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FRONTIERS IN THE ROMAN WORLD

*Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop
of the International Network
Impact of Empire
(Durham, 16–19 April 2009)*

Edited by
Olivier Hekster and Ted Kaizer

BRILL

Frontiers in the Roman World

Impact of Empire

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PREFACE

OLIVIER HEKSTER & TED KAIZER

The Roman Empire, even if it purported to be *imperium sine fine*, certainly had frontiers. By no means all of them, however, were at the outer limits of the realm. The vast and heterogeneous Roman world knew many different types of frontiers, between one province (or indeed one town) and the next, between the Empire and its so-called 'client kingdoms', but also at different levels within the realm. Frontiers could exist as physical boundaries, but there were also religious and cultural, administrative and economic, and ideological frontiers. Indeed, individuals within the Empire continuously crossed frontiers, switching between multiple identities such as their being Roman, inhabitant of a town, or member of a specific people.

The different ways in which the Roman Empire created, changed and influenced perceptions of frontiers formed the subject of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network *Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 BC–AD 476)*, which was held at Durham University from 16 to 19 April 2009. Neither the workshop nor these proceedings have taken a strict line as to how to define 'frontiers'. Rather, we hope that the assembled articles within this volume illustrate a variety of available approaches and concepts related to 'Roman frontiers', going beyond the narrow geographical sense.

The volume opens with an introductory section within which the meaning of the terms 'frontier' and *limes*, within the context of the empire and the city of Rome, are placed to the fore over a longer period of time. Thus, the paper by John Richardson (Edinburgh University) deals with the changes that took place over time in how *fines provinciae* were conceived, from the boundaries on the power of Roman magistrates to actual borders of provincial territory, changes which he suggests have not to do with issues of language only, but also with developments in mentality. Likewise, through his careful analysis of the use of *limes* in Ammianus Marcellinus, Jan Willem Drijvers (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) distinguishes a range of (changing) meanings for the word, in the process noting how

Ammianus recognised the frontier region as a contact zone between different cultures; a notion to which several other authors return. Finally, Stéphane Benoist (Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille III) reflects upon the changing notions of the relationship between the city of Rome and her territory, and the way in which this Empire could be ruled, from the last century of the Republic all the way until the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Again, changing vocabulary denoted changing mentalities, showing developments in how the temporal and spatial limits of Rome were perceived over time.

A second section looks at the consequences of the presence of Roman (provincial) borders for those living near these frontiers. Indeed, Kate da Costa (University of Sydney) argues that traces of such consequences can be of the utmost importance in defining the spatial limits of territorial provinces. Distortions in distribution patterns of local ceramics, in her view, may well have been caused by customs duty on provincial borders, which would have made it uneconomical to import local ceramics from across borders. By carefully analyzing these patterns, then, one can map the locations of provincial borders. Trade and distribution are also central to the contribution by Dario Nappo (Università di Napoli Federico II & University of Oxford) and Andrea Zerbini (University College London), who look in detail at how the various *ostraka* that over the last few years have been found at the Red Sea port of Berenike can help us in analysing trade at the southernmost frontier of the Empire. The Egyptian eastern desert, it is argued, forms a fiscal frontier, with many repercussions for military, administrative and commercial structures in the area.

Richard Hingley (Durham University) and Rich Hartis (Durham University) look at what would have been a highly visible frontier for anyone living in its vicinity: Hadrian's Wall. According to them, however, the Wall's monumental solidity notwithstanding, the area was a porous and contested frontier. Taking their cue from studies of frontiers and borders in other cultural contexts, the authors promote a broad comparative approach to Roman frontiers, and in doing so formulate new approaches to Roman identities and social change in frontier areas. Roman frontier zones, clearly, were not only places where Roman power was expressed through administrative (and military) supervision, but also, as is illustrated by Arbia Hilali (Université Paris X, Nanterre), who analyses the frontiers of Roman Africa, spaces for economic exchange and social dynamics between various groups of population with divergent ways of life. Along similar lines, Günther Schörner (Friedrich-Alexander-

Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg) puts forward that the so-called ‘client kingdoms’—which according to the classic formulation by D. Braund (1984, p. 182) “were the frontiers of the Roman empire”—illustrate well how frontiers are to be seen in the first place as contact zones for different cultures. The adoption and adaptation of Roman cultural elements is studied through the lens of building techniques, military equipment, crockery and cooking materials, and religious activity.

This latter aspect, religious activity, is the subject of the contributions in the third section. Elena Muñoz Grijalvo (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla) argues that Strabo’s *Geography* was intended to create a frontier, from a religious perspective, between those who adhered to Graeco-Roman patterns of worship and those who did not, and simultaneously to navigate the inhabitants of the Greek part of Rome’s empire to the very heart of that same empire. Fernando Lozano (Universidad de Sevilla) discusses the role of emperor worship, and especially of sacrifice to Rome’s ruler, in the creation of a religious frontier that divided Rome and its loyal supporters from hostile outsiders. The paper by Lucinda Dirven (Universiteit van Amsterdam) focuses on the ‘religious frontiers in the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert’. Her case-studies of Roman Palmyra and Parthian Hatra show how the cultic patterns of these two cities were affected not only by their own particular economic and social circumstances, but also by their respective alliances to the superpowers of the ancient world. Finally, in this section, Alexander Evers (Loyola University Chicago at Rome) attacks the traditionally upheld firm boundaries between Catholics and Donatists in the African provinces of the Late Roman Empire. It is argued that there is no good evidence to see (as is commonly accepted) a proper divide between the two forms of Christians in terms of social class, degree of urbanization, linguistic issues and church architecture.

Frontiers, of whatever category, were not fixed. Political actions often had consequences for the organisation of the realm, as is demonstrated by the articles in the fourth section of these proceedings, on shifting frontiers. Karl Strobel (Universität Klagenfurt) sets out how administrative and fiscal frontiers in the alpine territory changed during the political dominance of Caesar and Augustus, and how these related to political developments in the region. Going to the other end of the chronological spectrum, Ariel Lewin (Università degli studi della Basilicata, Sede di Potenza) supplies an overview of the changes along the eastern

frontiers of the Empire in Late Antiquity, and how these had consequences for patterns of living in the frontier areas.

One category of political activity that almost inevitably led to shifting frontiers was war. Indeed, in warlike circumstances even seemingly minor measures could lead to long lasting and very influential consequences. It was, for instance, according to Frederik Vervaeet (University of Melbourne), a seemingly minor *lex Gabinia* of 67 BC, other than the one of the same name concerning the war against piracy, that chipped away at the control that the Senate had traditionally been able to exercise over its elected officials in terms of tenure. It is argued that, by introducing a legally-defined duration for provincial commanders to hold office, it was this 'forgotten' law that created the model for the later and much better known long-term provincial commands of Caesar and Augustus. But most consequences affected people more directly, and these effects were often related to (changing) political alliances during war times. An extreme case is highlighted by Toni Nāco del Hoyo, Borja Antela-Bernárdez, Isaiás Arrayás-Morales and Salvador Busquets-Artigas (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), who argue that the war between Rome and Mithridates created such terror within the Greek poleis that it transgressed all sorts of boundaries that had held in earlier wars, especially for poleis who changed sides during the Mithridatic War. 'Lesser' wars, too, had their consequences for how people had to present their alliance. Thus, Pierre Cosme (Université Paris I, Sorbonne) revisits the Batavian revolt in the year of the four emperors by taking into account the position of the Batavians both on the imperial frontier, in the form of auxiliary units, and in Rome itself, as part of the imperial bodyguard.

Frontiers, almost by definition, are going to be crossed. The last section of the volume discusses people crossing boundaries. John Nicols (University of Oregon) suggests that an important tool to ease potential problems for people going from one community to the next was the practice of *hospitium*. Through an analysis of the archaeological and literary evidence, he explores ways in which *hospitium* facilitated exchange and understanding on the Roman frontier. But *hospitium* was not the only tool. Starting from the famous inscription from Puteoli that records how the community of Tyrians based there had asked their mother city to help them out with the rent for their 'club house' abroad, Koen Verboven (Universiteit Gent) investigates the role played by associations of foreign residents and merchants in the process that contributed to the creation of a civic structure, and hence to the empire's solidity, by smoothing the

progress of mobility of groups and individuals across civic boundaries. Lien Foubert (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), finally, explores some of the effects crossing frontiers had for a new group of travellers during the Early Empire: imperial women. By joining their husbands on campaign, these women crossed both 'physical' frontiers and ideological boundaries, which had inevitable effects on the modes in which these women could be presented.

Neither the meeting in Durham nor its resulting volume would have been possible without the aid of several institutions and individuals. The organization of the Ninth Workshop was facilitated by the respective institutions of the organisers, and it was made possible especially through generous grants from the Jonge Akademie (part of the Royal Dutch Academy of Science) and the Research School of Classics in the Netherlands (OIKOS). We wish to thank these institutions for their much appreciated financial support. In addition, we offer thanks to St John's College, Durham, for providing the participants of the workshop with a wonderful academic setting, and to the Department of Classics & Ancient History, Durham University, and George Boys-Stones in particular, for welcoming the participants to Durham and for hosting a reception. We are furthermore grateful to the following colleagues for chairing sessions: Luuk de Blois, Stéphane Benoist, Christian Witschel, John Richardson, John Rich and David Hunt, and last but not least to our conference assistants, Simon Day and Rik van Wijlick. Bart Hekker, finally, was of enormous help during the editorial process.

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FINES PROVINCIAE

JOHN RICHARDSON

The notion of a frontier in the Roman world is capable, as the variety of papers contained in this collection demonstrates, of a wide spectrum of significance, meaning and context. My contribution to this feast is little more than an *aperitif* or (as I might hope) a *bonne bouche*, since I shall for the most part be looking only at the period of the Republic, and within that at a particular question or pair of questions. Those questions are not, however, insignificant nor, I hope, without interest. They are about the *provinciae* of Roman *imperium*-holders and of the Roman people, and, by extension, of the *imperium populi Romani* as a whole. My questions are: Did the *provinciae* and indeed the *imperium* have boundaries at all? And if so, what were they the boundaries of?

Of course, if we were to confine our attention to some of the most memorable statements in Latin literature, the answer to the first question would appear to be a simple 'No'. Famously writers in the late Republic described Rome's *imperium* as embracing the whole *orbis terrarum*.¹ More famous still is the promise made by Jupiter in the first book of Vergil's *Aeneid*:

his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
imperium sine fine dedi.²

But this answer may not be adequate for a serious response to the question. Quite apart from the tendency of such writers to make exaggerated claims, there is the matter of what it is that the word *imperium* is referring to; and, as I have tried to show in a book I have written recently,³ the predominant meaning of *imperium* down to the end of the Republic is not of a territorial empire but the power of the Roman magistrates and

¹ *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.13; Cicero, 2 *In Verrem* 5.168; *Pro lege Manilia* 53; *De lege agraria* 1.2; 2.15; 2.98; *Pro Murena* 74; *Pro Sulla* 33; *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.19.7; *De domo* 75; *Pro Sestio* 67; 129; *De oratore* 3.131; *De republica* 3.24; *Pro rege Deiotaro* 15; *Epistulae ad Atticum* 14.5.2; *De officiis* 2.27; *Philippicae* 8.10; Cato minor, *ORF* 126.13; Anon., *Bellum Alexandrinum* 42.1–4; Nepos, *Atticus* 3.3.

² Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.278–279.

³ John Richardson, *The Language of Empire: Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD* (Cambridge 2008).

pro-magistrates and (by extension) of the Roman people. The boundaries, the frontiers of such power are somewhat different from those of a piece of land, however extensive.

In any case, the questions I have posed are in themselves ill-conceived. They imply that throughout the middle and late Republican period there was one answer. This is, to put it mildly, improbable. The *provinciae* of the time of Julius Caesar and Pompeius Magnus are very different from those during the Hannibalic war, and it is only to be expected that the boundaries, the *finēs* and *termini*, of those two sets of *provinciae* will be different too. So, with those provisos, what can be said about *finēs provinciae* in the last two centuries of the Republic?

I must begin with an observation that will not, I think, be a surprise to anyone, but whose ramifications have not always been noticed. It is clear that in the late third and second centuries BC a *provincia* was a task allotted by the senate to an individual holding *imperium*. This is apparent from the names of the *provinciae* which Livy gives in the notices of allocations which frequently appear at the beginning of consular years. Although such *provinciae* do often bear the name of a geographical area, this is not always the case: the allocations to the praetors who had charge of the courts in Rome occurs in the allocation lists as the *provincia* or *iurisdictio urbana* and *peregrina*.⁴ and in other cases *provinciae* are called by the name of a people or of a task to be carried out, such as 'the fleet' or 'the war with Hannibal'.⁵ These are the names of responsibilities rather than areas, and the geographically named *provinciae* are no different: the *provincia* was a task, which might be defined in a variety of ways, one of which was the region within which the task was to be carried out. It is within this framework, this understanding at least by the senate of what a *provincia* was, that the development of the structures of the provinces of the Roman empire took place.

But were *provinciae* with geographical names geographically bounded? The model for such a definition of an area has been sought in the listings (*formulae*) which Aemilius Paullus drew up in his settlement of Macedonia in 167.⁶ The problem with this suggestion is that

⁴ Livy 24.9.5; 25.3.1-2; 27.7.7-14; 27.22.2-7; 27.36.10-12; 29.13.1-3; 30.27.6-10; 32.28.1-9; 33.26.1-4; 33.43.1-6; 34.43.6-9; 35.20.7-10; 37.2.1-10; 40.44.6; 41.8.2-5; 41.15.4-6; 42.1.5-6; 43.11.8; 45.44.2.

⁵ Livy 27.22.2 ('Salentini'); 44.1.3 ('classis'); 24.44.1 ('bellum cum Hannibale').

⁶ A.W. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (London 1993), 28-32.

what Paullus was constructing was not a *provincia*, and there is no evidence for such a *formula* for communities under the control of a provincial governor at this date.⁷ It is true that the Romans kept an official list of their allies (*formula sociorum*), twice mentioned by Livy,⁸ and an inscription of 74 BC refers to individuals being entered on a list of friends of the Roman people,⁹ which probably implies the existence of an official list of *amici*, both individual and corporate. Neither of these, however, provides evidence for a provincial *formula* in the second century BC.

There are, however, some indications that there were provincial boundaries of some sort (*fines* or *termini provinciae*) in the late third and second centuries BC. When in 215 the praetor Ap. Claudius in Sicily became anxious about the situation in Syracuse, whence he had had reports of the negotiations the new young king, Hieronymus, was conducting with the Carthaginians, he is said by Livy to have established all his forces on the boundary between the *provincia* and the kingdom;¹⁰ and when, in 213, Livy describes the allocation of *provinciae*, he records that of the two pro-magistrates in Sicily, M. Marcellus (the consul of the previous year) was allotted the territory which had previously been the kingdom of Hieronymus' grandfather, Hiero II, while P. Lentulus was to hold the 'old' *provincia*.¹¹ Although the allocation of *provinciae* for the previous year is missing from Livy's account, it appears that this repeats the pattern of the end of 214. In both these cases, Livy uses the word *fines*, and it seems clear that there was indeed a frontier at this point between the earlier *provincia Sicilia* and the Syracusan kingdom, which became itself a *provincia* once the Romans were engaged in warfare against the city. The other clear evidence of a provincial boundary in Livy's account of this period comes in 197, when for the first time two praetors were sent to the Spanish *provinciae*, M. Helvius to *Hispania ulterior* and C.

⁷ The earliest use of the term as a provincial listing that I know of is the note of Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 3.37) that the emperor Galba added the Avatici to the formula of the *provincia Narbonensis*. By the early third century AD such a list appears to have existed for all *provinciae*.

⁸ Livy 43.6.10; 44.16.7.

⁹ CIL 12, 588, 7 (= R.J. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969), 22, 12): [Uteique Q. Lutatius, M.] Aemilius cos. a(Iter) a(mboque), s(ei) e(is) v(ideretur), eos in amecorum formulam referundos curarent.

¹⁰ Livy 24.7.9: ipse adversus Syracusana consilia (ad) provinciae regnique fines omnia convertit praesidia.

¹¹ Livy 24.44.4: prorogata imperia provinciaeque, M. Claudio Sicilia finibus eis quibus regnum Hieronis fuisset, (P.) Lentulo propraetori provincia vetus.

Sempronius Tuditanus to *Hispania citerior*. These men were ordered to fix the boundaries (*terminare*) of what was to be regarded as each of the two *provinciae*.¹²

Here are undoubtedly *fines* and *termini* of *provinciae*, and it is probable that in at least the last two of these instances such language was used in the official reports emanating from the senate; but, in view of the picture of what a *provincia* was which we have noted in Livy's accounts of their allocation, it is worth asking what these boundaries were meant to bound.

In the first passage, the boundary mentioned lies between the *provincia* to which the Romans had sent praetors since 227 and the kingdom over which Hiero II had ruled until his death. The territory of the king had been guaranteed to him in the treaty made with the Romans when in 263 he had come over to the Roman side in the early stages of the first Punic war, and this treaty had been renewed in 248.¹³ It was in the course of his attempt to get this treaty renewed with Hieronymus after the death of his grandfather that Ap. Claudius was confronted in 215 with the pro-Carthaginian stance of the young king.¹⁴ It seems highly probable that the limit to which Livy refers is therefore that which kept the holder of the *provincia Sicilia* from exercising his *imperium* within the territory of an ally whose lands had been assured to him by a full treaty.¹⁵ Under these circumstances a boundary between the two is hardly surprising. This was of course no longer the situation in 214 or 213, by which time the boundary had become a dividing line between two *provinciae*. The same is true of the obligation placed on the praetors sent to the Spanish *provinciae* in 197, where Livy explicitly states that they were to delimit what was *Hispania ulterior* and what *Hispania citerior*.¹⁶ Moreover, although this demarcation seems to have made little or no difference to the military activities of the commanders in Spain, who over the next few years were frequently to be found fighting in what was properly the territory assigned to their colleagues,¹⁷ one incident shows that at least the senate saw this as a significant

¹² Livy 32.28.11: *et terminare iussi qua ulterior citeriorve provincia servaretur*. The use of the verb *servare*, which usually means 'keep', 'save' or 'watch over', may seem odd here, but it is used in a similar sense by the elder Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 3.56; 3.62 and 4.68). On this boundary, see J.S. Richardson, *Hispaniae* (Cambridge 1986), 77–78.

¹³ Polybius 1.16.9; Didorus 23.4.1. On the renewal in 248, Zonaras 8.16.

¹⁴ Polybius 7.3.1; 5.1; Livy 24.6.4.

¹⁵ F.W. Walbank, *An Historical Commentary on Polybius I* (Oxford 1957), 68–69, points out that this was technically a *foedus aequum*.

¹⁶ Livy 32.28.11: *et terminare iussi qua ulterior citeriorve provincia servaretur*.

¹⁷ Richardson 1986, op. cit. (n. 12), 88–89; 96–98.

boundary between the areas in which they might properly exercise their *imperium*. When M. Helvius, the praetor sent to *Hispania ulterior* in 197, eventually returned to Rome in 195, he claimed a triumph for a victory fought against the Celtiberians, as he proceeded from his *provincia* to the camp of the consul Cato, for which he had used troops provided by his successor as praetor in *Hispania ulterior*, Ap. Claudius Nero.¹⁸ The senate refused him a triumph, on the grounds that he had fought under someone else's auspices and in someone else's *provincia*,¹⁹ and instead allowed him the lesser celebration of an *ovatio*. Although Helvius still held proconsular *imperium*,²⁰ his victory had been won in *Hispania citerior* and with forces under Nero's command. For the senate at least the boundary between the two *provinciae* was a live issue.

The common element which links these three passages from Livy is that in each case the boundary of the *provincia* sets a limit on exercise of power by the magistrate or pro-magistrate to whom it is allotted. This is also the import of one other more generalised passage in Livy which refers to the boundaries of *provinciae*. When in 207 the consul C. Claudius Nero, facing Hannibal in the south of Italy, gained intelligence of Hasdrubal's intention of marching south from Umbria to link up with his brother, he decided to join M. Livius Salinator in the north. Livy, describing Claudius' reasons for making this decision, states that the consul thought that this was not a moment at which a commander should be restrained by the usual conventions to the limits of his own *provincia* to fight with his own forces against the enemy prescribed by the senate.²¹ Once again, the *finis* of the *provincia* are boundaries on the exercise of the magistrates' *imperium* rather than the frontiers of an administrative area; and it is worth noticing that on this occasion the *provinciae* of the consuls, as given in Livy's account of the annual provincial allocations, were respectively 'against Hannibal, the Bruttii and Lucani' and 'Gallia against

¹⁸ Livy 34.10.1–7.

¹⁹ Livy 34.10.5: *causa triumphi negandi senatui fuit quod alieno auspicio et in aliena provincia pugnasset. Compare the senate's reaction in 171 to the attempted incursion by the consul, C. Cassius Longinus, from the provincia Gallia into Macedonia, which was held by his colleague, P. Licinius Crassus: senatus indignari tantum consulem ausum, ut suam provinciam reliqueret, in alienam transiret* (Livy 43.1.9).

²⁰ As seen in the record of his *ovatio* in the *Fasti Urbisalvienses* (A. Degrossi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.1 (Rome 1947), 338).

²¹ Livy 23.47.7: *tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu bellum gereret.*

Hasdrubal,²² in both cases describing the area in which *imperium* was to be exercised and the task to be carried out.

The boundaries of *provinciae* at this stage of the Roman republic are of course geographical, but seem to be limitations on the use of the holder's *imperium* rather than of territory of the Roman empire.²³ Good fences make good neighbours, as the New England farmer remarks in Robert Frost's poem;²⁴ but in this case the neighbours on both sides of the fence appear to be Roman commanders, or a Roman and a treaty-based ally. That, after all, is what might be expected at a period when a *provincia* was seen as the task assigned by the senate to a holder of the essentially unrestricted power given to a magistrate or pro-magistrate, not least to avoid problematic clashes between two such *imperia*. It would appear that the boundaries of a *provincia* in the earlier second century BC were limits on the *imperium* of its holder.

To move forward, what was the situation in the first century? The obvious place to look is in the works of Cicero and his usage of the terms *finis* and *termini* with regard both to *imperium* and *provincia*. It is worth noticing in passing that, of course, there are other sorts of limits to *imperium* than territorial ones: the *imperium* of a magistrate or pro-magistrate had a chronological end, and the words *finis* and *terminare* are used by Cicero in this way.²⁵ But to concentrate for the moment on *imperium* as the power of the Roman people, there are six passages where Cicero uses *termini* or *terminare* to speak about the limits (or more accurately the lack of limits) of the people's power, all but one from the period between 56 and 53 BC.²⁶ Although these are undoubtedly about the bounds (or boundlessness) of the *imperium*, it is in most cases not easy to determine what it is that is (or rather, is not) bounded. It is worth noting, however, that the instance which appears at first sight the most territorial, where in the *pro Balbo* Cicero describes the walls of Gades as

²² Livy 27.35.10: *provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus, sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii et Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus Hasdrubalem quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta.*

²³ That is not of course to say that the Romans had no concept of boundaries of other sorts. Polybius refers to limits on sailing in the first treaty with Carthage (3.22.5) and on the treaty with the Illyrians in 228 BC (2.12.5); and to limit Carthaginian military movements in the Ebro treaty (3.27.9). The word *finis* also occurs in a very early inscription from Samnium (ILLRP 7).

²⁴ R. Frost, 'Mending Wall', in *The Poems of Robert Frost* (New York 1946), 35–36.

²⁵ 2 *In Verrem* 5.77 (*finis*); *Epistulae ad Familiares* 3.12.4 (*terminare*).

²⁶ 3 *In Catilinam* 26; *Pro Sestio* 67; *De provinciis consularibus* 31; *Pro Balbo* 13; 39; *Orationes perditae* 15 (*De aere alieno Milonis*) fr. 10.

having been set by the *maiores* as the bounds of *imperium* just as Hercules had used them as the limits of his labours and his journeys, the *imperium* in question is linked with the *nomen* of the Roman people, which suggests that *imperium* here is abstract (that is ‘power’) rather than territorial.²⁷ In case of *fines*²⁸ it is still more difficult to determine whether the ‘bounds’ or the ‘territories’ of the power are being referred to since the word *fnis* in the plural can have either of these meanings.²⁹ In some cases it is clear that ‘boundaries’ is intended, because the word is used in connection with *terminare*;³⁰ in others, especially where the reference is to *propagatio finium imperi*,³¹ it is not clear which is intended (and indeed may not have been to Cicero). An interesting instance, which reveals precisely this ambiguity, is in *pro Murena*, where Cicero is contrasting the legal activity of the prosecutor, Ser. Sulpicius, with the military functions of Murena. ‘*Ille* (that is Murena) *exercitatus est in propagandis finibus, tuque* (Sulpicius) *in regendis*.’³² Here the *fines* are (at least in Sulpicius’ case) clearly boundaries, since *fines regere* is a technical term for fixing the boundaries of fields and the like;³³ but it would be rash to pretend on the basis of such a carefully ambiguous passage as this that the idea of *fines propagare* relates to boundaries rather than territory. What it does show, however, is that for Cicero and his hearers the ambiguity was a live one, and that the meaning of *fines* was not settled. For that very reason, it is not possible to know from such passages whether the meaning of *fines imperi* was for Cicero ‘bounds on the power of the people’ or ‘territory of the Roman empire’; or even whether such a distinction would have made any sense to him.

It is interesting to note, however, that he rarely refers to the boundaries of *provinciae*, and only speaks of *fines provinciae* in one speech, that against L. Piso in 56.³⁴ Here the same problem arises as with *fines imperii*

²⁷ *quorum moenia, delubra, agros ut Hercules itinerum ac laborum suorum, sic maiores nostri imperi ac nominis populi Romani terminos esse voluerunt* (*Pro Balbo* 39).

²⁸ 3 *In Catilinam* 26; *De provinciis consularibus* 29; *Pro Balbo* 13; *De republica* 3.24; *Pro Milone* 98; *Philippicae* 13.14.

²⁹ See OLD, s.v. *fnis* (1) and (2).

³⁰ 3 *In Catilinam* 26; *Pro Balbo* 13.

³¹ *De provinciis consularibus* 29; *De republica* 3.24; *Philippicae* 13.14.

³² *te gallorum, illum buccinarum cantus exsuscitatur; tu actionem instituis, ille aciem instruit; tu caves ne tui consultores, ille ne urbes aut castra capiantur; ille tenet et scit ut hostium copiae, tu ut aquae pluviae arceantur; ille exercitatus est in propagandis finibus, tuque in regendis.* (*Pro Murena* 22).

³³ Compare *Topica* 23 and 43, and *De legibus* 1.55 for this usage.

³⁴ *In Pisonem* 37; 38; 49; 57.

as to whether it is the boundaries or the territory of the *provincia* which is being referred to, or even if the distinction is one which Cicero would have recognised. At one point he describes the *fines* of the *provincia Macedonia* as having in the past been the same as that of the swords and javelins of its commanders,³⁵ which sounds as though it means ‘boundaries’; but in the previous section he has upbraided Piso for having acquired by improper means a *consularis provincia* with *fines* limited only by his own cupidity, to which for the first time Achaëa, Thessaly, Athens and indeed the whole of Greece had been attached.³⁶ That sounds like an area or territory. In another passage the *fines provinciae* are said to have been as large as he could wish, which must surely mean ‘territory’; but then in the same sentence Piso is described as not confining himself within these and bringing in an army from Syria, outside the *provincia*.³⁷ Here, as with the *fines imperii*, there seems to be no sharp distinction between the two meanings of the word. Asinius Pollio, writing to Cicero in 43, says that matters are so peaceful in *Hispania ulterior* that he has never gone outside the *fines* of his *provincia*, while Cicero, writing to the senate from Cilicia in 51, describes areas in which he was present with his army as *fines Lycaoniae et Cappadociae*.³⁸

It is clear that for Cicero *provincia* could be used both of the responsibility of a magistrate or pro-magistrate and of a piece of territory for which such a person was responsible, even when the *imperium*-holder was not involved. This two-fold pattern can be seen, for instance, from a comparison of Cicero’s remarks about the consuls of 58, L. Piso and A. Gabinius, and about Caesar, following his victories in the Civil Wars. The former pair, whom he accuses of having been bought off by the tribune Clodius by being given desirable *provinciae* through the *lex Clodia*, he describes as ‘traders in *provinciae*’, and Clodius as selling *provinciae*.³⁹ Here what is being bought and sold is the responsibility of the magistrate, not pieces of territory. On the other hand, he describes Caesar as being

³⁵ *In Pisonem* 38: *Macedoniam praesertim, quam tantae barbarorum gentes attingunt ut semper Macedonicis imperatoribus idem fines provinciae fuerint qui gladiatorum atque pilorum.*

³⁶ *In Pisonem* 37.

³⁷ *In Pisonem* 49: *cum finis provinciae tantos haberet quantos voluerat, quantos optarat, quantos pretio mei capitis periculoque emerat, eis se tenere non potuit; exercitum eduxit ex Syria.*

³⁸ Asinius Pollio, *apud Cicero, Epistulae ad Familiares* 10.32.5; Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 15.1.2.

³⁹ *Post reditum ad Quirites* 21; *Post reditum ad senatum* 10; *Epistulae ad Familiares* 1.9.13 (of Piso and Gabinius in 58); *Pro Sestio* 84 (of Clodius in 58).

prepared to sell off *provinciae* and *regiones* alongside the possessions of individual citizens, where the items for sale are pieces of land.⁴⁰

Despite the difficulty that we face in translating *fines provinciae*, and the infrequency of its use in Cicero, there is no doubt that he can use the word in a strongly geographical sense. For instance, the *provincia Asia* can be described as ‘girded by the sea, adorned with ports, surrounded by islands’,⁴¹ and in another place as ‘girded by three new *provinciae*’.⁴² Both these descriptions are of the land-mass that constituted the *provincia*, with no reference to any holder of *imperium*. Indeed, although in principle and in origin a *provincia* can only exist if there is a magistrate or pro-magistrate whose *provincia* it is, for Cicero it can also have an on-going existence in the absence of an *imperium*-holder. In a letter to Atticus, written as he returns from Cilicia in 50, Cicero complains that the senate has left *provinciae* ‘sine imperio’;⁴³ and in the *de provinciis consularibus* in 56, he describes Macedonia in the same terms when speaking of a time when it was controlled through legates.⁴⁴ Mommsen believed that *sine imperio* was a technical term for the temporary absence of an *imperium*-holder,⁴⁵ but whether this be true or not it does seem that there was a notion of an on-going entity which was still called a *provincia* when there was no specific individual whose *provincia* it was. Cicero in several places, when he is at pains to emphasise the history of Roman presence in an area, speaks in terms of the *provincia* passing from one magistrate to another in ways which demonstrate its continuity;⁴⁶ and he mentions among the forgeries of Caesar’s proposals which Antonius perpetrated after the assassination of the dictator, a decree that Crete should no longer be a *provincia* after the tenure of M. Brutus as proconsul.⁴⁷ If Cicero’s understanding of what a *provincia* was had changed to include a more purely territorial sense than that which we have seen in Livy’s account of the early second century, the meaning of the boundaries of a *provincia* will have expanded too.

⁴⁰ *De officiis* 2.27: *non singulorum civium bona publicaret, sed universas provincias regionesque uno calamitatis iure comprehenderet*. Cf. *Philippicae* 5.11.

⁴¹ *Pro Flacco* 27: *mari cincta, portibus distincta, insulis circumdata*.

⁴² *De provinciis consularibus* 31: *nunc tribus novis provinciis ipsa cingatur*.

⁴³ *Epistulae ad Atticum* 7.7.5.

⁴⁴ *De provinciis consularibus* 5.

⁴⁵ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht I* (Leipzig 1887, 3rd ed.), 677 n. 3.

⁴⁶ *Divinatio in Caecilium* 13; 2 *In Verrem* 1.16; 2.3; 2.5; 2.6; 2.7; 3.16; 3.125; 4.1; *In Pisonem* 44; 61; *Pro Planco* 28; *Pro Scauro* 26; *Pro Ligario* 2.

⁴⁷ *Philippicae* 2.97.

I have argued in my recent book that the major change in the ideas that the Romans had about their *imperium* and thus of the *provinciae* and their *fines* came about in the latter part of the reign of Augustus.⁴⁸ The sense of the *imperium* as a territorial entity and of the *provinciae* as pieces of territory organised according to Roman norms, seem to have their roots in that period. It is then to be expected that the meanings of *fines imperii* and *fines provinciae* show consonant changes. In fact *fines provinciae* occurs rarely. Augustus in the *Res Gestae* claims to have increased the *fines* of all the *provinciae* of the Roman people which were closest to those nations which did not obey 'our *imperium*' (where *imperium* clearly still means 'power'); and here *fines*, while it could mean 'borders', sounds more like 'territory'.⁴⁹ Otherwise there are only four uses, two from Tacitus' *Historiae* and one each from the elder Pliny and Suetonius, in Latin writers down to the mid-second century AD, and all relate to the boundaries of areas of Roman rule rather than limits on the power of its pro-magistrates.⁵⁰

From late in the reign of Augustus, *imperium* acquired two new meanings. It refers to the office, the position of the emperor; and, in the phrase *imperium Romanum*, it means the 'Roman Empire'. This does not mean that the older ideas of *imperium* had disappeared. Throughout the period there are still references to the *imperium* of the Romans as encompassing the entire world.⁵¹ There were also, however, recognitions of the existence of boundaries and limits to the extent of the *imperium*, whether temporary or permanent.⁵² In practice, as Tacitus knew well, the rivers

⁴⁸ Richardson 2008, op. cit. (n. 3), chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 26: *Omnium provinc[iarum] populi Romani, quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae n[on] parent imperio nos[tr]o, fines auxi.*

⁵⁰ Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.51 (*exercitus finibus provinciarum discernerbantur*); 2.12 (*is concita gente (nec deest iuventus) arcere provinciae finibus Othonianos intendit*); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 3.18 (*Citerioris Hispaniae sicut conplurium provinciarum aliquantum vetus forma mutata est, utpote cum Pompeius Magnus tropaeis suis, quae statuebat in Pyrenaeo, DCCCLXVI oppida ab Alpibus ad fines Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem ab se redacta testatus sit*); Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 31.2 (*consecutusque cohortis ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provinciae eius finis erat, paulum constitit*).

⁵¹ For instance: Velleius 2.131.1–2; Seneca, *Dialogi* 4.15.5; Silius Italicus 5.676; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 61.1. On this, and the continuing belief in Rome's world-wide rule, see P.A. Brunt, 'Roman imperial illusions', in P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990), 433–480. On the limits of this understanding, see C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 2000), 320–335.

⁵² *termini imperii*: Seneca, *Dialogi* 10.4.5; *Naturales. quaestiones*. 1.pr. 9; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.120; 7.117; Tacitus, *Germania* 29.3; *Ann.* 1.11. *fines imperii*: Seneca,

which bounded the Germans to the west and south were frontiers, which the German tribes, unless they were especially favoured, could only pass unarmed and at a fee.⁵³ It is highly probable that boundaries such as Hadrian's Wall were intended to control the movement of those outside them into the empire.⁵⁴ It does not, of course, follow that the Romans had no intention of moving beyond these lines, but it does suggest that there was an entity within them that might be called (as indeed it was now called) a Roman Empire.

By the time we have reached the first century AD, then, the boundaries, the *fines*, of the *provinciae* and of the *imperium* certainly exist, and what they bound are pieces of territory. But it was not ever thus. The change that I have sketched out in this paper, from limits on power and responsibility to lines on a map, marks a change; and the change, I would suggest, is not just one of language but of mentality, a change in what the Romans thought their empire was.

Durham, May 2009

Dialogi 12.10.3; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 12.19; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 54.4; *Epistulae* 8.6.6; Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.48; Juvenal 8.265.

⁵³ Tacitus, *Germania* 41; *Historiae* 4.64.

⁵⁴ D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (Harmondsworth 2000, 4th ed.), 15–16; 29–43.

THE LIMITS OF EMPIRE IN THE
RES GESTAE OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS¹

JAN WILLEM DRIJVERS

INTRODUCTION

In the *Res Gestae* of the emperor Augustus we read the following:

I extended the borders of all those provinces of the Roman people on whose borders lay people not subject to our government. I brought peace to the Gallic and Spanish provinces, as well as to Germany, throughout the area bordering on the ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the Elbe ... My fleet sailed through the ocean eastwards from the mouth of the Rhine to the territory of the Cimbri, a country which no Roman had visited before either by land or sea, and the Cimbri, Charydes, Semnones and other German peoples of that region sent ambassadors and sought my friendship and that of the Roman people.²

One of the interesting aspects of this passage is Augustus' claim of German territory as part of the Roman Empire whereas, according to modern historians, Rome had not officially—albeit in effect—given up her efforts to conquer and incorporate the parts of Germany between the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe not long after the disastrous battle in the Teutoburg Forest in 9 AD.³ Thereafter the rivers Rhine and Danube

¹ I wish to thank Mark Graham, Daan den Hengst and Nick Hodgson for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Special thanks are due to Benjamin Isaac for his willingness to comment on a paper many of the views of which he does not share; I profited greatly from his critical remarks and he made me reconsider some of my opinions or put them forward in a more nuanced way. Alasdair MacDonald was kind enough to correct my English.

² 26.1–4: *Omnium provinciarum populi Romani quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro fines auxi. Gallias et Hispanias provincias, item Germaniam, qua includit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi ... Classis mea per Oceanum ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit, Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt*; tr. Brunt & Moore.

³ On the *Res Gestae* as a geographical survey and catalogue of conquests asserting Rome's control over the *orbis terrarum*, see C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1991), Chapters 1 and 2.

had become the demarcation lines between the Roman Empire and the ‘barbaricum’. However, Augustus and his contemporaries seem to have had a different concept of Roman territory than modern historians. The Romans still adhered to the idea of an *imperium sine fine*. Actual conquest, occupation, and provincialisation were apparently not necessary to let them consider Germania as part of the world under Roman *imperium*. This attitude has consequences for how the Romans perceived frontiers or borders in the early imperial period. The concept of an imperial frontier seems to have had little meaning and the Romans in the early Empire seem not to have been accustomed to thinking about frontiers as physical and static boundaries.⁴

Over time, however, the notion of *imperium sine fine* disappeared and since the third century the Romans came to see their empire more and more in terms of defined territory.⁵ Along with this new idea of empire as a defined territory, a consciousness of frontiers as dividing lines between Roman territory and the regions that lay beyond those lines seems to have developed. The perception that there were actual limits to the territory of the *imperium* of Rome was no doubt prompted by the threats made by northern ‘barbarians’ from the end of the second century onwards to what was considered Roman domain, and by the military invasions in the eastern provinces undertaken by the Sassanid Empire in the third century.

Four centuries after Augustus, the new consciousness of limits to Roman territory is well expressed by St. Augustine. Augustine, contemplating that Terminus, the god of boundaries, had several times given ground to Rome’s enemies, refers to Julian’s disastrous Persian campaign of 363 and the peace agreement that his successor Jovian was forced to conclude with the Sassanid king Shapur II. Territorial concessions had to be made: the city of Nisibis and five Transtigritane regions were surrendered to the Persians.⁶ Augustine remarks that peace was made and that the boundaries of the empire were fixed where they remain today, i.e. as in the second decade of the fifth century.⁷ Augustine uses the terms *finis* and *termini*, clearly indicating that there was an apprehension that there

⁴ M.W. Graham, *News and Frontier Consciousness in the Late Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 2006), ix.

⁵ Graham 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 2.

⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus (Teubner edition, W. Seyfarth, Leipzig 1978), 25.7.9–12 and J. den Boeft et al., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXV* (Leiden 2005), 233 ff.

⁷ Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei* 4.29: *placito pacis illic imperii fines constituerentur*,

existed either a defined or an abstract end to Roman territory and that in territorial terms Rome in Late Antiquity was not an *imperium sine fine* anymore.⁸

The last decades have seen an increasing interest in the concept of the Roman frontier or border.⁹ There are many kinds of frontiers or borders—e.g. political, economic, cultural, religious, judicial, social. In this article I shall deal with frontiers/borders in the territorial and military sense.

The usual Roman term for land boundary is *limes*. Originally, the word was used by land surveyors to indicate the boundary or limit between fields, consisting of a path or a balk. Subsequently, the term was also used to indicate the actual path or a road. Like the Roman concept of territory the meaning of *limes* changed over time in the Roman imperial period, and can have several meanings: a strip of ground marking the division of land; a boundary of a plot of land; a piece of land enclosed within boundaries; a national boundary or frontier; a dividing line; a lane, track or road; a line of travel or route; a trail.¹⁰ Modern interpretation and understanding of the term *limes* has been heavily influenced by the imperialistic and colonial ideology of the nineteenth century. It was seen as a dividing line between the civilised and the barbarian. In accordance with this line of thinking the *limes* was therefore used as referring to the Roman defence system along the border of the empire, with permanent defensive structures such as garrison camps, watch towers, patrolling river fleets, and even walls of which the main purpose was to keep the

ubi hodieque persistent. In *De Civitate Dei* 5.21 Augustine remarks that the boundaries of the Roman Empire were changed (*Romani imperii termini moverentur*) after Julian's expedition.

⁸ Ideologically, Roman propaganda still considered the late Roman empire as *sine fine*. However, there was a clear sense of reality that there were actual limits to the empire; see J. Arce, 'Frontiers of the late Roman Empire: perceptions and realities', in W. Pohl—I. Wood—H. Reimitz (eds.), *The Transformation of Frontiers. From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (Leiden 2001), 5–13.

⁹ E.g. S.L. Dyson, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (Princeton 1985); A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers. Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1993); C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore—London 1994); H. Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Bloomington—Indianapolis 1996); D. Williams, *The Reach of Rome. A History of the Roman Imperial Frontier 1th–5th centuries AD* (London 1996); D. Cherry, *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1998); S.P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy. Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1999), 109 ff.; C.R. Whittaker, *Rome and its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire* (London 2004).

¹⁰ Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v. *limes*.

barbarian out. Even though many scholars have nuanced this one-sided meaning of *limes*, the term is still often associated with a frontier of military character, demarcating Roman territory from that beyond, and meant to keep outsiders out of the Roman Empire, or at least to regulate the crossing of the border by outsiders entering the empire.¹¹

To my knowledge, the first scholar to challenge the understanding of *limes* as a system of military defence was Benjamin Isaac, in an article published in 1988.¹² Isaac argues that *limes* never had the meaning of military defended border or defence against barbarians in any period of the Roman Empire, and that it never indicated a permanent defensive system of military installations or referred to a formal military and administrative organisation.¹³ Isaac notes that in the written sources from the early empire the word *limes* was used in the sense of a military road, a system of military roads, or a demarcated land boundary.¹⁴ The meaning of the word was thus still close to its original denotation as used by land surveyors. According to Isaac, however, in sources from the fourth century onwards, when the term occurs more often than in the earlier writings, the meaning of *limes* had changed. It now refers to a border district, more specifically, as Isaac mentions in the conclusion of his article, “it is the formal term used to designate a frontier district under the command of a *dux*” (i.e. a *dux limitis*).¹⁵ Isaac adds that *limes* in Late Antiquity “denoted an administrative concept, again unconnected with the military structures which may have existed in the area . . . In no single case is a *limes* described as something made or constructed”.¹⁶ Also for the later Roman period, according to Isaac, the term *limes* was not used by the Romans to denote a structure of defence works along the edges of the Roman Empire. Isaac bases his argument on a close examination

¹¹ E.g. D. Baatz, *Der römische Limes* (Berlin 1993).

¹² B. Isaac, “The meaning of the terms *Limes* and *Limitanei*”, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988), 125–147; repr. with a postscript in Idem, *The Near East under Roman Rule. Selected Papers* (Leiden 1998), 345–387.

¹³ Cf. e.g. Lewis & Short which gives as one of the meanings of *limes* “a fortified boundary-line”; according to the Oxford Latin Dictionary *limes* can mean “a patrolled and fortified line marking a frontier”.

¹⁴ Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 126 ff.

¹⁵ Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 146. In the postscript of the reprinted version of the article in Isaac 1998, op. cit. (n. 12), 382 he formulates it slightly differently: “The essence, then, of the term *limes* is that it indicates a form of army organization . . . It is not a term that describes physical structures, forts, defence works, roads and related features, but a term indicating army bureaucracy”.

¹⁶ Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 146.

of a wide variety of written sources—historical writings, inscriptions, panegyrics, the *Notitia Dignitatum*—which have the word *limes* or its Greek equivalent ἐσχατια ('remote regions').

Isaac's article had (and still has) considerable influence and his ideas were picked up by other scholars.¹⁷ He himself repeated his arguments in his monograph *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* which appeared a few years after his article in *The Journal of Roman Studies*.¹⁸

The *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus were an important source for Isaac with which to underpin his argument. Although it appears from Ammianus that *limes* usually has the meaning of border district or frontier zone, a close examination of the term and the context in which it is used in Ammianus' *Res Gestae* makes clear that it can also have other meanings. Contrary to what Isaac argues, Ammianus in a few cases may even refer to *limes* as a constructed defence-line with military installations. That it can have that meaning or was associated with military defence is plausible and understandable: when it had become evident that the Roman Empire was not *sine fine* anymore and that the demarcations of Roman territory, in particular in the Rhine and Danube regions, were clear and fixed, the *limes* became connected with the construction of a frontier system consisting of military installations for reasons of security.

The aim of this article is threefold. Firstly, I examine the use of the word *limes* by Ammianus Marcellinus and the different meanings it can have in his work. Secondly, I briefly deal with rivers as demarcation lines, and finally I succinctly discuss the frontier as an intercultural contact zone, as displayed in the work of Ammianus.

LIMES

Ammianus Marcellinus was the Tacitus of Late Antiquity. His *Res Gestae*, which originally consisted of thirty-one books, was a continuation of his famous predecessor's *Histories*. Unfortunately, the first thirteen books of the *Res Gestae* are lost, and only the books 14–31 have been preserved,

¹⁷ E.g. also Whittaker 1994, op. cit. (n. 9), 66, argues that borders were not seen by the Romans in terms of military defence. See also P. Mayerson, 'The Meaning of the word *Limes* (λίμνον) in the papyri', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 77 (1989), 287–291 and Mattern 1999, op. cit. (n. 9), 110 ff.

¹⁸ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford 1992²; rev. ed.), 408 ff.

describing the history of Ammianus' own times, i.e. the years 353–378. Ammianus was a member of the military élite corps of the *protectores domestici*.¹⁹ In that capacity he served both on the boundaries of the western half of the empire and on the eastern frontier. He participated in Julian's fatal expedition against the Sassanians in 363. Because of his military background, Ammianus was very much a military historian,²⁰ describing military expeditions and military encounters between Roman armies and 'barbarians' on the edges and beyond the limits of the empire. Although not the only source, Ammianus' historical work is definitely an important text for Isaac in defining what the term *limes* (or ἔσχατια or λίμια) stands for in the fourth and fifth centuries.²¹ *Limes* occurs thirty-four times in the *Res Gestae*.²²

I. Isaac is absolutely correct in arguing that *limes* generally indicates a frontier zone or territory in the frontier regions, in particular when it is used in its plural form. In this sense Ammianus uses the word twenty-two times. This zone could either be situated on the Roman side (eighteen instances) or on the non-Roman side (four instances).

A. Frontier Zones within Roman Territory

orientis vero limes in longum protentus et rectum ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili laeva Saracenis conterminans gentibus, dextra pelagi fragoribus patens ... (14.8.5)

¹⁹ Some important monographs on Ammianus: R.C. Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus. A Study of his Historiography and Political Thought* (Brussels 1975); G. Sabbah, *La méthode d'Ammien Marcellin. Recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les Res Gestae* (Paris 1978); J.F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London 1989; repr. with a new introduction Ann Arbor 2008); T.D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (Ithaca—London 1998); G. Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus. The Allusive Historian* (Cambridge 2008).

²⁰ E.g. G.A. Crump, *Ammianus Marcellinus as a Military Historian* (Wiesbaden 1975); N. Bitter, *Kampfschilderungen bei Ammianus Marcellinus* (Bonn 1976); N.J.E. Austin, *Ammianus on Warfare. An Investigation into Ammianus' Military Knowledge* (Brussels 1979).

²¹ Other texts: *Panegyrici Latini* VIII (V) 3.3, VI (VII) 11, XII (IX) 21.5, 22.5; Ausonius, *Gratiarum Actio* 2.7; *CIL* 3.12483 (*ILS* 724); *Historia Augusta*, *Tyranni Triginta* 26; *Festus*, *Breviarium* 14; Malalas, *Chronographia* 143, 206, 230f., 295f., 308, 426, 434; Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 34.1–2; Suidas, s.v. Ἐσχατια; Procopius, *Anecdota* 14.12–13; *Codex Theodosianus* 7.13.15; *Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Orientis* 28; Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.6; *IGLS* 5.2704; *SEG* 8, 296.

²² Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 134 and 138 only refers to four instances.

The *limes* of the East, extending a long distance in a straight line from the banks of the river Euphrates to the shores of the Nile, bordering on the left on the Saracens and on the right exposed to the sea . . .

