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Boudica at the Intersection

Gender, Alterity, and Narrative in Imperial Roman Historiography

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Departmental Honors Thesis
The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
Modern and Classical Languages and Literatures

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Dedication

To my mother and father, who have aided and abetted me throughout this project.

I. Abstract

Tacitus (fl. ~100 ce) and Cassius Dio (fl. ~200 ce) wrote, respectively, the *Annales* and the *Historia Romana*, both now fragmentary, both detailing imperial Roman expansion, and both displaying anxieties about the barbarian 'Other.' Their accounts of Boudica, who led the Iceni against Roman encroachment in Britannia in 62 CE, provide a view into these authors' visions of colonization, ethnicity, and gender. Characterizing this woman as a barbarian leader of war, the authors reveal not only their foundational ideologies but also the political projects underpinning their histories. This thesis will proceed in the following manner: I will provide 1) a dry recapitulation of the narrative of Boudica's rebellion; then this thesis will turn to examine the historical moments of 2) Tacitus and 3) Cassius Dio, alongside 4) Roman attempts at the ethnography of Britannia and its residents, 5) social expectations of women in Rome and Britannia, and 6) the ambition animating Roman imperial policy in conquering Britannia. Thereafter, this thesis will introduce four theoretical approaches, namely, 7) post-structuralist narratology, 8) feminist and gender theories, 9) postcolonial theory, and 10) the theory of intersectionality. After establishing the historical moment and with these four analytical instruments in hand, I will 11) return to the only two surviving texts that attest to Boudica's rebellion and determine how their respective characterizations of Boudica as a female, barbarian political-military leader might have reflected, refracted, and subverted the pre-existing Roman constructs of empire, ethnicity, and gender. In the joint analysis of these vectors of identity, this thesis will advance a more complete understanding of the entire imperial system as described by Tacitus and Cassius Dio.

II. The Narrative

Tacitus and Cassius Dio present slightly different accounts of Boudica's rebellion. From them, we can form a combined narrative separated into six sections. First, our authors describe the general situation of Britannia and the reasons for the rebellion. Second, they discuss how Boudica destroyed Camulodunum and provide reasons for her easy victory. Third, they discuss Suetonius Paulinus' preparation for battle, while the fourth and fifth parts contain speeches allegedly from Boudica and Suetonius respectively. After these speeches, our authors conclude the narrative with the sixth and final section on the battle and its consequences. The chronology above is a rectified one — Cassius Dio's version places Boudica's speech before the destruction of Camulodunum, and I have placed her speech after its devastation to mirror Tacitus' chronology.¹

This combined account of Boudica's rebellion begins not with her own actions but with her situational circumstance. Suetonius Paulinus, the governor of Britannia, went to invade the Isle of Mona, which was a haven for refugees and druids.² In his absence, our two authors propose two different ways by which the Romans provoked the Iceni. On one hand, Tacitus explains that King Prasutagus named emperor Nero as his heir alongside his two daughters in hopes of receiving Roman protection; but quite contrary to his expectation, the Romans pillaged his kingdom and his household.³ On the other hand, Cassius Dio believes the rebellion resulted

¹ For footnotes citing the texts of the *Annales* and *Histories*, I have included the relevant Latin or Greek sections. Corresponding translations can be found in Appendices 3.1 and 3.2. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

² Tac., Ann., xiv.29: "sed tum Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannos, scientia militiae et rumore populi qui neminem sine aemulo sinit, Corbulonis concertator, receptaeque Armeniae decus aequare domitis perduellibus cupiens. igitur Monam insulam, incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum, adgredi parat, navisque fabricatur plano alveo adversus breve et incertum." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.7: "ἔτυχον γὰρ ἄναρχοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ Παυλῖνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νῆσόν τινα Μῶνναν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Βρεττανίας κειμένην ἐπιστρατεῦσαι."

³ Tac., Ann., xiv.31: "Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per

from the impact of heavy taxation and Roman expropriation.⁴ Here, Dio also presents the only visual description of Boudica: tall, terrifying, and fierce with a harsh voice and long hair, usually wearing a gold necklace with a multicolored tunic and thick mantle.⁵ With the Roman governor absent and the chain of command weakened, the provoked Britons ran unopposed through Roman Britain, destroying settlements and taking the lives of those they came across.

Tacitus writes that the Roman colony of Camulodunum was the first casualty of the rebellion. Though neither walls nor fortifications protected this colony of veterans, Tacitus recounts how they acted imperiously over the Iceni's land with a temple dedicated to the deified emperor Claudius looking over the camp's surroundings.⁶ Both authors recount the appearance of several omens threatening the settlement's destruction: the statue of Victory fell, manic women prophesied, strange noises were heard in the *curia*, the river Thames displayed an image of the town's ruin, and the ocean turned red.⁷ Although these prodigies unnerved the colony, the

centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur. iam primum uxor eius Boudicca verberibus adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenorum, quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis exuuntur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur."

⁴ Cass. Dio, lxii.2: "πρόφασις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἡ δήμευσις τῶν χρημάτων ἃ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐδεδώκει: καὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥς γε Δεκιανὸς Κάτος ὁ τῆς νήσου ἐπιτροπεύων ἔλεγεν, ἀναπόμπιμα γενέσθαι. διά τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τόκων δανείσας ἔπειτ' ἀθρόας τε ἄμα αὐτὰς καὶ βιαίως ἐσέπρασσεν, ἐπανέστησαν."

⁵ Cass. Dio, lxii.2: "ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τό τε βλέμμα δριμυτάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε, τήν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὖσαν μέχρι τῶν γλουτῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει, χιτῶνά τε παμποίκιλον ἐνεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρπητο. οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ἐνεσκευάζετο."

⁶ Tac., Ann., xiv.31: "quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando, foventibus impotentiam veteranorum militibus similitudine vitae et spe eiusdem licentiae. ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant. nec arduum videbatur excindere coloniam nullis munimentis saeptam; quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amoenitati prius quam usui consulitur."

7 Both authors describe similar signs appearing; Tac., Ann., xiv.32: "Inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum quasi cederet hostibus. et feminae in furorem turbatae adesse exitium canebant, externosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos; consonuisse ululatibus theatrum visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subversae coloniae: iam Oceanus cruento aspectu, dilabente aestu humanorum corporum effigies relictae, ut Britannis ad spem, ita veteranis ad metum trahebantur." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.1: "ὅς που καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς προεσήμανεν: ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος, οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσᾳ ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι ἑωρῶντο, καὶ ὁ ἀκεανὸς ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἰματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη."

procurator Catus Decianus only sent two hundred unarmed soldiers as aid.⁸ These reinforcements were insignificant to Boudica and her troops — they took Camulodunum by force, delaying two days only to siege the temple; nothing was left.⁹ Arriving too late to save the colony, the commander of the ninth legion, Petilius Cerialis, encountered Boudica's victorious force. After losing his infantry, he escaped with only his cavalry, and Catus Decianus abandoned the province out of fear, crossing back over into Gaul.¹⁰ In the early stages of her rebellion, Boudica led a host of Britons to victory against the ninth legion and reduced Camulodunum to rubble.

Receiving news of these affairs while he was away, Suetonius Paulinus took action to stop the rebellion. Returning to the main island, he considered fighting Boudica at the merchant city of Londinium. He decided to abandon that city, instead gathering additional troops. Tacitus includes a description of the inhabitants of London begging Suetonius to protect them, but he denied their request — only the able-bodied could follow him as he departed. He left behind the women, the children, and the elderly to the barbarian host. Without his protection, Boudica razed both Londinium and Verulamium. Tacitus alleges that she took no captives. Cassius Dio

⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.32: "sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine iustis armis misit; et inerat modica militum manus."

⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.32: "quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur. et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: templum in quo se miles conglobaverat biduo obsessum expugnatumque."

¹⁰ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.32: "et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali, legato legionis nonae, in subsidium adventanti obvius fudit legionem et quod peditum interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis defensus est. qua clade et odiis provinciae quam avaritia eius in bellum egerat trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit."

¹¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.33: "At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostis Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. ibi ambiguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.8: "ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος ἔτυχε μὲν ἤδη τὴν Μῶνναν παραστησάμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Μώννης. καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι μὲν αὐτίκα πρὸς [p. 96] τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἤθελε, τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν φοβούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐπιτηδειότερον καιρὸν τὴν μάχην ὑπερετίθετο."

Tac., Ann., xiv.33: "neque fletu et lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est quin daret profectionis signum et comitantis in partem agminis acciperet: si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat ab hoste oppressi sunt."

Tac., Ann., xiv.33: "eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laborum segnes petebant. ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere aut venundare aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula ignes cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium at praerepta interim ultione, festinabant."

does not describe the fall of any individual city, and he argues that the Britons brutally tortured what captives they took as part of their diabolical victory celebrations. ¹⁴ Ultimately running low on provisions, ¹⁵ Suetonius decided to fight the pursuing Boudica at a favorable location. ¹⁶ He led a Roman force of 10,000 soldiers, organizing them into three independent divisions for the upcoming battle. ¹⁷ Boudica's undisciplined and unorganized force greatly outnumbered the Romans, perhaps numbering between 80,000 and 230,000 — Tacitus and Dio disagree. ¹⁸ Overconfident because of their numerical advantage, the Britons even brought their wives to watch the battle in wagons stationed at their rear. ¹⁹

Both authors allege that Boudica spoke to her army before the battle. The authors disagree in their chronological placement and the content of the speech differs slightly. Both authors contend that, contrary to Roman custom, it was natural for women to hold leadership

¹⁴ Cass. Dio, lxii.7: "διὰ τοῦτο πόλεις τε δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ φόνον ἀμύθητον, ὡς ἔφην, εἰργάσατο: τοῖς τε ἀλισκομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐγίνετο. καὶ ὁ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἔπραξαν: τὰς γὰρ γυναῖκας τὰς εὐγενεστάτας καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς ἐκρέμασαν, καὶ τοὺς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοῖς στόμασί σφων προσέρραπτον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐσθίουσαι αὐτοὺς ὁρῷντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διὰ παντὸς ποῦ σώματος κατὰ μῆκος ἀνέπειραν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύοντές τε ἄμα καὶ ἐστιώμενοι καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μάλιστα ἄλσει ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε γὰρ τὴν Νίκην ἀνόμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιττότατα."

¹⁵ Cass. Dio, lxii.8: "ἐπεὶ δὲ σίτου τε ἐσπάνιζε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐγκείμενοι οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἠναγκάσθη καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν." Tacitus does not present a reason for Suetonius' decision to turn and fight, only saying they abandoned delay in xiv.34: "cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat."

¹⁶ Only Tacitus describes the location of battle; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.34: "deligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum, satis cognito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse sine metu insidiarum."

¹⁷ Only Tacitus provides a numerical estimate for the size of Suetonius' force, though Cassius Dio describes how even if all the Roman forces lined shoulder to shoulder, they would not match the size of Boudica's host; Tac., Ann., xiv.34: "Iam Suetonio quarta decima legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia armatorum erant, cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat." Cass. Dio, lxii.8: "ὁ δὲ δὴ Παυλῖνος μήτε ἀντιπαρατεῖναί οἱ τὴν φάλαγγα δυνηθείς 'οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ ἐφ' ἕνα ἐτάχθησαν ἐξικνοῦντο: τοσοῦτον ἡλαττοῦντο τῷ πλήθεὶ μήτ' αὖ καθ' εν συμβαλεῖν, μὴ καὶ περιστοιχισθεὶς κατακοπῆ, τολμήσας, τριχῆ τε ἔνειμε τὸν στρατὸν ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἄμα μάχοιντο, καὶ ἐπύκνωσεν ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ὥστε δύσρηκτον εἶναι."

¹⁸ Tacitus describes the Romans killing 80,000 Britons, while Cassius Dio describes the number of Britons before the battle as 230,000; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.37: "quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis." Cass. Dio, lxii.8: "ή μὲν οὖν Βουδουῖκα ἐς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν στράτευμα ἔχουσα αὐτὴ μὲν ἐφ' ἄρματος ἀχεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς ἐκάστους διέταξεν."

¹⁹ Tac., Ann., xiv.34: "at Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et turmas exultabant, quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo feroci ut coniuges quoque testis victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque imponerent quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant." Ending his description of the ensuing battle, Cassius Dio also includes the presence of these wagons; Cass. Dio, lxii.12: "τέλος δὲ ὀψέ ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῆ μάχη καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀμάξαις τῆ τε ὕλη κατεφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας εἶλον." The Romans used the presence of civilian wagons in battle as an index of barbarity; see Plut., Gaius Marius, xix.6 and xxvii.2.

roles in Britannia.²⁰ The two versions of Boudica's speech emphasize Roman greed as the stimulus for rebellion. Tacitus argues that Boudica fought to restore her stolen liberty and stained honor,²¹ while Cassius Dio stresses the backlash from aggressive tax and loan collection.²² Our authors reconvene when describing Boudica's presumption that her rebellion held the upper hand: compared to the Romans, they were stronger in both mind and body, as well as previously victorious, and they were more knowledgeable of the terrain.²³ Cassius Dio adds that Boudica argued the Britons must be victorious because they themselves allowed the Romans onto the island, and thus they must force them out.²⁴ Both authors conclude their account of Boudica's speech similarly by criticizing the Romans' toleration of Nero's femininity and asserting that the Britons live proudly under strong leaders.²⁵ After concluding their versions of Boudica's speech, Tacitus and Cassius Dio transition to discussing the speech of her Roman opponent.

²⁰ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35: "Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργεῖν μὲν ἣ δημιουργεῖν οὐκ εἰδότων, πολεμεῖν δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα κοινὰ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἀρετὴν ἐχουσῶν."

²¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35: "sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. eo provectas Romanorum cupidines ut non corpora, ne senectam quidem aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant."

²² Cass. Dio, lxii.3: "οὐ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὅλων ἐστερήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν." In this section, Cassius Dio begins his version of Boudica's speech. This first paragraph of the speech focuses on the impact of undue taxation and overly aggressive loan collection on the populace of Britannia, arguing that they cannot escape their monetary enslavement even through death.

²³ Tac., Ann., xiv.35: "adesse tamen deos iustae vindictae: cecidisse legionem quae proelium ausa sit; ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. ne strepitum quidem et clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.5: "φοβεῖσθε δὲ μηδαμῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους: οὕτε γὰρ πλείους ἡμῶν εἰσιν οὕτ' ἀνδρειότεροι." This paragraph focuses on why the Britons need not fear the Romans: they wear heavy armor because they do not trust their skill, and as a result, they cannot chase us down if they win or flee if they lose. It continues to argue the Britons were more used to hunger, thirst, and the impairments of weather on the island.

²⁴ Cass. Dio, lxii.4: "ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἴτιοι, ὥς γε τὰληθὲς εἰπεῖν, γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτούς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκεῖνον, ἐξηλάσαμεν: οἵτινες οὐ πόρρωθέν σφισιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστω καὶ τῷ Καλιγόλα, φοβερὸν τὸ καὶ πειρᾶσαι τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν." This section of Boudica's speech highlights the shared history of Britannia under the encroaching influence of the Roman Empire.

²⁵ Tac., Ann., xiv.35: "si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri et servirent." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "μὴ γάρ τοι μήτ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑμῶν ἔτι βασιλεύσειεν ἡ Νερωνὶς ἡ Δομιτία, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἄδουσα δεσποζέτω 'καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτη γυναικὶ δουλεύειν, ἦς τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννούσησ', ἡμῶν δὲ σύ, ὧ δέσποινα, ἀεὶ μόνη προστατοίης." In Dio's account, Boudica finishes her address to the goddess Andraste and asks for her divine protection in battle, naming previous feminine leaders of the Mediterranean world and including emperor Nero in this list.

Tacitus and Cassius Dio present Suetonius Paulinus' rhetoric similarly, and both incorporate three core themes into his speech: first, the weaknesses of the Britons, second, the strengths of the Romans, and third, the consequences of the battle. Encouraging his troops, Suetonius points out that the enemy Britons are weak, unarmed women who would break easily despite their greater number. On one hand, Cassius Dio alone reports that Suetonius' troops were previously victorious in the campaign on the Isle of Mona, thus boosting their morale. On the other hand in Tacitus's account, Suetonius points out the importance of the Roman troops' military discipline and argues that victory would be theirs if they maintained their positions. Hough the battle between Boudica and Suetonius was crucial for her rebellion's success, it also presented a great opportunity for the Roman soldiers. For, if they could emerge victorious over Boudica, they would gain great glory beyond compare in the empire. However, Cassius Dio's version also discusses the consequences of defeat: if they lost the upcoming battle, the barbarians would torture them until they died. Rather than suffering this dishonorable death, Suetonius

²⁶ Tac., Ann., xiv.36: "ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanis minas: plus illic feminarum quam iuventutis aspici. imbellis, inermis cessuros statim ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium toties fusi adgnovissent." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.9: "μήτ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν φοβηθῆτε καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν 'ἐκ γὰρ ἀόπλου καὶ ἀμελετήτου προπετείας θρασύνονταὶ, μήθ' ὅτι πόλεις τινὰς ἐμπεπρήκασιν: οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲ ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προδοθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐκλειφθεῖσαν εἶλον." Here, Cassius Dio's account also points out that Boudica's previous victories were not legitimate — one town was abandoned and the other was betrayed.

²⁷ Cass. Dio, lxii.9: "ἄγετε, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἄγετε, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, δείξατε τοῖς ὀλέθροις τούτοις ὅσον καὶ δυστυχοῦντες αὐτῶν προφέρομεν: αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκτήσασθε, νῦν ἀκλεῶς ἀπολέσαι. πολλάκις τοι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐλάττους ὄντες πολὺ πλείονας ἀντιπάλους καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐνίκησαν."

²⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.36: "conferti tantum et pilis emissis post umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent, praedae immemores: parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura."

²⁹ Tac., Ann., xiv.36: ⁴ etiam in multis legionibus paucos qui proelia profligarent; gloriaeque eorum accessurum quod modica manus universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur." Also, Cass. Dio, lxii.10: "νὺν καιρός, ὧ συστρατιῶται, προθυμίας, νῦν τόλμης. ἂν τήμερον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένησθε, καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναλήψεσθε: ἂν τούτων κρατήσητε, οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιστήσεται. διὰ μιᾶς τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βεβαιώσεσθε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψεσθε: πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοθί που ὄντες στρατιῶται ζηλώσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐχθροὶ φοβηθήσονται."

³⁰ Cass. Dio, lxii.11: "'ἡκούσατε. μὲν οἶα ἡμᾶς οἱ κατάρατοι οὖτοι δεδράκασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ εἴδετε: ὅσθ᾽ ἔλεσθε πότερον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις παθεῖν ² καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκπεσεῖν παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἣ κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἄπασι παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πειθαργοῦν εὐμενοῦς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζον ἀναγκαίας τραγύτητος."

argues that they ought to win or die trying — their corpses would hold the ground even if all other Romans fled.³¹

After they conclude Suetonoius' exhortation, Tacitus and Dio turn to describe the final battle. Initially, the battle was orderly and predictable. As the Britons closed the distance to their Roman enemies, the legionaries threw their javelins and missiles to thin out the incoming wave.³² Once the two armies were close together, Suetonius ordered his three divisions to rush forward into the oncoming barbarian host.³³ Quickly becoming encircled, the Romans fought outnumbered in the ensuing chaos: soldiers of every type fought each other, as the Britons' unarmored charioteers scattered the infantry only to be struck down by arrows as they fled.³⁴ The two authors disagree on the details of the battle, and especially its ending, but both agree that the Romans slaughtered or captured most of the Britons. In Tacitus' account, the battle concludes after the first charge; allegedly, the Britons fled shortly after the first charge only to be impeded by their wives' wagons behind them.³⁵ However, Cassius Dio maintains the battle was long and

³¹ Cass. Dio, lxii.11: "ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν. καλὸν τὸ μνημεῖον τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἔξομεν, κἂν πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσωσι: τοῖς γὰρ σώμασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις πάντως αὐτὴν ἀεὶ καθέξομεν."

³² Cass. Dio, lxii.12: "κἀκ τούτου συνῆλθον, οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγῆ τε πολλῆ καὶ ἀδαῖς ἀπειλητικαῖς χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σιγῆ καὶ κόσμῳ, μέχρις οὖ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο." Also, Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.37: "Ac primum legio gradu immota et angustias loci pro munimento retinens, postquam in propius suggressos hostis certo iactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit."

³³ Cass. Dio, lxii.12: "ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἤδη βάδην τῶν πολεμίων προσιόντων σφίσιν ἐξάξαντες ἄμα ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῆ προσμίξει ῥαδίως τὴν ἀντίταξίν σφων διέρρηξαν, περισχεθέντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν ἄμα ἐμάχοντο."

³⁴ Though Tacitus does not include much description of the battle itself, Cassius Dio's account provides many details. See Cass. Dio, lxii.12: "καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν πολύτροπος: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ ψιλοὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀντέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ὁπλῖται τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἀνθίσταντο, οἴ τε ἱππεῖς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι συνεφέροντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄρματα τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τοξόται τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντηγωνίζοντο. τούς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οἱ βάρβαροι ῥύμη τοῖς ἄρμασι προσπίπτοντες ἀνέτρεπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἄτε καὶ δίχα θωράκων μαχόμενοι, ἀνεστέλλοντο: ἱππεύς τε πεζὸν ἀνέτρεπε, καὶ πεζὸς ἱππέα κατέβαλλε: πρός τε τὰ ἄρματα συμφραξάμενοί τινες ἐχώρουν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάννυντο: τούς τε τοξότας οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε σφίσιν ἰόντες ἔτρεπον, οἱ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐφυλάσσοντο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ᾽ ἕν ἀλλὰ τριχῇ πάνθ᾽ ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο."

³⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.37: "idem auxiliarium impetus; et eques protentis hastis perfringit quod obvium et validum erat. ceteri terga praebuere, difficili effugio, quia circumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus. et miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat, confixaque telis etiam iumenta corporum cumulum auxerant."

arduous.³⁶ Tacitus alleges that Boudica drank poison and died, leaving the Britons without a leader to continue the rebellion.³⁷ In Cassius Dio's account, after the battle ceased, some of the surviving Britons planned on continuing the rebellion, but dispersed after Boudica succumbed to an illness.³⁸ Thus, both authors conclude their accounts of her movement to liberate Britannia.

III. The Authors

A. On Tacitus: a Troubled Historian

Student and steward of Roman historiography, Tacitus applied his talent for rhetoric in the service of his literary endeavors. In his youth, the historian first took up public oratory before he embarked upon the *cursus honorum*. Using his ample rhetorical prowess, and influenced by his time in public office, Tacitus penned five surviving texts: the *Agricola*, the *Germania*, the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, the *Historiae*, and the *Annales*. Only the *Annales* contain an account of Boudica's rebellion, though each prior work guided the thematic direction for this composition, his last publication.

Tacitus' early life heavily influenced his later political outlook and literary productions.

Tacitus was born around 54 CE; though the exact location of his birth is unknown, he likely grew up as part of an equestrian family in either Cis- or Transalpine Gaul.³⁹ As a young adult, he began to study the Roman art of rhetoric and embraced the culture of Roman oratory, providing

³⁶ Cass. Dio, lxii.12: "ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφότεροι προθυμίας καὶ τόλμης. τέλος δὲ ὀψέ ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῆ μάχη καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἁμάξαις τῆ τε ὕλη κατεφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας εἶλον."

³⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.37: "clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam veneno finivit."

³⁸ Cass. Dio, lxii.12: "συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ διέφυγον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὖθις μαχούμενοι, ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς Βουδουίκης νόσῳ ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς ἐπένθησαν καὶ πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὡς καὶ τότε ὄντως ἡττηθέντες διεσκεδάσθησαν."

³⁹ Plin., *HN*, iii.31, writes about a Roman *eques* named Cornelius Tacitus in Southern Gaul: "ipsi non pridem vidimus eadem ferme omnia praeter pubertatem in filio Corneli Taciti, equitis Romani Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis." See also R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 611-24, on Tacitus' Gallic origins.

him the skills necessary for his future literary ambitions. After marrying the daughter of Julius Agricola, a general and politician who was responsible for much of the conquest of Britannia, Tacitus stepped into Roman politics. Tacitus claims to have received his first public honor from Emperor Vespasian around 79 CE. Subsequently, he then assumed the position of *quaestor* under Titus; Domitian thereafter promoted him to *praetor*; and finally, Tacitus served as consul in 97 CE. During this era of his life, Tacitus reluctantly aided and abetted Domitian in a reign he would later claim to be tyrannical; Tacitus would have risked losing not only his political position but his very life if he were to have spoken out in protest. He subsequently regretted his actions — or rather, his inaction — affecting each text he would later produce. As R. Mellor writes, "For Tacitus, Domitian was a microcosm of the century of Empire, and his own relation to Domitian becomes the model for the relations of the senate with the emperors since the accession of Augustus: collaboration, resentment, hatred." After Domitian's death, he remained in politics under Nerva and retired shortly thereafter from public life to focus instead on his literary projects. Though he focused on extending Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* up through his own

⁴⁰ Tacitus describes how he listened to and learned from Marcus Asper and Julius Secundus; see Tac., *Dial.*, ii: "quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem."

⁴¹ Tac., *Agricola and Germania*, trans. H. Mattingly (New York: Penguin, 2009), 1-31. Tacitus alone provides the details of Agricola's life. He was an allegedly virtuous man who became governor of Britannia and expanded Roman rule into Ireland and Scotland until he returned to Rome under Emperor Domitian. He then remained inconspicuous, never holding another significant position until he died.

⁴² Tacitus, *Hist.*, i.1: "dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim."

⁴³ R. Mellor, *Tacitus* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 7-8.

⁴⁴ Tacitus describes how Domitian reigned over the Senate through terror, banishing or executing his critics through unjust trials. See: Tac., *Agr.*, iii trans. H. Mattingly: "Moreover, in a period of fifteen years... many have died a natural death, and all the most irrepressible have fallen victim to the cruelty of the emperor." and *id.*, *loc. cit.*, xlv, "Soon, our hands led Helvidius off to prison, we were tortured by the looks of Mauricus and Rusticus, Senecio drenched us with his guiltless blood... It was distinctive to our torments under Domitian that we both watched and were watched."

