

THE GAULS' MIGRATION TO ITALY IN THE IV CENTURY BC AND ITS IMPACT ON EVOLUTION OF ROMAN FOREIGN POLICY

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ABSTRACT

The relevance of the researched problem is determined by the need to trace the impact of the Gauls' migration to the Apennine peninsula in the 4th century BC on Roman policy concerning italic tribes and states. The aim of this article is to reveal the influence of the resettlement of Gaul tribes on Roman foreign policy in the 4th century BC. The methodology of the research presented in the article is based on principles of historicism, i. e. examination of all events in their historical conditionality. The common principles of historiographic analysis have been applied such as determination of problems of research, analysis of authors' theoretical and methodological opinions. Comparative and genetic historical methods have also been used which allowed us to trace changes in Roman foreign policy in the 4th century BC and figure out what impact the resettlement of galls had on these changes. As a result of invasion the Gauls plundered and burned Rome which led to changing of the political state of the Roman republic in a foreign area. Rome had to go on the warpath with their former allies again: Latins, Guernics, Aequi, Volsci and the Etruscans who cheered up after the defeat of the Romans by the Gauls. Latins, Guernics, Volsci and Gauls acted as allies in this fight, but the military and diplomatic success of the Romans led to the fact that in the 30-ies of the IV century BC the Romans subordinated the whole territory of Latium and South Etruria and managed to start conquering Italy later. The subject of the research may be used by antiquity explorers who study history of the Ancient Rome and Gauls' resettlement to Italy.

Keywords: history; Gauls, Rome, Latins, Volsci, Aequi, Etruscans, Gauls' invasion, foreign policy of the Roman republic.

INTRODUCTION

By the beginning of the 4th century BC the Roman republic had taken a leading position in Central Italy. Rome managed to conquer Etruscan town Veii, to weaken Volsci and Aequi tribes. The equal Foedus Cassianum, signed in 493 BC, had worked between Romans and Latins. Rome wished to have hegemony in this region and was doing their best to maintain superiority. The hegemony of Rome in the region was broken by Gauls' invasion to Central Italy in the beginning of the 4th century BC. This invasion had serious consequences for Rome and its foreign policy. The aim of this article is to examine the problem of Gauls' migration to Central Italy and analyze consequences and impact of this invasion on foreign political state of the Roman republic in the 4th century BC. It was the first wave of foreign migration that befell Rome and required an immediate reaction. The history of relations between Rome and the Gauls through fates of nations of the Apennine peninsula may serve as the historical projection on migration problems and formation of "migratory policy" as countermeasures.

The main sources of history of Gauls' invasion and position of Roman republic in the 4th century BC are essays by Tit Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodor of Sicily, Polybius and Plutarch [1]. There are no special researches dedicated to the analysis of the impact of Gauls' invasion on foreign policy of the Roman republic. But the fact itself, in some way, was mentioned by different authors. The general information about the invasion and some of its consequences were presented in works on Roman history by Kovalev [2]; Alföldi [1]; Cornell [3] and others. Some of the consequences of Gauls' invasion were

investigated in publications and covered the history of Rome and Latium [4, 5, 6]. Also Roman consequences of Gauls' invasion were mentioned in essays on Celtic history [7]. However, they did not study the impact of Gauls' invasion on the political state of the Roman republic and changes that took place after Gauls' invasion.

METHODS

The object of the research is migration of Gaul tribes to the Apennine peninsula and its impact on the Roman foreign policy in the 4th century BC.

The methodology of is based on principles of historicism, i. e. examination of all events within their historical conditionality. The common principles of historiographic analysis have been applied: determination of research objectives, analysis of authors' theoretical and methodological opinions. The authors used the comparative historical method, which allowed us to examine Roman foreign policy in the 4th century BC compared to the policy of the previous times, and the historical genetic method which allowed us to examine the strategy of Romans in foreign policy, taking in consideration the Gauls' threat and relations with neighboring states.

RESULTS

In the 6th century BC penetration of Celtic tribes into the Apennine peninsula started. They were mostly interested in the valley of the Po River where major Etruscan centers were located [8, 9].

The Gaul tribes were constantly pressing the Etruscans making them to move ahead to the South regions. At some point the Etruscans realized that it would be very hard to fight with Northern barbarians without the help of Romans. "In the end of 90-ies of the 4th century one of the Gaul tribes with population of several tens of thousands of people led by Brenn appeared in Central Etruria and seized the city of Clusium... The inhabitants of Clusium asked Romans for help", S. Kovalev stated [2].

The Roman government sent 3 ambassadors from the gens Fabia to the Gauls with an intention to settle everything down by diplomatic way. The Roman ambassadors took part in a raid against the Gauls despite of the concept of the *ius gentium* that forbade ambassadors to participate in conflicts on any side. One of the Fabia even managed to kill the Gauls' military leader and grasp his arms [9]. The Gauls' got furious and the Gauls' leader Brennus required handing the ambassadors over to him. The Roman Senate agreed to hand the Fabia over but the angry people did not let it happen [8].