Limes is here probably to be interpreted as Rome's eastern frontier zone.²³ The *orientis limes* is almost equal to the Diocese of Oriens, which existed of the Roman provinces along the eastern frontier.

persultant barbari Gallias rupta limitum pace (15.8.6)

the barbarians overran Gaul after having disturbed the peace of our *limites*

furor hostilis . . . vastabat extima limitum (17.13.27)

The fury of the enemy [the Sarmatian Limigantes] devastated our farthest *limites*.

cum nullus causam veniendi ad extremas Romani limitis partes iam possessorem . . . auderet exigere (18.5.3)

No one dared to ask why a landed proprietor should go to the extreme parts of the Roman *limes*

Limigantes . . . limitesque contra interdicta pulsarent (19.11.5)

the Limigantes were pushing against our *limites* in disregard of our prohibition

Post quae tam saeva digestis pro securitate limitum, quae rationes monebant urgentes, Constantius Sirmium redit (19.11.17)

After these cruel affairs Constantius made arrangements for the security of the *limites* as considerations of urgency demanded, and returned to Sirmium

Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus . . . loca limitibus vicina vastarent (20.1.1)

Raids of the savage tribes of the Scots and the Picts . . . laid waste the regions near the *limites*

amnis vero Danubius oriens prope Rauracos montesque confines limitibus Raeticis (22.8.44)

But the river Danube, rising near Augst and the mountains close to the *limites* of Raetia

²³ Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 138.

Romae super hoc bello libros Sibyllae consultos, ut iusserat, imperatorem ei anno discedere a limitibus suis, aperto prohibuisse responso (23.1.7)

at Rome the Sibylline books had been consulted about this war, as he [Julian] had ordered, and had given the definite reply that the emperor must not that year leave his *limites*

quod Diocletianus exiguum ante hoc et suspectum muris turribusque circumdedit celsis, cum in ipsis barbarorum confiniis interiores limites ordinaret ... (23.5.2)

This place [Cercusium], formerly small and exposed to danger, Diocletian surrounded with walls and lofty towers, when he was arranging the inner *limites* on the very borders of the barbarians (i.e. the Persians)

Although Ammianus refers here to military installations it is evident that these were not situated on the demarcation line between the Roman and Persian Empires but on the *interiores limites*. These *interiores limites* should be seen as the territory on the Roman side of the boundary between the two powers.²⁴

Malechus Podosacis nomine, phylarchus Saracenorum Assanitarum ... per nostros limites diu grassatus (24.2.4)

the Malechus, Podosaces by name, phylarch of the Assanitic Saracens ... had long raided our *limites*.

fama circumlata fines haud procul limitum esse nostrorum (25.6.11)

The rumor was circulated that the borders of our *limites* were not far away

This latter passage is one of the clearest where *limes* refers to a frontier zone, i.e. territory on the Roman side of the dividing lines (*fines*) segregating the Roman from the Persian domain. The word *finis* refers to the actual border line between the two empires. This word occurs frequently in the *Res Gestae*; apart from the meaning “end”, it denotes in its singular form “boundary” or “border” and in its plural form “territory”.²⁵ However, unlike *limes* it does not have the denotation of frontier district.

²⁴ As Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 134 has noted, the English translations by Rolfe and Hamilton reflect the modern notion that *limes* was primarily a military line of defence. In particular Hamilton’s rendering “... when he was organizing defences in depth on our actual frontier with the barbarians” reflects this idea as well as the influence of E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore 1976) on the strategy of defence in depth.

²⁵ 15.5.24; 15.8.7; 17.5.5; 18.6.1; 19.9.5; 21.5.6; 21.7.2; 22.8.42; 22.8.47; 22.9.1; 22.15.26; 23.6.24; 23.6.43; 23.6.61; 23.6.70; 24.1.1; 24.1.10; 25.6.11; 26.6.11; 27.4.10; 28.2.1;

Hoc tempore ... gentes saevissimae limites sibi proximos persultabant
(26.4.5)

At this time ... the most savage nations overran the *limites* closest to them

Alamanni enim perrupere Germaniae limites (26.5.7)

For the Alamanni burst through the *limites* of Germania

Alamanni ... Gallicanos limites ... persultabant (27.1.1)

The Alamanni overran the *limites* of Gaul

The *Gallicanos limites* refer to the same territory as the *Germaniae limites* mentioned in 26.5.7.²⁶

Papa itidemque Cylaces et Arrabannes ... celsorum montium petivere secesus limites nostros disterminantes et Lazicam
(27.12.11)

Papa as well as Cylaces and Arrabannes ... sought the refuge of the high mountains which divide our *limites* from Lazica

Valentinianus enim studio muniendorum limitum ... ab ipso principatus initio flagrans (29.6.2)

Valentinianus from the very beginning of his reign burned with a desire of fortifying the *limites*.²⁷

Munderichum ducem postea limitis per Arabiam (31.3.5)

Munderichus, later *dux* of the Arabian *limes*

The last case is the only one in Ammianus mentioning a frontier district under command of a *dux*. Although Ammianus did not compose a work about the administration of the Roman Empire but a political and military history, it is nevertheless noteworthy that he has only one instance of what according to Isaac is the main meaning of *limes*, namely a border district under the supervision of a *dux limitis*.²⁸

28.5.11; 29.6.16. The word *terminus* is used five times by Ammianus in the meaning of a boundary demarcating territory of Rome from that of others; 22.1.3; 22.7.10; 23.6.48; 23.6.73; 15.13.4.

²⁶ See J. den Boeft et al., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII* (Leiden 2009), 3.

²⁷ Ammianus goes on to say that in order to defend the *limites* Valentinian ordered the building of a garrison-camp across the Danube in the territory of the Quadi; *trans flumen Histrum in ipsis Quadorum terris quasi Romano iure iam vindicatis aedificari praesidiaria castra mandavit* (29.6.2).

²⁸ Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 134 and 146.

B. Frontier Zones or Regions Outside Roman Territory

Alamannorum reges ... quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae Gallorum (14.10.1)

the Alamannic kings ... whose frequent raids were devastating the regions of Gaul bordering on their *limites*

qui cum fide concinente speculatorum aperte cognoscent Saporem in extremis regni limitibus ... (16.9.3)

They, when they were assured by the unanimous reports of their spies that Sapor was at the remotest *limites* of his realm ... (i.e. within Persian territory)

From a Roman perspective the remotest *limites* of Persia must have been the eastern frontier zones of the Sassanid Empire.

Limigantes Sarmatas ... regiones confines limitibus occupasse (19.11.1)

The Sarmatian Limigantes ... had seized upon the regions bordering on their *limites*

Proximos his limites possident Bactriani (23.6.55)

The Bactriani possess the lands closest to the Margiani

In the latter case Ammianus refers to lands far from Roman territory.²⁹ *Limites* does not seem to refer to a frontier zone but to the whole territory of Bactria.

In those cases where Ammianus uses *limes* in the sense of frontier zone, it is to be noted that he always employs the plural, except for the instance in 18.5.3.

II. In seven cases Ammianus is likely, even though we cannot be entirely certain, to refer to an actual border or demarcation line. In these instances he uses *limes* in its singular form.

ipsi quoque tempus aptissimum nancti limitem perrupere Romanum (17.13.1)

They [the Limigantes] also considering the opportunity most favourable to force their way through the Roman *limes*

The verb *perrumpere*, also used in 23.3.4 below, clearly suggests a (possibly reinforced) barrier or demarcation line which the enemy had to break through.

²⁹ Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 138.

Vadomarius vero nostris coalitus utpote vicinus limiti (18.2.17)

But Vadomarius who was familiar with our affairs because he lived close to our frontier

Iulianus ... in litem Germaniae secundae egressus est (20.10.1)

Julian ... set out for the frontier of Germania Secunda

indicatur equestres hostium turmas vicino limite quodam perrupto (23.3.4)

it was reported that squadrons of the enemy's cavalry had forced their way through the nearby *limes*³⁰

Saxonum multitudo ... Romanum litem gradu petebat intento (28.5.1)

a multitude of Saxons ... at great pace made towards the Roman frontier

ille ... evolare protinus festinarat ausos temerare litem barbaros ... oppressurus armorum (30.3.2)

he [Valentinian] ... had been eager to set out at once in order to crush the barbarians who had dared to violate our *limes*

Per id tempus nostri limitis reseratis obicibus (31.4.9)

At that time when the barriers of our *limes* lay open

III. According to Isaac, *limes* never refers to a border defence line consisting of military installations. However, the impression gained from five passages in Ammianus is otherwise. In these passages the term *limes* carries clear undertones of a line of demarcation of military character. The same is also true for the passage from 29.6.2 cited above.

Constantius, metuens expeditiones Parthicas ... impensiore cura litem instruebat eomni apparatu bellorum (20.8.1)

Constantius for fear of Persian invasions ... with ultimate care equipped the eastern *limes* with every kind of war machines

praesidiaque limites explorans diligenter et corrigens (20.10.3)

and he [Julian] carefully examined and improved the frontier defences (i.e. the frontier defences on the Rhine)

instaurabat urbes et praesidaria ... castra limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis (28.3.7)

³⁰ See also J. den Boeft et al., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII* (Groningen 1998), 41.

he [Theodosius the Elder] restored the cities and garrison towns ... and he protected the frontiers with guard-posts and defence works

nemo eum vel obtrectator pervicax incusabit illud contemplans, quod maius pretium operae foret in regendis verius limite barbaris quam pellendis

(29.4.1)

not even his [Valentinian's] harshest critic will reproach him especially bearing in mind that it was a greater service (i.e. to the state) to check the barbarians by frontier defences than to defeat them in battle

In the last case the text is corrupt and its reliability therefore uncertain; *limite* is a conjectural reading by H. Valesius in his edition of the *Res Gestae* from 1636.³¹

oppidorum et limitum conditor tempestivus (30.9.1)

he [Valentinian] was always timely in establishing towns and frontiers

From this overview it appears that the term *limes* as used by Ammianus can have several interpretations, and that the meaning of *limes* in Late Antiquity is more complex and less straightforward than Isaac argues. The most current meaning is that of frontier zone or tract along the frontier both within and outside Roman territory. However, in Ammianus a frontier zone need not always denote a formal and administrative concept controlled by a *dux*—only in one case (31.3.5) does Ammianus use *limes* in that meaning. Ammianus seems to use the word *limes* also when referring to a physical border line or even to a militarily defensive frontier.³² In the latter case we should consider the frontier as a constructed line of defence works intended to prevent outsiders from entering Roman territory. Remarkably, in these cases Ammianus' references are only to northern frontiers in Britain and the Rhine and Danube regions, and primarily concerning the reigns of the emperors Valentinian I (364–375) and Valens (364–378).³³ Valentinian I, in particular, is known for his military qualities and his awareness of defending the frontiers. Would this emperor have started implementing the advice of the anonymous writer of the *De rebus bellicis*, a work generally agreed to have been composed

³¹ Ms V reads *verius milite*.

³² Isaac 1988, op. cit. (n. 12), 138: “there is in Latin no term to indicate what modern frontier studies describe as a *limes*, a defended border.” However, Arce 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 8, suggests that *limes* could have the meaning of a militarily defended border, although he does not think that frontiers with military installations were ever installed.

³³ The *limites* in these regions seem to have more the character of militarily defended border lines than the *limites* in the eastern provinces and Africa.

around the middle of the fourth century? According to this author it was necessary to solve the problems at the frontiers by creating a continuous line of *castella*, situated every thousand feet and linked by a solid wall with strong watchtowers.³⁴

It would seem that Ammianus with the notion of *limes* in his mind did not only connect the term with a frontier zone but also with a setting of military installations along a line demarcating Roman from non-Roman territory.

RIVERS

Rivers and mountain ranges are effective barriers and lines of defence, and were used as such by the Romans.³⁵ Rivers are, as is rightly emphasised in modern studies, geographical bridges as well as barriers.³⁶ For Ammianus, rivers constituted in particular political and military dividing lines between Roman and non-Roman territory.³⁷ Two instances (and more could be presented) make this clear. When the Roman army was retreating from Persia, rumour spread that "the frontiers of our territory were not far away",³⁸ whereupon the soldiers demanded that they be allowed to cross the Tigris. Evidently, the river Tigris was considered the line of demarcation between Roman and Persian territory.³⁹ The second example concerns the peace treaty between Valens and the Gothic leader Athanaric. The latter was bound by oath from ever setting foot on Roman soil and since it was unbecoming and degrading for Valens to cross over to Gothic territory, it was decided that the treaty was to be

³⁴ *De rebus bellicis* 20: *Est praetera inter commoda rei publicae utilis limitum cura ambientium ubique latus imperii; quorum tutelae assidua melius castella prospicient, ita ut millenis interiecta passibus stabili muro et firmissimis turribus erigantur.*

³⁵ E.g. M.J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire. The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople* (Amsterdam 1998), 122–123. The Rhine, Danube and Euphrates divide Roman from non-Roman territory; e.g. Tacitus, *Germania* 1; *Annales* 1.9; Strabo, *Geographika* 16.1.28.

³⁶ C.R. Whittaker, *Les frontières de l'empire Romain* (Besançon 1989), 24 ff.; Whittaker 1994, op. cit. (n. 9), 61; Isaac 1992², op. cit. (n. 18), 410–413. See further Graham 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 57–58.

³⁷ For rivers as border lines, see e.g. Nicasie 1998, op. cit. (n. 35), 123–125; Mattern 1999, op. cit. (n. 9), 110. The most elaborate discussion of rivers as borders is presented by Graham 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 58 ff.

³⁸ 25.6.11: *fama circumlata fines haud procul limitum esse nostrorum.*

³⁹ See also Lib. *Or.* 59.10; Nicasie 1998, op. cit. (n. 35), 124. In other instances the crossing of the Euphrates equals entering or leaving Persian territory; 18.6.3; 18.7.6; 21.7.1; 23.3.2.

concluded mid-stream in the river Danube (27.5.9).⁴⁰ From this passage we can hardly conclude otherwise than that both Romans and Goths had a clear territorial and frontier consciousness and that they considered the middle of the Danube as the demarcation line between their respective territories.⁴¹ Moreover, throughout the *Res Gestae* the crossing of the Rhine and the Danube by the Romans is identical to entering barbarian territory; barbarians who cross these rivers are considered invaders of Roman soil.⁴² Since the Rhine and Danube were considered demarcation lines between Roman and barbarian territory, the Roman emperors constructed fortifications and organised military defence on the river banks, as Ammianus mentions several times,⁴³ making them into fortified frontiers to keep barbarian peoples out.

FRONTIER ZONES AND INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE

Although it seems that some parts of the Roman frontier, in particular in the Rhine and Danube areas, were closed to outsiders, or at least intended to keep interlopers out, in most cases Ammianus refers to *limes* as a frontier zone. This strip of land, the furthest extent of the empire, should be seen as a demarcation region between Roman and non-Roman societies. The frontier zone was typified by a gradual transition from Roman to non-Roman society and it was by character permeable, dynamic, and fluid.

In this frontier zone, exchange of goods, ideas and people took place between the various groups who were present, such as Roman soldiers, Roman civilians, local natives and outsiders or 'barbarians'. The frontier zones were regions of economic, military, political, diplomatic, cultural, and social interaction as, for instance, the case of Vodomarius in 18.2.17

⁴⁰ For similar instances of rivers as territorial and political dividing lines: Velleius Paterculus, 2.101 (Gaius meets the Parthian king on an island in the Euphrates); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.101–102 (Vitellius and Artabanus meet midway on a bridge over the Euphrates); Tacitus, *Annales* 11.19 (Corbulo ordered by Claudius to withdraw behind the Rhine); *ILS* 986 (Danube perceived as political border between Romans and *Transdanuviani*); see also J. den Boeft et al., op. cit. (n. 26), 124–125.

⁴¹ Graham 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 62 ff. persuasively argues that in the late empire *limes* qualifies rivers and rivers are presented as actual boundaries of the empire.

⁴² Rhine: 16.11.8; 16.12.19; 16.12.59; 17.10.1; 18.2.8; 20.10.2; 21.4.8; 21.5.3; 28.5.10; 29.4.2; 31.7.4; 31.10.4; 31.10.11. Danube (*Hister/Danubius*): 17.12.4; 27.5.2; 29.6.6; 31.4.5. Rhine and Danube: 27.6.12.

⁴³ E.g. 22.7.7; 27.4.6; 28.2.1; 30.7.6; 30.10.3.

(cited above) makes clear. They may therefore also be designated as contact zones. Mary Pratt has defined contact zones in post-colonial terms as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination”, and as spaces “in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations”.⁴⁴ Transculturation is a phenomenon that is characteristic of the contact zone: the dominant power tries to shape the cultures on the periphery according to its own values; however, the dominant power can also be influenced and changed by the peripheral cultures. The concept of contact zone may, I would argue, be fruitfully applied to the frontier zones in late Roman times. However, a distinction should be made to the frontier zones in the north and the east—Roman Africa will be left out of the discussion.

At the Rhine and Danube frontiers, exchange and interchange between Rome and the Germanic peoples took place at least from the time of Caesar's expeditions in Gaul onwards. The relations between Romans and Germans were often of an asymmetrical kind and Roman culture dominated over that of the Germans and clearly influenced Germanic culture, in particular through the military service of Germanic peoples in the Roman army. Historians (still) tend to speak in this case of romanisation. Romanisation is not an adequate term since it suggests a top-down and one-way process, in the course of which non-Roman societies adapted to and adopted Roman culture.⁴⁵ However, romanisation was a complex process of multi-sided exchange and was definitely not a matter only of Roman versus the “other”. Also Roman culture, in particular in the frontier zone, adapted to and adopted Germanic cultural features. Throughout imperial times, Roman-Germanic contacts of various kinds continued with an intensification in Late Antiquity. “Romanisation” of Germanic peoples increased in the fourth and fifth centuries to such an extent that historians like to speak of the barbarisation of Rome. In Late Antiquity the number of Germans who fought in the Roman armies increased considerably and many Germanic leaders

⁴⁴ M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London—New York 1992), 4, 6.

⁴⁵ E.g. G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998); R. Brandt—J. Slofstra (eds.), *Roman and Native in the Low Countries. Spheres of Interaction*, BAR International Series 184 (Oxford 1983). See now also A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008), 9–14 (“the ‘Romanisation’ debate”).

entered Roman service, both military and civil, and made successful careers. Ammianus mentions many of them.⁴⁶ Two examples may suffice here. The first example concerns a certain Charietto. He came from the right bank of the Rhine and was possibly of Frankish descent. Before 355 he settled in Trier and fought a sort of guerrilla war against barbarians who crossed the Rhine for nocturnal raids in Roman Gaul. After becoming Caesar in 355, Julian made use of Charietto and his robber band to fight the barbarians, in particular against the Alamanni and the Quadi.⁴⁷ Charietto probably never held an official position in Roman service, unlike many other 'barbarians', such as the Alamannic king Vadomarius. Ammianus reports about Vadomarius that he was familiar with Roman affairs because he lived near the frontier.⁴⁸ Initially a fierce enemy of the Romans, he was captured by Julian and entered Roman service and had a distinguished career. Vadomarius clearly accommodated to and adopted Roman culture, contrary to his son (Vithicabius) who remained hostile to Rome till the end of his life. These two examples can easily be multiplied.

The situation was different in the East. There Rome found a superpower like itself at its borders: the Sassanid Empire. There existed a more symmetrical relation between Rome and Persia than between Rome and the peoples in the Rhine and Danube regions, as a consequence of which both cultures influenced one another and a sort of mixed Roman-Persian culture could develop in the borderlands, in particular in the northern Mesopotamian plain.⁴⁹ Exchange, cross-border transcultural contacts, and acculturation were facilitated by the fact that Syriac, a dialect of the Aramaic language, was the *lingua franca*. The interchange and the multicultural character of the eastern border regions are well illustrated by Ammianus Marcellinus' story about Antoninus (18.5). Antoninus was very well known in Mesopotamia; he had been a merchant

⁴⁶ See in general M. Waas, *Germanen im römischen Dienst (im 4. Jh. n. Chr.)* (Bonn 1971).

⁴⁷ He captured an Alamannic guide on the order of Julian; *Nesticae tribuno Scutariorum, et Chariettoni, viro fortitudinis mirae, imperaverat Caesar, ut magna quaesitum industria, comprehensumque offerrent sibi captivum, et correptus velociter adolescens ducitur Alamannus pacto obtinendae salutis pollicitus itinera se monstraturum* (17.10.5). See also 27.1.1.2 and Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 3.7; PLRE I, Charietto 1; K.W. Welwei—M. Meier, 'Charietto—ein germanischer Krieger des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.', *Gymnasium* 110 (2003), 41–56.

⁴⁸ 18.2.17: *Vadomarius vero nostris coalitus utpote vicinus limiti* ...

⁴⁹ For the variety of interchange in the eastern frontier region see Lee 1993, op. cit. (n. 9), 49–66.

and an accountant in the service of the Roman military commander of Mesopotamia, but had defected to the Persians with information on Roman military dispositions. Without difficulty, he was able to continue his life at the other side of the border and even to pursue a career in the service of the Persian king. Antoninus' case was not unique. Ammianus (19.9.3–8) also mentions Cragausius, a prominent member of the elite of Nisibis who, like Antoninus, went over to the Persian side. Antoninus and Cragausius are clear examples of the symmetrical cultural adaptability that characterised relations and conduct in this frontier zone between the two empires.⁵⁰

To sum up, *limes* is a complex and multi-faceted term. I hope to have shown that *limes* as it is used by Ammianus Marcellinus has more meanings than only a frontier district commanded by a *dux* or a frontier zone, as Isaac argues. It can have these denotations, but Ammianus also uses *limes* in the meaning of boundary line and probably even in the sense of a militarily defended border. Rivers in Ammianus' *Res Gestae* are considered as clear boundary lines between Roman and non-Roman territory. Finally, Ammianus provides examples for the frontier region as a contact zone where different cultures meet and acculturate—sometimes symmetrically, at other times asymmetrically.

Groningen, December 2009

⁵⁰ Matthews 1989, op. cit. (n. 19), 68; also Lee 1993, op. cit. (n. 9), 61.

PENSER LA LIMITE :
DE LA CITÉ AU TERRITOIRE IMPÉRIAL

STÉPHANE BENOIST

I. PROLOGUE

Débutons ce parcours des conceptions impériales de la cité, de son territoire et des pouvoirs qui s'y exercent, du dernier siècle de la République, fondateur des approches postérieures, aux V^e et VI^e siècles de notre ère, par une première tentative de définition des limites, temporelle et spatiale de l'*Vrbs*, et de la signification qu'il convient de leur donner. Des *Antiquités divines* de Varron (16, 231) à la *Cité de Dieu* d'Augustin (VII, 7) qui s'en est très largement nourrie, la perception de l'approche romaine des dieux, du temps et de l'espace, par-delà la césure arbitraire de la christianisation, s'avère structurante et confère à l'aventure impériale une profonde unité conceptuelle. Si Varron, qui fut associé à la réforme calendaire de César en 46, s'est naturellement interrogé sur la signification de l'année romaine archaïque afin de définir les modalités d'une modification du rythme luni-solaire du temps à Rome,¹ les réflexions d'Augustin sur le sens à accorder aux deux premiers mois du cycle, janvier et février, et au rôle de Janus, premier *deus selectus* envisagé, révèlent l'importance des *Terminalia* dans toute tentative de prise en compte des étapes successives de l'élaboration d'un calendrier rituel et civique.²

Nous laissons de côté les enjeux théologiques majeurs, pour l'évêque d'Hippone, des liens entre commencement et achèvement lui ayant suggéré d'unir Janus et Terminus en un seul et même dieu. Retenons l'essentiel pour notre propos, l'existence de deux rythmes annuels : une première ouverture en mars avec une fermeture en décembre, puis de

¹ Varron, *Antiquitates rerum diuinarum* (éd. Burkhart Cardauns, 1976), 16, *de diis praecipuis atque selectis*, 231 (*Terminalia*) : *ad eum [Ianus] dicuntur rerum initia pertinere, fines uero ad alterum. Quem Terminus uocant. Nam propter initia et fines duobus istis diis duos menses perhibent dedicantes praeter illos decem, quibus usque ad decembrem caput est Martius, Ianuarius Iano, Februarium Termino. Ideo Terminalia eodem mense Februario celebrari dicunt, cum fit sacrum purgatorium, quod uocant Februm, unde mensis nomen accepit.*

² Augustin, *De Ciuitate Dei* 7.7 : cf. appendice, texte 1.

nouveau deux mois résumant une telle approche des limites temporelles, janvier et février, avec un Janus regardant tout autant l'année écoulée que celle à venir, la fête de *Terminus* se plaçant quant à elle à la limite des pratiques d'intercalation, du mois de 22/23 jours au *dies bis sextum*, et les propriétés purificatrices de *Februum*.³ Cette première conception de la limite temporelle prend place en un contexte propice à la célébration des territoires, à la conception spatiale de tout bornage, par exemple à l'occasion du parcours rituel des *Lupercalia* une neuvaine plus tôt. La permanence des pratiques de *lustratio* marque l'importance de cet enjeu de la délimitation qu'évoque Varron quand il s'interroge sur les rituels de fondation.⁴

Le passage que ce dernier consacre en effet aux gestes de fondation suivant le rite étrusque dans son *de Lingua latina* contient les clés d'une lecture réunissant tous les enjeux de l'approche romaine de l'*Vrbs* et de l'*orbis*, que nous voudrions suivre dans cette réflexion sur la notion de limite.⁵ Abordant le tracé du *sulcus primigenius*, il mentionne l'attelage de bovins, le fossé et la muraille produits par le soc de la charrue, le cercle ainsi tracé (*orbis*) et le commencement de la ville qu'il induit (*urbs*), le rapprochement entre *post murum* et *postmoerium*, marquant la limite des

³ En partant de J. Rüpke, *Kalendar und Öffentlichkeit. Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom* (Berlin—New York 1995) avec les compléments de S. Benoist, 'Fasti et « geste impériale » : le temps civique à Rome (I^{er} s. av. J.-C.—IV^e s. ap. J.-C.)', dans J. Le Goff—J. Lefort—P. Mane (éds.), *Les calendriers. Leurs enjeux dans l'espace et dans le temps: colloque de Cerisy, du 1^{er} au 8 juillet 2000* (Paris 2002), 129–141.

⁴ Cf. J. Scheid, 'Les sanctuaires de confins dans la Rome antique. Réalité et permanence d'une représentation idéale de l'espace romain', dans *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire (I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.—III^e siècle après J.-C.)* (Rome 1987), 583–595, et S. Benoist, 'Les processions dans la cité: de la mise en scène de l'espace urbain', dans P. Fleury—O. Desbordes (éds.), *Roma Illustrata. Représentations de la Ville* (Caen 2008), 49–62, avec la mention de la base tétrarchique des *decennalia* sur le Forum qui fournit la dernière image d'une lustration, enfin S. Benoist, *La Fête à Rome au premier siècle de l'Empire. Recherches sur l'univers festif sous les règnes d'Auguste et des Julio-Claudiens* (Bruxelles 1999), chap. III et IV, à propos notamment des *Lupercalia* et de certains rites inauguraux des mois de janvier et février.

⁵ Varron, *De Lingua latina* 5.143: *Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est iunctis bobus, tauro et uacca interiore, aratro circumagebant sulcum (hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato), ut fossa et muro essent muniti. Terram unde exculpserant, fossam uocabant et introrsum iactam murum. Post ea qui fiebat orbis, urbis principium; qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum, eo usque auspicia urbana finiuntur. Cippi pomeri stant et circum Ariciam et circum Romam. Quare et oppida quae prius erant circumducta aratro ab orbe et uruo urbes; et, ideo coloniae nostrae omnes in litteris antiquis scribuntur urbes, quod item conditae ut Roma; et ideo coloniae et urbes conduntur, quod intra pomerium ponuntur.*

auspicia urbana, les bornes du *pomerium* ou *cippi*, enfin le sens d'*urbes* formé sur *orbis* (pourtour) et *uruum* (araire), qui désigne toutes les cités créées sur le modèle de Rome, ces colonies *quod item conditae ut Roma*.

Quoi qu'il en soit des propositions philologiques de notre érudit et de leur validité, je retiens la signification à l'époque césarienne de ce discours des origines de la cité-État, devenue capitale d'empire et, de ce fait, portée à la tête d'un vaste réseau de cités coloniales sur le territoire de l'*imperium Romanum*. C'est de cette approche du rituel de fondation de l'*Vrbs*, notamment de la *limitatio*, qu'il convient de partir pour dresser le constat d'une très longue postérité des récits *ab Vrbe condita* portés par les auteurs triumviraux et augustéens, puis leurs descendants. Pour le moment, nous sommes en présence de plusieurs marqueurs de la limite : les *cippi* de l'*Vrbs* et les deux *finis* temporels, de décembre au *Terminus* du mois de février ; l'enceinte périmétrique définissant un *orbis* et son parcours ; la zone intermédiaire conduisant du *sacrum purgatorium* de *Februarius* à l'*Anna Perenna* de Mars.

Je me propose d'évoquer successivement trois types de discours permettant d'aborder cette conception romaine de la limite afin de réconcilier les deux grands axes de la recherche récente qui a traité, la plupart du temps de manière séparée, le *pomerium* et le *ius pomerii proferendi* ou les *prolationes*, d'une part, le destin impérial de Rome souvent évoqué en termes de *cosmopolis* ou d'œcuménisme, d'autre part.⁶ Après l'évocation d'un premier discours impérial sur les origines de Rome, c'est un second qui envisage les relations entre *Vrbs* et *orbis* qui nous retiendra, avant de revenir sur le sens commun d'une pensée de la limite et de l'universalité, sinon d'une véritable identité romaine au long cours.

II. UN DISCOURS IMPÉRIAL SUR LES ORIGINES

La figure du prince en *conditor* à laquelle nous avons consacré quelques recherches passées s'est imposée dès l'installation du principat, Auguste-Romulus composant un couple que l'annalistique et la poésie de la fin du I^{er} s. av. n. è. et des premières décennies du I^{er} s. de n. è. ont développé à l'envi dans les divers récits *ab Vrbe condita*.⁷ Les monuments de mots sont

⁶ Pour deux témoignages des recherches collectives et études spécifiques *urbi et orbi* durant les deux dernières décennies, M. Sordi, 'Silla e lo 'ius pomerii proferendi', dans *Il confine nel mondo antico* (Milan 1987), 200-211 ; C. Edwards—G. Woolf (éds.), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge 2003), chap. I, 1-20.

⁷ Avec les témoignages de Denys d'Halicarnasse, Tite Live et Ovide, en partant de

venus accompagner les monuments de marbre de la Rome augustéenne.⁸ La réécriture du passé a permis en outre plusieurs affranchissements des règles envisagées comme relevant du *mos maiorum*. La Rome des origines selon l'interprétation que les érudits ont proposé des rites de fondation, notamment de la *limitatio*, imposait un cadre structurant à l'approche spatiale, qu'elle soit politique avec les déclinaisons de l'*imperium* en deçà et au-delà du pomérium (*domi* et *militiae*) et la détention de l'*auspicium* afférent, religieux avec l'*augurium* dans sa pleine expression sacerdotale, enfin symbolique, depuis les limites entre *urbs* et *ager* jusqu'à l'approche impériale de la *patria*.⁹

Les recherches récentes ont souligné la signification première des aménagements de l'*imperium* augustéen en 23, tout comme des assouplissements futurs en matière de résidence pontificale à partir de 12.¹⁰ Quoiqu'il en soit de cette prise en charge du passé de la cité impériale et de son histoire depuis les origines, les princes ont tenu à incarner ce temps long que les fêtes décennales de leur *imperium* ou jubilaires de la *Roma Aeterna*, la création des *Romaia* ou les monnaies faisant expressément référence à l'*imperator* en *conditor*, conduisant l'attelage de bœufs, avec de surcroît le motif de la louve et des jumeaux (par exemple Hadrien lors de l'inauguration du *templum Vrbis*), diffusaient *urbi et orbi*.¹¹ Je n'insiste pas sur ces fragments d'une histoire ayant permis d'insérer les *principes ab Vrbe condita*. Je ne vais retenir que deux aspects qui me semblent sus-

S. Benoist, 'Le prince en sa ville: *conditor, pater patriae et divi filius*', dans N. Belayche (éd.), *Rome, les Césars et la Ville aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère* (Rennes 2001), 23-49.

⁸ Horace, *Carmina* 3.30.1-2: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius / regaliq[ue] situ pyramidum altius*.

⁹ Citons pour deux approches complémentaires les études d'A. Magdelain, 'Le pomérium archaïque et le mundus', *REL* 54 (1976), 71-109; et dans *Id.*, *Ius, Imperium, Auctoritas. Études de droit romain* (Rome 1990), 209-228; et de C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley 2000), part. sa 3^e partie 'From *imperium* to *patria*'.

¹⁰ J.-L. Ferrary, 'Les pouvoirs d'Auguste: l'affranchissement de la limite du pomérium', dans Belayche 2001, op. cit. (n. 7), 9-22; et J.-L. Ferrary, 'À propos des pouvoirs d'Auguste', *Cahiers Glotz* XII (2001), 101-154; A. Fraschetti, *Roma e il principe* (Rome 1990), 331-360; et J. Scheid, 'Auguste et le grand pontificat. Politique et droit sacré au début du Principat', *RHDFE* 77-1 (1999), 1-19.

¹¹ En partant des études d'A. Chastagnol réunies dans *Le pouvoir impérial à Rome: figures et commémorations. Scripta varia IV* (Genève 2008); et de S. Benoist, *Rome, le prince et la Cité. Pouvoir impérial et cérémonies publiques (I^{er} siècle av.-début du IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Paris 2005); avec M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the city of Rome* (Princeton 1987), 128-133, à propos de l'inauguration du *templum Vrbis* et de la prise du titre de *pater patriae*.

ceptibles de rendre compte des étapes d'une réflexion d'ensemble sur la notion de limite, du *pomoerium* au *limes* : il s'agit en tout premier lieu des références aux *prolationes* dans nos sources, et secondairement des variations érudites sur le couple gémellaire de Romulus et Rémus.

Dans son *Histoire romaine*, Tite Live nous offre une approche fort significative des relations entre les rois et la cité, éclairantes pour les pratiques présentes de l'époque augustéenne.¹² À propos des opérations censoriales de Servius Tullius sont évoquées la première cérémonie de clôture du *lustrum* par le sacrifice du suovétaurile, la première extension du territoire urbain par l'incorporation du Quirinal et du Viminal, enfin la construction d'un mur d'enceinte permettant de préciser la signification de l'espace enclos et sa consécration. Il n'est pas indifférent pour aborder le dossier de l'agrandissement du pomérium, que je ne ferai qu'évoquer très brièvement, de partir de ce passage mettant en relation étroite mesure, conception de l'espace urbain consacré et extension pomériale liée à l'érection d'un mur.

De Sylla à Aurélien, les sources évoquent les différents *imperatores* ayant procédé au déplacement des bornes pomériales (Claude, Vespasien et Titus), ou étant crédité d'un tel geste (César, Auguste, Néron, Trajan, Hadrien n'ayant effectué qu'une restauration, et Aurélien).¹³ De la pluralité des explications proposées, retenons le lien entre conquête de nouveaux territoires sur les ennemis, augmentation de l'espace civique habité, et extension de l'espace enclos, et les propos qu'Aulu-Gelle attribue à Messala, consul en 53 av. et membre du collège des augures.¹⁴ Dans

¹² Tite Live, 1.44.1–5 : cf. appendice, texte 2.

¹³ Je retiens parmi nos sources littéraires ces deux passages pertinents quant aux *prolationes* et à leur signification : Tacite, *Annales* 12.23.2–12.24.2 : *Et pomerium Urbis auxit Caesar, more prisco, quo iis qui protulere imperium etiam terminos Urbis propagare datur. Nec tamen duces Romani, quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpauerant, nisi L. Sulla et diuus Augustus. Regnum in eo ambitio uel gloria uarie uulgata. Sed initium condendi et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. Igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspiciamus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias ueteres, tum ad sacellum Larundae. Forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatius additum Urbis credidere. Mox pro fortuna pomerium auctum. Et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit, facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum;* et Histoire Auguste, *Vita Aureliani*, 21.9–11 : *adhibito consilio senatus muros urbis Romae dilatauit. Pomerio autem neminem principum licet addere nisi eum, qui agri barbarici aliqua parte Romanam rem publicam locupletauerit. Addidit autem Augustus, addidit Traianus, addidit Nero, sub quo Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottiae Romano nomini sunt tributae.*

¹⁴ Aulu-Gelle, *Noctes Atticae* 13.14 : cf. appendice, texte 3.

cette notice des *Nuits attiques*, si la question de l'exclusion de l'Aventin de l'espace pomérial jusqu'à la décision claudienne est première, deux précisions sont à retenir : d'une part, la définition du pomérium comme espace autour de la ville entre les murs et la campagne fixant les limites des auspices et, d'autre part, les conséquences de la double prise auspicielle de Romulus et Remus, le second sur l'Aventin.

Il n'est évidemment pas indifférent que le destin de l'*Vrbs* soit étroitement associé à celui de l'*imperium Romanum* dans toutes ses composantes, territoriales et humaines, cités et citoyenneté, depuis la municipalisation de l'Italie (Sylla) jusqu'à la réunification de l'empire sous la conduite d'Aurélien (empire gaulois et royaume de Palmyre).¹⁵ De même, l'évocation du *ius proferendi pomerii* au sein de la *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, toute circonstancielle qu'elle puisse apparaître, confère-t-elle au *princeps* une légitimité incontestable dans la conduite du destin impérial de Rome, de l'*imperator* garant de la *pax deorum* au *ensor* dispensateur de la *ciuitas Romana* et du *ius honorum* (Claude puis Vespasien).¹⁶

L'intégration de l'Aventin, exemple concret d'un déplacement des bornes pomérialles sous le règne de Claude pour lequel dix *cippi* attestent la matérialité de la *cura* impériale en ce domaine,¹⁷ peut être également interprétée dans le cadre de l'œuvre de réincorporation progressive de Remus au sein de l'histoire *ab Vrbe condita*. Dès Auguste, il

¹⁵ Parmi une bibliographie très abondante, je retiens les titres suivants qui me semblent les plus significatifs dans le cadre de ma réflexion : Fr. Hinard, 'L'élargissement du pomérium. L'Italie et l'espace urbain de Rome', dans *La Ciutat en el món romà* (Tarragone 1993), 233-237 = *Rome, ville et capitale, de Jules César à la fin des Antonins* (Paris 2001), 27-37 ; M.T. Boatwright, 'The pomerial extension of Augustus', *Historia* 35-1 (1986), 13-27 ; J. Park Poe, 'The Secular Games, the Aventine, and the pomerium in the Campus Martius', *Classical Antiquity* 3-1 (1984), 57-81 ; A. Giardina, 'Seneca, Claudio e il pomerio', dans « *Alla Signorina* » : *Mélanges offerts à Noëlle de la Blanchardière* (Rome 1995), 123-140 ; et R. Syme, 'The pomerium in the Historia Augusta', dans *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1975-1976* (Bonn 1978), 217-231 = *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983), 131-145.

¹⁶ *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (= *Roman Statutes I*, Michael Crawford éd. [Londres 1996], n° 39, 549-553), ll. 14-16 : *Utique ei fines pomerii proferre promouere, cum ex republica / censebit esse, liceat, ita uti licuit, Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. / Germanico.*

¹⁷ Cf. deux séries de dix cippes claudiens et quatre flaviens : CIL 6, 31537a-d (a = ILS 213) et 37022a-b (a = ILS 213)-37024 ; 31538a-c (b = ILS 248). En ce qui concerne la restauration d'Hadrien, quatre *cippi* : CIL 6, 1233a-b et 31539 b = ILS 311 : [*Ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), co(llegium) / au(gurum), auctore / imp(eratore)*] *Caesare diui / T]raiani Parthici f(ilio), / d]iui Nervae nepote, / T]raiano Hadriano / Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo), trib(unicia) / pot(estate) V, co(n)s(ule) III, proco(n)s(ule), / terminos pomerii restituendos curauit.*

convenait d'exonérer le *conditor* de toute responsabilité dans la mort de son frère, comme les *Fastes* d'Ovide l'ont suggéré; un nouveau responsable fut désigné comme bouc émissaire en la personne de Celer. Des glissements peuvent alors s'opérer entre Aventin et Palatin à cette date pour ancrer le souvenir des fondateurs dans l'espace choisi par le *princeps* comme résidence, en raison justement d'un passé romuléen avéré (*casa Romuli, ficus Ruminalis*). Remus, exclu du Palatin, réfugié sur l'Aventin, pouvait de nouveau y être accueilli, l'entente des jumeaux prenant sens en cette période d'oubli des guerres civiles, de *respublica restituta* et de partage des pouvoirs entre un Auguste-Romulus et un Agrippa-Remus.¹⁸ Dès lors, la voie est libre pour installer au cœur de Rome cette double protection des *conditores*, anticipée par le monument des *Ogulnii*, ces *simulacra* de la louve et des jumeaux placés auprès du figuier, désormais au forum, après le miracle d'un transfert inopiné du Palatin près du *comitium*, à l'inspiration nous dit-on de l'augure Attus Navius.¹⁹

C'est en ce même lieu central pour les institutions républicaines et leur appropriation augustéenne que l'on place le *mundus* des prémices ensevelis, fosse qui reçut le nom même de l'univers, comme nous le rappelle Plutarque (*Rom.*, 11) dans son récit de la fondation romuléenne, et finalement le monument en l'honneur de Mars, de la Cité éternelle et de ses fondateurs, dédié un 21 avril, *natalis Vrbis*, et dressé par le dernier grand bâtisseur de l'*Vrbs*, l'empereur Maxence, père d'un nouveau Romulus, qui s'affirme *conseruator Vrbis suae*.²⁰

¹⁸ En se reportant à l'étude de M. Ver Eecke, 'De l'Aventin au Palatin: le nouvel acrage topographique de Rémus au moment du passage de la République à l'Empire', *DHA* 32-2 (2006), 75-94, prolongée dans M. Ver Eecke, *La République et le Roi. Le mythe de Romulus à la fin de la République romaine* (Paris 2008).

¹⁹ Tite Live, 10.23.11-12: *Eodem anno Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot feneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea uasa in cella Iouis Iouemque in culmine cum quadrigis et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt semitamque saxo quadrato a Capena porta ad Martis strauerunt.*

²⁰ CIL 6, 33856 (ILS 8935), *forum Romanum: Marti inuicto patri / et aeternae urbis suae / conditoribus / dominus noster / I[[mp(erator) Maxent[iu]s p(ius) f(elix)]] / inuictus Aug(ustus) (in latere dextro) [[magistri quinqu(ena)les col(legi) fabru(m)]] / dedicata die XI kal. Maias / per Furium Octavianum u(ir) c(larissimus) / cur(ator) aed(ium) sacr(arum)*, avec Ph. Bruggisser, 'Remus conditor Vrbis. L'empereur Maxence, le grammairien Servius et le théologien Augustin, ou trois perceptions de la Rome des origines', dans St. Ratti (éd.), *Antiquité et citoyenneté* (Paris 2002), 125-149.

III. UN DISCOURS IMPÉRIAL SUR LE DESTIN D'UNE CITÉ-CAPITALE

Les rapports étroits entre la cité-capitale et son territoire impérial s'expriment naturellement dès les III^e et II^e siècles av. n. è. à l'occasion des conquêtes de la République; ils s'imposent par la suite lors des débats entre érudits sur la signification première de l'extension de l'enceinte pomériale, puis prennent une valeur remarquable en la personne même du *princeps*, incarnant les vertus d'un pouvoir garant de la *pax Augusta*, toujours victorieux et dépositaire du destin d'une *Roma Aeterna*. Quand Tite Live évoque la naissance de l'*Vrbs* en associant l'*imperium* de son fondateur et le nom qu'il lui donna, Ovide renchérit et livre la clé des rapports entre Rome et son empire dans la notice consacrée aux *Terminalia* du 23 février.²¹ Ces jeux d'échelle traduisent les responsabilités multiples de l'*Imperator Caesar Augustus* que célèbre Vitruve dans la préface de son traité d'architecture: la cité brille de l'éclat des nouvelles provinces conquises tout autant que de sa parure monumentale, telle est la majesté du pouvoir du prince.²²

La titulature impériale témoigne quant à elle, au fil des règnes, de ces identités multiples du souverain, détenteur d'un *imperium* qui se décline de son prénom aux acclamations impériales, du consulat au proconsulat. Les surnoms ethniques composent la mosaïque des territoires conquis et livrent l'état d'un empire sous la protection du *pius felix inuictus*, tout comme les représentations figurées insistent sur la vigilance de l'homme soucieux de sa *statio principis*.²³ A. Mastino fit naguère le relevé des expressions se rapportant à l'empire universel dans les sources épigraphiques et numismatiques, depuis les emplois des termes se rapportant à l'extension du territoire impérial (*amplificator*, *ampliator*, *augere*, *propagator*) jusqu'à la célébration du *conditor* et du *cosmocrator*. Relevons l'emploi remarquable du terme *orbis* dans les émissions monétaires de Maximin à Carin (109 sur 184), tandis que l'expression *terra marique* est

²¹ Tite Live, *Historia Romana* 1.6.4: *qui nomen nouae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret* et Ovide, *Fasti* 2.684: *Romanae spatium est Vrbs et orbis idem*.

²² Vitruve, *De architectura* praef. 2: *Cum uero adtenderem te non solum de uita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutione habere, sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum ut ciuitas per te non solum prouinciis esset aucta, uerum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates*.

²³ Lire la remarque judicieuse de Paul Veyne concernant un Caracalla en sentinelle dans *L'empire gréco-romain* (Paris 2005), 35, pour répondre à la question «Qu'était-ce qu'un empereur romain?».

d'un usage exclusif au I^{er} siècle, d'Auguste à Domitien (32 occurrences), tout comme *mundus* de Dioclétien à Licinius (7 cas). En revanche, dans les documents épigraphiques, l'usage le plus fréquent d'*orbis* est décalé dans le temps, de Constantin à Julien (70 sur 241), les Antonins recourant plus fréquemment à l'*oikouménè* (55 sur 127) et au *cosmos* (19 sur 30).²⁴

Dès le préambule des *Res gestae diui Augusti*, les rapports entre *orbis terrarum* et *imperium populi Romani* sont invoqués à propos de l'œuvre du fondateur du principat, ce que la diffusion *urbi et ordi* de ce texte ne manquerait pas de prolonger, du Mausolée du champ de Mars aux temples provinciaux de Rome et Auguste.²⁵ De même, le contrôle par les armes de ce monde habité, selon les propos de Romulus rapportés par Tite Live,²⁶ historicisait la *pax Augusta* triomphante après Actium. Un bon siècle et demi plus tard, Marc Aurèle évoque également, en stoïcien, ces jeux d'échelle entre la cité-patrie et la cité-monde, employant à ce propos les termes de *polis*, *patris*, *Romè* et *cosmos*.²⁷

Cet empire sur les terres habitées était déjà envisagé par le pseudo-Cicéron au sortir de la guerre des alliés, énumérant les peuples, rois et nations conquis par les armes ou la *liberalitas* romaines.²⁸ Quant à Florus dans la préface de son épitomé, il identifiait l'histoire du peuple romain et celle du genre humain, une fois l'univers conquis par les armes.²⁹

²⁴ Cf. A. Mastino, 'Orbis, ΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ, aspetti spaziali dell'idea di impero universale da Augusto a Teodosio', dans P. Catalano—P. Siniscalco (éds.), *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986), 63–162.

²⁵ *Res gestae diui Augusti: Rerum gestarum diui Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensarum quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit, incisarum in duabus aeneis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum.*

²⁶ Tite Live, 1.16.7: «*Abi, nuntia*» inquit «*Romanis, caelestes ita uelle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.*».

²⁷ Marc Aurèle, *Écrits pour lui-même* 6.44.6: πόλις καὶ πατρίς ὡς μὲν Ἀντωνίνῳ μοι ἢ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ κόσμος. Avec les réflexions complémentaires de N. Méthy, 'Une signification nouvelle pour le nom de Rome au second siècle de notre ère? À propos d'une phrase de Marc-Aurèle', *RBPh.* 72-1 (1994), 98–110; et de G. Schepens, 'Between utopianism and hegemony. Some reflections on the limits of political ecumenism in the Graeco-Roman World', dans L. Aigner Foresti et al. (éds.), *L'ecumenismo politico nella coscienza dell'occidente* (Rome 1998), 117–147.

²⁸ *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.13: *Si cum finitumis de finibus bellum gererent, si totum certamen in uno proelio positum putarent, tamen omnibus rebus instructiores et apparatiores uenirent; nedum illi imperium orbis terrae, cui imperio omnes gentes, reges, nationes partim ui, partim uoluntate consenserunt, cum aut armis aut liberalitate a populo Romano superati essent, ad se transferre tantulis uiribus conarentur.*

²⁹ Florus, *Praef.* liv. 1: *Populus Romanus a rege Romulo in Caesarem Augustum septin-*

Ces diverses appréciations du destin unique de la petite cité du Latium postulent un rapport fondateur entre l'*Vrbs* et l'univers habité. Les limites pomérales de la cité accompagnent les déplacements des limites de l'espace impérial, les portes du temple de Janus scandent au forum le rythme des campagnes militaires et les retours à la paix, le peuple de Rome est tenu régulièrement informé des progrès de l'empire par les processions des grandes cérémonies à portée triomphale et l'œuvre édilitaire des princes, tout un chacun découvrant dans la Rome antonine louée par Aelius Aristide un marché ouvert sur le monde, des produits venus de toutes les provinces, ou les animaux exotiques qui célèbrent dans l'arène la diversité de cet univers devenu romain.

