

Pathways to Evil

Other civilisations

Caesar in Gaul

The beginning of Vercigentorix' revolt

- When the appointed day came, the Carnutes, under the command of Cotuatus and Conetodunus, desperate men, meet together at Genabum , and **slay the Roman citizens who had settled there for the purpose of trading (among the rest, Caius Fusius Cita, a distinguished Roman knight, who by Caesar's orders had presided over the provision department), and plunder their property.** The report is quickly spread among all the states of Gaul; for, whenever a more important and remarkable event takes place, they transmit the intelligence through their lands and districts by a shout; the others take it up in succession, and pass it to their neighbors, as happened on this occasion; for the things which were done at Genabum at sunrise, were heard in the territories of the Arverni before the end of the first watch, which is an extent of more than a hundred and sixty miles. Caesar BG 7.3

Caesar at Cenabum

- Caesar arrived here in two days; after pitching his camp before the town, being prevented by the time of the day, he defers the attack to the next day, and orders his soldiers to prepare whatever was necessary for that enterprise; and as a bridge over the Loire connected the town of Genabum with the opposite bank, fearing lest the inhabitants should escape by night from the town, he orders two legions to keep watch under arms. The people of Genabum came forth silently from the city before midnight, and began to cross the river. When this circumstance was announced by scouts, Caesar, having set fire to the gates, sends in the legions which he had ordered to be ready, **and obtains possession of the town so completely, that very few of the whole number of the enemy escaped being taken alive, because the narrowness of the bridge and the roads prevented the multitude from escaping. He pillages and burns the town, gives the booty to the soldiers, then leads his army over the Loire, and marches into the territories of the Bituriges.** Caesar BG 7.11

A less drastic solution

- On the second day, when he came to Vellaunodunum, a town of the Senones , he determined to attack it, in order that he might not leave an enemy in his rear, and might the more easily procure supplies of provisions, and draw a line of circumvallation around it in two days: **on the third day, ambassadors being sent from the town to treat of a capitulation, he orders their arms to be brought together, their cattle to be brought forth, and six hundred hostages to be given.** He leaves Caius Trebonius his lieutenant, to complete these arrangements; he himself sets out with the intention of marching as soon as possible, to Genabum... Caesar BG 7.11

A desperate plan – Same fears

- That an abundance of these necessities could be supplied to them, because they would be assisted by the resources of those in whose territories the war would be waged: **that the Romans either would not bear the privation, or else would advance to any distance from the camp with considerable danger; and that it made no difference whether they slew them or stripped them of their baggage, since, if it was lost, they could not carry on the war.** Besides that, the towns ought to be burned which were not secured against every danger by their fortifications or natural advantages; that there should not be places of retreat for their own countrymen for declining military service, nor be exposed to the Romans as inducements to carry off abundance of provisions and plunder. **If these sacrifices should appear heavy or galling, that they ought to consider it much more distressing that their wives and children should be dragged off to slavery, and themselves slain; the evils which must necessarily befall the conquered.** Caesar BG 7.14

The proscriptions (43 BCE)

- And while the people were still in this state of mind, those murders by proscription which Sulla¹ had once indulged in were once more resorted to and the whole city was filled with corpses. Many were killed in their houses, many even in the streets and here and there in the fora and around the temples; 2 the heads of the victims were once more set up on the rostra and their bodies either allowed to lie where they were, to be devoured by dogs and birds, or else cast into the river. Everything that had been done before in the days of Sulla occurred also at this time, except that only two white tablets were posted, one for the senators and one for the others. Cassius Dio 47.3

