

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

PART TWO

THE END OF THE CELTIC WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE ROMANS IN ITALY, SPAIN, AND GAUL

1

THE COMPLETION OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF ITALY AND SPAIN

THE independence of the Celtic world was nearing its end. In addition to the Germanic danger, one yet more urgent appeared. The Roman Republic was preparing to complete its domination of the Gallic countries. In Italy [Chapot, CCCXI, English pp. 122 ff.] something still remained to be done. The four great Gallic peoples had been crushed, and what remained of them had been reduced to the status of *civitates fœderatæ*. But the condition of the Celtic or Ligurian peoples on the outskirts was very uncertain, and remained so for a long time.

In the first century the peasant culture of the Cisalpine country was still entirely Gallic and no change seems to have occurred there when the Cimbri came in. After the end of the Cimbric invasion the policy of founding colonies was at once resumed. In 100 one was erected at Eporedia (Ivrea), to keep watch on the country of the Salassi. As a result of the Social War, the towns of the Insubres and Cenomani obtained Latin rights by the Lex Pompeia of 80. This privilege, which was of certain advantage to the towns, which were incorporated in the Italian municipal system, but of doubtful benefit to people living in the country, completed the breaking-up of the old nations. A few years later Sulla made the Cisalpine region a province, Gallia Cisalpina, which was attached to Italy in 42 and broken up. Colonization was carried on after the Civil War by expropriations and the distribution of land to veterans. The Gallic peasant was the sufferer.

In Spain [Ibid., English, p. 154.] the fall of Numantia marks the end of the country's independence. The Celtiberians, though exhausted, had found the strength to oppose the Cimbri successfully. But soon afterwards revolts against Rome began again. In 90 the Arevaci rose, and from 81 to 73 Sertorius had all Spain behind him.

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

But the people concerned were Celtiberians, not Celts. And these spurts of independence are no more than episodes in the political history of Rome.

II

THE CONQUEST OF GAUL

[Jullian, CCCXLVII, iii; Chapot, op. cit., English pp. 12 ff., 293 ff.]

The establishment of the Romans in Cisalpine Gaul and Spain after the first Punic War was bound to lead them to take heed to their communications with these provinces by the Provençal coast and Languedoc. In spite of its determination to limit its ambitions by the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Senate was compelled to intervene in Gaul. Its ancient ally Marseilles needed help. Besides, at the end of the second century Rome had discovered new ways of solving her social problems. The thing to do was to distribute lands, to found cities, to colonize.

In 154 and 125, the Salyes having attacked Marseilles, two expeditions were sent against them, the second commanded by the Consul M. Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of the Gracchi. The Romans established themselves in the country and the district was made into a province. The Proconsul C. Sextius Calvinus founded the city of Aquæ Sextiæ on the Rhone, if not as a colony, at least as a garrison.

The chiefs of the Salyes took refuge among the Allobroges, who were allied with the king of the Arverni, Bituitus, son of Luernius. This was probably enough to make the Ædui seek an alliance with Rome.

Going on from the Salyes to the Allobroges, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the Consuls of 122, led a small army up the Rhone, treating all the way. At Vindalum, at the confluence of the Sorgue, he fell on the Allobroges. But Bituitus had raised 20,000 men. He crossed the Rhone by a bridge and pontoons and descended the river in pursuit of the Romans, who were joined by C. Fabius Maximus with new troops. Bituitus was defeated and Fabius carried the war into the country of the Allobroges. Domitius doubtless succeeded in excluding the influence of the Arverni from the country of the Cavares, Helvii, and Arecomici and part of Albigeois, which were reunited to the Province. The Volcae Tectosages of Toulouse were included, under the euphemistic name of "allies". Toulouse had a Roman garrison when the Helvetii appeared in the neighbourhood.

Bituitus desired to treat in person in the name of the Arverni and Allobroges. Domitius sent him to the Senate, which interned him at Alba, where he was joined by his son, Congentiatus or Comm. The Tour Magne at Nimes represents the trophy

THE CONQUEST OF GAUL

set up by Domitius after his victory. But its most lasting monument was the Province itself, transformed. The Domitii and Fabii were its patrons and the Allobroges were the guests and friends of Domitius. Great public works, such as the Via Domitia, were carried out.

Shortly afterwards the Cimbri arrived and central Gaul, after the destruction of the empire of the Arverni, was powerless to stop them. Small risings procured further easy triumphs, and then the story of the Province becomes part of that of the Roman Republic.

