitus endows the Chatti with Roman-like qualities immediately following his discussion of Batavians and Mattiaci by comparing the military capabilities of the Chatti to those of Rome:

praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum. (Furneaux, 1900 edition)

They put their elected in charge, listen to their leaders, know ranks, recognize opportunities, delay attacks, plan out the day, set up camp at night, count fortune among the dubious and virtue among the certain, a very rare attribute not conceded except to Roman discipline. (*Ger.* 30.2)

Although the Chatti are not under direct, Roman influence, they exhibit Roman-like military discipline. This military discipline is a far cry from the waning allegiances of the Roman military during the civil wars following Nero's death. The Chatti have maintained their disciplined military while imperial Rome struggled with its own.

Tacitus ascribes positive qualities to another Germanic tribe:

populus inter Germanos nobilissimus quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur; (Furneaux, 1900 edition)

The noblest people among the Germans and who prefer to guard their greatness with justice. Without desire, without a loss of self-control, peaceful and solitary they provoke no wars, nor do they pillage by any plundering or robbing. It is a particular proof of their virtue and nature, that when they conduct their superiority, they do so not through injuries. (*Ger.* 35.1-2)

Again Tacitus employs language evocative of Roman *virtus* in connection with barbarians. The Chauci are described without vices that are typically applied to imperial Rome such as *otium*. In fact the Chauci appear to be the exact opposite of the generic barbarian, as they are a people of justice and peace not driven by lust or madness. The Chauci resemble the Romans of the past who embodied *virtus*. Additionally, Thomas (2010: 68) argues that Tacitus represents this tribe as a form of the “Golden Age” now far removed from imperial Rome. This “Golden Age” of the Chauci was only achieved by the lack of Roman influence on their society due to their separation from the Roman Empire. Through the presentation of the societies of the Chatti and Chauci, Tacitus highlights how barbarians exist in a society morally superior to that of the Romans under the past emperors.

Finally, Tacitus also praises the Germans in respect to marriage. Tacitus’ discussion of Germanic marriage customs is not tied to geography as are other morals, but Germanic marriage is still set in apposition to Roman married life. Tacitus describes Germanic marriage as the Germans’ highest virtue at *Germania* 18.1, *quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris*, “although marriage is austere there, you would have praised no part of their customs more.” Tacitus goes on to explain why adultery is rare in Germanic marriages at *Germania* 19.1, *ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum*

inritationibus corruptae, litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant ,“ therefore with modesty guarded women conduct themselves corrupted by no incitements of spectacles and with no stimulants of banquets, men and women equally are ignorant of love letters.” As Beare (1964: 69-70) suggests, Tacitus is drawing a comparison between the barbarians and contemporary Rome. The comparison is made more obvious by Tacitus’ inclusion of spectacles and banquets, for which Nero was infamous, and which are often lumped with vices during the imperial period, as in Seneca’s *Epistulae* 7.2, 18.4.

As we have seen, Tacitus frequently represents barbarian groups as echoing Rome’s past virtues. This is most prominent in Tacitus’ ethnographical works, in which he makes use of geography to separate imperial Rome from its Republican past. Tacitus creates an idealized image of the barbarians to demonstrate the virtues that were lost and may still be lost to Rome through imperial vices.

2. Leaders

Tacitus pays particular attention to the prominent barbarian leaders in the *Agricola* and *Annales*. In a similar pattern as has been discussed above (see page 32), Tacitus presents barbarian leaders as promoters of *libertas* in the face of Roman *servitus*. These chieftains often give speeches that directly address the issues of *libertas* and *servitus*. Notable among these are Calgacus in *Agricola* 30-1 and both Boudicca and Arminius in *Annales* 14.31 and 1.59, 2.9-10, 2.15 respectively. Calgacus’ speech is paired with Agricola’s before the battle of Mons Graupius. Boudicca’s speech occurs before she engages with Gaius Suetonius Paulinus. Arminius gives several speeches in *oratio obliqua* against Roman vice, but his most famous speech for *libertas* is

with his brother Flavius. The complaints put forth by the barbarian leaders are not directed at Trajan's reign, but to the reign of past emperors.