La seule véritable variable d'ajustement au sein de cette perception commune d'un monde sous le contrôle de l'*imperium* du peuple romain, c'est-à-dire en vérité de son *princeps*, provient de la contradiction native entre les conceptions d'un territoire sans borne et la pratique d'une stricte délimitation des confins provinciaux, ou plus simplement des ambitions impériales. Certes, Hérodien (II, 11, 5) attribue à Auguste, à l'occasion de l'arrivée de Septime Sévère en Italie au printemps 193, la conception d'une protection de l'empire aux frontières, par un réseau de forteresses et de camps et l'utilisation des espaces naturels, énumérant ainsi fleuves, fossés, montagnes et déserts. Mais le désaccord persiste entre l'objectif d'un *imperium sine fine* évoqué dès Virgile (*Aen.*, I, 278) et la fixation progressive de *termini* ou de *claustra*.³⁰

Il convient de garder à l'esprit l'approche tardo-républicaine puis augustéenne des nouvelles conquêtes, qui déplacent naturellement les limites territoriales au gré de l'adjonction de nouveaux territoires, et le conseil fait à Tibère d'en rester aux limites présentes après le désastre de Varus.³¹ Les deux premiers siècles du principat permettent de suivre cette

gentos per annos tantum operum pace belloque gessit, ut, si quis magnitudinem imperii cum annis conferat, aetatem ultra putet. Ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res illius legunt non unius populi, sed generis humani facta condiscant. Pour une réflexion partant de l'œuvre « augustéenne » de Denys, P.M. Martin, 'L'œcuménisme dans la vision de Rome par l'historien Denys d'Halicarnasse', dans Aigner Foresti et al. 1998, op. cit. (n. 27), 295–306.

³⁰ Je renvoie à deux références au sein d'une même recherche collective : Fr. Salerno, 'Il problema giuridico delle frontiere' et R. Talbert, '« Ubique fines ». Boundaries within the Roman Empire', *Caesarodunum (Concepts, pratiques et enjeux environnementaux dans l'Empire romain)* XXXIX (2005), 41–51 ; 93–101, à compléter par E. Lo Cascio, 'Impero e confini nell'età del principato', dans Aigner Foresti et al. 1998, op. cit. (n. 27), 333–347.

³¹ Avec C. Nicolet, *L'inventaire du monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain* (Paris 1996, 2nd ed.), à propos du glacia protecteur et d'une assimi-

évolution qui pallie l'absence originelle de bornes extérieures, et c'est probablement le résultat de cette politique suivie au long cours qu'évoque Hérodien en attribuant la paternité au seul premier *princeps*. La cité délimitée donne finalement naissance à l'idée d'un empire au territoire borné : d'Auguste à Hadrien, les effets d'une telle mutation sont observables grâce à l'archéologie des *limites* et notamment au réseau provincial de *termini* dont on peut inventorier les découvertes. Il n'est pas indifférent que cette protection nécessaire de l'espace impérial, qui s'est imposée en temps de paix, soit devenue au III^e siècle une urgence conduisant aux diverses réformes de l'armée et de l'administration provinciale, de Gallien à Dioclétien. Comment ne pas associer à cette approche de la limite à l'échelle de l'*imperium Romanum* la lecture tardive de l'identification de cet espace impérial délimité à une cité et son *pomerium*, que la Souda byzantine interprète définitivement comme le mur d'enceinte, une image décalquée de la *Roma communis nostra patria* de Modestin (*D.*, 50, 1, 33).

IV. ÉPILOGUE, DÉLIMITER ET PENSER L'UNIVERSALITÉ

À trois siècles de distance, une même conception de la cité universelle s'est exprimée, inspirée très fortement par le stoïcisme impérial. Elle permet de réaffirmer l'importance de la *ciuitas* et d'accompagner sa diffusion, repoussant avec la *constitutio Antoniniana* les limites de la romanité. Cicéron aborde dans deux œuvres politique et philosophique de nature différente, le *De finibus* et le *De legibus*, le problème de l'universalité de la communauté des hommes et offre à la *ciuitas Romana* son futur horizon de citoyenneté du monde.³² *Mundus, urbs* et *ciuitas* aident à penser la cité commune des hommes et des dieux, grâce à la providence des seconds et pour le souverain bien des premiers, en valorisant le respect des lois, les devoirs des citoyens et la défense de la *patria*, celle-ci recouvrant deux réalités incluses, la patrie naturelle immergée dans la patrie politique. Le processus d'évolution achève la fusion des deux patries, la *ciuitas Romana* étant désormais étendue aux limites de l'empire, Rome

lation progressive des limites de l'empire aux limites du monde : *RGDA* 26.1 (*omnium prouinciarum populi Romani quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro fines auxi*). Pour les conseils augustéens à Tibère : Dion Cassius, 56.33.5 et Tacite, *Annales* 1.11.4 (*intra terminos imperii*) et *Agricola* 13.2.

³² Cicéron, *De finibus* 3.63–64 : cf. appendice, texte 4, et Cicéron, *De Legibus* 2.5 : appendice, texte 5.

caput imperii s'étant identifiée au prince qui lui-même est garant du corps territorial de l'empire.

Pour Athénée, dans le *Banquet des sophistes* qui est censé se dérouler lors des festivités du *natalis Vrbis*, Rome est bien l'abrégé de l'univers qu'évoquait déjà en des termes guère différents Aelius Aristide un demi-siècle plus tôt.³³ Toutes les parties du globe sont dans Rome, mais Rome n'est-elle pas devenue elle-même une image en réduction de ce monde qu'elle incarne et qui lui assure un destin *urbi et orbi* ! C'est d'ailleurs bien le sens que l'on retiendra des propos de Mécène dans le discours recomposé par Dion Cassius en des temps où l'édit de Caracalla a déjà profondément bouleversé la donne : il convient d'accorder à tous le droit de cité, de faire de tous les habitants d'une seule ville, la ville véritable. Les cités de l'empire constituent ainsi, dans cette nouvelle lecture impériale d'époque sévérienne, la *chorâ* d'une *asty* qui est l'*Vrbs* par excellence,³⁴ celle-là même dont j'ai tenté de suivre les destinées ultimes dans une communion avec le souverain qui la réduit *in fine* au rang de cité « commune », cette Rome qui n'est plus dans Rome, nom devenu générique pour toute cité-capitale, Constantinople, Antioche . . . , comme le prouvent les pratiques des légendes en grec des mosaïques palestiniennes des VI^e-VII^e siècles, comprenant des vignettes représentant les grandes capitales contemporaines.³⁵

Cette extension progressive de la notion d'*Vrbs*, en deçà puis au-delà de l'enceinte avec la prise en compte des *continentia* par les juristes, d'Alfenus à Paul, ces jeux d'échelle entre Rome et l'empire, patrie commune au-delà des limites de la cité, rendent compte de l'évolution tardo-antique. Le prince demeure ce garant des destinées de la *Roma Aeterna* : pour le meilleur quand Rutilius Namatianus crédite en un monde aux abois Honorius d'une transformation majeure par ses victoires, en ayant fait de l'*orbis* une *Vrbs* ; pour le pire quand un mauvais prince, un despote déguisé en *Aeternus Augustus*, se prend pour le *dominus orbis totius*, Constance selon Ammien Marcellin qui nous a livré le récit d'une visite mémorable en 357 d'une Rome devenue musée.³⁶ Le parcours rituel dans

³³ Athénée, *Deipnosophistes* 1.20b-c ; Aelius Aristide, *En l'honneur de Rome*, *passim*.

³⁴ Métaphore étudiée par L. de Blois, 'The world a city: Cassius Dio's view of the Roman Empire', dans Aigner Foresti et al. 1998, op. cit. (n. 27), 359-370.

³⁵ G. Bowersock, *Mosaics as history. The Near East from Late Antiquity to Islam* (Cambridge [Mass.] 2006), pour un premier état des découvertes récentes.

³⁶ Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo* 65-66 : *Dumque offers uictis proprii consortia iuris, / Vrbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat* ; Ammien Marcellin, 15.1.3 : *quo ille studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatus immunemque se deinde fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo*

la Ville, *extra* puis *intra pomerium*, tout comme les antiques processions des cultes des confins marquant le commencement de l'*ager Romanus*, la visite des provinces ensuite, et la protection naturelle aux frontières confèrent à la majesté impériale un rôle décisif dans l'incarnation de l'unité, en s'affranchissant de toutes les limites.

En ce sens, la définition de Pomponius associant le territoire à l'universalité des terres comprises à l'intérieur des limites et parlant d'une *ciuitas* qui s'exerce par la magistrature et l'application du droit annonce le préambule des *Institutiones* de Justinien.³⁷ Ce dernier incarne au nom de « notre seigneur Jésus-Christ » une certaine identité de la Rome impériale, si l'on veut bien retenir comme critères un territoire partagé, que les *cognomina deuictarum gentium* permettent d'esquisser, une histoire commune, que la titulature du prince évoque par sa *statio*, sinon le mythe des origines qui peut toutefois s'exprimer au travers de la rhétorique officielle.³⁸ Voilà bien une excellente confirmation des héritages assumés par l'empereur byzantin : une dénomination fidèle à la construction impériale des premiers siècles, un métier qui s'étend des armes au droit, depuis la nouvelle Rome jusqu'à cette Afrique récemment reconquise.

Un dernier mot tout de même pour finir : du pomérium au *limes*, la figure des limites correspond beaucoup plus à une zone, un entre-deux, qu'à une

fidenter existimans confestim a iustitia declinauit ita intemperanter, ut Aeternitatem meam aliquotiens subsereret ipse dictando scribendoque propria manu orbis totius se dominum appellaret, quod dicentibus aliis indignanter admodum ferre deberet is qui ad aemulationem ciuilium principum formare uitam moresque suos, ut praedicabat, diligentia laborabat enixa. En ne retenant que deux mises en contexte : L. Cracco Ruggini, 'L'ecumenismo politico nel IV secolo d.C. in Oriente e in Occidente', dans Aigner Foresti et al. 1998, op. cit. (n. 27), 383-395 ; et J. Matthews, 'Ammianus and the eternity of Rome', dans C.J. Holdsworth—T.P. Wiseman (éds.) *The inheritance of historiography 300-950* (Exeter 1986), 17-29.

³⁷ *Dig. 50.16.239.8: Pomponius l.S. enchir. « territorium » est uniuersitas agrorum intra fines cuiusque ciuitatis: quod ab eo dictum quidam aiunt, quod magistratus eius loci intra eos fines terrendi, id est summouendi ius habent.* Cf. M. Campolunghi, 'Urbs Aeterna. Una ricerca sui testi giuridici', dans *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986), 163-230.

³⁸ *Imperatoris Iustiniani Institutionum: Prooemium. In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Imperator Caesar Flauius Iustinianus Alamannicus Gothicus Francicus Germanicus anticus Alanicus Vandalicus Africanus pius felix inclitus uictor ac triumphator semper Augustus cupidae legum iuuentuti. Imperatoriam maiestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus et bellorum et pacis recte possit gubernari et princeps Romanus uictor existat non solum in hostilibus proeliis, sed etiam per legitimos tramites calumniantium iniquitates expellens, et fiat tam iuris religiosissimus quam uictis hostibus triumphator.*

ligne ; c' est bien ce à quoi nous conduit la richesse des composés sanskrits sur *antar/anta* ayant donné en latin *inter* ou en anglais *end*. L'idée de limite, de bord, mais aussi de seuil, peut ainsi permettre d'évoquer le voisinage, l'issue, la mort ; l'intérieur signifiant tout autant le proche et l'intime, l'intervalle, l'espace intermédiaire, la distance, l'éloignement et finalement l'autre. Du même au proche et à l'autre ou, chemin faisant, ce qui relie et sépare à la fois, ce qui est autre rendu proche, la communauté des hommes, celle des dieux, et le prince en jonction, guetteur d'un fleuve, entre deux rives ...

Paris, février 2010

APPENDICE : TEXTES LATINS

Texte 1 : Augustin, *De Ciuitate Dei* 7.7: *Ianus igitur, a quo sumpsit exordium, quaero quisnam sit. Respondetur: Mundus est. Breuis haec plane est atque aperta responsio. [texte de Varron supra n. 1] Numquid ergo ad mundum, qui Ianus est, initia rerum pertinent et fines non pertinent, ut alter illis deus praeficeretur? Nonne omnia, quae in hoc mundo fieri dicunt, in hoc etiam mundo terminari fatentur? Quae est ista uanitas, in opere illi dare potestatem dimidiam, in simulacro faciem duplam? Nonne istum bifrontem multo elegantius interpretarentur, si eundem et Ianum et Terminum dicerent atque initiis unam faciem, finibus alteram darent? quoniam qui operatur utrumque debet intendere; in omni enim motu actionis suae qui non respicit initium non prospicit finem. Vnde necesse est a memoria respiciente prospiciens conectatur intentio; nam cui exciderit quod coeperit, quo modo finiat non inueniet. Quod si uitam beatam in hoc mundo inchoari putarent, extra mundum perfici, et ideo Iano, id est mundo, solam initiorum tribuerent potestatem: profecto ei praeponerent Terminum eumque ab diis selectis non alienarent. Quamquam etiam nunc cum in istis duobus diis initia rerum temporalium finesque tractantur, Terminum dari debuit plus honoris. Maior enim laetitia est, cum res quaeque perficitur; sollicitudinis autem plena sunt coepta, donec perducantur ad finem, quem qui aliquid incipit maxime adpetit intendit, expectat exoptat, nec de re inchoata, nisi terminetur, exultat.*

Texte 2 : Tite Live, 1.44.1–5: *Censu perfecto quem maturauerat metu legis de incensis latae cum uinculorum minis mortisque, edixit ut omnes ciues Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suouetaurilibus lustrauit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro ciuium censa dicuntur; adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda uisa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; Viminalem inde deinceps auget Esquiliis; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat; aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium uerbi uim solam intuentes postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci qua murum ducturi erant certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc uolgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium*

quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt; et in urbis incremento semper quantum moenia processura erant tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

Texte 3 : Aulu-Gelle, *Noctes Atticae* 13.14: *Quid sit « pomerium »*. 1. « Pomerium » quid esset, augures populi Romani, qui libros de auspiciis scripserunt, istiusmodi sententia definierunt : « Pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii ». 2. Antiquissimum autem pomerium, quod a Romulo institutum est, Palati montis radicibus terminabatur. Sed id pomerium pro incrementis reipublicae aliquotiens prolatum est et multos editosque collis circumplexum est. 3. Habeat autem ius proferendi pomerii, qui populum Romanum agro de hostibus capto auxerat. 4. Propterea quaesitum est ac nunc etiam in quaestione est, quam ob causam ex septem urbis montibus, cum ceteri sex intra pomerium sint, Auentinus solum, quae pars non longinqua nec infrequens est, extra pomerium sit, neque id Seruius Tullius rex neque Sulla, qui proferendi pomerii titulum quaesivit, neque postea diuus Iulius, cum pomerium proferret, intra effatos urbis fines incluserint. 5. Huius rei Messala aliquot causas uideri scripsit, sed praeter eas omnis ipse unam probat, quod in eo monte Remus urbis condendae gratia auspicauerit auesque inritas habuerit superatusque in auspicio a Romulo sit : 6. « Idcirco » inquit « omnes, qui pomerium protulerunt, montem istum excluderunt quasi auibis obscenis ominosum ». 7. Sed de Auentino monte praetermittendum non putavi, quod non pridem ego in Elydis, grammatici ueteris, commentario offendi, in quo scriptum erat Auentinum antea, sicuti diximus, extra pomerium exclusum, post auctore diuo Claudio receptum et intra pomerii fines obseruatum.

Texte 4 : Cicéron, *De finibus* 3.63–64: *ex hoc nascitur ut etiam communis hominum inter homines naturalis sit commendatio, ut oporteat hominem ab homine ob id ipsum, quod homo sit, non alienum uideri. Ut enim in membris alia sunt tamquam sibi nata, ut oculi, ut aures, alia etiam ceterorum membrorum usum adiuuant, ut crura, ut manus, sic inmanes quaedam bestiae sibi solum natae sunt, at illa, quae in concha patula pina dicitur, isque, qui enat e concha, qui, quod eam custodit, pinoteres uocatur in eandemque cum se recepit includitur, ut uideatur monuisse ut caueret, itemque formicae, apes, ciconiae aliorum etiam causa quaedam faciunt. Multo haec coniunctius homines. Itaque natura sumus apti ad coetus, concilia, ciuitates. 64. Mundum autem censent regi numine*

deorum, eumque esse quasi communem urbem et ciuitatem hominum et deorum, et unum quemque nostrum eius mundi esse partem; ex quo illud natura consequi, ut communem utilitatem nostrae anteponamus. Ut enim leges omnium salutem singulorum saluti anteponunt, sic uir bonus et sapiens et legibus parens et ciuilibus officii non ignarus utilitati omnium plus quam unius alicuius aut suae consulit. Nec magis est uituperandus proditor patriae quam communis utilitatis aut salutis desertor propter suam utilitatem aut salutem. ex quo fit, ut laudandus is sit, qui mortem oppetat pro re publica, quod deceat cariorem nobis esse patriam quam nosmet ipsos. Quoniamque illa uox inhumana et scelerata ducitur eorum, qui negant se recusare quo minus ipsis mortuis terrarum omnium deflagratio consequatur—quod uulgari quodam uersu Graeco pronuntiari solet—, certe uerum est etiam iis, qui aliquando futuri sint, esse propter ipsos consulendum.

Texte 5 : Cicéron, *De Legibus* 2.5 : Atticus : *Equidem me cognosse admendum gaudeo. Sed illud tamen quale est quod paulo ante dixisti, hunc locum—id enim ego te accipio dicere Arpinum—Germanam patriam esse uestram? Numquid duas habetis patrias, an est una illa patria communis? Nisi forte sapienti illi Catoni fuit patria non Roma sed Tusculum.—* Marcus : *Ego mehercule et illi et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturae, alteram ciuitatis: ut ille Cato, quom esset Tusculi natus, in populi Romani ciuitatem susceptus est, ita (que) quom ortu Tusculanus esset, ciuitate Romanus, habuit alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris; ut uestri Attici, priusquam Theseus eos demigrare ex agris et in astu quod appellatur omnis conferre se iussit, et sui erant idem et Attici, sic nos et eam patriam dicimus ubi nati, et illam (a) qua excepti sumus. Sed necesse est caritate eam praestare (e) qua rei publicae nomen uniuersae ciuitati est, pro qua mori et cui nos totos dedere et in qua nostra omnia ponere et quasi consecrare debemus. Dulcis autem non multo secus est ea quae genuit quam illa quae exceptit. Itaque ego hanc meam esse patriam prorsus numquam negabo, dum illa sit maior, haec in ea contineatur.*

DRAWING THE LINE:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY FOR
DETECTING ROMAN PROVINCIAL BORDERS

K. DA COSTA

Mommsen published *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian* in 1885 and although our understanding of the limits of official authority (*provincia*) is now more nuanced,¹ it does not appear that historians have made very much progress in defining the spatial limits of territorial provinces. Indeed, the standard geographical reference states clearly, at least of the eastern provinces, that “Provincial boundaries are approximate and in many cases, very uncertain”.² Provinces were, nonetheless, the essence of the empire: next to the standing army, the administration of the provinces was what kept the empire together for over 800 years. While it is more or less clear how provinces were accumulated—from inheritance through conquest to acquisition—it is much less clear what they were for. Not one single ancient source describes the rationale behind the definition of territorial provinces, nor the reasons behind the transfer of territory from one to the other. Our only reference is the unreliable testimony of Lactantius that Diocletian chopped up the Empire to give more jobs to his cronies.³

In terms of the functions of provinces there has been relatively little scholarship using documentary evidence to assist in clarifying the problem of territorial assignment, although prosopography gives invaluable information on the roles of officials in provinces,⁴ and there remains

¹ Inter alia F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1992, 2nd ed.); E. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer, *Politikòs archein. Zum Regierungsstil der senatorischen Statthalter in den kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Provinzen* (Stuttgart 2003).

² T. Elliott—R. Barckhaus, ‘Egypt after the Pharaohs: Late Roman Egypt (map)’ at www.unc.edu/awmc/awmcemap9.html (2003, last accessed 2009).

³ Lactantius, *de mortibus persecutorum* 7.4; C. Roueché, ‘Provinces’, in P. Brown—G. Bowersock—O. Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Post Classical World* (Cambridge 1999), 655 f.

⁴ *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 1897–; PIR² <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/pir>; *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge: vol. 1, A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris (eds.) 1971; vol. 2, J.R. Martindale (ed.) 1980; vol. 3, J.R. Martindale (ed.) 1992.

much to be mined from other documentary sources, as recently demonstrated by Sipilä.⁵ It is time to use other data, and a potentially fruitful starting point is to better improve our knowledge of provincial borders, so that, by observing the changes over time, we might be able to calculate the reasons for those changes. It is still a commonplace to ascribe to Diocletian the major provincial reorganizations in Late Antiquity, and yet, as the history of change in *Judaea/Palaestina* and *Arabia* shows, small to large sections were reassigned both before and after his reign.⁶

Provincial territory was defined from the inside out, as it were, with cities and their associated lands being assigned to a province, and the outer extent of all those territories forming the border. Some of this territorial knowledge is preserved in a variety of ways, somewhat better in the west than the east.⁷ The province in which particular cities were placed is usually known from general historical documents, or more specific texts such as itineraries, geographical works or even church council attendance lists,⁸ and these often also indicate dependent settlements. Inscriptions are invaluable sources. City (or other) territories can be defined by cadastrations or boundary markers.⁹ Some provincial boundaries can be calculated where they cross major roads, based on milestones, or where there were settlements at the border.¹⁰ Land deeds show clearly

⁵ J. Sipilä, *The Reorganisation of Provincial Territories in Light of the Imperial Decision-Making Process: Later Roman Arabia and Tres Palaestinae as Case Studies* (Helsinki 2009).

⁶ E. Kettenhofen, 'Zur Nordgrenze der provincia Arabiae im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 97 (1981) 62 ff.; T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge 1982), 214; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge 1983), 92; 143; P. Mayerson 'Justinian's novel 103 and the reorganization of Palestine', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 269 (1988), 65–71; Y. Tsafir—L. Di Segni—J. Green, *Tabula imperii Romani: Iudaea—Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods: Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem 1994), 16.

⁷ e.g. J.-C. Beal 'Territories des cités antiques: notes de géographie historique en région lyonnaise', *Revue des Etudes anciennes* 109 / 1 (2007), 5 ff.

⁸ e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History* 14–26; the Bordeaux Pilgrim—P. Geyer—O. Cuntz 'Itinerarium Burdigalense', in P. Geyer—O. Cuntz (eds.), *Itineraria et Alia Geographica* (Turnholt 1965), 1 ff.; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*.

⁹ S.L. Dyson 'Settlement patterns in the Ager Cosanus: the Wesleyan University survey, 1974–1976', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5 (1978), 251 ff.; J.-F. Breton, 'Les inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dan le mont Liban', *IGLSyr* 8.3, (Paris 1980), nos. 5001–5187; M. Sartre, 'Appendice: Bornes du territoire ou marques de propriété?', *Syria* 74 (1997), 139 f.; J. Seigne, 'Les limites orientale et meridionale du territoire de Gerasa', *Syria* 74 (1997), 121 ff.; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge 1993), 535 ff.

¹⁰ R. Laurence, 'Milestones, communications, and political stability', in L. Ellis—

that boundaries of individual properties were well known,¹¹ as we should imagine, given that property was taxable. In theory then, the limit of territory dependent on each city was known, based on tax records of land holdings, and thus, the provincial borders were known fairly exactly, even if there was no physical marker. But relatively few land deeds survive, and most of the rest of this type of written information fades away by the 4th century.

That the lines of provincial borders were known in antiquity, even if this knowledge has not survived for us, conforms with our understanding of the interest of Romans in boundaries of many types. We know that Roman law was sophisticated enough to distinguish conceptually between the *finis* (limit) and *limes* (boundary) of land, and between land delimited by a natural feature and land measured out.¹² Markers of land depended on whether the property was *ager arcifinius* or *ager limitatus*: the former delimited by natural features, such as mountain ridges or rivers, the later by *termini* of stone or wood.¹³ Rivers had particular connotations,¹⁴ but in the more arid east, Kennedy has reminded us that watersheds might be as important.¹⁵ Ruling on territorial disputes or conducting audits of provincial territory was a common duty of provincial officials, implying both a record of land holdings, and the use of surveyors to determine claims.¹⁶

F. Kidner (eds.), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* (Aldershot 2004), 41 ff.; Toponyms: *Ad Fines* in Dalmatia: R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of Greek and Roman World* (Princeton 2000), Map 20E5.

¹¹ From Nessana: *PColt* 24 (Nov. 26, 569 AD; C.J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana III: The non-literary papyri* (Princeton 1958)) a notice of the transfer of land from the brothers Abraham and Abu-Zunayn, sons of Sa'ad Allah, grandsons of Valens, to a fellow soldier Thomas, son of 'Awidh, grandson of Ammonius. The boundaries of the land were: E: property of Abla, son of Darib; N: the same; W: property of Zeno, son of Firsan; S: the desert (i.e. not fixed).

¹² O.A.W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors: an introduction to the agrimensores* (Newton Abbott 1971).

¹³ E. Hermon, 'Le concept d'*ager publicus* et l'équivalence *ageroccupatorius/ager arcifinius* chez les Gromatici', in D. Conso—A. Gonzalès—J.-Y. Guillaumin (eds.), *Les vocabulaires techniques des arpenteurs romains* (Franche-Comté 2005), 183 ff.

¹⁴ D. Braund, 'River frontiers in the environmental psychology of the Roman world', in D. Kennedy, *The Roman Army in the East* (Portsmouth RI 1996), 43 ff.

¹⁵ D. Kennedy, 'The identity of Roman Gerasa: an archaeological approach', in G. Clarke (ed.), *Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (Sydney 1998/1999), 39 ff.; 50.

¹⁶ e.g. Pliny the Younger, *Trajanic Letters* 16; G.P. Burton, 'The resolution of territorial disputes in the provinces of the Roman Empire', *Chiron* 30 (2000), 195 ff.

In contrast to the written sources, archaeological data, particularly ceramics, are abundant in every province. Distribution patterns of locally produced ceramics have long been recognized as significant indicators of local economic activity,¹⁷ and the opportunity exists to use this material to address the problem.

The use of ceramic patterning to examine the extent, or nature, of imperial influence in provinces, has been used in pre-Roman Levantine studies, and in Meso-America. The persistence of cultural regions in the southern Levant since the Neolithic has now been documented.¹⁸ Allowing for the effects of various pre-Roman imperial authorities, ranging from Egyptians to Assyrians, these cultural regions can be taken as the natural trading zones of the southern Levant, against which the results of the project presented here can be evaluated.

Work on the distribution of distinctive pottery in pre- and Imperial Aztec polities is particularly relevant from a methodological perspective.¹⁹ There are many striking parallels between the anthropology and archaeology of Meso-America and the Roman Empire: in both cases written documentation is heavily biased towards elite classes, and cities rather than rural areas. Traditional studies have followed the written material, and only in recent decades has the larger, undocumented world of the uninfluential population been examined. In this respect, the vastly greater documentary evidence from the Roman empire, which includes, for instance, personal letters, epigraphy and sermons, has led to extensive examination of the non-elite, well before such issues have been raised in America. On the other hand, possibly because scholars of the Aztec empire have been employed in anthropology rather than Classics departments, and because the written sources are so limited in central America,

¹⁷ K. da Costa 'Byzantine and early Islamic lamps: typology and distribution', in P. Watson—E. Villeneuve (eds.), *La céramique byzantine et proto-islamique en Syrie-Jordanie (IVe–VIIIe siècles apr. J.-C.)* (Beirut 2001), 241 ff.; B.D. Shaw, *Rulers, Nomads, and Christians in Roman North Africa* (Aldershot 1995); L. de Ligt, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 1993); D.P.S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World: an Ethnoarchaeological Approach* (London 1982); H. Howard—E.L. Morris (eds.), *Production and Distribution: a Ceramic Viewpoint* (Oxford 1981).

¹⁸ S.K. Kozłowski—O. Aurenche, *Territories, Boundaries and Cultures in the Neolithic Near East* (Oxford-Lyon 2005); P. Bienkowski 'The north-south divide in ancient Jordan: ceramics, regionalism and routes', in T. Potts—M. Roaf—D. Stern (eds.), *Culture through Objects: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of P.R.S. Moorey* (Oxford 2003), 93 ff.

¹⁹ M. Hodge—L. Minc, 'The spatial patterning of Aztec ceramics: implications for PreHispanic exchange systems in the Valley of Mexico', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 17 (1990), 415 ff.

there is a stronger emphasis on, and use of, archaeological materials and methodology in that field of scholarship.²⁰

Hodge and Minc studied the distribution patterns of selected high-quality ceramics made in limited centres and marketed widely but never in vast quantities. They used the collected material of earlier surveys, and collated data from 130 sites. Their definitions of polities depended on written sources although they stressed that “in the future, archaeological data gathered for the purpose of detecting city-state political boundaries could be used to evaluate the ethnohistorical accounts of the extent of political territories.”²¹ Their results revealed separate distribution patterns of distinctive ceramics in the Early Aztec period, when autonomous city-states belonged to two main confederacies, with very limited exchange between the larger units. In the Later Aztec Imperial period, the patterning changed to a much more homogenous marketing system, although some regional differences remained. Although the results are different from the archaeological data described below, they do indicate that material culture patterns can be related to political, as well as social structures, depending on the artifact class and level of quantification studied.

In the southern Levant, patterns of differing classes of ceramics seem to be showing an equally uneven distribution. The substantial production of cooking wares from Kefar Hananya is not known outside *Judaea/Palaestina*.²² Distribution patterns of Golan ceramics drop significantly on the eastern edge of the region, although there is no major topographic barrier.²³ Ceramic lamps produced during the Byzantine period, from the 3rd to the early 7th centuries, seem to be restricted to either *Palaestina* or *Arabia*.²⁴ Watson has shown that bulk importation of ceramics into Pella, in *Palaestina*, from the important production centre of Jarash, in *Arabia*, did not occur between the 3rd and 6th centuries, although by the early 7th century, most of Pella’s ceramic supply was from Jarash.²⁵

²⁰ These admittedly sweeping assertions may not be completely true of work on the Roman empire in the western parts of Europe, especially Britain, but it does seem that study of the eastern Roman empire is still in thrall to written history.

²¹ Hodge—Minc 1990, op. cit. (n. 19), 422, note 6.

²² D. Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade* (Tel Aviv 1993).

²³ M. Hartal, *The Material Culture of the Northern Golan in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Jerusalem; unpublished PhD 2003).

²⁴ K. da Costa, ‘Economic cycles in the Byzantine Levant: the evidence from lamps at Pella in Jordan’, *Levant* 42 / 1 (2010), 70 ff.

²⁵ P. Watson, ‘Change in foreign and regional economic links with Pella in the seventh

The cities were relatively close and linked by a major Roman road. Some other factor, before the late 6th century, acted as a barrier to local trade. The patterns are best explained not by topographic features nor by simple distance from production centres. They seem bounded by the approximate line of provincial borders, in the few places where these can be reasonably reconstructed.

The most likely explanation is the imposition on major provincial borders of a customs duty.²⁶ Our knowledge of the collection of indirect taxes is rather patchy.²⁷ Of these, customs duty, *portorium*, was levied—at 12.5 % or 25 %—on the Imperial frontiers, and also within the Empire; the rate is not certain, but probably 2.5–5 %.²⁸ Our information, while heavily biased towards Egypt and the early Empire, shows that taxes, tolls and levies had a conspicuous effect on small-scale economics and local trade. It seems clear that the customs duty on major borders, such as *Arabia/Palaestina*, but not internal borders (between the three *Palaestinas*), remained in place until the late 6th century. By making it uneconomical to import local ceramics from neighbouring provinces, the duty distorted trade patterns. This distortion can be harnessed to map the location of the unknown sections of the provincial borders.

The Borders of Arabia and Palaestina (BAP) project, a case-study in an area overlapping part of the border between *Palaestina Secunda* and *Arabia*, is developing an archaeological methodology to allow a more precise definition of provincial territory based on this distortion to ceramic trade.²⁹ Provincial borders in this part of the Empire are relatively well known, although the entire south-east corner of *Palaestina Secunda*'s

century AD: the ceramic evidence', in P. Canivet—J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe–VIIIe siècles* (Damascus 1992), 233 ff.

²⁶ M. Cottier et al. (eds.), *The Customs Law of Asia* (Oxford 2009).

²⁷ R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata: Laerarium impérial et son administration du IVe au VIe siècle* (Rome 1989); I.W.J. Hopkins, 'The city region in Roman Palestine', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 112 (1980), 19 ff.; W. Goffart, *Caput and Colonate: Towards a History of Late Roman Taxation* (Toronto 1974); A.H.M. Jones—P.A. Brunt (eds.), *The Roman Economy. Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* (Oxford 1974).

²⁸ Probably 2.5 %, according to A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: a Social, Economic and Administrative survey* (Oxford 1964), 429; 825; P.J. Sijpestejin, *Customs Duties in Greco-Roman Egypt* (Zutphen 1987); De Laet, in the major study of *portorium*, was unable to comment on customs duty after Diocletian, due to a lack of written evidence: S.J. de Laet, *Portorium: étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire* (New York 1975).

²⁹ K. da Costa, 'Roman provincial borders across Jordan', *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 (2009), 731 ff.

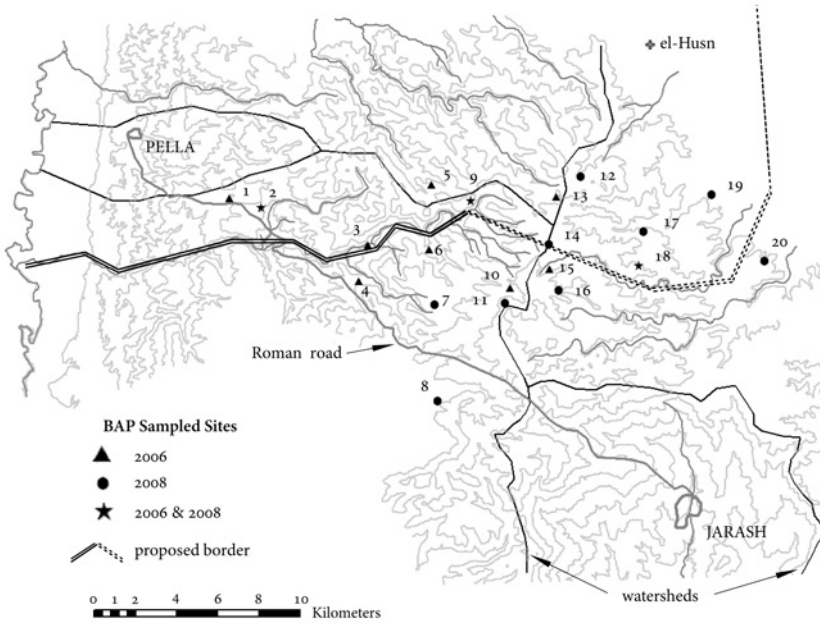


Figure 1

border is undocumented. The aim of the project was to collect ceramics of the 3rd to 7th centuries from sites in the area of the supposed border route (figure 1). The overall corpus from each site will be categorized by reference to the known corpora from Pella (*Palestinian*) and Jarash (*Arabian*). The border must lie between the *Palestinian* and *Arabian* sites.

Sites selected for sampling had previously been identified in earlier surveys of north-west Jordan, although in most cases little or no pottery had been published. From the nearly 100 sites of the Roman to early Islamic period documented in the region, settlements which appeared to be small towns were the priority, as these would be expected to contain the largest range of ceramics. Two field seasons, 2006 and 2008, have been undertaken, with the aim of collecting at least 3,000 sherds of the Byzantine (3rd – early 7th centuries) from each site. However, of the twenty sites sampled, only around ten will produce reliable statistics because of collection difficulties. There were fewer sites in the eastern half of the sampling area, and many of these had significant modern or mediaeval occupation over the entire area. There were also fewer Byzantine and Roman sites in the eastern part of the study area than the west, although more mediaeval material—a settlement pattern change which is

intriguing in itself. The focus of processing to date has been on the coarse ware body sherds—exactly those ceramics normally unsampled or discarded in conventional survey. It is this which distinguishes the project from the methodology used, for instance, by Hodge and Minc to discuss market types and integration in the Aztec Empire. The 2.5 % tax on provincial borders in the Roman Empire seems to have had little or no inhibiting effect on luxury or expensive goods, including ceramic fine wares such as African, Cypriot or Phocaeen Red Slip products. It is only at the level of bulk trade in low-profit common wares that the distorting effect seems to appear. Processing of the material still continues, and only preliminary results are presented.

One reason coarse (or common wares) are not prioritized in conventional survey or sampling is the tremendous difficulty of close dating, particularly when corrective data from excavations is unavailable. The BAP project therefore has been using very broad date ranges, and there are clearly potential problems for interpretation, given the known history of border changes at more frequent intervals than we may be able to detect ceramically. Leakage of ceramics across the border has also been anticipated, particularly since we have sampled sites quite close to the hypothetical border line, and it is quite feasible that small quantities of material crossed over. However, the identification of a corpus as *Palaestinian* or *Arabian* will depend on general ratios of wares across the entire sample, rather than the presence of a few distinctive pieces. As so few sites in the case study area have been excavated or published, our treatment of the coarse wares must remain very general. However, it appears from the initial results that the methodology is able to indicate differences in corpora, and these correspond to the presumed provincial allocations of each site. Given that the same circumstances exist across the Empire—abundant coarse ware ceramics and a customs duty on major borders—this methodology should be applicable elsewhere in order to more precisely define the line of a provincial boundary.

Only those sites where over a thousand sherds of the Byzantine period have been catalogued have been included in these preliminary results. Coarse ware sherds have been divided into handmade and wheelmade categories, into ribbed and unribbed if wheelmade, and in each case, by thickness, more or less than 5 mm. With the same processing protocol for each site, and with the largest possible quantities collected in the time available, we believe that minor fluctuations in cataloguing will be evened out. Bodysherds in each category have been counted and weighed. Results so far have been collated at a very general level of ware

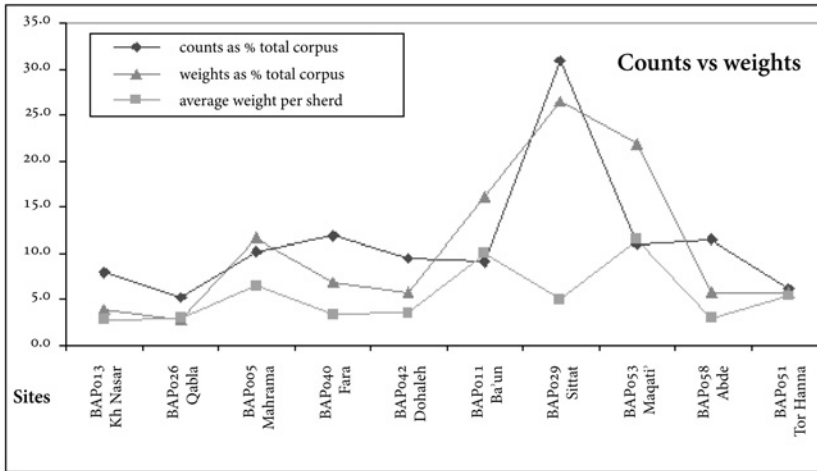


Figure 2

definition. The final processing of diagnostic sherds will help in some way to gauge the bodysherds, although it is not possible in many cases to tell if rim sherds come from ribbed or unribbed (or ribbed and unribbed) vessels.

Figure 2 demonstrates that counts and weights of sherds do not necessarily provide the same results—Kh. Sittat had large numbers of small sherds, whereas Maqati' and Ba'un had large numbers of large sherds. These results will help characterize each site, and are used to normalize results.

Plots of part of the ceramic corpus at each site, showing the main groups of coarse ware sherds from storage and simple table vessels (although no plates and few cups have so far been recovered) and the distinctive Late Roman 6 (LR6) Palestinian Bag Shaped Amphora (Brown Slipped, White Painted BSWP), are graphed in figure 3.

Sites have been grouped based on supposed provincial affiliation: Nasar to Dohaleh are thought to be in *Palaestina*; Ba'un to Tor Hanna should be in *Arabia*. Of the eleven sites plotted, seven have similar profiles—the most common wares are the orange terracottas, followed by brown, pale and grey. Nasar has extraordinary quantities of the LR6 amphora in BSWP ware and it may very well be that some of the grey wares catalogued at that site are also BSWP sherds. Nasar is one of the closest settlements on the main road to the border crossing from *Palaestina* to *Arabia*. All the supposed *Arabian* sites have very low

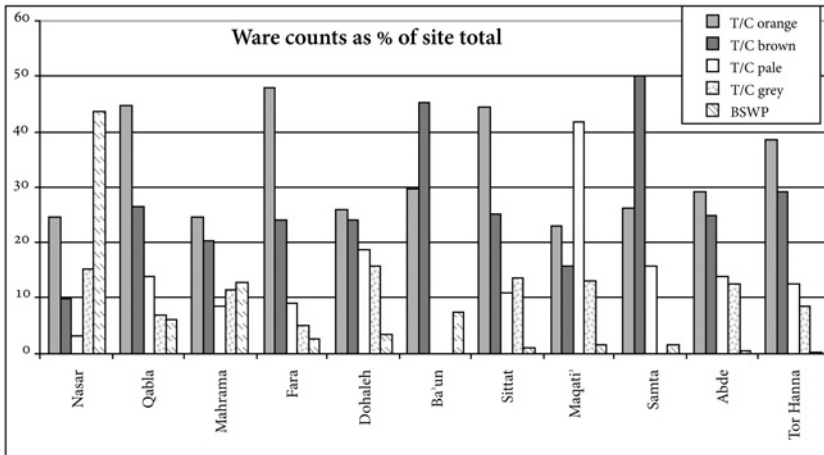


Figure 3

quantities of this ware, exactly as we would expect given that its distribution should fall off over distance, but might be expected to cross the border in small numbers, given that it was the contents of the vessel that were traded, rather than the amphorae themselves. This would explain the quantities at Ba'un, the first major settlement in *Arabia* across the Palaestian border along the major trade road to Jarash. Nonetheless, the fact that LR6 is a *Palaestian* amphora is emphasized by the quantities at Fara and Dohaleh, both as far from Pella as Sittat and Maqati'.

Apart from Nasar's corpus, all the other *Palaestian* sites have quite similar profiles, although the overall numbers are much lower at Mahrama, a site with significant Mamluke upper levels. In contrast, there does not seem to be any consistency amongst the *Arabian* sites—Ba'un has no pale or grey pottery to speak of, Maqati' has large amounts of pale terracotta wares, Sittat is dominated by brown wares, and Abde and Tor Hanna have profiles similar to *Palaestian* sites, with the notable exception of low quantities of BSWP LR6 amphorae.

However, if the proportions of the two main ware groups, orange and brown terracottas, is compared, the pattern is clear. Figure 4 shows that *Palaestian* sites have an average ratio of orange to brown wares of 1.5, and the lowest ratio is 1.1 at Dohaleh, another site with large amounts of Islamic material. In contrast, *Arabian* sites have an average ratio of 1.2, and two sites have a ratio of less than 1.

The position of Dohaleh is equivocal. The site is one of the more easterly of the case study area, in a region where the line of the border

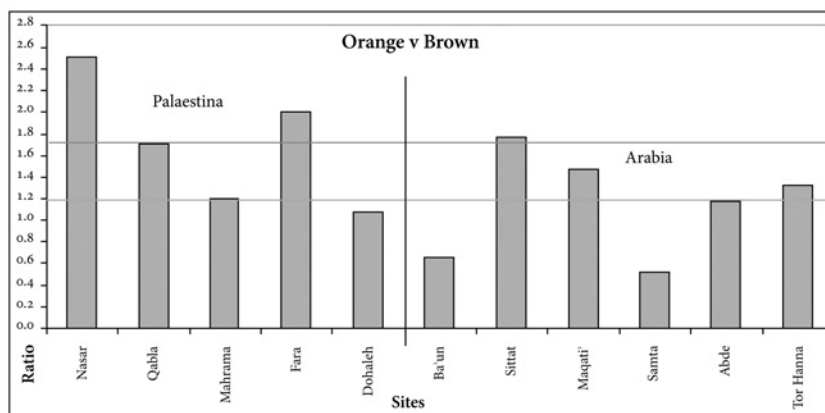


Figure 4

is least well known. The site has been excavated by Saleh Sari, and some of the pottery published.³⁰ There are reasonable quantities of LR6 BSWP amphorae sherds at the site, the range of lamps from Dohaleh is similar to that at Pella,³¹ and according to Avi-Yonah, the border lay to its east.³² Certainly, the milestones of the road from Jarash to Dera'a, which lay entirely in *Arabia*, were east of Dohaleh, and if the border ran along river beds, there are several wadis to the south and east of Dohaleh and Ya'amun which would serve as boundaries, as indicated in figure 1. On the other hand, churches at Yasileh and el-Husn, to the north of Dohaleh, excavated in the 1990s, have inscriptions said to be dated by the Arabian era. Husn was a dependent village of Irbid (ancient Arbela), and so it seems likely that the border was much further west than Avi-Yonah suggested. It may be that the major north/south watershed of northern Jordan was the border, and that Dohaleh lay in *Arabia*. Recalculating the averages of the ratios of orange to brown wares with

³⁰ S. Sari, 'Preliminary report on the results of the excavations at Kh.Dohaleh-al-Nu'aymeh, 1st season, Summer 1990', *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 35 (1991), 5 ff. (Arabic); S. Sari, 'Dohaleh, a new site in northern Jordan. First season of Excavations, 1990', *Liber Annuus* 42 (1992), 259 ff. Prof. Sari kindly gave permission for the BAP team to sample Dohaleh—sampling squares were placed away from the Yarmouk University trenches.

³¹ da Costa 2009, op. cit. (n. 29), 733.

³² M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquest (536 BC-AD 640) A Historical Geography* (Michigan 1977, rev. ed.), 175, maps 9 & 22: the list of sites in the text does not match either of the maps, both of which are substantially different from each other—Avi-Yonah never addressed this discrepancy.

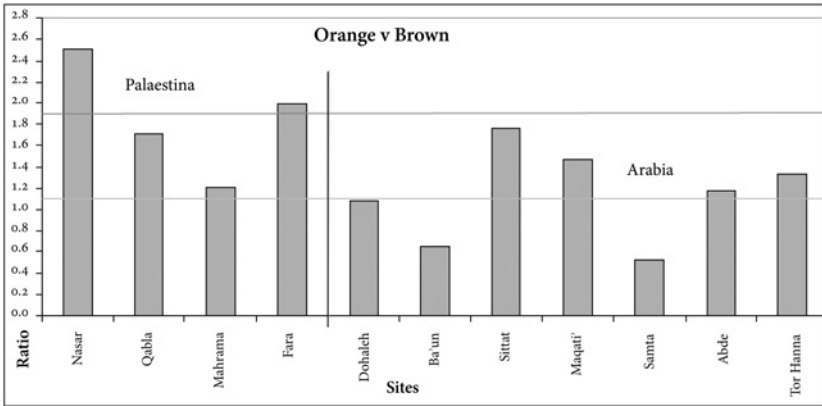


Figure 5

this configuration, as shown in figure 5, increases the average orange: brown ware ratio of *Palaestinian* sites to 1.9, decreases that of *Arabian* to 1.1, and shows Dohaleh fitting neatly into an *Arabian* pattern. As Dohaleh is the only site sampled by the BAP project in this conjectural zone with usable quantities of Byzantine ceramics, the question of the border line must rest until full processing of the site is complete. However, even these preliminary and incomplete results indicate the value in the time-consuming process of intensive cataloguing of body sherds, and the potential data which can be obtained from them.

Durham, May 2009

ON THE FRINGE:
TRADE AND TAXATION IN THE
EGYPTIAN EASTERN DESERT*

D. NAPPO AND A. ZERBINI

I. ORGANISATION OF EASTERN TRADE (D. NAPPO)

The aim of this article is to investigate the role of the Egyptian Eastern Desert as a fiscal frontier of the Empire. It is already well known that this area played an important role as a commercial route connecting the Roman World and the Far East.¹ It has also been demonstrated that the fluvial port of Koptos² acted as a hub for collecting taxes on the incoming Eastern goods³ and that tolls were charged there on merchants reaching the Red Sea via the desert caravan routes.⁴ Yet very little is known about

* The collections of papyri and ostraka cited in this text are abbreviated following the conventions set out in J.F. Oates et. al. (ed.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraka* (Atlanta 1992).