In 75 Pompey passed through the country on his way to fighting Sertorius in Spain. He was followed by M. Fonteius, who restored order among the Vocontii and Volcae. Literature has made Fonteius the type of the oppressive, unscrupulous governor. But did he act differently from Claudius in 64 and Murena in 63? However that may be, the Allobroges, who in this case seem to have had the most life left in them, brought an action against him before the Senate in 63. In Rome their envoys became mixed up in the conspiracy of Catiline, whom they betrayed in return for his failure to keep his golden promises. Then the Allobroges rose and fell on Vienne. C. Pomptinus put down the revolt so effectively that they did not move during Cæsar's campaigns.

The case of Fonteius is a very familiar story. [Cic., *Pro Font.*, i, 2.] First of all there were expropriations. Colonies and garrisons were planted at Vienne and at Toulouse in the Gallic town. Then the things happened which always happen when two economic systems and two political organizations come into contact, the stronger of which is based on money. The financier comes on the scene. The Gauls had money, but not enough for the Roman fiscal system to be anything but a burden. They borrowed, and got into debt. The worst of it was that the governors became involved. Money was to be made quickly in Gaul. But the Province was not really impoverished. It was one of those agricultural countries in which a good harvest at once restores the financial situation. Profitable crops, vine and olive, were being introduced just now. The Romans forbade them, so they must have been prosperous. Besides, Rome, which seems to have been so oppressive in some things, was easy in others. It allowed the Gauls to keep their political organization and their usages. This was the time when the envoys of the Allobroges in their trousers and smocks filled the Forum with their exuberance. For fifty years Gallia Narbonensis was distinguished from Gallia Braccata; it wore the toga and talked Latin. In 83 the Helvii were admitted to Roman citizenship. The Roman leaders found among these provincials agents, and also friends, such as the Helvetian C.

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

Valerius Pocillus, to whom Cæsar pays an interesting tribute of friendship. Finally, Narbonensis furnished troops and remained loyal.

Outside the Province the Romans had friends among the Ædui and Nitiobriges. From all over Gaul exiled sons of good families came flocking to Rome. There were even treaties with some Gallic nations in which it was provided that the Republic should not receive exiles. [Id., *Pro Balbo*, 14.]

Of what went on in the interior at that time we know nothing save a few names, such as those of Celtillus, father of Vercingetorix, who was put to death for aiming at tyranny, and of Diviciacus, King of the Suessiones, who invaded Britain at least once and seems to have ruled over a kind of Belgic confederation.

The adventure of Celtillus is in itself characteristic of the political crisis in which Cæsar found Gaul involved when he arrived in the country. The old Celtic kingships were breaking up, and doubtless the influence of the Roman Senate had something to do with it. At the same time other king-ships were on the point of reviving in virtue of the same rights, though inevitably different in essence. The political conflict was violent. Moreover, after the destruction of the kingdom of the Arverni, Gaul had entered on a period of political dissolution which was not yet ended. One group formed round the Arverni, another round the Ædui, reforming later round the Sequani; but everything was fluid and chaotic. The great peoples pursued a policy of prestige. Cæsar profited by the weaknesses resulting from that policy and, indeed, it was one of his favourite instruments, of which he made as much use as of military operations. If he succeeded, with 60,000 men, in carrying through the difficult task of conquering a large country, rich in men and owning a glorious past, it was because he had in Gaul allies, friends, spies, who were also traitors, like the Æduan Dumnorix. He always had sources of information among the enemy, an intelligence service which rarely failed him; but he also had friends like the Pictones, the Lingones, and, above all, the Remi.

All these political weaknesses, all these defects, shine out from the pages of the Commentaries. But we see something else there as well. Gallic society had latent powers of co-ordination which came into play with great vigour, but too late, and with some success, but too brief. The assembling of the army of relief during the siege of Alesia, with all the deliberations, sending of messages, and movement of troops entailed, was a remarkably well-conducted operation, which presupposes a habit and rules. [Jullian, CCCXLVII, iii, pp. 415 ff.] Vercingetorix used these institutions in a masterly fashion, and Cæsar the historian has given him full credit. He has set him up at the beginning of the history of France and at the end of

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

the history of the Gauls as a wonderful symbol of patriotism - young, good-looking, eloquent, modest, able to learn, expressing himself like an old soldier, interested, no doubt, in everything about the new civilization, but conscious of his own country and jealous of it to the point of sacrifice. Cæsar very nearly failed, and he does not disguise the fact. As the greater Celtic world had, in the time of Hannibal, missed its chance of becoming a kind of great, loose confederation in the world of its day, so the smaller Celtic world of Gaul missed, in Vercingetorix, the opportunity of becoming, side by side with the Roman Republic, the prototype of the modern great nation.