Calgacus produces a speech dominated by the topic of *libertas* and *servitus* at *Agricola* 30.1, *Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore*, "as often as I behold the causes of war and our necessity, I am confident that this very day and your unity will be the beginning of liberty for all of Britain." Calgacus rejects further endurance of Roman rule twice at *Agricola* 30.3 and 31.4, *superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugias*, "In vain you flee their arrogance through obedience and moderation;" *Nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem non in paenitentia*, "We unblemished and unconquered in liberty not in submission." He finally rails against Roman morals as well at *Agricola* 32.1, *An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis?*, "or do you think the same virtue is present for the Romans as lasciviousness is in peace?" Calgacus continues the narrative of *libertas* and *servitus* first presented by Tacitus' ethnography of the Britons. Tacitus associates *servitus* under imperial Rome with vices whereas *libertas* is associated with *virtus*. The employment of *libertas* and *servitus* in Calgacus' speech and passages about Rome under the reign of Domitian reminds the reader of the tyranny of Domitian throughout the biography. Clarke (2001: 105) and Lavan (2011: 304) additionally observe that Calgacus appears as a type of Roman senator because of the shared terminology in both narratives concerning *libertas* and *servitus*. If Calgacus is cast as a kind of senator, even greater unity is achieved between the Roman and barbarian narratives in the *Agricola*. Calgacus is joined with the senators as a victim of the corruption of Domitian's Rome. Tacitus sends a message to his readers that *servitus* in pre-Trajanic Rome under Domitian even extended to the borders of the empire.

In *Annales* 14.31.2-3, Tacitus constructs a narrative of Boudicca that is similar to that of Calgacus. The setup for the revolt of Boudicca is similar to that of Calgacus:

qua contumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae cesserant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellionem Trinobantibus et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio. quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando, foventibus impotentiam veteranorum militibus similitudine vitae et spe eiusdem licentiae. (Fisher, 1906 edition)

With these insults and fear of more severe things, when they had yielded to the form of a province, they took up arms, with the Trinobantes roused toward rebellion and the others who, not yet broken by servitude, had pledged with hidden plots to take up liberty, with very passionate hatred towards the veterans. Indeed those recently led to the colony of Camulodunum expelled them from their homes, drove them out of their fields, while calling them captives and slaves, with the soldiers, because of a similarity of life and hope for the same license, encouraging the violence of the veterans.

Tacitus makes use of the dichotomy of *libertas* and *servitus* and the introduction of vices, but this time on the part of Romans. A notable difference from the Calgacus narrative is the role of Boudicca. Alder (2008: 180) notes that Tacitus presents the speech of Boudicca with an emphasis on gender. The role of gender in a passage about a barbarian with Roman-like attributes does not appear elsewhere in Tacitus. This unique passage creates sympathy for female barbarians, a departure from the male barbarian-centric passages throughout Tacitus' works.

During her speech, Boudicca highlights her womanhood:

sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. . . id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri et servirent. (Fisher, 1906 edition)

But then not as a woman born from such ancestors in royalty and wealth, but as one from the crowd she avenges lost liberty, her body marked by lashes, and the violated chastity of her daughters. . . . This is the aim of a woman: Let men live and be enslaved. (*Ann.* 14.35.1-2)

In this speech, Boudicca emphasizes her gender twice. Tacitus presents Boudicca as a beaten woman who witnessed the raped of her daughters. Alder (2008: 181) suggests that Boudicca appears as a type of Lucretia. Like Lucretia, Boudicca spurs a revolt against a tyrannical power on account of sexual misconduct. By casting Boudicca in the role of Lucretia, Tacitus paints a grim picture of Neronian Rome in comparison to Trajanic Rome. The Roman Empire under Nero resembles Rome under the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, where noble women are under threat of being abused by the morally corrupt powers at hand.

Finally, Tacitus also makes use of the presentation of Arminius for a commentary on *libertas* and *servitus* in pre-Trajanic Rome. The opposition of *libertas* and *servitus* occurs most frequently in *oratio obliqua* speeches, as when Segestes betrays Arminius for Rome taking Arminius' wife and unborn son:

si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur. (Fisher, 1906 edition)

If they prefer the fatherland, parents, and ancient customs rather than masters and new colonies, let them follow Arminius the leader of glory and liberty rather than Segestes the leader of shameful slavery. (*Ann.* 1.59)