⁴⁵ Mellor, *Tacitus*, 8; Here Mellor suggests that while Tacitus tried to vindicate himself, he was "too intelligent and finally too honest not to recognize the terrible truth of the senators' complicity." It is unclear as to what exactly Tacitus did under Domitian's command, but it seems to be clear that he had some part in allowing the immoral killing of innocent men.

moment, Tacitus found the time to write many letters to other public figures such as Pliny the Younger (though none of these letters survive in the original).

Each of Tacitus' works represent different facets of his authorial and analytical skill, and these culminate in his magnum opus, the Annales. After the death of Domitian (96 CE), and during his consulship, Tacitus honored his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, by composing a biography, the Agricola. 46 Published in 97 CE, this text served as an argument for noble service in a time of despotism.⁴⁷ Moreover, Tacitus began to betray his interest in ethnography, which he would develop further in his next work, the Germania (98 CE). Tacitus dedicated the entirety of this treatise to an ethnographic exploration of the Germani and their culture. Tacitus' interest was not in the Germani per se, but rather in their rhetorical use-value as foils to traditional Roman morality. 48 While at first glance his third work, the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* (102 CE), appears to be a simple conversation about the decline of oratory and morality in Roman society, it also "places literature within the wider political context of the early empire, and becomes the most important work of social literary criticism of the Roman Empire."49 Tacitus' fourth and fifth works, the Historiae and the Annales, are complementary approaches to Roman historiography, though these only survive in fragmentary form. 50 In the *Historiae* (105 CE), Tacitus tasked himself with describing the contemporary Flavian dynasty and the controversies he witnessed

⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*, trans. H. Mattingly, 1-31.

⁴⁷ For an examination of Tacitus' *Agricola* as a critique of Roman despotism, the deprivation of liberty, and the loss of the freedom of speech, see W. Liebeschuetz, "The Theme of Liberty in the Agricola of Tacitus," *The Classical Quarterly* 16.1 (1966), 126–39. K. Clarke, "An Island Nation: Re-Reading Tacitus' 'Agricola'," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 94–112, argues the main purpose was to preserve Agricola's deeds and memory.

⁴⁸ Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*, 35-57.

⁴⁹ Mellor, *Tacitus*, 19; here Mellor argues that the purpose of the *Annales* was to say "that art and society are intertwined, and both depend on the structure of political life."

⁵⁰ Mellor, *Tacitus*, 19 and 23; for the *Historiae*, "only four complete books and part of the fifth survive — about a third of the whole — in which Tacitus covers less than two of the twenty-eight years." The *Annales* survive in two large sections. One includes the first six books, with most of the fifth book lost. The other covers "from the middle of Book 11 (47 CE in the reign of Claudius) to the middle of Book 16 (66 CE in the reign of Nero)."

firsthand under Domitian.⁵¹ He later composed the *Annales* (117 CE) to bridge the gap between the end of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* and his own *Historiae*.⁵² Though Tacitus analyzes the imperialization of the Roman political system in both works, the *Annales* reexamines corruption through the themes of "the growth of tyranny, the decline of Roman morality, and the misuse of language."⁵³

As part of the *Annales*' reevaluation of imperial Rome, Tacitus uses its fourteenth book as an opportunity to discuss gender propriety and the gendered transgressions of Emperor Nero. In this book, Tacitus begins with a description of Nero's matricide⁵⁴ and ends with Nero's uxoricide⁵⁵ — Tacitus' portrayal ties Nero to his problematic relationships with women and the violence he inflicts upon them. Tacitus furthers his critique of Nero in a digression he locates between the two murderous events describing a rebellion that occurs in Britannia led by the warrior-queen of the Iceni, Boudica.⁵⁶ This female leader of a barbarian tribe fought valiantly for her people's freedom against the imposing Romans; at the same time, Nero cowered in his palace, fearful of the women around him.

In this account, Tacitus incorporates a variety of analytical frameworks built from his life experience to structure his critique. First, because he witnessed the terror of Domitian's reign and the corruption of Roman values, Tacitus advanced the traditional Roman approach of placing

⁵¹ Tacitus, *Histories*, trans. K. Wellesley (London: Penguin Classics, 2009); The *Historiae* cover the fall of Nero, the Year of Four Emperors, and the Flavian dynasty started by Vespasian through the death of Domitian in the period of 69-96 CE.

⁵² Tacitus, *Annales*, trans. M. Grant (London: Penguin Classics, 1956); Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, trans. A. de Sélincourt (London: Penguin Classics, 2002). Livy wrote about the founding of Rome up through the death of Augustus in the period of 753-9 BCE, and Tacitus picks up the narrative from Augustus' death and takes it into Nero's reign covering the period 14-68 CE.

⁵³ Mellor, *Tacitus*, 26; here, Mellor is arguing that the *Annales* are "far more than mere narrative history," because Tacitus provided more than the simple facts. Mellor sets out these themes with evidence from Tacitus' portrayal of barbarians, his depiction of Tiberius, and his focus on how "language creates illusions to conceal political realities." ⁵⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.1-11.

⁵⁵ Tac., Ann., xiv.59-64.

⁵⁶ Tac., Ann., xiv.31-38.

moral judgments on his historical objects.⁵⁷ Though he previously acquiesced to Domitian, his literature reflects his regrets by protesting the improper leadership of Nero in retrospect. Second, though the modern field of psychology cannot be applied to ancient attempts to describe the mind, Tacitus constructed complex psychological portraits of his characters, including the depictions of repression, the influence of fear, internal motivations, and group psychology.⁵⁸ As part of these characterizations, Tacitus also provides ambivalent portrayals of the mental, moral, and emotional world of women, as seen in his characterizations of Agrippina, Octavia, Poppaea, and Boudica.⁵⁹ Finally, he relied on his own experience as a political actor to analyze Roman imperialism and subtly present a theory of power and its abuses.⁶⁰ Though Tacitus may endorse the expansion of the empire, he still warns his fellow Romans of the bloody consequences of abusing their authority via his sympathetic portrayal of Boudica's rebellion. In these three ways, Tacitus' wealth of experience as an orator, a thinker, and a politician enriched his literary artistry.

In his youth, Tacitus explored the depths of the Latin language in his studies on rhetoric and oratory; in his adulthood, Tacitus sought the highest office in the Roman political system and achieved his goal; as he left public office, he saw his hands stained with blood at the order of Domitian. Because of these experiences, Tacitus sought to write a history of the Roman Empire using his unique vantage point as someone deeply ingrained in the political system of his time. Tacitus placed the narrative of Boudica's rebellion within the context of his own personal

⁵⁷ C. Balmaceda, *Virtus Romana: Politics and Morality in the Roman Historians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017). Throughout this book, Balmaceda considers each major Roman historian and how they constructed their characters to discuss concepts like *fides*, *libertas*, *clementia*, *pudicitia*, and *virtus*; see also Mellor, *Tacitus*, 45-67; and D. Dudley, *The World of Tacitus* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968), 14.

⁵⁸ Mellor, *Tacitus*, 68-86, who argues that Tacitus' descriptions of Roman history relied on a sort of proto-psychoanalysis of his characters, especially Emperor Tiberius, whom he portrayed as enigmatic and internally contradictory.

⁵⁹ Mellor, *Tacitus*, 82-85, who argues that Tacitus' female characters follow no clear pattern of behavior, whether positive or negative. Furthermore, he describes the gender of his characters as a performative action rather than an innate quality.

⁶⁰ D. Hammer, *Roman Political Thought: From Cicero to Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 321-57; see also Mellor, *Tacitus*, 87-112.

political experiences under Domitian's tyranny and within his argument for the moral degeneration of Roman society.

B. On Cassius Dio: an Inconspicuous Historian

Cassius Dio was a native Greek who lived in Rome;⁶¹ he was a foreigner working for the empire as a senator and later writing its history as an author. Building on the earlier works of Roman historiography, he wrote his *Historia Romana*, an eighty-book project that retold the entire history of Rome from its founding to 229 CE. Though a literary accomplishment, his work only survives in fragments and summaries. Just as Tacitus wrote in the aftermath of Emperor Domitian's tyranny, Cassius Dio's retelling of Roman history draws its framework from the political instability and immorality of the reign of Emperor Commodus, which Dio himself had experienced.

Though he was Greek, Cassius Dio matriculated into the highest ranks of Roman public office. Born in 163 CE, Cassius Dio spent his youth in Bithynia, Greece learning grammar and rhetoric until 180 CE, when he moved to Rome and started on the *cursus honorum*.⁶² The dates of his early posts are unknown, but he served in the senate through the end of Commodus' reign (r. 177-192 CE) and into the short reign of Pertinax (r. Jan.-March 192 CE).⁶³ Because of these appointments, Cassius Dio held public office during a time of military rule under the Praetorian

⁶¹ A. Gowing, "Dio's Name," *Classical Philology* 85.1 (1990), 49-54. The order of his name is subject for debate. In a Greek context, his name would be "Dio Cassius" whereas the Latin context indicates the more commonly known "Cassius Dio." For the sake of simplicity, I will be referring to him as "Cassius Dio."

⁶² F. Millar, *A study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 13. Concerning Cassius Dio's early life, Mellor acknowledges that not much is known about Cassius Dio until he arrived in Rome to start on the *cursus honorum*.

⁶³ Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 15; Millar argues that during his quaestorship, Cassius Dio wrote in the first person when referring to the Senate, thus indicating his active presence. See also: J.M. Madsen and C.H. Lange, "Cassius Dio, Politician and Historian," in ed. J.M. Madsen and C.H. Lange, *Cassius Dio the Historian: Methods and Approaches* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 1-21, at 10-11.

Guard — they assassinated Pertinax and installed Julianus (r. March-June 192 CE) in his place.⁶⁴ Septimius Severus (r. July 192-211 CE) defeated the Guard to become emperor, and Cassius Dio, serving his first consulship in 205 CE, began to work on his *Historia*.⁶⁵ He maintained his seat in the Senate until his appointment as *curator* of Pergamum and Smyrna under Macrinus in 218 CE. Later, Dio served as proconsul of Africa under Severus Alexander in 223 CE.⁶⁶ When Cassius Dio left public office and returned to Nicaea, his career was ultimately inconspicuous — neither significantly influential nor noticeably disgraceful.⁶⁷ A native Greek in the Roman Senate, Cassius Dio's *Historia* reflects the tension of what it meant to be a Roman.

Influenced by his time in public office, Cassius Dio's experience of imperial ambition affects his writing. At the end of the Year of the Five Emperors in 193 CE,⁶⁸ Cassius Dio witnessed the transformation of Septimius Severus.⁶⁹ Though Septimius appeared to put an end to the rampant military conflict and reassert himself as the rightful emperor, he still initiated his reign through a *coup d'état*.⁷⁰ As emperor, Septimius threatened the Senate into submission by praising the severity of previous tyrants and implying he could be similarly severe towards

⁶⁴ J.M. Madsen and C.H. Lange, "Cassius Dio," 12. The authors describe how the Praetorian Guard auctioned the title of emperor to the highest bidder and how the Senate was powerless at the time because the Praetorian Guard intimidated the Senate into confirming Julianus by surrounding the Senate house. The Guard turned on Julianus because he was unable to provide them the funds he promised for the title of emperor, leaving him no option but to flee from Rome.

⁶⁵ Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 16-7, describes how Severus defeated his rival for the throne and subsequently threatened the Senate; see also Madsen and Lange, "Cassius Dio," 12-4.

⁶⁶ Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 23; according to Millar, these two appointments are the only significant governing positions that he held outside the Senate and consulship.

⁶⁷ Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 24-5; with few exceptions, Millar argues that Cassius Dio was largely uninfluential. He initially ensured his safety under Severus with a few positive publications, and he did not publicly express his criticisms until he had died. Cassius Dio seemed to have focused on writing his *Historia*, as his first consular appointment was at least 12 years after his consulship.

⁶⁸ During this year, five men claimed they were the emperor — Pertinax, Didus Julianus, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, and Septimius Severus. Here I call back to the Year of the Four Emperors in 69 CE, when Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian each claimed to rule in turn.

⁶⁹ M. Hose, "Cassius Dio: A Senator and Historian in the Age of Anxiety," in ed. J. Marincola, *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 461-7, briefly describes Cassius Dio and his career in light of Septimius Severus' rise to power. He argues that Dio initially wanted to write his history of Rome to lead up to his reign, but because Septimius turned on the Senate, Dio's work took a different path.

⁷⁰ Hose, "Cassius Dio," 462-3; see also Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 16. Septimius Severus brought an end to the civil wars of 193 CE, and Cassius Dio wrote a pamphlet describing the portents and signs signaling Septimius' right to rule.

them.⁷¹ After Septimus died, Emperor Caracalla (r. 198-217 CE) also treated the Senate with disdain, frequently refusing to see his senatorial advisors and favoring instead *novi homines* or freedmen.⁷² Septimius and Caracalla's overt hostility towards the Senate clashed with the political beliefs of Cassius Dio, who advocated for a government capable of withstanding the ambitions of military leaders after escaping the tyranny of Commodus.⁷³ These experiences under Commodus, Septimius, and Caracalla shape the political underpinnings of the *Historia* — Cassius Dio explained the Senate's unfortunate contemporary circumstances through his account of Roman history.

Building from his personal experiences under the Severan dynasty, Cassius Dio joined in the established senatorial practice of writing his own interpretation of Roman history, though it survives only in fragments. Over twenty-two years, he researched and wrote his *Historia*, originally structuring it into 80 books that span from the founding of Rome until his contemporary day.⁷⁴ For the later portion of his *Historia*, Cassius Dio used his own memory of events; for the rest of Rome's development, he relied on the earlier authors of Roman history such as Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus.⁷⁵ Also, the writings of Thucydides (fl. 460-400 BCE), an

⁷¹ Cass. Dio, lxxv.2; see also Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 16-8. When Severus addressed the Senate in 197, Millar describes how he praised Marius, Sulla, and Augustus. These figures in Roman history were superior generals, but they held strict discipline and limited the powers of the Senate. Millar describes Severus in Dio's *Historia* as "a passive participant who does not intervene or speak" when in the Senate.

⁷² Cass. Dio, lxxviii.1-11; see also C. Davenport, "Cassius Dio and Caracalla," *The Classical Quarterly* 62.2 (2012), 796-815: Davenport argues that Dio's portrayal of Caracalla was not purely negative; see also Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 20-2. Millar argues that while in Nicomedia, the emperor would send for his senatorial friends in the morning and refuse to see them until the evening, and how he preferred the company of his freedmen, even giving wine to the soldiers guarding him.

⁷³ Cass. Dio, lxiii, *passim*: Cassius Dio describes him as cowardly, narcissistic, cruel, and lecherous; Cass. Dio, lxiii.21, Commmodus killed animals and men as he pretended to be a gladiator, and he once gestured towards Senators with a severed ostrich head, implying he could kill them just as easily; on this episode and others, see L. de Blois, "The Perception Of Emperor And Empire In Cassius Dio's 'Roman History'," *Ancient Society* 29 (1998), 267-82.

⁷⁴ Hose, "Cassius Dio," 463; see also M. Reinhold, *Studies in Classical History and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 70-76, at 74; see also T.D. Barnes, "The Composition of Cassius Dio's 'Roman History'," *Phoenix* 38.3 (1984), 240–55.

⁷⁵ Hose, "Cassius Dio," 464; Reinhold, "Cassius Dio's History of Rome," 71-4: Reinhold acknowledges that Cassius Dio use of Livy as a primary source is the common view, but he also includes the objection raised in B. Manuwald, *Cassius Dio und Augustus* (Wiesbaden, 1979) that there was no connection between the two, as they hold different

earlier Greek historian of the Peloponnesian War, inspired his work topically and stylistically.⁷⁶ The *Historia* survives only through fragments and summaries — Dio's original text survives only in Books 36 through 54 and 56-60, which detail the initial stages of the empire.⁷⁷

Much is lost from Cassius Dio's original text, though one Byzantine epitomist produced an abridgment of Books 36-80, including the narrative of Boudica's rebellion. At the behest of emperor Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071-1078), Ioannes Xiphilinus of Trapezus in the late eleventh century wrote an epitome of Dio. Because the account of Boudica's rebellion survives only through epitome, Xiphilinus' interpretive and editorial changes present challenges to our knowledge of Cassius Dio's original narrative. Despite this difficulty, we can account for the changes witnessed in Xiphilinus' abridgement by two means. First, in the sections that Xiphilinus did epitomize and which also survive from Dio's original, it is clear that Xiphilinus copied Dio's Greek nearly word-for-word, even as he condensed the narrative through summary and omission. Second, though Xiphilinus left out much of Dio's narration, he included sections discussing imperial power, such as the complementary exhortations of Boudica and Suetonius

near verbatim or without significant alterations. This does not, however, imply that we can disregard these changes out of hand. See Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 1-2; Mallan, "Style, Method, and Programme," 610-44; Brunt, "Historical

Fragments and Epitomes," 477–94; and Kruse, "Xiphilinos' Agency," 193–223.

views on Augustus. They may, however, have shared a different source which they both utilized. Additionally, Millar, Cassius Dio, 34, argues that Dio was familiar with the works of Livy, Sallust, Arrian, and Plutarch. ⁷⁶ Hose, "Cassius Dio," 464; see also Millar, Cassius Dio, 40-45; M. Reinhold, From Republic to Principate: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History, Books 49-52 (36-29 B.C.) (New York: American Philological Association, 1988), 215-7. Millar discusses in-depth how Dio mimicked Thucydides's style but incorporated various Latinisms. Reinhold discusses how Dio's perspective on human nature was similar to Thucydides: they both thought of mankind as ultimately controlled by greed, ambition, and fear. ⁷⁷ Millar, Cassius Dio, 1-4. Only Books 36-54 are preserved in their entirety, we have substantial fragments of 55-60, and only a section for 79-80. The rest of the *Historia* is preserved through summaries. ⁷⁸ For a discussion on the life of Xiphilinus, his historical moment, and his epitome of Cassius Dio, see: C. Mallan, "The Style, Method, and Programme of Xiphilinus' Epitome of Cassius Dio's Roman History," Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 53 (2013), 610-44; M. Kruse, "Xiphilinos' Agency in the Epitome of Cassius Dio," Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 61 (2021), 193-223; P.A. Brunt, "On Historical Fragments and Epitomes," The Classical Quarterly 30.2 (1980), 477-94. Additionally, Millar, Cassius Dio, 2-3, argues that "Xiphilinus' epitome was an "erratic selection from [Dio's] material, substantially, but not invariable, in Dio's order and often keeping very close to Dio's wording." Xiphilinus' summary covered books 36-80. See Appendix ii.2. ⁷⁹ Many scholars indicate that the sections of Dio's *Historia* that Xiphilinus did choose to include are copied either

Paulinus, because they served his own political purposes.⁸⁰ Surely Xiphilinus introduced his own interpretation of Cassius Dio's work, but the epitomized sections concerning Boudica's revolt are still reliable and representative of the original text of the *Historia*.

Cassius Dio's Book 62 of the *Historia*, surviving through Xiphilinus' epitome, contains our second account of Boudica's rebellion. In a manner similar to Tacitus' *Annales*, Dio wrote this section of Roman history as a discussion of the gendered impropriety of Nero — the deaths of Agrippina and Octavia provide context to the narrative of Boudica. However, the two authors approach the digression from opposite perspectives. Tacitus' account of Boudica relies on the improper provincial administration of Britannia to focus on her transformation from naturally feminine to transgressively masculine. Dio's account of Boudica establishes her hypermasculine and practically Amazonian characterization as the foundation for his discussion on proper administrative qualities. Through her innate masculinity, Dio places Boudica on the same rhetorical level as her Roman oppressors — here, she is an equal to the Romans and a spokesperson for her province, stripped of its self-governance and placed under tyranny. Because Dio's account focuses primarily on imperial propriety rather than gender impropriety, his criticisms of ambition and abuse of power within this narrative also reflect not only upon Emperor Nero but also the Severan Dynasty of his own historical moment.

⁸⁰ Xiphilinus often kept sections discussing imperial power, even if he removed sections on the Roman Republic. See C. Mallan, "Style, Method, and Programme," 610-44; Kruse, "Xiphilinos' Agency," 193–223.

⁸¹ Cass. Dio, lxii.11-3 [lxi] and lxii.59-64. At the beginning of Book 62, Agrippina receives her punishment for poisoning the good emperor Claudius. After the account of Boudica's rebellion concludes, Octavia is unjustly divorced and murdered so Nero can marry his concubine Sabina instead.

⁸² Cass. Dio, lxii.1-7. See also: E. Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians: Enemy Speeches in Roman Historiography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 141-161. The portrayal of Boudica found in the *Historia* makes no reference to her as effeminate in the traditional Roman sense; Dio describes the culture of the Britons as always nurturing strong. 'masculine' women.

⁸³ Cass. Dio, lxii.2-6. Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians*, 141-161. The core of Adler's argument is that Dio's portrayal of Boudica and her speech is replete with rhetorical and political ambition. Boudica here does represent the transgressions of gender impropriety, but she more accurately stands opposite the Roman abuses of expansionism and colonialism.

Cassius Dio lived four lives. First, he was a man who lived during Greco-Roman cultural fusion occasioned by Roman imperialism and its culture of domination over those it conquered. Second, he was a politician who led the Roman empire from the Senate during a time of civil conflict and deception while remaining inconspicuous under hostile leadership. Third, he was an author who wrote an account of his experiences, interpreting the history of Rome so that he might primarily fashion a critique of an era in which criticism was dangerous. Finally, he lives through subsequent authors who relied on his account as the authoritative voice of Dio's own moment for their own literary works. Cassius Dio's portrayal of Boudica survives only through the interpretation of Xiphilinus, but the narrative of her rebellion remains a valid source for academic investigation.

IV. The Authorial Moment

A. Ethnography of Britannia: Early Apprehensions of Barbarians

Ancient ethnographies in the Mediterranean world prepared Roman citizens to understand the accounts of Boudica's rebellion in the context of an imagined northern barbarian culture. These attempts to describe distant cultures fundamentally differ from modern anthropological ethnography. Greek and Roman authors never formed a coherent genre of ethnography in antiquity. Ethnographic accounts in Greco-Roman pens appear in digressions—either to provide additional details of an unknown region or to justify previous political actions. The ancient practice of ethnography typically included three categories. First, the authors describe the natural geography and climate in relation to known areas as reported by prior explorers. Next, they discuss the imagined characteristics of native inhabitants in relation to their

⁸⁴ Compared to modern anthropological practices in ethnography, ancient ethnography held no strict rules. For an overview on modern ethnography, see A.K. Harrison, *Ethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). For an overview of ancient ethnography, see E. Almagor and J. Skinner, eds., *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).

environment. Last, they turn to examine the cultural and organizational structures, specifically focusing on aspects that were similar to Mediterranean practices or were different enough to merit mention. However, these efforts in ethnography cannot be examined with credulity, as some issues obstruct our ability to see the reality of the world beyond Roman borders, such as source validity, political rhetoric, and authorial bias.

In antiquity, ethnography was one among many elements of geography and historiography; however, these digressions became more prominent during the Roman Empire. Herodotus first popularized the subgenre in his periplus, the *Histories*; the subgenre is most visible in his digressions about the customs of the Persians, Egyptians, and Scythians. By describing the cultures of these *xenoi*, he draws Hellenicity into sharper focus by comparing these unrecognizable foreign cultures and his native Greek culture. Other historians copied this tendency of ethnographic digression: Julius Caesar discusses the culture and geography of the Galli, Germani, and Britanni; Tacitus' *Germania* was the first ethnographic monograph purely dedicated to the description of a non-Mediterranean population, here on the empire's northern frontier. Roman efforts to understand non-Roman cultures traditionally included descriptions of geography, of population characteristics, and of culture.

The first stage of Roman interaction with Britannia was characterized by relative disinterest; the island was distant and shrouded in mystery until trade and conflict occasioned Roman awareness. The historian Timaeus (fl. ~300 BCE) authored a text allegedly describing the location and an early name for the island, though his work only survives in a brief mention by

⁸⁵ E. Dench, "Ethnography and History," in ed. J. Marincola, *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Chicester: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 494-500.

⁸⁶ Dench, "Ethnography and History," 494-5.

⁸⁷ The two primary examples of Julius Caesar's ethnography are in *De Bello Gallico* v.12-16 and vi.11-28, though he includes minor elements throughout his text.

⁸⁸ Dench, "Ethnography and History," 495.

Pliny the Elder (24-79 CE). ⁸⁹ Very few other works provide additional details prior to Julius Caesar's (100-44 BCE) invasion of Britannia during his campaigns in Gaul. He wrote that the island was triangular with smaller yet still noteworthy islands of Hibernia and Mona beside it — islands now known as Ireland and the Isle of Man. ⁹⁰ Caesar relates details about the climate of the islands and relates that it was more temperate than Gaul even though it was further North. ⁹¹ However, shortly after this initial invasion, other authors wrote additional details. Diodorus Siculus (90-20 BCE) disagreed with Caesar, saying that it was still rather cold and larger than previously estimated. ⁹² Strabo (64 BCE-24 CE) discussed the island's natural resources: timber, cattle, and metals. ⁹³ After Caesar's invasion introduced prolonged interest in the island, Romans were able to better understand the geographical details of the island and imagine how the climate affected the culture of its native residents.

Mediterranean authors frequently described their Northern European counterparts as both uncorrupted and bellicose as a result of their geographical, environmental, and climatic conditions. ⁹⁴ Though ancient authors differ in their details, they took inspiration from the idea that local climate and environment influence character. ⁹⁵ In these accounts, they describe the

⁸⁹ Plin., *HN*, iv.104. trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge 2008): "The historian Timaeus says that six day's sail up-Channel from Britain is the island of Mictis in which tin is produced. Here he says the Britons sail in boats of wickerwork covered in sewn leather. There are those who record other islands: the Scandiae, Dumna, the Bergi, and Berrice, the largest of them all, from which the crossing to Thyle (Thule) is made. One Day's sail for Thyle is the frozen sea called by some the Cronian Sea."

⁹⁰ Caes., *BGall.*, v.13. trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "The Island is triangular in shape, with one side opposite Gaul...Another side faces Spain and the West. In this direction lies Hibernia (Ireland), half the size of Britain, so it is thought, and as distant from it as Britain is to Gaul. Midway between the two is the island called Mona (Man), and in addition it is thought a number of smaller islands are close by..."

⁹¹ Caes., *BGall.*, v.12. trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the cold spells being less severe."

⁹² Diod. Sic., v.21.6. trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "The island also has a large population, and the climate is very cold, since it actually lies under the Great Bear."

⁹³ Strab., iv.5.2. trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "Most of the island is flat and thickly wooded, though many districts are hilly. It produces grain and cattle, gold, silver and iron."