¹ S.E. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa. 30 BC–AD 217* (Leiden 1986); F. De Romanis, *Cassia Cinnamomo Ossidiana* (Rome 1996); R. Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper* (London 2008).

² On Koptos and its importance, see V.A. Maxfield, 'The eastern desert forts and the army in Egypt during the principate', in D.M. Bailey (ed.), *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1996), 11–12; D.W. Rathbone, 'Koptos the emporion. Economy and society, I–III AD', in M.-F. Boussac (ed.), *Autour de Coptos. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* (Lyon 2002), 180; R.S. Bagnall—D.W. Rathbone, *Egypt from Alexander to the Copts* (London 2004), 280–284.

³ On this topic the main source of information is still *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (= SB) 18, 13167, also known as the 'Muziris papyrus'. See H. Harrauer—P. Sijpesteijn, 'Ein neues Dokument zu Roms Indienhandel, P. Vindob. G 40822', in *Anzeiger d. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 122 (1985), 124–155; L. Casson, 'P. Vindob. G. 40822 and the Shipping of the Goods from India', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 23 (1986), 73–79; L. Casson, 'New light on maritime loans: P. Vindob. G. 40.822', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 84 (1990), 195–206; De Romanis 1996, op. cit. (n. 1), 183–196; De Romanis, 'Commercio, metrologia, fiscalità. Su P. Vindob. G 40822 Verso', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Antiquité* 110 (1998), 11–60; D.W. Rathbone, 'The "Muziris" Papyrus (SB XVIII 13167): Financing Roman trade with India', *Bulletin Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 46 (2000), 39–50; Rathbone 2002, op. cit. (n. 2), 179–198.

⁴ The toll is attested in the 'Koptos Tariff', *OGIS* 2, 674; republished in SB 5, 8904. As is now evident from the available evidence, the control of the fiscal system in the

the fiscal organisation of the caravan routes themselves and of the ports on the Red Sea, from which ships would depart towards the East. This gap in our documentation has been reduced dramatically over the last few years, thanks to a number of *ostraka* found in Berenike, a port located in the area of Ras Banas, the southernmost Roman settlement in Egypt and a terminal of the route connecting South India to the Roman Empire. Berenike's general role in the economy of the area has been described in a number of publications⁵ and will not therefore be examined here. Attention will be rather focused on the dossiers of *ostraka* discovered at Berenike and recently published in two volumes by an équipe of scholars led by Roger Bagnall.⁶ It is our belief that these documents can be used to shed a considerable amount of light on the dynamics of taxation on trade as applied in the Egyptian port and on the desert routes at large.

So far 260 *ostraka* have been published, and most of these documents come from a Roman dump dated to the first century AD.⁷ In this first section only those documents which are connected to the process by

Egyptian Eastern Desert was in the hands of the arabarchs, a powerful corporation, whose origin dated to the Ptolemaic age. On the arabarchs and their organisation, see D. Nappo, 'Il ruolo dell'arabarchia nella fiscalità romana', in E. Lo Cascio—G. Merola, *Forme di aggregazione nel mondo romano* (Bari 2007), 273–291.

⁵ S.E. Sidebotham—W. Wendrich, *Berenike '94. Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden 1995); S.E. Sidebotham—W. Wendrich, *Berenike '95. Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden 1996); S.E. Sidebotham—W. Wendrich, *Berenike '96. Report of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden 1998); S.E. Sidebotham—W.Z. Wendrich, *Berenike 1996. Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden 1998); S.E. Sidebotham—W.Z. Wendrich, *Berenike 1997. Report of the 1997 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the survey of the Eastern Desert, including Excavations at Shenshef* (Leiden 1999); S.E. Sidebotham—W. Wendrich, *Berenike 1998. Report of the 1998 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the survey of the Eastern Desert, including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat* (Leiden 2000); S.E. Sidebotham—W.Z. Wendrich, *Berenike 1999/2000. Report on the Excavations at Berenike, Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket, and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus Region*. (Los Angeles 2007); S.E. Sidebotham, 'Late Roman Berenike.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39 (2002), 217–240.

⁶ R.S. Bagnall—C. Helms—A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Documents from Berenike. Volume I. Greek ostraka from the 1996–1998 seasons* (Bruxelles 2000); R.S. Bagnall—C. Helms—A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Documents from Berenike. Volume II. Texts from the 1999–2001 seasons* (Bruxelles 2005). The documents cited from these two volumes are hereafter referred to as O. Berenike.

⁷ Bagnall et al. 2000, op. cit. (n. 6), 3.

which goods and their transporters passed through the customs gate at Berenike will be discussed. They served as let-pass orders for goods going through the customs station of Berenike, on their way to ships destined for locations along the African or Indian coast. Although some of these goods could have been used for personal consumption by the crew of the ships, most of them were in fact export wares.⁸ These receipts of let-pass orders were issued somewhere on the Nile-Berenike route (most likely Koptos) and received by the officials in charge of the customs gate in Berenike; this would mean, according to the editors of the documents, that “the amounts due were collected in the valley [i.e. at Koptos], with the goods then free to pass through the gate in Berenike.”⁹ It is worth stressing that these documents for the first time attest unequivocally the presence of a customs gate at Berenike. Although the taxes were paid elsewhere (i.e. at Koptos), the last step of the fiscal control took place at Berenike, before the outgoing goods left the Empire to the East.

We will now go through the structure of the *ostraka* to shed some light on the organisation of this control. We can divide the let-passes into four groups, according to their general structure:

1. NN to NN, *quintanensis*, greetings; please, let pass for NN a X amount of some item
2. NN to NN (no title given) greetings; please, let pass for NN a X amount of some item
3. NN to those in charge of the customs gate, greetings; please, let pass for NN a X amount of some item
4. Epaphroditos slave of Delias slave of Aeimnestos slave of Caesar to NN, *quintanensis*, greetings; please, let pass for NN, slave of Delias slave of Aeimnestos slave of Caesar a X amount of some item

As it can be easily recognised, groups one to three represent only slight variations on a general pattern, which includes a writer, who addresses to an officer to ask a let pass for people carrying some quantities of items (usually wine, but also oil and vinegar). The addressees are sometimes qualified by their name and the title of *quintanensis* (as in group 1); sometimes only by their name (group 2); sometimes they are just called “those at the customs gate”, with no name or title given (group 3). Here follows an example for each group. For the first group, we have selected one from the dossier of Andouros (O. Berenike 50–67):

⁸ Bagnall et al. 2000, op. cit. (n. 6), 8.

⁹ Bagnall et al. 2005, op. cit. (n. 6), 5.

Ἄνδουρωι κουνιτ(ανησίωι)· πάρες
 Τιβερίου Κλαυδ(ίου) [Ἀχιλλέωϛ] Δωρίωνος
 Πασουῶτι Πασούτος ἰταλικά
 δέκα, (γίνεται) ἰταλ(ικά) ι. (O. Berenike 51)

“To Andouros, *quintanensis*, let pass of Tiberius Claudius [Achilleus] Dorion, for Paouos son of Paouos, 10 italika, total 10 ital(ika).”

For the second group, an example from the dossier of Sosibios (O. Berenike 1–35):

Σωσίβ(ιος) Ἄνδουρω(ι) χα(ίρειν) πάρες Ἄνδουρω(ι)
 Παχ() οἴ(νου) ἰτ(αλικά) ϛ. (O. Berenike 11)

“Sosibios to Andouros, greetings. Let pass for Andouros son of Pach() 6 italika of wine.”

For the third group, an example from the dossier of Robaos (O. Berenike 36–49):

[Ῥ]οβαος τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆι πύλῃ χα(ίρειν)
 πάρετε Ἀρωῶθη [εἰς]
 [ἐ]ξαρτισμὸν ῥόδ(ια) η. (O. Berenike 36)

“Robaos to those in charge of the customs gate, greetings. Let pass for Haryothes for outfitting, 8 rhodia.”

What we can infer from the first three groups is that, due to the close similarity between their structures, we can identify the *quintanenses* with the ‘people at the customs gate’. As pointed out by the editors,¹⁰ the phrase ‘people at the customs gate’ was used by a writer who did not know the name of the officer he was addressing, and allows us to understand, on the one hand, that the *ostraka* were used by the merchants as let-passes to go through the customs gate at Berenike, and, on the other hand, that the officer in charge of controlling this process was called *quintanensis*.¹¹

The fourth group of let-passes can shed some light on different aspects. It presents some quite distinctive characteristics, although within the general pattern seen for the first three: the writer is always an “Epaphroditos slave of Delias slave of Aeimnestos slave of Caesar”, addressing the *quintanensis* Pakoibis, requesting a let-pass for some person belonging to the same group of slaves (O. Berenike 184–188). The first peculiarity is that in these documents the writer is qualified not only with his name, but, more importantly, he appears to belong to a group of slaves, linked

¹⁰ Bagnall 2000 et al., op. cit. (n. 6), 8–12.

¹¹ A detailed discussion on the overall function of this officer will be presented *infra* in the second part of this article.

to Aeimnestos, a slave of the *familia Caesaris*. An even more exceptional characteristic of the dossier of Epaphroditos is that all the *ostraka*, apart from O. Berenike 184, are pre-made forms where a blank space is left to add the name of the person transporting the wine and the precise number of *keramia* of wine at a later moment:

Ἐπαφ[ρόδει]τος Δ[ηλίου] Ἄεμνήστ[ου]
 Καίσαρος Πακοίβι κοιντανησίωι χ(αίρειν)·
 πάρες *uacat* τῶν Δηλίο[υ]
 Ἄεμνήστου Καίσαρος [οἴ]νου πτολεμια(ικοῦ).
 κερά[μια] *uacat* (O. Ber. 186).

“Epaphroditos slave of Delias slave of Aeimnestos slave of Caesar, to Pakoibis *quintanensis*, greetings. Let pass for (blank) of those of Delias slave of Aeimnestos slave of Caesar, (blank) *keramia* of Ptolemaic wine.”

The editors suggested that, since all forms ended up in the rubbish heap at Berenike, they might have been used without actually having been filled in.¹² The persons transporting wine, whose names were to be filled later, are all identified as τῶν Δηλίο[υ] Ἄεμνήστου Καίσαρος, “of the men of Delias, slave of Aeimnestos, slave of Caesar”. The issuer himself, Epaphroditos, is also qualified as a slave of the same Delias. This dossier allows us to speculate on the role of the imperial administration in the management of trade with the East. Epaphroditos and his men all belong to this group of slaves going back to the emperor himself. Although there are three layers of ownership of slaves, the hypothesis of a direct involvement of the emperor or his entourage in the Eastern trade cannot be ruled out.

In principle, it seems likely that the emperors would be interested in getting involved in such commercial activity, which could entail huge margins for profit.¹³ This hypothesis becomes even more intriguing if we consider the chronology of the documents. The *terminus ante quem* for the *ostraka* is ca. 70 AD, whereas the *terminus post quem* is 40–45 AD, a period that follows the big trade boom with the East of the Tiberian age, and includes the age of Nero and part of the age of Vespasian, when the Eastern trade experienced a new revival, also thanks to the infrastructures built in the Eastern Desert by Vespasian.¹⁴ This leads us

¹² Bagnall 2005 et al., op. cit. (n. 6), 74.

¹³ Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia* 6.101: [...] *nullo anno minus HS 50,000,000 imperii nostri exhauriente India et merces remittente quae apud nos centuplicato ueneant*. See also the papyrus SB 18, 13167, where it is specified that the total value of a cargo coming back from India at the middle of the second century AD is 1154 talents and 2852 drachmae.

¹⁴ See H. Cuvigny, *La route de Myos Hormos, Fouilles de l'IFAO 48/2* (Paris 2003).

to postulate that the possibility of imperial involvement in the trade is very promising, and is unlikely to remain just a hypothesis, although the dossier of Epaphroditos alone is not a sufficient proof to sustain it.

The last group of documents we would like to analyse here is the dossier of Sarapion (O. Berenike 153–183). The reason that this group of documents deserves its own analysis does not depend on its structure,¹⁵ but rather on the texts of the *ostraka*. It is immediately evident that Sarapion's let-passes are composed by two different subgroups. In the first one Sarapion always addresses the *quintanensis* Andouros to ask a let-pass for people carrying wine. In the second subgroup, Sarapion always addresses the *quintanensis* Pakoibis, to ask a let-pass for people carrying $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi(\)$. This difference leads us to think that we have here a new particular not present in the documents discussed before: the customs at Berenike might have had a complex articulation, with different 'offices' according to the different merchandise that the traders needed to export. So when Sarapion needs to export wine, he directs his merchants to Andouros, whereas when he needs to export $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi(\)$ he addresses Pakoibis. For a complete understanding of this process, it is crucial to solve the abbreviated word $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi(\)$. The editors interpreted it as an abbreviation for $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\iota\alpha$.¹⁶ The Greek word $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\iota\omega\nu$ means 'a (carrying) bag, a container'; something to transport items. So we can interpret $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\iota\omega\nu$ as a bag, but in no case in the text is the content of these bags specified, as it is clear from the following example:

Σαραπίων Κασίου
 Πακοίβι χ(αίρειν)· δι(απόστειλον) Ἄν-
 τωι Τχάλιου μαρσίπ(πια)
 σλε. σεση(μείωμαι). (O. Berenike 162)

"Sarapion son of Kasios to Pakoibis, greetings. Dispatch for Antos son of Tchalius 235 bags. Signed."

The word $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\iota\omega\nu$ is well attested in the papyri, and its diminutive ($\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\iota\nu$) appears in the *ostraka* from Mons Claudianus.¹⁷ The quantities of $\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\iota\alpha$ involved in the texts from Berenike are impressive, as can be seen in the table below.¹⁸

¹⁵ In terms of structure, the dossier of Sarapion can be considered as an example of what is listed above as group 2.

¹⁶ Bagnall 2005, op. cit. (n. 6), 63.

¹⁷ O. Claud. 227; 231; 248.

¹⁸ As pointed out by the editors, see Bagnall 2005 et al., op. cit. (n. 6), 64, the median of the quantity of *marsippia* falls between 112 and 117, a huge amount, if compared to the median of *ladikena* of wine, which falls between 4 and 6.

Attestation of *μαρσίπια* in O. Berenike

<i>Text</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Number</i>
159	56	165	97*	173	21
160	160	166	160*	174	68
162	235	170	73	177	119*
163	112*	172	160	185	5

The quantities marked with a * are qualified in the *ostraka* with διπ(λᾶ), 'double', which suggests that the word *μαρσίπιον* stands as a standard unit of measurement. So we can say that the *μαρσίπια* were used to transport items in standard packages and dispatched in very big quantities given the enormous amount of *μαρσίπια* attested in the documents.

As it happens, the most popular Roman export to India was Roman coins,¹⁹ indeed a perfect content for our *μαρσίπια*. This interpretation is supported by the papyrological evidence. In fact in the papyri the word *μαρσίπιον* is often used as the equivalent of the English wallet, a container for coins.²⁰ When used with this meaning, it is sometimes attested in the phrase *μαρσίπιον ἐσφραγίσμενος*,²¹ 'sealed *marsippia*', which might give a new hint to understand the nature of the documents we are dealing with.

To understand why these 'sealed *marsippia*' were necessary, we need to explain how the actual system of transporting merchandise and coins over the desert worked. The cargoes would leave Alexandria, the big *emporion* on the Mediterranean, to be convoyed to Koptos on the Nile and from there overland to Berenike. As far as we know, the merchants would borrow the money for their commercial expeditions from wealthy people willing to finance such trade, and who reaped huge profits from these loans.²² It is reasonable to imagine that these financiers would also have provided the merchants with the coins to trade in India. At this point it is worth remembering that Roman coins found in India are virtually all *denarii* or *aurei*, i.e. types of coins officially forbidden from circulation in Roman Egypt.²³ In fact, although the excavations at Berenike yielded Roman bronze coins and Ptolemaic *tetradrachmai*, not

¹⁹ See Tomber 2008, op. cit. (n. 1), 30–37; S. Suresh, *Symbols of trade* (New Dehli 2003).

²⁰ See for example P. Sarap., 55; P. Tebt., 337; 797; 1151; P.Mert., 113; P.Oxy 1670; 2728; P.Cair Zen, 59010; 59069; P. Petr., 107.

²¹ Attested for example in P.Mert. 3, 113; P.Oxy., 2728; P.Cair Zen, 59010; 59069.

²² This practise is attested in SB 18, 13167. See also the works cited at n. 3.

²³ K.W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy* (Baltimore 1996), 117–124.

a single *denarius* or *aureus* was found. However, as the Roman *denarii* found in India did indeed arrive from Egypt, we are confronted with a seemingly insoluble contradiction. The answer to such a puzzle is, in our opinion, represented by the μαρσίπιον ἐσφραγίσμενος. The coins necessary for the trade with the Indians would be collected in sealed bags with a standard number of coins (and, consequently, of standard weight). This would form a guarantee for both financier and merchant: the financier would be sure that the traders could not open the bags and try to steal some coins, and the traders would be able to count the coins faster (bag by bag, rather than one by one).

A comparative example to support this hypothesis exists through a recent discovery made on the shores of Italy, the so-called 'tesoretto di Rimigliano'.²⁴ The 'tesoretto' comes from a wreck and is supposed to represent the standard way in which coins were circulating on commercial ships around the Mediterranean. It is a block of ca. 3,600 coins, originally contained in small leather bags of circular shape and then put together into a larger basket. The small bags contain a standard number of silver coins, split in groups of ten units, in order to facilitate the process of counting. A similar organisation to the one attested in the 'tesoretto di Rimigliano' can be postulated for the Eastern Desert, and this is the situation to which the μαρσίπια would then refer. The dossier of Sarpion, if our interpretation is correct, sheds new light on the organisation of trade in the Eastern Desert, telling us how the delivery of the Roman coins to India was actually organised.

We have seen, then, how the documents from Berenike provide new evidence on a very specific type of fiscal and commercial organisation with regards to the Eastern trade. From what we have seen so far, it appears evident that a central role in this process was played by the *quintanenses*.

II. QUINTANENSES AND THE QUINTANA (A. ZERBINI)

As must be clear by now, Berenike acted as a fiscal frontier with regards to the taxation on the Eastern commerce. Yet the functioning of taxation on trade seems to have been much more articulated, including a specific form of taxation on commercial activities inside the desert routes

²⁴ It was found in 2002 near Livorno, in Tuscany. See A. De Laurenzi, *Un Tesoro dal Mare: il Tesoretto di Rimigliano dal Restauro al Museo* (Pisa 2004).

linking Koptos to the Red Sea ports. As for the customs gate procedures witnessed by the let-pass orders, much of the taxation on internal trade seems to have been structured around the figure of the *quintanensis*. Despite the relevance of this official in the Berenike documents, light has yet to be shed on his duties and responsibilities: so far, we have only learnt that the *quintanenses*, while presumably in charge of the customs gate at Berenike, were not responsible for the collection of the taxes applied on outgoing goods but only for controlling the receipts that allowed such goods to be shipped overseas. In what follows, we aim to concentrate on the *quintanensis* in order to assess how the evidence of his role can be used to illuminate the organisation of taxation on trade in the Eastern Desert.

Outside the dossier of documents from Berenike, *quintanenses* are seldom present in the sources. The only other references come from two inscriptions from Italy and Germany and from the papyrus P.Gen.Lat. 1.²⁵ The context is always a military one: in a funerary inscription from the *ager Albanus*, the late Aurelius Crysomallos is referred to as a *quintanensis legionis*, while an inscription found in the area of the fort of Niederbieber (Germania Superior) was set up to the *Genius horreorum* of the *numerus Brittonum* by at least two soldiers, one of whom is referred to as *quintane(n)sis*.²⁶ Both inscriptions can probably be dated to the late second or early third century, while the third document, the well known P.Gen.Lat.1 is dated to the reign of Domitian.²⁷ The *verso* of this text—which comes from the archives of the *legio III Cyrenaica* or *XXII Deiotariana* stationed at Alexandria—records part of a *brevis*, i.e. a text listing the services and duties of the soldiers of a century, over a period of ten days from the first to the tenth of October. Of the forty soldiers whose duties are known from the text, the vast majority were employed in the camp, but some were sent off to detached fortlets and perhaps temples. More importantly, four soldiers (nos. V, X, XVI, XVIII) were allocated for a time varying between four and five days to a service defined as *pro quintanesio*, which could mean they had to serve as

²⁵ CIL 14, 2282 (*ager Albanus*); CIL 13, 7749 (*Germania Superior*). P.Gen.Lat.1 = *Doc.Eser.Rom.10* = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (= ChLA) I 7 = *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum* (= CPL) 106. The different documents borne by this piece of papyrus are edited separately in R.O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Cleveland 1971) (= RMR) 9, 10, 37, 58, 68.

²⁶ Zangemeister understood *quintane(n)sis* as a *cognomen*, a possibility that remains obviously open.

²⁷ See the commentary in ChLA I 7 (esp. col. V 1–10).

quintanenses or in the stead of the *quintanensis* or perhaps also, with a locative meaning, by the *quintanenses* (safeguarding the security of the officials).

While these documents clearly show that the *quintanenses* were soldiers, their responsibilities remain to be identified. A look at the etymology of the word *quintanensis* immediately shows a derivation from the *uia quintana*, a thoroughfare of a Roman camp which, according to Polybius, was named after the πέμπτα τάγματα who had their quarters in this area of the *castra*.²⁸ For Pseudo-Hyginus, who wrote in the second century AD, the *uia quintana* and the two *quintanae portae* in which it ended up at either side of the camp were only laid out when the fort was built to accommodate five or more legions (hence the name *quintana*).²⁹

Interestingly, from early times onwards, the *uia quintana* or the *quintana porta* seems to have been associated with the presence of a market: the identification of the military forum and the *uia quintana* was already implied in Livy and later made clear by Suetonius.³⁰ Finally, Festus locates the *forum rerum utensilium* by the *quintana porta*, though the position of the latter *post praetorium* seems to suggest that the author was referring to the whole of the *uia quintana* rather than just its gates.³¹

If the *uia quintana* was connected with the military forum, the official named after this area of the *castra*, the *quintanensis*, must bear some relation with the market as well. This assumption seems to be supported not only by the role of the *quintanenses* which emerges in the let-pass orders, but more importantly by a dossier of documents from Berenike which were published in 2005 under the heading “receipts for Quintana”.³² These documents span over a period going from the latter part of the reign of Augustus (O.Berenike 136 1 BC/AD 1) to the reign of Vespasian (O.Berenike 141, AD 71/2). The core information provided by these documents can be gauged by looking at O.Berenike 138, which is one of the best preserved texts:

²⁸ Polybius 6.30.5–6.

²⁹ Pseudo-Hyginus (A. Grillone (ed.), *De munitionibus castrorum* (Leipzig 1977)) 17.4–5.

³⁰ The passage in Livius (41.2.11), though not establishing an identification of the *quintana* with the market, suggests that *forum* and the *uia quintana* were located in the same area of the camp (i.e. below the *praetorium*, as the other sources also confirm). It is in this area that the plundering enemies found *omnium rerum paratam expositamque copiam* (*Id.* 41.2.12). Suetonius, *Nero* 26.1–2.

³¹ Paulus ex Festo (W.M. Lindsay (ed.), *Sexti Pompei Festi. De uerborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (Leipzig 1913)), p. 309.

³² O.Berenike 105 (= O.Berenike 140a); 136–141; 219.

Γερμανὸς κουτανίσ(ιος)
 Γαιανῶ Ἰμέρου χ(αίρειν)
 ἔχωι κουτάνας Παονη-
 ω ιξ Πασχωι ιξ
 (ἔτους) ιβ ΝέϚ(ω)νος τοῦ κουσί(ου).

“Germanos, *quintanensis*, to Gaianus son of Himeros, greetings. I have the *quintana* for Pauni, 16 (dr.) and Pachon 16 (dr.) Year 12 of Nero the lord”

In this document a *quintanensis* is writing to acknowledge the receipt of the κουτάνα, clearly equivalent to the Latin *quintana*, for the months of Pauni and Pachon. The sum received amounted to 16 drachmae a month or 32 drachmae in total. The text is then dated to the twelfth year of Nero (AD 66). Further additions to the format of this document include:

- The presence of two *quintanenses* as the senders of the receipts (O.Berenike 140).³³
- The specification that the *quintanensis* is in charge for a certain year (O.Berenike 140, 141)
- The signature of the *quintanensis* attesting receipt of the money (O.Berenike 137, 140, 140a, 141)
- The *quintana* is specifically said to be “on two donkeys” (O.Berenike 140).

These receipts record the fulfilment of payments of a previously unknown tax, the *quintana*, which appears to have been gathered at a fixed rate of 16 dr./month and remained unchanged throughout the seventy-year period covered by our documents. The *quintana* could also be collected for two months together (as suggested by O.Berenike 138) or in partial instalments (O.Berenike 219 l. 5), but it remained essentially a capitation tax, rather than an *ad valorem* one as the *tetarte*, the 25 % tax on incoming goods that was applied to imports from the East.³⁴

Regarding the function of this duty, the editors have tended to overestimate the importance of O.Berenike 140, which by bearing the expression τήν κοιντ(άναν) τοῦ Μεχ(εῖϚ) ὄνω(ν) β has been interpreted as evidence that the *quintana* was a tax levied solely on transporters of goods.³⁵ If that

³³ This is a particularly interesting aspect as it mirrors what we know from P.Gen.Lat. 1 where the soldiers on duty as *pro quintanesio* are chosen in pairs.

³⁴ On the *tetarte*, see the bibliography cited at n. 3.

³⁵ Bagnall 2005, op. cit. (n. 6), 6–7. The editors liken the *quintana* to similar charges known from the Koptos tariff, i.e. the *apostolion* and the *pittakion*, but see below. This opinion has been recently expressed also by H. Cuvigny: H. Cuvigny (ed.), *La route de Myos Hormos* (Le Caire 2006, 2nd ed.), 693. On the Koptos tariff, see n. 4.

was the case, we would expect the number of animals involved to differ according to the amount paid. Yet, that does not seem to apply to our evidence, unless we assume $\delta\upsilon\omega(\nu)\beta$ to be a standard formula otherwise omitted in the receipts, an explanation which appears to be unlikely. It is more convenient to tie the *quintana* more strongly to its etymology, i.e. the area of a military market and to its collector, who was the official in charge of the military market. In this respect, we would suggest that the *quintana* be interpreted as a capitation tax charged on those who were engaged in commercial transactions specifically involving the army. As the *quintana* was a fixed amount, there was no need to specify the profession or commercial activity of the persons liable to pay it, as such details were not relevant when assessing the tax.

This explains why the only evidence for the *quintana* being levied on a specific activity comes from a completely different type of document. The recently published collection of ostraka from the military *praesidium* of Krokodilo provides important information on military life along the desert routes leading to Myos Hormos and Berenike.³⁶ More importantly, some of these documents have led to the identification of the tax *quintana*, here charged on the monthly lease of prostitutes to the military detachments of the desert.³⁷ Such texts have been dated to the reign of Trajan and record the correspondence of *kyrioi* of prostitutes with their agents located in the different *praesidia* of the desert.³⁸

The fact that prostitution was likened to other forms of trade and taxed as such should not come as a surprise, as evidence of this abounds from the rest of Egypt. In particular, O.Wilb. 33 (Elephantine, AD 144) refers to a tax-farmer styling himself as *mistôthês cheirônaxiou mênaiou kai hetairikou*, i.e. collector of the monthly tax on trade and prostitution.³⁹

³⁶ The documents are referred to as O.Krok. and have been published in: Cuvigny 2003, op. cit. (n. 14); H. Cuvigny, *Ostraca de Krokodilo* (Le Caire 2005).

³⁷ See especially Cuvigny 2006, op. cit. (n. 35), 689–694. See also Cuvigny 2003, op.cit. (n. 14), 384 where the author points out that these documents also represent the first attestation of prostitution in a military context.

³⁸ In one unpublished document from Didymoi (O.Did. inv. 430) on the Berenike route the sender is the curator of the *praesidium* of Aphroditis Orous requesting that the pimp send one of his *paidiskê* to *oi ek tou praisidou*, i.e. the soldiers. The text was circulated by H. Cuvigny at the 13th congress of the *Fédération internationale des Associations d'études classiques, Berlin 24–29 August 2009* (hereafter *FIEC 2009*). It is now discussed in H. Cuvigny, 'Femmes tournantes: remarques sur la prostitution dans les garnisons romaines du désert de Bérénice', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 172 (2010), 159–166.

³⁹ See also O. Edfou I 171 where the tax on prostitutes is defined as *merismou hetairikou*. C.A. Nelson, 'Receipt for tax on prostitutes', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 30 (1995), 30 and *passim* for further references on taxation on prostitution.

As a commercial activity, taxation of prostitution in the Eastern desert was subject to the payment of the *quintana*. Such procedure is described in O.Krok. 252, which reads as follows:

[...]ς Πτολεμᾶ
 [πλείστ]α χαιίρειν
 [.]..ειν μισθ..[...]
 Πρ[ό]κλαν εἰς προαι-
 σίδιον Μαξιμια-
 νὸν ξ σὺν τῇ κου-
 ιντανᾶ. διὸ καλῶς
 ποιήσεις πέμψαι
 αὐτήν μετὰ τοῦ
 [ὀ]νελάτου τοῦ δώ-
 [σον]τὸς σ[ο]ι τὸ ὄσ[τ]ρά-
 κιν.

“NN to Ptolema, very many greetings . . . I have let Procla to the praesidium of Maximianon for 60 drachmas with the quintana. Please send her with the donkey driver who brings you this ostrakon. I have received the deposit of 12 drachmas out of which I have paid the fare of 8 drachmas. Receive from the donkey driver [. . .] drachmas. Give her the cloak. I shall give her the tunic. Do not do otherwise. Greetings”

As we can see, the sender requests a certain Ptolema, probably the agent of the ‘pimp’ in Krokodilo, to send Prokla to the *praesidium* of Maximianon (further down towards Myos Hormos) to which the author states to have leased (*misthoun*) the prostitute for a rate of 60 dr. σὺν τῇ κουιντανᾶ. As Cuvigny informs us, this expression stands in opposition to that found in the unpublished O.Krok. 614, where a prostitute is leased for 72 dr. χωρὶς τῆς κουιντανῆς.⁴⁰ From O.Krok. 252, 544 and 614, along with other unpublished documents from the *praesidium* of Didymoi, it appears that 60 drachmae was regarded as the standard monthly amount at which the prostitutes were leased out.⁴¹ To this we should add the *quintana*. Although the exact amount of the tax is not given in the letters from Krokodilo (we are not dealing with receipts as in the case of the documents from Berenike), a figure can be deduced by simply comparing the rates given in O.Krok. 252 and 614. In the first, the 60 drachmae σὺν τῇ κουιντανᾶ represent the net amount that the *kyrios* cashed after

⁴⁰ Cuvigny 2006, op. cit. (n. 35), 388.

⁴¹ For other evidence on the standard leasehold rate see: Cuvigny 2003, op. cit. (n. 14), 388–389; that the amounts referred to are indeed monthly canons is confirmed by several documents among which the unpublished O.Did. inv. 390 (for the text see Cuvigny 2010, op. cit. (n. 38)).

having paid the *quintana*, while in the second case the monthly fare was raised to 72 dr. $\chi\omega\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota\nu\tau\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ so that the *kyrios* could then pay the tax without eating into his profit. In this respect, our view differs from that of Cuvigny's, for whom $\xi\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota\nu\tau\alpha\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ would represent the gross rate from which the *quintana* had yet to be deducted.⁴²

The *quintana* applied to the monthly lease of prostitutes seemed, therefore, to be calculated at 12 drachmae.⁴³ This figure is different from that found in Berenike (16 dr.), a fact that could perhaps be explained by a change in the assessment of the tax that occurred between the reign of Vespasian and that of Trajan, a gap for which we do not have any evidence for the *quintana*. Despite this, it seems apparent that we are dealing with the same duty, a monthly capitation tax that at Krokodilo as well as Berenike was charged on those engaged in any kind of commercial activity directly involving the army. In the case of prostitution, the person charged would obviously be the prostitute herself, although her 'pimp' would eventually be responsible for the payment of the tax. However, it is possible (as in O.Krok. 614) that the canon could be raised so that the clients (i.e. the soldiers) would pay for the tax as part of the monthly fare.

Interestingly, the two known figures for *quintana* (16 and 12 dr. per month), when compared to capitation taxes on trades known from other areas of Egypt, strike as high rates. Documents from comparable periods, providing figures for the tax on prostitution, give much smaller amounts (1–4dr per year) while other trade taxes range between 6 to 50 dr./year.⁴⁴ The higher rates of the *quintana* in comparison to figures for *cheironaxia*,

⁴² Cuvigny 2006, op. cit. (n. 35), 689–690. Cuvigny cites N. Lewis, 'The meaning of *sun hemiolia* and kindred expressions in loan contracts', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 76 (1945), 126–139, when arguing that the use of *syn te kuintane* should be likened to that of *syn hemiolia* in loan contracts, where the sum preceding the expression with *syn* included also the interest or penalty to be paid. However, there is no obvious reason why loan contracts and taxation on commercial transactions should employ the same formulas. In fact, just after this article was written, Hélène Cuvigny has revised her interpretation of the use of *syn/chôris* with regard to the *quintana*. Her new insights on this topic can be found in Cuvigny 2010, op. cit. (n. 38).

⁴³ The same amount seems to be also confirmed by unpublished documents from Didymoi: see Bagnall et al. 2005, op. cit. (n. 6).

⁴⁴ Tax on prostitution: O.Berol. inv. 25474 (AD 65); WO 83 (AD 110); O.Wilb. 33 (AD 144). These documents are discussed, along with much other evidence in Nelson 1995, op. cit. (n. 39), 23–33; R. Bagnall, 'A trick a day to keep the tax man at bay? The prostitute tax in Roman Egypt', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 28 (1991). For a general discussion on capitation taxes on trades see especially: S. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938), 191–213.

and its being a fixed tax rather than depending on the type of activity and the central role of the *quintanensis*, strongly suggest that taxation on internal trade in the Eastern Desert received an organisation that differed from what is known for the rest of Egypt. The structure of the *quintana* was based on a simpler form of assessment, i.e. an invariable amount to be paid for all trades, and higher taxation rates could perhaps be countered by the comparatively higher profitability of commercial activities in the desert.

Since the *quintana* appears to have been levied in all the outposts of the desert as well as in Berenike, it is somewhat surprising that no reference is made to the *quintanenses* in the *ostraka* from the *praesidia*. It is possible that each detachment had its own *quintanensis* or perhaps that soldiers could be put on duty as *pro quintanesio* for a certain number of days (see above, P.Gen.Lat. 1), though the evidence from Berenike tends to suggest that the *quintanenses* were appointed for a fixed term of one year. Some light on this point could be shed by an unpublished *ostrakon* from Didymoi (O.Did. inv. 430, AD 100–110) written by Longinus, curator of the *praesidium* of Aphroditis Orous to the *kyrios* Apollinaris.⁴⁵ In this text, Longinus requests Apollinaris to send a certain girl “who makes him (Apollinaris) 60 dr.” and concludes by saying that τὸ τοῦ κωνδοῦκτορος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ, i.e. the “part of the *conductor* will be paid for by us (= the soldiers)”.

Conductor, much in the same way as *quintana* and *quintanensis*, was a Latin word which, though transliterated into Greek, must have retained its original meaning, i.e. that of private contractor. In this context both Cuvigny and Bülow-Jacobsen have argued that the *conductor* would be a tax-farmer collecting the *quintana*, raising the issue of whether the *quintanensis* himself should be regarded as a private tax-farmer rather than as a military official.⁴⁶ Yet, this is not an either-or situation. A certain *conductor* Porcius, who appears in P.Gen.Lat. 1 in a list of soldiers *opera uacantes*, may very well be a soldier holding an unspecified contract, while in RMR 70 the auxiliary Pantarchus uses money to buy the contract (*pro contuotione*) for something unknown. Texts from Vindolanda seem to show that soldiers could act as private contractors to supply their

⁴⁵ See n. 38. We only cite those parts of O.Did. inv. 430 which were made available by Cuvigny in the course of the *FIEC 2009* conference.

⁴⁶ A. Bülow-Jacobsen and H. Cuvigny, *Les Ostraca de Didymoi (O.Did.)* (forthcoming). Cuvigny 2006, op.cit. (n. 35), 690ff.

camps with goods.⁴⁷ If soldiers could be contractors, it is perhaps possible that some would have bought the contract to farm the taxes on the *uia quintana*.

This could be the case for Domitius Germanus (ChLA III 200, AD 166), who styles himself as *misthôtês kuintanês*, an expression which may overlap with the title of *quintanensis*. In this document, as rightly suggested by Cuvigny, the fact that Germanus is collecting the *dekatê* (corresponding to the *enkyklion* in Egypt) on the sale of a slave suggests that *kuintana* should be interpreted again as the *uia quintana*, the area of the military market.⁴⁸ Germanus was, then, the farmer of all taxes concerning the *uia quintana*, i.e. all the commercial transactions involving the fleet stationed at Seleukia of Pieiria (the document is an *emptio-venditio* between two soldiers). This document is particularly important because, although not directly referring to either the *quintanensis* or the *quintana* as a tax, it proves that a specific mode of organisation of trade taxes involving the army extended beyond the boundaries of the Egyptian Eastern Desert and, in time, beyond the period covered by the documents of Berenike and the *praesidia*.

III. CONCLUSIONS (D. NAPPO AND A. ZERBINI)

The documents from the Red Sea port of Berenike and the military posts of the Egyptian Eastern Desert show how the southernmost frontier of the Empire came to be structured as a military, administrative and commercial frontier between the first and second century AD. As such, it is our opinion that the entire area acted as a buffer zone clearly open to exchange with the East, but also closely monitored by the Empire. The Empire's control was exerted through the army via a combination of incentives and restrictions: the militarisation of the Eastern Desert meant that safer routes could be granted for the highly profitable Eastern trade but also that the entire area from Koptos to the Red Sea ports came to be organised as one huge military camp. Inside it, commercial transactions

⁴⁷ C. Whittaker, *Rome and its Frontiers: the Dynamics of Empire* (London 2004), 96; C. Whittaker, 'Supplying the Roman army. Evidence from Vindolanda', in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *The Roman Army and the Economy* (Amsterdam 2002), 216; R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London—New York 1995), 96–97.

⁴⁸ Cuvigny 2006, op. cit. (n. 35), 691. On ChLA III 200 see also P.M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin 1920), no. 37, who tentatively proposed to regard Germanus as the leaseholder collecting taxes on the *quintana uia* conceived as the market place of a military camp. On *telos enkyklion* see Wallace 1938, op. cit. (n. 44), 227–231.

would be regarded as if taking place in the *uia quintana* and therefore be subject to the supervision and taxation exerted by the *quintanenses*, the yearly-appointed collectors of the *quintana*, a monthly capitation tax on different kinds of trade (and probably other duties on commercial transactions as ChLA III 200 seems to suggest). How the money gathered in this way was invested is a matter for some speculation. Most likely the funds would have been used to maintain the desert routes.

On the other hand the taxation of external trade, both outbound and incoming, was left unaffected by the introduction of this peculiar system of taxation. In this respect, the Romans preferred to borrow the pre-existing system introduced by the Ptolemies and centred on the role of the arabarchs. As the Koptos tariff and the Muziris papyrus show, it was through the arabarchs and their agents that the Roman state gathered the funds derived from taxation of the Eastern trade. Nor does the fact that *quintanenses* were in charge of controlling the let-pass orders on outgoing cargoes at Berenike challenge this argument: as the taxmen on the commercial activities taking place within the Eastern desert, the *quintanenses* would be regarded as the best men on the territory to check the let-pass orders coming from Koptos and probably issued by agents of the arabarchs. It is also likely that at Berenike the *quintana* receipts/taxes on internal trade and the let-pass orders would have been checked in the same place, a customs-house operated by *quintanenses* and covering a wide range of tasks.

In conclusion, the combined analysis of both new and old documents clearly shows the high level of control of the Roman State of this frontier area. We can only speculate that a similar set up was to be found in other frontier zones, but the lack of comparable documentation from other parts of the Empire prevent us from assessing such a thing. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the Egyptian frontier represents a useful case study to comprehend the Roman attitude toward fiscal and military frontiers.

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CONTEXTUALIZING HADRIAN'S WALL: THE WALL AS 'DEBATABLE LANDS'

RICHARD HINGLEY AND RICH HARTIS

1. INTRODUCTION

This article emphasizes the symbolic monumentality of Hadrian's Wall, exploring the idea that it was a porous and contested frontier.¹ There has been a recent outpouring of archaeological and management publications on Hadrian's Wall,² which provide substantial new knowledge and improve our understanding of the structure. In light of the state-of-play with Wall studies today, our motivation here is twofold. Firstly, we aim to encourage the opening up research on Hadrian's Wall to a broad series of questions deriving from studies of frontiers and borders in other cultural contexts.³ There are many new approaches to contemporary and historic borderlands and frontiers, stemming from geography, history, cultural studies and English literature, and we wish to promote a broad comparative approach to Roman frontiers that draws upon this wider frontier-research.⁴ Secondly, our approach draws upon recent writings that formulate new approaches to Roman identities and social change,⁵

¹ R. Hingley, 'Tales of the Frontier: diasporas on Hadrian's Wall', in H. Eckardt (ed.), *Roman Diasporas* (Portsmouth, 2010).

² For examples, P. Bidwell, *Understanding Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 2008); D. Breeze, *J. Collingwood Bruce's Handbook to the Roman Wall* (Newcastle upon Tyne 2006, 14th ed.); A. Rushworth, *Housesteads Roman Fort—The Grandest Station* (London 2009); M.F.A. Symonds—D.J.P. Mason, *Frontiers of Knowledge: A Research Framework for Hadrian's Wall* (Durham 2009).

³ See S. James, 'Limsefreunde in Philadelphia: a snapshot of the state of Roman Frontier Studies', *Britannia* 36 (2005), 499–502 and R. Hingley, 'Hadrian's Wall in theory: Pursuing new agendas?', in Bidwell 2008, op. cit. (n. 2), 25–28.

⁴ C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A social and economic study* (London 1997), 1–9.

⁵ Including: E. Dench, *Romulus' Asylum* (Oxford 2005); R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London 2005); M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge 1990); G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The origins of provincial society in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998).

exploring the significance of these works to the interpretation of the building and peopling of Hadrian's Wall.

To open up research, this paper argues that studies of Hadrian's Wall can turn their focus onto the dialogic, transformative and contested nature of the structures that define the Roman frontier-zone.⁶ By drawing cross-cultural comparisons here, we are not trying to claim a cross-cultural, cross-temporal logic for the creation of all frontier works and zones, but we are aiming to view Roman frontiers from a broader perspective in order to open new lines of enquiry and, hopefully, to stimulate new research.⁷

Some accounts of ancient monuments explore the idea of contested landscapes to address contemporary contexts—a well-explored example in Britain is Barbara Bender's assessment of Stonehenge and contemporary Druids.⁸ Elsewhere, the contested nature of Hadrian's Wall is beginning to be addressed in 'art' and scholarship.⁹ To pursue this aim, we draw upon recent writings that focus upon Roman imperial identity in an attempt to address the symbolic context and initial purposes of the Wall. The article aims to build upon the functional explanations that have dominated much discussion, including concepts of the Wall having provided a fighting platform or line,¹⁰ a system of military domination for a resistant landscape,¹¹ or that it was primarily an impediment to movement with a 'customs' function.¹² These explanations all have relevance

⁶ R. Witcher—D.P. Tolia-Kelly—R. Hingley, 'Archaeologies of landscape: Excavating the materialities of Hadrian's Wall', *Journal of Material Culture* 15(1) (2010), 105–128.

⁷ Hingley 2008, op. cit. (n. 3).

⁸ B. Bender, 'Stonehenge—contested landscapes (Medieval to present-day)', in B. Bender, *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford 1993), 245–280.

⁹ R. Hingley '“The most ancient boundary between England and Scotland”: Genealogies of the Roman Walls', *Classical Reception Journal* 2 (1) (2010), 25–43; S. Shimon, 'Kika and the Ferryman', in S. Chettle, *Writing on the Wall: An International writing project for Hadrian's Wall 2001–2006* (Newcastle upon Tyne 2006), 77–80; D.P. Tolia-Kelly—C. Nesbitt, *The Archaeology of 'race': Exploring the northern frontier in Roman Britain* (Durham 2009).

¹⁰ J.C. Bruce, *The Roman Wall: A Historical, Topographical and Descriptive account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, extending from the Tyne to the Solway* (London 1851); G.H. Donaldson, 'Thoughts on a military appreciation of the design of Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana*⁵ 16 (1988), 125–137; H.F. Pelham, *Essays on Roman History* (Oxford 1911); I.A. Richmond, *J. Collingwood Bruce's Handbook to the Roman Wall* (Newcastle upon Tyne 1947, 10th ed.).

¹¹ J.C. Mann, 'The Frontiers of the Principate', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.1 (1974), 508–533.

¹² For impediment to movement, see E. Birley, 'Hadrianic frontier policy', in E. Swo-boda (ed.), *Carnuntina: Vorträge beim internationaler Kongress der Altertumsforscher*

to interpreting the Wall's reception, purpose and function, but it is not primarily upon these readings that we wish to dwell.

2. DESCRIBING THE IMPERIAL FRONTIER

A significant issue for many Roman antiquaries and archaeologists since the late sixteenth century has been the documentation of evidence for the Wall.¹³ Antiquaries, from the late sixteenth century, visited its remains, collected artefacts and surveyed and mapped its physical remains; from the mid-nineteenth century, excavations have built up knowledge of chronology and sequence. This building of knowledge has provided a very important contribution to our understanding of the province of *Britannia* and of the northern frontier of the Roman empire.¹⁴ Most of the authoritative archaeological accounts of the monument and its landscape that have arisen in the past 100 years aim at a comprehensive and complete knowledge and understanding of the construction, sequence and form of Hadrian's Wall.

Archaeologists have provided detailed reconstructions of the Roman credentials of Hadrian's Wall and their accounts focus attention on its Roman chronology, architectural form and sequence, together with gaps in our knowledge that we can surely fill with further research. For example, the recent *Research Framework for Hadrian's Wall* explores 'what we know; what we don't know; what we'd like to know, and, finally, the most effective means of acquiring the knowledge we seek'.¹⁵ In this search for complete and comprehensive knowledge, it is the gaps in information that we can fill that are worth addressing, and more esoteric forms of understanding tend to be sidelined or downplayed in a search for consensus. The *Research Framework* is a very important and highly useful document which provides an impressive summary of a wealth of available information that has been derived from centuries of research. But it also represents an approach that emphasizes the security, dependability

Carnuntum 1955, Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich (Graz—Köln 1956), 25–33. For the idea of the customs barrier, see D. Breeze, 'To study the monument: Hadrian's Wall 1848–2006', in P. Bidwell (ed.) *Understanding Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 2008), 1–4; R.G. Collingwood, 'The purpose of Hadrian's Wall', *Vasculum* 8 (1921), 4–9.

¹³ E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 1961); A. Ewin, *Hadrian's Wall: A Social and Cultural History* (Lancaster 2000); R. Hingley, *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586–1906: 'A Colony so Fertile'* (Oxford 2008), 85–139.

¹⁴ D. Breeze—B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (London 2000).

¹⁵ Symonds—Mason 2009, op. cit. (n. 2), ix.

and the cumulative nature of knowledge and understanding. It is based on a philosophy that suggests that filling the gaps in information will, inherently, lead to better understanding, resulting in high-quality interpretation, management and conservation. But can we really understand the Wall through amassing an ever-increasing quantity of detail? We also have to re-contextualize this knowledge through an assessment of the broader significance of the frontier and to accept the fundamental transformative nature of knowledge as a contested field of understanding.

3. DEBATING THE IMPERIAL FRONTIER

In a study of colonial frontiers, Lynette Russell (2001, 1) remarks that boundaries and frontiers have particular significance as ‘spaces, both physical and intellectual, which are never neutrally positioned, but are assertive, contested and dialogic.’¹⁶ A literary approach to addressing the borderland as containing multiple alternative histories, or the illumination of the diverse cultures of the border region,¹⁷ promises new perspectives on a range of frontier zones, including the Roman works in Britain.¹⁸ Frontier zones, as places in which people come into contact, create new transformational identities across the debatable lands that they incorporate.¹⁹ There is a wealth of published research that addresses borders and frontiers in the modern age and we cannot aim to draw on this research in detail here, but it is worth exploring the nature of current research on the Roman frontier with these cross-cultural parallels in mind.

We draw upon contemporary ideas about border zones as ‘debatable lands’ in order to define a new reading for the Wall, proposing that it is a monumental physical boundary that expresses a wish to refocus a conception of Roman identity near the porous edge of Roman imperial space. This process can be paralleled with the role of city walls as a signifier of civic identity; importantly for Hadrian’s Wall, this focal point lay at the

¹⁶ L. Russell, ‘Introduction’, in L. Russell, *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester 2001), 1–15. See also J. Juffer, ‘Introduction’, in J. Juffer *The Last Frontier: The Contemporary Configuration of the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Durham 2006), 663–680.