Tacitus' Arminius invokes the Republican *patriam parentes antiqua*, which suggests *pietas*. By championing *pietas*, one of Rome's long held virtues, Arminius begins to appear like a Roman of the Republic who criticizes the current state of the empire. Arminius equates obedience to imperial Rome with *servitus*, whereas love for one's own culture is *libertas*. In a later speech in *oratio obliqua*, Tacitus has Arminius highlight the vices of imperial Rome again in relation to *libertas* and *servitus*:

meminissent modo avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium? (Fisher, 1906 edition)

They should only have remembered their [Romans'] greed, cruelty, and pride: what else was left for them than to hold liberty or die before slavery? (*Ann.* 2.15)

As in the speeches of Calgacus and Boudicca, Arminius invokes the vices of Rome in his pre-battle speech. Tacitus repeatedly uses barbarian leaders to problematize the condition pre-Trajanic Rome. By presenting Rome as morally degraded in the recent imperial past, Tacitus elevates the current state of Rome under Trajan to moral soundness.

Tacitus dramatically represents Arminius's struggle with *libertas* and *servitus* in a confrontation with his brother Flavus on the river Weser. Both brothers were successful while serving Rome, but Arminius chose to abandon Rome for Germany, whereas Flavus chose to stay loyal to Rome. The conflict between the brothers mirrors the conflict between *libertas* and *servitus*. Flavus praises Roman allegiance, while Arminius champions freedom and disparages slavery to Rome:

unde ea deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. illo locum et proelium referente quodnam praemium recepisset exquirat. Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inidente Arminio vilia servitii pretia. Exim diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Romanam, opes Caesaris et victis gravis poenas, in deditionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque coniugem et filium eius hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriae, libertatem avitam, penetralis Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse mallet. (Fisher, 1906 edition)

He asks his brother where the deformity of his face came from, and after he reported the place and battle, [Arminius] asks what reward he had received. Flavus mentions the increased pay, the *torque*, the *corona civica* and other military prizes, and Arminius mocked them as cheap rewards of slavery. Then divided they began, and this one spoke of Roman greatness, the wealth of Caesar and the severe punishments for the conquered, clemency provided to those who surrender; his wife and son are not held as enemies: That one spoke of the sacred law of the father land, ancestral liberty, the household gods of Germania, their mother a companion of his prayers; that he would not prefer to be a deserter and traitor of his kinsmen, of his relatives, and lastly of his entire race rather than their leader.

(*Ann.* 2.9.2-10.1)

Again, Tacitus' Arminius exhibits the Roman virtue of *pietas*. Arminius demonstrates loyalty to country, family, and the gods over material rewards and the threat of punishment. Tacitus' portrayal of the meeting of Flavus and Arminius presents Arminius as a virtuous Roman practicing *pietas* and opposing the *servitus* of a now corrupt Rome. Flavus' arguments for supporting Rome lie entirely within the material realm, as he cites the wealth, gifts, and the threat of punishment as reasons for supporting Rome. For Tacitus, the interest in wealth and reward over piety is a sign of the beginning of moral decay characteristic of *servitus*, which Arminius decries. In a position of *libertas* Arminius displays the highest Republican virtue in contrast to Flavus' imperial *servitus*. Tacitus creates this contrast between the Republican Arminius and the imperial Flavus to compare pre-Trajanic imperial Rome to its idealized past. Imperial Rome is characterized by the desire for rewards rather than virtuous pursuits. Flavus' inability to cite a virtuous cause for supporting pre-Trajanic Rome is particularly damning.

Tylawsky (2002: 255-7) brings to light another aspect of this passage involving the Weser River as both a physical and an ideological boundary between the brothers: the river represents the opposing ideologies of *servitus* or *libertas* towards Rome. Both brothers are united by their Romanized names and military service to Rome, but choose different allegiances. Tacitus then focuses on the connotations that Flavus' appearance may have invoked. Typically, a one-eyed "Roman" in a river setting would recall Horatius Cocles; but, Tylawsky argues that Tacitus attempts to compare Flavus to famous one-eyed enemies of Rome, such as Hannibal, Sertorius and Julius Civilis. Although Arminius first led a revolt against Roman occupation, Flavus is made to appear as a foreign invader against Germany. Tacitus presents Arminius as the leader of his country and family against his one-eyed brother who calls for submission to a foreign power. Flavus' missing eye then represents not duty to Rome, but the terrifying reminder

of a foreign threat toward the fatherland, according to Tylawsky. By presenting Flavius as a traitor to his people and Arminius as an exemplar of Roman *pietas*, Tacitus has written a narrative about imperial Rome's betrayal of its Republican past. Imperial Rome has abandoned the virtues of the Republic in favor of material rewards. Flavius has abandoned Germania, his family, and his gods, for the rewards of *servitus* to Rome.