⁹⁴ For an overview of ancient ideas on environment as it relates to ethnicity, see: P. Kaplan, "Ethnicity and Geography," in ed. J. McInerney, *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, Ic., 2014), 298-311.

⁹⁵ R.F. Kennedy, C.S. Roy, and M.L. Goldman, eds. and trans., "Environmental Theories" in *Race and Ethnicity in the Classical World: An Anthology of Primary Sources in Translation* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company,

Britons as either aboriginal to Britannia or descendants of Gauls that migrated from Europe and invaded the island later. Because of these imagined origin stories, the Mediterranean authors describe them as tall and warlike before anything else, similar both visually and culturally to the inhabitants of mainland Gaul. On one hand, Diodorus Siculus wrote that they were unsophisticated both culturally and politically, and as such, they did not hold the vices of contemporary Rome, anticipating what would become the stereotype of the 'noble savage.' In this framing the barbarian 'Other,' Siculus presents the Britons as relatively innocent natives of a remote island territory. On the other hand, Julius Caesar focuses solely on their savagery, proficiency in battle, and knowledge of military tactics — traits that conveniently validated his prolonged campaigns abroad. Even though they were removed from his campaign, Caesar depicted these Britons as a dangerous threat that must be extirpated. To the Romans, the harsh and unfavorable climate of Britannia both constrained and enabled its inhabitants to embody like characteristics.

This characterization became slightly more neutral after the initial Roman invasions, if only because Romans better understood the cultural differences of Britannia after continuous

^{2013), 35-51.} The editors introduce selections from the several ancient authors, including Herodotus, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny the Elder, among several others. Each excerpt describes a foreign environment affecting customs and personalities of its population, just as that population affects their environment.

⁹⁶ Diod. Sic., v.21.6, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "They say that Britain is inhabited by tribes that are aboriginal;" and Caes., *BGall.*, v.12, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "The interior of Britain is inhabited by people who claim on the strength of their own tradition to be indigenous to the island; the coastal districts by immigrants from Belgic territory."

⁹⁷ Strab., iv.5.2, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "The men are taller than the Celts, not so blond, and of looser build... Their customs are in some respects like those of the Celts, in other respects simpler and more barbaric."

⁹⁸ Diod. Sic., v.21.6, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "They are simple in their habits and far removed from the cunning and vice of modern man. Their way of life is frugal and far different from the luxury engendered by wealth." The stereotype of the noble savage is thoroughly discussed in T. Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁹⁹ Here I refer to 'Other' as a technical term borrowed from post-colonial theory, especially from E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).

¹⁰⁰ Caes., *BGall.*, iv.20-38. Here, he portrays the Britons as intelligent and able to communicate peacefully, though they instead decided to ambush he arrived (sections 23-6) and when he tried to leave (sections 30-35). Here, Caesar's usage of the barbarians is an echo of Marius and the Cimbri in Plut. *Gaius Marius*, *passim*.

interaction. The Britons typically lived in simply designed forest cities which were temporary abodes within clearings featuring huts and animal pens within a circular wall of tree trunks. ¹⁰¹ Because of this organization, the Britons did not practice much agriculture but rather contented themselves with hunting or animal husbandry as their main sources of nutrition. ¹⁰² Later, Tacitus clarifies that their political organization was not unlike the original mythical kings of Rome, as they were led by chieftains both in their communal lives and in battle. ¹⁰³ By comparing the political organization of Britons to the legends of early Rome, Tacitus argues that the Britons were capable of political sophistication and thereby makes them recognizable to the Roman eye. Though these Britons may still remain barbarian 'Others,' they are lost brothers who share the original spirit of Rome. At first, the Romans saw the inhabitants of Britannia as standing in stark contrast to their own self-identification, but later Romans identified with them after a period of prolonged cultural exchange.

As valuable as these ethnographic digressions may be, Roman ethnocentrism can obfuscate the reality of non-Roman cultures.¹⁰⁴ Authors both ancient and modern run the risk of polluting their work with their own biases. While modern anthropologists have established rules designed to control this bias, ancient historians had no such qualms. Authorial bias in ethnography falls into three categories: scrutability, interpretation, and unconscious bias.¹⁰⁵ First,

¹⁰¹ Strab., iv.5.2, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "The forests are their cities; for they fortify a large circular enclosure with felled trees and there make themselves huts and pen their cattle, though not for a long stay."

¹⁰² Strab., iv.5.2, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "As a result, some of them, through their want of skill, do not make cheese, though they have no shortage of milk. They are also unskilled in horticulture or farming in general." See also Caes., *BGall.*, v.14: "Most of those inhabiting the interior do not grow corn but live instead on milk and meat and clothe themselves in skins."

¹⁰³ Tac., *Agr.*, 12, trans. S. Ireland in *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*: "At one time they owed obedience to kings; note they are split into partisan factions under rival chieftains."

¹⁰⁴ Ethnocentrism is defined as "the tendency to judge characteristics and cultures of other groups by the standards defined or recognized by the observer's own ethnic group. Cultural judgements made on an ethnocentric basis are inevitably negative and pejorative, and serve to justify the denigration of other cultures and to promote racism," in D. Macey, ed., *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

Ethnography as a discipline is fraught with various problems. For an overview of such issues, see M. Hammersley, "Ethnography: Problems and Prospects," *Ethnography and Education* 1,1 (2006), 3-14.

the very act of ethnography necessitates the imposition of the viewer's interpretation of a culture onto that culture rather than allowing that culture to articulate itself. Because an ethnographic description originates from a position outside the object of study, the text cannot represent the reality of the culture in question and instead displays the author's subjective interpretation. The second, the ethnographer may hold overt or covert political motivations that affect their analyses—motivations that may encourage misrepresentation. The late case of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, he describes his foreign opponents as a threat to Rome which foregrounds both his own greatness and justifies the necessity of his prolonged intervention. Third, even in the absence of political motivation behind an ethnographer's work, an ethnographer still may hold unconscious biases against the objects of study. In situations where the topic of ethnographic discussion cannot speak for itself, modern anthropologists maintain awareness of their own limitations to create the most accurate depiction possible, but Roman historians did not recognize this as an issue. As a result, we should not approach ancient ethnography credulously, but rather reexamine these texts conscious of the author's political motivations.

The ancient Mediterranean authors held two views informed by their encounters with residents of Britannia. On the one hand, they treated the natives as barbarians who lived without the benefits of sophisticated material culture, elaborate legal politics, or an advanced economy. In this view, the civilized Romans had developed agriculture, built sprawling infrastructure, and

¹⁰⁶ The issue of validity is discussed widely in anthropology, however, two examples of such discussion appear in the following: M. LeCompte and J. Goetz, "Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research," *Review of Educational Research* 52.1 (1982), 31-60; J. Chan, "Ethnography as Practice: Is Validity and Issue?" *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 25.1 (2013), 503-516.

¹⁰⁷ A. Grimshaw, *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of Seeing in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁰⁸ Hammersley, "Ethnography," 10-11.

¹⁰⁹ Several scholars argue that Caesar's geographic and ethnographic digressions ultimately serve to justify his campaign, for example: C.B. Krebs, "Imaginary Geography' in Caesar's 'Bellum Gallicum'," *The American Journal of Philology* 127.1 (2006), 111-36; and H. Schadee, "Caesar's Construction of Northern Europe: Inquiry, Contact and Corruption in 'De Bello Gallico'," *The Classical Quarterly* 58.1 (2008), 158–80.

¹¹⁰ Hammersley, "Ethnography," *passim*.

enjoyed a refined culture. In contrast, the barbaric Britons relied on hunting for sustenance, lived in temporary huts, and enjoyed warfare above all else. On the other hand, they thought the natives remained uncorrupted by these same enervating pleasures which Romans enjoyed. While the previous view disparaged the Britannic people as barbarians, the latter view praises their natural state as a means to critique a perceived moral decline in Roman society. However, in contrast with modern ethnographic practices, ancient authors were not obligated to create a realistic portrayal of their objects of study. Instead, they infused these objects of study with their own ideological program. The combination of the prior two conflicting perspectives with the literary freedom allowed Tacitus and Cassius Dio to subvert the historical narrative of Roman domination by placing Boudica and her rebellion as uniquely dangerous threats to the imperial power of Rome.

B. Ancient Gender Expectations: Feminine Subservience and Masculine Dominance

Roman ideas of gender norms broadly limited the expression of women throughout their society, but class differences provided margins of freedom within these limitations. Among the lower classes of Rome, a degree of equality existed between women and men, even if that condition was not fully egalitarian; the precarity of lower-class life demanded women take initiative in order to survive. Among the nobility, however, Roman men expected women to be subservient and to remain primarily within the household. This ideal of feminine behavior only survives through the writings of male historians, and modern scholars must be cautious of the one-sidedness of their discussion. These authors, when they do include accounts of women, are in fact making political and social statements: the description of women in their narratives prescribes how women generally ought to behave in a Roman ambit. Tacitus and Cassius Dio 'masculinize' Boudica's rebellion as a critique against Nero's 'feminized' reign. Thus, Boudica,

as a character, represents the disjuncture between the ideal of Roman feminine behavior and the reality of the lived experience of a given woman in the Roman world. Because Boudica's role in the narrative contrasts with the Roman patriarchal ideal, her revolt fought against not only the imperial prerogative but also Roman ideas of gender propriety.

Surviving texts from imperial Rome indicate that the contemporary ideal for feminine behavior revolved around the household: women ought to bear and raise their husband's children while remaining faithful. Several authors describe the expected virtues of womanhood as a means of establishing and reinforcing that image of subservience. Livy's account of the Lucretia narrative in his *Ab Urbe Condita* emphasizes the virtue of self-sacrifice as elemental to the founding myths of Rome. Quintillian, in the preface of *De Oratoribus*, praises his wife's role in bearing his children before her untimely death. Pliny the Younger wrote about his third wife Calpurnia in several letters, describing her as faithful, harmonious, and intelligent. Roman law demanded women be under the guardianship of a man at all times; therefore, women could not transact business or involve themselves with public affairs. Authors depicted negatively those women who lacked a protective male figure or took upon themselves the dominance associated with masculinity. Authors imagine such women to have abandoned their traditional duties of

¹¹¹ Livy, i.57, trans. B. Harvey in *Daily Life in Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook* (Indiana: Hackett, 2016) no. 65. This vignette describes a boasting contest between the Etruscan and Roman kings over their wives. Upon examining what their wives were doing at the time, Lucretia was still working while the Etruscan women were spending their time in leisure. Later in Livy's narrative, Lucretia commits suicide after being raped, thinking herself as unfaithful — this suicide would lead to the downfall of the Roman monarchy.

¹¹² Quint., *Inst.*, vi.Preface.4-6, trans. B. Harvey in *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, no. 68. In his preface to this work, Quintillian expresses great sorrow at his young wife's death, proclaiming that he could hardly feel happiness after she died.

¹¹³ Plin., *Ep.*, iv.19, trans. B. Harvey in *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, no.67. In this letter, Pliny the Younger describes his wife Calpurina as intelligent, frugal, and faithful only to her husband, saying that he thinks their marriage will be long and harmonious.

¹¹⁴ Cic., *Mur.*, xii.27 and Ulp., *Frag.*, xi.1, 25, and 27, trans. B. Harvey in *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, no. 71. Both authors argue that women should be under the guardianship of men, whether because of a lack of intelligence, their social ignorance, or their sex.

Many negative depictions of women survive: Sall., *Cat.*, xxv, describes Sempronia, a beautiful, intelligent, and skilled woman who often acted masculine; Apul., *Met.*, ix.14, describes an adulterous miller's wife who was grossly immoral and dominant in their relationship; Juv., vi, presents Roman women as everything wrong with society. Each of these appear in B. Harvey, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, no. 74-6.

marriage and subservience, thereby disrupting the perceived 'natural order' of society — such women were thought to be an existential threat to the traditional Roman way of life. The privileged life of the upper class supported these ideals of feminine behavior, but not all Romans were able to follow these standards closely.

Though the sources attesting to lower- and middle-class women are far fewer than their elite counterparts, underprivileged women enjoyed a comparatively greater degree of freedom, if only out of necessity. Because of their financial situation, "an increasing number of independent women [entered] the workforce in order to earn enough money for their families to survive." Though many funerary inscriptions praise the traditional virtues of women in Roman society, many inscriptions also indicate a profession: we meet, for example, weavers, shopkeepers, midwives, dancers, scribes, and doctors. Since these women needed to provide additional income, they held positions in the working world, and they would not be able to entirely comply with Roman social ideals — necessity trumps ideals. Even if these women enjoyed more independence than their upper-class counterparts, they still occupied a secondary role in society among men within the same economic and social class. This patriarchal bifurcation between stereotypically masculine and feminine behavior reinforced Roman expectations for women's social roles.

In addition to determining their gender roles, the Roman patriarchal system governed their views on sexual expression in addition to their gender roles. Presently, we moderns think in

¹¹⁶ B. Harvey, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, no. 75; Harvey introduces a series of tombstone inscriptions of working women and explains why they may have entered the workforce.

¹¹⁷ The following entries of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are translated by Harvey in *Daily life in Ancient Rome*, no. 77. *CIL* 5.2542 (Ateste, Italy): "...to Lucretia Placidia, freedwoman of Marcus, mender of clothes." *CIL* 6.9214 (Rome): "Sellia Ephyre, maker and seller of gold-embroidered clothing..." *CIL* 6.9683 (Rome): "...She was a seller of fruit and legumes..." *CIL* 6.9720 (Rome): "To Claudia Trophime, midwife..." *CIL* 6.9801 (Rome): "to Aurelia Nais, freedwoman of Gaius, seller of fish..." *CIL* 6.10128: "Sophe Theorobathylliana, Lead dancer of a pantomime troupe." *CIL* 6.37802: "Vergilia Euphrosyne, freedwoman of Gaius, scribe." *CIL* 8.24679 (Carthage, Africa Proconsularis): "Asyllia Polla, daughter of Lucius, medical doctor, is buried here."

terms of sexual orientation; the Romans — who did not have a concept similar to 'sexuality' 118 — primarily thought in terms of 'activity' and 'passivity.' 119 To be 'active' was to fill the masculine, penetrative role; to be 'passive' was to fill the feminine, penetrated role. 120 Romans regarded women as immutably feminine because they could not penetrate. Roman men, on the

other hand, were not limited to their penetrative capacity. At one moment, a man could 'properly' and actively perform his sexual role as a penetrator, and at the next, he could take on a veil of femininity and become the passive partner of the sexual act. Because Roman gender roles grew alongside their perceived sexual roles, the Roman structure of patriarchy allowed women to be only second-class citizens.

Romans' binary views on sex and gender roles influenced the ways in which they perceived non-Romans. As Roman legions penetrated into neighboring lands, Roman artists and authors relied on



Fig. 1 Inscription:
Tiberios Klaudios Kaisar
— Bretannia
(Tiberius Claudius, the
Caesar — Britannia)

the internal dynamics of gender to explain the process of imperialization. The men depicted on Roman sculptures and coinage embody masculine iconicity; Romans depicted foreign adversaries as feminine. For example, in **Figure 1**,¹²¹ Claudius stands over the conquered body of

¹¹⁸ Various authors contend that the Romans did not have the same type of self-consciousness about their sexuality as we do in the modern era. See J.R. Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art 100 B.C.—A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 8; D. Swancutt, "*Still* Before Sexuality: Greek Androgyny, The Roman Imperial Politics of Masculinity, and the Roman invention of the *Tribas*," in eds. T. Penner and C.V. Stichele, *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 11-62; T. Habinek, "The Invention of Sexuality in the world-city of Rome" in eds. T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro, *The Roman Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 23-44.

self-control. Even though this view seems to apply equally to both sexes, women remain inferior to their male counterparts because the Romans thought women "lacked self-control and so were slaves to their baser desires," as described by Harvey, *Daily Life*, 69. Additionally, see G. Reydams-Schils, *The Roman Stoics: Self, Responsibility, and Affection* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 151; M. Nussbaum, "The Incomplete Feminism of Musonius Rufus, Platonist, Stoic, and Roman," in eds. M. Nussbaum and J. Sihvola, *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 299-326.

¹²¹ "Claudius and Britannia, with inscribed base. Sebasteion, south building," 2019, Aphrodisias Excavations Project, University of Oxford. Accessed 9 Feb. 2023. aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/sebasteionreliefs.html

a partially nude woman who represents

Britannia. 122 In the Theater of Pompey,
fourteen statues of women stood to
represent various conquered nations. 123

After he crushed the Judean uprising,
Emperor Vespasian struck new coins
carrying a depiction of a woman mourning
under a palm tree. 124 The Romans



Fig. 2: Own Work

understood their imperial conquest through the

interpretative script of sexual conquest. The 'masculinized' Roman military penetrated into the 'feminized' provinces, and Romans reflected this understanding in their iconography.

Boudica stands out in the gendered vision of Roman imperialism. While Roman authors introduce Boudica as a woman, they also 'masculinize' her. Thus, Tacitus and Dio place her outside the traditional paradigm of conquest and deepen the depravity of her insurrection.

Accordingly, Tacitus's description of Boudica's rebellion doubles as a discussion of gender standards and transgression. In his account, Boudica appears first not as the queen or ruler of the Iceni, but as the wife of King Prasutagus. After his death, the Romans abuse their authority and rape Boudica's daughters — a feminizing, disempowering punishment meant to underscore the subordination of not only women but also colonial 'Others' — which leads Boudica to fight

¹²² K. Erim, "A New Relief Showing Claudius and Britannia from Aphrodisias," *Britannia* 13 (1982), 277–81.

¹²³ A. Kuttner, "Culture and History at Pompey's Museum," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129 (1999), 343–73; D. Lopez, "Before Your Very Eyes: Roman Imperial Ideology, Gender Constructs and Paul's Inter-Nationalism," in eds. T. Penner and C. V. Stichele, *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 115-62

¹²⁴ This is the author's own picture of two Roman coins minted by Vespasian and Nerva celebrating the capture and submission of the region. These also appear in Appendix 1 alongside their description plaque from the British Museum, where they reside.

¹²⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.31: "Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore."

back. 126 Tacitus reports a speech she allegedly made to her army before the final battle, claiming that the Britons were used to women in leadership. 127 After finishing her speech, Tacitus further identifies Boudica when she leads her mob of frenzied Britons into battle. 128 Once the Romans defeat her army and capture her, Boudica refuses to submit — submission being a Roman feminine ideal¹²⁹ — by drinking poison and dying. ¹³⁰ From the Roman perspective, Tacitus maintains that Suetonius Paulinus regarded the ineffectiveness of the revolt as a result of its gendered malfeasance: unwarlike and unarmed, they were merely undisciplined women. 131 Tacitus' narrative focuses on Boudica's rebellion as a transgression of gender propriety; Boudica assumes a masculine identity and therefore deserves punishment. However, because Tacitus acknowledges the possibility that women could defy convention, he may in fact be signaling the consciousness of the contingent nature of Roman ideals of gender rather than asserting them as universal rules.

In contrast to Tacitus' focus on the issue of Boudica's masculinity, Cassius Dio reflects the charge of gender impropriety back onto the Roman world. Here, Boudica was always the barbarian leader of a revolt; Dio introduces her by describing her masculine appearance: tall, fierce, terrifying, and harsh, only finally noting her effeminate long hair. 132 Dio's version of her speech neglects to mention her personal experience of Roman abuse, instead expressing more

¹²⁶ Tac., Ann., xiv.31: "Iam primum uxor eius Boudicca verberibus adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenorum, avitis bonis exuuntur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur."

127 Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35: "Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem

Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur."

¹²⁸ Tac., Ann., xiv.35-37, passim.

¹²⁹ See *supra* nn. 111-115 for the discussion of Roman gender norms for women and the importance of submission. ¹³⁰ Tac., Ann., xiv.37: "Clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die aus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadrigentis ferme interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam veneno finivit."

¹³¹ Tac., Ann., xiv.36. "ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas: plus illic feminarum quam iuventutis

¹³² Cass. Dio, lxii.2: "ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σὧμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τό τε βλέμμα δριμυτάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραγύ εἶγε, τήν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ζανθοτάτην οὖσαν μέγρι τῶν γλουτῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει, χιτῶνά τε παμποίκιλον ἐνεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρπητο. οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ένεσκευάζετο."

concern over heavy taxation and exploitation.¹³³ While Dio's motivations for the rebellion are more rational and 'masculine,' Tacitus' account alleges a more visceral, emotional, and 'feminine' reaction. Relying on this inherently masculine characterization, Dio alleges that Boudica criticized Nero's effeminacy.¹³⁴ Rather than noting that the Britons allow women to hold leadership positions, as Tacitus does, Dio's Boudica argues that all of her people are equally capable, brave, and masculine.¹³⁵ Where Tacitus focuses on the transgressive aspect of Boudica's gender, Dio's identification of her as initially masculine places greater importance on the hierarchy between masculinity and femininity. Because Dio 'masculinizes' Boudica, she occupies a position above the 'feminized' Emperor Nero, though both are transgressive. Tacitus frames his discussion as one on gender impropriety; Dio reinforces the value of masculinity over femininity.

Both the accounts of Tacitus and Cassius Dio portray Boudica's gender as manifold, multifaceted, and malleable. On one level, Boudica is a woman by birth, whatever that might entail for either her Roman oppressors' or her own native Britons' gender expectations. On another level, the two texts describe her using language coded by their authors as highly masculine. Both authors characterize Boudica's masculine dynamism using two other characters as contrasts: Suetonius Paulinus and Emperor Nero. In the initial stages of the rebellion, Boudica overcame the leaderless Romans, but once Suetonius rallied the legions, his natural manhood

¹³³ Cass. Dio, lxii.3: "ου των μεν πλειστων και μεγιστων κτηματων όλων εστερημεθα, των δε λοιπων τελη καταβαλλομεν; ου προς τω ταλλα παντα και νεμειν και γεωργειν εκεινοις, και των σωματων αυτων δασμον ετησιον φερομεν; και ποσω κρειττον ην άπαξ τισι πεπρασθαι μαλλον η μετα κενων ελευθεριας ονοματων κατ' ετος λυτρουσθαι;"

¹³⁴ Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "χαριν τε σοι εχω, ω Ανδραστη, και προσεπικαλουμαι σε γυνη γυναικα, ουκ Αιγυπτιων αχθοφορων αρχουσα ώς Νιτωκρις, ούδ' Ασσυριων των εμπορων ώς Σεμιραμις (και γαρ ταυτ' ηδη παρα των 'Ρωμαιων μεμαθηκαμεν), ου μην ουδε 'Ρωμαιων αυτυν ώς προτερον μεν Μεσσαλινα επειτ' 'Αγριππινα νυν δε και Νερων (ονομα μεν γαρ ανδρος εχει, εργω δε γυνη εστι. σημειον δε, αδει και κιθαριζει και καλλωπίζεται)."
¹³⁵ Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "αλλα ανδρων Βρεττανων γεωργειν μεν η δημιουργειν ουκ ειδοτων, πολεμειν δε ακριβωσ μεμαθηκοτων, και τα τε αλλα παντα κοινα και παιδας και γυναικας κοινας νομιζοντων, και δια τουτο και εκεινων την αυτην τοις αρρεσιν αρετην εχουσων."

prejudicially justified his victory over the 'masculinized' womanhood of Boudica. Beyond this discussion of gender impropriety, Tacitus and Dio establish Boudica and Nero as a conceptual dyad of a 'masculinized' female in contrast to a 'feminized' male. Not only do they place criticisms of Nero within Boudica's speeches, the two authors contextualize their accounts of the rebellion by recounting Nero's murder of first his mother ¹³⁶ and then his wife. ¹³⁷ Consequently, Tacitus and Dio establish Boudica as a foil to Nero; she can fight against men in Britannia while he can only quarrel with women in Rome. Thus, their accounts of Boudica's rebellion do not simply recount a military conflict between Britannic and Roman forces; these narratives are also discussions on proper gender expression for Roman men and women. Though their approaches may differ, both Tacitus and Cassius Dio air their grievances concerning Boudica's impropriety and Nero's femininity in contrast to Suetonius' inherent masculinity.

C. Roman Imperialism: Building an Empire with Barbarians

Roman historiographical literature furnishes the rhetorical models, motivations, and modes of empire that underpins Tacitus and Cassius Dio's interpretation of Boudica's rebellion. Once a small city, Romans defeated their Mediterranean neighbors, pushed beyond the Alps in the north, and eventually came to control large swaths of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Romans removed dangerous threats, assimilated weaker territories, and incorporated beneficial elements of each conquered region. Roman leaders justified their imperial ambitions by claiming to defend Roman interests preemptively, to increase their reputation through victorious combat, or to outperform the great leaders of the past. Once Romans conquered a new territory, they altered both native governments and cultures to accommodate their own structures of control, though they did not necessarily remove every native system. While Roman influence in Britannia

¹³⁶ Tac., Ann., xiv.1-11; Cass. Dio, lxii.11-13 [lxi].

¹³⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.59-64; Cass. Dio, lxii.13.

exhibits the effectiveness of their imperial strategies, Boudica's narrative represents the consequences of unchecked Roman imperial ambition.

The Romans spread their influence through three distinct methods, each represented by a different conquered region. First, Carthage represents destruction as an imperial model. After the conclusion of the Third Punic War (146 BCE), Polybius maintains that Scipio persuaded the Senate "to remove the fear which had constantly hung over them and to destroy [Carthage]" rather than risk a possible fourth Punic War. 138 Second, Greece represents appropriation as an imperial model. In the aftermath of conquest, Romans assimilated Greek culture, making it an intimate part of their own lives. After defeating the Macedonians at Cynoscephalae, Titus Quinctius Flamininus convinced the Senate that Greeks should remain free rather than be subject to Roman occupation. 139 Ultimately, Greece became a province. Hellenistic culture remained prevalent throughout the period of Roman control, 140 as the Romans adopted their religious and cultural practices. 141 Finally, Iberia represents subordination as an imperial model. Rather than utter destruction or treatment as an equal, Romans sought to subdue and govern the province of Hispania because they perceived it to be an inferior region even if it contained beneficial resources. 142 Through these models of destruction, appropriation, and subordination, the Roman empire reduced external threats, gained new territories, and adopted the strategies of their powerful, though defeated, subordinates.

¹³⁸ Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, trans. I. Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), 535; besides this argument to destroy Carthage, Polybius also provides the opposing viewpoint that the Roman actions were too violent and immoral, but he ultimately sides with Rome.

¹³⁹ Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, 516.

¹⁴⁰ G. Woolf, "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 40 (1994), 116-43.