The conquest took eight years. After the first year, [Ibid., iv, p. 21.] which was taken up with containing the Helvetii and driving Ariovistus across the Rhine, there were four years of partial affairs - unconnected risings and attacks on the part of the Gauls and attempts to conquer territory and military promenades on that of the Romans. At the end of 54 the first concerted rising broke out, and from 53 to 51, the hardest years of the war, the Gauls waged a real national war with great successes in 52. The fall of Alesia brought this series of operations to a close, but it was not the end. The campaign of 51 consisted of scattered but constantly renewed attempts on the part of the Gauls, and at the end of the year the country was subjugated.

It is a commonplace of history to marvel at the rapidity of the conquest. But Gaul had at that time not acquired the rudiments of a state structure, without which a nation cannot be made. Neither their few common institutions nor their more or less connected attempts at collaboration could give the Gallic people a sense that they must regard themselves as one and that they owed duties of love and sacrifice towards the fatherland of which we now speak, but of which they assuredly knew nothing. Gaul had not had time to make the long, painful experiments in common which are necessary to develop the patriotism of a nation.

For Vercingetorix and his friends there probably was a Gaul, a Gallic fatherland. They also had a great love of political freedom, supported by faith in their country. It was the glory of Gaul to have produced such men. The rest were content to try to reconcile the interests of their small nation, their own small fatherland, with foreign rule. The great mass of the Gauls had not the faith which makes nations; they had no faith in the language which they gave up, or in the religion which they disguised, or in the institutions which they hastened to Romanize. But they had faith in civilization, which meant that of Rome, and in the prestige of their conqueror. The Roman Empire did more to make Gaul a fatherland

THE CONQUEST OF GAUL

than the Republic and Cæsar did to destroy it.

For about a hundred years, however, the submission of Gaul might seem uncertain, and minor incidents arose from time to time. It is true that the most serious of these was the work of a Roman army and was connected with the Imperial succession, but none the less the word of "freedom" was spoken.

Even before the death of Cæsar, in the year 46, the Bellovaci revolted; in 44, the Allobroges; in 33 and 30, the Aquitani and Morini. Little is known of these affairs - a few dates and a few allusions, no certain history at all. Between 25 and 7 B.C. a series of small campaigns achieved the reduction of the Alpine tribes. [Ibid., pp. 69 ff.] Then incidents are fewer and further between, and when they occur they are more serious and of a different character.

The Roman administration, particularly in fiscal matters, did not continue to be so easy as in the early years. The survey operations, commenced in 27, while laying down the rights of ownership in detail, did injury to many. It happened in the new province just as it had happened in Narbonensis over the collection of taxes; there were outbursts of rage, plots, and risings, even military risings. In A.D. 21, under Tiberius, there was a revolt. Among those involved in it were found two Roman citizens, both Julii, one a Treviran named Florus, and the other an Æduan named Sacrovir, and both officers of cohorts of the regular army. [For all the following, see Jullian, op. cit., iv, pp. 153 - 200.]

Graver incidents occurred at the end of Nero's reign in 68. At that time the governor of Lugdunensis was C. Julius Vindex, an Aquitanian of royal descent, recently made a citizen. He declared himself for Galba, the Legate of Spain, and against Nero. Was he acting as the Roman he had become or as the Gaul he still was? In any case, he had the Gauls with him. He was defeated at Besançon by the troops of Germany, which remained loyal to Nero, and killed himself. During the military anarchy which followed Nero's death, there were Gauls in all the different parties. When Vitellius was holding his court at Lugdunum a rising of a new kind broke out in the Boian country. The leader was a peasant named Mariccus, who assumed the manner of a prophet and proclaimed himself the champion of the Gauls and a god. Is this a first specimen of those upheavals from the depths which recur in the history of France - Crusades of the Poor, *Jacqueries*? In Gaul, as in the Cisalpine country, the poor had grievances enough; they were slow to be Romanized, and it is possible, things being so, that the national spirit took shape in that social stratum. The movement failed deplorably.