This encounter between Arminius and Flavius creates a complex relationship with imperial Rome and its Republican past. The brothers present a picture of Rome's past and present at the time of Tiberius. Tacitus' Arminius calls for allegiance for one's fatherland, family, and household gods rejecting the present Rome. In contrast, Flavius displays his loyalty to the present Rome through his advocacy of material rewards bestowed upon him. The loyalty of the brothers reflects the moral condition of Rome and Germania. Arminius displays that Germans value a Roman-like *pietas* above riches, whereas the Romanized Flavius is willing to give up *pietas* for material gain. Germania is morally proper whereas Rome has decayed. Tacitus appears to be continuing his theme of presenting Germanic tribes as virtuous Republican Romans in contrast morally compromised imperial Romans as in the *Germania*. Through Arminius, Germania becomes a representation of imperial Rome's lost virtuous past. The confrontation of Arminius and Flavius is not merely an encounter between Germany and Rome, but between Republican virtues and Imperial vices. Flavius represent the effects of imperial Rome on virtuous societies. Although Flavius was a brother to Arminius, once he committed himself to imperial Rome, he set aside his *pietas*. When the brothers collide, the incompatibility between imperial Rome and Republican Rome becomes fully manifest.

3. Summary

Tacitus' portrayal of barbarians conforms to the trend of Romanizing barbarians introduced by the principate and then freely employed by the Trajanic authors for their own works. Tacitus frequently uses the representation of barbarians to comment on the state of *servitus* and the loss of *libertas* for senators prior to the reign of Nerva and Trajan. The barbarians are often presented in a state where their *libertas* is threatened by the effects of *servitus* caused by the encroachments of pre-Trajanic Rome that mirrors the plight of the senators. Imperial Roman influence has caused the barbarians to trade their *libertas* and virtues for the vices that are characteristic of pre-Trajanic Rome. I do not suggest however that Tacitus was forced to create these sympathetic barbarians by the principate to create a picture of negative picture of pre-Trajanic Rome. Tacitus may have been passively influenced by the trend set by imperial architecture or he knowingly made use of the theme to compliment his own commentary on the previous emperors.

C. Conclusion

In general, Trajanic literature shows a system of presenting barbarians that appears to follow similar themes of the Trajanic architecture. This system appears to indicate that the authors made use of the imperial stance towards barbarians for their own works. The authors enjoy political concerns during the reign of Trajan which brought them into close association with the emperor. As a result of their political activity, they were intimately exposed to this Trajanic stance towards barbarians.

Frontinus' *Strategemata* does not directly praise the barbarians as Pliny and Tacitus do. Instead, Frontinus lists barbarian *exempla* with Roman *exempla* and thereby models them as

equally viable for a military commander. Notably, Frontinus provides an *exemplum* of a Dacian who was an enemy of Romans. At first it may seem odd to use a Dacian as an inspiration for strategy, since Rome was recently at war with Dacia under both Trajan and Domitian. What this *exemplum* achieves is the creation of a worthy enemy for Trajan. By listing Dacian *exemplum*, Frontinus indirectly acknowledges that the Dacians have leaders capable of forming strategies worthy of imitation by the Romans. Pliny continues the theme of glorifying the Dacians in *Epistulae* 8.4. Pliny praises the steadfastness of the Dacian king Decebalus. Pliny's praise achieves a similar effect to Frontinus' account in that it creates a stronger opponent for Trajan. By making Decebalus appear as a strong leader, Pliny gives more glory to Trajan for overcoming a greater challenge. While Frontinus and Pliny make use of Trajan's opponents, Tacitus instead presents positive portrayals of barbarians to criticize the condition of the Rome under past emperors.

