

Augustus in *Germania* and his new 'town' at Waldgirmes east of the Rhine

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At the end of Caesar's Gallic Wars in 52 B.C., the Rhine, at least nominally, had become the limit of the territory controlled by Rome. However, various Germanic tribes repeatedly made inroads into Roman territory, crossing the river into Gaul. The Sugambri, in particular, defeated the Roman army under Lollius in 16/15 B.C. This marked a turning point in the German policy of Rome, as after this the decision was taken to put an end to these troubles once and for all.

When Augustus gave his stepson Drusus orders to subdue the Germans in the regions east of the Rhine in 12/11 B.C., events appeared to proceed as befitting the greatest military power of the ancient world: in 9 B.C. the Elbe river was reached, and modern research has discussed whether Augustus might not also have planned to push the border back even further, considering that Illyria (i.e., the region between the Adriatic Sea and the Danube) had also just been conquered. For this reason, there have been frequent discussions about Augustus' imperialism and 'concepts of extended area' (Wells 1972, 3-13; Kienast 1999, esp. 276, 427-28; Deininger 2000).

Under Drusus, the military bases of Oberaden, Rödgen and Dangstetten were established east of the Rhine; the discovery of further bases is to be expected. But these three existed only for a short period of time. The sudden death of Drusus in the autumn of 9 B.C. disrupted plans for any further expansion. His brother Tiberius obviously was more concerned in the years leading up to 6 B.C. about stabilising Roman power in the already 'conquered' territory, especially since various Germanic tribes had struck treaties with Rome. How Rome's rule in Germany was organised in the years after Drusus' death may become clear in view of a discovery made in the last decade, about which I will report below. The remark of Velleius Paterculus, however, that Tiberius 'was close to making Germany a tributary province' (Vell. Pat. 2.97.4) is generally considered to be an exaggeration.

The country remained restless, particularly as an *immensum bellum* broke out in A.D. 1 (Vell. Pat. 2.104.2) that could only be suppressed with difficulty by Tiberius after A.D. 4. Since his subsequent campaigns up to A.D. 6 primarily were conducted in what is now NW Germany, we can assume that this area was the main focus of unrest. The situation appeared to have been stable enough in A.D. 6, however, to allow a campaign to be launched against the territory of the king of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus, in modern Bohemia/Moravia. This would have truly closed the land bridge between the Balkans and the North Sea. The military bases at Marktbreit near Würzburg and near Mušov in Moravia could belong to this phase, but they cannot be dated with enough precision to be sure (Pietsch, Timpe, Wamser 1991; Balek and Šedo 1996). Due to a major revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia, however, this plan had to be abandoned, as the Roman troops were needed there. Tiberius accompanied them, and Varus was given the high command of Germany, together with the task of finally making Germany a province. The reference to *Germaniam pacavi* in Augustus' *Res Gestae* clearly testifies to this. However, scholars have energetically debated whether the region between the Rhine and the Elbe was really sufficiently under Rome's control at the time of Varus. It has been pointed out many times that any traces of a permanent Roman presence are lacking between the Weser and the Elbe, and that the territory west of the Weser was not shielded adequately by any Roman military bases which are known thus far (fig. 1).

The battlefield in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, which has for generations been the focus of much searching, can in my view be accepted as that near Kalkriese, despite the odd objection (P. Kehne and R. Wolters in Wiegels 2000; cf. the review by Chantraine 2002). The topographic situation, the vast distribution of the many metal finds, the buried mule, the human skulls with their serious battle-wounds, as well as the fact that coins countermarked with Varus' stamp are the latest of the many hundreds of bronze coins, make this identification more than just probable (Berger 1996; Wiegels 2000; Moosbauer 2002; Wilbers-Rost 2002).