It was only the second act. In Rome the Capitol was burned down. The news

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

was exploited as an omen by the Druids, who formed a religious opposition and now proceeded to preach a Holy War. All that remained to be done was to get the malcontents together. There followed the revolt of Civilis, the Treviri Tutor and Classicus, and the Lugdunensian Sabinus. Civilis had at his side a prophetess named Velleda, who lived among the Bructeri. She must have been a German, but her name seems quite Celtic - curious evidence of the intercrossing of Celticism and Germanism. These four associates were all regular officers commanding cohorts, soldiers by profession. Classicus donned the purple and had himself proclaimed *Imperator Galliarum*. Sabinus declared himself a descendant of Cæsar.

But then something happened of far greater importance than the foundation of the Gallic Empire. The *civitas* of the Remi seems to have taken upon itself to convoke, as in old days, an assembly of the *civitates* of Gaul. It met as a completely autonomous body, apparently, and discussed the question of independence, which was urged by Tullius Valentinus, a Treviran, as against peace and submission, defended by Julius Auspex of the Remi. If Gaul now, through the mouths of its delegates, declared itself content with the condition to which Cæsar had brought it, it was because it did not yet exist. The assembly sent to the Treviri, in the name of the Gauls, orders to lay down arms and offers of intercession. The wisdom of Cerealis did the rest. Classicus and Tutor vanished. Sabinus hid with his wife Eponina in an underground place of refuge, but they were eventually taken and both put to death.

This time, the old independent Gaul was really finished. Something new was beginning.

III

THE ROMANIZATION OF GAUL

[Ibid., iv - vi; Chapot, op. cit., English pp. 314 ff.]

At the time when the assembly organized by the Remi met, Gaul was already three-quarters Romanized. Dress, utensils, furniture, and jewellery were Roman in style. Latin was spoken. Henceforth the culture of the country was Latin.

No doubt, many Italians came to Gaul, settling chiefly in Narbonensis, on the Rhine, and at Lugdunum, and there must have been a few merchants from Greece and Syria. But all these would not be sufficient to account for the rapidity with

THE ROMANIZATION OF GAUL

which the country was assimilated, and we must suppose that Gaul was spontaneously eager to become Romanized. The sudden development of city life favoured the transformation. All through the first century there was an expenditure on building which may be compared to what went on in France from the twelfth century to the seventeenth. The Gallic peoples became *civitates*, and identified themselves with them. The cities took the names of the peoples whose capitals they were. And there was no model of city life and municipal organization available but the Roman model.

The general extension of the citizenship had the same effects as in Narbonensis on a larger scale. Under Claudius Gallic senators, already Roman citizens, were admitted to the Roman Senate. Later, the Edict of Caracalla made the assimilation complete by extending the citizenship to the lower classes of the population.

Now, at this time when the whole world contained nothing but Roman citizens, jurisprudence shows by repeated declarations that provincial customs based on ancient rights were respected. [Ulpian, in the *Digest*; Jullian, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 278.] Yet we have only three evidences of any kind of survival of a Gallic legal custom. This is very little, for the Gauls had a law of their own.

The national religion was never abolished or persecuted. Indeed, the Gallic gods continued to be worshipped under the ægis of the worship of the Emperor. But they gradually assumed a Roman disguise; even the household gods, those of the hearth and the flame, took the names of Roman gods, and often their figures, except for some native effigies. Of all the vast mass of Gallic tradition of which Cæsar speaks, what remained? Nothing was done like the endeavour of the Irish to collect and catalogue their old poems. Of Gallic history and theology we know nothing but what the Greeks and Latins happen to tell us - what survives of Trogus Pompeius and a few culinary and magical recipes picked up by Pliny and Marcellus of Bordeaux. That is all. It is true that the Empire persecuted the Druids. They were attacked (partly, doubtless, for political reasons) under the laws regarding human sacrifice, murder, and magic (*Lex Cornelia de Sicariis*) by Tiberius and Claudius. At that time, if we are to take a passage in Pomponius Mela literally, [*Pomp. Mela*, iii, 2, 19.] they continued to teach the young in secret. They too must have come round, for there is no question of their giving trouble in the second century, and in the time of Ausonius we find their descendants among the teachers at the school of Bordeaux. In the only cases in which the Romans struck, they evidently struck rightly, for the Druids alone were in a position to try to stem the general rush of Gaul to

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

Latinism.

To sum up, all the upper parts of Gallic civilization, those which make a people other than an amorphous mass of peasants, fell. All that remained was the lower parts and, in addition to a good many habits and some handicrafts of importance, the superstitions and magic of the people. Higher activities were monopolized by the civilization of the upper classes. This tradition was reinforced by teaching in the great schools which succeeded those of the Druids but were quite different, the first of which we have seen at work at Autun under Tiberius. The Gaulish language survived only in the dialect of the peasant, which steadily declined and did not make much resistance to the Roman domination.