For Tacitus, the representation of barbarians focuses on the topics of *libertas* and *servitus*. When Tacitus portrays barbarian peoples, he describes the threat of imperial Roman *servitus* on barbarian *libertas*. In the *Agricola*, the barbarians' loss of *libertas* parallels the state of the Roman senate under Nero and Domitian through the employment of the same terminology. The barbarians suffer the same vices as the Romans as a result of the influence of imperial Rome. The presentation of the Britons makes the suffering of the Roman senate a constant topic throughout the *Agricola*. Tacitus continues his discourse on the effects of a corrupt Rome on barbarian peoples in *Germania*. Tacitus demonstrates that barbarian tribes close to the Roman Empire begin to adopt the vices of imperial Rome. In contrast, Germans who live in the interior of Germania hold onto their virtues and are described in terms that evoke the "Golden Age." Through his descriptions of barbarian peoples, Tacitus shows that the morals of the

Roman Empire have degraded and are affecting barbarians on the borders, while barbarian tribes far off still resemble a Rome that has been lost. Tacitus also employs *libertas* and *servitus* when composing the speeches of barbarian leaders. Calgacus, Boudicca, and Arminius all criticize the state of the Roman Empire and declare that to bow to Rome would be to give up *libertas* and bow to *servitus*. The barbarian leaders appear as types of Romans; Calgacus as a senator, Boudicca as a type of Lucretia, and Arminius as a practitioner of Republican *pietas*. By representing barbarian leaders in this way, Tacitus confronts the moral decay of pre-Trajanic Rome on multiple fronts. Through Calgacus, Tacitus highlights the loss of *libertas* for the senate. Through Boudicca, Neronian Rome is made to resemble the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. Finally, through Arminius, Tacitus shows that pre-Trajanic Rome has abandoned one of its founding virtues, *pietas*. The picture that Tacitus paints of pre-Trajanic Rome is that of a Rome that has fallen into vice and lacks the qualities that once made it quintessentially Roman.

On account of the prose writers' similar goals in their presentation of barbarians, it appears that they may have made use of the imperial method of presenting barbarians in a sympathetic light for political messages. The authors' frequent use of positive barbarians reflects their attentiveness to Roman politics during the reign of Trajan.

IV. Conclusion

The reign of Trajan saw a persistent theme of Roman-like barbarians in literature and art. These representations of barbarians employed by the principate appear to have partly influenced the writing of the Trajanic authors. Imperial architecture sought to glorify Trajan by either presenting barbarians as worthy enemies or suppliants to Trajan. Pliny and Frontinus similarly used sympathetic barbarians in their works to glorify Trajan, whereas Tacitus repurposed this theme to criticize the moral decay of imperial through Roman-like barbarian people and leaders. Similar methods of creating sympathetic barbarians appear both in art and literature of the time. The Column of Trajan, Frontinus, and Pliny the Younger all present Dacians with positive attributes that make them comparable with the Romans. Trajan's victory and the Dacians' willful supplication to Trajan as rightful ruler, presented through the Dacian *atlantes* and Trajan's Column, attest to Trajan's greatness. Tacitus' historical works show another use for the portrayal of sympathetic barbarians during the reign of Trajan, in that these Roman-like barbarians address the loss of *libertas* and the declining morals of pre-Trajanic Rome. Individual tribes either suffer from the corruption of pre-Trajanic Rome or maintain their *libertas* and *virtus* due to the absence of Roman influence. Additionally, barbarian leaders, both male and female, acting as virtuous Romans defend their *libertas* and attack the vices of imperial Rome through impassioned speeches. The theme of sympathetic barbarians was ubiquitous throughout Roman Trajanic literature and art.

The theme of sympathetic barbarians shows that both literature and art can be used to study how Roman authors respond to certain aspects of imperial policy. The study of the representation of barbarians broadens the possible avenues scholars can take to examine the creation of Trajan's persona in imperial art and how ancient authors react to imperial policy. The

study of Trajan's persona on the Column of Trajan is no longer limited to his own images and those of the Roman soldiers, but can now include the barbarians represented as Roman-like figures. The passages concerning the struggles of the barbarians in Tacitus are not merely jabs at past morals, but represent a reaction to the imperial policy towards barbarians of his own time. Research into the presentation of barbarians with the works of the prose writers can be expanded beyond just the positive portrayals. A starting point could be Arminius' brother Flavus, whose image as a supporter of Rome serves to criticize pre-Trajanic Rome as much as Arminius's representation.