¹⁷ S. Vaquerea-Vásquez, ‘Notes from an unrepentant border crossing’, in Juffer 2006, op. cit. (n. 16), 703.

¹⁸ Hingley 2008, op. cit. (n. 13); Hingley 2010, op. cit. (n. 1).

¹⁹ R. Edmond, ‘Home and away: degeneration in imperialist and modernist thought’, in H.J. Booth—N. Rigby, *Modernism and Empire* (Manchester 2000), 39–63.

perimeter of a city-space and not at its core.²⁰ In a discussion of modern frontiers and borders, Claire Lamont and Michael Rossington observe that 'debatable lands' occur when a border in the modern world is, 'for whatever reason, "indistinct" and probably also "porous"'.²¹ This concept is derived from the territory on the borders between the medieval kingdoms of Scotland and England, an area that was not within the legal territory of either nation.²² It has been applied more widely to the disputed border territories in other colonial contexts and also to writings that cross boundaries.²³

In the context of Hadrian's Wall, we draw on the idea of debatable lands in order to explore the reason behind its construction, manning, maintenance and everyday operation. From the perspective addressed here, the construction of the Wall in the AD 120s builds upon an increasingly hybrid variety of imperial identities, re-projecting these through the creation of a monumental statement of imperial order, stability and might. Its construction projects an imperial focus upon creating a unified identity, attempting to find a solution to such cultural concerns through a monumental physical expression of bounding that is aimed at defining something that is actually relatively un-definable. This monumentality, however, was not empty rhetoric as the Wall was also intended to be both manned and used.²⁴ With milecastles and forts forming points of access, permeability allowed movement. Although the structure appeared divisive, its interactive nature made the grand gesture of construction available to all who moved through the landscape. Hadrian's Wall was one expression of a renewed focus upon a unified Roman identity, projected through the construction of new buildings and monuments throughout the cities of the Roman empire during the reign of Hadrian.²⁵ This grand physical statement created through the medium of the Wall also, perhaps, projects the problematic nature of the islands that constituted *Britannia* in the minds of the Roman elite.

²⁰ E. Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (Oxford 2007), 109–110.

²¹ C. Lamont—M. Rossington, *Romanticism's Debatable Lands* (Basingstoke 2007), 4; c.f. A. Christianson, 'Gender and nation: debatable lands and passable boundaries', in G. Norquay—G. Smyth (eds.), *Across the margins: Cultural Identity and change in the Atlantic archipelago* (Manchester 2002), 67–82.

²² Lamont—Rossington 2007, op. cit. (n. 21).

²³ Lamont—Rossington 2007, op. cit. (n. 21); Norquay—Smyth 2002, op. cit. (n. 21).

²⁴ J.C. Mann, 'The function of Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana*⁵ 18 (1990), 51–54.

²⁵ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The restless emperor* (London 1997); M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton 2000); Thomas 2007, op. cit. (n. 20), 26–27.

4. BRITANNIA'S MARGINALITY

The substantial form of the Wall poses relevant questions. It is generally recognized to be the most complex and best preserved of the frontiers of the Roman empire.²⁶ We are not making a nationalistic point here. An emphasis on the scale and prominence of Hadrian's Wall has been used since the early eighteenth century to argue for the special status of Britain in the Roman mind and to link the grandeur of imperial Rome with the ambitions of Great Britain overseas.²⁷ This is not a position with which we would concur, but Hadrian's Wall does appear to be physically more substantial and impressive than many other Roman frontiers across the empire. Why did Rome build such a substantial frontier here? In comparison, the German *limes* was less monumental and constructed from turf and timber, yet despite this the *limes* may have been consistently involved in conflict in a manner which was not the case for Hadrian's Wall. In the past, the scale of this 'fortification' has been tied in with the idea of the strength of native opposition to Rome in central Britain.²⁸ The nature of opposition to Rome in *Britannia* was probably no stronger than elsewhere along the empire's northern frontier and the structure of Hadrian's Wall was not necessarily directly defensive:²⁹ so why build such a substantial wall?

One suggestion is that the scale and physical character of the Wall reflects Britain's nature as a special and marginal place in the Roman mind.³⁰ Such an idea ties in well with David Breeze's recent proposal that the special nature of this Wall, its regularity and stone construction, result from Hadrian's role in its design. *Britannia* was conquered late in the expansion of Rome and classical sources, in particular Tacitus, suggest that the Romans saw this place as particularly barbaric and marginal.³¹ Its

²⁶ D.J.P. Mason, 'Introduction', in Symonds—Mason 2009, op. cit. (n. 2), xv.

²⁷ Hingley 2008, op. cit. (n. 13), 116.

²⁸ D. Breeze, 'Did Hadrian design Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5 38 (2009), 98; Hingley 2008, op. cit. (n. 13), 122–133; Hingley 2010 op. cit. (n. 9).

²⁹ Breeze 2008 op. cit. (n. 12); Breeze 2009, op. cit. (n. 28); B. Dobson, 'The function of Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14 (1986), 1–30; J.C. Mann, 'Power, force and the frontiers of the Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 119 (1979), 175–183; Mann 1990, op. cit. (n. 24); S.P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy* (London 1999).

³⁰ D. Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain: kings, queens, governors and emperors from Julius Caesar to Agricola* (London 1996); K. Clarke, 'An island nation: re-thinking Tacitus' *Agricola*, *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001), 94–112.

³¹ Clarke 2001, op. cit. (n. 30).

location across Ocean made it ritually symbolic,³² resulting in efforts by the Roman military and administrators to bring Britain and its people into the ambit of Roman civilization during the later first century. Tacitus writes that the Roman governor Agricola's construction of a line of forts between the Forth and Clyde in the late 70s and early 80 AD created a new boundary to this island territory.³³ Hadrian's Wall would appear to have achieved a comparable function in a more monumental form 50 years later.

This process of the incorporation of the peoples of Britain into the cultural and economic structure of the Roman empire appears to have slowed as Rome spread north and west in the late first to early second century. Indeed, the Roman administration seems to have struggled to incorporate and assimilate areas across central and northern Britain. The Wall may reflect a limiting of imperial ambition to the lands south of the Solway-Tyne isthmus, essentially a failure of the Roman administration to incorporate the majority of the frontier zone's population into a visible form of Roman imperial cultural identity.³⁴ However, viewing the Wall as an attempt at creating an imperial identity in these debateable lands shows that its construction and use may have been indicative of Roman ambition, rather than apathy.

From Flavian times forward, the elite of southern British *civitates* appear to have been effectively incorporated into the expanding Roman state, in a way that drew their governing classes into effectively 'becoming Roman'. Urban developments at *civitas* centres such as Verulamium (Hertfordshire) and Silchester (Hampshire) in the late first century show a growing assimilation of the ruling classes of certain southern peoples.³⁵ By the early second century this urban-based civilization appears to have been spreading across much of the lowlands of Britain, but the same does not appear true of the peoples in what was in the process of becoming the frontier regions of *Britannia*. In the area just south of what was to become Hadrian's Wall, towns long continued to have direct military associations and villas are very rare.³⁶ This may suggest that across much of central

³² Mattern 1999, op. cit. (n. 29), 60–61.

³³ Tacitus, *Agricola* 20; see Clarke 2001, op. cit. (n. 30); M. Fulford, 'A second start: From the defeat of Boudicca to the third century', in P. Salway, *The Roman Era* (Oxford 2002), 45.

³⁴ R. Hingley, 'Rural settlement in Northern Britain', in M. Todd, *A Companion to Roman Britain* (Oxford 2004), 327–348.

³⁵ Fulford 2002, op. cit. (n. 33).

³⁶ Hingley 2004, op. cit. (n. 34).

Britain, the area traditionally called the ‘military zone’, Rome came to dominate local societies which it found difficult or impossible to assimilate into its expanding system. Many indigenous people continued to live in traditional ways, in round houses and ‘native settlements’, without much apparent Roman impact on their settlements or lives. Although a few villas have been found in what is today north-eastern England, there is no sign of a viable local self-governing elite to compare to the areas with *civitas* capitals in the south of the province.³⁷

This may well mark out the frontier zone of Britain as especially marginal in traditional Roman imperial terms. In this zone, the imperial ideal of spreading civilization (*humanitas*) to self-governing elites, perhaps, came to be challenged.³⁸ How unusual such a state of affairs really was is unclear. Work throughout the western empire, in Germany, Iberia and Gaul, is indicating that the once-dominant Romanization paradigm implies too simple a conception of imperially-directed cultural change, upon the regular occurrence of Mediterranean-style cities and monumental villas. It would now appear that many areas did not develop the regular network of villas that the Romanization paradigm suggested and that many other ways of living are represented across the Roman empire.³⁹ But the indigenous settlements that occur across central Britain appear particularly lacking in evidence for Roman impact, even imported pottery and Roman coins appear scarce on these sites.⁴⁰ How do these observations relate to the building of Hadrian’s Wall?

5. HADRIAN’S WALL AND THE CREATION OF IMPERIAL UNITY AT THE FRONTIER

Simon James has written of the people who lived in the forts and towns of the Wall zone, from the early second century onwards, as an effectively Romanized community, characterized by a military population of incomers.⁴¹ In his terms, the wealth of Roman dedications and quantities of Roman goods—pottery, amphorae, coins, buildings, *etc.*—from

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ For *humanitas*, see Woolf 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 54–60.

³⁹ Hingley 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 102.

⁴⁰ Hingley 2004, *op. cit.* (n. 34); M. Symonds, ‘The Pre-Roman archaeology of the Tyne-Solway Isthmus’, in Symonds—Mason 2009, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 5–9.

⁴¹ S. James, ‘“Romanization” and the people of Britain’, in S. Keay—N. Terrenato, *Italy and the West: comparative issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001), 187–209.

along the line of Hadrian's Wall indicate the creation of a Roman identity amongst the soldiers who provided its garrison. This Roman identity, in James' terms, is a 'sub-culture', a Roman military identity that subsumed the communities recruited to serve in the army across the empire and, in this case, settled on the Wall's line. Such a community was created on Hadrian's Wall in the AD 120s, through the construction and occupation of the frontier works, surviving in some form until the early fifth century AD. It has already been noted that these Romanized communities did not subsume the local populations, which continued lives that appear rather comparable to the pre-Roman ways of their ancestors.⁴²

We would add to James' helpful work on military sub-cultures in *Britannia* by suggesting that Wall-communities are also part of an increasingly disparate series of Roman cultures that occur across the province of Britain and throughout the Roman empire. In order to expand and incorporate people across its vast territories, Rome was assimilating people who adopted a form of Roman culture, but one that was not directly the same as the elite cultures of the urban-dwelling local governing classes of the *civitates* of Lowland Britain and Gaul. Greg Woolf has written persuasively of these local elites in Gaul as 'becoming Roman' during the early periods of Roman rule in Gaul, and these ideas have been extended to the Lowland areas of Britain, where *civitas* capitals and villas developed.⁴³ The degree to which the military auxiliary communities that served along Hadrian's Wall were truly Roman is, however, problematic.⁴⁴ These people were recruited into and served in the Roman army. They fought the empire's wars and protected its frontiers, but to what extent can they really be argued to have become Roman? The complexity of identities across the empire is discussed by Woolf in Roman Achaëa, where the appearance of Roman material culture may not exist in a one-to-one relationship with the process of becoming Roman.⁴⁵

James has studied how wearing military uniform, eating military food from imported tableware, marching in order, learning Latin and living in a Roman fort might help to create something of a new culture

⁴² Hingley 2004, op. cit. (n. 34).

⁴³ Woolf 1998, op. cit. (n. 5); James 2001, op. cit. (n. 41).

⁴⁴ R. Hingley, 'Cultural diversity and unity: empire and Rome', in S. Hales—T. Hodos (eds.), *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 2009), 54–75.

⁴⁵ G. Woolf, 'Becoming Roman, staying Greek', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 40 (1994), 116–143.

among members of the Roman auxiliary forces in *Britannia*.⁴⁶ In these terms, the physical acts of the building and manning of Hadrian's Wall also helped to create the imperial identities of the legionary and auxiliary soldiers who lived and worked along it. Constructional ability was clearly highly regarded: the prominent role building scenes play on Trajan's Column show that this aspect had a clear propaganda function, which probably reflected the real world situation. Hadrian's speech to the *Ala I Hispanorum*, recorded at Lambaesis, makes it clear that construction was inspirational and equally important to the soldiery as military victory.⁴⁷ Roman military constructs were thus tangible evidence of both the victorious nature of Rome's military and its technical skill. Hadrian's Wall was occupied by auxiliary soldiers derived from across the empire, themselves legally different from Roman citizen soldiery, demonstrating the vast resources of Rome and gave an active example of becoming Roman.⁴⁸ Through their experience of living a Roman military life, building and occupying Roman structures, these people were enabled to become part of the Roman military sub-culture. The Wall emphasized a form of Romaness in a marginal, contested landscape, amongst indigenous peoples who in the long term do not appear to have appreciated the values spread by the Roman cultural initiative. Through the act of constructing the monument and the routines of manning and supplying the Wall, soldiers and traders established and reaffirmed their imperial roles and identities,⁴⁹ reinforced through their everyday lives, rituals and burials.

From the perspectives developed here, Roman military identity formed another way of becoming Roman.⁵⁰ This military identity for the empire's common soldiers is not directly comparable to the elite models of Roman culture explored by Greg Woolf, Emma Dench and others.⁵¹ Common soldiers, in imperial terms, were low-status individuals. Their commanding officers may have had some imperial status, but common auxiliary (even legionary) soldiers were not members of the provincial or

⁴⁶ S. James, 'The community of soldiers', in P. Baker—C. Forcey—S. Jundi—R. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC 1998: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998* (Oxford 1999), 14–25; James 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 41).

⁴⁷ *CIL* 8.2532, 18042; Thomas 2007 *op. cit.* (n. 20), 27–28.

⁴⁸ R. Hartis, *Beyond Functionalism: A Quantitative Survey and Semiotic Reading of Hadrian's Wall* (unpublished PhD, Durham 2009).

⁴⁹ Hingley 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 94.

⁵⁰ Hingley 2009, *op. cit.* (n. 44).

⁵¹ Woolf 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 5); Dench 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

imperial elite. However, in the context of the local communities in which they settled, these soldiers will have had a considerable elevated status in their dealings with local people.⁵² The forts and buildings in which these people lived, their access to items of personal adornment including weapons and imported foodstuffs, will have given them particular power in the contexts of the regions in which they had come to serve. The construction of the Wall—with its forts, milecastles, temples and *vici*—together with acts of the commemoration of gods and dead people, will have defined the explicitly Roman character of the Wall's population. In the context of central Britain this was a very different identity from that of indigenous society, since there is relatively little evidence that indigenous people started to construct Roman style buildings or settlements or that they adopted new ways of eating, living and commemorating their dead.

The antiquarian William Stukeley and the novelist Rudyard Kipling saw Hadrian's Wall as a linear Roman town that followed the south side of the rampart.⁵³ In Kipling's terms, in *Puck of Pook's Hill*:

just when you think you are at the world's end, you see a smoke from east to west as far as the eye can stretch, houses and temples, shops and theatres, barracks and granaries, trickling along like dice behind.⁵⁴

Kipling makes it clear that he believed the Wall was at the edge of Rome's assimilative powers, or, perhaps, even beyond this boundary zone, and modern archaeological work supports this. Many of the indigenous peoples who live to the south of the Wall's line would not have appeared at all Roman to the emperor Hadrian when, as has been argued, he visited the east end of the Wall in AD 122.⁵⁵ They lived in roundhouses in peasant settlements, without access to many imported artefacts. Models that pre-suppose the Wall as a herald of Roman apathy categorize such people as unable to support further Roman imperial expansion. However, the Wall's porous character, long a cause of concern for divisive interpretations, shows that an essential aspect to the structure was its intent to be used. With provision for crossing every Wall-mile, the structure systematically provides opportunities for traversal regardless of the landscape.

⁵² Hingley 2005, op. cit. (n. 5), 94.

⁵³ W. Stukeley, 'Iter Boreale,' in W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum. Or, an Account of the Antiquities and Remarkable Curiositys in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels through Great Britain* (London 1776, 2nd ed.), 17–77; R. Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* (London 1906).

⁵⁴ Kipling 1906, op. cit. (n. 53), 173.

⁵⁵ Birley 1997, op. cit. (n. 25), 130–131; Breeze 2009, op. cit. (n. 28), 90.

Whilst a structure forcibly controlling movement yet simultaneously making the process as easy as possible seems contradictory, it is vital to consider the effects and meaning involved when crossing the Wall. The vast remodelling of the landscape reflected the huge control over labour and resources the Romans could wield. Its existence demonstrated Roman technical ability and in constructing a crossable barrier the Romans created a forum for the mediation of their status with non-Romans. The symbolic and religious connotations of such structures also led to displays of Roman culture and the potential use of Wall as a customs barrier further reinforced such display, money taken in such one-sided relationships emphasised Roman status.⁵⁶ Importantly, function in such a model is no longer an end in itself, but rather a step in a larger process. These factors indicate the Wall may have been intended to play a key social, rather than military, role.

6. LOOKING BOTH WAYS BEFORE CROSSING

The Wall defined the Roman military community that maintained and occupied its structure. Drawing on Edmund Thomas' stimulating account of the Antonine Wall, we can consider the imperial motivation for the construction of Hadrian's Wall.⁵⁷ It is likely that Hadrian visited the east of the Wall during his visit to Britain in AD 122 and he may have inspected the location in which this construction was proposed and helped to plan certain elements of the work.⁵⁸ The scale and relative regularity of the structure of Hadrian's Wall highlighted the monumentality of the works, despite the construction of the rampart and forts from relatively rough masonry.⁵⁹ As Thomas emphasizes, drawing on the works of Aelius Aristides, the frontiers of the empire become a metaphor for the scale and magnificence of the Roman army that manned such areas.⁶⁰ Aristides reflected on the frontiers as 'a second line beyond the outermost ring of the civilized world.'⁶¹ Importantly, this notional placement of the frontiers beyond 'civilization' shows that such structures did not

⁵⁶ Mattern 1999, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 161.

⁵⁷ Thomas 2007, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 45–46.

⁵⁸ See above, n. 55.

⁵⁹ P. Bidwell—P. Hill, 'The stone curtain,' in Symonds—Mason 2009, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 36–41.

⁶⁰ Thomas 2007, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 46.

⁶¹ Quoted by Thomas 2007, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 46.

signify an end to Roman ambition. Hadrian's biographer, over 200 years after the building of the Wall, believed that its then purpose was to divide the barbarians from the Romans,⁶² but were all the barbarians entirely on the far side of the frontiers?

It has long been enigmatic, in these terms, that the Wall effectively faces two ways. The *vallum* was constructed as a major physical boundary that defined and identified the Wall from the south, perhaps demarcating a military compound.⁶³ This complex earthwork is not paralleled on other Roman frontiers across the empire. In Britain, it appears that some effort had to be made to define and identify this frontier work in terms of communities living within its bounds, creating a focus upon who was to be included and who excluded, perhaps delineating a military, Roman-centric, corridor in a marginal land. However, the potent symbolism of a reordered landscape could affect more than the communities living within its bounds. As noted, the Wall was not planned as a hermetic seal and the entrances suggest that people were allowed to pass. By occupying the Tyne-Solway isthmus it had to be used; there were not alternate ways to move through the landscape. This highlights the structure's fundamental dichotomy: it was at once exclusive and inclusive.

Recent accounts of Roman identity and social change have focussed upon its hybrid nature.⁶⁴ This suggests that the large scale incorporation of people into a disparate Roman culture may have been placing stress on the creation of a more central concept of Roman imperial culture.⁶⁵ Perhaps this very insecurity of ideas about the nature of being Roman, in itself, led to an increasing emphasis in the first and early second centuries on the physical and conceptual bounding of Roman imperial space.⁶⁶ The Wall, in these terms, may be viewed as an assertive measure aimed at defining the physical boundaries of Roman identity and space through a physical statement of imperial might, an act of construction and maintenance which included the people who manned the frontier in addition to the architecture of the Wall itself.⁶⁷ This clear definition

⁶² HA, Hadrian, 11.2.

⁶³ T. Wilmott, 'The Vallum: how and why: A review of the evidence', in Bidwell 2008, op. cit. (n. 12), 119–128; T. Wilmott, 'The Vallum', in Symonds—Mason 2009, op. cit. (n. 26), 50–53.

⁶⁴ Hingley 2005, op. cit. (n. 5), 117–118.

⁶⁵ Hingley 2009, op. cit. (n. 44).

⁶⁶ Hingley 2008, op. cit. (n. 3).

⁶⁷ Thomas 2007, op. cit. (n. 20), 46; Hartis 2009, op. cit. (n. 48).

of space can be connected to an attempt to define the nature of being Roman. Again, given the porous character of the Wall, this was both inclusive and exclusive.

The theory of Becoming Roman and the subsequent development of ideas on Roman identity by Emma Dench in terms of a culture of inclusion and exclusion continue,⁶⁸ effectively, to emphasize the unifying nature of Roman culture. By the time of Hadrian, the large-scale movement of people throughout the empire and across its frontiers must have created a fairly hybrid cultural mix, particularly in the major urban centres of the empire and, also, in the frontier zones, where auxiliaries were stationed who had been recruited from across the empire. Roman citizenship incorporated varying cultural groups spread across the empire and the unifying ethos of Roman culture enabled these people to adopt aspects of Roman culture whilst developing their own imperial credentials, or not, as the case may be.⁶⁹ The broadly assimilative nature of Roman imperial identity led to the successful expansion of the empire in the later first millennium BC and early first millennium AD.⁷⁰ Roman culture was malleable and transformative and this, as Greg Woolf, Emma Dench and others have stressed, explains the assimilative success of late Republican and early imperial Rome. A flexibility of imperial policy, deriving from the 'Romulus' Asylum' origin myth of Roman society helps to explain the successful expansion of the Roman empire until, perhaps, the late first century AD.⁷¹ The Romans could incorporate disparate groups of local elites—across Italy, the Mediterranean and north-western Europe—into the power structure of empire by, effectively, leaving them in charge of their communities while supplying them with now highly powerful ways of life that enabled them to communicate increased status in an empire that aimed to spread universal peace inside its frontiers.⁷²

It is commonly observed that the period of imperial stability, during the early second century, that saw the construction of frontier structures in Britain and on the continent, witnesses the effective ending of imperial ambitions of expansion.⁷³ The creation of physical frontier structures, in this context, may accompany the ending of Rome's expansive policy, a tendency that is often thought to have evolved from the end of August-

⁶⁸ Woolf 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 5); Dench 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

⁶⁹ Woolf 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

⁷⁰ Hingley 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

⁷¹ Dench 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

⁷² Hingley 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5), drawing on Woolf 1998 *op. cit.* (n. 5) and other authors.

⁷³ Birley 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 25); Breeze—Dobson 2000, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 26.

tus' reign when he is supposed to have left instructions to Tiberius not to expand the borders of the empire.⁷⁴ However, the mutability of some such borders is demonstrated in the east, where the perceived boundary of Roman power changed from the Euphrates in the time of Augustus, to the Tigris by Severus.⁷⁵ In the context discussed above, the Wall's creation of Roman-centric space provided tangible propagandistic examples of Roman life available to all who moved through the landscape. By conditioning space in a Roman format, and making the use of this space a requirement of movement, the Wall both symbolically and practically altered life along Roman lines. In the company of other examples of 'becoming Roman,' the Wall's effects were not limited solely to elites.⁷⁶ Thus the Wall appears to be a reaction to the apparent failure of traditional methods of propagating Roman culture in *Britannia*, representing a new method of attaining the same goals. Thus, rather than being solely exclusive, the Wall contributed to the ongoing dialogue on the nature of Roman culture. The involvement of discrepant experience, enforced through power imbalance, created a further form of 'Roman-ness' as distinct from the traditional elite character as Roman military identity itself. Ironically it was these soldiers that so often contributed to the propaganda images at Rome's monumental core.

7. CONCLUSION: BECOMING (PARTLY) ROMAN ON THE WALL

As recent work has emphasized, the myth of a unified imperial culture embodied in approaches to Romanization is unrealistic. People became Roman in transformational ways that created new forms of imperial identity in their own homelands and the areas to which they moved, including the imperial frontiers. Many of the new forms of culture that arose are Roman in the terms that they existed within the political territory of Roman governance, but they were not really fully Roman in any meaningful sense. Thus, the idea that the majority of people living in the northern province of *Britannia*, or in the territory of the *Batavi*, were in any sense Roman, devalues the concept of Roman culture—an idea that should really be retained for the Roman elite. Peoples across Britain and the western part of the empire reacted to the physical presence of

⁷⁴ This is a simplified version of the arguments included in Breeze—Dobson 2000, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 4–5.

⁷⁵ Mattern 1999, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 110.

⁷⁶ Hingley 2005, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

Rome and their cultures transformed, but their identities would not be seen as Roman by the elite of the Mediterranean core, or even, by the urban elite of the provinces of the far north and west.⁷⁷ You would not become Roman in the elite mind just because you used a *terra sigilata* bowl, spoke a form of Latin or lived in a barrack block along with other soldiers.

Hadrian's Wall, from this perspective, becomes a vast physical statement of imperial might. It also emphasizes the transformative nature of this immense empire built on the basis of twin aspects of the campaigning of the Roman army and the unifying effects of the assimilative culture of Rome. The problem for Roman imperial unity in the early second century AD, from the perspective that we are addressing, is that this assimilation in some terms had been too effective. The nature of the recruitment of auxiliaries into the Roman army provides a clear indication of the success of such a policy, despite setbacks like the Batavian revolt. That the empire's traditional methods of incorporation ceased to be effective in *Britannia* can be seen with the lack of Roman material culture amongst the descendants of the indigenous communities in the north of the province. This necessitated an alternative method of incorporation that can be seen in the Wall's form, effects and day-to-day operation. In Britain, the issue of incorporation may have been particularly problematic, as the Roman elite had long seen the island as both special and particularly un-Roman. These issues may help to explain why Hadrian planned such a substantial Wall for the Tyne and Solway gap and also, perhaps, why Hadrian's Wall remained in use for much of the period until the early fifth century AD. It may well be the case that continued occupation represents the failure of the structure in its goal of non-elite incorporation, further contributing to the unique nature of Hadrian's Wall as part of the debatable lands of central Britain.

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⁷⁷ Hingley 2009, op. cit. (n. 44).

⁷⁸ Hingley 2008, op. cit. (n. 3); Hingley 2010, op. cit. (n. 1); Hingley 2010, op. cit. (n. 9); Hartis 2009, op. cit. (n. 48); Witcher—Tolia—Kelly—Hingley 2010, op. cit. (n. 6).

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RECHERCHE SUR LES
FRONTIÈRES DE L'AFRIQUE ROMAINE :
ESPACES MOBILES ET REPRÉSENTATIONS

A. HILALI

« *Imperium sine fine dedi* ».

Virgile, *Enéide*, I, 279.

La frontière romaine est l'un des endroits où s'exprime le mieux la substance de l'Etat et de la souveraineté.¹ La frontière externe est une promesse d'une conquête illimitée dans le temps et dans l'espace pour réaliser cet « *imperium sine fine* ». ² Par conséquent, les Romains considéraient la frontière comme une chose à la fois définie et finie pour les autres peuples.³ Dans le cadre de cette conception du monde, le territoire de l'Afrique du Nord a connu une organisation administrative et territoriale avec une délimitation géographique de ses frontières. Ces dernières constituent l'achèvement spatial de la conquête romaine aux limites du monde connu dans cette région de l'Empire. Il convient tout d'abord de s'interroger sur la naissance et l'évolution des frontières africaines. Ensuite, il importe d'examiner la nature et la fonction de ces mêmes frontières. Enfin, il sera question des interactions entre Romains et populations locales dans les zones frontalières.

¹ Le terme *limes* issu du langage technique des agronomes et des arpenteurs (la route, le chemin) n'entre dans le lexique militaire qu'au IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. Le mot *limes* appartient originellement au vocabulaire des arpenteurs et désigne un chemin bordier. Par extension, les écrivains du I^{er} siècle, notamment Tacite (*Histoire* 1.50; *Annales* 2.7; *Germanie* 29.4) ou Frontin (*Stratagemata* 1.3.10), l'emploient pour évoquer les voies de pénétration tracées par les Romains en territoire germanique. C'est secondairement que le terme finit par désigner la frontière de l'Empire.

² Virgile, *Enéide* 1.279.

³ Ovide, *Fastes* 2.88: *Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo. Romanae spatium est Urbis et Orbis idem.*

I. DES FRONTIÈRES MOBILES DANS L'ESPACE

1. *Histoire et configuration*

Dès l'époque augustéenne, Rome se soucia de la protection de ses frontières par l'installation des garnisons et d'un réseau routier, et ce afin de faciliter la mobilité des individus, des produits et de l'information. En Afrique romaine, le système défensif aux frontières toucha toutes les provinces à des rythmes différents. La frontière africaine s'étendait en ligne droite sur 2500 km, plus longue que la frontière rhénano-danubienne (2000 km) mais privée d'une organisation unique et surtout avec un effectif considérablement inférieur. Sa formation fut particulièrement lente, quasi hésitante, et il fallut attendre le principat de Septime Sévère avant qu'elle n'atteignît son aspect définitif.⁴ Ce retard est dû aux caractéristiques morphologiques et climatiques de l'Afrique, et surtout au manque de poussées démographiques et économiques, plutôt qu'à la « résistance » armée des berbères.⁵

Les Romains prennent pied en Afrique à la suite de la prise de Carthage en 146 av. J.-C. Dès lors commence une politique d'organisation de la province (*Africa*). Scipion l'Africain, trace la première frontière romaine : les *fossa reggia*, fossées et levées de terres qui bornent l'influence romaine à l'ouest. Cette limite marque la frontière entre la province d'Afrique et le royaume de Numidie.⁶ C'est le début d'une implantation qui finit par englober tout le Maghreb actuel jusqu'à la cyrénéique aux confins de l'Égypte. L'annexion de la Maurétanie sous Claude marque l'avancée des frontières vers l'Ouest et modifie du coup les perspectives stratégiques.⁷

⁴ A. Ibba—G. Traina, *L'Afrique romaine de l'Atlantique à la Tripolitaine* (69–439 ap. J.-C.) (Bréal 2006), 148.

⁵ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4).

⁶ A. Mrabet, *La frontière romaine de Tunisie* (Tunis 2008), 4. « Les Romains, soucieux de séparer leur nouvelle possession des territoires numides voisins, se contentèrent d'en marquer la limite occidentale par un fossé qui suivait le tracé de la limite du domaine laissé à Carthage après la deuxième guerre punique. Baptisée *fossa regia*, cette première frontière d'Afrique partait alors de l'embouchure de la Tusca-el-oued-el Kébir, Tabarka, nord-ouest du pays et aboutissait à Thaenae (Thina), située à 10 km au sud de Sfax ; Connu grâce à un rebornage ultérieur effectué en 73–74 ap. J.-C. sous le règne de l'empereur Vespasien, son tracé passait par *Vaga* (Béja), *Thubursicum Bure* (Teboursouk), *Thugga* (Dougga) et, traversant les hauteurs des Jebels Chehid, Mansour et Fkirine, gagnait la plaine de l'Enfidha et continuait en direction du littoral au sud de *Taphrura* (Sfax) qu'il atteignait en passant peut-être par les Sebkhath Kelbia et Sidi el-Hani ».

⁷ P. Salama, 'Les déplacements successifs du *limes* en Maurétanie Césarienne (essai de synthèse)', dans *XI intern. Limes-Kongress* (Budapest 1977), 577–595.

Rome doit assumer les conséquences d'un tel acte en protégeant la frontière méridionale de la Numidie. En second lieu, la mise en valeur de terrains agricoles n'est pas à négliger pour le ravitaillement de Rome. Pour répondre à cette double nécessité, les Romains ont fait preuve d'une attitude plus agressive, et ce en exerçant une poussée vers le sud-ouest de la Proconsulaire et l'établissement d'une frontière qui couvre l'Aurès au sud de la Numidie.⁸ La frontière romaine demeure stable pendant les deux premiers siècles. Rome n'a pas cherché à s'étendre territorialement mais à protéger son influence. A la charnière des IIe et IIIe siècles, Septime Sévère veut accroître l'influence romaine dans le Sahara de Tripolitaine.⁹ Sous son règne s'établissent les trois garnisons de Ghadamès, Gheriat et Bu Njem.¹⁰

L'achèvement des frontières n'était pas définitif, il suivait la conquête qui a été progressive de César jusqu'à Septime Sévère. La politique de conquête romaine et l'avancée des frontières répondaient à deux motivations. La première motivation était d'ordre pratique : assurer des territoires économiquement utiles, c'est-à-dire l'Afrique utile (la Tunisie actuelle). Quant à la seconde motivation, elle était d'ordre moral et répondait à l'idéologie de « *l'imperium sine fine* ». Ainsi, les panégyristes romains, jusqu'au Bas Empire inclus, ont-ils toujours déclaré que l'Empire n'avait d'autres limites que ses armes et que les frontières étaient provisoires.

2. Les diverses conceptions de la frontière romaine en Afrique

Les dernières études sur les frontières présentent une conception hétérogène et évolutive des confins de l'Empire.¹¹ Les frontières qui sont une

⁸ J. Baradez, *Vue aérienne de l'organisation romaine dans le sud algérien. Fossatum africae* (Paris 1949); M. Janon, 'Lambèse et l'occupation militaire de la Numidie méridionale', dans *X internatioles Limes-Kongress, Bonner Jahrbücher Beihefte* 38 (Bonn 1977), 473-485.

⁹ P. Troussel, *Recherches sur les limes tripolitanus du Chott el-Djerid à la frontière tuniso-libyenne* (Paris 1974); R. Rebuffat, 'Une zone militaire et sa vie économique : les limes de Tripolitaine', dans *Armée et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris 1977), 395-419.

¹⁰ R. Rebuffat, 'La frontière romaine en Afrique : Tripolitaine et Tingitane', *Ktèma* (1979), 226.

¹¹ C.R. Whittaker, *Les frontières de l'Empire romain* (Paris 1989); P. Troussel, 'Signification d'une frontière : nomades et sédentaires dans la zone du limes d'Afrique', *Roman Frontiers Studies* (1979), 935-942; P. Troussel, 'La frontière romaine : concepts et représentations', *Frontières d'empire. Mémoires du musée de préhistoire d'île de France* 5 (1993), 115-120; Ph. Leveau, 'Le limes d'Afrique à l'épreuve de nouveaux concepts', *Frontières*

zone de contrôle militaire sont aussi des espaces d'échanges économiques et culturels. Ce sont aussi, des espaces qui englobent à la fois des populations soumises à la domination romaine et des populations indépendantes, mais en contact régulier avec l'armée et les civils. Les travaux des dernières décennies nécessitent donc d'abandonner l'idée d'une Afrique assiégée par les nomades et protégée par une armée. On est loin de certaines descriptions des auteurs anciens tels que Appien et Aelius Aristide qui nous ont communiqué l'impression que les empereurs préparaient soigneusement les plans d'une stratégie d'encercllement des espaces non civilisés.¹²

Cette image de l'Empire comme une *polis*, entourée de murs ou de camps, qui est évoquée par des auteurs grecs, était essentiellement une vue idéalisée de l'espace sacré de la cité grecque, sans rapport avec la réalité de la stratégie militaire impériale.¹³ Les frontières sont mobiles et non statiques avec un seul objectif à savoir une ligne infranchissable, naturelle ou artificielle, qui séparait l'Empire de la Barbarie.¹⁴ De nombreux travaux sur l'Afrique ont avancé une approche novatrice de la question ; certains portent sur les réalités diverses que recouvrait le concept même de frontière.¹⁵ R. Rebuffat décrit une situation très complexe et variée avec la présence de frontières militaires et économiques. La frontière a bien une fonction militaire, mais aussi politique et économique, ce qui implique des liens avec l'au-delà de la frontière.¹⁶ On décrit une réalité diverse avec des frontières ouvertes ou fermées, linéaires, internes ou externes. Pour l'Afrique, le III^e siècle semble avoir été la phase de l'extension maximale des frontières. La forme du tracé n'était pas simplement le résultat de considérations stratégiques, mais bien davantage le fait de la géographie régionale et des relations avec les sociétés tribales et l'implication dans l'économie agro-pastorale caractéristique de la zone frontalière.¹⁷

et limites géographiques de l'Afrique du Nord antique, Paris (2000), 57-65 ; A. Hilali, 'La mouvance des populations de la Numidie méridionale et l'urbanisme romain', *L'Africa Romana* 15 (2004), 561-574 ; Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6).

¹² Appien, *pr.* 7 : « Les empereurs entourent l'Empire d'un cercle de vastes camps et surveillent une aussi vaste étendue de terre et de mer comme ils feraient d'un domaine ». « Au-delà de l'anneau du monde civilisé, vous avez tracé une seconde ligne », ajoutait Aelius Aristide (*ad Rom.* 81), « comme un rempart enserrant le monde civilisé ».

¹³ Whittaker 1989, op. cit. (n. 11), 28, note 16.

¹⁴ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 146.

¹⁵ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 63-65.

¹⁶ M. Wheeler, *Les influences romaines au-delà des frontières impériales* (Paris 1960), 119-138 (sur le Sahara).

¹⁷ Ph. Leveau, 'Occupation du sol, géosystèmes et systèmes sociaux. Rome et ses

Réfléchir sur la nature et la fonction des frontières, c'est en fait réfléchir sur la nature de l'Empire romain. L'Empire ne serait pas exclusivement une construction militaire, fruit de la puissance des légions qui permettrait la conquête puis l'acculturation d'immenses régions.¹⁸ Tout Empire doté de quelque durée sait trouver, dans les pays conquis, les appuis nécessaires à sa longévité.¹⁹ Il découle de cette approche que les frontières de l'Empire romain ne relèvent que très secondairement des problèmes militaires. La frontière est avant tout le produit d'une situation politique et économique et maintenue et évolue grâce à des assises sociales (alliances avec les élites locales) et culturelle (diffusion d'un mode de vie à la romaine). La position stratégique mais aussi les données socio-économiques imposent l'endroit où s'implante la frontière. Ces situations sont susceptibles d'évoluer grâce aux mutations qui se produisent dans certains espaces du territoire africain et qui rendent envisageable son intégration dans l'Empire. Il n'est pas question ici de présenter un catalogue de ces frontières mais de voir un ou plusieurs de ces aspects qui contribuent à faire d'un espace frontalier, un lieu d'interaction et d'acculturation.

II. LA FRONTIÈRE : UNE SPHÈRE POLITIQUE DANS LAQUELLE RÈGNE L'ORDRE IMPÉRIAL

A la fin du II^e siècle, l'armée romaine a établi déjà un solide réseau, qui lui permettait d'intervenir partout où son action était aisée et rentable. Désormais, plutôt qu'une limite fixe séparant entre des territoires bien distincts, la frontière allait progressivement devenir une vaste zone de surveillance parsemée d'ouvrages à morphologie et à géographie variables.²⁰ Jusqu'aux Flaviens, les campagnes militaires ne manquaient pas sur la frontière du sud de la Tunisie.²¹ Outre leur dimension

ennemis des montagnes et du désert dans le Maghreb antique', *Annales ESC*, nov-déc (1986), 1345-1358.

¹⁸ Y. Thébert, 'Nature des frontières de l'Empire romain : le cas germain', dans Aline Rousselle (éd.), *Frontières terrestres, frontières célestes dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1995), 221-235.

¹⁹ Thébert 1995, op. cit. (n. 18), 221. « Penser qu'une cité, puis l'Italie, puissent soumettre par la force un nombre considérable de peuples, et cela pendant plusieurs siècles, découle d'une idée abstraite de l'impérialisme, qui ne tient pas compte des profondes évolutions historiques ».

²⁰ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 6.

²¹ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 3. « En Tunisie romaine, l'envergure de la frontière

militaire, ces expéditions avaient aussi pour but de servir la propagande du pouvoir impérial qui avait besoin d'exploits militaires pour démontrer son charisme après la guerre de Tacfarinas (14–24 ap. J.-C.).²² La mainmise territoriale a conduit à la cadastration, à la mise en place d'un réseau routier mais aussi d'un réseau de constructions militaires dont la destination et la dispersion répondaient à cette nécessité de contrôler les espaces et les hommes.²³ Au premier rang de ces ouvrages, on dénombre trois camps, *Bezereos* (sous Commode), *Tillibari* (II^e siècle) et *Talalati* (sous Gallien) avec des avant-postes dont le plus important est *Tisavar*; et des ouvrages linéaires, les *clausurae* de Bir oum Ali et de djebel Tebaga (17 km).²⁴ Ce dispositif a été implanté dans des axes de circulations pour la régulation des mouvements des populations frontalières.²⁵ La pénétration romaine dans l'espace pré-désertique prit l'allure d'une véritable politique d'occupation. Invariablement poursuivi par les empereurs depuis Domitien jusqu'à Valentinien III, l'objectif de contrôle territorial intégral du pré-désert tunisien donna lieu à diverses créations de voies qui se reliaient et à des pistes stratégiques.²⁶

L'itinéraire Antonin et la Table de Peutinger nous informent de l'étendue des frontières jusqu'à la Maurétanie Tingitane. On connaît deux itinéraires principaux qui partaient de Tanger, et gagnaient l'un Sala sur la côte, l'autre Volubilis. Le Maroc militaire de l'époque de Commode protégeait donc les deux routes essentielles nord-sud Tanger-Sala et Tanger-Volubilis.²⁷ A la fin du II^e siècle, un certain nombre des camps militaires marocains pourraient avoir été établis, comme en tout cas *Thamusida*.²⁸ Les troupes étaient essentiellement réparties en fonction des

couvrait pas moins de 80 000 km² et s'étendait sur un espace qui, allant des monts de Gafsa au nord jusqu'au grand Erg au Sud, intégrait deux grandes ensembles géographiques, l'un pré-désertique, l'autre saharien et sous-tendait deux systèmes défensifs, les *limes* tripolitain et le *limes* de Numidie ».

²² P. Troussel, 'Les bornes du Bled Segui. Nouveaux aperçus sur la centuriation romaine du sud tunisien', *Antiquités Africaines* 12 (1978), 125–177.

²³ Troussel 1978, op. cit. (n. 22).

²⁴ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 7.

²⁵ Pour les ouvrages militaires, voir N. Djelloul, *Les fortifications en Tunisie* (Tunis 1999), 15–24; A. Mrabet, *La Tunisie du Sud (sites et monuments)* (Tunis 2004), 39–44; Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6).

²⁶ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 6 (Capsa, Tacapes, Turris Tamalleni, Nepte, etc.).

²⁷ R. Rebuffat, 'La frontière de la Tingitane', dans C. Lepelley—X. Dupuy (éds.), *Frontières et limites géographiques de l'Afrique du Nord antique* (Paris 2000), 265–289.

²⁸ J.-P. Callu—G. Hallier—J.-P. Morel—R. Rebuffat, *Thamusida. Fouilles du service des Antiquités du Maroc* (Paris 1965).

centres urbains à protéger.²⁹ Le contrôle des espaces où les populations étaient moins urbanisées et moins sédentarisées était moins constant et pouvait être exercé indirectement à travers des accords passés avec les tribus locales comme les *Zegrenses* autour de Banasa ou les *Baquates* au sud de Volubilis.³⁰ Aux limites de l'Empire, les frontières politiques étaient censées inclure de vastes territoires appartenant aux rois et princes africains dont Rome avait recueilli l'héritage. Cette politique des traités consolidait la souveraineté effective ou nominale de Rome dans le cadre même des frontières quelle revendiquait.³¹

La frontière, quand elle prend la forme d'installations linéaires, il s'agit avant tout de matérialiser la frontière. Il est clair que l'investissement architectural ainsi réalisé a une fonction avant tout idéologique. Il transforme l'Empire en un espace privilégié, comparable à un espace urbain placé en position prépondérante par rapport à un extérieur qu'il domine, ou prétend dominer, mais dont il n'est nullement coupé.³² La frontière qui articule deux mondes si différents, se prête à une mise en scène idéologique : d'où ces installations linéaires, fossés, palissades ou murailles, militairement dérisoires, mais qui signalent la sphère dans laquelle règne l'ordre impérial.³³ La frontière romaine d'Afrique resta fonctionnelle tout au long de l'Antiquité tardive. Au V^e siècle, connues d'après la *Nottia Dignitatum*, ses limites et son organisation s'articulaient sur des secteurs placés sous le commandement de *praepositi limitanei* eux-mêmes relevant de l'autorité du *dux* de Tripolitaine ou du comte d'Afrique.³⁴

III. LA FRONTIÈRE : UN ESPACE D'ÉCHANGES ÉCONOMIQUES

A côté de l'aspect politico-stratégique, les dernières études ont mis l'accent sur d'autres facteurs pour l'installation des structures défensives. On évoque la « frontière climatique »³⁵ et on considère le secteur frontalier

²⁹ Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 231.

³⁰ E. Frezouls, 'Les *Baquates* et la province romaine de Tingitané', *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine* 2 (1957), 65–116.

³¹ Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 241.

³² J. Napoli, 'Signification des ouvrages linéaires romains', *Latomus* 48 (1989), 823–834.

³³ Thébert 1995, op. cit. (n. 18), 235.

³⁴ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 11.

³⁵ P. Troussset, 'Limes et « frontière climatique »', dans *110 congrès national des sociétés*

comme une bande de territoire à laquelle sont liés des systèmes agraires et écosystèmes.³⁶ La frontière « statique » cède la place à une frontière « dynamique », axée sur le contrôle des oasis en Tripolitaine et des points d'eau en Numidie, à travers laquelle transitaient hommes et marchandises. Le rôle de Rome n'était pas seulement de sécuriser l'espace dominé mais de réguler les flux économiques et migratoires. La défense frontalière fut réalisée en Afrique avec des techniques et des objectifs que l'on peut retrouver également dans d'autres provinces de l'Empire. Cependant une frontière aux mailles trop serrées aurait été contre-productive pour l'économie et la société africaine. C'est cette raison même qui amena les Romains à opter pour un système « à vases communicants » où les flux migratoires régionaux étaient autorisés selon un calendrier précis.³⁷ Un examen attentif des aménagements sur les frontières nous dévoile cet aspect économique pas loin des vallées, des courts d'eau (oueds) et des plaines fertiles.

La frontière est un lieu d'échange et de surveillance militaro-administrative, un lieu de symbiose nécessaire entre populations et régions écologiquement complémentaires dans une zone à double vocation agricole et pastorale. C'est un espace d'intégration des nomades et semi-nomades dans le monde romano-africain. La présence d'un tarif douanier qui date de 202 témoigne de l'existence d'un courant d'échanges commerciaux.³⁸ La frontière peut se définir comme un couloir de circulation dont les axes convergeaient entre autres vers des passages douaniers comme celui de Zaráï. La station militaire de Zaráï se trouve près de la frontière entre la Maurétanie et la Numidie, au croisement de pistes nord-sud, de la mer au désert et de routes transversales est-ouest.³⁹ La zone militaire fut surveillée par des implantations militaires qui étaient un instrument de régulation des circuits. Le contrôle était une source de profit pour le fisc. Le départ des militaires de Zaráï montre que l'administration romaine n'avait même plus besoin du concours de la force, mais qu'elle pouvait

savantes. III^e Colloque sur l'histoire et l'archéologie d'Afrique du Nord (Montpellier 1985), 55-84.

³⁶ Leveau 1986, op. cit. (n. 17).

³⁷ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 148.

³⁸ *CIL* 8, 4508. Le texte dresse une liste des objets soumis à des taxations, énumère les produits de l'élevage, du tissage, de la pêche, des productions du sud (dattes), le garum, etc.

³⁹ J-P. Darmon, 'Note sur le tarif de Zaráï', *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 12 (1964), 7-23; P. Troussset, 'Le tarif de Zaráï: essai sur les circuits commerciaux dans la zone présaharienne', *Antiquités Africaines*. 38-39 (2002-2003), 355-373.

passer aux mains de l'administration civile de la nouvelle province de Numidie.⁴⁰

P. Salama se demandait si l'organisation militaire et économique de la bande au sud de la Numidie n'était pas pour faciliter les contacts nomades sédentaires par la création de marchés, sécuriser les points d'eau et profiter de la production de la laine.⁴¹ L'exploitation du massif de l'Aurès n'avait pas pour but encercler les tribus mais assurer et consolider la paix rendue plus urgente par la grande prospérité économique dont bénéficiaient les provinces africaines.⁴² C'est pourquoi, dans ce contexte, un contrôle total du territoire était fondamental à travers des opérations de police. L'installation des camps fut appuyée par la construction de routes militaires qui reliaient les campements. Autre élément non négligeable de cet objectif, la construction en Numidie de plusieurs complexes défensifs pour surveiller les routes.⁴³ L'archéologie et la photographie aérienne révèlent dans la zone de frontière de nombreuses terrasses cultivées, des vestiges de fermes romaines et des traces de pressoirs à huile.⁴⁴ Cette prospérité économique touche à des rythmes différents les autres provinces de l'Afrique romaine.