The Gaul which was taking shape under the wing of Roman institutions was very different from the Gaul which had gone down with Vercingetorix. It no longer had the same popular soul. It went on changing very fast. It has a quite different appearance from what it had worn at the time of the assembly of the Remi, when it suddenly finds itself, in the later third century, mistress of its destinies for sixteen years.

The episode is worth telling.

After the death of Alexander Severus the Roman Empire relapsed into the dynastic chaos which it had already experienced more than once. Between 253 and 255 bands of Alemanni and Franks broke through the frontier and perhaps penetrated, even at this early date, into Auvergne. These inroads of barbarians, even in small numbers, destroyed for a long time the peace in which Gaul thrived. Measures of protection had to be taken. The towns drew themselves in and girt themselves with fortifications within a few years as in the days of the Cimbri. In 258 the Emperor Gallienus had sent his son Valerian to Germany, but the real command of the frontier lay with the Gaul Marcus Cassianus Latinus Postumus. The legions of the Rhine did what they had done before - wanted an emperor of their own and chose Postumus. Young Valerian was made prisoner at Cologne. Gallienus attempted two or three attacks, but in vain. Postumus systematically made Gaul his object. He does not seem to have had any aspiration to the Empire as a whole; he does not even seem to have tried to break away from the rest of the Roman world. Gaul was apparently quite unchanged; above all, there was no question of independence. Postumus set up a fortuitous combination similar to the division of the Empire which was afterwards effected under Diocletian. This combination proved good and salutary. Order and security were restored. There are innumerable coins of this period, and they are of better weight. That is a sign of

THE ROMANIZATION OF GAUL

good, honest government and economic healthiness.

But Postumus's legions grew tired of him and murdered him. His successors, Lælianus and Victorinus, disappeared in their turn. The Germans crossed the frontier. The wife of Victorinus, named Victoria, escaped the slaughter. She was probably a Gallo-Roman of good family. In the little that we know of these events, she makes rather a good impression. She was compared to her contemporary, Zenobia. She was popular with the troops. It is said that she might have been Empress, but she gave the throne to a relation, C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus, who kept it from 268 to 274. He had been governor of Aquitania; he was not a soldier, but must have been a first-rate administrator. After a disgraceful affair in the army of the Rhine, all was restored to order. Victoria died, and Tetricus continued to reign in peace until Aurelian was free to attend to the West. Tetricus did nothing to defend himself. When his army was defeated, he entered the Imperial army. His career gives a very clear idea of what that Roman Empire of Gaul was like - an essentially transitory regime, which was not destined to survive the circumstances in which it had its birth.

It may be asked, however, whether something of it did not survive - a memory - in the insurrections of the Bagaudæ, [Bagaudæ is a Gallic name, with a termination like *auda* in *Alauda*, following a first element which is similar to Irish *baga*. Cf. Jullian, in CXXXIV, 1920, pp. 107 ff.] which began ten years later, in 283. Bagaudæ is a Gallic name, the first part of which is similar to Irish *baga*, meaning "battle". They were peasants. Their movements were local and disconnected; they did not form an army. They belonged to the lower strata of the population, those which had remained most Celtic and in which even the language was still used, as we know from contemporaries. We can imagine what the countryside of Gaul had become like in those successive years of invasion and pillage. The tax-collector took turns with the barbarian. We can understand why they revolted. In 283 they even elected emperors, Ælianus and Amandus. They held out until 285. It should be noted that, when defeated by Maximian, Ælianus and Amandus became martyrs and a kind of saints (in the *Life of St. Babolinus*). This throws a faint gleam of light on the size and popular nature of the movement, which, moreover, went on. Brigandage continued, and the name of Bagaudæ remained attached to it. Reinforced by all the discontented (and these were many), they even came to form small states, like those which the Germans were beginning to set up in Gaul.