¹⁴¹ A. Henrichs, "*Graecia Capta*: Roman Views of Greek Culture," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995), 243–61. The author discusses the complicated perception of Greeks and Greek culture in Rome, primarily focusing on the differing views between Cato, Scipio, Horace, and Cicero. ¹⁴² App., *Hisp.* 8-16, *passim*.

To support these expansionist endeavors, Roman leaders availed themselves of rhetoric that defended their choices, often relying on the ethnic disparagement of their enemies. When the Cimbri and Tutones approached Rome, Gaius Marius (157-86 BCE) led Rome against the barbarian horde, serving as its consul for five consecutive years. 143 He convinced the Roman public to allow this unprecedented feat because he used the foreign threat as rhetorical justification. Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE), replicating the example of his uncle Marius' usage of barbarians as rhetoric, similarly justifies his advance into Gaul in his De Bello Gallico. Galvanizing popular support for his campaign, Caesar established his position in Rome by treating the Gauls as a means to his political ends: the procurement of personal fame, war spoils, and the loyalty of his rank-and-file subordinates. Though Caesar attempted to secure an imperial foothold in Britannia, he was ultimately repelled¹⁴⁴ — a failure which Emperor Claudius (r. 41-54 AD) wished to rectify. To Claudius' mind, outperforming Caesar, a deified general, would establish his legacy. Thus, under the pretext of reinstating an allied king in Britannia, Claudius sent several legions to 'pacify' the region and bring it within the ambit of Roman control. 145 The various justifications of these leaders constitute the basis for Roman imperial rhetoric.

Together, these models and motivations allow us to explore the modes by which Romans instituted their imperial ambitions — namely, the 'Romanization' of the provinces. ¹⁴⁶ This process has attracted four different interpretations that differ in their estimation of cultural uniformity. First, non-interventionists propose that Roman policy encouraged existing native

¹⁴³ Plutarch, *Gaius Marius*, xii-xxix, *passim*. Not only was Marius consul for five consecutive years, this second appointment as consul was closer to his previous appointment than Roman law allowed, and he was not present. Ultimately, Marius would hold the consulship seven times.

¹⁴⁴ Caes., *BGall.*, iv.20-35, v.1, and v.8-23.

¹⁴⁵ Cass. Dio, lx.19-22 and Tac., *Hist.*, iii.44.

¹⁴⁶ F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1915). Though Haverfield developed the idea of Romanization, he drew the idea from T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, 4 vols. (London: R. Bently, 1886). Haverfield viewed this process as the spread of Roman culture from veteran colonies established in areas already conquered. By practicing Roman culture within foreign lands, Haverfield assumes that Roman influence would spread to those around them.

elites to adopt Roman culture as a means of increasing their own social standing, thus establishing the Roman presence in both popular culture and civil administration. ¹⁴⁷ Second, some scholars dispute the claim that all provinces were Romanized identically, arguing that not all elites desired to adopt Roman customs. ¹⁴⁸ Third, some scholars propose a model of acculturation which they predicate on cultural exchange, whereby provinces adopt Roman culture and Roman culture assimilates portions of foreign culture. ¹⁴⁹ Finally, proponents of creolization as a model of Romanization focus on the study of material culture in amalgamation, thus "[shifting] the study of intercultural contact... away from elites." ¹⁵⁰ Each model takes a different approach to examining cultural interactions between Rome and its provinces, but I will examine Tacitus and Cassius Dio's narratives of Boudica through the model of acculturation — the Romans offered political and economic opportunities to the Britannic people in exchange for the exploitation of their natural and human resources.

Romans used a variety of controlling structures they expanded their political ambit: slavery, military occupation, regnal clientage, and the conservation of local social structures, among other strategies. Because enslaved persons constituted the primary source of inexpensive labor, slavery was foundational to both the Roman economy and how the Romans controlled a foreign populace.¹⁵¹ The army aided efforts in political Romanization by providing veterans not only two decades of experience with Latin but also citizenship upon discharge.¹⁵² The locations

¹⁴⁷ M. Millet, "Romanization: historical issues and archaeological interpretation," in eds. T. Blagg and M. Millett, *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford: Oxbow Books 1990), 35–44.

¹⁴⁸ D.J. Mattingly, "Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a provincial setting," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004), 5-25.

¹⁴⁹ J. Webster, "Necessary Comparisons: A Post-Colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces," *World Archaeology* 28.3 (1997), 324-38.

¹⁵⁰ J. Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," American Journal of Archaeology 105.2 (2001), 209-25.

¹⁵¹ K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves: Sociological Studies in Roman History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 4-5

¹⁵² P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1981), 509; see also M. Lavan, "The Spread of Roman Citizenship, 14–212 CE: Quantification in the Face of High Uncertainty," *Past & Present* 230.1 (2016), 3-46; B. Dobson and J.C. Mann, "The Roman Army in Britain and Britons in the Roman Army," *Britannia* 4 (1973), 191–205.

of garrisons and veteran colonies, forming a type of legion in reserve, also helped control the populace. Though Romans took these active measures to spread their influence, they also used existing structures of control. By allying with client-kings, Romans were able to establish a buffer zone that protected their own settlements, and though these alliances were sometimes unreliable, their existence removed the burden of governance from an Empire already stretched quite thin. 154 Lastly, Romans frequently relied on *interpretatio Romana* to absorb foreign religious practices by identifying similarities between Roman and non-Roman cultural elements, especially deities. Through the encroaching influence of their social, military, and governmental systems, Romans assimilated, appropriated, and altered various cultural elements of their frontier territories.

Imperial Rome grew to control the majority of Europe, but the province of Britannia represents the culmination of Roman models, motivations, and means of imperialism. At the time of Boudica's rebellion, Romans had already attempted to invade the isles three prior times, and only upon the final invasion did the empire secure the southern regions of Britannia. Between the second and third invasions, Romans maintained a relationship with the Britons characterized by commerce, but this circumstance was only a brief respite from outright invasion. Britannic military leaders could not rival the vast Roman Empire, as Carthage had, and Britannia was not a cultural equal, like Greece. Rather, the Roman conquest of Britannia shared similarities with that of Hispania; Roman leaders wanted to take advantage of the mineral and human resources

¹⁵³ Salway, Roman Britain, 104 and 534.

¹⁵⁴ Salway, *Roman Britain*, 90-2 and 535. This concept of client-kingship is further explored in D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of Client Kingship* (London: Routledge, 1984).

¹⁵⁵ C. Ando, "Interpretatio Romana," Classical Philology 100.1 (2005), 41–51.

¹⁵⁶ Julius Caesar allegedly invaded twice on his campaign in Gaul in 55 and 54 BC, as he said in *De Bello Gallico*, iv and as Aulus Hirtius said in viii. The third invasion began during the reign of Claudius, as told in Cass. Dio, lx.19-22.

¹⁵⁷ Strab., iv.5. trans. S. Ireland: "In addition, they submit so readily to heavy duties both on the exports from there to Gaul and on the imports from Gaul — these consist of ivory chains, necklaces, amber, glassware, and other such trinkets — that there is no need to garrison the island."

present on the islands.¹⁵⁸ However, the emperors of Rome required special justification if they wanted public support for the military invasions necessary to conquer this rich land. The Britons posed no existential threat to Roman interests, nor did Britannia hold much political benefit that Roman leaders could exploit. Rather, by conquering this island, the victor out-performed the inimitable Julius Caesar. After Emperor Claudius reignited efforts to control Britannia, Nero continued this expansion, though the rebellion of Boudica presented a significant setback for his imperial ambitions.¹⁵⁹

After the Romans established their military presence in Britannia, they began transforming the island into an imperial province. At first, the Romans altered laws and particular details of coinage to better match their standards; even so, they were careful to only change laws that went against their own, maintaining the majority of the native Britannic governing system. ¹⁶⁰ Then, the Romans banned Druidism from public religion, as it allegedly involved "practices (like human sacrifice) offensive to civilised thought;" otherwise, Romans were generally tolerant of foreign religions, even embracing some of the Britannic deities themselves. ¹⁶¹ Next, the Romans establish regnal clientage with the Iceni and the Brigantes, as well as cultivating the clientage of other native Britannic kings, such as Cogidubnus. ¹⁶² However, native Britannic residents only incorporated Latin into their spoken language within immediate

¹⁵⁸ Romans wanted to gain access to the mines of Britannia for lead, silver, copper, gold, iron, and coal, as well as other things such as farming and slaves. See the following: Salway, *Roman Britain*, 615-664; J.C. Edmondson, "Mining in the Later Roman Empire and beyond: Continuity or Disruption?" *The Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989), 84-102; J. Bayley, "Roman Non-Ferrous Metalworking in Southern Britain," *Agriculture and Industry in South-Eastern Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017), 330-45; R.F. Tylecote, "Roman Lead Working in Britain," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 2.1 (1964), 25-43.

¹⁵⁹ Boudica's rebellion only survives in Tac., Ann., xiv and Cass. Dio, lxii.

¹⁶⁰ For a survey of how Romans maintained and altered Britannic governance, see S. Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1998), 29; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 516-37; and Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, 57-66.

¹⁶¹ For an overview on religious Romanization of Britannia, see Salway, *Roman Britain*, 515 and 665-739; and Frere, *Britannia*, 312-23.

¹⁶² For an explanation of regnal clientage as a means of control and examples in Britannia, see Salway, *Roman Britain*, 90-2 and 535; Frere, *Britannia*, 53-5, 71, 182, and 189.

Roman settings, though many became fluent regardless in hopes of greater opportunities.¹⁶³ As a whole, the positive effects of the cultural and political synthesis were broadly limited to those who yielded to Roman rule. On the one hand, the higher classes of Britannia could reap the benefits that followed from active affiliation with the empire. On the other hand, the lower classes could only passively adopt Roman culture as a result of their constrained material circumstances.¹⁶⁴ Not all Britons considered the introduction of Roman culture to be beneficial, however, as this forcibly imposed order served to dissipate political and economic independence.

Both accounts of the uprising of Boudica maintain that the faults of Roman imperialism justified the rebellion, but the authors propose two different etiologies. Tacitus describes Boudica's grievances as primarily related to abuses that both her family and she herself suffered, as centurions pillaged her territory while enslaved people ransacked her household. In this passage, Tacitus alleges that these Romans beat Boudica and raped her daughters, thereby staining her family's honor and pushing Boudica towards conflict in order to restore her pride. In her reported speech, Tacitus writes that "she was not as a woman descended from those so much greater trying to avenge the loss of the kingdom and wealth, but that she was truly as one of the people." On the contrary, Cassius Dio highlights the broader social abuses that the Romans committed, particularly with respect to aggressive taxation and moneylending exploitation. In comparing their lived experiences before and after the arrival of the Romans, the Boudica of

¹⁶³ For a survey on how the Romans introduced and spread Latin in Britannia, see Frere, *Britannia*, 302-4; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 506-8; and Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, 29-35.

¹⁶⁴ Frere, *Britannia*, 295: Frere argues that the Romanization of Britannia was varied, as Brittanic culture was stratified and the material circumstances depended on the region. For a broader survey, see Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, 36-47.

¹⁶⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.31: "Qua contumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae cesserant, paiunt arma, commotis ad reballationem Trinobantius et qui alii ondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant, accerimo in veteranos odio."

¹⁶⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35: "sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci."

¹⁶⁷ Cass. Dio, lxii.3: "οὐ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὅλων ἐστερήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν; οὐ πρὸς τῷ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ νέμειν καὶ γεωργεῖν ἐκείνοις, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμὸν ἐτήσιον φέρομεν;"

Cassius Dio says that "For among other people, death frees even those enslaved to others, but for the Romans alone, even the dead live for profit." While both versions of the speech echo the sentiment that Romans enslaved the Britons, the two authors focus on different areas of this effect: Dio's speech places greater emphasis on the communal nature of the suffering of the Britons, and Tacitus provides greater importance to the individualized moral harm against Boudica herself.

The rebellion of Boudica is the culmination of the social and cultural changes occasioned by Roman imperialism. The Romans perceived Britannia to be a subordinate territory at the fringes of the empire. The province was never a true military rival nor was it a source for tangible political benefits; it was primarily valuable for what it represented — the furthest frontier of the Roman empire. By gaining control over these islands either through direct military conflict or gradual cultural exchange, an emperor could solidify his legacy. Ultimately, the creeping influence of Roman politics in Britannia led to corruption and abuse, sparking a great rebellion against Roman authority on the islands.

V. Theoretical Tools

A. Post-Structuralist Narratology: No text is autonomously significant

Bringing together the areas of linguistics and literary criticism, postmodern thinkers propose a cynical epistemology focused on knowledge concerning the describer instead of the described. Central to postmodern thought is the awareness of textual limitations occasioned by an author's reliance on language to recount any event or experience. While composing, an author not only writes within a specific cultural-linguistic context but also reinforces and is equally reinforced by the narratives that a given culture tells about itself. Proponents of this perspective

¹⁶⁸ Cass. Dio, lxii.3: "παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντάς τισιν ὁ θάνατος ἐλευθεροῖ, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ δὴ μόνοις καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ζῶσι πρὸς τὰ λήμματα."

treat a literary work as the constructed narrative it is — a literary fabrication, woven by an author, responding to their own spatial and temporal moment, seeking to elicit their own ends. Historical texts tempt scholars as illusory indices of fact, but we must also consider such literary products as indices of imagination.

An outgrowth of 'modernist' thought, scholarship is often unclear regarding the definition of 'postmodernism.' A literary and critical response to the Enlightenment, modernist thought labors under the idea that "knowledge accrued is... not only culture-neutral, but value-free." On the contrary, postmodernist thinkers deny these two tenets and destabilize the foundational principles of language, discourse, and even the self. Thus, identity is not an inherent property of the self; rather, the interactions between a self and another self form an identity. Accordingly, postmodern theorists deny that reality can be accurately represented, and as such, "no authoritative account can exist of anything." Postmodern theory, when applied to the study of history, first breaks down modernist teleologies and then decenters both authorship and text — thereby demolishing a possibility for historical objectivity. Owing to the sheer scope of postmodernist thought and its scholarly applications, 'postmodern theory' instead ought to be understood in the plural. Consequently, historians need not utilize its every aspect and

¹⁶⁹ J. Natoli and L. Hutcheon, "Modern/Postmodern: Preface," in ed. *idem A Post Modern Reader*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 3. Additionally, the distinction between 'modern' and 'postmodern' is tenuous: Z. Bauman, "Postmodernity, or Living with Ambivalence," in *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers 1991), 231-245; H. Bertens, "The Postmodern *Weltanschauung* and its Relation to Modernism: and Introductory Survey" in eds. D. Fokkema and H. Bertens, *Approaching Postmodernism* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins 1986), 9-48; J. F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: a Report on Knowledge*, trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979).

¹⁷⁰ H. Bertens, "The Postmodern *Weltanschauung* and its Relation to Modernism: and Introductory Survey" in eds. D. Fokkema and H. Bertens, *Approaching Postmodernism* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins 1986), 9-48.

¹⁷¹ Bertens, "The Postmodern Weltanschauung." passim.

¹⁷² C. Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians* (London: Pearson, 2005), 7.

¹⁷³ K. Jenkins, "Introduction," in ed *idem.*, *The Postmodern History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 5-6. This reader offers a broader examination of the application of postmodern theory in historical study.

element, but rather may pick and choose "the bits of postmodernist theory desired and the methods that might fit immediate study or research needs."¹⁷⁴

One of the most problematic aspects of postmodern thought is its relationship to the study of the past. While earlier positivist scholars interpreted written sources as unproblematic accounts of the past, postmodernist thinkers now call us to view such texts with suspicion.

Leopold von Ranke, a German positivist historian of the nineteenth century, said that history "wants only to show what actually happened (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*);" but if written accounts have no necessary tether to reality, we have no way to historically determine the past—it is lost. To overcome this issue, historians have embraced the 'linguistic turn:' the idea that "language or discourse represents the limit to philosophical investigations into truth, or that there is nothing outside language." This perspective compelled historians to reexamine the relationship between subject, text, and author in the past. With the introduction of the linguistic turn, historians began to view their subjects as part of constructed literary narratives, in which authors organize their work to communicate broader metanarratives they simultaneously live within, e.g., politics, morality, etc. Thus, a given historical narrative becomes a tool to reflect back the intentions of the author; these intentions reveal themselves by means of their authors'

¹⁷⁴ Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*. 10.

¹⁷⁵ L. Ranke, "Preface: Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494–1514," in ed. F. Stern, *The Varieties of History* (New York: Meridian Books 1956), 57.

¹⁷⁶ G. Spiegel, *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005). 2-3.

¹⁷⁷ D. Macey, "Linguistic turn," in ed. *idem*, *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* (New York: Penguin, 2000). See also: J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (India: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994).

¹⁷⁸ G. Roberts, "Introduction," in ed. *idem*, *The History and Narrative Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2001). 8-9. In summary of the works L. Mink's *Historical Understanding* in conversation with the works of other authors such as H. White, and F. R. Ankersmit, among others.

tropes,¹⁷⁹ language,¹⁸⁰ narrative structuring,¹⁸¹ and figurative language.¹⁸² Historical accounts are not entirely manipulative fictions that create a false reality in place of the past, but rather a given author presents one among many possible interpretations of an event's significance.¹⁸³

By applying postmodern literary criticism to the narratives of Boudica's revolt, the texts become lenses by which to view our authors' cultural biases, ultimately revealing their thoughts on gender, ethnicity, and imperialism. After acknowledging the literary nature of our sources, and by treating text as an extension of an authorial Weltanschauung (i.e. worldview), we can deconstruct the many identities that inhere to Boudica's characterization. Our authors depict her as a woman in a position of leadership in a foreign state directly opposed to Rome. Thus Boudica subverts Roman gender propriety and confuses the dynamic between masculine and feminine. Boudica, moreover, reveals Roman ethnocentric chauvinism as a result of being a foreign barbarian, a leader of the Iceni in Britannia. Finally, Boudica's actions and character lay bare our author's conflicting opinions of imperialism. By taking seriously her nuanced identity, we are favored not only to recognize aspects of Roman culture but also the broader literary ambitions of her authors. Through the analytical lens of post-structuralist narratology, the two narratives concerning Boudica's rebellion manifest their cultural biases, and our two authors transform Boudica's character into a rhetorical mouthpiece. We do not have an actual Boudica within the pages of Tacitus and Cassius Dio; rather, we have a sock-puppet that reveals the ambitions and prejudices of our authors.

¹⁷⁹ H. White, "Introduction," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), *passim*.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ H. White, *Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

¹⁸² H. White, Figural Realism, Studies in the Mimesis Effect (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

¹⁸³ R. Doran, "Editor's Introduction" in H. White, *The Fiction of Narrative: Essays on History, Literature, and Theory 1957-2007* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), xxvi.

B. Feminist and Gender Theories: No connection of sex and gender is necessary

Utilizing the analytical tools of feminism and gender studies, we can further examine the complex characterization of Boudica. Early feminism originated in the struggle for legal equality between men and women of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. ¹⁸⁴ By the 1960s and 1970s, feminism's second wave complemented the struggle against *de jure* injustices with the broader critique of *de facto* cultural oppression. ¹⁸⁵ While these first two waves primarily sought to diversify the male-dominated structures of their time, future developments in feminist thought began to reframe questions fundamental to the movement. Animated by discussions within the feminist movement concerning gender, the field of gender studies grew beyond its inception within the third wave of feminism, discussing topics of gendered identity and representation. Feminist and gender theories furnish additional questions that help to elucidate the role of Boudica's positionality as a woman in the narratives of her rebellion.

Built upon the successes of its predecessors, third-wave feminists challenged the assumption that equality had been achieved. Growing up as children of second-wave feminists, these supporters applied earlier feminist theory to a wider and previously ignored audience: non-western, non-white, non-middle-class, and non-cisgender individuals. During this diversification, the field of gender studies grew beyond its initial use within the feminist movement. While proponents of gender theory argue for the inclusion of women in spaces

¹⁸⁴ The early leaders of feminist thought addressed the glaring differential in the social and political power between men and women, particularly the right to vote. Among many other activists, two authors helped to initiate the movement. One of the earliest works of feminist literature, M. Wollstonecraft argued for women's right to education in her publication, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London: Walter Scott, 1891). S. B. Anthony argued that if women could be punished under the law, they should also receive its benefits in "Speech After Arrest for Illegal Voting," in eds. W. Kolmar and F. Bartowski *Feminist Theory: A Reader* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005), 91-95. ¹⁸⁵ This second wave addressed the traditional gender roles of men and women, focusing on their social construction. S. Beauvoir argued that "One is not born, but rather becomes, woman" in *The Second Sex* (New York: Knopf, 2012), 267. B. Freidan brought Beauvoir's ideas to dissatisfied American housewives, arguing that prior feminist attempts ignored the cultural underpinning behind women's position as second-class citizens in *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 2001).

¹⁸⁶ E. Davies, *Third Wave Feminism and Transgender: Strength Through Diversity* (London: Routledge, 2018).

dominated by men, they seek to decode the relationship between masculine and feminine behaviors. 187 Where the feminist movement is political, the field of gender studies is analytical — this difference allows scholars to pose new questions. For example, Judith Butler has critiqued 'women' as a simplex universal category. Rather, she uses gender theory as an intellectual tool to dissolve the necessary connection between sex and gender. Productively interrogating feminism more broadly, third-wave feminists began to unravel the convenient and conventional categories of earlier periods and to construct new concepts that reflect their changing culture.

Feminist and gender theories can reveal how the Roman populace may have interpreted Boudica's character. In both narratives, Boudica is ostensibly a woman: Tacitus establishes her identity as the wife of a king, and Cassius Dio introduces her as a Briton woman. Beyond her initial characterization, both authors' treatment of Roman and Britannic gender roles serves as the key rhetorical element of her speeches. On the one hand, Roman readers would expect a woman to be subservient and domestic. Their traditional values prescribed labor and combat for Roman men, while their wives rear children and remain within the household. On the other hand, Boudica describes a society with different ideas of 'masculinity' and 'femininity.' Tacitus reports via Boudica's speech that Britons were accustomed to women in military and leadership roles. Dio's version asserts that the Britons held everything in common and that, as a result, men and women were equals. By means of this comparison, Tacitus and Cassius Dio

¹⁸⁷ J. W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91.5 (1986), 1053–75.

¹⁸⁸ J. Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011).

¹⁸⁹ Tac., Ann., xiv.31: "Iam primum uxor eius Boudicca;" Cass. Dio, İxii.2: "Βουδουῖκα ἦν, γυνὴ Βρεττανὶς."

See *supra* nn. 109-113 for the discussion of Roman gender norms for women and the importance of submission.
 Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35: "solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare"

¹⁹² Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργεῖν μὲν ἢ δημιουργεῖν οὐκ εἰδότων, πολεμεῖν δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα κοινὰ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἀρετὴν ἐγουσῶν."

present Boudica as gender-transgressive — she is deserving of punishment, having assumed a masculine role in her rebellion against Roman abuses.

Though Boudica herself is transgressive, so too is emperor Nero. Though he may be a man, both Tacitus and Cassius Dio portray him as effeminate. Nero's mother, Agrippina, and then his wife, Poppaea, appear to control his own actions — a man immorally submits to the rule of women. Poppaea, appear to control his own actions — a man immorally submits to the rule of women. Poppaea, appear to control his own actions — a man immorally submits to the rule of women. Poppaea, appear to control his own actions — a man immorally submits to the rule of women. Poppaea, appear to control his own actions — a man immorally submits to the rule of women. Poppaea and poppaea and poppaea and poppaea. Poppaea and poppaea and poppaea and poppaea and further criticizes all Romans under his rule for allowing him to rule. Poppaea and poppaea and poppaea and cassius Dio use Boudica's masculine misconduct to critique the errant effeminacy of their own Roman culture and leadership.

Boudica's characterization with respect to gender serves as one of the rhetorical foundations of these narratives. First, Boudica's gender disconnects from her sex. Second, her gendered transgressions allow for a more sophisticated rhetorical analysis. Our sources allege the constructed culture of Britannia allowed women a greater degree of equality in comparison to an idealized Roman domain of subservience and domesticity. Accordingly, our authors' Roman

¹⁹³ Agrippina exhibits her control over Nero throughout his early reign, acting as the regent before he was old enough to properly take the throne — see Tac. *Ann.*, xiii.1-21, *passim* and xiv.1-3. Poppaea exhibits her control over Nero by inducing his matricide in Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.1 and his uxoricide in Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.59-60.

¹⁹⁴ Nero's male concubine, Sporus, appears in Cass. Dio, lxii.28 and lxiii.12-13; in Suet., *Nero*, 28. Sporus allegedly looked very similar to Poppaea, so Nero took him as his wife. Additionally, Nero had taken a prior male concubine as his husband, thus indicating that the emperor played both sexual roles. This other concubine is named Pythagoras in Tac. *Ann.*, xv.37 and Cass. Dio, lxii.28 and lxiii.12-13, but he is named Doryphorus in Suet., *Nero*, 29.

¹⁹⁵ Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει, ἔργῳ δὲ γυνή ἐστι'" and later that same paragraph, "καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτη γυναικὶ δουλεύειν, ἦς τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννούσης."

audience would have perceived this freedom as transgressive, validating the violent imperial response to her rebellion.

C. Postcolonial Theory: No foreigner is without a neighbor.

Tacitus and Cassius Dio emphasize the difference between Romans and non-Romans within their digressions on Boudica's rebellion. While postmodernist thought decouples fact from truth, and gender theory decouples sex from gender, post-colonial ideas deconstruct the binary relationship between an imperial colonizer and a colonized, oppressed subject. Proponents of this theory analyze the interaction between an individual's identity and the exploitative dynamic of imperial systems. Attempting to amplify native voices often unheard because of this relationship, theorists of postcolonialism seek to counteract the lingering narratives of imperialism. Modern historians can apply theories of postcolonialism to the perception of alterity — the differences between self-described Romans and those they labeled as non-Roman. Tacitus and Cassius Dio not only display their political motivations when criticizing Rome's imperialist ambitions by using Boudica as a case study, but her character, as framed by these authors, also is made to participate in the counter-colonial narrative about Britannia.