La Tripolitaine faisait partie des territoires dynamiques avant et après l'arrivée des soldats Romains. Ces derniers ne font que profiter de ce système. Toute une partie de cette organisation militaire est abandonnée à la fin du III^e siècle (départ du détachement de Bu Njem après 250) mais la région reste dynamique.⁴⁵ Le départ de l'armée n'a pas perturbé les échanges et probablement la présence militaire romaine a consolidé ces échanges puisque la zone bénéficie davantage de sécurité.⁴⁶ La prospérité évidente des villes de la côte suppose leur libre communication avec l'arrière-pays, car ces régions sont économiquement

⁴⁰ Troussat 2002–2003, op. cit. (n. 39), 371.

⁴¹ P. Salama, 'Un point d'eau du *limes* maurétanien', dans J. Despois (éd.), *Maghreb et Sahara*, Mélanges (Paris 1973), 342.

⁴² P.-A. Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain* t 2 (Cahors 1990), 75–109.

⁴³ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 150.

⁴⁴ Baradez 1949, op. cit. (n. 8); P. Morizot, 'Vues nouvelles sur l'Aurès antique', *CRAI* (1979), 309–337; P. Morizot, 'Économie et société en Numidie méridionale, l'exemple de l'Aurès', *L'Africa romana* 8 (1990), 429–446.

⁴⁵ Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 226.

⁴⁶ R.G. Goodchild, 'The *limes* tripolitanus II', *Journal of Roman Studies* 40 (1950), 30–38.

IRT 565: l'inscription fut dédiée à Flavius Nepotianus, qui a mérité la reconnaissance: *quod limitis defensionem tutionem(ue) perpetuam futuris etia(m) temporibus munitam securam(ue) ab omni hostile incursione praesiterit.*

complémentaires. Les sources littéraires et archéologiques témoignent de cette dynamique. Un marché et une station de caravanes utilisent l'eau des puits de Gholaia (bir Ghelaia). Rome vassalise certaines tribus (les Garamantes). Elle contrôle les caravanes, détache des soldats auprès d'eux, en reçoit peut-être du blé. La présence romaine à Zella, probablement à Waddan, indique qu'elle a en fait mis la main sur une partie de l'immense réseau caravanier garamante.⁴⁷ Sur la frontière des Arzuges, la correspondance d'Augustin montre que les « barbares » viennent en grand nombre s'engager comme main-d'œuvre agricole.⁴⁸ Il est possible que la douane se soit située dans les oasis surveillées par les grandes forteresses. Sous l'enceinte urbaine de Bu Njem, on a repéré la présence de grands enclos qui pourraient avoir été des aires de stationnement.⁴⁹ La nouvelle frontière sévérienne, assurant la paix dans le pré-désert, a permis aux sédentaires de vivre en paix et de cultiver l'olivier. Ce n'est certainement sans raison que le biographe de Septime Sévère établit une relation entre la pacification et la production de l'huile.⁵⁰ En fait, on peut penser que chaque bassin d'oued a fait l'objectif de travaux hydrauliques suffisants, pour alimenter les citernes, et irriguer éventuellement les pieds d'oliviers.⁵¹ Le long de la frontière tripolitaine, en l'absence d'inscription, il est difficile de distinguer les forts romains (*turres, centenaria, praesidia*) qui peuvent être confondus avec les fermes fortifiées habitées par les africains et qui se répandirent à partir du milieu du III^e siècle.⁵² En effet, les constructions du couloir de Tebaga en Tunisie et

⁴⁷ Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 227.

⁴⁸ Augustin, *Lettre* 46.1; 46.5: « Chez les Arzuges, à ce que j'ai entendu dire, les Barbares ont la coutume de prêter serment au décurion qui commande le *limes*, ou au tribun, et ils jurent par leurs démons quand ils concluent des engagements pour accomplir des transports ou pour garder les récoltes. Des propriétaires fonciers ou des fermiers ont l'habitude de les accueillir comme des gens dignes de confiance, pour assurer la garde des récoltes quand le décurion leur a envoyé une lettre; les voyageurs qui doivent traverser le pays en les prenant comme guides font de même ... »; Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 227.

⁴⁹ Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 227.

⁵⁰ HA, Vita Severi 18.3: « il apporta à Tripoli, son pays d'origine, une parfaite tranquillité en écrasant des peuplades belliqueuses et accorda en permanence au peuple romain une abondante ration d'huile quotidienne et gratuite ».

⁵¹ Rebuffat 1979, op. cit. (n. 10), 229 (note 20); O. Brogan, 'The Roman remains in the Wadi el-Amud', *Libya Antiqua* 1 (1964), 47-56, (site 67). Dans la vallée du Sofeggine on connaît des pressoirs à olives, d'autres au voisinage du Zem Zem; il y en a jusqu'à Ghirza, où un relief représente peut-être la cueillette des olives.

⁵² Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 152: « Ces édifices quadrangulaires se caractérisaient par un haut mur épais construit autour d'une cour et pouvaient être soit isolées soit regroupées comme à Ghirsa ».

dans les vallées libyennes, qu'on prenait pour des forts, sont identifiées aujourd'hui à des fermes, ou encore aux mausolées des chefs garamantes qui se situent bien au-delà de la ligne de l'avance militaire en Tripolitaine.⁵³

Au Sud de la Tunisie, qui est le prolongement du *limes tripolitanus*,⁵⁴ la frontière était une zone de défense militaire, de surveillance et de contacts économiques et culturels. C'est un instrument d'administration militaire pour surveiller les courants de circulation. Ainsi, derrière une ligne défensive principale constituée par la route *Turrus Tamalleni* (Telmine)-*Ad Amadum* (Dehibat, au sud de *Tillibari/Remada*), la zone des oasis est protégée par plusieurs fossés, entrecoupés de points de passage obligés, les *clausurae*: sorte de guichets de douane. Ces barrières de contrôle sont des ouvrages linéaires qui barrent certains passages et accès naturels et contribuent ainsi à l'opération générale de contrôle et de régulation des mouvements des populations frontalières.⁵⁵ Cela permet de faire respecter le calendrier des récoltes par les troupeaux transhumants et éventuellement de prélever des taxes douanières.⁵⁶ Ces mouvements de nomades extérieurs pénétrant pacifiquement à l'intérieur de l'Empire sont attestés par la lettre d'un propriétaire africain, *Publicola*, à Augustin à la fin du IV^e siècle, dans laquelle il évoque les Arzuges. Afin « d'accomplir des transports ou garder les récoltes » dans l'Empire, ces « barbares » prêtent serment au « décurion qui commande le *limes* ou au tribun » et obtiennent ainsi un sauf-conduit. Le même type de sauf-conduit leur permet de servir de guides aux « voyageurs qui doivent traverser leurs pays ».⁵⁷

Cependant, plus qu'un territoire militaire, la zone frontière au sud de la Tunisie était un espace économique et une zone d'interactions culturelles. A ce double titre, elle intégrait des centres urbains et d'anciens chefs lieux de tribus : *Turrus Tamalleni* (Telmine), *Tacapes* (Gabes), *Capsa* (Gafsa), *Tusuros* (Tozeur), *Nepte* (Nefta). On observe une multitude d'établissements ruraux : des fermes et des établissements agricoles des plus divers ; d'aménagements et d'installations hydrauliques ainsi que de

⁵³ Rebuffat 1977, op. cit. (n. 9), 395-417 ; R. Rebuffat, 'Au-delà des camps romains d'Afrique mineure : renseignement, contrôle, pénétration', *ANRW* 2 10.2 (1982), 502 ; 509 ; D.J. Mattingly, 'Libyans and the 'limes' culture and society in Roman Tripolitania', *Antiquités Africaines* 23 (1987), 84-85.

⁵⁴ P. Troussset, *Recherche sur le limes Tripolitanus du Chott El-Djerid à la frontière tuniso-libyenne*, (Paris 1974).

⁵⁵ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 10.

⁵⁶ Augustin, *Lettre* 46.1 ; 46.5.

⁵⁷ Augustin, *Lettre* 46.1 ; 46.5.

mausolées.⁵⁸ Autour des positions principales, de petites agglomérations de peuplement romain ou de berbères plus au moins romanisés s'étaient développées. Des aménagements hydrauliques antiques ont été également identifiés en plusieurs endroits dans la plaine de la jeffara et sur le plateau du Dahar.⁵⁹ Certains d'entre eux correspondent à des citernes pour la collecte des eaux de pluie. D'autres figurent sous la forme de barrages pour la déviation et l'épandage des eaux de ruissellement, dans l'objectif d'une mise en valeur agricole, comme c'est le cas à l'oued Ouni et à l'oued Mortebea situés dans les environs de Dehibat.⁶⁰ L'entretien d'une importante garnison à *Bezereos*, ainsi que la formation d'une petite agglomération, ont rendu nécessaire la construction du barrage antique de Hinshir al-Sudd.⁶¹ Le fortin de Sidi Aoun a laissé un mausolée et cinq citernes.⁶² Enfin, le camp de *Tisivar* avait pour mission le contrôle des pistes caravanières, si importantes pour le commerce entre Leptis Magna, les oasis du Fezzan et l'Afrique transaharienne.⁶³ A partir du IV^e siècle, des secteurs entiers relevant de l'armée régulière furent confiés à des *limitanei*. Ces soldats montaient la garde sur la « frontière agricole », où ils pouvaient exploiter, en toute propriété, autour de fermes fortifiées, des plantations d'oliviers et des lopins de terre exempts d'impositions fiscales.⁶⁴

En Maurétanie Tingitane, la prospérité de la province a toujours impliqué des relations entre la montagne, le piémont et la façade atlantique. Le contrôle romain s'étendait du détroit de Gibraltar jusqu'à Rabat et à la vallée du Sebou au sud, à travers les plaines sur l'Atlantique du Rharb, jusqu'aux régions fertiles du Tell autour de Volubilis.⁶⁵ La frontière qui suivait la direction Nord-Sud pour protéger la côte atlantique, n'avait rien de l'image traditionnelle de la frontière (une ceinture de forts et de tours le long de la frontière); mais consistait en une série de campements installés sur les artères principales, aux points névralgiques et près des communautés les plus peuplées.⁶⁶ Le procureur se trouve chargé des relations avec les dynasties tribales, relations auxquelles nous devons des

⁵⁸ Mrabet 2008, op. cit. (n. 6), 12.

⁵⁹ H. Ben Ouezdou, *Découvrir la Tunisie du Sud* (Tunis 2001), 20–21.

⁶⁰ Ben Ouezdou 2001, op. cit. (n. 59), 20–21.

⁶¹ N. Djelloul, *Les fortifications en Tunisie* (Tunis 1999), 21.

⁶² Djelloul 1999, op. cit. (n. 61), 22.

⁶³ Djelloul 1999, op. cit. (n. 61), 19.

⁶⁴ Djelloul 1999, op. cit. (n. 61), 19.

⁶⁵ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 148–149.

⁶⁶ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 148–149.

documents comme la Table de Banasa, ou la série des autels de Volubilis, commémorant la série des *conloquia* traditionnels.⁶⁷ Nous sommes informés sur les dynasties (Baquates, Bavares) et sur le renouvellement des relations, mais non sur le contenu des conversations et des accords conclus.⁶⁸ Or la paix qui a été renouvelée impliquait évidemment que les *gentes* reconnaissaient et garantissaient soient aux représentants de l'autorité, soit aux citoyens de la zone civique, diverses possibilités. On peut imaginer qu'elles touchaient à la liberté de circuler et de commercer.⁶⁹ On peut supposer entre la Tingitane et la Césarienne, des postes de péages devaient se trouver à Altava d'abord, puis à *Numerus Syrorum*.⁷⁰

IV. LA FRONTIÈRE : UN ESPACE SOCIALEMENT DYNAMIQUE

Les textes antiques assimilent parfois la frontière à une coupure. Ainsi, certains passages de Tacite⁷¹ faisant de la frontière une zone interdite comportant, en avant des fortifications, des *agri vacui* réservés aux militaires ; ou encore l'*Histoire Auguste* érigeant le mur d'Hadrien en division entre Romains et Barbares.⁷² L'archéologie et l'épigraphie démontrent, au contraire, la présence, à proximité immédiate des installations qui marquent la frontière, de populations parfois installées par les autorités romaines elles-mêmes et qui entretiennent avec ces dernières des rapports de nature diverse. Les enquêtes onomastiques menées dans plusieurs régions ont permis de rétablir le rôle de la population locale dans l'exploitation des ressources des zones frontalières.⁷³ Les échanges économiques et le recrutement dans l'armée romaine facilitent cette

⁶⁷ Rebuffat 2000, op. cit. (n. 27), 275.

⁶⁸ IAM 356 ; G. di Vita-Evrard, ZPE 68 (1987), 204.

I(oui) [O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / ceterisq(ue) diis d[eabusq(ue) Immortalibus, pro salute et incolumit(ate)] / et uictoria imp(eratoris) C[aes(aris) M(arci) Aureli(i) Seueri Alexandri Pii Felicis / A]ug(usti), Q(untius) Herenni[us Hospitalis?—u(ir) e(gregius), proc(urator) eius prolegato, conloquium / cu]m [Au]relio? [princ(ipe) gentis Bauarum et Baqua/tium pa]lcis firmand[ae gratia habuit aramq(ue) posuit et dedicauit] idibus Sep]tembribus, I[mp(eratore) Seuero Alexandro Aug(usto) (iterum) et Aufidio Marcello (iterum) co(n)s(u)libus].

⁶⁹ Rebuffat 2000, op. cit. (n. 27), 276 ; 283 : « La présence des frontières internes n'empêchent pas les déplacements. Parfois la frontière n'est pas matérialisé et est naturelle. Il suffit par exemple aux habitants de la Maurétanie tingitane de traverser la Moulouya pour passer la frontière et se retrouver en Césarienne et vice versa ».

⁷⁰ Rebuffat 2000, op. cit. (n. 27), 240.

⁷¹ Tacite, *Annales* 13.54.

⁷² HA, *De vita Hadriana* 2.2.

⁷³ Ibba—Traina 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 148.

interaction socio-culturelle.⁷⁴ La frontière s'arrête là où l'état de développement ne lui permet plus de trouver des alliés potentiels, à savoir un type d'élites sociales intéressé par une participation au système romain. Il y a toute une frange de populations qui entretiennent des rapports administratifs et politiques avec l'Empire, sans en faire réellement partie : d'où l'organisation de la frontière, souvent étalée en profondeur.⁷⁵ Il en résulte ensuite que cette coupure politique n'interdit nullement des contacts multiples, en particulier d'ordre économique, d'où la fonction principale de ces constructions limitrophes, qui est de régir ces rapports, non de s'y opposer.⁷⁶ Le caractère nomade et tribal de certaines populations ne constitue nullement, du moins durant l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge, un facteur d'opposition constante contre une organisation de type étatique.⁷⁷

Dans la mesure où des écrivains, comme Gallien, pouvaient écrire des propos comme : « Je n'apprécie pas plus les Germains que les loups et les ours », ils ne risquaient pas de livrer des descriptions nuancées du processus d'acculturation qu'ont lancé au-delà des frontières le commerce et les échanges. Dion Cassius représente l'une des rares exceptions. On connaît sa fameuse description de ce qu'il prétendait être le résultat des incursions d'Auguste au-delà du Rhin mais qui, en fait, représentait la situation au début du III^e siècle qu'il connut par son expérience de gouverneur sur le Danube : « les Barbares, dit-il, s'adaptaient au monde romain. Ils créaient des marchés et des assemblées paisibles, même s'ils n'avaient pas oublié leurs habitudes ancestrales, leurs coutumes tribales, leur vie indépendante et la liberté fondée sur les armes. Ainsi, étant donné que leur apprentissage était progressif et quelque peu contrôlé, ils n'éprouvaient pas de difficulté à changer leur vie et devenaient différents sans s'en apercevoir ». ⁷⁸ Il y avait une affinité commerciale et peut-être culturelle entre les élites barbares d'au-delà des frontières et les habitants romains des cités ou des camps frontaliers. C'est aussi grâce à la présence militaire sur la frontière qu'on a pu véhiculer les dieux gréco-romains et construire des temples aux limites des provinces africaines (Bu Njem,

⁷⁴ Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste* (Paris 1989), 518–521.

⁷⁵ Wheeler 1960, op. cit. (n. 16).

⁷⁶ Thébert 1995, op. cit. (n. 18), 235.

⁷⁷ Y. Thébert—J.-L. Biget, 'L'Afrique après la disparition de la cité classique : cohérence et ruptures dans l'histoire maghrébine', dans *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain* (Rome 1990), 575–602.

⁷⁸ Dion, 56.18.2.

Dimmidi Gemellae etc.).⁷⁹ Jupiter le représentant suprême de la majesté de l'Empire romain et de sa souveraineté aux frontières tenait une place primordiale dans ce panthéon. A l'époque tardive, le *praepositus limitis* a joué un rôle dans le maintien de la religion romaine aux frontières de l'Empire.⁸⁰

V. CONCLUSION

La frontière en Afrique romaine est un lieu d'échanges et de surveillance militaro-administratif, un lieu de symbiose nécessaire entre populations et régions complémentaires dans une zone à double vocation agricole et pastorale. Le retrait des troupes de la frontière de Numidie ou de la Tripolitaine au III^e siècle n'implique aucunement que les Romains aient renoncé à leur souveraineté sur ces frontières. L'intégration relative des nomades et semi-nomades dans le monde romano-africain et le développement d'un cadre urbain à proximité font que les chefs de tribus et l'autorité civile représentaient l'autorité romaine sur place.

La réflexion sur les frontières avec la vision d'un espace ouvert qui invite à l'accès, un « *open frontier* », enrichit notre connaissance sur les interactions entre les populations à l'intérieur de l'Empire. Elle nous invite à développer et à approfondir cette recherche en abordant des études régionales afin de dégager certaines spécificités tout en exploitant d'autres sources telle que l'épigraphie transfrontalière. Jusqu'à l'époque tardive, l'idéologie romaine considère que l'accès au territoire barbare lui était ouvert et que nulle frontière formelle ne le limitait. Le processus de l'effondrement de l'Empire débute le jour où les rois barbares se mettaient à adopter le même point de vue et à se conduire de la sorte, c'est-à-dire revendiquer un droit de contrôle au-delà des limites formelles. Cette nouvelle donne historique traduit la réalité de la frontière comme un espace intégré dans le territoire de l'Empire. Elle est au cœur de la stratégie politique de Rome et détermine le maintien de sa souveraineté à l'intérieur de ses provinces.

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⁷⁹ A. Hilali, *Les soldats de l'armée romaine d'Afrique: mentalités et vie religieuse* (Nanterre 2002), Thèse dactylographiée sous la direction de C. Lepelley.

⁸⁰ Regiae (Arbal), Maurétanie Césarienne; CIL 8, 9790 (D. 3251): *Dianae Victrici*, / *C(aius) Iulius Maximus*, / *proc(urator) Aug(usti)*, / *praepositus limitis*; CIL 8, 9791: *Dianae Aug(ustae)* / *sac(rum)*, / *Q(uintus) Maximus*, / *praep(ositus) lim(itis)*.

ROM JENSEITS DER GRENZE:
KLIENTELKÖNIGREICHE UND DER *IMPACT OF EMPIRE*

GÜNTHER SCHÖRNER

I. EINLEITUNG

Es ist eine allgemein bekannte Tatsache, dass die römische Aktionssphäre nicht mit dem Gebiet, das von römischen Institutionen verwaltet wurde, identisch ist. Wie Whittaker überzeugend nachweisen konnte, unterteilten die Römer in der frühen Kaiserzeit die Welt in drei unterschiedliche Zonen:¹ das unter direkter römischer Verwaltung stehende Territorium, das nicht unter direkter römischer Verwaltung stehende Territorium, und die äußere Peripherie. Entscheidend dabei ist auch, dass nicht der Raum das grundlegende Konzept ist, sondern die Verfügungsgewalt, das *imperium*—ein Begriff, der erst sekundär auch eine raumhafte Bedeutung annimmt.² Legt man eine lokal-geographische Gliederung zugrunde, so ist das Gebiet der *Oecumene* in verschiedene *provinciae usque ad oceanum* eingeteilt, die aber nicht notwendigerweise identisch sind mit den Provinzen als Verwaltungseinheiten; so gibt es Pseudo-Provinzen wie *Sarmatia* oder *Germania*, die für Gebiete stehen, für die die Römer Kontrolle in Anspruch nehmen, nicht aber Verwaltung.³

¹ Mein Dank gilt Prof. Dr. O. Hekster (Nijmegen) und Dr. T. Kaizer (Durham) für die Einladung zum Neunten Workshop des Internationalen Netzwerkes ‚Impact of Empire‘. Für wichtige Auskünfte und Kommentare danke ich R. Hingley (Durham), T. Kaizer (Durham), T. Kleinschmidt (Jena), A. Levin (Florenz/Potenza) und meiner Frau H. Schörner.

C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore 1994), 12–18.

² J.S. Richardson, ‚Imperium Romanum: Empire and language of power‘, *Journal of Roman studies* 81 (1991), 1–9.

³ Zur römischen Sichtweise von Raum und Grenzen: C.R. Whittaker, ‚Mental maps and frontiers. Seeing like a Roman‘, in: P. McKechnie (Hrsg.), *Thinking like a lawyer. Essays on legal history and general history for John Crook on his eightieth birthday* (Leiden 2002), 81–112; Wiederabdruck in: C.R. Whittaker, *Rome and its frontiers* (London—New York 2004), 63–87; vgl. auch S.P. Mattern, *Rome and the enemy. Imperial strategy in the principate* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1999), 24–80; wichtig ist, dass römische Gesetze sowohl für die Provinzen als auch für die Klientelreiche galten: D. Braund, *Rome and the friendly king. The character of client kingship* (New York 1984), 66.

Überträgt man diese Konzeption auf die Klientelstaaten, so gehören sie notwendigerweise zu diesen *provinciae*.⁴ Teil des Imperiums zu sein bedeutete also, unter imperialer Kontrolle zu stehen, nicht unbedingt aber eine Provinz unter direkter römischer Administration mit Statthalter zu sein. Diese Diskrepanz zwischen verwaltetem und kontrolliertem Gebiet war natürlich grundlegend für die römische Wahrnehmung von Klientelkönigen und deren Reiche. Es mindert also nicht den Herrschaftsanspruch Roms, wenn Gebiete am Rande des direkt verwalteten Territoriums von Königen beherrscht wurden, die in enger Beziehung zu Rom standen.⁵ Der enge, direkte Konnex zwischen Rom als Machtzentrum und diesen so genannten Klientelkönigen wird in der lateinischen Terminologie evident, wie sie literarische Quellen belegen: Sueton schreibt, dass Augustus die einheimischen Regenten *als membra partesque imperii* betrachtete.⁶ Die Klientelkönige wurden offiziell mehrfach als *socii et amici populi Romani* bezeichnet.⁷ Trotz dieser Terminologie lag die oberste Verfügungsgewalt nach römischem Verständnis in

⁴ Grundlegende Literatur zu Klientelkönigen aus althistorischer Sicht: P.C. Sands, *The client princes of the Roman Empire under the Republic* (Cambridge 1908); M.R. Cimma, *Reges socii et amici populi Romani* (Mailand 1976); Braund 1984, a. a. O. (Anm. 2); D. Braund, ‚Client kings‘, in: D. Braund (Hrsg.), *The administration of the Roman empire (241 BC–AD 193)* (Exeter 1988), 69–96; R.D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern royalty and Rome, 100–30 BC* (Toronto 1990); E. Paltiel, *Vassals and rebels in the Roman Empire. Julio-Claudian policies in Judaea and the kingdoms of the East* (Brüssel 1991); M. Sommer, *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze. Palmyra—Edessa—Dura Europos—Hatra. Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian* (Stuttgart 2005), 58–66; und jetzt T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East* (Stuttgart 2010). Zu Klientelkönigreichen im Norden und Westen: E. Will, ‚Römische ‚Klientel-Randstaaten‘ am Rhein? Eine Bestandsaufnahme‘, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 187 (1987), 1–62; L.F. Pitts, ‚Relations between Rome and the German ‚kings‘ on the Middle Danube in the first to fourth centuries AD‘, *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989), 1945–1958; J. Creighton, *Coins and power in Late Iron Age Britain* (Cambridge 2000), 55–79; J. Creighton, *Britannia. The Creation of a Roman province* (London—New York 2006), passim, vor allem 14–34; D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC–AD 409* (London 2006), 68–84.

⁵ Vergleichbar ist die Wichtigkeit von Gesandtschaften fremder Könige nach Rom, die nach römischem Verständnis die Machtverhältnisse zum Ausdruck bringen; zentrale Belege: *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 31–32; Sueton, *Augustus* 21.3; Horaz, *Carmen saeculare* 55 f.; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.26; Strabo 15.1.73. grundlegend: J. Gagé, ‚L'empereur et les rois: Politique et protocole‘, *Revue historique* 221 (1959), 221–260; Mattern 1999, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 172 f.; zu Geiseln s. u. Anm. 68.

⁶ Sueton, *Augustus* 48.

⁷ Grundlegend: W. Dahlheim, *Struktur und Entwicklung des römischen Völkerrechts im dritten und zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (München 1968); vgl. A. Coşkun, ‚Freundschaft und Klientelbindung in Roms auswärtigen Beziehungen‘, in: A. Coşkun (Hrsg.), *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat* (Göttingen 2005), 1–30.

Rom, das heißt beim Volk und Senat von Rom bzw. beim Kaiser selbst. Tacitus benannte dementsprechend die Herrschaft eines Klientelkönigs als *donum populi Romani*.⁸ Ein Klientelreich kann deshalb in eine Provinz unter Verwaltung eines römischen Statthalters umgewandelt werden (und wieder zurück).⁹ Für die von Klientelkönigen beherrschten Gebiete trifft somit der von Richard Duncan-Jones geprägte Begriff der ‚occupation without annexation‘ ebenfalls zu.¹⁰

Während das römische Vorgehen gegenüber den *reges* im Westen und Osten gut untersucht ist, besteht jedoch noch großer Forschungsbedarf hinsichtlich der Auswirkungen, die die Verbindungen zu Rom in den Herrschaftsgebieten der Klientelkönige selbst hatten, wobei grundsätzlich vor allem zu fragen ist, wie weit die Einflüsse reichen, das heißt, welche gesellschaftlichen Gruppen in diesen Grenzregionen überhaupt betroffen sind. Diese Fragestellung hat vor allem einen Vorteil: Sie legt den Schwerpunkt der Analyse auf die Peripherie und nicht auf Rom als Zentrum, das nach einer ‚Grand Strategy‘ vorgehend die alleinige Handlungsmacht besitzt.¹¹ Im Folgenden sollen die Modi der Adaption römischer Kulturelemente in zwei verschiedenen Bereichen überprüft werden, im Bereich der Kulte und im Bereich der materiellen Kultur.

II. ÜBERNAHME UND ADAPTION RÖMISCHER KULTURELEMENTE IN KLIENTELREICHEN

1. *Rituale*

Eine der wichtigsten Charakteristika, die für die Konstitution der Beziehung zwischen Rom und den Klientelreichen entscheidend sind, ist die

⁸ Tacitus, *Annales* IV 5, 3: *Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum populi Romani*; vgl. auch Tacitus, *Annales* 12.45.5 über die Einsetzung des armenischen Königs.

⁹ Whittaker 1994, a. a. O. (Anm. 1), 54; vgl. auch das Schema bei Creighton 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 18 Abb. 1.1; signifikant auch der Begriff des *rex datus*: *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 33; Gagé 1959, a. a. O. (Anm. 5), 252–255; als Motiv der Münzprägung: E. W. Swo-boda, ‚Rex Quadis datus‘, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 2 (1956), 5–12; R. Göbl, ‚rex ... datus: Ein Kapitel von der Interpretation numismatischer Zeugnisse und ihren Grundlagen‘, *Rheinisches Museum* 104 (1961), 70–80; M. Rosenbaum-Alföldi, ‚Nochmals ‚Rex Quadis datus‘‘, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 106–107 (1999), 91–94.

¹⁰ R. Duncan-Jones, ‚Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila: „first prefect of Mesopotamia“‘, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 36 (1979), 255–262.

¹¹ E. N. Luttvak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, (Baltimore 1979); hierzu unter anderem: Mattern 1999, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 81–122; Whittaker 2004, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 28–49.

Bindung an Rom durch Kulte. Der dabei gebräuchlichste Weg ist die Etablierung eines Kultes für den römischen Kaiser, wie anhand epigraphischer, literarischer und archäologischer Evidenz bezeugt ist.¹² Herodes der Große ließ Tempel für Augustus errichten, Kulte für Augustus wurden in den herodianischen Hauptstädten Caesarea maritima, Samaria-Sebaste und Caesarea Philippi-Paneas etabliert.¹³ Einzige Ausnahme scheint Tiberias gewesen zu sein, für das bisher noch keine entsprechende Evidenz nachgewiesen ist.¹⁴ Der Kaiserkult wurde als so bestimmend angesehen, dass sogar eine Verbindung zur jüdischen Religion geschaffen wurde: Während römische Herrscher Opfer an Yahweh im Tempel von Jerusalem darbrachten, so opferten die Hohen Priester zum Wohle der Kaiser.¹⁵

Die weite Verbreitung des Kaiserkultes in den *provinciae* außerhalb des römischen Reiches ist durchaus gebräuchlich wie das *templum Augusti* von Muziris in Indien auf der Tabula Peutingeriana beweist.¹⁶

Noch signifikanter als die Verehrung des römischen Kaisers, die durchaus nach den eigenen kultischen Vorstellungen konzipiert und

¹² Allgemein: M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (München 2001) (mit reicher Lit.); H. Cancik—K. Hitzl (Hrsg.), *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen* (Tübingen 2003); G. Woolf, ‚Divinity and power in ancient Rome‘, in: N. Brisch (Hrsg.), *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* (Chicago 2008), 243–260; zum Kaiserkult in Klientelreichen: Braund 1984, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 112–114; Mauretaniien: D. Roller, *The World of Iuba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal Scholarship at Rome’s African Frontier* (London—New York 2003), 126 f.; Palästina: M. Bennett, *Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern: Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas von 30 v. bis 66 n. Chr.* (mit der älteren Lit.) (Tübingen 2007).

¹³ Allgemein: S. Japp, *Die Baupolitik Herodes’ des Großen: die Bedeutung der Architektur für die Herrschaftslegitimation eines römischen Klientelkönigs* (Rahden 2000), 56–60; zur baulichen Gestalt der Kaiserkulttempel zusammenfassend zuletzt: S. Japp, ‚Tradition und Innovation im Bauprogramm Herodes’ des Großen am Beispiel der Heiligtümer‘, in: K.S. Freyberger—A. Henning—H. von Hesberg (Hrsg.), *Kulturkonflikte im Vorderen Orient an der Wende vom Hellenismus zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Rahden 2003), 291–303; Caesarea: H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti: eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Rom 1985), 201–203 Kat. A 48; Sebaste: ebenda 199–201 Kat. A 47; Panias: ebenda 198 f. Kat. A 46; Z.U. Ma’Oz, *Baniyas, the Roman Temples* (Qazrin 2009), 50–60.

¹⁴ S. Freyne, ‚The Galilean world of Jesus‘, in: P.F. Ester (Hrsg.), *The early Christian world I* (London—New York 2000), 127 f.; R. Yat Tin Lee, *Romanization in Palestine. A study of urban development from Herod the Great to AD 70* (Oxford 2003), 78.

¹⁵ Yat Tin Lee 2003, a. a. O. (Anm. 14), 78.

¹⁶ Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, a. a. O. (Anm. 13), 254 Kat. A 66; zum antiken Muziris: K.P. Shajan—R. Tomber—V. Selvakumar—P.J. Cherian, ‚Locating the ancient port of Muziris: fresh findings from Pattanam‘, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004), 312–320.

durchgeführt werden konnte, ist jedoch die Übernahme von römischen Ritualen als einem fremden System komplexer Aktionen.

So zeigen Münzen, die von Königen in Süd- und Ostengland vor der Eroberung der Insel durch Claudius geprägt wurden, die Darstellung von Ritualen, die gemäß Kultvorstellungen Roms durchgeführt wurden. Die Übernahme ritueller Performanz verdeutlicht am besten eine Münze von Cunobelin, auf deren Rückseite eine Person zwischen zwei Dreifußen zu sehen ist.¹⁷ Der *foculus* war eines der typischsten Kultgeräte beim römischen Opfer, da auf ihm die *libatio ture ac vino*, das Opfer von Weihrauch und Wein, als *praefatio* vor dem blutigen Opfer oder eigenständiges Ritual durchgeführt wurde.¹⁸ Die Darstellung des Dreifußes auf der Münze—verstärkt durch eine Verdoppelung—weist deshalb in verkürzter, aber dafür besonders konzentrierter Form auf die Übernahme des römischen Opferrituals durch einen englischen Klientelkönig im Britannien vor der Eingliederung als Provinz in das Imperium Romanum hin.¹⁹ Andere römische Ritualgeräte sind auf einem Münztyp, der von Dubnovellaunus, Tasciovanus und Cunobelin geprägt wurde, wiedergegeben, auf dessen Rückseite ein auf einem Thron sitzender Mann dargestellt ist, der einen *lituus* hält.²⁰ Zwar ist der *lituus* auch Zeichen des *imperium* und somit der Befehlsgewalt, doch ist die Verbindung mit dem Ritual der Auspizien grundlegend, so dass zumindest eine typisch römische Kultinsignie Eingang in die herrschaftliche Ikonographie einheimischer Herrscher gefunden hat.²¹

Wie wichtig die Übernahme römischer Rituale ist, wird evident am Suovetaurilienrelief des Bogens von Susa, dem antiken Segusio, das Donnus, der als König über dieses Gebiet in den Westalpen herrschte, zu seiner Hauptstadt gemacht hatte.²² Donnus' Sohn Cottius schloss mit

¹⁷ Creighton 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 205 Abb. 7.8.

¹⁸ Grundlegende Bearbeitung der *foculi*: U. Klatt, 'Römische Klapptische. Drei- und vierbeinige Stützgestelle aus Bronze und Silber', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 28 (1995), 349–573, vor allem 383–419; zum Gebrauch beim Opfer: ebenda 416 f. 430–438; vgl. auch A. V. Siebert, *Instrumenta sacra. Untersuchungen zu römischen Opfer-, Kult- und Priestergeräten* (Berlin 1999), 93–98; Zur *praefatio*: J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères. Le collège des frères arvaies, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des Empereurs* (Rom 1990), 326–333.

¹⁹ Allgemein: Creighton 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 201–202 (mit weiteren Belegen).

²⁰ Creighton 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 210–213 Abb. 7.8.

²¹ Siebert 1999, a. a. O. (Anm. 18), 130–132 (mit der älteren Lit.).

²² Zur Geschichte des Gebiets: J. Prieur, *La province romaine des Alpes Cottiennes* (Lyon 1968); J. Prieur, 'L'histoire des régions alpestres (Alpes Maritimes, Cottiennes, Graies et Pennines) sous le haut-empire romain (Ier–IIIer siècles après J.-C.)', in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 5,2 (Berlin 1976), 630–656; G. Walser, *Studien*

Augustus einen Vertrag, so dass er zum *praefectus civitatum* wurde. Er veranlasste im Jahr 9/8 v. Chr. die Errichtung eines Bogens als Ausdruck seiner Eintracht mit dem römischen Kaiser.²³ Thema des Bildschmuckes ist ein Opfer, das Cottius gemeinsam mit Augustus durchführte:²⁴ Cottius in Toga wird von Liktores begleitet und entspricht dabei ganz der Darstellung des Augustus auf der anderen Seite des Bogens. Sowohl Cottius als auch Augustus begehen eine kultische Reinigung mit Stier, Schaf und Schwein als Opfertieren (Abb. 1). Das Lustrationsopfer wird also nach römischen Vorstellungen durchgeführt, die Performanz entspricht einer in Rom durchgeführten *suovetaurilia*.²⁵ Auch wenn Marcus Iulius Cottius nicht mehr nominell König war, so entspricht seine Platzierung in der Friesmitte ganz der des Augustus und ist Ausdruck seines Selbstverständnisses. Das Relief am Bogen von Susa ist somit ein Beispiel, wie lokale Potentaten römische Rituale nutzen, um ihr Verhältnis sowohl nach außen zum römischen Kaiser als auch nach innen gegenüber den eigenen Bürgern zum Ausdruck zu bringen.²⁶ Cottius scheint insbesondere seine Stellung gegenüber Rom erfolgreich behauptet zu haben: Sein Sohn Cottius II. wurde wieder zum König ernannt.²⁷ Grundsätzlich besteht bei Überbetonung der kultischen Verbindungen zum Zentrum

zur *Alpengeschichte in antiker Zeit* (Stuttgart 1994); G. Barraol, *Les peuples préromaines du sud-est de la Gaule* (2. Auflage; Paris 1999); T. Bechert, *Die Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. Einführung und Überblick* (Mainz 1999), 187–190.

²³ E. Ferrero, *Larc d'Auguste à Susa* (Paris 1901); F. Studniczka, 'Über den Augustusbogen in Susa', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1903), 1–24; J. Prieur, 'Les arcs monumentaux dans les Alpes occidentales: Aoste, Suse, Ais-les-Bains', in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 12, 1 (Berlin 1985), 442–475; S. De Maria, *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana* (Rom 1988), 329f.; D. Fogliato, *Larco di Augusto a Susa* (Collegno 1992); P. Pensabene, 'Monumenti augustei delle province alpine occidentali: cultura, architettonica, materiali e committenza', in: M. Sapelli Ragni (Hrsg.), *Studi di archeologia in memoria di Liliana Mercado* (Turin 2005), 211–229.

²⁴ S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains* I (Paris 1909), 418–421; B.M. Felletti Maj, 'Il fregio commemorativo dell'arco di Susa', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia* 33 (1960/61), 129–153; M.C. Calvi, 'Osservazioni sul fregio dell'arco di Susa', *Archeologia Classica* 28 (1976), 115–125; S. De Maria, 'Apparato figurativo nell'arco onorario di Susa', *Rivista d'Archeologia* 1 (1977), 44–52; K. Moede, 'Der Augustusbogen von Susa. Römische Rituale außerhalb Roms', in: F. und T. Hölscher, *Römische Bilderwelten. Von der Wirklichkeit zum Bild und zurück* (Heidelberg 2007), 133–144.

²⁵ *RE* XIII 2 (1927), 2029–2039 s.-v. *lustratio* (F. Boehm); U.W. Scholz, 'Suovetaurilia und Solitaurilia', *Philologus* 117 (1973), 3–28; F. Fless, *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* I (Zürich 2004), 33–58 s. v. 'Prozession, römisch'; D. Baudy, *Römische Umgangsriten* (Berlin 1998), 106–114; F. Stilp, *Mariage et suovetaurilia. Etude sur le soi-disant 'Autel de Domitius Ahenobarbus'*, 26. Supplement *Rivista d'Archeologia* (2001).

²⁶ Moede 2007, a. a. O. (Anm. 24), 140–142.

²⁷ Braund 1984, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 84.

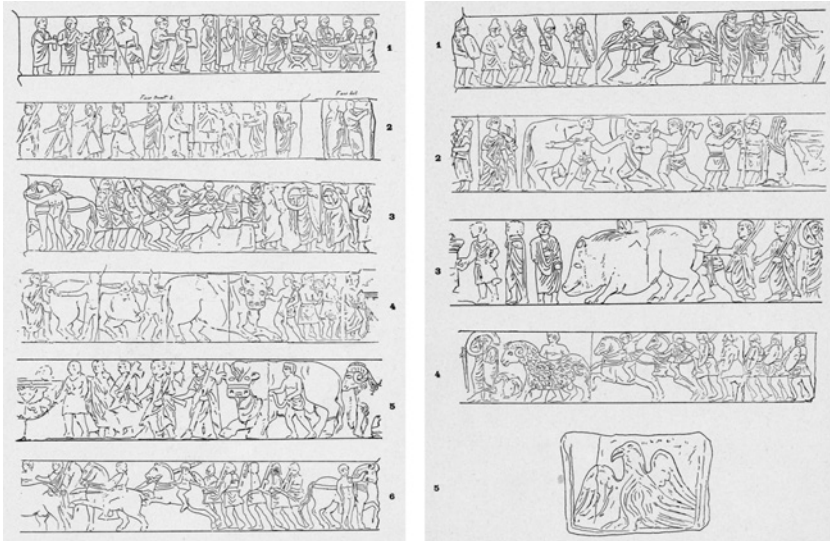


Abb. 1: Relieffries des Bogens von Susa:
Augustus (a) und Cottius (b) beim Opfer

freilich die Gefahr, dass enge kultische Beziehungen zwischen König und einheimischen Untertanen aufgegeben werden und sowohl sich beide Seiten entfremden als auch eine Form von ‚kolonialer Religion‘ etabliert wird.²⁸

2. Materielle Kultur

a. Bautechnik

Die materielle Kultur spiegelt besonders eindrucksvoll Umfang und Nachhaltigkeit des ‚Impact of Empire‘ in den Klientelkönigreichen wider.

Ein besonders wichtiger gemeinsamer Faktor der *regna* ist die Adaption römischer Bautechniken. Am deutlichsten wird dies an der Ver-

²⁸ Zu römischen Ritualen außerhalb Roms: C. Ando, ‚Exporting Roman religion‘, in: J. Rüpke (Hrsg.), *A companion to Roman religion* (Malden—London 2007), 429–445; zu kolonialer Religion als ideologische Komponente von Weltreichen grundlegend: C.M. Sinopoli, ‚The archaeology of empires‘, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994), 159–180, vor allem 167f.; Beispiele aus nicht-römischer Perspektive: G.W. Conrad—A.A. Demarest, *Religion and empire: The dynamics of Aztec and Inca expansionism* (Cambridge 1984); E.M. Brumfiel, ‚Aztec hearts and minds: religion and the state in the Aztec empire‘, in: S. Alcock—T. D’Altroy—K. Morrison—C. Sinopoli (Hrsg.), *Empires. Perspectives from archaeology and history* (Cambridge 2001), 283–310.

breitung von *opus reticulatum* und *opus caementicium*.²⁹ Die Verwendung von Retikulatmauerwerk ist für herodianische Zeit gut in Iudaea bezeugt, so am Dritten Winterpalast in Jericho, verschiedenen Gebäuden in Paneas, in Masada, in Jerusalem und in Caesarea maritima.³⁰ Sogar kampanische Pozzolan-Erde wurde nach Caesarea importiert, um den Hafen Sebastos zu errichten,³¹ weil geeignete Rohstoffe für die adäquate Anwendung der *opus caementicium*-Technik in Herodes Reich fehlten. Aber auch in anderen Klientelreichen ist das römische *opus reticulatum* belegt: In Cherchell in Mauretanien wurde die Bautechnik bei einem Nymphäum, das in das 1. Jh. v. Chr. datiert wird, angewandt.³² Während der Herrschaft des Ptolemaios ist sie an den königlichen Mausoleen in der Nähe derselben Stadt belegt.³³ Die Retikulat-Technik wurde genutzt für die Errichtung der Stadtmauern von Samosata, der Hauptstadt des Reiches von Kommagene,³⁴ und in Sebaste-Elaioussa an Gebäuden, die mit Archelaos, dem König von Kappadokien, in Verbindung gebracht werden.³⁵ Die Beispiele von Retikulat-Verwendung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum und im Vorderen Orient sind umso erstaunlicher, als es keine gleichzeitigen Parallelen außerhalb der Klientelreiche gibt.³⁶

Ein Beispiel für die Adaption römischer Architekturkonzepte an eigene Bedürfnisse im Westen stellt der Palast von Fishbourne dar, wie jüngst H. von Hesberg gezeigt hat.³⁷ Die Anlage zeigt, wie Elemente der

²⁹ Allgemein: H. von Hesberg, *Römische Architektur* (München 2005) (mit der älteren Lit.); H.O. Lambrecht, *Opus caementitium* (sic!) (Düsseldorf 1984).

³⁰ S. Rocca, *Herod's Iudaea. A Mediterranean State in the Classical World* (Stuttgart 2008), 96–127.

³¹ Zum Hafen allgemein: R. Hohlfelder (Hrsg.) *King Herod's dream. Caesarea on the sea* (New York—London 1988), 90–105; Japp 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 13), 60–62.

³² allgemein: Japp 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 13), 81 f.; Roller 2003, a. a. O. (Anm. 12), 121.

³³ P. Leveau, ‚Trois tombeaux monumentaux à Cherchel‘, *Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne* 4 (1970), 101–148.

³⁴ A.A. Tirpan, ‚Roman masonry techniques at the capital of the Commagenian Kingdom‘, in: D.H. French—C.S. Lightfoot (Hrsg.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1989), 519–536.

³⁵ So die Phase I der Hafenthermen: M. Spanu, ‚Le terme del porto‘, in: E. Equini Schneider (Hrsg.), *Elaioussa Sebaste II* (Rom 2003), 299–301.

³⁶ M. Waelkens, ‚The adoption of Roman building techniques in Asia minor‘, in: S. Macready—F.H. Thompson (Hrsg.), *Roman architecture in the Greek world* (London 1987), 94–105, vor allem 101.

³⁷ H. von Hesberg, ‚Einheimische Bauherren und römische Architekturkonzepte im Westen des römischen Reiches‘, in: F. Pirson—U. Wulff-Rheidt (Hrsg.), *Austausch und Inspiration: Kulturkontakt als Impuls architektonischer Innovation; Kolloquium vom 28.-30.4.2006 in Berlin anlässlich des 65. Geburtstages von Adolf Hoffmann* (Mainz 2008), 160–

römischen Villa übernommen, aber gleichzeitig einheimischen Vorstellungen von Repräsentation angepasst wurden, indem vor allem die Person des Besitzers, wohl Togidubnus, herausgestellt wurde.

Der Techniktransfer erfolgte wohl durch römische Handwerker, wobei unklar bleiben muss, ob es sich um Abteilungen der römischen Armee gehandelt hat oder um kaiserliche bzw. private Bauhöfen.³⁸ Treibende Kraft für die Übernahme scheint jedoch immer der König selbst gewesen zu sein, wenn man den Charakter der Bauten und deren Lokalisierung in den jeweiligen Kapitalen oder ‚Palästen‘ berücksichtigt.

b. *Militärausrüstung*

Die Herrschaft der Klientelkönige beruhte in starkem Maße auf der Unterstützung durch Rom. Insofern spielte die Verbindung mit der römischen Armee als dem wichtigsten Machtinstrument eine entscheidende Rolle. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die *reges* enge Beziehungen zum Militär unterhielten. Eine besondere Qualität erhält dieser Konnex dadurch, dass er zur Repräsentation und zur Statusaffirmation oder -steigerung genutzt wurde, wobei insbesondere die Befehlsgewalt über Auxiliärtruppen von den Klientelkönigen herausgestrichen wird.³⁹ Archäologisch lässt sich dies durch den Fund römischer Militaria in Gräbern finden, die mit Klientelkönigen in Verbindung gebracht werden können: Hervorragende Bedeutung kam anscheinend den Maskenhelmen zu.⁴⁰ So wurde im Königsgrab von Bizye in Thrakien, der Hauptstadt des

173, vor allem 169 f.; zum Palast von Fishbourne: J. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961–1969*. vols. I. II (London 1971); J. Cunliffe, ‚Fishbourne revisited: the site in its context‘, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4 (1991), 160–169; E. Black, ‚Fishbourne, Chichester, and Togidubnus rex again‘, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008), 293–303 (mit der älteren Lit.).

³⁸ Zum Transfer von Bautechniken in der Antike: R. MacMullen, ‚Roman imperial building in the provinces‘, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64 (1959), 207–235; T.F.C. Blagg, ‚Roman civil and military architecture in the province of Britain: aspects of patronage, influence and craft organisation‘, *World archaeology* 12 (1980), 27–42; O. Stoll, ‚Der Transfer von Technologie in der römischen Antike. Einige zusätzliche Bemerkungen zu einem Buch von Sigrid Dušek‘, *Münsteraner Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 12 (1993), 93–118; K. Greene, ‚Technology and innovation in context: the Roman background to mediaeval and later development‘, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994); O. Stoll, ‚Ordinatus architectus. Römische Militärarchitekten und ihre Bedeutung für den Technologietransfer‘, in: L. Schumacher (Hrsg.), *Religion—Wirtschaft—Technik. Althistorische Beiträge zur Entstehung neuer kultureller Strukturmuster im historischen Raum Nordafrika/Kleinasien/Syrien* (St. Katharinen 1998), 203–227.

³⁹ Creighton 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 50–54.