But what emerges in clear and convincing fashion, not from the chronicle of events as they occur but from the institutions and opinions of the Gaul of the time,

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

is that, over the municipal life and the habits which it had created, the Roman organization had given Gaul provincial formations and habits of normal life based on large units. The three, or the four, provinces were divisions of Gallia. There were fixed frontiers with custom-houses on them and an army to defend the most exposed of them. There was a system of roads. Above all, there were an order of rank, capitals, subordination, stability, and agreement. This was everything that the Gauls had lacked. The country took on what it could not have had in old days - the air of an individual. In the fourth century Gaul begins to present this aspect, with its new features, in literature, in Rutilius Numatianus, in Ausonius, in Avitus. Sidonius Apollinaris even speaks of *patria nostra*, and after that it is always so, down to the day when *France dulce* in the popular tongue takes the place of *Gallia* in Latin. [CCCLVII, *Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini*, pp. 367 - 8, hymns de *martyribus Agennensibus*.] Perhaps those very misfortunes of the third century began to complete the political education of the people by the sufferings of their country. They gave it the venerable wrinkles which men have always loved to see on the face of their motherland.

IV

THE CELTS OF THE DANUBE

So much for Gaul proper. There was another Gaul, that of the Danube, which was connected with the province of Illyricum as Gaul proper with Narbonensis. Cæsar had got Illyricum in his province just as he had got Gaul, and had kept an eye on the country. He had, for example, been in Dalmatia for part of the winter of 57 - 56. Things might happen on this side as in Gaul. Troops might pass through on the way to Macedonia as they could through Gaul on the way to Spain. Roman policy had sources of intelligence in Noricum, and Roman influence was active there; the consular coinages were imitated, a sign that Latin traders were travelling and doing business in the country. [Roman denarii and copies of consular coins. Forrer, DXLIII, pp. 120, 124, 127.]

Augustus inherited the programme which Cæsar had not carried out completely. The death of Bœrebistas, the break-up of the sort of empire which he had set up, and a series of campaigns conducted by the best generals of Augustus, Agrippa, Drusus, and Tiberius, from 35 to 9 B.C. carried the frontiers of the Empire to the Danube, [Jullian, CCCXLVII, iv, pp. 100 ff.] thus placing a broad buffer-zone between Italy and Germany and securing for the Empire a good line of communication. Just

THE CELTS OF THE DANUBE

at this time the Germans were arriving among the Gauls who were still settled on the northern bank of the Danube. It was now, in my opinion, that the Marcomanni moved into Bohemia in the place of the Boii. [The question of this date is important from an archæological standpoint, for it makes it possible to date the finds of the Hradischt of Stradonitz and the La Tène III civilization which is there represented as brilliantly as at Mont Beuvray. It is very clear from Cæsar's words (i, 5) that the Boii of Noricum who joined forces with the Helvetii and ended up in Gaul were only a fraction of the people, the greater part of which had remained in Bohemia and did not emigrate till about the year 8. Almgren, in LXXXV, 1913, p. 265 ff.; d'Arbois, CCXCIX, ii, p. 11.] The information which we have about the campaigns of Augustus's generals between the Danube and the Elbe confirms this view. Drusus came upon the Marcomanni on the upper Main and defeated them in 10 B.C. In 8 B.C. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus [Müllenhoff, CCCLXII, iv, p. 44.] marched out from the Danube in order to reach the Elbe, and established in their country, at that time unoccupied, a body of Hermunduri, come from no one knows where and perhaps themselves dislodged by the migrating Marcomanni.

The Marcomanni must have moved in 9, and settled after that date in Bohemia, under a famous leader, Marbod (Maroboduus). The Boii who remained gradually depleted themselves by migrations and vanished, the remnant being perhaps absorbed by the Marcomanni, leaving only a name, which is that of the country at this day. Thus the Celts were completing the movement which brought them to a position along the Danube, as on the Rhine, at the time when the Danubian colonies were finally submitting to Rome. In the north they left only lost elements. On both sides the Roman Empire defended the frontier.

On both sides the generals of Augustus crossed it. We find Marbod again, in A.D. 6, opposing Tiberius, who is trying to attack Bohemia from the south. But Illyricum was uncertain. When it was cleared of troops a revolt broke out, and Tiberius judged it wise to make terms with Marbod. Marbod suffered for this, and was driven out by the Marcomanni. He took refuge with the Romans, who established him at Forum Julii.

Strabo, [vii, 3, 5, 11.] who wrote shortly after, speaks of Pannonia as a ruined country. It had not yet repaired the damages of the conquest when Gaul had long obliterated them. It did recover later, and the Roman ruins of the Danube valley do not give an impression of poverty.

In any case, there was nothing in the way of social organization in this region comparable to what we have seen in Gaul. The reason may be that the native society of the Danube was so much Romanized that it could not become aware of its unity.