The term 'postcolonialism' refers to the "[representation of] the continuing process of imperial suppressions and exchanges throughout [a] diverse range of societies, in their institutions and their discursive practices." In this sense, postcolonialism relies on the same literary-critical and deconstructive tools as postmodernism, but it repurposes these tools to focus on political motivations within the colonial circumstance. Three core ideas animate this

¹⁹⁶ B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 3. Additionally, discourse is defined as "[designating] a formal discussion of a topic, a treatise or homily or an exposition of a thesis with pedagogical or methodological purpose" in D. Macey, ed., *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

¹⁹⁷ K. Antony-Appiah, "The Postcolonial and the Postmodern" in *In My Father's House: Africa In The Philosophy Of Culture* (London: Methuen, 1992). See also: S. During, "Postmodernism or post-colonialism today," *Textual Practice* 1.1 (1987), 32-47; L. Hutcheon, "Circling the Downspout of empire: Post-colonialism and Postmodernism," *Ariel* 20.4 (1989), 149-75; D. Brydon, "The White Inuit Speaks: Contamination as Literary

approach. First, by decoupling their analysis of imperialist metanarratives, post-colonial theorists examine the differential access to power between an imperializer and the imperialized. Second, post-colonial theorists interrogate the hybridized identities of colonized individuals, analyzing the placement of the two previously distinct cultures, languages, and nations in a colonial hierarchy. Third, in discussing these intersections, post-colonial thinkers confront the problem of alterity in authorial representation; an author, by necessity, describes the foreign 'Other' within their own framework and understanding. Beyond these core ideas, post-colonial theory can provide deeper analysis when alongside other critical theories. Like postmodern theories, this view demands that historians consider the author rather than the character, as the act of description presents a political representation of the colonized subject rather than that subject's actuality. Likewise, theorists of gender informed by postcolonialism argue for a type of 'double colonization' of women beset by a patriarchal society and an imperializing force. Description for the colonization of the colonization' of women beset by a patriarchal society and an imperializing force.

Strategy," in eds. I. Adam and H. Tiffin, *Past the Last Post: theorizing Postcolonialism and Postmodernism* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); K. Sangari, "The Politics of the Possible" *Cultural Critique*, 7 (1987), 157-86.

¹⁹⁸ G. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in eds. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 271-313. See also: G. Lamming, "The Occasion For Speaking," in *The Pleasures of Exile* (London: Michael Joseph, 1960), 23-50; A. JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12.1 (1985), 59–87; and H. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," *Critical Inquiry* 12.1 (1985), 144–65.

¹⁹⁹ K. Petersen and A. Rutherford, eds., *Enigma of Values: An Introduction to Wilson Harris* (Aarhus: Dangaroo Press, 1976). See also: C. Achebe, "Named for Victoria, Queen of England," *New Letters* 40.3 (1973), 15-22; J. Alexis, "Of the Marvelous Realism of the Haitians," *Presence Africaine*, 9 (1956) 249-75; M. Dash, "Marvelous Realism: The Way out of Negritude," *Caribbean Studies* 13.4 (1974), 50-70; E. Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica* 1770-1820 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); H. Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," *New Formations* 5 (1988), 5-23.

²⁰⁰ E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978). See also: J. Kincaid, *A Small Place* (London: Virago, 1988); H. Tiffin, "Post-colonial literatures and Counter-discourse," *Kunapipi* 9.3 (1987), 17-34; J. Sharpe, "Figures of Colonial Resistance," *Modern Fiction Studies* 35.1 (1989), 137-55; S. Slemon, "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World," *World Literature Written in English* 30.2 (1990), 30-41; S. Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

²⁰¹ K. Petersen, "First things First: Problems of a Feminist Approach to African Literature," *Kunapipi* 6.3 (1984), 35-47. See also: K. Katrak, "Decolonizing Culture: Toward a Theory for Post-colonial Woman's Texts," *Modern Fiction Studies* 35.1 (1989), 157-79; C. Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Boundary* 2 12 (1984), 333–58; T. Minh-ha, *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1989); G. Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 12.1 (1985), 243-61; S. Suleri, "Woman Skin Deep: Feminism And The Postcolonial Condition," *Critical Inquiry* 18.4 (1992), 756-69.

Scholars have already applied post-colonial theories to the Roman circumstance. 202

Among these interventions, Erich Gruen discusses Julius Caesar's depiction of the Gauls in *De Bello Gallico* and Tacitus' portrayal of the Germani in the *Germania*, both being northern foreigners thought to be related to the Britons. 203 On the stylistic level, Caesar is straightforward and diplomatic, and Tacitus tends toward paradoxes studded with irony and sarcasm.

Nevertheless, both authors discuss three elements — *virtus*, *libertas*, and *religio* — and both portray their objects of study through lenses that a Roman would understand. Caesar describes the *virtus* of the Gauls as a metric for his opponents' military bravery; Tacitus also describes Germani social hierarchy according to the script of Roman *virtus*. 204 On the subject of *libertas*, Tacitus draws parallels between the foreign culture of his study and his own Roman culture; this quality, he acknowledges, is an ever-elusive goal for both. 205 Caesar's text, on the other hand, expresses "a respect for common values [that] trumps the notion of 'Otherness.'" Finally, both authors interpret foreign religious practices through the *interpretatio Romana*; though worshiping a different pantheon of gods, Romans could comprehend the religious traditions of

²⁰² See the following: B. Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (London: Penguin Books, 1997) and S. James, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

²⁰³ E. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 141-178.

²⁰⁴ Gruen, *Rethinking*, 152 and 174. The trait of *virtus* most closely translates to 'manishness,' though it also implied bravery in battle and our modern understanding of virtue more loosely. Caesar uses the word several times throughout his *Gallic War*: book i.44.1 describes the virtue of Ariovistus, book vi.42 describes the difference in virtue between the Gauls and Germans, and book v.54 includes "qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus praeferebantur." ²⁰⁵ Gruen, *Rethinking*, 171-2. The trait of *libertas* can be translated to the strong desire for freedom from any dominating force. Examples of Tacitus' usage of the word can be found in the following sections of his *Germania*: "apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt" in 25.2, "paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem" in 44.1, and "quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant" in 28.3.

²⁰⁶Gruen, *Rethinking*, 155. Examples of Caesar's attribution of *libertas* to the Gauls can be seen in *De Bello Gallico* i.17.4, *passim*; v.7.8: "saepe clamitans liberum se liberaeque esse civitatis;" and vii.77: "tamen libertatis causa institui."

foreign populations owing to the similarities of their similar structures.²⁰⁷ Postcolonialist thought enhances our ability to understand the boundaries of empire.

In light of these post-colonial theories, we can reexamine Boudica as more than just a political character constructed by her authors or as a woman beset by a system of oppressive patriarchy. Tacitus and Cassius Dio place Boudica as a foreign subject oppressed beneath Rome's conquest of Britannia; our authors intend for her figure to serve as the voice of a subjugated populace, speaking on their behalf to the Roman public. Though she is an unlettered foreigner, Boudica's rhetorically sophisticated Latin and Greek speeches ring with a distinctly Roman tone, sounding notes of *libertas* and *virtus*. During Tacitus' report of her speech before battle, he describes Boudica as avenging specifically the loss of her *libertas* alongside the other abuses she endured.²⁰⁸ Though Cassius Dio also discusses her fight for freedom, he focuses on the masculine valor of Boudica, her *virtus*, while also criticizing the Romans as effeminate.²⁰⁹ As such, a Roman readership could recognize Roman qualities in her character even as she leads a violent revolt against the Roman invasion of Britannia.

The relationship between Boudica's Britannic and Roman traits also applies to her gender identity. Romans are keen to see her, a foreigner, as feminine, weak, and submissive; however, our authors can also code her as strong, masculine, and threatening, owing to her transgression of Roman gender norms. Despite this paradoxical identity — a weird hybrid of feminine and masculine traits — Boudica swept across Roman Britannia without hindrance. Moreover, this identity justifies her ultimate defeat at the hands of a Roman — one more masculine than she

²⁰⁷ Gruen, *Rethinking*, 158, 174-8. Caesar's account of the Gallic religion is well-known because of his description of the druidic rituals of human sacrifice, but Gruen argues that he refrained from explicitly passing judgment on the practice, though he did not condone it either. A. N. Sherwin-White proposes an alternate view, with Caesar portrayed as appalled by this practice, in *Racial prejudice in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge, 1967).

²⁰⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35: "verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam." See also: Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians*, 119-139.

²⁰⁹ Cass. Dio, lxii.6: "καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἀρετὴν ἐχουσῶν." See also: Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians*, 141-161.

herself. Boudica and Suetonius Paulinus engage on the battlefield of masculinity; Nero, effete and cowering, remains on the sidelines. The discussions of Tacitus and Cassius Dio hinge on gender propriety. Boudica's gender is an unnatural hybridization of natural Britannic traits and imagined Roman traits. Thus, our authors construct a subtle critique of Roman imperial ambitions alongside the more obvious denunciation of Nero's effeminacy.

On the one hand, Boudica embodies the antithesis of traditional Roman gender values.

On the other hand, Boudica represents traditional Roman *virtus* and *libertas*, fighting valiantly for her freedom. In the act of resisting colonization, Boudica is in fact an actualized hybrid of these two cultures. Because her authors place her within a narrative counter to Roman imperialism and because they also identify her as the product of cultural hybridization, Boudica's identity is self-contradictory. Boudica's complex characterization is the product of her authors' ambivalence towards the ongoing process of Roman imperialism abroad and the deterioration of domestic morality.

D. On Intersectional Theory: No quality is isolated from another.

Tacitus and Cassius Dio frame Boudica's identity both as a prominent female figure and as a colonized subject. These configurations can be viewed as separate identities, but that perspective fails to capture the totality of her characterization as elemental to the other. A postmodern scholar can reexamine Boudica with the understanding that she is the narrative construction of two Roman authors. A scholar informed by postcolonialism can reveal Boudica's voice as an oppressed individual under the project of Roman imperialism. A gender theorist can study the relationship between masculinity and femininity as depicted in Boudica's characterization. Though each of these practices produces a valid interpretation in their own

right, Boudica's position at the intersection of these three vectors of Roman oppression serves as the true rhetorical foundation of Tacitus and Cassius Dio's narratives.

Intersectionality is a tool innovated to explain the compounding impacts of gender, race, and other markers of identity according to a matrix of domination. Originating in the work of Stuart Hall, different 'presences' within colonial identities ought to be viewed in terms of a mixture rather than in isolation. Instrumentalizing interventions made by critical race theorists²¹¹ and black feminists, ²¹² Kimberlé Crenshaw first coined the term 'intersectionality,' which rose out of her legal studies as a means to explain the unique oppression experienced by women of color in the United States. Intersectional thinkers hold three primary tenets. First, they acknowledge the existence of unique "vectors of oppression and privilege" experienced by an individual, vectors which originate from dyadic opposites — that is to say, either-or postulates — and establish differences rather than similarities. Second, informed by the postcolonial notion of the 'Other,' scholars acknowledge a type of proximate outside status

²¹⁰ S. Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" in ed. J. Rutherford, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 230. Here, Hall argues for three 'presences' within the Jamaican diaspora in Britain: the African, the European, and the American. The African 'presence' is the repressed identity, the European is the oppressing colonial identity, and the American is "not so much power, as ground, place, territory" (234) where global identities collide.

²11 R. Delgado, J. Stefancic, and A. Harris, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2017). Critical race theory examines the lasting impacts of legalized racial injustice within the United States. Traditionally, it focuses on the systemic abuse of African Americans under the structures of slavery and Reconstruction era Jim Crow laws.

²¹² P. H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, And The Politics Of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2009). Black Feminism turns from its roots in the First Wave of feminism by arguing that white feminism was not responsive to the needs of black women, that all people are equal regardless of sex or race and that these two vectors of oppression combined into more than the sum of their parts. Because it recognized this double impact, it is the progenitor of intersectional theory.

²¹³ K. Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1 (1989), 139-67.

²¹⁴ G. Ritzer and J. Stepnisky, *Contemporary Sociological Theory and Its Classical Roots: The Basics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2013), 204.

²¹⁵ R. A. Dudley, "Confronting the Concept of Intersectionality: The Legacy of Audre Lorde and Contemporary Feminist Organizations," *McNair Scholars Journal* 10.1 (2006), 37-45.

whereby an individual can exist in but not of a society (e.g., Black second-class citizens).²¹⁶
Third, they recognize the systematic nature of oppression, understanding that the social terrain of any given society is charged with domination and oppression experienced circumstantially.²¹⁷
Through these three core concepts, the theory of intersectionality provides an opportunity to reexamine the individual in light of their complex socio-cultural and racial identities.

Though intersectionality has been a tool used to uncover the complex dynamics of our modern era, 218 scholars of antiquity have not frequently employed intersectional analysis in order to illuminate similar processes in the classical past. By applying intersectionality to Tacitus and Cassius Dio's account of Boudica's character, we can analyze each of her various vectors of oppression that aggregate as one cohesive whole. At first glance, Boudica is beneath the horizon of domination. All her characteristics originate from Roman authors who describe her as the object of their historical studies, and as such, she is voiceless, unable to provide her own perspective. Additionally, Boudica is both a woman and a barbarian 'Other' under the twin systems of patriarchy and imperialism. ²¹⁹ After establishing the disadvantages of her character within the narrative, Boudica's authors lend her the strength to compete against her Roman oppressors through her subversive characteristics. Instead of submitting to the abuses committed against her family and her kingdom, Boudica is a force of power that fights for justice and

²¹⁶ P. H. Collins, "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," *Social Problems* 33.6 (1986), S16-9.

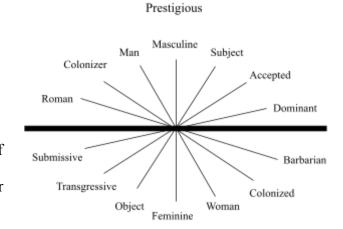
²¹⁷ K. Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43.6 (1991), 1241–99. See also: P. H. Collins, "Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568 (2000), 41-53; P. H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 277.

²¹⁸ Examples of intersectional analyses can be found across modern disciplines: S. J. Jones, "Complex subjectivities: Class, Ethnicity, and Race in Women's Narratives of Upward Mobility," *Journal of Social Issues*, 59.4 (2003), 803-20; D. S. Lauderdale, "Birth Outcomes for Arabic-Named Women in California Before and After September 11," *Demography* 43.1 (2006), 185-201; G. Ladson-Billings and W. F. Tate, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97.1 (1995), 47-58; C. Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Boundary* 2 12/13 (1984), 333-58.

²¹⁹ For the initial descriptions of Boudica as a woman and barbarian, see Tac., Ann., xiv.31 and Cass. Dio, lxii.1.

freedom.²²⁰ Aiding her in battle, Tacitus and Cassius Dio construct her gender as the same masculinity of her subjugators; Boudica stands on the same gendered battlefield as the Roman legions.²²¹ However, these two transgressive traits of masculinity and dominance contradict her womanhood and colonized status; they ultimately betray her limited rhetorical

Figure 3: The Horizon of Domination



Marginalized

value once the naturally masculine and dominant Suetonius Paulinus stands against her.²²²

The tool of intersectionality provides an opportunity to holistically reexamine Tacitus' and Cassius Dio's identification of Boudica's character. As they construct their narratives, both authors portray Boudica as simultaneously a simple barbarian woman and a masculine leader of a rebellion. By providing her access to the prestigious side of the ancient horizon of domination, Boudica's authors justify the initial strength of her rebellion while they also defend her inevitable defeat through the transgressive nature of these positive characterizations. Even though she is categorically an 'Other,' Tacitus and Cassius Dio construct Boudica's positionality with the result of temporarily unraveling her barbarian status.

²²⁰ For the later descriptions of Boudica refusing to submit to Roman authority and fighting for her freedom, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35; Cass. Dio, lxii.3.

²²¹ For the descriptions of Boudica as masculine, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.35; Cass. Dio, lxii.1 and 6. From the Roman perspective, leadership — especially leadership in battle — was exclusively masculine. Boudica also calls out the effeminacy of her Roman opponents and emperor Nero, arguing that both she and her army are more masculine. ²²² For the introduction of Suetonius Paulinus, his proper gender performance, and appropriate Roman military dominance, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.36-7; Cass. Dio, lxii.8-12.

VI. Boudica at the Intersection

While Tacitus and Cassius Dio frame their narratives of Boudica's rebellion as indisputable facts, each author's agenda is revealed in light of two comparanda. The characters of Caratacus and Calgacus serve as useful points of comparison. In 43 CE, 17 years prior to Boudica's rebellion, Caratacus defended Britannia against Roman invasion — until a woman betrayed him. Then again in 84 CE, Calgacus led a desperate final attempt to reclaim his homeland after the Romans defeated all other Britannic forces — until the great general Agricola ultimately defeated him. While both Caratacus and Calgacus engaged in futile resistance against the Roman invasion, our authors infuse rhetorical utility into their respective characters, framing them as foils to Boudica's excessive depravity. Boudica's characterization, the result of compounding elements of her identity, (e.g., a Briton under Roman rule, a woman dominated by men, and a transgressor against tradition, etc.) underscores her depravity.

Tacitus and Cassius Dio both supply reports about Caratacus' resistance in their respective *Annales* and *Historia*.²²³ A prince of the Catuvellauni in southeastern Britannia, Caratacus resists Emperor Claudius' invasion in 43 CE alongside his brother Togodumnus, hoping to delay the Romans with guerilla tactics until they retreated.²²⁴ The Romans, finding them hidden in the forests and swamps, defeat the barbarian brothers; after a pursuit, the Romans kill Togodumnus.²²⁵ Caratacus stirs the Silures to rebel alongside him, and the Romans defeat him once again in 50 CE.²²⁶ Caratacus sought refuge from the court of Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes, who promptly betrayed him.²²⁷ The Romans transport Caratacus to the Senate as a

²²³ The narrative of Caratacus is bifurcated between Cassius Dio's account of Caratacus' early resistance and Tacitus' report of Caratacus' defeat.

²²⁴ Cass. Dio, lx.19.

²²⁵ Cass. Dio, 1x.20-21.

²²⁶ Tac. *Ann.*, xii.35.

²²⁷ Tac. *Ann.*, xii.36.

captive, where he then speaks boldly to Emperor Claudius: "If I were dragged having surrendered at once, neither my fate nor your glory would have become famous; and punishment of me would be followed by oblivion: but if you keep me safe, I will be an eternal example of clemency."²²⁸ Thus, Caratacus impresses his Roman captors and wins his survival, even as his rebellion ceases.

Tacitus and Cassius Dio allow Caratacus to live because his masculinity is superior to the femininity of his character foils: as Romans always defeat Britons, so men always stand above women. True, Romans defeat Caratacus in every battle, though his rebellion ultimately concludes because of a woman's betrayal. Defiant and unbroken, Caratacus arrives in Rome; Emperor Claudius forgives this barbarian's actions against the empire, one man to another. Both Tacitus and Cassius Dio contextualize his rebellion with accounts of women usurping imperial power. Consequently, Caratacus appears more favorable in light of these troubles with women. In the *Historia*, Cassius Dio places Caratacus' rebellion as a digression between his discussion of Empress Messalina's improper control over her husband and her infidelity.²²⁹ In the *Annales*, Caratacus appears after Tacitus recounts how Agrippina manipulates Emperor Claudius to appoint her son, Nero, as heir to the throne.²³⁰ Later, when Caratacus receives his pardon, Agrippina sits equal to the emperor and receives equal honors.²³¹ Though Caratacus could not withstand Roman invasion, he survives because these two authors locate his character in a context of feminine overreach.

²²⁸ Tac. *Ann.*, xii.37: "si statim deditus traderer, neque mea fortuna neque tua gloria inclaruisset; et supplicium mei oblivio sequeretur: at si incolumem servaveris, aeternum exemplar clementiae ero."

²²⁹ Cass. Dio, 1x.18 and 21. Before the narrative of Caratacus, Cassius Dio describes how Messalina controlled Claudius by sending him numerous maids while taking action, while after the narrative, he describes how Messalina convinced Claudius to order men to obey her, only to then force them into sex.

²³⁰ Tac. *Ann.*, xii.25-6. After Agrippina convinced Clauidus to name Nero instead of his own son as the heir, she received the title of "Augusta."

²³¹ Tac. *Ann.*, xii.37. Tacitus notes that it was without precedent for Agrippina to be seated equally next to the emperor in such a celebration.

After defeating Caratacus, the Romans advanced further northward. In his *Agricola*,

Tacitus describes the final stand of Britannic resistance in the character of Calgacus, the leader of the Caledonians. At Mons Graupius in 84 CE, the Caledonians stage a last, desperate attempt to repel the Roman conquests. Allegedly, Calgacus, gives a rousing exhortation before the battle, since he surpassed the others "both in virtue and in birth." In this speech, Calgacus' rhetoric is sophisticated: "To rob, to slaughter, to rape — it is 'empire' by false names, and when they make a wilderness, they call it peace." He argues that "virtue and ferocity of subjects are unpleasant for emperors." And "In the same ranks of enemies we will find our forces." Here, Calgacus is asserting that the conquered Britons, Gauls, and Germani would cease aiding the Romans once the Caledonians stall the invasion. Concluding his powerful exhortation, he led a horde of 30,000 men into battle against the 8,000 Roman infantry and 3,000 Roman cavalry. As the two forces collided, the Romans withstood the barbarian onslaught because of the extraordinary acumen of their commander, Agricola. Calgacus' fate after the battle is uncertain, though he likely died alongside 10,000 of his allies.

In his account, Tacitus weaves two arguments together by comparing Calgacus to Agricola and Emperor Domitian. On the one hand, Tacitus characterizes Calgacus negatively as a defeated barbarian reduced by Agricola's dominating *Romanitas*. Though Calgacus fights for his people, he dies in vain. On the other hand, Tacitus frames Calgacus positively; Calgacus is a noble leader fighting against invaders threatening the *libertas* of his homeland. Consequently, though Tacitus alleges Agricola gave a speech in response to Calgacus, his speech is dry and

²³² Tac., Agr., 29: "inter pluris duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus"

²³³ Tac., *Agr.*, 30: "auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

²³⁴ Tac., Agr., 31: "virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus."

²³⁵ Tac., Agr., 32: "in ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus."

²³⁶ Tac., Agr., 35.

²³⁷ Tac., *Agr.*, 35-37.

²³⁸ Tac., *Agr.*, 37.

unimaginative in contrast to the barbarian's rousing and powerful exhortation. Additionally, Tacitus uses Calgacus to critique the emperor indirectly through Agricola. Though Tacitus eulogizes his father-in-law as the stated purpose for authorship, the text's conclusion belies his true intention. As he recounts Agricola's death, Tacitus states: "thus Agricola bore the great solace of his hastened death, to evade after that time, when Domitian soon exhausted the republic, without pauses or time to breathe, but with continuous strikes, as if they were only one" Thus, through these two comparisons — Calgacus against Agricola, and Agricola in contrast to Domitian — the barbarian appears greater than the emperor. Even if Calgacus dies rebelling against Roman authority, he lives on as a paragon of virtue alongside Agricola.

At first glance, Caratacus and Calgacus share many similarities; both are Britannic men who led unsuccessful, if positively-framed, rebellions against Roman invasions. Yet, their different rhetorical functions influence the authors' accounts of these two rebels' fates. On the one hand, Calgacus' death illustrates the overwhelming power of the Romans compared to the Britons. Even so, Calgacus dies a noble death fighting for his freedom — though a barbarian, Calgacus prizes *libertas*, a Roman notion. Thus, Tacitus places him as a peer to Agricola and an implicit critique against Domitian. On the other hand, Caratacus' survival illustrates the patriarchal domination of Roman society. When he fights against the Romans, the situation was identical to that of Calgacus: a Briton vainly resists Roman invasion. In contrast, Caratacus survives his rebellion and never surrenders to the Romans, owing to Cartimandua's betrayal. His rebellion never truly ceased but a woman unfairly snuffed it out, and as a result, the Senators recognized in Caratacus a kindred spirit, thus pardoning his opposition. Tacitus and Cassius Dio

²³⁹ Tac., Agr., 33-34. Compare to 30-32 for Calgacus' speech immediately prior in the narrative.

²⁴⁰ Tac., *Agr.*, 3: "hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus"

²⁴¹ Tac., *Agr.*, 44: "ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit."

allow Caratacus to survive, ranking him above not only his Britannic foil, Cartimandua, but also his contextual foils, Messalina and Agrippina. Both men rebelled against Rome: one survived, the other perished.

Tacitus and Cassius Dio construct Boudica's rebellion in 60 CE fundamentally differently when compared to these other two narratives. Rather than being perpetrated by a male leader, these two authors place Boudica — a woman — as the rebellion's commander. The Romans violate Boudica, her family, and her nation in ways specific to her sex; Boudica assumes a masculine mien in retaliation. In the early stages of her rebellion, this powerful masculinity conquered both the weak, 'feminized' veterans at Camulodunum and the unprepared legion rushing to its rescue. Nevertheless, after Tacitus and Cassius Dio introduce Suetonius Paulinus as her adversary, his natural masculinity exposes Boudica's transgressive facsimile.

Consequently, when the two engage in battle, the Romans rout the Britons once again, and Boudica dies. Even when these two authors discuss Nero's matricide and uxoricide as context for her rebellion, Boudica still appears unfavorable. Though both characters are equally transgressive in their gender, Nero can return to his dominating masculinity, but Boudica can only return to her submissive femininity. On account of her uniquely depraved transgressions, Tacitus and Cassius Dio place Boudica below the ancient horizon of domination.

²⁴² Boudica is first mentioned as a woman and a wife, see: Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.31: "iam primum uxor eius Boudicca," and Cass. Dio, lxii.2: "Βουδουῖκα ἦν, γυνὴ Βρεττανὶς γένους τοῦ βασιλείου."

²⁴³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.31, and Cass. Dio, lxii.2. Here, Tacitus describes the abuses committed against Boudica and her family, and Cassius Dio both adds the monetary exploitation of the province and describes Boudica as deeply masculine.

²⁴⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.31-2, and Cass. Dio, lxii.8. Here, Boudica defeats both the unprepared veterans at Camulodunum and the legion coming to its aid.

²⁴⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.37, and Cass. Dio, lxii.12. Here, the authors describe the battle between Boudica and Suetonius Paulinus and Boudica's death. Tacitus suggests Boudica drank poison as an act of suicide, but Cassius Dio argues that Boudica died because of an sickness.

²⁴⁶ Nero's plot to kill Agrippina appears in Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.1-11 and Cass. Dio, lxii[lxi].11-13. Nero's divorce and murder of Octavia appears in Tac., *Ann.*, xiv.59-64 and Cass. Dio, lxii.13. Both authors place Boudica's rebellion between these two events.