Severus in Scotland

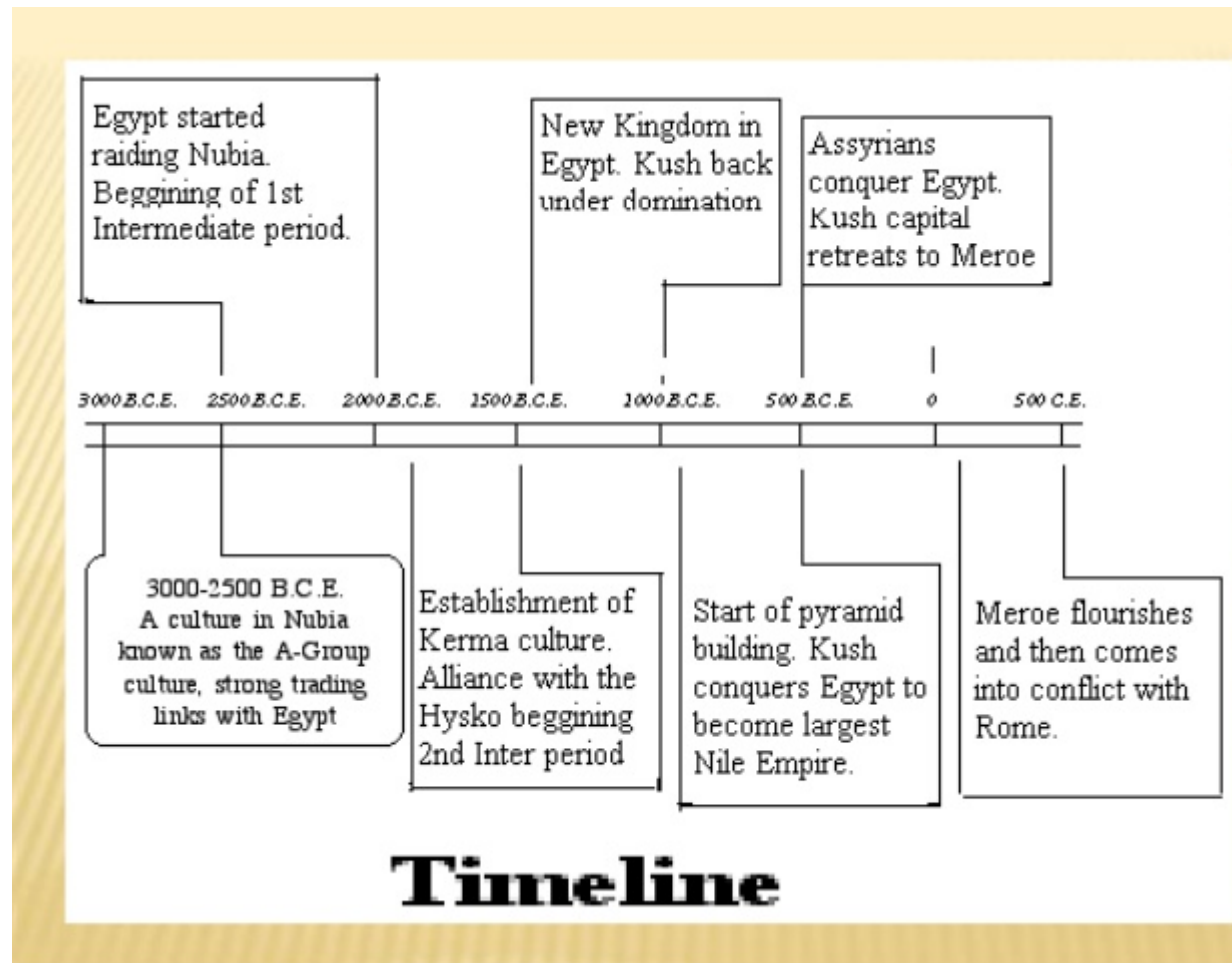
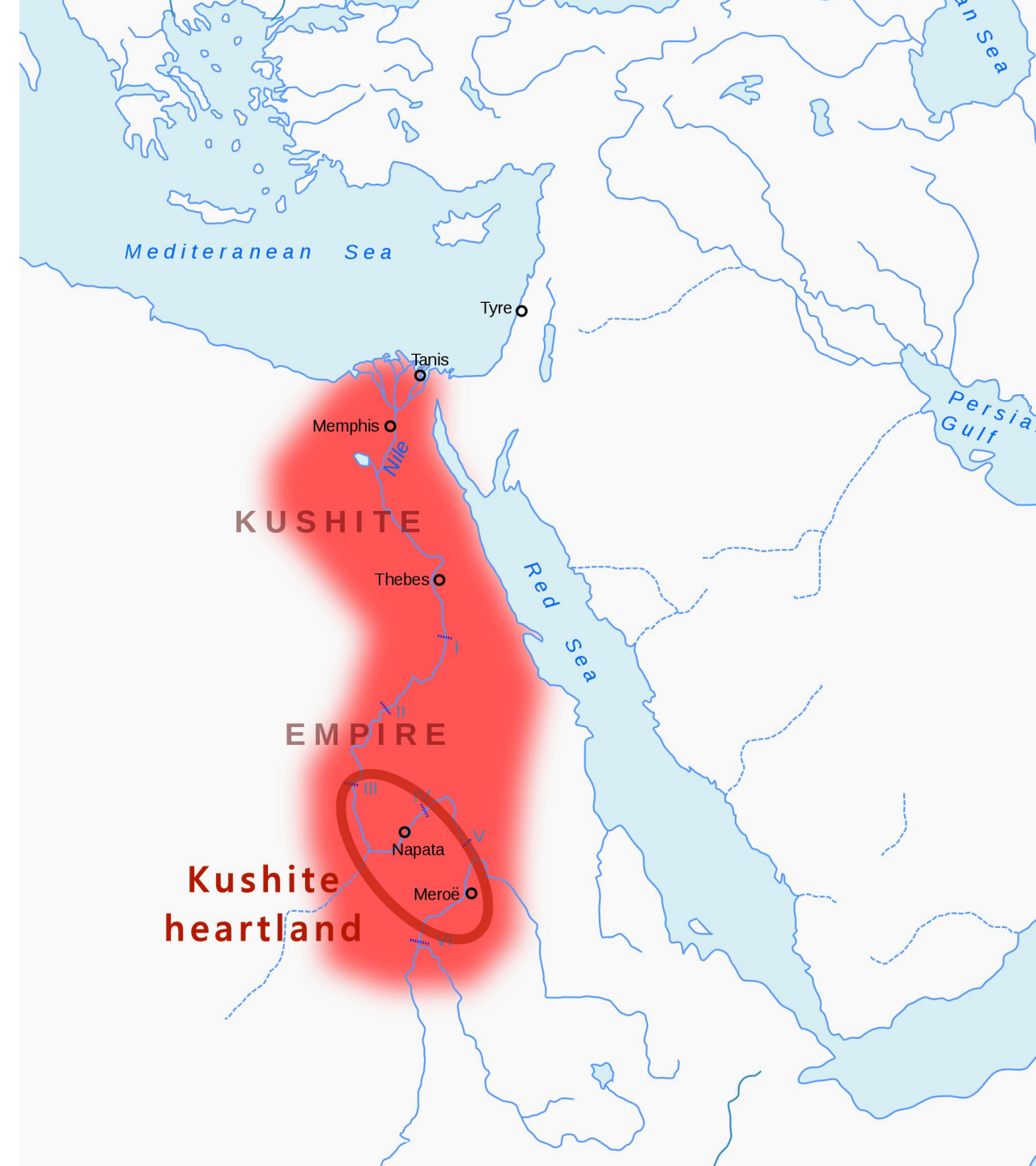
Conquest and ambition