⁴⁰ G. Franzius, ‚Maskenhelme‘, in: Wolfgang Schlüter—Rainer Wiegels (Hrsg.), *Rom*,

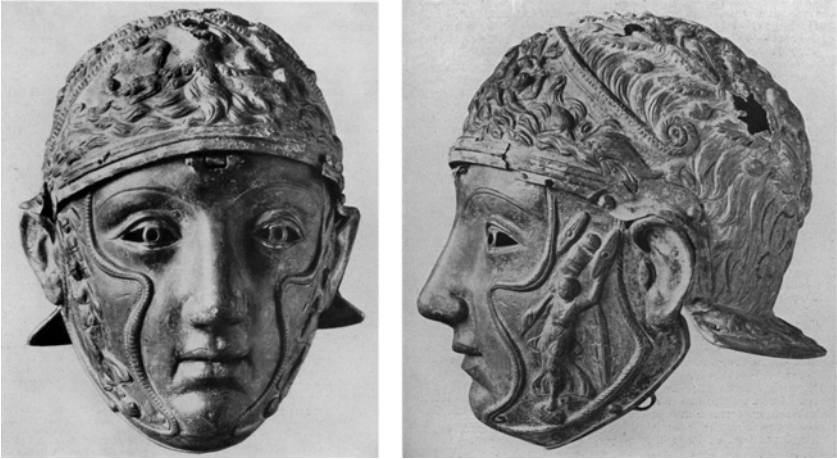


Abb. 2: Gesichtshelm aus dem Königsgrab von Bizye (Vize)

odrysischen Königreichs, neben Kettenpanzer, Schwert und zwei Lanzen ein aufwändig gestalteter Gesichtshelm (Abb. 2) gefunden.⁴¹ Ein nahezu identischer Helm ist Teil der sehr wertvollen Beigaben eines Grabes in Emesa, das aufgrund der Datierung am ehesten Iamblichus II., dem ersten Klientelkönig, zugewiesen werden kann.⁴²

Die Bedeutung, die von einheimischen Herrschern der Verbindung mit dem römischen Heer zugemessen wurde, wird bestätigt durch die Funde qualitätvoller römischer Militärausrüstung in Bestattungen von Personen hohen gesellschaftlichen Rangs in Britannien, so in Verulamium/Saint Albans in Lexden und Folly Lane sowie in Baldock⁴³ oder

Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese (Osnabrück 1999), 117–148; N. Hanel—U. Peltz—F. Willer, ‚Untersuchungen zu römischen Reiterhelmmasken aus der Germania inferior‘, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 204 (2004), 71–91.

⁴¹ A.M. Mansel, ‚Grabhügelforschung im östlichen Thrakien‘, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1941), 119–187, vor allem 155–182; N. Başgelen, *Arif Müftid Mansel’s Excavations of Tumuli in Turkish Thrace* (Istanbul 2009); zum Helm: G. Waurick, ‚Römische Helme‘, in: A. Bottini (Hrsg.), *Antike Helme. Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikemuseums Berlin* (Mainz 1988), 360–363; Franzius 1999, a. a. O. (Anm. 40), 120; L. Hansen, *Die Panzerung der Kelten. Eine diachrone und interkulturelle Untersuchung eisenzeitlicher Rüstungen* (Kiel 2003), 74.

⁴² H. Seyrig, ‚Antiquités syriennes. Antiquités de la nécropole d’Émèse‘, *Syria* 29 (1952), 204–250; W. Ball, *Rome in the East. The transformation of an empire* (London 2000), 35 f.; zum Helm: Waurick 1988, a. a. O. (Anm. 41), 361–363; M. Junkelmann, *Reiter wie Statuen aus Erz* (Mainz 1996), 24; 120.

⁴³ Creighton 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 49 f.

im ‚Königlichen Grab‘ von Es Soumâa in Algerien.⁴⁴ Römische Militaria können deshalb als ein weiterer Baustein für die Konstruktion der kulturell vielseitigen Identität der Klientelkönige betrachtet werden.

c. Koch- und Tafelgeschirr

Die bisherige Untersuchung konzentrierte sich ganz auf die Person des Herrschers. Um herauszufinden, ob und in welchem Umfang römische Objekte oder Kulturtechniken von breiteren Bevölkerungsschichten übernommen wurden bzw.—allgemeiner—welche Folgen die Tatsache, in einem römischen Klientelreich zu leben, für die Einwohner außer den Königen hatte, muss von anderer archäologischer Evidenz ausgegangen werden. Für die Einbeziehung dieser, auch niedrig stehender sozialer Gruppen ist in erster Linie Keramik geeignet, da sie als billiges und einfach herzustellendes Produkt weit verbreitet war und in großen Mengen zur Verfügung steht.⁴⁵

In den beiden Klientelreichen Englands, im Süden und Osten der Insel, kamen in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. neue Keramikformen wie Teller oder Becher auf, die römische Vorbilder nachahmten.⁴⁶ Einige der Gefäße waren vom Festland importiert, bei den meisten handelte es sich aber um lokal produzierte Imitationen. Da alle Gefäße der Nahrungsaufnahme dienten, spricht ihr massives Aufkommen für eine Änderung der Ess- und Trinkgebräuche in dieser Zeit, die sich durch die Übernahme römischer Tafelsitten erklären lässt. Die Analyse des Formenbestandes an unterschiedlichen Fundstätten wie Braughing, Gorhambury und dem King Harry Lane-Friedhof in Verulamium hat gezeigt,⁴⁷ dass zwischen der Oberschicht und den einfacheren Gruppen der Gesellschaft deutliche Unterschiede existieren, so gibt es eine Trennung, die sich durch

⁴⁴ G. Waurick, ‚Die Schutzwaffen im numidischen Grab von Es Soumâa‘, in: H.G. Horn—Ch.B. Rüger (Hrsg.), *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara* (Bonn 1979), 305–332.

⁴⁵ Zur Rolle von römischer Keramik als Fundmaterial: J.T. Peña, *Roman pottery in the archaeological record* (Cambridge 2007) (mit der älteren Lit.); grundlegend zu Keramik als Indikator von kulturellen Wandlungsprozessen in Grenzgebieten: M.L. Okun, ‚An example of the process of acculturation in the early Roman frontier‘, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8 (1989), 41–54.

⁴⁶ Zum Folgenden: H.E.M. Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain* (Cambridge 2006), 155–158.

⁴⁷ Cool 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 46), 159–161; vgl. auch M. Pitts, ‚Globalizing the local in Roman Britain: An anthropological approach to social change‘, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27 (2008), 497.

das Trinken von Wein anstelle von Bier manifestiert.⁴⁸ Grundsätzlich kann im vorrömischen Britannien nicht von einer Übernahme römischer Tafelsitten auf breiter gesellschaftlicher Basis gesprochen werden, eine entsprechende Übernahme von Kulturpraktiken wurde nur vom oberen Segment der Gesellschaft getragen.

Keramik lässt jedoch nicht nur auf eine—partielle—Änderung beim Verzehr, sondern auch bei der Zubereitung von Speisen schließen. Eine spezielle Gruppe von Gefäßen mit einem dicken roten Überzug im Inneren wird gewöhnlich als Pompeian Red Ware bezeichnet.⁴⁹ Dabei handelt es sich meist um flache Schüsseln und Platten mit zugehörigen Deckeln. Da viele der Gefäße Rußspuren zeigen, müssen sie mit Feuer in Berührung gekommen sein und deshalb primär der Zubereitung von Speisen gedient haben. Die flachen Formen der Pompeian Red Ware sind besonders geeignet zum Backen von Kuchen oder Aufläufen, wie sie typisch für die römische Küche sind. Auch zum Backen von Brot können sie verwendet werden. Im Kochbuch des Apicius werden entsprechende Schüsseln, meist patinae genannt, für insgesamt 53 Rezepte benötigt.⁵⁰ In Britannien wurde diese Keramikgattung vor allem in Militärlagern und größeren Städten des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. gefunden, aber auch vor der Eroberung in verschiedenen Orten, so in Sheepen, der Residenz des Reiches der Catvellauni in der Nähe der späteren römischen Kolonie Colchester.⁵¹ Der Beleg von Pompeian Red Ware verweist also auf römische Kochpraktiken, vermutlich auf die Existenz entsprechend geschulter Köche, bei den Eliten des östlichen Klientelreiches.⁵²

Pompeian Red Ware ist auch im Herrschaftsgebiet Herodes' des Großen bezeugt: In Judaea wurde diese Keramik an Stätten wie Samaria, Cae-

⁴⁸ Cool 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 46), 146–174.

⁴⁹ Zur Gattung: C. Goudineau, ‚Note sur la céramique à engobe interne rouge-pomépien (‘Pompejanisch-roten Platten’)‘, *Mélanges d’École française à Rome* 82 (1970), 159–186; D.S. Peacock, ‚Pompeian red ware‘, in: D.S. Peacock (Hrsg.), *Pottery and early commerce. Characterization and trade in Roman and later ceramics* (London—New York—San Francisco 1977), 147–162; M.C. Leotta, ‚Ceramica a vernice rossa interna‘, in: D. Gandolfini (Hrsg.), *La ceramica e i materiali di età romana. Classi, produzioni, commerci e consumi* (Bordighera 2005), 115–120.

⁵⁰ Apicius 3.4.1; 3.3; 3.6; 3.7; 3.9.3; 4.2.1–37; 4.4; 4.5.1; 7.4.5; 7.5.5; 7.13.8; 7.15.6; 8.6.2–3.9; 8.8.1; 9.3.1; 9.8.3; 10.1.4–5.

⁵¹ Zur Verbreitung in Britannien: Peacock 1977, a. a. O. (Anm. 49), 158 f.; Belege in Sheepen: C.F.C. Hawkes—M.R. Hull, *Camulodunum. First report on the excavations at Colchester 1930–1939* (Oxford 1947), 221 Form 17A; Cool 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 46), 76.

⁵² Cool 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 46), 166 f.; in dieselbe Richtung weist das Vorkommen von *mortaria* an Fundplätzen mit Elite-Charakter in Kontexten, die vor die Eroberung gesetzt werden müssen: ebenda 166 Anm. 48.

sarea maritima, Jericho, Machairos, dem Herodion und Jerusalem gefunden, außerhalb Judaeas in Dor und Panias.⁵³ In Jericho ist sie in der Zeit von 15 v. Chr. bis 6 n. Chr. datiert, so dass die Einfuhr aus Italien in die Herrschaftszeit von Herodes gesichert ist.⁵⁴ Grundsätzlich ist Pompeian Red Ware relativ häufig in den städtischen Zentren des herodianischen Reiches und den königlichen Residenzen, aber sehr selten in ländlichen Siedlungen. Es kann deshalb angenommen werden, dass auch in Palästina wie in Britannien pompejanisch-rote Platten den Bedarf des Königs und der einheimischen Elite deckten.⁵⁵ Die flachen Backschüsseln hatten insofern einen Einfluss auf die Keramikproduktion und Küche in Herodes' Reich, als während des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. lokale Imitationen hergestellt wurden.⁵⁶ Da entsprechende Formen nicht im Repertoire des östlichen Mittelmeerraums vorkommen, sind sie ein Hinweis auf die Adaption römischer Kochgewohnheiten, doch war ihre Akzeptanz sehr beschränkt und ist zudem häufig nur bestimmten gesellschaftlichen Gruppen zuzuordnen, wie die Befunde aus Tell Anafa belegen. Dieser wichtige Fundort in der Nähe des Hula-Sees hat unsere Kenntnisse vom Keramikgebrauch im Reich des Herodes Philippos entschieden erweitert.⁵⁷ Hier wurden deutliche Unterschiede zwischen dem Gefäßspektrum der späthellenistischen und römischen Zeit festgestellt.⁵⁸ So konnten der Phase zwischen 4 v. Chr. und 50 n. Chr. offensichtlich weniger Krüge zum Servieren von Getränken und weniger Parfümfläschchen zugeordnet werden, was auf einen einfacheren Lebensstandard schließen lässt. Besonders kennzeichnend ist der Gebrauch von Backschüsseln, zum Teil auch von Pompeian Red Ware, die einen Anteil von 11 % des Kochgeschirrs ausmacht, während sie für die frühere Zeit fehlen.⁵⁹ Eine Übernahme römischer Kochgebräuche durch die einheimische Bevölkerung kann

⁵³ A. Berlin, 'The plain wares', in: S.C. Herbert (Hrsg.), *Tell Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (Ann Arbor 1997), 30–32; R. Bar-Nathan, *Masada VII. The Yigael Yadin excavations 1963–1965. Final reports: The pottery of Masada* (Jerusalem 2006), 358–360.

⁵⁴ R. Bar-Nathan, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho* (Jerusalem 2002) 138–140.

⁵⁵ R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, 'Hellenistic and Early Roman fine ware and lamps from Area A', in: A. Geva (Hrsg.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem II* (Jerusalem 2003), 216f.; Bar-Nathan 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 53), 358f.

⁵⁶ Berlin 1997, a. a. O. (Anm. 53), 104f.

⁵⁷ Zur Grabung allgemein: S.C. Herbert, *Tell Anafa I, i. ii: Final report on ten years of excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman settlement in Northern Israel*. 10. Supplement Journal of Roman Archaeology (Ann Arbor 1994).

⁵⁸ Berlin 1997, a. a. O. (Anm. 53), 30–32.

⁵⁹ Berlin 1997, a. a. O. (Anm. 53), 104–109.

jedoch deshalb nicht angenommen werden, zumal auch weitere typische Gefäßformen wie *mortaria* fehlen.⁶⁰ Am wahrscheinlichsten ist, dass Soldaten in Tell Anafa stationiert waren, deren Essgewohnheiten jedoch nicht allgemein übernommen wurden. Trotzdem zeigt die Keramik in Tell Anafa, dass auch einfache Siedlungen in Klientelreichen Kontaktzonen waren, wobei freilich nicht immer reger Kulturaustausch herrschen musste, sondern es auch zu einem Nebeneinander zweier Lebensstile kommen konnte.

III. KLIENTELKÖNIGTÜMER ALS THEMA VON *FRONTIER STUDIES*

Die genauere Betrachtung vor allem der materiellen Kultur in den Klientelkönigreichen hat gezeigt, dass sie als Kontaktzonen Regionen erhöhten kulturellen Austauschs waren.⁶¹ Da diese Gebiete nicht linear als *border*, sondern nur gebietsweise als *frontiers* zu verstehen sind, kann die Beschäftigung mit ihnen dazu verhelfen, einige Versäumnisse und Probleme von *frontier studies* im Allgemeinen zu benennen und sich ihrer bewusst zu werden, so vor allem die einheimische Bevölkerung vom König bis zu den einfachen Untertanen zu ignorieren und zu marginalisieren.⁶² Ganz in diesem Sinn sollten die Bewohner der Grenzregionen des Imperium Romanum selbst als handlungsmächtige Agenten in Prozessen kulturellen Wandels gesehen werden.⁶³ Zwei Probleme sind insbesondere zu nennen:

⁶⁰ Berlin 1997, a. a. O. (Anm. 53), 123–126; A. Berlin, ‚Italian cooking vessels and cuisine from Tel Anafa‘, *Israel Exploration Journal* 43 (1993), 35–44.

⁶¹ ‚Kontakt‘ und ‚Kontaktzonen‘ sind Kernbegriffe der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung: K.G. Lightfoot, ‚Culture contact studies‘, *American Antiquity* 60 (1995), 199–217; J. Cusick, *Studies in culture contact: interaction, culture change and archaeology* (Carbondale 1998); R. Rolle—K. Schmidt (Hrsg.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen 1998); C. Gosden, *Archaeology and colonialism. Culture contact from 5000 BC to the present* (Cambridge 2004).

⁶² Die Unterscheidung von ‚border‘ und ‚frontier‘ lässt nicht durch das deutsche Wort ‚Grenze‘ wiederholen; vgl. Braund 1984, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 95; methodisch grundlegend: P. Southern, ‚Comparative frontier studies‘, in: E. Scott (Hrsg.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: First Conference Proceedings* (Avebury 1994), 147–154; K.G. Lightfoot—A. Martinez, ‚Frontiers and boundaries in archaeological perspective‘, *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* (1995), 471–492; C.M. Wells, ‚Profuit invitis te dominante capi: social and economic considerations on the Roman frontiers‘, *Journal of Roman archaeology* 9 (1996), 436–446; A. Gardner, ‚Fluid frontiers: cultural interaction on the edge of empire‘, *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2007), 43–60.

⁶³ Zum Konzept der *agency* in der Archäologie: M.-A. Dobres—J.E. Robb (Hrsg.), *Agency in archaeology* (London—New York 2000); J.L. Dornan, ‚Agency and archaeology:‘

1.) Historische Untersuchungen der *regna* behandelten meist das Gebiet in seiner Gesamtheit, galten also der Makroregion. Archäologische Analysen beschränken sich meist auf eine oder einige wenige Ausgrabungen, sind also auf Mikroregionen bezogen. Es ist notwendig, beide Herangehensweisen miteinander zu verbinden, da nur auf diese integrierte Weise sowohl die spezifischen Formen als auch die weiteren Effekte des Kulturkontakts nachgezeichnet werden können.

2.) Die Studien zu Klientelkönigen und ihren Herrschaftsgebieten unterstützen notwendigerweise ein ‚top down‘-Modell des Kulturwandels, das eher Entwicklungen am Königshof in den Fokus stellt als solche in anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen. Es liegt natürlich im Interesse der Eliten an der Peripherie, in erster Linie des Königs selbst, die engen Beziehungen zu Rom als der wichtigsten Legitimation seiner Herrschaft herauszustellen. Es ist jedoch unbedingt zu fragen, ob andere soziale Gruppen der Bevölkerung ihre eigenen speziellen Identitäten in diesem Grenzbe-
reich kreierten, insbesondere inwieweit die starke Bezugnahme auf Rom, die der König praktizierte, übernommen wurde.⁶⁴ Trotz Schwierigkeiten bei der Quellenlage kann durch Analyse der archäologischen Evidenz, insbesondere von Massenprodukten wie Keramik, gezeigt werden, dass die Beeinflussung seiner eigenen Untertanen durch Praktiken und

past, present, and future directions’, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 9 (2002), 303–329; A. Gardner (Hrsg.), *Agency Uncovered: archaeological perspectives on social agency, power, and being human* (London 2004).

⁶⁴ ‚Identität‘ ist in den letzten Jahren zum zentralen Paradigma innerhalb der römischen Archäologie geworden und hat—berechtigterweise—den zu pauschalen und historisch belasteten Terminus Romanisierung ersetzt: A. Gardner, ‚Social identity and the duality of structure in late Roman Britain’, *Journal of social archaeology* 2 (2002), 323–351; D. Mattingly, ‚Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004), 5–25; A. Schmidt-Colinet (Hrsg.), *Lokale Identitäten in Randgebieten des römischen Reiches*. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums in Wiener Neustadt, 24.–26. April 2003 (Wien 2004); A. Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: soldiers and society in late Roman Britain* (Walnut Creek 2007); R. Roth—J. Keller (Hrsg.) *Roman by Integration: dimensions of group identity in material culture and text*. 66. Supplement *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (Providence 2007); S. Hinds—T. Schmitz, ‚Constructing identities in the Roman Empire: three studies’, *Millenium* 4 (2007), 1–12; M. Pitts, ‚The emperor’s new clothes? The utility of identity in Roman archaeology’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007), 693–713; M. Sommer, ‚Bauen an der Grenze. Überlegungen zur Monumentalisierung kultureller Identitäten’, in: F. Pirson—U. Wulff-Rheidt (Hrsg.), *Austausch und Inspiration: Kulturkontakt als Impuls architektonischer Innovation; Kolloquium vom 28.–30.4.2006 in Berlin anlässlich des 65. Geburtstages von Adolf Hoffmann* (Mainz 2008), 202–213; L. Revell, *Roman imperialism and local identities* (Cambridge 2009) (jeweils mit weiterer Lit.).

Formen der römischen Kultur, die vom König demonstrativ aufgegriffen wurden, gering ist. Es kommt also in Klientelkönigreichen—im Unterschied zu vielen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches—nur sehr begrenzt zu einem ‚trickle down‘-Effekt.⁶⁵ Die teilweise unmittelbar an die Person des Königs gebundene Beziehung zwischen Klientelreich und Rom bzw. Italien kann archäologisch am besten anhand von Lebensmittellieferungen exemplifiziert werden: In Masada fand man Amphoren, die laut Aufschrift direkt für Herodes bestimmt waren und Wein und Äpfel aus Italien sowie *garum* aus Spanien enthielten.⁶⁶

Im Unterschied zum Zentrum-Peripherie-Modell, wo das Zentrum die entscheidende Rolle bei der Veränderung kulturellen Wandels innehatte, spielte bei Klientelkönigreichen die Peripherie den aktiven Part.⁶⁷ Zwar wurden im Rahmen der Erziehung der Prinzen als *obsides* in Rom periphere Elemente ins Zentrum gebracht, doch wurden sie nach ihrer Erziehung an den äußeren Rand gesandt.⁶⁸ Somit waren die Könige Agenten des kulturellen Wandels, freilich unterschied sich deren kulturelle Identität nachdrücklich von der seiner ‚Landsleute‘, die deutlich vielgliedriger war und eine dezidiert römische Facette aufwies. So sind auch Gemeinsamkeiten in der Repräsentation der *reges* zu erklären.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Grundlegend: M. Millett, *The romanization of Britain* (Cambridge 1990).

⁶⁶ So z. B. *Regi Herodi Iudaico*: H.M. Cotton—J. Geiger, *Masada II: The Yigael Yadin excavations 1963–1965. Final report: The Latin and Greek documents* (Jerusalem 1989), passim; Bar-Nathan 2006, a. a. O. (Anm. 53), 312–314.

⁶⁷ T. Champion (Hrsg.), *Centre and Periphery. Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (Cambridge 1989); M. Rowlands—K. Kristiansen (Hrsg.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (London—New York 1998); G. Schörner, ‚Das Zentrum—Peripherie—Modell in der Romanisierungsforschung‘, in: G. Schörner (Hrsg.), *Romanisierung—Romanisation. Theoretische Modelle und praktische Fallbeispiele* (Oxford 2005), 95–99 (mit weiterer Lit.); zum Zentrum-Peripherie-Modell in *frontier studies*: P.S. Wells, ‚Production within and beyond imperial boundaries: goods, exchange, and power in Roman Empire‘, in: N. Kardulias (Hrsg.), *World-Systems theory in practice: leadership, production, and exchange* (Lanham 1996), 85–101.

⁶⁸ Allgemein: J. Gagé, *Res gestae divi Augusti* (3. Auflage, Paris 1977), 142 f.; Braund 1984, a. a. O. (Anm. 3), 15–17; ein besonders gut erforschtes Beispiel: M. Hadas-Lebel, ‚L'éducation des princes hérodiens à Rome et l'évolution du clientélisme romain‘, in: M. Mor u. a. (Hrsg.), *Jews and gentiles in the Holy Land in the days of the Second Temple, the Mishna and the Talmud* (Jerusalem 2003), 44–62; *obsides* aus dem Westen: Creighton 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 91–93.

⁶⁹ So werden identische Münztypen, die auf Prägungen Roms zurückgehen, gleichermaßen von Tincomarus, Verica und Epaticcus in Britannien sowie Iuba I, Iuba II und Ptolemaios in Mauretanien verwendet, außerdem von Königen Noricums und dem treverischen Fürsten Arda: Creighton 2000, a. a. O. (Anm. 4), 118–122 Abb. 4.12. Zum römischen Vorbild: RRC 361.

Dass dabei deren Ausdrucksformen aus dem Rahmen des regional Typischen fallen können, verdeutlicht die Münzprägung. So unterscheiden sich die Münzen der Reiche im Osten deutlich von denen der Poleis in ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft.⁷⁰ Jene ahmen stadtrömische Prägungen nach, ganz ähnlich wie auch in den Klientelkönigreichen im Westen, während diese einen viel stärkeren Lokalbezug aufweisen und vor allem lokale Mythen und Spiele thematisieren. Teilweise wird, wie im Falle von Agrippa, sogar Latein für die Titulatur benutzt.⁷¹

Der Grund für diesen ungemein engen Anschluss an römische Formen ist evident: Die *reges* mussten ihre festen Beziehungen mit Rom als ihren *raison d'être* herausstreichen und immer wieder augenfällig machen.

Das grundsätzliche Prinzip, nämlich dass materielle Kultur römischer Prägung innerhalb des Imperiums in lokalen Gesellschaften als Statussymbol genutzt werden konnte, gilt auch für die Klientelreiche.⁷² Es gibt jedoch ein signifikantes Charakteristikum: Die Adoption römischer Kultur bezieht sich meist auf die Könige und ist auch hauptsächlich von ihnen veranlasst. Im Unterschied zu den Provinzen war der Prozess des kulturellen Wandels in den Klientelreichen deshalb ungleichmäßiger und kurzlebiger: ungleichmäßig insofern, als manche Bereiche der indigenen Kultur viel stärker durch römische Modelle beeinflusst sind als andere, häufig auch in einer Art und Weise, wie sie nicht mit den regulären Provinzen des Römischen Reiches vergleichbar ist, wie die Bauten in *opus reticulatum* oder die Münzen mit lateinischen Legenden beweisen.⁷³ Gleiches gilt für die Porträts der mauretanischen Könige im besten römischen Stil⁷⁴ oder die Wanddekoration zweiten Stils in Masada.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ A. Burnett, 'The Roman West and the Roman East', in: Ch. Howgego—V. Heuchert—A. Burnett (Hrsg.), *Coinage and identity in the Roman provinces* (Oxford 2005), 171–180.

⁷¹ Burnett 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 70), 178.

⁷² Grundlegend: P.S. Wells, 'Identity and material culture in the Later Prehistory of Central Europe', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 6 (1998), 239–298; vgl. auch P.W.M. Freeman, 'Romanisation' and material culture', *Journal of Roman archaeology* 6 (1993), 438–445.

⁷³ Hier Anm. 29; Burnett 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 70), 178.

⁷⁴ K. Fittschen, 'Bildnisse numidischer Könige', in: H.G. Horn—Ch.B. Rüger (Hrsg.), *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara* (Bonn 1979), 209–225.

⁷⁵ G. Foerster, *Masada V. The Yigael Yadin excavations 1963–1965. Final reports: Art and architecture* (Jerusalem 1995), 22–60; K. Fittschen, 'Wall decorations in Herod's kingdom: their relationship with wall decorations in Greece and Italy', in: K. Fittschen—

Kurzlebiger vor allem deshalb, weil die Annexion der Klientelreiche einen Wandel der materiellen Kultur nach sich zieht, die einheimischer wird beziehungsweise in erster Linie stärkeren lokalen Charakter annimmt. Beispiele hierfür sind das Verschwinden von Pompeian Red ware außerhalb von Städten und Militäranlagen im römischen Britannien oder das Keramikspektrum in Masada nach der Ära Herodes des Großen.⁷⁶ Deshalb scheint die Kultur in den Klientelreichen noch mehr fragmentiert zu sein und noch mehr Ergebnis von ‚bricolage‘ zu sein, als dies N. Terrenato für die regulären Provinzen angenommen hat.⁷⁷ Freilich ist es sehr fraglich, ob die Klientelkönige überhaupt die Schaffung einer möglichst homogenen Kultur römischer Prägung in ihren Reichen anstrebten oder ob sie durch ihre Bindung an Rom, die vom Rest der Bevölkerung nicht nachvollzogen wurde, ihre kulturelle Isolierung in Kauf nahmen.

Jedenfalls sind die Klientelreiche sehr gute Beispiele dafür, dass wir grundsätzlich Grenzen eher als Zonen kulturellen Kontakts zu sehen haben und nicht als scharfe Trennlinien. Die Bewohner dieser Regionen können deshalb eine Vielfalt unterschiedlicher kultureller Identitäten ausbilden, wobei in den Klientelkönigreichen die Möglichkeiten zwischen enger Anlehnung an Rom und Festhalten an der traditionellen Kultur besonders groß sind. Grundsätzlich erfordert es diese aktive Rolle, die die Bewohner in den *regna* einnehmen, unsere fest gefügten Vorstellungen vom römischen Imperialismus beziehungsweise Kolonialismus und vom Verhältnis von Zentrum und Peripherie in Frage zu stellen und einer kritischen Prüfung zu unterziehen.⁷⁸

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G. Foerster (Hrsg.), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen 1996), 139–161; vgl. auch S. Rozenberg, ‚The wall paintings of the Herodian Palace at Jericho‘, in: Fittschen—Foerster 1996, a. a. O., 121–138.

⁷⁶ Hier Anm. 51 und 55.

⁷⁷ N. Terrenato, ‚The Romanization of Italy: global acculturation or cultural bricolage?‘, in: C. Forcey—J. Hawthorne—R. Witcher (Hrsg.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference 1997* (Oxford 1998), 20–27.

⁷⁸ Zu Kolonialismus und Imperialismus aus archäologischer Sicht: B. Bartel, ‚Colonialism and cultural responses: problems related to Roman provincial analysis‘, *World Archaeology* 12 (1980), 11–26; R. Hingley, ‚Roman Britain: the structure of Roman imperialism and the consequences of imperialism in the development of a peripheral province‘, in: D. Miles (Hrsg.), *The Romano-British countryside* (Oxford 1982), 17–52;

Abbildungsnachweis

- Abb. 1a S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains I* (Paris 1909) 419.
Abb. 1b S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains I* (Paris 1909) 420.
Abb. 2a A.M. Mansel, ‚Grabhügelforschung im östlichen Thrakien‘, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1941, Abb. 31.
Abb. 2b A.M. Mansel, ‚Grabhügelforschung im östlichen Thrakien‘, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1941, Abb. 33.

J. Webster—N. Cooper (Hrsg.), *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester 1996); D. Mattingly, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, discourse and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*. 23. *Supplement Journal of Roman Archaeology* (Portsmouth 1997); Gosden 2004, a. a. O. (Anm. 61); G. Schörner, ‚Imperialismus, Kolonialismus und Postkolonialismus in der Romanisierungsforschung‘, in: Schörner 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 67), 25–34; M. Given, *The archaeology of the colonized* (London 2004); Revell 2009, a. a. O. (Anm. 64); zu Zentrum und Peripherie: hier Anm. 67.

THE FRONTIERS OF GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGIONS:
GREEKS AND NON-GREEKS FROM A RELIGIOUS
POINT OF VIEW

ELENA MUÑIZ GRIJALVO

Ancient Greeks seemed to be very concerned about who was Greek and who was not. At least, this is what we can infer from the great number of literary sources which dealt with the topic in one way or another. From Herodotus' *Histories* to, say, Tatian's *Address to the Greeks* (to give just one example of extremely opposite genres and aims), the frontier of Greekness was an important issue not only to the Greek mind, but also to the minds of other intellectuals from all over the *oikouménē*. However, Greekness was rarely systematically defined. The features of Greekness could be found in all forms of art, and covered areas from descent and language to more general ways of life.¹

In this general picture religion played a key role, or, to be more precise, *some* religious aspects did. In the fifth century BC Herodotus wrote "so that things done by man not be forgotten in time, and that great and marvellous deeds, some displayed by the Hellenes, some by the barbarians, not lose their glory" (1.1). His approach to these two large groups, "Hellenes" and "barbarians", set a kind of agenda for those intending to describe new peoples. Among the categories that could be explored when dealing with a foreign people, religion occupied a privileged position. Herodotus focused on a handful of religious aspects to explain the distance between they-barbarians and we-Greeks. The result was not a clear picture of what Greek religion actually was, nor even of what religion meant for Herodotus. It was more a way of establishing the limits of Greek religion with respect to non-Greek peoples, in order to make the intellectual frontiers of the Greek world explicit.

As we will see, the ethnographical categories drawn by Herodotus proved to be lasting. Authors repeatedly tried to set the limits of the Greek world by focusing on quite similar subjects to describe other peoples. However, this continuity in the ethnographical religious approach did

¹ Well-known definitions of Greekness are Herodotus 8.144.3; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 50; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.89.4; Dio Chrysostom 38.46.

not mean that Greek religion was always the same, nor (and this is my point here) that the frontier of Greek religion was always set at the same place. The aim of this paper is to analyse how religion was used as a way of constructing different limits for the concept of Greekness. After a brief sketch of Herodotus' work as a starting point, I will focus on Strabo's *Geography*, firstly to show how he broadened the limits of Greek religion, so that it could be understood as "Graeco-Roman religion" instead, and secondly to show how the device was intended to set frontiers not only between Greeks and barbarians, but also between Greeks (or Graeco-Romans) and non-Greeks within the Roman Empire.

Analysis of religion in Herodotus is becoming increasingly frequent in studies of his work.² This is not surprising as the amount of religious data concerning not only the foreign peoples Herodotus describes, but also the Greeks themselves, is indeed remarkable. However, what we read in Herodotus is not an accurate picture of what Greek religion was actually like. No matter how much we read into it,³ he had no intention of doing so. As we have seen, he was merely trying to offer his audience an account of the deeds of Greeks and barbarians alike, and of the causes which led to the Persian wars. To achieve his goal, he considered it necessary to digress, focusing on the different peoples which had to do with either the barbarians (i.e. Persians) or the Greeks. The result is, as has been pointed out, a "patterned display provided by the range of cultures", in which Greece is not to be understood without barbarians, and vice versa.⁴

² Works including analysis of religion in Herodotus are: G. Lachenaud, *Mythologies, religion et philosophie de l'histoire dans Herodote* (Lille 1978); E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford 1991); S. Scullion, "Herodotus and Greek Religion", in C. Dewald—J. Marincola (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (Cambridge 2006), 192–208; W. Burkert, "Herodot als Historiker fremder Religionen", in G. Nenci—O. Reverdin (eds.), *Hérodote et les peuples non-Grecs* (Genève 1990), 1–32; P. Cartledge, "Ancient and modern contestations of Hellenism", *Bulletin Institute Classical Studies* 40 (1995), 75–82; J. Redfield, "Herodotus the tourist", *Classical Philology* 80 (1985), 97–118. Specifically about religion in Herodotus: F. Mora, *Religione e religioni nelle Storie di Erodoto* (Milano 1986); J. Gould, "Herodotus and religion", in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (Oxford 1994), 91–106; T. Harrison, *Divinity and History. The religion of Herodotus* (Oxford 2000); J.D. Mikalson, "Religion in Herodotus", in E.J. Bakker—I.J.F. de Jong—H. van Wees (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (Leiden-Boston 2002); J.D. Mikalson, *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars* (Chapel Hill 2003).

³ And no matter how optimistic one chooses to be, as is the case with Mikalson 2003, op. cit. (n. 2), 6, who claims that "his Histories (...) may reasonably be claimed to be the best and richest single source for Greek religion as it was practised in the classical period".

⁴ Redfield 1985, op. cit. (n. 2), 106.

Herodotus conceived the world as a system formed by the combination of peoples who were different from each other. A conscious effort to describe the constituents of his system can be found in his work, although he always focuses on what made the difference between them.

This is probably why Herodotus concentrated on certain matters and not on others, including when referring to religion. One of the easiest ways to underline the differences between two peoples is to describe what is patently obvious: their customs, what they do, especially what they do as a people and in public, and in the religious domain this means rituals. Herodotus' concern about ritual probably had a lot to do with this.⁵ In addition, of all the rituals, sacrifice is what he commented on most extensively.

The two richest descriptions of sacrifice are those of Persians and Egyptians. In both cases, but especially in Persian sacrifices, he chooses to center on what was definitely non-Greek. And thus he says explicitly that Persians "do not build altars or kindle fire, employ libations, or music, or fillets, or barley meal" (1.132.1), and continues to explain how "to pray for blessings for (oneself) alone is not lawful for the sacrificer" (1.132.2); or that "no sacrifice can be offered without a Magus" (1.132.3).

There is also a similarity in his description of Egyptian sacrifices. After dwelling at large on how "they instituted customs and laws contrary for the most part to those of the rest of mankind" (2.35.1), he gives examples of some bizarre Egyptian habits. Finally, he gets to religion, where special attention is paid to sacrifice and the way of killing and preparing the animal to be consumed: "they cut its throat, and having done so sever the head from the body. They flay the carcass of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head, which they carry away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in it, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river" (2.39.1-2).

As a rule, it seems that when Herodotus commented on a ritual, it was because there was often a Greek reference that was clearly different from the foreign one.⁶ The opposite may also be true: it seems that he

⁵ We will probably never know to what extent his real concept of religious things had to do only with ritual. This is an important issue, which will not to be dealt with here. But I think that we should be a bit more cautious than Gould 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 102, when he observes "how strikingly it (Herodotus' work) underlines for us the extent to which he and, one might guess, the majority of Greeks, defined their own religion to themselves and understood its significance largely in ritual terms".

⁶ This is what may explain that, in his descriptions of other sacrifices, Herodotus stresses such things as the way of slaughtering the victims. When he describes Scythian

brings up details about Greek religion because they explicitly show the differences between two peoples (every piece of information about Greek religion, therefore, should be considered in this light). But essentially the difference was not so great. To his mind, what characterised the Greeks or any other people was not that they had different customs, but that they went about them in different ways. As Scheid has observed, ancient authors thought that “everywhere people made sacrifices, prayers, and vows, celebrated sacred games, and built sanctuaries (. . .) But one thing made the difference between the religions of the world: the governing rules, those small details, choices, and postures which gave each system its originality”.⁷ Herodotus was therefore prepared to admit that the realm of religion was common to all civilised people:⁸ in his words “I believe that all men are equally knowledgeable about (the gods)” (2.3.2).

Consequently, no signs of superiority will be found in Herodotus regarding Greek religion. Admittedly, his work shows his deep pride in being Greek: “from old times the Hellenic stock has always been distinguished from foreign by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness” (1.60.3). But religion had little to do with this. As has been observed, Herodotus’ implicit aim “was to promote not Greek ethnic triumphalism but Greek ethno-political solidarity”.⁹ To achieve this, it was not necessary for Greek rituals to be older or better than the others: they just had to be felt as Greek.

The sense of belonging to a common political unit could be reinforced if people shared “the shrines of gods and the sacrifices”, as the Athenians claimed when they wished to underline their Greekness to the rest of the Hellenes.¹⁰ As long as this bond was strong enough, Herodotus did

sacrifice, he chooses to underline that the sacrificer “throwing a noose around the beast’s neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the first-fruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and skinned the beast, he sets about cooking it” (4.60.2). If Scythians strangle their victims, the Tauri “strike the victim on the head with a club” (4.103.1), and the Lybian nomads “wring the victim’s neck” (4.188.1).

⁷ J. Scheid, “Graeco Ritu: A typically Roman way of honoring the gods”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995).

⁸ “Barbarians” were not necessarily uncivilised people for Herodotus: under this rubric very different grades of civilisation were included, from the Persians or the Egyptians, who were more civilised than the Greeks in some respects, to the remote peoples who lived outside the limits of civilisation. Interestingly, Herodotus does not record any religious custom of the latter.

⁹ Cartledge 1995, op. cit (n. 2), 82.

¹⁰ 8.144.2. Similar claims about what the Greeks shared or what may be labelled as Greek religion may be found in Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 50 or Demosthenes, *Philippics* 3.32.

not mind acknowledging that Greek rituals were not original, that there were older and higher forms of religion, or even that the Greeks had copied a great number of their habits from foreign peoples. Moreover, his complete lack of nationalism in this respect allowed him to present religious imitation as positive and typical of civilised people. Only the Scythians (those barbarians) would bother to reject foreign rituals, as they did when their fellow countryman, Anacharsis, dared to celebrate the feast of the Mother of the Gods in the Greek way, and the Scythian king “shot an arrow at him and killed him” (4.76.5).

Civilised people tended instead to adopt and develop foreign customs, when these were clearly superior. That is what the Greeks did, especially with respect to Egyptian religion.¹¹ In his long description of Egyptian customs, Herodotus admits that not only had the names of Greek gods been imported from the Nile (2.50.1), but also Greek rituals (2.51.1), or those “practices called Orphic and Bacchic, but in fact Egyptian and Pythagorean” (2.81.2), or even highly Greek customs such as “that rite of Demeter, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria (. . .) The daughters of Danaus were those who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women” (2.171.2–3).

To sum up, not only was Greek religion in Herodotus conceived as a common possession of all those who called themselves Greek, but also as a recipient of foreign wisdom. It had been formed by the addition of the indigenous (the pre-Greek), with a great deal of Pelasgian customs, in addition to other definitely foreign names and rituals, in a sort of centripetal process which culminated in the formation of what the Greeks of the fifth century BC regarded as “their” religion. The frontiers of Greek religion in Herodotus were, therefore, easy to cross.

Things were very different when, more than four hundred years later, Strabo wrote his *Geography*, a work devoted to “the activities of statesmen and commanders but also as regards knowledge both of the heavens and of things on land and sea, animals, plants, fruits, and everything else to be seen in various regions” (1.1). Strabo thought that geographical science had “a bearing on the life and the needs of rulers” (1.18), so he conceived his work as a tool for those “men of exalted stations in life” (1.23). As was the case with Herodotus (but for very different reasons), his

¹¹ Although Greeks were not only subdued to the superior Egyptian religion, they also adopted “the robe and aegis of the images of Athena [which] were copied by the Greeks from the Libyan women” (4.189.1).

task included a comprehensive description of a wide range of lands and peoples. Following what was by that time a long ethnographical tradition, he turned to the same categories which had been in use since classical times. However, at this point all similarities come to an end: neither imperial times nor Strabo's agenda were the same. In what follows, my aim is to show how the Roman empire had a profound impact on Strabo's suggestions on the frontiers of Greek religion.

At first sight not a lot had changed. Strabo continued to understand the *oikouménē* as a compound of two basic types of people: Greeks and barbarians.¹² His work was deeply hellenocentric, as was only natural for a scholar well-trained in Greek literary and philosophical traditions.¹³ In addition, his description of the limits of the world and the characteristics of the peoples who lived out there rested upon tradition, even though he was well aware of political changes.¹⁴ In his eyes barbarians were unsocial, wild, and in general able to perform the most extreme reversals of Greek customs. And this meant not only innocent customs (as my fellow countrymen, the Cantabrians, who "bathe with urine which they have aged in cisterns, and wash their teeth with it, both they and their wives" (3.4.16)), but also the perversion of all that was sacred among the Greeks.

As was the case with Herodotus, Strabo's main concern when dealing with the religion of other peoples was ritual and, more specifically, sacrifice. Sacrifice was probably what distinguished more clearly the barbarians from the Greeks from a religious point of view. Some barbarians performed human sacrifices, such as the Cimbri, who, after killing the victim, "would beat on the hides that were stretched over the wickerbodies of the wagons and in this way produce an unearthly noise" (7.2.3); or the Albanians, who trampled the corpses of their victims (11.4.7), or the Lusitanians, who cut off one of the hands (3.3.6). However, the most

¹² In this he differed from other authors such as Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Cicero and Quintilianus, who preferred to explain the world as divided into barbarians, Greeks and Romans; or those who proposed different divisions, such as Eratosthenes, who spoke of civilised people vs. bad people. See E. Almagor, "Who is a barbarian? The barbarians in the ethnological and cultural taxonomies of Strabo", in D. Dueck—H. Lindsay—S. Pothecary (eds.), *Strabo's cultural geography. The making of a kolossourgia* (Cambridge-New York 2005), 42–55.

¹³ Strabo's intellectual background in D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amassia: A Greek man of letters in Augustan Rome* (London-New York 2000), 31 ff. I have found this and Dueck et al. (eds.) 2005, op. cit. (n. 12), especially useful. For a full bibliography on Strabo, see Sarah Pothecary's excellent webpage: <http://strabo.ca>.

¹⁴ Dueck 2000, op. cit. (n. 13), 45.

barbaric of all for Strabo was the Scythians, who not only killed human people, but “eat their flesh, and use their skulls as drinking-cups” (7.3.7).

However, being a barbarian did not necessarily mean going to the extreme of human sacrifice. Strabo could easily tell a Greek from a barbarian by merely describing what he considered as oddities in the sacrificial process. As in Herodotus, there are a lot of examples of these oddities, attributed always to peoples who were culturally removed from true civilization. Capadocians, for instance, “do not sacrifice victims with a sword either, but with a kind of tree-trunk” (15.3.15); Indian priests do not wear garlands, nor burn incense or pour out libations, “neither do they cut the throat of the victim, but strangle it” (15.1.54).¹⁵

To highlight the distance between Greeks and non-Greeks, therefore, Strabo based his theories on traditional categories of analysis, the very ones we have seen used by Herodotus. But, unlike Herodotus, it is quite interesting to note that Strabo focuses on sacrifice to mark the frontiers between civilised and non-civilised people. As we saw, Herodotus had commented in detail on Persian and Egyptian rituals. From the reading of those passages it is easy to conclude what was non-Greek. On the other hand, Persian or Egyptian rituals were in no way presented as inferior. Things were quite different for Strabo. Dealing with the same subjects as Herodotus, he managed to draw a very different picture of the inhabited world, in which for example the way a people performed sacrifice might be interpreted as one of the frontiers between civilization on the one hand, and the rest of the world on the other. If we take into account that Strabo was drawing a map of the world intended to be useful to the leaders of the Roman empire,¹⁶ the implicit message becomes clearer: those who sacrifice as we Greeks, may be regarded as civilised, and vice versa.

As a result, sacrifice continued to be a significant feature of Greek identity in Strabo’s work, just as it was in Herodotus’. What had changed were the effects of being Greek, and even more so, who the Greeks were in Strabo’s eyes. Referring to among other things religion, Strabo was suggesting that the Greeks deserved a special position in the Roman Empire, because they were the real civilised people within it. Accordingly, being Greek ceased to be (as it was for Herodotus) just one of the many ethnic and political units in the *oikouménē*. It became a core identity, and not everybody could claim to be part of it.

¹⁵ Other examples are the Derbices (11.11.8) or the Lusitanians (3.3.6).

¹⁶ 1.18; 1.23.

Firstly, Strabo's *Geography* contained a wide range of arguments to support the exclusivity and superiority of the Greeks. As we will see presently, most of the arguments were religious. Secondly, we will see how Greek religious history was reinterpreted and how, in Strabo's eyes, it ceased to be a recipient of foreign traditions to become quite the opposite: a land that had irradiated its religious ways to the rest of the world and offered a canonical interpretation of religion suitable for the leaders of the empire. Thirdly, and more importantly, Strabo altered the frontiers of religious Greekness to make room for new and very useful fellow community members: the Romans. We will see some examples of a new religious identity, which rather than 'Greek' should be labelled "Graeco-Roman".

Let us firstly look at how Greek religion was presented as superior to others. Unlike Herodotus, who was ready to marvel at foreign temples,¹⁷ Strabo ignored almost all the non-Greek sanctuaries.¹⁸ However, in his books dedicated to the description of Greece the opposite is true: even the humblest altar in Greece deserved his full attention. Maybe the best way to summarise the general impression he wanted to convey to his readers about Greece lies in one of the statements he makes about Attica. Admitting that there are too many remarkable things to describe in it, he resorts to the words of Hegesias, who had also recognized that he was unable to point them all out one by one, and preferred to sum them up by saying that "Attica is the possession of the gods, who seized it as a sanctuary for themselves, and of the ancestral heroes" (11.1, 16).

Like Attica, Strabo's Greece was a kind of sanctuary. Throughout Greece countless sacred spots whether extravagant or modest could be found: altars, sanctuaries, statues, and so on. No matter how small or unimportant a place had become, it could still claim the glory of being the seat of some heroic or divine cult, which dignified it and made it different. His main interests lay naturally in the most famous festivals, such as the Olympian Games, which were famous worldwide and remained famous even after the oracle of the Olympian Zeus had failed to respond: "the glory of the temple persisted nonetheless, and it received all that increase of fame of which we know, on account both of the festal assembly and

¹⁷ See J. Lightfoot (ed.), *On the Syrian goddess* (Oxford 2003), 179–180, who remarks that Herodotus uses the word *hagios* to refer to foreign temples.

¹⁸ Except for the large sanctuaries in Asia Minor, which attracted his attention because he probably knew many of them at first hand, see for example Strabo, *Geographika* 12.2.3, which is a description of the temple of Ma Comana.

of the Olympian Games, in which the prize was a crown and which were regarded as sacred, the greatest games in the world” (8.3.30).

However, not only did Olympia attract Strabo’s attention, but he also took time to comment mainly on religious things related to much smaller and less important places, unknown to anyone outside Greece, such as a place “between Lepreum and the Annius”, where “the temple of the Samian Poseidon”¹⁹ is (8.3.16), or a settlement called “Samicum, where is the most highly revered temple of the Samian Poseidon” (8.3.13). These places were unlikely to be of any importance from a strategic point of view. There was no point in informing the Romans of their existence, unless intending to draw their attention to the sacredness of Greece as a whole. Every mountain, every valley, every town, no matter how small or insignificant they were, was (or had been) either the birthplace of a god, or a place where a hero had stayed, or the location of a Homeric episode.²⁰

This leads us directly to another of Strabo’s most obvious goals. Apart from giving a general impression of the holiness of Greece, an impression which was not shared by any of the inhabited world, he focused on the antiquity and the continuity of religious traditions as strong points in a claim for Greek superiority.²¹ With this in mind, the fact that a ritual had been performed in the same way since ancient times was indeed a good argument, and therefore he mentioned this at every opportunity. A good example is Strabo’s account of the pan-Ionian sacrifices paid to the Heliconian Poseidon: “the sea was raised by an earthquake and it submerged Helicê, and also the temple of the Heliconian Poseidon, whom the Ionians worship even to this day, offering there the Pan-Ionian sacrifices” (7.7.2). In this way he drew a line of continuity which linked his own era to archaic times, in the assumption that the Greek way of doing things had always been the same, and that there was only one possible way of performing rituals, if they were going to be labelled as “Greek”.²²

¹⁹ See Pausanias 5.5.5–6: Pausanias explains that there was no sanctuary in his days, except for one which belonged to Demeter.