Applying the lens of intersectionality and comparing the other barbarian leaders, we can view Boudica as particularly deprayed, owing to the gendered and ethnicized nature of her transgressions, First, both Tacitus and Cassius Dio describe Caratacus' futile resistance to colonial domination before undercutting his gendered authority having been betrayed by Cartimandua. Emperor Claudius reasserts Caratacus' masculinity in the Senate by pardoning him; undefeated by Roman soldiers, Caratacus lives to assert his privilege over women. Then, Tacitus balances Calgacus' narrative between his own forthright chauvinism and critique of empire. Here, Tacitus establishes Agricola's Roman dominance over Calgacus' barbarian rebellion, but he acknowledges that both men hold similar values that elevate them above Emperor Domitian. Though Calgacus dies, he remains a noble warrior. Finally, Tacitus and Cassius Dio recount Boudica's resistance both to Roman colonial pressure and Roman gender norms. In this last narrative, her authors doubly condemn Boudica as not only a rebel but also as a facsimile of masculinity against Seutonius Paulinius' natural masculinity and Romanitas. They also relegate Boudica even below Emperor Nero, though both are equally transgressive. Tacitus and Cassius Dio create, entrap, and destroy Boudica, a woman intersected by Roman imperial power and gender norms.

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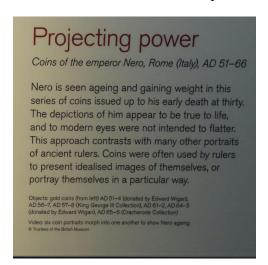
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Appendix 1: Supplemental Pictures

All pictures featured here are my own work.





These coins date back to the reign of Nero and the time of Boudica's rebellion. Courtesy of the British Museum.

Medallions showing Commodus as Hercules Rome (Italy), AD 192

The emperor Commodus wished to be identified with the god Hercules. On these medallions he is depicted as Hercules, with a lion-skin headdress. He is also shown ploughing a ritual furrow to re-found Rome in his own name. Commodus became unpopular and was assassinated in AD 192.

Copper alloy medallions, Rome, AD 192, (left) Edward Wigan Collection, (right) Cracherode Collection



These medallions of Commodus display the overweening pride that Cassius Dio witnessed firsthand as a senator under Commodus. Courtesy of the British Museum.

Marble statue of the Emperor Septimius Severus (ruled AD 193-211). Roman AD 193-200 From Alexandria, Egypt.

Severus, shown in military uniform, was a very skilled general. An international Emperor, he was born in Leptis Magna, Libya, had a Syrian wife, Julia Domna, and campaigned all over the Empire before dying in York, northern Britain, in AD211. He was the last great Emperor before the crisis of the third century engulfed the Empire

Excavated at Alexandria by the armies of Napoleon I. Brought to London after the French surrender of Egypt. GR 1802.7-10.2 (Sculpture 1944) This statue of Septimius Severus represents the Emperor under whom Cassius Dio wrote his *Histories*. Courtesy of the British Museum.

Roman coins referring to Judaea minted at Rome

The emperor Vespasian issued a large series of coins commemorating the defeat of the First Jewish Revolt (AD 66-70), and Nerva (AD 96-8) made coins to mark the end of abuses in the collection of the tax which Jews were obliged to pay to Rome.

- 5 Sestertius of Vespasian (AD 69-79), with the legend Judaea capta
 - C M Cracherode Collection CM BMC Vespasian 342
- 6 Sestertius of Nerva (AD 96-8) CM R 10342



1 Bronze appliqué decorated with a bust of Africa personified Roman, 2nd or 3rd century AD

Africa is portrayed as a woman in Greek dress, but with curly African hair framed by an elephant's head. Flanking the bust are an elephant's tusk and a lion.

Hamilton Collection GR 1772.3-2.152 (Bronze 1524)



This depiction of Judea on coinage and this portrayal of Africa both display a conquered province in the form of a woman. Through this depiction, the Romans 'feminized' their opponents and asserted masculine dominance over them. Courtesy of the British Museum.



This bust of a statue of Claudius would have been similar to the statue in the temple of Camulodunum that Boudica destroyed. Courtesy of the British Museum.



This model of the Temple to Claudius at Camulodunum displays how it would have looked before Boudica razed the city. Courtesy of the Colchester Castle Museum.



This work, titled "Boadicea and Her Daughters," displays how she may have looked when giving her address before battle. This statue sits opposite the Parliament Building of the United Kingdom across the River Thames.





Appendix 2.1: Manuscript Tradition of Tacitus' Annales

The manuscript tradition for Tacitus' *Annales* Book XIV is straightforward since there is only one surviving manuscript from the eleventh century. For this project, I relied on the work of E. C. Woodcock and his *Tacitus: Annals XIV* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992) to identify and translate the selections concerning Boudica's revolt. Woodcock relied on photographs of two Medicean manuscripts — numbers 68.1 and 68.2 — from the Laurentine Library in Florence, the second of which contains a copy of Book XIV.²⁴⁷ From these photographs, Woodcock created an introduction, notes, index, and vocabulary list to accompany the text.

The *Annales* Books I-VI and XI-XVI survive alongside Tacitus' *Historiae* in these two manuscripts. The first Medicean manuscript contains the early books of the *Annales*, while the second holds the latter books of the *Annales* and the *Historiae*. The first manuscript was written at Fulda in a mature Carolingian minuscule around 850 CE, and the second manuscript originates from Montecassino in the mid-eleventh century, as indicated by its Beneventan script.²⁴⁸ The latter manuscript derives from an earlier lost manuscript written in rustic capitals, but scholars have also proposed an intermediate copy written in Carolingian minuscule.²⁴⁹

No earlier sources of Tacitus' *Annales* survive. Despite this, we know of its existence in antiquity from other ancient sources: Pliny the Younger corresponds with Tacitus in *Epistula* 7.20 and 8.7 and explicitly mentions his historical works; though its first thirteen books are lost, Ammianus Marcellinus began his *Res Gestae* in the 380s at 96 CE – where Tacitus left off; and Jerome mentions him by name in *Commentary on Zacchariah* 14.1-2, among other authors.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ E. C. Woodcock, *Tacitus: Annals XIV* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), v.

²⁴⁸ R. J. Tarrant, "Tacitus: *Annales*, 11-16, *Historiae*," in ed. L.D. Reynolds, *Texts and transmission: A survey of the Latin classics* (Oxford, 1983), 407.

²⁵⁰ C. W. Mendell, *Tacitus: The Man and his Work* (Yale University Press, 1970).

Appendix 2.2: Manuscript Tradition of Cassius Dio's Historia

The manuscript tradition for Cassius Dio's *Historia* Book LXII is complicated since it does not directly survive within any manuscript of the *Historia* but rather in an eleventh-century epitome. For this project, I relied on the work of E. Cary in the Loeb Classical Library's edition of *Dio's Roman History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) to identify and translate the selections concerning Boudica's revolt. Cary himself relied on Boissevain's prior edition, but ultimately they both had no choice but to rely on two manuscripts of Xiphilinus' eleventh-century epitome of the *Historia*: the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 145 and the Codex Parisinus Coislinianus 320, both from the fifteenth century. ²⁵¹ Besides these, Cary notes that another unknown manuscript has filled various gaps in these two. ²⁵² Instead of Cassius Dio's original structure, Xiphilinus structured his epitome around the lives of emperors.

Even though these manuscripts only provide an epitome of Cassius Dio, it seems that Xiphilinus was a credulous epitomizer, if one interested specifically in matters immediately pertaining to emperors. As an example, both Christopher Mallan²⁵³ and Marion Kruse²⁵⁴ compare an uncontested, surviving section of Cassius Dio with its corresponding section of Xiphlinus's epitome. Although Xiphilinus' epitome is significantly truncated, it still retains much of Dio's original text. I have displayed Xiphilinus' epitome side by side to a surviving section from Cassius Dio for comparison:

²⁵¹ E. Cary, "Introduction," in *Dio's Roman History*, vols. 1-9 (London: William Heinemann, 1914), I, xxii-xxiii. ²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ C. Mallan, "The Style, Method, and Programme of Xiphilinus' Epitome of Cassius Dio's Roman History," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 53 (2013), 627-8.

²⁵⁴ M. Kruse, "Xiphilinos' Agency in the *Epitome* of Cassius Dio," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 61 (2021), 216-8.

Cassius Dio (37.20.3-6):

άλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, καίπερ μεγάλα τε ὄντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πρόσθε Ρωμαίων πραγθέντα, καὶ τῆ τύχη καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις οἱ ἀναθείη ἄν τις· ος δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔργον ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἄξιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο νῦν ἤδη φράσω. πλείστην μὲν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν τῆ θαλάσση καὶ ἐν τῆ ἠπείρῳ ἔχων, πλεῖστα δὲ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πεπορισμένος, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι συχνοῖς ἀκειωμένος, τούς τε δήμους ὧν ἦρξε πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν δι' εὐνοίας εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος, δυνηθείς τ' αν δι' αὐτῶν τήν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασγεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος πᾶν περιποιήσασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐθελοντὶ ἂν αὐτὸν δεξαμένων, εί δὲ καὶ ἀντέστησάν τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀσθενείας γε πάντως ἂν ὁμολογησάντων, οὐκ ἠβουλήθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, άλλ' εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς [τε] τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτεπάγγελτος, μήτε τῆς βουλής μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου τι περὶ αὐτῶν, άφῆκεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια αὐταῖς χρήσασθαι φροντίσας.

Xiphilinus (9.25-10.2):

τῶν μέντοι Πομπηίφ πεπραγμένων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καίπερ μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν Ῥωμαίων πραχθέντα, καὶ τῆ τύχη καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις αὐτῷ ἀναθείη ἄν τις· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον πάντων, ὅτι δυνηθεὶς ἂν ράδίως τήν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ μοναρχῆσαι τῆς Ῥώμης δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἰσχύος, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὸ Βρεντήσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτεπάγγελτος, μήτε τοῦ δήμου μήτε τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀφῆκεν.

Color Scheme:

Black: directly copied

Red: excluded

Purple: necessary specification to clarify the epitome

Pink: alternate form of the same word

Orange: summarization

Light Blue: word order changed

Green: different words or syntax for the same idea

We have no sources between Cassius Dio's original text and Xiphilinus's epitome, but Books LXX and LXXI of Dio's *Histories* were already lost when Xiphilinus wrote. The following is the survival status of the entire *Histories*: surviving via various manuscripts attributed to Dio, via the epitome of Xiphilinus, or via the epitome of Zonaras from the twelfth century.

Books:	Bks. 1-21	Bks. 22-35	Bks. 36-60	Bks. 61-9	Bks. 70-1	Bks. 72-80
Source:	Zonaras	Lost to Time	Dio and Xiphilinus	Xiphilinus	Lost to Time	Xiphilinus

Latin

XXXI. Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obseguio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. Quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones. domus per servos velut capta vastarentur. Iam primum uxor eius Boudica verberibus adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenorum, avitis bonis exuuntur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. Qua contumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae cesserant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinobantibus et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio

Color Scheme: Orange — nominal syntax Red — verbal syntax Dark Blue — participial syntax Purple — infinitive syntax Light Blue — proper nouns and ethnonyms Green — rhetorical devices

Appendix 3.1: Translation of *Annales* XIV.31-37 English

King Prasutagus of the Iceni, distinguished by long-continued prosperity, had willed as his heirs the Caesar and his two daughters; by such vielding, he judged that both his kingdom and his own house would be far from injury. But it turned out to the contrary, to such an extent that the kingdom and his house were ravaged by centurions and slaves, respectively, just as things having been captured. Moreover, first. his wife Boudica was struck by whips, and his daughters were violated by rape: each of the chief men of the Iceni were stripped of their ancestral rights, and, they were treating the king's relatives as slaves. Because of these insults and the fear of harsher things, when they had assumed the shape of a province, they grabbed arms, and after they agitated the Trinobantes to rebellion as well as others who are not yet broken by slavery, they had agreed to take back freedom as a secret conspiracy, with the sharpest hatred towards the veterans.

Commentary

longa opulentia ablative of respect.
heredem is a predicate accusative in apposition
to Caesarem and duasque filias.

scripserat carries the natural sense of 'to write,' but it can also mean by extension 'to write a will.' The latter use is being used here.

tali obsequio is an ablative of means.

fore is a future infinitive in indirect statement.

vastarentur is an imperfect subjunctive in a result clause in secondary sequence expressing simultaneous time.

Boudica is in apposition to uxor.
verberibus and stupro are ablatives of means.
Qua contumelia and metu are ablatives of cause.

provinciae is a genitive of description.
rapiunt is present active indicative, used here as
an historical present.

Trinobantibus is the ablative subject of an ablative absolute with commotis as the ablative participle.

servitio is an ablative of means.
fracti contains a suppressed form of 'esse.'
occultis coniurationibus is an ablative of
manner.

acerrimo odio is an ablative predicate and an ablative subject of an ablative absolute with a suppressed 'esse.'

veteranos is an accusative of the goal.

The Iceni were a tribe of Britons in eastern Britannia, north of the Trinobantes.

Prasutagus was their king and the husband of Boudica.

Caesar here refers to Emperor Nero, who is further described in Suet., *Nero*.

The Trinobantes were a southern neighboring tribe of the Iceni whose capital was originally Camulodunum.

Quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando, foventibus inpotentiam veteranorum militibus similitudine vitae et spe eiusdem licentiae. Ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant. Nec arduum videbatur excindere coloniam nullis munimentis saeptam; quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amoenitati prius quam usui consulitur.

These things happened because, within the colony, namely Camulodunum, the new settlers (as if they had accepted the whole region for a gift) were pushing out of the homes and driving out of the fields their captives, by which they called slaves, in a manner encouraging the lawlessness of the veterans, because of a similarity in life with the soldiers and hope of the same license. To this, a temple was set up to the divine Claudius, as if a citadel, it was seen to be, of eternal domination, and chosen priests poured out all fortunes by the spectacle of religion. Nor did it seem difficult to raze the colony, surrounded with no fortifications; since it had been provisioned insufficiently by our leaders, as long as they were mindful more of pleasantness rather than utility.

Camulodunum as an appositive of coloniam, which itself is an accusative object of a preposition. Camulodunum was the original Roman capital of Britannia and the original home of the Trinobantes. It is modern-day Colchester.

recens is an adverbial nominative adjective modifying deducti which is a substantive nominative plural participle acting as the subject.

accepissent is a pluperfect subjunctive in an *quasi*-irrealis clause in secondary sequence expressing prior time.

domibus is an ablative of separation.
agris is dative with a compound verb.
foventibus is an ablative of manner.
similitudine and spe are ablatives of cause.
constitutum is a perfect passive participle
acting as a finite verb with a suppressed
form of 'esse' with templum as its subject.

aspiciebatur contains a suppressed form of 'esse.'

specie is an ablative of means.
excindere is a present active infinitive in a
purpose clause.

nullis munimentis is an ablative of manner.
ducibus nostris is a dative of agent.
amoenitati prius quam usui are dative with
certain intransitive verbs of which consulo
is one

For more information on Claudius, see Suet., Claud.

XXXII. Inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus. Et feminae in furorem turbatae adesse exitium canebant, externosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos; consonuisse ululatibus theatrum visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subversae coloniae: iam Oceanus cruento aspectu, dilabente aestu humanorum corporum effigies relictae, ut Britannis ad spem, ita veteranis ad metum trahebantur. Sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. Ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine iustis armis misit; et inerat modica militum manus.

Among these things, with no public cause, the statue of Victory in Camulodunum collapsed and even turned over backward, as if it fled from enemies. And women disturbed into a furor were singing that destruction is at hand. and that foreign murmurs were heard in their court; that the theater resounded with howls and the appearance of the overthrown colony was observed in the estuary of the Thames: then too, the ocean was bloody in appearance; when the tide ebbs, the likenesses of human corpses were relinquished, so that they were considered a hope for the Britons, thus a fear for the veterans. But because Suetonius was far away, they sought aid from Catus Decianus, the procurator. That man sent scarcely more than 200 without proper weapons: and there was present a small host of soldiers.

- delapsum is a perfect deponent participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse' Camuloduni is locative.
- conversum is a perfect passive participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse.'
- cederet is an imperfect subjunctive in a quasi-irrealis clause in primary sequence expressing simultaneous time.
- hostibus is a dative with an intransitive verb.

 adesse is a present infinitive in indirect

 statement alongside its accusative subject
 exitium.
- auditos is a perfect passive participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse' in indirect statement.
- consonuisse is a perfect infinitive acting as a historical present verb in indirect statement.
- ululatibus is an ablative of means.
- visamque is a perfect passive participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse' in indirect statement.
- cruento aspectu is an ablative of description with a suppressed form of 'esse.'
- dilabente is an ablative present participle in an ablative absolute with aestu as its subject, expressing simultaneous time.
- relictae is a perfect passive participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse.'
- procuratore is in apposition to Cato Deciano. ducentos is a masculine accusative plural substantive adjective.
- Victoria was the defied personification of Victory according to the Romans.
- Suetonius Paulinus was a governor of Britannia attested by Tac., *Ann*.xiv alongside *Hist*.i and ii, and Cass. Dio, *Hist*.lx and lxii.
- Decianus Catus only survives here and in Cassius Dio's similar account of this narrative in *Hist*. lxii.

Tutela templi freti, et impedientibus qui occulti rebellionis conscii consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum prae duxerunt, neque motis senibus et feminis iuventus sola restitit: quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur. Et cetera guidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: templum, in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugnatumque. Et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali, legato legionis nonae, in subsidium adventanti obvius fudit legionem, et quod peditum interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis defensus est. Qua clade et odiis provinciae, quam avaritia eius in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.

Relying on the guardianship of the temple, and because of those hindering men, namely those secret accomplices in rebellion who were disturbing the plans, [the soldiery] had constructed in front neither ditch nor wall, and after moving the old men and women, the youths did not resist alone: as if in the middle of peace, the incautious men were surrounded by a multitude of barbarians. And anything remaining from the assault either was looted or burned: the temple, in which soldiers had crowded themselves together, was besieged for two days and captured. And the victorious Britons, meeting with Petillius Cerialis, commander of the Ninth Legion advancing in support, routed the legion, and they destroyed the infantry: Cerialis escaped into camp with some horsemen and was defended by the fortifications. Because of this disaster and the hatred from the province which he had driven into war by his avarice, the nervous procurator Catus crossed into Gaul.

impedientibus is a present active participle acting as an ablative of cause.qui occulti rebellionis conscii is in apposition to impedientibus.

motis is an ablative perfect passive participle in an ablative absolute with senibus et feminis as its ablative subject.

multitudine is an ablative of means.

obsessum expugnatumque are perfect passive participles acting as verbs with a suppressed form of 'esse.'

victor Britannus is singular in form but plural in meaning.

legato stands in apposition to Petilio in an ablative of military accompaniment.
munimentis is an ablative of means.
Qua clade and odiis are ablatives of cause.
avaritia is an ablative of means.
Petillius Cerialis survives only through Tac.,

Petillius Cerialis survives only through Tac., Ann.xiv, and Hist.iii and iv. His full name Quintus Petillius Cerialis is attested in CIL XVI, 20. XXXIII. At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostis Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. Ibi ambiguus, an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. Neque fletu et lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum et comitantis in partem agminis acciperet: si quos inbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt.

But Suetonius, in a manner of marvelous constancy, hastened among the middle of the hostiles to London, distinguished in fact, not with the title of a colony, but greatly crowded by an abundance of negotiators and merchandise. There, uncertain whether he should choose that place for war, when he looked around at the small number of soldiers and the fact that the rashness of Petilius recieved sufficiently great warnings, he decided to save all things by the condemnation of one town. Nor was he swayed by the weeping and the tears of those begging for his aid, so that he did not give the signal of departure, and he did not merely accept those accompanying into part of the marching column: if any had delayed by the weakness of sex or by the infirmity of age or by the attraction of the place, they were crushed by the enemy.

mira constantia is an ablative of manner. Londinium is an accusative of the goal. cognomento is an ablative of respect. copia is an ablative of cause.

insigne and celebre both modify Londinium.

Londinium was a merchant town that would later form the foundation for the modern city of London, England.

deligeret is an imperfect subjunctive in an indirect question in secondary sequence and subsequent time.

circumspecta is a perfect passive participle in an ablative absolute with infrequentia as its ablative subject.

Woodcock (1992) suggests this translation for satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam.

damno is an ablative of means.

servare is a complementary present active infinitive.

daret and acciperet are both imperfect subjunctives in a quin result clause in secondary sequence and simultaneous time. According to Woodcock (1992), acciperet requires some restrictive word such as 'tantum.'

agminis is a partitive genitive and seems to be proleptic because it alludes to those who were unable to accompany the marching line.

inbellis, fessa and dulcedo are ablatives of means that form a tricolon.

loci here is genitive, but it can also be locative.

Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laborum segnes aliorum petebant. Ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit. Neque enim capere aut venundare_aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula ignes cruces, tamquam reddituri_supplicium at praerepta interim ultione, festinabant.

The same disaster happened to the town of Verulamium, because the barbarians, happy because of loot and slothful of other labor, since they omitted the forts and military garrisons, were attacking the place which was most fruitful in plundering and unsafe for defending. It was well known that about seventy thousand citizens and allies fell from them in the places which I have mentioned. For they were hastening not to capture or to sell, or any other object which is the commerce of war, but towards slaughter, gibbet, fire, and cross, as much as men about to return a punishment but with the vengeance snatched away in the meantime.

municipio Verulamio is a dative of possession. Verulamium was a Roman town north-northwest of London, now known as St. Albans.

omissis is a perfect passive participle in an ablative absolute with castellis praesidiisque as its two ablative subjects.

quod contains both a suppressed 'locum' and a suppressed form of 'esse.'

uberrimum is superlative.

defendentibus is an ablative of separation uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum is a chiasmus.

civium et sociorum is a partitive genitive. iis is an ablative of separation.

cecidisse is a perfect active infinitive in indirect statement.

praerepta is a perfect passive participle in an ablative absolute with ultione as its ablative subject.

XXXIV. Iam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicensimanis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia armatorum erant, cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat. Deligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum, satis cognito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse, sine metu insidiarum. Igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus, levis circum armatura, conglobatus pro cornibus eques adstitit. At Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant, quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo feroci, ut coniuges quoque testis victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque inponerent, quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

For Suetonius had the Fourteenth Legion with the detachments of the Twentieth and from the nearby auxiliaries, altogether ten thousand armed men, when he prepared to omit delay and to engage with the battle line. And he chose a place having been enclosed by a narrow defile and by a forest from the rear, having understood sufficiently that there was nothing of the enemies except in front and that the plain was open, without fear of ambushes. Therefore, the legionaries stood by, crowded in order; in a circle, the light-armed troops stood; the cavalry, having been crowded together, stood before the wings. But the troops of the Britons were exulting randomly throughout the crowds and cavalry troops, in a multitude greater than in no other place and with a spirit so fierce, that they were also bringing along with them their wives as witnesses of victory, and they set them upon wagons which they had placed upon the extreme border.

Suetonio is a dative of possession. Thus, I have translated the original subjects legio, auxiliares, and milia as predicate nominatives.

armatorum is a partitive genitive.

parat is a present indicative in a *cum* temporal clause with omittere and congredi as complementary infinitives.

acie is an ablative of means.

artis faucibus is an ablative of description.

cognito is a perfect passive participle in an ablative absolute

nihil is an accusative subject in indirect statement alongside a suppressed, impersonal 'esse.'

hostium is a partitive genitive.

apertam is a predicate accusative.

esse is a present infinitive in indirect statement with planitiem as the accusative subject.

ordinibus is an ablative of respect modifying frequens.

cornibus translates most closely to 'horns' but in a military context, it can indicate the wings of an army.

adstitit is a third-person singular perfect indicative verb taking legionarius, armatura, and eques as singular subjects, but these are all plural in meaning. This is also a tricolon.

animo adeo feroci are ablatives of manner.
traherent and inponerent are both imperfect
subjunctives in a result clause in secondary
sequence expressing simultaneous time.

XXXV. Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. Eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senectam quidem aut virginitatem inpollutam relinquant.

Boudica riding in a chariot, daughters before her, as she had approached each nation, she was testifying that it was indeed usual for Britons to fight under the leadership of women, but that now, she was not as a woman descended from those so much greater trying to avenge the loss of the kingdom and wealth, but that she was truly as one of the people trying to avenge a lost freedom, a body weakened by lashes, and the violated chastity of her daughters. The lusts of the Romans were so advanced, that they leave neither our bodies nor even old age or virginity unpolluted.

curru is an ablative of means.

solitum is a perfect passive participle acting as an infinitive in an indirect statement with a suppressed form of 'esse' alongside the complementary infinitive bellare.

ductu is an ablative of the supine expressing respect.

testabatur sets up Boudica's speech as a prolonged series of indirect statements.

The two ideas initiated by tunc and verum both contain suppressed forms of 'esse.'

tantis maioribus is an ablative of origin.

ortam is a substantive feminine accusative singular perfect active participle acting as the subject of an indirect statement.

unam is a feminine accusative singular acting as the subject of an indirect statement

verberibus is an ablative of means.

ulcisci is a present active infinitive in indirect statement with a conative sense, according to Woodcock (1992).

libertatem, corpus, and pudicitiam form a tricolon of accusative objects.

cupidines is an accusative subject of an indirect statement alongside provectas as a perfect passive participle acting as an infinitive in an indirect statement with a suppressed form of 'esse.'

inpollutam is a singular feminine accusative adjective modifying *virginitatem*. In this sense, it modifies *corpora* as well, which is plural neuter accusative, even though its form is attracted to the nearest noun.

relinquant is a present subjunctive in a result clause in secondary sequence, breaking sequence in order to convey vividness, expressing subsequent time. Adesse tamen deos iustae vindictae: cecidisse legionem, quae proelium ausa sit; ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. Ne strepitum quidem et clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos: si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. Id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri et servirent.

However, the gods of righteous vengeance are present: a legion which risked battle has fallen; the rest are hiding themselves in a camp or are looking for an escape. They are not those about to endure the din indeed and the shout of so many thousands, let alone the charge and troop: whether they were considering the abundance of arms or the causes of war with themselves, they would win in this battle or they would die. It was resolved by the woman: let men live if they also serve.

- Adesse is a present active infinitive in an indirect statement with deos as the accusative subject of indirect statement.
- cecidisse is a perfect active infinitive in an indirect statement with legionem as the accusative subject of indirect statement.
- ausa sit is a perfect subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect statement in primary sequence expressing prior time.
- ceteros is an accusative subject of indirect statement governing the present passive (middle) infinitive occultari and the present active infinitive circumspicere.

milium is a partitive genitive.