- Severus, accordingly, desiring to subjugate the whole of it, invaded Caledonia. But as he advanced through the country he experienced countless hardships in cutting down the forests, levelling the heights, filling up the swamps, and bridging the rivers; 2 but he fought no battle and beheld no enemy in battle array. The enemy purposely put sheep and cattle in front of the soldiers for them to seize, in order that they might be lured on still further until they were worn out; for in fact the water caused great suffering to the Romans, and when they became scattered, they would be attacked. Then, unable to walk, they would be slain by their own men, in order to avoid capture, so that a full fifty thousand died. 3 But Severus did not desist until he approached the extremity of the island. Cassius Dio 77.13

Revolt and Reaction

- When the inhabitants of the island again revolted, he summoned the soldiers and ordered them to invade the rebels' country, killing everybody they met; and he quoted these words:
- "Let no one escape sheer destruction,
- No one our hands, not even the babe in the womb of the mother,
- If it be male; let it nevertheless not escape sheer destruction."
- 2 When this had been done, and the Caledonians had joined the revolt of the Maeatae, he began preparing to make war upon them in person. While he was thus engaged, his sickness carried him off on the fourth of February, not without some help, they say, from Antoninus. Casius Dio 77.15

KUSH



Sin[. . .] over the town Bit-Marduk, the town Sha-Ashur-taru, the town . . . Arad-Nana, my *murakḫisu*-officer . . . Uarbis in the town . . . Kisir-Ishtar in the town Sha-emuq-Ashur . . . (as) regular sacrificial offerings for Ashur and the great gods: 9 talents 19 minas of gold 300 . . . 1,585 garments . . . *ebony* wood/trees, 199 leather . . . 1[. . .]40 horses . . . 30,418 rams . . . 19,323 donkeys . . . as the tribute (paid for) the rule of Assyria . . . Ashur. . .