Brennus stopped the siege of Clusium and took his army to Rome. The date of this event is 390 BC or 387 BC. Romans were in a rush to bring their army back, they faced the enemies in 12 km from Rome at the Allia river, the tributary of the Tiber on July 18 [1, 2, 8].

The Gauls attacked immediately and they managed to destroy the left wing of the Roman army at once. The others could not resist the Gauls' pressure for a long period, they fled and sheltered themselves behind the city of Veii. Some warriors fled to Rome and took refuge with the Senate in a fortress. The road to Rome was free.

The city was completely plundered and burned by the Gauls. But they could not seize the Citadel [9]. The siege of the Capitol was initiated then. After seven months of siege the Romans and the Gauls decided to conclude a truce [8].

The Gauls had no need for occupation of lands at the time, they were more focused to get the Roman values. In this case it is clear why they required repayment from the Romans. The Senate ordered to the military tribunes to enter into a truce with the Gauls. The military tribune Quintus Sulpicius and the Gauls' leader Brennus agreed on the sum of 1000 pounds of gold as a wite [8]. When receiving the wite the enemies left Rome and while leaving were attacked by the Roman army that had been formed outside of Rome during the siege of the Capitol [8]. The Gauls were crushed and all the gold was taken [10].

S. Kovalev paid attention to the fact that “the patriotic feelings of Romans could not let them put up with a shame of the events that took place in 390 BC and later they made up their own version of what happened which was reflected in their traditions” [2].

The results of the Gauls’ invasion were quite positive for the Romans. The international position of Rome that had become so stable by the beginning of the 4th century got much worse after the Gauls’ invasion. All of their old enemies lifted in spirits: the Etruscans, the Aequi, the Volsci. Even the allies of Rome – Hernici and some Latin cities decided to use current situation and reset the hegemony of Romans [1]. Rome had to fight for about 50 years to restore its superiority. They did it with arms and used a diplomatic way (giving rights to some communities), also they made attempts to remove colonies.

J. Collins states that conquering Gallia by Romans might be explained by needs of defense but we should pay attention to Cicero’s speech “About pro-consular provinces” where the great speaker and politician does not say a word about defense. In his mind the Gauls were immemorial enemies of Rome, so the legitimacy of war with them and their conquest was not a subject of debates [11, 12].

A. Egorov pays attention to the fact that “constant wars with the same enemy turn them into so-called “historical enemy” who did not require diplomatic caution. Mostly, in this case, when the reason appeared in the past and a problem of “the guilty one” was becoming extremely confusing, the Romans accepted their own aggression” [13].

Rome was weakened by the Gauls’ invasion and that led to deterioration of its international position. The old enemies of Rome – the Etruscans, the Aequi and the Volsci – started to attack. The Latins used this situation to set themselves free from the Roman hegemony; the Hernici joined them. As a tool to influence their allies the Romans did two things: removed colonies and gave Roman citizenship.

The removal of colonies was a wonderful tool to keep the territory subordinated as the inhabitants of such colonies were, in fact, the representatives of the Roman army on the territory of their present or possible enemies. In 80s of IV century 4 Latin colonies were founded: two of them were in the Southern Etruria (Sutrius and Nepete in 383) and the other two on the territory of the Volsci tribe (Satricum in 385 and Setia in 382).

Giving rights of Roman citizens was supposed to split groups of Roman allies that had been united a long time before that, as some of the Italian communities and first of all Latin ones, got a more privileged position than the others. The first community to receive Roman citizenship was Tusculum (381 BC) [2, 8], receiving Roman citizenship the community came out of the Latin union, weakening it drastically. Later Romans used this trick with Latin allies for a lot of times. But still Rome considered war as the main tool to reconstitute their hegemony.

Among the Roman allies the first ones to be excluded were the Fidenates who had close relations with the Etruscans but the Romans managed to suppress the rebellion quite fast [4]. Then the series of collisions with the Etruscans followed. In 389 BC there was a fight for Sutrius city which had been left under the Roman influence [8]. In 388 BC Rome acted against Tarquinii city and took over two fortified towns. In 387 BC the Romans managed to annex the Southern Etruria and found four new tribes there [2]. The next year the Etruscans led by Tarquinii city attacked Sutrius and Nepete [8]. After reflecting Etruscan attack Romans took Latin colonies to these cities in 383 BC what strengthened the position of Rome in the Southern Etruria. But 25 years later the Tarquinians attacked the Romans again. Consul G. Fabius was defeated [8]. The Etruscans were joined by Falerians, Caere that was an old ally of Rome. The Romans won a few times: they were led by a dictator from plebeians G. Marcius Rutilus in 385 BC, the Romans destroyed the territory of Tarquinii in 355 BC [8], and they deserted territory of Tarquinii and Faleria in 351 BC. A peace has been achieved with the Etruscans for 40 years [2]. The Caere tribes got a truce for 100 years in 353 BC [8]. A. Alföldi paid attention to the fact that Romans signed two pacts with the Caere

in 353 BC and with Carthage in 348 BC almost at the same time. Both of them could be against the Greeks, Sicilian tyrants in particular who had attempts to conquer the Northern coast of Italy, the Latium coast in particular, and Carthaginian part of Sicily in IV century BC. Etruscan cities were bonded with Carthage by old relations and Rome also signed the treaty with Carthage in 509 BC [1].