- perlaturos is a substantive accusative future active participle acting as the subject in an indirect statement containing a suppressed form of 'esse' acting as the verb of an indirect statement.
- illa acie is an ablative with an ellipsed spatial preposition.
- expenderent is an imperfect subjunctive in a present contrary-to-fact conditional where the apodosis is replaced with the passive periphrastic construction vincendum vel cadendum esse, where esse is an infinitive because it is within an indirect statement.
- Id is the accusative subject of indirect statement alongside destinatum as a perfect passive participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse' in indirect statement. Amidst this, mulieri is a dative of agent with the perfect passive system.
- viverent and servirent are part of a present contrary to fact conditional without 'si' marking the protasis. It is also alliteration.
- In this section, I maintained the third-person plural subject translation indicated by Tacitus, but the antecedent subjects are understood to be Boudica's fellow Britons.

XXXVI. Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. Quamquam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat, ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas: plus illic feminarum quam iuventutis aspici. Inbellis inermis cessuros statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium totiens fusi adgnovissent. Etiam in multis legionibus paucos, qui proelia profligarent: gloriaeque eorum accessurum, quod modica manus universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur.

Nor was Suetonius silent indeed in such danger. Though he was confident in their virtue, nevertheless, he was mixing exhortations and entreaties, so that they were pushing away the sounds of the barbarians and the inane threats: "There, more women than youths are seen. Unwarlike, unarmed, they were about to yield immediately, when they might acknowledge the sword and the virtue of the victorious, having been defeated so often. Even in many legions, it was few who were concluding a battle: it was about to be added to their glory, since a small handful might obtain the fame of a whole troop.

- confideret is an imperfect subjunctive in a quamquam concessive clause in secondary sequence, expressing simultaneous time. This is an example of late-Latin subjunctive proliferation; in classical Latin, quamquam would normally take the indicative.
- virtuti is a dative object of a compound verb.

 spernerent is an imperfect subjunctive in a
 purpose clause in secondary sequence and
 expressing simultaneous time.
- plus is a substantive adjective accusative as a subject in an indirect statement alongside aspici as a present passive infinitive acting as the verb of an indirect statement.
- cessuros is a substantive accusative plural future active participle acting as the subject of indirect statement alongside a suppressed form of 'esse' as the verb in an indirect statement.
- vincentium totiens fusi is a juxtaposition.
- adgnovissent is a pluperfect subjunctive in a relative clause of purpose introduced by the relative adverb *ubi* in secondary sequence expressing prior time.
- paucos is an accusative subject in an indirect statement alongside a suppressed form of 'esse' as an infinitive in indirect statement.
- profligarent is an imperfect subjunctive in a relative clause in indirect statement in secondary sequence expressing simultaneous time.
- accessurum is a substantive accusative singular future active participle acting as the subject of an indirect statement alongside a suppressed form of 'esse' as the verb in an indirect statement.
- adipiscerentur is an imperfect subjunctive in a relative clause of purpose in secondary sequence expressing simultaneous time.

Conferti tantum et pilis emissis, post umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent, praedae inmemores: parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura. Is ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedierat vetus miles et multa proeliorum experientia, ut certus eventus Suetonius daret pugnae signum.

Only, after they were pressed close together, and after the javelins are thrown, later with shields and swords, continue the destruction and slaughter, heedless of plunder: when the victory is gained, they themselves have all the yields." That ardor was following from the words of the general; in this way, the veteran soldiery with their great experience of battles had prepared themselves to throw javelins so that, certain of the outcome, Suetonius was giving the signal of battle.

- Conferti is a substantive perfect passive participle in indirect statement with a suppressed form of 'esse' acting as the infinitive in indirect statement.
- pilis is an ablative subject of an ablative absolute alongside emissis as an ablative perfect passive participle.
- continuarent is an imperfect subjunctive in a jussive within indirect statement construction in secondary sequence expressing subsequent time.
- praedae is a genitive with expressions of memory.
- parta is a perfect participle in an ablative absolute alongside its ablative subject victoria.
- ipsis is a dative of possession.
- cessura is a substantive neuter plural accusative future active participle acting as the subject of an indirect statement alongside a suppressed form of 'esse' as the verb in an indirect statement.
- intorquenda is a gerund in the accusative with ad expressing purpose that takes pila as its object.
- multa experientia is an ablative of quality. certus eventus is an adverbial nominative modifying Suetonius.
- daret is an imperfect subjunctive in a result clause in secondary sequence expressing simultaneous time.

XXXVII Ac primum legio gradu inmota et angustias loci pro munimento retinens, postquam in propius suggressos hostis certo iactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. Idem auxiliarium impetus; et eques protentis hastis perfringit quod obvium et validum erat. Ceteri terga praebuere, difficili effugio, quia circumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus. Et miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat, confixaque telis etiam iumenta corporum cumulum auxerant. Clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam veneno finivit.

And first, although their position did not move, and holding fast to the narrowness of the place for defense, and after they had exhausted their javelins with sure aim into the enemies having approached nearer, the legion rushed out just as a wedge. Similar was the charge of the auxiliaries; and the cavalry, since their spears were extended, broke through those who were in the way and strong. The remaining men offered their backs in a difficult escape, since the surrounding vehicles had impeded the departure. And the soldiery was not tempering even from the slaughter of the women, and even the draft animals, transfixed with missiles. increased the pile of bodies. Renowned fame was gained that day, equal to the ancient victories: the reason is, they say, a little less than 80 thousand of Britons fell in battle, while four hundred of soldiers altogether were killed and not many more were wounded. Boudica finished her life with poison.

gradu is an ablative subject of an ablative absolute alongside inmota as an ablative perfect participle.

cuneo is an ablative of manner.

Idem contains a suppressed form of 'esse.'

protentis is an ablative perfect passive

participle in an ablative absolute with

hastis as its ablative subject.

difficili effugio is an ablative of attendant circumstance.

neci is a dative with certain intransitive verbs, of which *tempero* is one.

telis is an ablative of means.

antiquis victoriis is an ablative of quality. par is an example of hyperbaton.

parta is a perfect passive participle acting as a verb with a suppressed form of 'esse.'

octoginta milia is a substantive accusative plural adjective acting as the accusative subject of an indirect statement with cecidisse as a perfect active infinitive in indirect statement.

tradant is a present subjunctive in a relative clause of characteristic.

militum is a partitive genitive quadringentis is an ablative subject of an ablative absolute alongside interfectis as an ablative perfect participle expressing prior time

multo is an ablative subject of an ablative absolute alongside vulneratis as an ablative perfect participle.

veneno is an ablative of means.

This chapter features climactic acceleration. As the pace of the plot quickens after the two speeches, the sentences become shorter and more abbreviated. Tacitus continues events in Britannia in this chapter, but I have chosen to end my translation since Boudica has exited the stage.

Greek

1. Έν δ δε ταῦτα εν τῆ Ῥώμη ἐπαίζετο, πάθος έν τῆ Βρεττανία δεινὸν συνηνέχθη: δύο τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπορθήθησαν, καὶ μυριάδες ὀκτὰ τῶν τε Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν έφθάρησαν, ή τε νήσος ηλλοτριώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ύπὸ γυναικὸς αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη, ώστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείστην αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην συμβήναι, ώς που καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς προεσήμανεν. ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος μετ οἰμωγῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος, οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσα ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι ἐωρῶντο, καὶ ὁ ώκεανὸς ὁ μεταξύ τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αίματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῆ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη.

Appendix 3.2: Translation of *Historia* LXII.1-12

English

But while these things were happening in Rome, a terrible disaster occurred in Britannia. For two cities were sacked, and 80,000 of the Romans and of their allies were destroyed, and the island was made hostile. And yet all this ruin happened to them by a woman, and resulting from this, the greatest shame befell them, as perhaps the gods also foretold the future occurrences to them. For both barbaric noises like laughter at night out of the council chamber and an uproar like wailing out of the theater were heard, though no man either spoke or groaned, and some houses were seen underwater in the River Thames, and the ocean between the island and Gaul once grew bloody in the high-tide.

Commentary

Passive absolution: ἐπαίζετο... συνηνέχθη·... έπορθήθησαν... έφθάρησαν... ηλλοτριώθη... συνηνέχθη ὑπὸ γυναικὸς is a genitive of agent. αὐτοῖς is a dative of disadvantage. συμβῆναι is an aorist active infinitive in a clause of natural result. νυκτὸς is a genitive of time within which. γέλωτος and οἰμωγῆς are genitives of comparison with the preposition μετα. μηδενός is a genitive subject of a genitive absolute while ἀνθρώπων modifies it as a partitive genitive with φθεγγομένου as a present passive participle and στένοντος as a present active participle in a genitive absolute

Color Scheme:

Orange — nominal syntax

Red — verbal syntax

Dark Blue — participial syntax

Purple — infinitive syntax

Light Blue — proper nouns and ethnonyms

Green — rhetorical devices

2. Πρόφασις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἡ δήμευσις τῶν γρημάτων ἃ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐδεδώκει καὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ώς γε Δεκιανὸς Κάτος ὁ τῆς νήσου έπιτροπεύων έλεγεν, άναπόμπιμα γενέσθαι. διά τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν ἐπὶ γρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τόκων δανείσας ἔπειτ' άθρόας τε ἅμα αὐτὰς καὶ βιαίως ἐσέπρασσεν, ἐπανέστησαν. ἡ δὲ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσασα καὶ ἐναντία Ρωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἀναπείσασα, τῆς τε προστατείας αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖσα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς στρατηγήσασα, Βουδουῖκα ἦν, γυνὴ Βρεττανίς γένους τοῦ βασιλείου, μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα φρόνημα ἔχουσα. αὕτη γὰρ συνήγαγέ τε τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ὄν, καὶ ανέβη ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐξ ἐδάφους ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν τρόπον πεποιημένον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τό τε βλέμμα δριμυτάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὸ εἶγε, τήν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὖσαν μέγρι τῶν γλουτῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει, χιτῶνά τε παμποίκιλον ένεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ γλαμύδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ παγεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρπητο. οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ένεσκευάζετο τότε δὲ καὶ λόγχην λαβοῦσα, ώστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάντας ἐκπλήττειν, ἔλεξεν δδε.

An excuse for the war was in the confiscation of money that Claudius had given to the leading men among them. But it was also necessary for these things to be returned, as indeed Decianus Catus, the procurator of the island, said. Therefore, they revolted because of this event, and because Seneca, upon a good hope of interest, having loaned a large sum of money soliciting to them, thereafter, in groups both together and violently, [the Romans] recollected it. But the person — she who most aroused them to anger and she who persuaded them to fight opposite the Romans, she who was thought their protector, and she who directed the whole war — was Boudica, namely, a Brittannic woman of royalty, holding a mind greater than as is in a woman. For she both assembled the army, being around 120,000 combatants, and went up upon an elevated platform made from earth in the Roman manner. She was very tall in stature, she was bristling in appearance; she had a piercing glare and a harsh voice: and she let her very long and very tawny hair fall, being as far as her hips, and she was wearing a large golden twist and she had wrapped around herself a many colored tunic, and she had fastened with a brooch a thick mantle upon it. In this way, she was always dressed. But at that time after taking up a spear so as to terrify everyone from this, she said the following:

αὐτῶν is partitive genitive.
χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν features
synchysis, or interlocking word order. It
also features obfuscation, where the
language is intentionally confusing. In

particular, "ἄκουσιν" could be translated as "with them soliciting" or "with them unwilling." Cary prefers the latter.

έρεθίσασα, ἀναπείσασα, ἀξιωθεῖσα, στρατηγήσασα, and ἔχουσα stand in hypotaxis to the main verb ἦν — 'Boudica was' is subordinated under her actual verbal descriptors.

τὸ σῶμα, τὸ εἶδος, τό βλέμμα, τὸ φθέγμα, and τήν κόμην are accusatives of respect.

οὖσαν is a present active participle acting as an adverbial accusative.

We know the "στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν" – "a large golden twist" that Boudica wore as a torc

For more information on Claudius, see Suet., Claud., and for Seneca, see Suet., Claud. and Nero, as well as Tac., Ann. xiv.

Decianus Catus only survives through this passage and in Tacitus' similar account of this narrative in Ann. xiv.

3. "Πέπεισθε μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅσον έλευθερία τῆς δουλείας διαφέρει, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ πρότερόν τις ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπειρίας ἐπαγωγοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ήπάτητο, άλλὰ νῦν γε ἐκατέρου πεπειραμένοι μεμαθήκατε μεν όσον ήμαρτήκατε δεσποτείαν έπισπαστὸν πρὸ τῆς πατρίου διαίτης προτιμήσαντες, έγνώκατε δὲ ὅσω καὶ πενία άδέσποτος πλούτου δουλεύοντος προφέρει. τί μὲν γὰρ οὐ τῶν αἰσχίστων, τί δ' οὐ τῶν άλγίστων, έξ οὖπερ ές τὴν Βρεττανίαν οὖτοι παρέκυψαν, πεπόνθαμεν; οὐ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων όλων ἐστερήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν; οὐ πρὸς τῷ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ νέμειν καὶ γεωργεῖν ἐκείνοις, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμὸν ἐτήσιον φέρομεν: καὶ πόσω κρεῖττον ἦν ἄπαξ τισὶ πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας όνομάτων κατ' ἔτος λυτροῦσθαι; πόσω δὲ έσφάχθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον ἢ κεφαλὰς ύποτελεῖς περιφέρειν; καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τελευτῆσαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀζήμιόν έστιν, άλλ' ἴστε ὅσον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τελούμεν παρά μεν γάρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντάς τισιν ὁ θάνατος έλευθεροῖ, Ρωμαίοις δὲ δὴ μόνοις καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ζῶσι πρὸς τὰ λήμματα, τί δ' ὅτι, κἂν μὴ ἔχη τις ἡμῶν ἀργύριον (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν), ἀποδυόμεθα καὶ σκυλευόμεθα ὥσπερ οἱ φονευόμενοι; τί δ' αν προϊόντος τοῦ γρόνου μετριάσαιεν, οὕτως ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθύς, ὅτε πάντες καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ νεάλωτα θεραπεύουσι. προσενηνεγμένοι;

You all have been convinced by these deeds how greatly freedom differs from slavery, and in this way, even if previously some of you had been deceived by the ignorance of something better and by the alluring promises of the Romans, but now, having tried both, you have learned how greatly you failed, after preferring an imported despotism above the ancestral way of life, and you have come to know how much even poverty without a master holds in preference to a wealth of slavery. For what greatest disgraces, what greatest sufferings, have we not experienced ever since these men came into Britannia? Have we not been deprived of the best and greatest of all our possessions, and of the rest do we not pay taxes? Besides pasturing and farming all our other things for them, we even yield a yearly tribute of these very bodies! And how much better it would be to have been sold to someone once rather than to ransom ourselves each year with empty titles of freedom? And how much better to have been slaughtered and utterly destroyed rather than to carry around taxable heads? And yet why do I say this? For not even dying is free from them, but you have known how much we pay even for the dead. For among other people, death frees even those enslaved to others, but for the Romans alone, even the dead live for profit. But why, although not one of us holds money (for how or from where could we get it), why are we stripped and despoiled like those being murdered? And why should they be moderate with the advancing time, having dealt with us in this way from the very beginning, when all men even attend to newly captured beasts?

τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς is a dative of means.
τῆς δουλείας is a genitive of comparison.
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπειρίας is a genitive of agent with a passive verb while ἐπαγωγοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι is a dative of means that also features alliteration. The pair of these constructions also features both variatio, since they express how the audience was deceived in two different syntaxes, and adversative asyndeton.

ὅσον is an adverbial accusative.
 ὅσω is a dative with a compound verb.
 πλούτου δουλεύοντος is a genitive of comparison.

τῶν αἰσχίστων and τῶν ἀλγίστων are partitive genitives.

τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων is a genitive of lack

κτημάτων ὅλων is a partitive genitive. ἐκείνοις is an example of zeugma, because it is yoked to both 'νέμειν καὶ γεωργεῖν' and 'φέρομεν.'

τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν is a genitive of material. πόσω... πόσω are datives of degree of difference.

κεφαλὰς ὑποτελεῖς is a transferred epithet. τελευτῆσαι is an articular infinitive. μετριάσαιεν is an aorist optative in a future less vivid mixed conditional construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

In this section, Boudica discusses death and taxes. Here she discusses paying taxes (τέλη), preferring death over carrying taxable heads (ὑποτελεῖς), how even death (τελευτῆσαι) is not free, and how they pay (τελοῦμεν) for the dead. This is an example of antanaclasis.

4. Ήμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αίτιοι, ώς γε τάληθες είπεῖν, γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου έπετρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτούς, ώσπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκεῖνον, έξηλάσαμεν οἵτινες οὐ πόρρωθέν σφισιν, ώσπερ καὶ τῶ Αὐγούστω καὶ τῶ Γαΐω τῶ Καλιγόλα, φοβερὸν τὸ καὶ πειρᾶσαι τὸν πλοῦν έποιήσαμεν. τοιγαροῦν νῆσον τηλικαύτην, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤπειρον τρόπον τινὰ περίρρυτον νεμόμενοι καὶ ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην ἔχοντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀφ' ἁπάντων τῶν άλλων άνθρώπων άφωρισμένοι ώστε καὶ γῆν άλλην καὶ οὐρανὸν άλλον οἰκεῖν πεπιστεῦσθαι καί τινας αὐτὧν καὶ τοὺς σοφωτάτους γε μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἡμῶν ἀκριβῶς πρότερον ἐγνωκέναι, κατεφρονήθημεν καὶ κατεπατήθημεν ὑπ' άνθρώπων μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰδότων. άλλ' εί καὶ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν ἔτι, ὧ πολῖται καὶ φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς (πάντας γὰρ ὑμᾶς συγγενεῖς, ἄτε καὶ μιᾶς νήσου οἰκήτορας ὄντας καὶ εν ὄνομα κοινὸν κεκλημένους, νομίζω), τὰ προσήκοντα πράξωμεν, έως έτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μνημονεύομεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πρόσρημα καὶ τὸ **ἔργον** αὐτῆς τοῖς παισὶ καταλίπωμεν. ἂν γὰρ ήμεῖς τῆς συντρόφου εὐδαιμονίας παντελῶς ἐκλαθώμεθα, τί ποτε ἐκεῖνοι ποιήσουσιν ἐν δουλεία τραφέντες:

But we indeed, we have become responsible for all these evils, to speak a truth indeed, since we allowed them to enter the beginning of the island, and we did not immediately drive them out, just as we had also done for that Julius Caesar, since we did not make attempting sailing a fearful task for them from afar, as we did even to Augustus and to Gaius Caligula. Accordingly, we, although having inhabited an island so large — rather, a continent surrounded by water, one might say — and although holding an inhabited region of our own, and being separated so greatly by the ocean from all other men, and resulting from this both that we were believed to inhabit even another land and another sky, and that for even some of them and indeed the wisest men to have previously discovered in no way the our exact name, we were looked down upon and trampled underfoot by men knowing nothing other than greed. But even if not before, still now, O' countrymen and friends and kinsmen, (for I consider all you as kinsmen just as being inhabitants of one island and being called one common name), let us do what is befitting, while we still are mindful of freedom, in order that we might leave to the children both the name and the reality of this freedom. For, if we completely forget our inborn prosperity, what will they do when being reared in slavery?

ἐπιβῆναι is an infinitive of purpose in a relative clause of cause initiated by οἴτινες. φοβερὸν is proleptic.

τὸ καὶ πειρᾶσαι is an articular infinitive.

οἰκεῖν is an infinitive in a ὥστε clause of natural result.

πεπιστεῦσθαι is a subject infinitive not in indirect statement.

πράξωμεν is an aorist subjunctive in an exhortation in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

τῆς ἐλευθερίας and τῆς συντρόφου εὐδαιμονίας are genitives with experience of memory.

καταλίπωμεν is an aorist subjunctive in an purpose clause in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

ἐκλαθώμεθα is a present subjunctive in a future more vivid construction in primary sequence and imperfective aspect.

For more information on Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Gaius Caligula, see Suet. Jul., Aug., and Cal. respectively.

5. Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐχ ἵνα μισήσητε τὰ παρόντα (μεμισήκατε γάρ), οὐδ' ἵνα φοβηθῆτε τὰ μέλλοντα (πεφόβησθε γάρ), άλλ' ἵνα ἐπαινέσω τε ύμᾶς ὅτι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πάνθ' ὅσα δεῖ προαιρεῖσθε, καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν γνῷ ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἐτοίμως συναίρεσθε. φοβεῖσθε δὲ μηδαμῶς τοὺς Ρωμαίους: οὔτε γὰρ πλείους ἡμῶν εἰσιν οὕτ' ἀνδρειότεροι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ κνημῖσιν έσκέπασθε; καὶ προσέτι καὶ σταυρώμασι καὶ τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις ἐσκεύασθε πρὸς τὸ μήτι πάσγειν έξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πολεμίων; τοῦτο γὰρ αίροῦνται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν φόβων ἢ τὸ καὶ δρᾶσαί τι προγείρως ώσπερ ήμεῖς. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία ἀνδρίας χρώμεθα ὥστε καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀσφαλεστέρας τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰς άσπίδας πολυαρκεστέρας της έκείνων πανοπλίας νομίζειν. έξ οδπερ ήμεῖς μὲν καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰροῦμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ βιασθέντες έκφεύγομεν, κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαί ποι προελώμεθα, ές τοιαῦτα έλη καὶ ὄρη καταδυόμεθα ώστε μήτε εύρεθηναι μήτε ληφθῆναι·

I say these things not so that you might hate the present circumstance (for you have already hated it), nor so that you might fear the future (for you have already feared), but so that I might applaud you because you all are coming forward in accordance with all one another as much as it is necessary and that I might thank you because you gather willingly for me and each other. But fear not even one of the Romans. For they are not greater than us in numbers, nor are they braver. And proof is that have you covered yourselves with helmets, armor, or greaves? And besides, have you protected yourselves with palisades, walls, and trenches before you lest you suffer from raids of enemies? For they take this defense for themselves out of stronger fears rather than doing something handily like us. For we have for ourselves so much an abundance of bravery so as to think even the tents safer than walls and our shields more helpful than the suits of armor of those people. From this, we, being victorious, capture them, and being defeated, we flee away; and if therefore, we decide to retreat anywhere, we go down into such swamps and mountains that we can neither be found nor captured.

- μισήσητε, φοβηθῆτε, ἐπαινέσω, and γνῶ are all aorist subjunctives in purpose clauses in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.
- έμοι and ἐαυτοῖς are dative with a compound verb.
- φοβεῖσθε is a second-person plural present medio-passive imperative.
- $\dot{\eta}$ μ $\tilde{\omega}$ ν is a genitive of comparison.
- οτι initiates an appositive clause.
- κράνεσι... θώραξι... κνημῖσιν is a tricolon.
- I added the semi-colon in "ἐσκέπασθε; καὶ προσέτι" that was not present in the original text.
- σταυρώμασι... τείχεσι... τάφροις is a tricolon. τὸ μήτι πάσχειν is an negative articular infinitive.
- I added the Greek question mark ";" between "τῶν πολεμίων;" and "τοῦτο γὰρ", which is not present in the original edition.
- τῶν τειχῶν and τῆς πανοπλίας are genitives of comparison.
- νομίζειν is an infinitive in a clause of natural result.
- ἀναχωρῆσαί is a complementary infinitive. προελώμεθα is an acrist subjunctive in a present general construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect
- εύρεθῆναι and ληφθῆναι are infinitives in a clause of natural result

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὔτε διῶξαί τινα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους ούτε φυγείν δύνανται, καν άρα καὶ ἐκδράμωσί ποτε, ἔς τε γωρία ἀποδεδειγμένα καταφεύγουσι, κάνταῦθα ὥσπερ ἐς γαλεάγρας κατακλείονται. ἔν τε οὖν τούτοις παρὰ πολὺ ήμων έλαττοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις, ὅτι οὕτε λιμὸν οὔτε δίψος, οὐ ψῦγος οὐ καῦμα ύποφέρουσιν ώσπερ ήμεῖς, άλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ σκέπης σίτου τε μεμαγμένου καὶ οίνου καὶ ἐλαίου δέονται, κἂν ἄρα τι τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπη διαφθείρονται, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ πᾶσα μὲν πόα καὶ ῥίζα σῖτός ἐστι, πᾶς δὲ χυμὸς ἔλαιον, πᾶν δὲ ὕδωρ οἶνος, πᾶν δὲ δένδρον οἰκία. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ γωρία ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὲν συνήθη καὶ σύμμαχα, ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ άγνωστα καὶ πολέμια· καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἡμεῖς μὲν γυμνοὶ διανέομεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐδὲ πλοίοις ραδίως περαιοῦνται. άλλ' ἴωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς άγαθη τύχη θαρρούντες. δείξωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι λαγωοὶ καὶ ἀλώπεκες ὄντες κυνῶν καὶ λύκων ἄργειν ἐπιγειροῦσιν."

Those people are able neither to chase anyone because of weight nor to flee; if they do ever run out anywhere, they flee away into appointed places, where they enclose themselves as if into weasel-traps. So also, among these things, they are made less than us by far, and among those things, namely that they cannot endure neither hunger nor thirst, neither cold nor heat, as we can, but they are bound to both shadows and shelters, both kneaded bread and wine and olive oil, and if at once, some of these are left behind, they perish; for us at any rate, every grass and root is bread, all juice as oil, all water as wine, every tree a house. And truly, even these very regions are familiar to us and are our allies; for those people, at any rate, they are very unknown and enemies. And we ourselves swim across the rivers naked, but those people do not cross easily even on boats. But let us go against them being courageous in good fortune. Let us show them that they, being hares and foxes, are attempting to command dogs and wolves."

ἐκδράμωσί is an aorist subjunctive in a present general construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

παρὰ πολὸ is a dative of degree of difference. ἡμῶν is a dative of comparison. ὅτι initiates an appositive clause. σκιᾶς... σκέπης is an example of alliteration.

ἐπιλίπη is an aorist subjunctive in a present general construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

πᾶς δὲ χυμὸς ἔλαιον, πᾶν δὲ ὕδωρ οἶνος, πᾶν δὲ δένδρον οἰκία is an example of asyndeton, since each clause relies on a suppressed ἐστι.

συνήθη καὶ σύμμαχα... ἄγνωστα καὶ πολέμια is a parallelism that also relies on asyndeton with their own suppressed εἰσίν.

πλοίοις is a dative of means.