10. ASHURBANIPAL (668-633)

(a) Campaigns against Egypt, Syria, and Palestine¹

(1) From the so-called Rassam Cylinder found 1878 in the ruins of Kuyunjik, latest publication by Rawlinson, Vol. v, Pls. 1-10. Transliteration and translation: M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang* (VAB, VII) (Leipzig, 1916), Vol. II, pp. 2 ff. English translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§770-783.

(i 53—ii 94)

In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (*Tarḫū*), king of Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia (*Kuṣu*), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot² the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings (and) regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt.³ He entered and took residence in Memphis (*Me-im-pi*), the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. I lifted my hands, prayed to Ashur and to the Assyrian Ishtar. (Then) I called up my mighty armed forces which Ashur and Ishtar have entrusted to me and took the shortest (lit.: straight) road to Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia. During my march (to Egypt) 22 kings from the seashore, the islands and the mainland,

A list of these kings is contained in the text of Cylinder C, composed of various fragments by M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 139 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §876.

(i 24—46)

Ba'al, king of Tyre, Manasseh (*Mi-in-si-e*), king of Judah

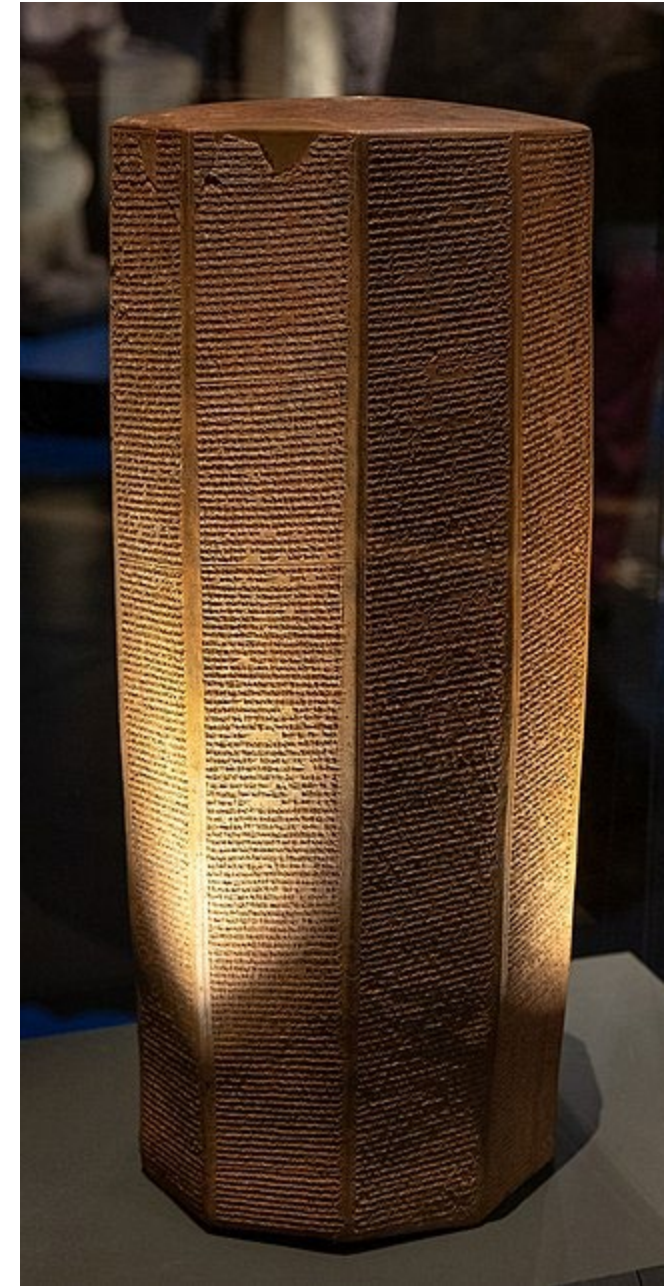
seashore, the islands and the mainland;

servants who belong to me, brought heavy gifts (*tá-martu*) to me and kissed my feet. I made these kings accompany my army over the land—as well as (over) the sea-route with their armed forces and their ships (respectively). Quickly I advanced as far as Kar-Baniti to bring speedy relief to the kings and regents in Egypt, servants who belong to me. Tirhakah, king of Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia, heard in Memphis of the coming of my expedition and he called up his warriors for a decisive battle against me. Upon a trust(-inspiring) oracle (given) by Ashur, Bel, Nebo, the great gods, my lords, who (always) march at my side, I defeated the battle(-experienced) soldiers of his army in a great open battle. Tirhakah heard in Memphis of the defeat of his army (and) the (terror-inspiring) splendor of Ashur and Ishtar blinded (lit.: overwhelmed) him (thus) that he became like a madman. The glamor of my kingship with which the gods of heaven and nether world have endowed me, dazzled him and he left Memphis and fled, to save his life, into the town Ni' (Thebes).⁵ This town (too) I seized and led my army into it to repose (there).