The representation of barbarians plays an important role in the glorification of Trajan in art, but to the understanding of the themes present in the works of ancient authors. Barbarians that appear in literature and in art should be interpreted as Romano-centric, in that they represent the views of the Romans rather than the barbarians themselves. Although we will never know what Trajan or the authors personally thought about barbarians, the presentation of barbarians in literature and in art strongly suggests that they considered the creation of Roman-like barbarians to serve their own agenda.

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Fig. 1. Dacian *atlas* from the Arch of Constantine (Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, Figure 134).



Fig. 2. Scene 104 from the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (Coarelli, *La colonna di Marco Aurelio* 322).



Fig. 3. Scene 68 from the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (Coarelli, *La colonna di Marco Aurelio* 250).



Fig. 4. Detail of Scene XLV From the Column of Trajan (Ulrich, <http://www.trajans-column.org>).



Fig. 5. Detail of Scene 30 from the Column of Trajan (Ulrich, <http://www.trajans-column.org>).



Fig. 6. Detail of Scene 39 from the Column of Trajan (Ulrich, <http://www.trajans-column.org>).



Fig. 7. Detail of Scene 34 and 35 from the Column of Trajan (Ulrich, <http://www.trajans-column.org>).



Fig. 8. Scene 24 from the Column of Trajan (Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, Pl. 10).

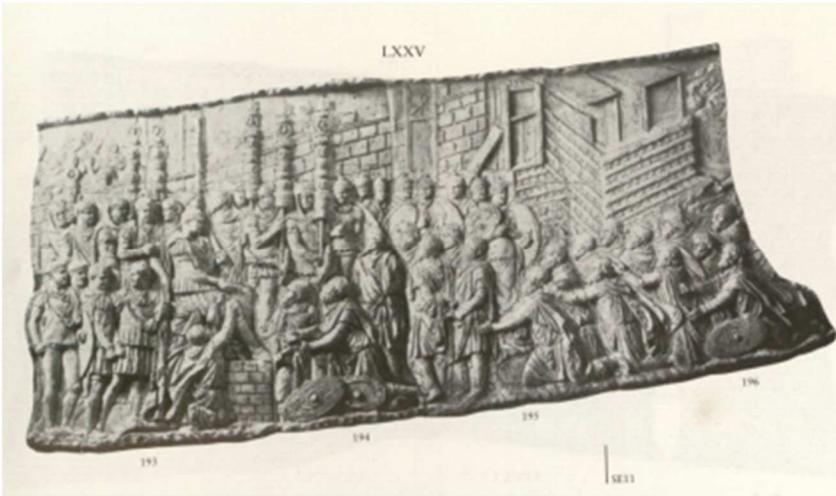


Fig. 9. Scene 75 from the Column of Trajan.
(Lepper and Frere, *Trajan's Column*, Pl. 54).



Fig. 10. Scene 75 from the Column of Trajan.
(Lepper and Frere, *Trajan's Column*, Pl. 55).

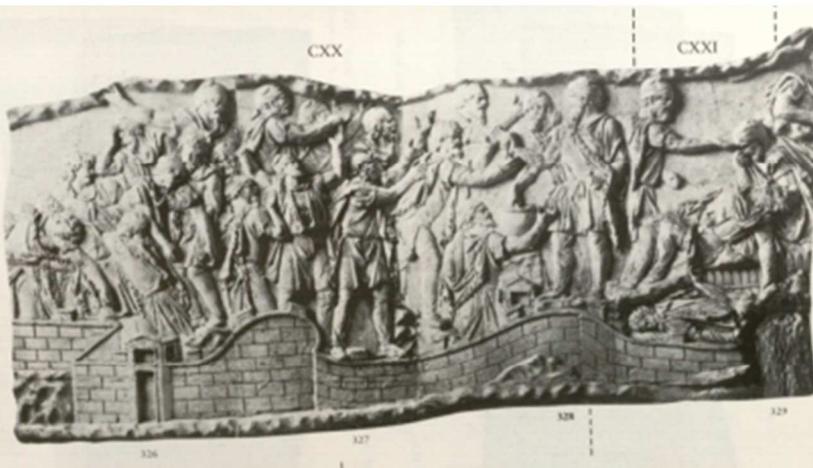


Fig. 11. Scenes 120 and 121 from the Column of Marcus.
(Lepper and Frere, *Trajan's Column*, Pl. 91).



Fig. 12. Scene 76 from the Column of Trajan.
(Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, Pl. 89).