Thereby, the wars with the Etruscans helped the Romans to reconstitute their position but also broadened their possessions in the Southern Etruria.

The Romans defeated the Auqui quite fast. In 389 BC Camillus broke them down by Bolae and took over the city [8] and the next year the Roman army deserted the whole country [2]. The Hernici and their allies were crushed by Romans twice in the middle of 80s of IV century BC [8].

By the IV century BC the most dangerous enemy for Rome were the Volsci. According to the Roman tradition, Rome had wars with the Volsci for 55 years (since 389 to 338 BC). In 389 BC the Volsci got to Lanuvium [8]. M. Furius Camillus defeated them. The Volsci, the Latinas and the Hernici invaded the Roman territory in 386 BC. Camillus crushed them near the Volsci city Satrnick and carried the city by storm. Then Camillus started preparing for the siege of Anzio but the war with the Etruscans made him leave [8]. In 385 BC the Volsci, the Latinas and the Hernici started a campaign against Rome but were defeated. After that a Roman colony with 2 thousand people moved to Satrnick [8]. In 382 BC Satrnick was captured by the Volsci supported by the Latinas from Preneste. And Camillus crushed them again in 381 BC [8].

In 377 BC the Volsci decided to give in to Romans without struggle [8]. Here Livy paid attention to the fact that the Volsci wanted to surrender but their allies – the Latinas kept fighting. In 358 BC the Romans firmly took the Pomptain valley on the south of Latium and established two new tribes there [1, 2, 8]. In that period the Volsci could not prevent the Romans from moving ahead but in 10 years they recovered from the defeat by the Romans and made attempts to fight for their independence again. The tough collisions between Romans and the Volsci kept going on till 338 BC when the Romans captured Anzio and ultimately defeated the Volsci. As a result of the peace the Romans gained one more port and confiscated their fleet.

But the most important direction of the Roman foreign policy in IV century was making Latin communities submitted [1, 8]. The war between Rome and the communities that betrayed them and their allies lasted for more than 30 years. In 358 BC Latin communities, according to Livy, confirmed their loyalty to the treaty of 493 BC [8]. In S. Kovalev's opinion, "the treaty of 358 BC was unlikely to similar to the document of 493 BC, ... it is improbable that in a new situation which was not in the Latins' favour Rome agreed on the previous equality of participants. Apparently, some items were included into the treaty which assigned that Rome took a leading role in the Latin alliance" [2], however the available written sources do not let us trace those changes.

The increased importance of Rome in Italy contributed to reinstatement of the treaty of 509 BC with Carthage in 348 BC [8, 14]. Mostly, it repeated the previous conditions but in a little bit different form which was less favorable for Rome. The most significant thing was that the new treaty confirmed the right of Romans for the coast of Latium from the mouth of Tiber to Terracina. Changing conditions of the treaty demonstrated strengthening of the Roman republic on the international area.

Thereby, the major directions of the foreign policy in the period after the Gauls' invasion were the South Etruria, territories of the Aequi, the Hernici and the Volsci, but the main aim remained the same – to make Latin communities subordinated.

DISCUSSION

However, the Gauls' migration to the Apennine peninsula and its consequences for the foreign policy of Rome in particular has not been investigated in historiography. The impact of the Gauls' migration on the foreign policy of Rome was quite important and, in fact, led to modernization of their strategy and tactics in terms of both enemies and allies of Rome.

The increasing aggression of the Roman republic was ended by the Gauls' invasion in 390 BC [8] or in 387/6 BC [9, 14]. Fighting with the Gauls' migration Rome took the following actions: removed colonies of Roman citizens from the territories of enemies, signed alliance pacts, provided common military forces, gave the Roman citizenship which increased the Roman military forces. It also made the Romans treat this problem carefully and it was one of the reasons to improve relations with neighboring tribes.

CONCLUSION

However, the consequences of the Gauls' invasion were not as catastrophic as one might think. Economically Rome recovered quite fast and started extensive construction works. The walls were put up around the city, it was called the Servian wall. There is evidence proving the growth of the Roman activity overseas (foundation of the colony in Sardinia in 386 BC, expedition to Corsica). In that period (between 380 BC and 350 BC) according to the archeologists the Romans founded a town with a fortress in Ostia which became the main navy base of the Romans.

Immediate worsening of the international position of the state in 80s IV century BC after the Gauls' invasion became a motivation for mobilization of all Roman forces and had led to the fact that a small tribe on the River Tiber had turned into the biggest state of the Central Italy taking up 5 thousands square kilometers with allies by the middle of IV century. All these facts played a crucial role in another period of Roman history – the fight for the Central Italy.

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