Necho (*Ni-ku-ú*), king of Memphis and Sais (*Sa-a-a*),⁶ Sharruludari, king of Si'nu, Pishanuru, king of Nathu, Pakruru, king of (Pi)shaptu, Bukkunanni'pi, king of Athribis (*Ḫa-at-ḫi-ri-bi*), Nahke, king of Hininshi, Putubishti, king of Tanis (*Ṣa'-nu*), Unamunu, king of Nathu, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnuti, Buaima, king of Pitinti, Shishak (*Su-si-in-qu*), king of Busiris (*Bu-ṣi-ru*), Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkananni'pi king of Ahni, Iptihardeshu, king of Pihattihurunpi(ki), Nahtihuruan-sini, king of Pishabdi'a, Bukurninip, king of Pahnuti, Siha, king of Siut (*Si-ia-a-ú-tú*), Lamentu, king of Himuni (Hermopolis), Ishpimatu, king of Taini, Mantimanhe, king of Thebes; these kings, governors and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt and who had left their offices in the face of the uprising of Tirhakah and had scattered into the open country, I reinstalled in their offices and in their (former) seats of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia which (already) my own father had conquered; I made the garrisons stronger than before and the(ir) regulations (more) severe. With many prisoners and heavy booty I returned safely to Nineveh.

Full translation go to
[HERE](#)

Excerpts from
the Rassam
Cylinder



The destruction of Napata

- The Ethiopians, emboldened in consequence of a part of the forces in Egypt being drawn off by Ælius Gallus, who was engaged in war with the Arabs, invaded the Thebais, and attacked the garrison, consisting of three cohorts, near Syene; **surprised and took Syene, Elephantina, and Philæ, by a sudden inroad; enslaved the inhabitants, and threw down the statues of Cæsar.** But Petronius, marching with less than 10,000 infantry and 800 horse against an army of 30,000 men, first compelled them to retreat to Pselchis, an Ethiopian city. He then sent deputies to demand restitution of what they had taken, and the reasons which had induced them to begin the war. On their alleging that they had been ill treated by the nomarchs, he answered, that these were not the sovereigns of the country, but Cæsar. When they desired three days for consideration, and did nothing which they were bound to do, Petronius attacked and compelled them to fight. They soon fled, being badly commanded, and badly armed; for they carried large shields made of raw hides, and hatchets for offensive weapons; some, however, had pikes, and others swords. Part of the insurgents were driven into the city, others fled into the uninhabited country; and such as ventured upon the passage of the river escaped to a neighbouring island, where there were not many crocodiles on account of the current. Among the fugitives, were the generals of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians in our time, a masculine woman, and who had lost an eye. Petronius, pursuing them in rafts and ships, took them all and despatched them immediately to Alexandreia. **He then attacked Pselchis and took it. If we add the number of those who fell in battle to the number of prisoners, few only could have escaped.**
- From Pselchis Petronius went to Premnis, a strong city, travelling over the hills of sand, beneath which the army of Cambyses was overwhelmed by the setting in of a whirlwind. He took the fortress at the first onset, and afterwards advanced to Napata. **This was the royal seat of Candace ; and her son was there, but she herself was in a neighbouring stronghold. When she sent ambassadors to treat of peace, and to offer the restitution of the prisoners brought from Syene, and the statues, Petronius attacked and took Napata, from which her son had fled, and then razed it. He made prisoners of the inhabitants, and returned back again with the booty, as he judged any farther advance into the country impracticable on account of the roads. He strengthened, however, the fortifications of Premnis, and having placed a garrison there, with two years' provisions for four hundred men, returned to Alexandreia. Some of the prisoners were publicly sold as booty, and a thousand were sent to Cæsar, who had lately returned from the Cantabrians, others died of various diseases.**
- Strabo 17.1.54