ἴωμεν is a present subjunctive in an exhortation in primary sequence active and imperfective aspect.

ἀγαθῆ τύχη is a dative of manner. δείξωμεν is an aorist subjunctive in an exhortation in secondary sequence active and perfective aspect.

6. Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα λαγών μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου προήκατο μαντεία τινὶ γρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν αἰσίω σφίσιν ἔδραμε, τό τε πληθος πᾶν ἡσθὲν άνεβόησε, καὶ ἡ Βουδουῖκα τὴν γεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα εἶπε "γάριν τέ σοι ἔγω, ὧ Ανδράστη, καὶ προσεπικαλοῦμαί σε γυνὴ γυναῖκα, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίων ἀχθοφόρων ἄρχουσα ώς Νίτωκρις, οὐδ' Ασσυρίων τῶν ἐμπόρων ὡς Σεμίραμις (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἤδη παρὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων μεμαθήκαμεν), οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ρωμαίων αὐτῶν ὡς πρότερον μὲν Μεσσαλῖνα ἔπειτ' Άγριππῖνα νῦν δὲ καὶ Νέρων (ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει, ἔργω δὲ γυνή ἐστι· σημεῖον δέ, ἄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει καὶ καλλωπίζεται), άλλὰ ἀνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργεῖν μὲν ἢ δημιουργείν οὐκ εἰδότων, πολεμείν δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα κοινὰ καὶ παίδας καὶ γυναίκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν άρετην έχουσῶν.

After saying these things, she let loose a hare out of the fold of her robe, consulting a certain divination, and since it ran on the auspicious part to them, both all the multitude shouted having been pleased, and Boudica, after lifting up her hand into the heaven, said: "I thank you, O Andraste, and I call upon you, woman to woman, ruling neither burdened Egyptians as Nitocris, nor the mercantile Assyrians as Semiramis (for also already we have learned these things from the Romans) but not, truly not, the Romans themselves, as first Messalina, then Agrippina, but also now Nero (for although he holds the name of man, he is a woman by deed, but the proof is he sings, plays the lyre, and beautifies his face) but ruling men of Briton, men having known neither to farm nor to practice a trade, but having learned especially to be at war, and men considering both all other things communal, even children and wives communal, and through this practice, even those hold the same valor as the men.

κόλπου translates to "fold of a garment," but it was also used to indicate female genitalia. μαντεία τινὶ is dative with an intransitive verb. Andraste is a Celtic goddess, the knowledge of whom survives solely from this text. γυνὴ γυναῖκα is an example of polyptoton. Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀσσυρίων, and Ῥωμαίων form a tricolon of nations.

Nitrocris and Semiramis both survive in Herodotus. Nitrocris was a pharaohess of the sixth dynasty referenced in Hdt. ii.100 and Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* viii.6.2. Semiramis was a queen of Assyria and legendary foundress of Babylon referenced in Hdt. i.184 and iii.155.

πρότερον is an adverbial accusative.

Μεσσαλῖνα, Άγριππῖνα, and Νέρων form a tricolon of female Roman leaders. For more information on Messalina, Agrippina, and Nero, see Suet. Claud. and Nero.

ἔργω is a dative of means.

ἄδει, κιθαρίζει, and καλλωπίζεται form a tricolon of finite indicative verbs.

γεωργεῖν, δημιουργεῖν, and πολεμεῖν_form a tricolon of infinitives.

εἰδότων, μεμαθηκότων, and νομιζόντων form a tricolon of participles.

κοινὰ...κοινὰς is an example of prolepsis, since it anticipates the results of that practice.

ἐκείνων is a genitive subject in a genitive absolute with ἐχουσῶν as the genitive participle and τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν as the object of the participle.

τοῖς ἄρρεσιν is a dative of comparison.

This chapter features a tricolon of tricola: first in finite verbs, next in infinitives, and last in participles.

τοιούτων οὖν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοιούτων γυναικῶν βασιλεύουσα προσεύχομαί τέ σοι καὶ αἰτῶ νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν κατ' ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν ἀδίκων ἀπλήστων ἀνοσίων. εί γε καὶ ἄνδρας χρὴ καλεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὕδατι θερμῷ λουμένους, ὄψα σκευαστὰ ἐσθίοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον πίνοντας, μύρω άλειφομένους, μαλθακῶς κοιμωμένους, μετὰ μειρακίων, καὶ τούτων έξώρων, καθεύδοντας, κιθαρωδώ, καὶ τούτω κακώ, δουλεύοντας. μή γάρ τοι μήτ' έμοῦ μήθ' ὑμῶν ἔτι βασιλεύσειεν ἡ Νερωνὶς ἡ Δομιτία, άλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἄδουσα δεσποζέτω (καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτη γυναικὶ δουλεύειν, ής τοσοῦτον ήδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννούσης), ήμῶν δὲ σύ, ὧ δέσποινα, ἀεὶ μόνη προστατοίης."

Therefore, reigning over so great men and women, I both offer prayers to you and beg for victory, safety, and freedom from insolent, unjust, greedy, and profane men, if, at any rate, we ought to call people as men bathing with hot water, eating artificial food, drinking unmixed wine, anointing themselves with myrrh, putting themselves to sleep softly, sleeping with boys, and these boys too old at that, being slaves to a lyre-player, and this a bad one too. For let not Domitia Nero still rule over neither you, nor myself, nor you all, but let that singing lady despotize Romans (for it is even worthy to be slaves to such a woman since they are contenting themselves for so long a time already with a tyrannizing woman), but let you, O Mistress, always rule over us alone.

- νίκην, σωτηρίαν, and ἐλευθερίαν form a tricolon of accusatives.
- ἀνδρῶν is a genitive of separation being modified by ὑβριστῶν ἀδίκων ἀπλήστων ἀνοσίων.
- ύδατι θερμῷ and μύρῳ are datives of means. βασιλεύσειεν is an aorist active optative in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.
- δεσποζέτω is a third-person singular present active imperative.
- τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον is an accusative of duration.
- προστατοίης is a present active optative in primary sequence and imperfective aspect.

7. Τοιαῦτ' ἄττα ή Βουδουῖκα δημηγορήσασα έπηγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν στρατιάν ἔτυχον γὰρ άναρχοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ Παυλῖνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νῆσόν τινα Μῶνναν ἀγγοῦ τῆς Βρεττανίας κειμένην ἐπιστρατεῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο πόλεις τε δύο Ρωμαϊκάς έξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ φόνον ἀμύθητον, ὡς ἔφην, εἰργάσατο τοῖς τε άλισκομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐκ έγίνετο. καὶ ὃ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἔπραξαν· τὰς γὰρ γυναῖκας τὰς εύγενεστάτας καὶ εύπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς έκρέμασαν, καὶ τοὺς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοῖς στόμασί σφων προσέρραπτον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐσθίουσαι αὐτοὺς όρῶντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μῆκος ἀνέπειραν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύοντές τε ἄμα καὶ έστιώμενοι καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀνδάτης μάλιστα άλσει έποίουν. ούτω τε γάρ την Νίκην ώνόμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιττότατα.

After speaking to the assembly such things as these Boudica was leading an army against the Romans. For, they chanced being leaderless because Paulinus, the leader of these people, marched into a certain island, namely Mona, lying near Britannia. Through this, she both pillaged and plundered two Roman cities, and she caused unspeakable slaughter, as I was saving. Not one of the most terrible things which did not happen is for the men captured by them. And indeed, they suffered the worst and most savage thing: for they hung up the most noble and the most seemly women naked, and they cut off the breasts of those women and stitched them to their mouths, in such a manner that they would seem eating them, and after these things, they pierced through the whole of the bodies according to length by means of sharp pegs/spears. And they were doing all these things, at the same time as sacrificing, feasting and rioting, both in the other temples of these people and in the grove of Andate particularly. For in this way they called Nike, and they were worshiping her most extraordinarily.

τοῖς Ρωμαίοις is dative with a compound verb. διὰ initiates a causal clause here.

τὸ Παυλῖνον is an accusative subject of an infinitive not in indirect statement but in a causal διὰ clause.

τὸν ἡγεμόνα is in apposition to τὸ Παυλῖνον Suetonius Paulinus was a governor of Britannia attested only by Tac., Ann.xiv alongside Hist.i and ii, and Cass. Dio, Hist.lx and lxii.

 $M\tilde{\omega}vv\alpha v$ is in apposition to $v\tilde{\eta}\sigma\acute{o}v\tau v\alpha$. Mona is a small island between Britain and Ireland, now known as the Isle of Man. ἐπιστρατεῦσαι is an articular infinitive in a causal διὰ clause.

ώς ἔφην is a direct address to the audience. ὑπ' αὐτῶν is a genitive of personal agent modifying άλισκομένοις.

οὐδὲν...οὐκ is an example of when a double negative does not necessarily equal a positive.

τι is an example of hyperbaton.

δεινοτάτων, δεινότατον, θηριωδέστατον, εὐγενεστάτας, and εὐπρεπεστάτας create hyperbole.

ορώντο is a present optative in a ὅπως purpose clause in primary sequence and progressive aspect.

μετὰ τοῦτο is a temporal prepositional phrase. πασσάλοις ὀξέσι is a dative of means. τοῦ σώματος is a partitive genitive. Andate might be a simple misspelling of the previously mentioned Celtic goddess Andraste, but it may also be a different deity. They are only mentioned here. Nike is the Roman goddess of victory.

περιττότατα is an adverbial accusative.

8. Ο δὲ Παυλίνος ἔτυχε μὲν ἤδη τὴν Μῶνναν παραστησάμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Βρεττανικήν συμφοράν ἀπέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Μώννης. καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι μὲν αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἤθελε, τό τε πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν φοβούμενος, άλλ' ἐς ἐπιτηδειότερον καιρὸν τὴν μάγην ύπερετίθετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ σίτου τε ἐσπάνιζε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι έγκείμενοι οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἠναγκάσθη καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν. ή μὲν οὖν Βουδουῖκα ἐς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας άνδρῶν στράτευμα ἔχουσα αὐτὴ μὲν ἐφ' άρματος ώχεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς ἑκάστους διέταξεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Παυλῖνος μήτε άντιπαρατεῖναί οἱ τὴν φάλαγγα δυνηθείς (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ ἐφ' ἕνα ἐτάχθησαν ἐξικνοῦντο· τοσούτον ήλαττούντο τῷ πλήθει) μήτ' αὖ καθ' εν συμβαλείν, μή και περιστοιχισθείς, κατακοπῆ, τολμήσας, τριχῆ τε ἔνειμε τὸν στρατόν ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἄμα μάχοιντο, καὶ ἐπύκνωσεν ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ὥστε δύσρηκτον εἶναι, λέγων

But Paulinus, it chanced, already having brought Mona to terms and after learning that Britannia was about to lament, sailed off directly there from Mona. He was not willing to run all risks immediately against the barbarians, fearing both the multitude of them and their desperation, but he preferred to fight at a more suitable season. But when he was becoming scarce of food and the barbarians pressing upon him did not let up, he was compelled, and against his judgment, to engage them in battle. So Boudica herself, holding onto a force of 230,000 men, was riding upon a chariot, and drew up the others each by themselves. Indeed Paulinus, having been unable to stretch his battle-lines side by side to hers, (for even if drawn up upon one line, they were not reaching her line; so greatly they were lessened with respect to the multitude), nor moreover was he able to gather together just as one, lest he be cut down after being surrounded, Paulinus both distributed the army in three groups such that they may fight together from many places, and made each of the groups close, so as to be hard to break through, saying:

τὴν Βρεττανικὴν is the accusative subject of indirect statement.

συμφορὰν is a future active infinitive in indirect statement.

σίτου is a genitive of separation.

αὐτοῖς is a dative with a compound verb.

τοσοῦτον is an adverbial accusative.

τῷ πλήθει is a dative of respect.

μάχοιντο is a present medio-passive optative in a ὅπως purpose clause in primary sequence and progressive aspect.

τῶν μερῶν is a partitive genitive.

εἶναι is an infinitive in a ὥστε clause of natural result.

I have elected to move λέγων from its original position at the start of c.9 into c.8 because it completes the sentence without detracting from c.9. Cary collates this with the following chapter.

9. "άγετε, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἄγετε, ἄνδρες Ρωμαΐοι, δείξατε τοῖς ὀλέθροις τούτοις ὅσον καὶ δυστυχοῦντες αὐτῶν προφέρομεν: αἰσχρὸν γάρ έστιν ὑμῖν, ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς έκτήσασθε, νῦν ἀκλεῶς ἀπολέσαι. πολλάκις τοι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐλάττους ὄντες πολὺ πλείονας ἀντιπάλους καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ήμῶν ἐνίκησαν. μήτ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν φοβηθῆτε καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν (ἐκ γὰρ ἀόπλου καὶ ἀμελετήτου προπετείας θρασύνονται), μήθ' ὅτι πόλεις τινὰς ἐμπεπρήκασιν: οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲ ἐκ μάχης, άλλὰ τὴν μὲν προδοθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ έκλειφθεῖσαν εἶλον: ἀνθ' ὧν νῦν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτῶν δίκην λάβετε, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐκμάθωσιν οἵους ὄντας ήμᾶς οἶοι ὄντες ήδικήκασι."

"Come, fellow soldiers, come Roman men, show these accursed men how greatly we, even being unfortunate, surpass them. For it is shameful for you all to now lose ingloriously that which a short time before you earned by virtue. Often, certainly, both we ourselves and our fathers, being much smaller than the men present now, conquered many more antagonists. So you all should not fear their multitude and their revolutionary spirit (for they are emboldened by unarmored and unprepared rashness) nor fear that they have burned some cities: for they captured neither through power nor from a battle, but after being betrayed and after being abandoned. Against these people, now take from them the appropriate justice so that also from these very deeds they might learn that they, being such men, have wronged us, being such men."

τοῖς ὀλέθροις τούτοις is dative with an intransitive verb.
ὅσον is an adverbial accusative.
αὐτῶν is a genitive of comparison.
μικρῷ is a dative of degree of difference.
τῶν νῦν παρόντων is a genitive of comparison.
ἐνίκησαν is an imperfect indicative active third person plural verb even though it rules over both ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ and οἱ πατέρες because of proximity and attraction.
φοβηθῆτε is an aorist subjunctive jussive.
τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς is a dative of means.
ἐκμάθωσιν is an aorist subjunctive in an ἵνα purpose clause in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

10. Ταῦτά τισιν εἰπὼν ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἦλθε, καὶ έφη "νὺν καιρός, ὧ συστρατιῶται, προθυμίας, νῦν τόλμης. ἂν τήμερον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένησθε, καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναλήψεσθε· αν τούτων κρατήσητε, οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιστήσεται. διὰ μιᾶς τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βεβαιώσεσθε καὶ τὰ λοιπά προσκαταστρέψεσθε: πάντες γάρ καὶ οί άλλοθί που ὄντες στρατιῶται ζηλώσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐχθροὶ φοβηθήσονται. ὥστε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν έγοντες ἢ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀδεῶς ἄρχειν ὧν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς προσεπεκτήσασθε, ἢ πάντως αὐτῶν στερηθηναι, έλεσθε έλεύθεροι είναι, άρχειν πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τἀναντία αὐτῶν ραθυμήσαντες παθείν."

After saying these things to some men, he went upon another, and was saying: "Now is the right time, O fellow soldiers, for zeal, now for courage. If you all should become good men today, you will take back for yourselves what was lost; if you all should conquer these men, not one of the other people will stand against us any longer. Through one such battle you will both confirm for yourself the existing things and trample down the remainders. For also all other soldiers, being anywhere else, will praise you all, and the hostiles will be put to flight. Therefore, holding in your hand either to rule all men fearlessly whom both your fathers left behind and whom you all yourselves gained or to be deprived of all these, choose to be free, to rule, to be wealthy, to be prosperous, rather than to suffer the opposite of these things after leaving."

- νὺν καιρός, ὧ συστρατιὧται, προθυμίας, νῦν τόλμης is an example of asyndeton, containing a suppressed ἐστίν and lacking any coordinating conjunctions.
- γένησθε is an aorist subjunctive in a present general construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.
- κρατήσητε is an aorist subjunctive in a present general construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.
- ήμῖν is a dative with a compound verb a partitive genitive.

τῶν ἄλλων is a partitive genitive.
πάντως αὐτῶν is a genitive of separation.
αὐτῶν is a genitive of comparison.

11. Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς τρίτους ἐπιπαρῆλθε, καὶ ἔλεξε καὶ ἐκείνοις. "ήκούσατε μὲν <mark>οἶα ἡμᾶς</mark> οἱ κατάρατοι οὧτοι δεδράκασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ εἴδετε· ώσθ' ελεσθε πότερον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις παθεῖν καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκπεσεῖν παντελώς έκ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἢ κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις άνθρώποις ἄπασι παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχοῦν εὐμενοῦς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζον ἀναγκαίας τραγύτητος. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε νικήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζω καὶ τῆ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμμαγία (τοῖς γὰρ ἀδικουμένοις ὡς τὸ πολύ συναίρονται) καὶ τῆ πατρώα ἡμῶν άνδρία, Ρωμαίους τε όντας καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς άπάντων ἀνθρώπων κεκρατηκότας, καὶ ταῖς έμπειρίαις (καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τούτους τοὺς νῦν άντικαθεστῶτας ἡττήσαντες κεγειρώμεθα), τῷ τε άξιώματι (οὐ γὰρ ἀντιπάλοις τισὶν άλλὰ δούλοις ήμετέροις συμβαλούμεν, ούς καὶ έλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ὄντας ένικήσαμεν): αν δε δη παρ' έλπίδα τι συμβή (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω), ἄμεινόν έστι μαχομένους ήμᾶς ἀνδρείως πεσεῖν ἢ άλόντας άνασκολοπισθῆναι, τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰ έαυτῶν ἐκτμηθέντα ἰδεῖν, πασσάλοις διαπύροις άναπαρῆναι καὶ ὕδατι ζέοντι τηκομένους ἀπολέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐς θηρία τινὰ ἄγρια ἄνομα ἀνόσια ἐμπεπτωκότας. ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν. καλὸν τὸ μνημεῖον τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἕξομεν, κἂν πάντες οἱ λοιποί Ρωμαΐοι έξ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσωσι τοῖς γὰρ σώμασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις πάντως αὐτὴν ἀεὶ καθέξομεν."

But after saying such things to these men, he passed by near the third group and said to those men, "You all heard what sort of things these accursed men have done to us, rather, you even saw some of these things. In this way, choose whether to suffer the same things as those people yourselves and besides to be thrown out entirely from Britannia, or, after being victorious, to avenge the dead and to make a model for all the other men, both pertaining to good things of clemency for the obedient men and pertaining to roughness of force for the rebellious. Most of all, for my part, I hope that we conquer, both because of the alliance with the gods (for, as it often seems, they aid those being wronged) and because of our patrimonial courage, both being Romans and having conquered the entirety of mankind because of our virtues, both because of our experience (for we, having vanquished those very men now having opposed us, we have conquered), and because of our honor (for we will engage with not some rivals, but with our slaves, whom we conquered, being both free and independent. But if, indeed, something should happen against our hope (for I will not hesitate to say such a thing), it is better for us to fall fighting bravely than, after being captured, to be impaled, to see our innards having been cut out, to be pierced through by red-hot skewers, and, to die melting by boiling water, just as having fallen to some wild, lawless, and profane beasts. Therefore, let us either overcome them or let us die there and then. We will hold Britannia as a noble memorial, even if all the remaining Romans are driven out from it. For at all events, we will hold it always with our very bodies."

οἶα is an adverbial accusative.
ἡμᾶς is an accusative of respect.
αὐτῶν is a partitive genitive.
ἐκείνοις is a dative of reference.
τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι is a dative with an intransitive verb

εὐμενοῦς ἐπιεικείας... ἀναγκαίας τραχύτητος is an example of chiasmus.

νικήσειν is a future infinitive in indirect statement.

ήμᾶς is an accusative subject in indirect statement.

τῆ συμμαχία is a dative of cause.

τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις is a dative with a compound verb.

γὰρ, γὰρ, and γὰρ form a tricolon of parentheses.

ώς τὸ πολὺ is also used word-for-word in Plato Rep., 330c.

τῆ πατρώα ἡμῶν ἀνδρία, ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις, and τῷ ἀξιώματι are datives of cause.

ἀντιπάλοις τισὶν and δούλοις ἡμετέροις are dative with a compound verb.

συμβη is an aorist subjunctive in a future less vivid construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

πασσάλοις διαπύροις and ὕδατι ζέοντι are a dative of means.

ἄγρια ἄνομα ἀνόσια forms a tricolon.

περιγενώμεθα and ἀποθάνωμεν are aorist subjunctives in an exhortation in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

ἐκπέσωσι is an aorist subjunctive in a future less vivid construction in secondary sequence and perfective aspect.

12. Τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ἦρε τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μάχης κάκ τούτου συνῆλθον, οί μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγή τε πολλή καὶ ὡδαῖς ἀπειλητικαῖς χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σιγῆ καὶ κόσμω, μέχρις οὖ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο. ένταῦθα δὲ ἤδη βάδην τῶν πολεμίων προσιόντων σφίσιν έξάξαντες αμα απὸ συνθήματος ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ κράτος, καὶ έν μεν τῆ προσμίζει ραδίως τὴν ἀντίταξίν σφων διέρρηξαν, περισχεθέντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν ἄμα ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν πολύτροπος: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ ψιλοὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀντέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ὁπλῖται τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἀνθίσταντο, οἴ τε ἱππεῖς τοῖς ίππεῦσι συνεφέροντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἅρματα τὧν βαρβάρων οἱ τοξόται τῶν Ῥωμαίων άντηγωνίζοντο. τούς τε γὰρ Ρωμαίους οί βάρβαροι όύμη τοῖς ἄρμασι προσπίπτοντες ανέτρεπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἅτε καὶ δίγα θωράκων μαγόμενοι, ἀνεστέλλοντο·

After saying such and like things to these men, he raised the standard of battle. And in accordance with this, they engaged — on the one hand, the barbarians taking part in both a great shouting and threatening battle songs; on the other hand, the Romans in silence and order, until they arrived at a javelin's throw away). And by this time, as the enemies are approaching them step-by-step, rushing out together from the sign, they ran at full strength and, in the assault, easily broke through their battle line, but they were fighting from every side at once, being surrounded by the multitude. And their rivalry was manifold: For light troops were matched against light troops, heavily-armed troops were set against heavily-armed troops, horsemen were clashing against horsemen, and the Roman archers struggled against the chariots of the barbarians. For the barbarians, falling upon them with chariots, were overturning the Romans as in a rush, and they were being repulsed by arrows, seeing that they were fighting with two-fold breastplates.

- χρώμενοι is an example of zeugma, because it is yoked between οἱ βάρβαροι and οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.
- κραυγῆ τε πολλῆ καὶ ἀδαῖς ἀπειλητικαῖς are datives with an intransitive verb.
- σιγῆ καὶ κόσμο are datives with an intransitive verb.
- τῶν πολεμίων is the genitive subject of a genitive absolute with προσιόντων as its genitive participle and σφίσιν is a dative with a compound verb within the genitive absolute.
- αὐτοῖς is a dative with a compound verb.
 ἀνὰ κράτος is listed under the definition of ἀνὰ in the Liddell-Scott-Jones dictionary as meaning "up to the full strength."
- τῷ πλήθει is a dative of means.
- πολύτροπος is also the traditional description of Odysseus.
- οί ψιλοὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς, οἱ ὁπλίται τοῖς ὁπλίταις, οἵ ἰππεῖς τοῖς ἰππεῦσι are all examples of polyptoton within a tricolon. Within this tricolon, both τοῖς ὁπλίταις and τοῖς ἱππεῦσι are also datives with a compound verb.

ρύμη is a dative of manner.

τοῖς ἄρμασι is a dative a compound verb.

ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων is a genitive of agency with a passive verb

θωράκων is a partitive genitive.

ίππεύς τε πεζὸν ἀνέτρεπε, καὶ πεζὸς ίππέα κατέβαλλε: πρός τε τὰ ἄρματα συμφραξάμενοί τινες έχώρουν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπ' αὐτὧν έσκεδάννυντο τούς τε τοξότας οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε σφίσιν ιόντες έτρεπον, οι δὲ πόρρωθεν έφυλάσσοντο, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' εν άλλὰ τριχῆ πάνθ' ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο. ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ύπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφότεροι προθυμίας καὶ τόλμης. τέλος δὲ ὀψέ ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλούς μὲν ἐν τῆ μάχη καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἁμάξαις τῆ τε ὕλη κατεφόνευσαν, πολλούς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας εἶλον. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ διέφυγον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὖθις μαχούμενοι, ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐν τούτω της Βουδουίκης νόσω ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς έπένθησαν καὶ πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὡς καὶ τότε ὄντως ήττηθέντες διεσκεδάσθησαν.

A horseman was upsetting a foot-soldier; a foot-soldier was throwing down a horseman. Some men, packed closely together, advanced against the chariots, and others were scattered by them; Some were routing the archers, being in the same place as them; others were keeping watch from afar. And all these things were happening not in one but in all three divisions similarly. Both sides were contending for a long time under the same zeal and courage. Finally, sometime late in the day, the Romans prevailed, and they slaughtered many people in the fight and both near the wagons and the forest, and they even captured many alive. But then, many also fled, and they were preparing themselves to fight again, but meanwhile, since Boudica died because of sickness, they lamented that person terribly and honored her with costly funeral rites, and they were scattered just as actually having been defeated at that time

- ίππεύς τε πεζὸν... πεζὸς ίππέα is a chiasmus. ἀνέτρεπε... κατέβαλλε is an antithesis of preverbal directionality since these verbs differ but their prefixes are intended to balance each other in direction.
- τινες, ἄλλοι, oi, and oi display *variatio*, since they are different ways of expressing some-ness and other-ness.
- ὑπ' αὐτῶν is a genitive of agent with a passive verb.
- σφίσιν is a dative of reference.
- ἐγίνετο is a third-person singular, imperfect medio-passive indicative verb with a neuter plural subject.
- μαχούμενοι is a future participle with ώς expressing purpose.
- τῆς Βουδουίκης is the subject of a genitive absolute with ἀποθανούσης as its genitive participle while νόσω is a dative of cause modifying the participle.
- ήττηθέντες is an aorist medio-passive participle with ώς expressing purpose.