²⁰ Some examples are 8.3.16; 9.1.21–22; 9.2.13; 9.2.36; 9.3.2; 9.3.13.

²¹ Also Dionysus of Halicarnassus was of the same opinion: national rites do not change, unless the nation has been defeated by others (see F. Prescendi, *Décrire et comprendre le sacrifice* (Stuttgart 2007), 60).

²² For instance, speaking about mountaineers in Iberia, he explains that “they also offer hecatombs of each kind, after the Greek fashion—as Pindar himself says, ‘to sacrifice a hundred of every kind’” (3.3.7).

However, his strongest argument in this respect had to do with the fact that the father of religion, Homer, was Greek. It has been pointed out that Strabo devoted much of his work to Homer and, in general, to poetic discussions.²³ The reasons why “the poet” (as he likes to call him) was so important to him, have been very well explained by Dueck in her recent work about Strabo as “a Greek man of letters”:²⁴ first and foremost, because of his scholarly orientation, which had been highly influenced by his teachers and which made of him a Stoic.²⁵ In my view, a further reason may be added to this. Strabo argues that Homer “alone has seen, or else he alone has shown, the likenesses of the gods” (8.3.30), and therefore it was he who inspired sculptors or poets when they were physically representing the gods:

It is related of Pheidias that, when Panaenus asked him after what model he was going to make the likeness of Zeus, he replied that he was going to make it after the likeness set forth by Homer in these words “Cronion spake, and nodded assent with his dark brows, and then the ambrosial locks flowed streaming from the lord’s immortal head, and he caused great Olympus to quake”. A noble description indeed, as appears not only from the “brows” but from the other details in the passage, because the poet provokes our imagination to conceive the picture of a mighty personage and a mighty power worthy of a Zeus, just as he does in the case of Hera, at the same time preserving what is appropriate in each ... 8.3.30

Homer’s authority was therefore undisputed, and the fact that he was Greek and that his works were at the heart of Greek religion, was the main argument for supporting the idea of Greek superiority, at least in the religious domain. In fact, Strabo was not the only one who made use of this powerful argument. Other authors wishing to underline the exceptional dignity and antiquity of Greek religion referred back to Homer²⁶ before and, in particular, after Strabo’s time.

²³ For an overview of works dealing with Strabo’s use of Homer, see A.M. Biraschi, “Strabone e Omero. Aspetti della tradizione omerica nella descrizione del Peloponneso”, in A.M. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (Perugia 1994), 25–57.

²⁴ Dueck 2000, op. cit. (n. 12), 38–39.

²⁵ But see Biraschi 1994, op. cit. (n. 23), 27, who remarks that “se è vero che per la piena ‘riabilitazione’ della poesia omerica si erano battuti grossi esponenti del pensiero stoico quali Cratere e Posidonio (...) è però anche vero che Strabone, nella sua difesa del Poeta, segue una propria prospettiva che sembra avere essenzialmente come scopo quello di giustificare la piena validità della presenza omerica in un’opera di geografia universale”.

²⁶ See for example Dio Chrysostom, *Oration XII passim*, or Plutarch, *On the Pythian Responses, passim*.

Not everybody in Strabo's eyes could boast about being Greek. Who the Greeks were is quite a controversial issue, especially during the Roman Empire. Of course there is no simple answer to the question—it depends basically on the interests of whoever uses the term. The answer ranges from a very broad definition of Greekness, like the one proposed by Fergus Millar, including “those places which were the location of the named recurrent agones—musical, theatres and athletic contests—which were so important a feature of the communal life of Greek cities”, and that were “attested as far south as Gaza and Bostra, but no further; at Damascus but not at Palmyra; and up to, but not across, the Euphrates”,²⁷ to the all too limited definition of Greekness in Pausanias, for whom all Greek things (the famous *pantà tà helleniká*)²⁸ were contained within the limits of the Greek peninsula—and not even throughout.²⁹

What seems to be a well-attested tendency throughout the Roman period is that Greek intellectuals established narrower limits on Hellenism.³⁰ It is only normal that it should be this way. If the Greeks were to benefit from Roman benevolence, Greekness could not include the countless people who claimed to be living a Greek way of life. So paradoxically the number of Greeks, which had constantly increased from Alexandrian times on, declined for many Greek writers. In my view, religious arguments were decisive for this more restrictive definition of Greekness.³¹

Strabo's *Geography* was one of the first works where the definition of Greekness is definitely more limited than it was in Herodotus. In his *Histories*, Herodotus described the process of the formation of “the Greeks”, who in his eyes were a blend of the peoples who lived in Greece from ancestral times, and the Pelasgians.³² Greekness, and even Greek

²⁷ F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, Mass.—London 1993), 234.

²⁸ Pausanias 1.26.4.

²⁹ C. Bearzot, “La nozione di *koinós* in Pausania”, in D. Knoepfler—M.D. Piérart, (eds.), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000* (Genève 2001); M. Jost, “Unité et diversité: La Grèce de Pausanias”, *Revue des Études Grecques* 119 (2006), 568–587.

³⁰ See for instance D. Braund, “Greeks and Barbarians: The Black Sea Region and Hellenism under the Early Empire”, in S.E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997), 121–136.

³¹ Or maybe not so paradoxically, if we consider that identity is most insistently defined where it is most at risk (T. Whitmarsh, “The harvest of wisdom: landscape, description, and identity in the Heroikos”, in E.B. Aitken—J.K.B. Maclean (eds.), *Philostratus's Heroikos: Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century CE* (Leiden 2005), 241).

³² 2.51.2.

religion, was for him a mixture of foreign ideas, names and rituals.³³ This view was completely unacceptable for Strabo. In fact, he attributes no foreign origins to any of the religious features that he explains. Moreover, he even suggests that it was the Greeks who had exported their rituals and had themselves provoked a blend of cultures, but always outside the Greek world. Therefore, if Herodotus described the formation of Greek religion as a kind of centripetal process,³⁴ Strabo did exactly the opposite, alluding to a centrifugal movement, which spread a pure Greek religion all over the Mediterranean.

The exportation of Greek gods and rituals took place during the Greek hegemony of Europe, which was prior to the Macedonian and the Roman leadership, as Strabo proudly reminds us.³⁵ It was probably at that time when many barbarian nations adopted certain Greek rituals, which they continued to perform to Strabo's time. Thus, the Iberian mountaineers offered "hecatombs of each kind, after the Greek fashion" (3.3.7); the Iberians had been taught by the Massiliotes "the sacred rites of the Ephesian Artemis, as practiced in the fatherland, so that they sacrifice by the Greek ritual" (4.1.5); and even the Romans "offered a sacrifice to (Heracles) after the Greek ritual, which is still to this day kept up in honour of Heracles" (5.3.3).³⁶ It is quite interesting to note that Herodotus registered only two similar cases of religious transfer, but both of them were the result of private initiative and were aborted soon afterwards.³⁷

In a way, the religious colonization of the Mediterranean by the Greeks set an important basis for future colonization or conquests. However, Strabo did not stop at that. Not only had the barbarians adopted some Greek ways and thus could be more easily understood by the Greeks or their like, but Greek religious categories could also be applied to describe and to analyze barbarian customs which, had it not been for the Greeks, would have been completely incomprehensible. Strabo went to the trouble of explaining rituals already familiar to the Romans as if they were Greeks: "the Sabini (...) vowed (just as some of the Greeks do) to dedicate everything that was produced that year" (5.4.12).

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ In classical times, as was observed by J. Rudhardt, "De l'attitude des Grecs à l'égard des religions étrangères", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 109.3 (1992), 238, the Greeks did not export their gods.

³⁵ 2.5.26.

³⁶ About the Roman sacrifice to Herakles *graeco ritu*, see Scheid's illuminating article: Scheid 1995, op. cit. (n. 7).

³⁷ Herodotus 4.76.

The implicit idea here is that for the Romans the job of the pacification and unification of the Mediterranean had already been carried out by the Greeks, who had either left a unified world (in cultural and religious terms) behind them, or had at least provided the intellectual tools necessary to understand all barbarian customs. This is exactly what Strabo was aiming for. In his effort to offer the leaders of the empire a useful guide to ruling their dominions, Strabo presented a religious ethnography, which could be understood by the Greeks and the Romans alike.

To achieve this goal, he used different techniques. One of them was, as we have seen, to identify barbarian rituals with their Greek equivalents. However, the most powerful device was his general approach to religious customs. Until the development of anthropological science well into the nineteenth century, so-called ethnographers had always tended to choose and comment on those foreign habits that they could understand; that is, on the customs that were parallel to their own. Today we are perfectly aware that this approach prevents us from obtaining any real knowledge of foreign peoples. However, it is also true that this kind of reductionist and distorted approach, which focuses only on what may be understandable for the readers, helps to bring foreigners much closer to the people in question. Coming back to Strabo, even when he was trying to separate the barbarians as much as possible from civilized people, even when he was describing how the Scythians drank wine in the skulls of their victims, in a way he was bringing the Scythians (the barbarians) closer to his audience. After all, human sacrifice was nothing more than a kind of sacrifice. The choice of familiar topics was therefore essential to help everybody understand him and the Mediterranean.

Yet another further device was used by Strabo in this attempt to bring the subjects of the empire closer to his masters. It consisted in presenting foreign customs that were in his eyes similar to typically Greek ones, as common to the whole human race. In a couple of long passages, which were characteristic of Stoic scholars, he maintained that certain attitudes were not only common to Greeks and barbarians, but were also "natural". To give but one example, when the Jews were harassing the land of Syria and Phoenicia,

... still they had respect for their acropolis, since they did not loathe it as the seat of tyranny, but honoured and revered it as a holy place. For this is natural; and it is common to the Greeks and to the barbarians; for, being members of states, they live under common mandates; for otherwise it would be impossible for the mass of people in any country to do one and the same thing in harmony with one another, which is precisely

what life in a free state means, or in any other way to live a common life. And the mandates are twofold; for they come either from gods or from men; and the ancients, at least, held those from the gods in greater honour and veneration. 16.2.37–38

The typically Greek explanation of civil and religious order contained in this passage was therefore presented as the reason for alien religious behaviour. Herodotus had also explained certain religious features as universal and common to all mankind.³⁸ But Strabo was more clearly applying Greek mental categories to the analyses of these attitudes, which can be considered as “only natural”.³⁹ There is an illuminating passage in Plutarch that reveals the same approach to religion. In his oration against the epicurean Colotes, Plutarch describes what he regards as the religious behaviour common to all human groups:

In your travels you may come upon cities without walls, writing, king, houses or property, doing without currency, having no notion of a theatre or a gymnasium; but a city without holy places or gods, without any observance of prayers, oaths, oracles, sacrifices for blessings received or rites to avert evils, no traveller has ever seen or will ever see. No, I think a city might rather be formed without the ground it stands on than a government, once you remove all religion from under it, get itself established or once established survive. 1125e

As we can see, not only did Plutarch consider it impossible to rule men without resorting to religion, but he also made what he regards as the only possible rituals that may be performed in a *polis* explicit: prayers, oaths, oracles, sacrifices, and so on. In a word, all those things that represented Greek civic religion.

When applied to the description of a wide variety of alien people, Greek religious categories acted as a powerful resource that helped to “domesticate” barbarians. And thus we are back to the outset of Strabo’s *Geography*: Strabo was avowedly working for the Romans, providing them with tools to rule a huge empire. Not only did he physically describe the empire, but he also offered an intellectual approach, which would help the Romans in their task of ruling the Mediterranean. Of course,

³⁸ See above, page 136.

³⁹ Another good example of the same may be found in 10.3.9. As regards the etymology of the word “Curetes”, Strabo adds: “Now this is common both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, to perform their sacred rites in connection with the relaxation of a festival, these rites being performed sometimes with religious frenzy, sometimes without it; sometimes with music, sometimes not; and sometimes in secret, sometimes openly. And it is in accordance with the dictates of nature that this should be so, for ...”

this approach would be much more easily understood and accepted if Greek religion was felt not only as Greek, but as Roman too, that is, if the Romans felt that Strabo's perceptions were common to the only civilized peoples in the empire, the Greeks and the Romans. So Strabo devised a new religious identity, which ceased to be merely Greek and might be felt as "Graeco-Roman".

Consequently, we come to my third and final point. The creation of this new identity meant a further benefit for the Greeks: as partners of the Romans in the key realm of religion, they could claim for a privileged position within the empire. To this end, Strabo got down to work vigorously. All over the *Geography*, Greeks were presented as superior to Romans in many respects: certainly not in political achievements, but decidedly so in cultural deeds, so much so, that he dares to describe the situation of the south of Italy in his own day as "completely barbarized",⁴⁰ just because the Greeks had left it in the hands of other (incidentally, very romanized) peoples. But he went even further. He portrayed the ancient Romans as people who did not care for learning or education. However, this was going to change: as soon as the Romans came into contact with the Greeks, they started to pay attention to what the true virtues of rulers were:

The Romans too, in ancient times, when carrying on war with savage tribes, needed no training of this kind, but from the time that they began to have dealings with more civilised tribes and races, they applied themselves to this training also, and so established themselves as lords of all. 9.2.2

If the *Geography* were to be read by any Roman leader, in my opinion Strabo was indeed being very bold. However, his approach to religion could make this superiority complex more bearable. He used religious topics to create stronger bonds between Greeks and Romans. This is evident in his description of the Roman colony of Nicopolis. After explaining how Augustus had re-founded the city, he goes on to describe the present appearance of Nicopolis as a thoroughly Greek city, full of sacred spots, just as he envisaged the rest of Greece:⁴¹

Nicopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it has not only a considerable territory and the adornment taken from the spoils of the battle, but also, in its suburbs, the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct—one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium for the celebration of the quinquennial games, the other

⁴⁰ 6.1.2.

⁴¹ See above, page 140.

part being on the hill that is sacred to Apollo and lies above the grove. These games—the Actia, sacred to Actian Apollo—have been designated as Olympian and they are superintended by the Lacedaemonians. 7.7.6

Nicopolis was founded by Augustus and therefore Roman, but it kept and enhanced the Greek religious flavour, thus creating a perfect mixture of identities. This idea was launched in a more explicit way when Strabo spoke about “our usages”, referring to the Greek religious customs that had been adopted and imposed by the Romans to other peoples:

The heads of enemies of high repute (...) they (the Gallic peoples) used to embalm in cedar-oil and exhibit to strangers, and they would not deign to give them back even for a ransom of an equal weight of gold. But the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to all those connected with the sacrifices and divinations that are opposed to our usages. 4.4.5

In conclusion, presenting the Greeks as clearly superior in cultural and religious terms was no doubt an important strategy for negotiating the position of the Greeks within the Roman empire. Strabo and others used it repeatedly to the end of the Roman Empire. However, it was equally important to create a common religious ground on which a new Graeco-Roman identity could be based. Strabo’s *Geography*, a work devised to explain the world to the Romans, was a perfect chance to build a religious frontier for the empire, which placed their Greek subjects at the center of the Roman universe.

Sevilla, December 2009

ARX AETERNAE DOMINATIONIS:
EMPEROR WORSHIP RITUALS IN THE
CONSTRUCTION OF A ROMAN
RELIGIOUS FRONTIER

F. LOZANO

Soon after the Roman conquest of Britannia, the colony of Camulodunum was founded and a magnificent temple in honor of the Emperor was built in the city.¹ As a result of the inclusion of the island as a part of the Roman Empire, one of the most typical Roman religious practices started to take place, namely the imperial cult.² This practice of emperor worship started in Rome after the divinization of Caesar, and must be included in the complex and long process of the accumulation of powers by the Emperors.³ As a matter of fact, after the reign of Augustus, the Emperors monopolized political appointments, together with the military force and, in general, all the powers which had

¹ For this cult see: D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West* Volume 1 (Leyden 1987–2005), part 1: 97 ff.; and C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley 2000), 312–313.

² On emperor worship, see the classic works of: L. Cerfaux—J. Tondriau, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation greco-romaine* (Paris 1957); F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes* (Stuttgart 1957); A.D. Nock, 'Studies in the Graeco-Roman beliefs of the empire', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 45 (1925), 84–101; and L.R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown 1931). After the publication of these classic works, several studies shaped the topic as we understand it today: W. den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire Romain* (Geneve 1973); K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge 1978), 197 ff.; S. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984); and Fishwick 1987–2005, op. cit. (n. 1). Of the vast number of recent works on imperial cult, I have found especially interesting: M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1998); U.M. Liertz, *Kult und Kaiser. Studien zu Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den germanischen Provinzen und in Gallia Belgica zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Rome 1998); M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1999); R. Gordon, 'The Roman imperial cult and the question of power', in L. Golden (ed.), *Raising the Eyebrow: John Onians and World Art Studies. An Album Amicorum in His Honour* (Oxford 2001), 107 ff.; and I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford 2002).

³ On the beginning of this practice in Rome see: S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971), especially chapter 17.

been traditionally distributed among the highest magistrates of the Roman Republic.⁴

These reforms, which could be labeled as “political”, were accompanied by significant changes in traditional religion. Such changes were aimed at making room for the Emperor and its new government. The first Caesar was mainly responsible for the deep religious reform, usually called “Renaissance”, which really meant a deep restructuring of the previous tradition, in which the rulers had concentrated progressively the highest religious positions, especially the position of *Pontifex Maximus*.⁵

As has already been said, the imperial cult is one of the most outstanding religious innovations of the Principate, of which the temple of Claudius at Camulodunum is just another example. Emperor worship strongly anchored in tradition became one of the ideological creations which promoted the social and political cohesion among the communities ruled by Rome. Furthermore, the rituals for the Caesars were the endorsement which the new figure of the absolute ruler needed. However, the imperial cult should not be seen as a monolithic and single entity, but as a complex phenomenon composed of a myriad of different cult practices.⁶ This diversity, among other reasons, is explained by the local association of the emperors with the main ancestral divinities of each community.⁷ While imperial cult was deeply rooted in local religion, at the same time it surpassed the local scale and served an imperial purpose as it “provided the context in which inhabitants of towns spread for hundreds of miles throughout the empire could celebrate their membership of a single political order and their own place within it”⁸

Imperial cult was, then, a complex religious manifestation of both local and global signification and function. In this article I would like to

⁴ J.A. Crook, ‘Augustus: power, authority, achievement’, *CAH* 10 (Cambridge 1996²), 13 ff.

⁵ R. Gordon, ‘The Veil of power: emperors, sacrificers, and benefactors’, in M. Beard—J. North (eds.), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (London 1990), 199 ff.

⁶ On the complexity of emperor worship see: P. Herz, ‘Der römische Kaiser und der Kaiserkult: Gott oder primus inter pares?’, in D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschwerdung Gottes—Vergöttlichung von Menschen* (Freiburg 1988), 115 ff. See now also: F. Lozano, ‘The creation of Imperial gods: Not only imposition versus spontaneity’, in P.P. Iossif, A.D. Chankowski and C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods. Studies in Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (1–2 November 2007)* (Leuven-Paris 2011), 475–519.

⁷ F. Lozano, ‘*Divi Augusti* and *Theoi Sebastoi*. Roman initiatives and Greek answers’, *The Classical Quarterly* 57.1 (2007), 139 ff.

⁸ Hopkins 1978, op. cit. (n. 2), 242.

concentrate on the imperial importance of emperor worship, specifically in its constitution as a religious trait shared by all people ruled by Rome. This role of the imperial cult as an integrator could be illustrated with many examples. However, I believe that this characteristic becomes even clearer if we take into consideration the hatred shown to the imperial cult by peoples that did not want to be integrated in the Empire. Going back to Britain's case, a clear proof of this is the animosity against Claudius' temple during the revolt of Boudica:

The bitterest animosity was felt against the veterans; who, fresh from their settlement in the colony of Camulodunum, were acting as though they had received a free gift of the entire country, driving the natives from their homes, ejecting them from their lands [...] More than this, the temple raised to the deified Claudius continually met the view, like the citadel of an eternal tyranny; while the priests, chosen for its service, were bound under the pretext of religion to pour out their fortunes like water [...].⁹

The settlers died while defending the city and when "all else was pillaged or fired in the first onrush: only the temple, in which the troops had massed themselves, stood a two days' siege, and was then carried by storm".¹⁰ Thus, Rome's enemies broke not only the Empire's political borders, but also their religious connection and the clearest sign of their subjugation, namely, the temple of Claudius and its symbolic and ritual context.

In this context of central, imperial-wide use of emperor worship, a special place was assigned to the ritual of sacrificing to the Emperor. It was a simple procedure to prove the submission to and acceptance of Rome and it was used to this end by Roman magistrates, generals, and provincials alike. It was also employed for the examination of enemies of the Roman state like the Christians. Sacrifice to the emperor was a performative act that affirmed the divine status of the emperor and stated the loyalty of his subjects.¹¹

⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 14.31.

¹⁰ Tacitus, *Annales* 14.32. On imperial cult in Britain see for convenience: M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (London 1984), 69–76; M. Millet, *The Romanization of Britain. An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge 1990); and Fishwick 1987–2005, op. cit. (n. 1), I.1: 97 ff.

¹¹ On performative utterances (and acts) see the classic work by J.L. Austin, *How to do things with words* (Oxford 1962). See also: J. Derrida, *Marges de la Philosophie* (Paris 1972), 365 ff.; J. Derrida, *Limited Inc* (Evanston 1988). More recently: R.A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge 1999), 37 ff.

This procedure was frequently used as an external mark to show the subjugation of foreign kings and peoples to Rome. This is the case, for instance, of the early foundation of imperial altars in Spain,¹² to which we could add similar cultic constructions in Germany and France.¹³ Two examples from the East are even clearer. The first one took place at the time of Gaius. Artabanus, the king of Parthia, invaded Armenia in order to place his son Arsaces on his throne. In this manner, he could reach both territories of Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, while protecting his kingdom from Roman attacks. Tiberius did not react and, according to Tacitus, Artabanus was determined to regain the territories, which had once belonged to Persian and Macedonians.¹⁴ The governor Vitellius led the successful counteroffensive at the time of Gaius. The borders went back to its original position; Armenia became ruled by a pro-Roman king, and what it is even more interesting, when it comes to Artabanus:

He attended a conference with the Governor of Syria and, before returning across the river Euphrates, paid homage to the Roman Eagles and standards, and to the statues of the Caesars.¹⁵

During the reign of Nero and in the same scenario, the king Tiridates celebrated a similar ceremony:

It was then arranged that Tiridates should lay the emblem of his royalty before the statue of the emperor, to resume it only from the hand of Nero; and the dialogue was closed by a kiss. Then, after a few days' interval, came an impressive pageant on both sides: on the one hand, cavalry ranged in squadrons and carrying their national decorations; on the other, columns of legionaries standing amid a glitter of eagles and standards and effigies of gods which gave the scene some resemblance to a temple: in the centre,

¹² On imperial cult in Hispania see for convenience: F. Lozano—J. Alvar, 'El culto imperial y su proyección en Hispania', in I. Rodà—J. Andreu—J. Cabrero (eds.), *Hispaniae: Las provincias hispanas en el mundo romano* (Barcelona 2009), 425 ff. For the altars and imperial cult in Northern Spain see: A. Tranoy, *La Galice romaine. Recherches sur le nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1981); and J. Mangas, 'El culto imperial en el noroeste de Hispania', in T. Nogales—J. González (eds.), *Culto imperial: política y poder* (Mérida 2007), 705 ff. For similar constructions in Southern Spain: J. Beltrán—A. U. Stylow, 'Un aspecto del culto imperial en el suroeste bético: el "puteal" de Trigeros (Huelva), un altar dedicado a Augusto', in T. Nogales—J. González (eds.), *Culto imperial: política y poder* (Mérida 2007), 240 ff.

¹³ Fishwick 1987–2005, op. cit. (n. 1), III. 1: 6 ff.

¹⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 6.31. See: S.P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy, Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (London 1999), 175. On Roman frontiers and the army, see also: A.K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC–AD 200* (Oxford 1996); and B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford 1990).

¹⁵ Suetonius, *Gaius* 14.3. See also: Cassius Dio 59.27.2–3.

the tribunal sustained a curule chair, and the chair a statue of Nero. To this Tiridates advanced, and, after the usual sacrifice of victims, lifted the diadem from his head and placed it at the feet of the image.¹⁶

The same importance was granted to the Emperor in the religion of the Roman army.¹⁷ The Caesars were worshiped in the sanctuary that dominated every Legionary camp, together with the eagles and other military symbols. Likewise, the Emperors' statues were main elements on every Legion and thus, they were venerated. Furthermore, the troops were submitted to a strict religious regime, which made their community life revolve around Roman official gods, which had to be worshiped. The military calendar found at Dura Europos¹⁸ clearly shows the continuous presence of rituals for the *divi*; to an extent that it can be assessed that the official religion of the soldiers was mainly devoted to the performance of festivals and sacrifices whose main purpose was to celebrate the Empire and to religiously help the endurance of the emperor and its regime.¹⁹ This was, without a doubt, an external expression of the troops' faithfulness.

¹⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 15.29.

¹⁷ Much has been written about the religion of the Roman army. See for instance: E. Birley, 'The religion of the Roman Army: 1895–1977', *ANRW II* 16.2 (1978), 1506; and J. Helgeland, 'Roman Army religion', *ANRW II* 16.2 (1978), 1470 ff. See lately the general account in O. Stoll, 'The religions of the armies', in P. Erdkamp, *A companion to the Roman Army* (London 2008), 451 ff. On the religion of the Roman army in the East see: O. Stoll, *Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung; die Religion des Römischen Heeres in Nahen Osten* (St. Katharinen 2001). See also recently: L. de Blois—E. Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476): Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects* (Leyden 2007). On the relation between the Caesars and the army, see: J.B. Campbell, *The emperor and the Roman army, 31 BC–AD 235* (Oxford 1984).

¹⁸ On the calendar see: R.O. Fink—A.S. Hoey—W.F. Snyder, 'The Feriale Duranum', *Yale Classical Studies* 7 (1940), 1 ff. Challenging the traditional view on the calendar: M.B. Reeves, *The Feriale Duranum, Roman Military Religion, and Dura-Europos: A Reassessment*, (Diss. State University of New York at Buffalo). On religion in Dura-Europos see: T. Kaizer, 'Language and religion in Dura-Europos', in H.M. Cotton—R.G. Hoyland—J.J. Price—D.J. Wasserstein (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East* (Cambridge 2009), 235 ff.; and T. Kaizer, 'Patterns of worship in Dura-Europos: a case study of religious life in the Classical Levant outside the main cult centres', in C. Bonnet—V. Pirenne-Delforge—D. Praet, *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006) Bilan historique et historiographique* (Brussels—Rome 2009), 153 ff.

¹⁹ I leave to one side in this paper the question of the level of interaction that existed between local communities and the army. Some scholars refer to the army as a total institution, isolated from surrounding societies, see for instance: B. Shaw, 'Soldiers and society: the army in Numidia', *Opus* 2 1 (1983), 144 ff. who is criticising the opinion of E. Fentress, *Numidia and the roman army* (Oxford 1979). Contrary to Shaw's argument:

In a similar way, the Flavian municipal law stated that town magistrates must sacrifice and swear openly “in an assembly by Jupiter, the divine Augustus, the divine Claudius, the divine Vespasian Augustus, the divine Titus Augustus, the *genius* of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus and the *dei Penates*” that they would act in accordance with the law and in the best interest of the town. And this local sacrifice to the emperor went hand in hand with a provincial sacrifice usually presided over by the governor.²⁰

Likewise, the relations between Christians and the imperial power prove this use of the sacrifices to the Emperor. I do not intend to give a new answer to the old question of “why were Christians persecuted?”; but to show that one of the most frequent methods of examination of accused Christians was the realization of sacrifices to the emperors.²¹ To sustain my case, I would like to highlight one of the best examples of how provincial rulers fought against Christians during the Roman Principate, that is the famous letter of Pliny to Trajan and the subsequent answer from the Emperor.²² The Latin author informed the emperor about the presence of Christian groups in his province, Bithynia. At the beginning, wrote Pliny, “this is the line I have taken with all persons brought before me on the charge of being Christians. I have asked them in person if they are Christians, and if they admit it, I repeat the question a second and third time, with a warning of the punishment awaiting them. If they persist, I order them to be led away for execution; for, whatever the

R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A social history* (London 1995), chap. 7. See also on this topic: N. Pollard, *Soldier, cities and civilians in Roman Syria* (London 2001); and N. Pollard, ‘The Roman army as “total institution” in the Near East? Dura-Europos as a case study’ in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The roman army in the East* (Ann Arbor 1996), 211 ff.

²⁰ *ILS* 6087 par. 64. See: A. Bendlin, ‘Peripheral centres—central peripheries: religious communication in the Roman Empire’, in H. Cancik—J. Rüpke (eds.), *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (Tübingen 1997), 35 ff.

²¹ This was the topic of a very interesting intellectual dispute between Sherwin-White and G.E.M. de Ste. Croix published in *Past and Present* 26 (1963) and 27 (1964). The problem was also addressed by F. Millar, ‘The imperial cult and the persecutions’, in den Boer 1973, op. cit. (n. 2), 145 ff. Against Millar’s opinion, see: H.S. Versnel, ‘Geef de keizer wat des keizers is en Gode wat Gods is. Een essay over een utopisch conflict’, *Lampas* 21 (1988), 233 ff. Of the overwhelming recent bibliography on Christian persecutions, I found especially interesting: J.B. Rives, ‘The decree of Decius and the religion of Empire’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999), 135 ff.; S.J. Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John. Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (Oxford 2001); and H.J. de Jonge, ‘The apocalypse of John and the Imperial Cult’, in H.F.J. Horstmanshoff—H.W. Singor—F.T. van Straten—J.H.M. Strubbe (eds.), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel* (Leyden 2002), 127 ff.

²² For the letters see: A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966).

nature of their admission, I am convinced that their stubbornness and unshakeable obstinacy ought not to go unpunished".²³

After Pliny's involment in this matter the accusations increased and so he devised a method of examination: "I considered that I should dismiss any who denied that they were or ever had been Christians when they had repeated after me a formula of invocation to the gods and had made offerings of wine and incense to your statue (which I had ordered to be brought into court for this purpose along with the images of the gods), and furthermore had reviled the name of Christ".²⁴ Therefore, when the Roman governor was forced to find an easy way to separate the loyal subjects from the rebel ones, he used sacrifice to the emperor as the key tool of examination.

Governors were in charge of judging non-citizens from the province. The place where those reunions took place was presided over by the Emperor's statues. Therefore, it is not much to suppose that when a Christian or any enemy of the regime was taken before the governor, he could be asked to worship the Emperor at that same moment. The iconography shows some interesting examples of this. Among them, the Christian representation on sarcophagi from the second to the fourth century of the three brothers who denied to worship the king Nebuchadnezzar stands out. S. Price has convincingly linked this scene to Christian prosecution, because instead of the king the image represented is that of the Emperor's bust placed behind a Roman magistrate.²⁵ Tertullian explains the reason for their denial as follows:

For it is for this reason, too, that the famous example of the three brothers precedes us, who, though in other respects obedient to the king Nebuchadnezzar refused with the utmost firmness to do homage to his image, thus showing that everything must be regarded as idolatry which elevates someone beyond the measure of human honour unto the likeness of divine majesty.²⁶

In conclusion, the appearance of the Principate as a political system made it necessary to create a new ideological base, better adapted to the needs of the new government and the new political and social reality.

²³ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 10.96.

²⁴ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 10.96.

²⁵ For these sarcophagi see: F.W. Deichmann, *Repertorium der christliche-antiken Sarkophage* (Wiesbaden 1967), I.no.: 324; 338; 339; 351; 596; 718. For a parallel in the catacombs at Rome consult: J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der katakomben Roms* (Freiburg 1903), pls. 13 and 78. See also Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 220 ff.

²⁶ Tertulianus, *De idololatria* 15.9.

This ideological construction, which was supported by the State, but which actually benefited a significant part of the population submitted to Rome, was not universally accepted, as I have tried to show in this paper. Moreover, this opposition was greater, mainly since imperial cult, and specifically the sacrifice to the emperor, soon became one of the main tools to prove adherence to Rome; a means to separate Roman from non-Roman and enemy from friend.

Seville, May 2009

RELIGIOUS FRONTIERS IN THE SYRIAN-MESOPOTAMIAN DESERT

LUCINDA DIRVEN

Ever since Michael Rostovtzeff's article "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art" was published in 1935, it has been common place to speak of cities in the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert, such as Palmyra, Hatra, Dura-Europos and Edessa, as belonging to the same cultural orbit.¹ Whereas Rostovtzeff primarily argued for the existence of a shared material culture, others have put forward the concept of a shared language and religion. Han Drijvers, my much admired and sorely missed teacher, devoted many publications to the common cultural pattern in the cities of the Syrian Mesopotamian desert. Drijvers' highly influential article on Hatra, Palmyra and Edessa, published in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* in 1977, linked these cities in the minds of many.² Although historians such as Ted Kaizer have recently put some stress on the local characteristics of cities in Syria and Mesopotamia,³ the idea of a shared indigenous culture still dominates academic discourse. Michael Sommer's recent publication on Rome's eastern frontier zone is a case in point.⁴

If the notion of a common culture is correct, this would imply that political borders do not necessarily coincide with cultural and religious frontiers. All the cities mentioned above were situated in the frontier zone between the Roman Empire in the West, and the Parthian Empire in the East. Their political fate, however, was rather diverse. Palmyra was part of the Roman Empire, and never belonged to Parthian territory.⁵

¹ M. Rostovtzeff, 'Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art', *Yale Classical Studies* 5 (1935), 157–303.

² H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa. Die Städte der syrisch-mesopotamischen Wüste in politischer, kulturgeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.8 (1977), 799–906.

³ T. Kaizer, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Leiden 2008), 1–11.

⁴ M. Sommer, *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze. Palmyra—Edessa—Dura-Europos—Hatra. Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian* (Stuttgart 2005).

⁵ On Palmyra's political history, see Drijvers 1977, op. cit. (n. 2), 837–862. See Sommer 2005, op. cit. (n. 4), 149–170, for references to more recent studies.

Dura-Europos⁶ and Edessa⁷ initially fell within the Parthian orbit, but changed hands in 165 during the campaign of Lucius Verus. Hatra only joined Rome in about 225, after the Parthians had been defeated by the Sasanians.⁸ Unlike the other cities then, Hatra was connected to the Parthian Empire for most of its existence.

The view that central political powers had little influence on the culture of their subjects is at odds with recent studies on Romanisation that emphasise the role of indigenous elite groups in the process of Romanisation. This new approach revolves around the idea that the coming of Rome resulted, consciously or unconsciously, in a realignment of social relations. Roman culture is thought to have played an important part within this redirection. In order to establish and confirm their elevated social position, elite groups aligned their interests with those of Rome and forged a connection with the Roman rulers to become more like them.⁹ One way of doing this was by adopting Roman cultural elements or incorporating Roman cultural elements into one's own culture.¹⁰ Notably with respect to civic or public religion in the Roman Empire, it is frequently stressed that politics and religion were in fact two sides of the same coin.¹¹

Recent studies of various aspects of Palmyrene culture stress the impact of Roman rule on the local elite of Palmyra. Roman influences to a large extent determined Palmyra's public and religious architec-

⁶ See L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos. A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria* (Leiden 1999), 3–17, for a short introduction to Dura's history and references for further reading.

⁷ On the history of Edessa, see now S.K. Ross, *Roman Edessa. Politics and Culture in the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114–242 CE* (London—New York 2001).

⁸ On Hatra's political fate, see St. R. Hauser, 'Hatra und das Königreich der Araber', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart 1998), 515–519.

⁹ M. Millett, *The Romanisation of Britain. An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge 1990); T. Derks, *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices. The Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul* (Amsterdam 1998), 35; G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origin of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998), 4–7.

¹⁰ The idea that foreign Roman elements were not necessarily blended into the indigenous culture to merge into a new, typical local culture, was recently advocated by A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008), 13–14, who points out that elements from different cultures can survive side by side. Interestingly, Wallace-Hadrill's plea for cultural bilingualism was inspired by Fergus Millar's characterisation of culture in Syrian cities such as Palmyra in *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge—Massachusetts—London 1993).

¹¹ R. Gordon, 'The real and the imaginary. Production and religion in the Graeco-Roman world', *Art History* 2 (1979), 5–34; M. Beard—J. North—S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, Vol. I (Cambridge 1998), throughout.

ture, and inspired its honorific sculptures, funerary portraits and other funerary monuments such as sarcophagi and mausoleums.¹² Surprisingly, this redirection of research has not resulted in a re-evaluation of the cultural remains of Hatra and the relationship between Hatra and Palmyra. If Palmyra's elite assimilated themselves to Rome, one might expect the rulers of Hatra to look to their political overlords, the Parthian kings of kings. Unless, of course, one assumes that the Parthian Empire was politically too weak to exert any cultural influence on its subjected peoples.¹³ This notion is indeed widespread among ancient historians.

In an earlier study, I have challenged the idea that the material culture of all the cities in the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert was fundamentally the same.¹⁴ In the present article, I shall also dispute the idea that the religious worlds of these cities were more or less identical. To this end I compare material from two cities on either end of the scale: Roman Palmyra and Parthian Hatra. My evaluation is based mainly on the archaeological remains from the two cities that date from the first three centuries of the Common Era. As is well known there are scarcely any literary sources about religion in the two cities.

Before I proceed with a discussion of the two cities, it is necessary to make two methodological remarks. First, in highlighting the cultural and religious differences between cities in the Syrian Mesopotamian desert

¹² K. Parlasca, 'Das Verhältnis der palmyrenischen Grabplastik zur römischen Porträtkunst', *Römische Mitteilungen* 29 (1985), 343–356; K. Parlasca, 'Palmyrenische Sarkophage mit Totenmahlreliefs—Forschungsstand und Ikonographische Probleme', *Koch (a cura di) Akten des Symposiums "125 Jahre Sakophag-Corpus"*, Marburg, 4.-7. Oktober 1995 (Mainz 1998), 311–317; G. Schenke, 'Frühe palmyrenische Grabreliefs: Individuelle und kulturelle Identität durch Selbstdarstellung im Sepulkralbereich', in K.S. Freyberger—A. Henning—H. Von Hesberg (eds.), *Kulturkonflikte im Vorderen Orient* (Leidorf 2003), 109–116; J.-B. Yon, 'La romanisation de Palmyre et des villes de l'Euphrate', *Annales: Histories, Sciences Sociales* 59 (2004), 313–336.

¹³ This idea was promoted above all by the Sasanian dynasty that succeeded the house of the Arsacids and claimed to restore a centralized kingdom with a centralized church in Iran. Due to the lack of Parthian sources, it is difficult to weaken this view. However, the fact that this idea was advocated by the successors of the Parthians, who used the argument to legitimate their own power and rule, calls for prudence: A. de Jong, 'Sub Species Maiestatis: Reflections on Sasanian Court Rituals', in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context* (Leiden 2004), 2–3.

¹⁴ L. Dirven, 'Aspects of Hatrene Religion. A Note on the Statues of Kings and Nobles from Hatra', in T. Kaizer (ed.), *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Roman Near East* (Leiden 2008), 209–246. The figurative remains from cities in the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert will be discussed extensively in my forthcoming study on the sculptures from Hatra.

I do not argue that there was an impermeable frontier and two utterly distinct cultures. I subscribe to the idea, recently advanced by Benjamin Isaac and others, that the so-called frontier between the Roman and the Parthian Empires is more like a zone than a line.¹⁵ To a large extent, it was an open frontier, through which people and goods could move easily from one region to the other. There is unambiguous proof of this effect. People from Palmyra are attested in Hatra in Temple XIII.¹⁶ A substantial Palmyrene community lived in Dura-Europos from at least 33 BC onwards until the fall of the city in 256 AD.¹⁷ A dedication to the city god of Hatra in the Hatrene script that was found in Dura-Europos suggests people from Hatra also frequented Dura.¹⁸ The presence of people from Hatra in the middle Euphrates region is substantiated by graffiti inscribed in pottery found in Kifrin.¹⁹

In any comparison, however, a study of the differences should be as important as a study of the similarities. It is, after all, the differences that call for an explanation, and not the resemblances. Precisely because there was contact between these cities and because they shared a number of cultural elements, variations testify to local characteristics. These local characteristics may in turn be due to a number of factors, such as cultural history as well as political, social and religious circumstances. Since Hatra was the only one of the Syrian-Mesopotamian cities that belonged to the Parthian Empire for the greater part of its history, it is not unreasonable to suppose that its political alliance accounted for at least some of the differences between Hatra and the other cities.

¹⁵ C.R. Wittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: a Social and Economic History* (Baltimore 1994); B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford 1990), 139–140; 418–426; N. Pollard, 'Roman Material Culture across Imperial Frontiers? Three Case Studies from Dura-Europos', in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Graeco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society* (Cambridge 2004), 119–144.

¹⁶ In the so-called thirteenth temple in Hatra, a stele was found that was manufactured in Palmyra and has a Palmyrene dedication: W. al-Salihi, 'Palmyrene Sculptures found at Hatra', *Iraq* 49 (1987), 53–61, pl. XIII; L. Dirven, 'Palmyrenes in Hatra. Evidence for Cultural Relations in the Fertile Crescent', in K. Jukabiak (ed.), *Fifty Years of Polish Excavations in Palmyra* (forthcoming).

¹⁷ The evidence that testifies to the presence of Palmyrenes in Dura-Europos is assembled in Dirven 1999, op. cit. (n. 6).

¹⁸ In the Temple of Atargatis in Dura, a stele was found with a cultic standard in relief, dedicated to Shamash: R. Bertolino, 'Les inscriptions Hatréennes de Doura-Europos: Études Épigraphique', in P. Leriche—M. Gelin (eds.), *Dura-Europos. Études IV 1991–1993* (Beyrouth 1997), 199–214.

¹⁹ M. Gawlikowski, 'Bijan in the Euphrates', *Sumer* 42 (1983), 21.

Second, it ought to be noted that juxtaposing Palmyra and Hatra is not a fair comparison. A proper comparison requires two equal parties, and this is by no means the case. Whereas we are well informed about culture and religion in Rome and its dissemination in the provinces, information about Parthian culture, material or otherwise, is very limited indeed.²⁰ Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital in Mesopotamia, is a great unknown, and the few material finds from the remainder of the Parthian Empire are dated fairly late in the Parthian era and originate mostly from places on the margins of the Parthian Empire.

In the following discussion, I shall start with a brief overview of the political and social history of the two cities. This serves to put the subsequent discussion of the religious situation into perspective, for religion in each city was largely determined by its individual political and social situation. Because of the different character of both cities, their religious worlds differ as well. However, political alliances influenced the religious culture of both cities too. In the concluding paragraph, two instances will be discussed that illustrate this point.

SHORT OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF PALMYRA AND HATRA

Around the beginning of the Common Era, Palmyra emerged as a major emporium or 'desert port'. The rise of Palmyra as an important caravan city coincides with active Roman involvement in the city.²¹ Although the formal status of Palmyra in the empire is the matter of debate, there can be no doubt that the city was to some extent subject to Rome from the first century onwards, and that this relationship intensified in the two subsequent centuries.²² This involvement was further increased when the Roman limes was extended south into Arabia, which was annexed in 106 CE. Palmyra may have regained some of its independence after Hadrian visited the city in 129 CE, and the city was renamed Hadriana Tadmor. It became a colony under Septimius or Caracalla. After the famous queen Zenobia commanded Palmyra's revolt against Rome's

²⁰ For an overview of material remains of Parthian culture and references for further reading, see S.B. Downey, 'Art in Iran iv. Parthian art', *Encyclopedia Iranica* 2, Fascicle 6 (1986), 580–585.

²¹ Pliny the elder wrote of Palmyra as having a quasi independent status between the two great empires Parthia and Rome, but this is certainly anachronistic for Pliny's time: *Hist.Nat.* 5.88.

²² Pliny, *Hist.Nat.* 5.88, note 5.

hegemony in the East, Aurelian conquered the city in CE 270. After its defeat, the city quickly lost its importance and was turned into a military base on the *Strata Diocletiana*.

The Palmyrenes very successfully established themselves as middlemen, regulating the trade between the Parthian Empire in the East and the Roman Empire in the West. Palmyra controlled the desert between Palmyra and the Euphrates by means of military force and diplomacy, thereby making caravan trade possible. In addition, the Palmyrenes possessed trading colonies in Parthian cities.²³ In this respect they did something the Romans could not do for themselves. And they did it so well that they acquired immense riches in the process. Thanks to this wealth, Palmyra developed into a splendid and monumental city during the second century CE.

Our main sources of information on the social organisation of Palmyra are the inscriptions that have been found in the oasis in great quantity. In these inscriptions, kinship terminology is used to denote physical and social relations. In ascending order of inclusion, the inscriptions mention the individual, the family, a group of families or clan, and the tribe.²⁴ Initially, families and clans appear to be the principal form of organisation in Palmyra. In due time, we see this structure adapting to that of the Graeco-Roman city. Hence during the reign of Nero the city was artificially split up into four quarters: a well known feature of Graeco-Roman cities throughout the empire.²⁵ These quarters were administered by four tribes, the representatives of which constituted the *boulè* of the city that is first attested in an inscription dated to 74 CE.²⁶ In this way, Roman engagement in Palmyra's municipal affairs certainly contributed to the diminishing importance of traditional social structures and the increasing importance of a civic identity.

Virtually all remains from Hatra, located in the eastern Jazirah about 80 kilometres south-west of present-day Mosul, date from the period between the end of the first and the middle of the third century of the

²³ On Palmyrene trade, see G.C. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade. International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC-AD 305* (London—New York 2001), 136–186.

²⁴ On the role of Palmyrene inscriptions in the reconstruction of family relations, see J.-B. Yon, *Les notables de Palmyre* (Beyrouth 2002), 57–97.

²⁵ D. Schlumberger, 'Les quatre tribus de Palmyra', *Syria* 48 (1971), 121–133; Recently, T. Kaizer, *The Religious Life of Palmyra* (Stuttgart 2002), 43–55.

²⁶ The *boulè* is first mentioned in an inscription dated to 74 CE: J. Cantineau, 'Tadmora', *Syria* 14 (1933), 174–176, no. 2B.

Common Era.²⁷ Apart from the last decennia of its existence, the city was in some way subject to the Parthian king of kings. The official status of the city within the Parthian empire is, however, by no means clear. The oldest Hatrene inscriptions refer to the Hatrene rulers as 'lords', whereas from 176/7 onwards, inscriptions call them 'kings'. According to the very plausible interpretation of Stefan Hauser, this shift reflects the increased significance of Hatra within the Parthian Empire. In the year 165 CE, the province of Oshroene fell into Roman hands, meaning that Hatra's territory became the frontier zone of the Parthian Empire.²⁸ As a consequence of its elevated strategic position, Hatra became a vassal kingdom of the Parthian Empire.

Hatra was of great strategic importance and difficult to defeat, as is clear from the keen interest that both the Romans and Sasanians took in the city. Roman historians tell us that the troops of Trajan and Septimius Severus attempted to conquer the city in vain on three occasions.²⁹ In turn, the first Sasanian ruler Ardashir unsuccessfully tried to take the city around 228, before his successor Shapur finally succeeded in 240.³⁰ The strategic importance of the city relates to the close relationship between the people who had settled in the city and the people in its territory who adhered to a nomadic way of life. Inscriptions refer to Hatrene rulers as "king of Arab", which suggests that Hatra's territory was known as "Arab", and that its population was called "Arabs".³¹ Several inscriptions from the city show that nomadic and sedentary members of the same

²⁷ For a brief sketch of Hatra's history, see Drijvers 1977, op. cit. (n. 2), 803–837; Hauser 1998, op. cit. (n. 8), 493–528; M. Sommer, *Hatra. Geschichte und Kultur einer Karawanenstadt im römisch-parthischen Mesopotamien* (Mainz am Rhein 2003), 19–46; Sommer 2005, op. cit. (n. 4), 355–390.

²⁸ Hauser 1998, op. cit. (n. 8), 502. Followed by Sommer 2003, op. cit. (n. 27), 385 and Sommer 2005, op. cit. (n. 4), 382. For the complicated relationship between Oshroene and Rome during these years, see Ross 2001, op. cit. (n. 7), 29–45.

²⁹ Trajan's failure in CE 117 (Cassius Dio 68.31) was followed by two attempts by Septimius Severus, in 197 and 199 AD (Cassius Dio 75.1.1–3; 76.9.5–76.12; Herodian 3.1; 3.9).

³⁰ Cassius Dio 80.3.2. Ardashir succeeded in taking Hatra in 240 CE. According to Ammianus Marcellinus 25.8.5, the city was deserted when Jovian and his troops passed the city with the dead body of Julian in 363 CE. Literary sources praise the wealth of this city. For an overview of the written sources pertaining to Hatra, see J. Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes. Der Sonnenkult in Edessa, Ḥarrān und Haṭrā am Vorabend der christlichen Mission* (Wiesbaden 1986), 228–235.

³¹ K. Dijkstra, 'State and steppe. The socio-political implications of Hatra inscription no. 79', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 35 (1990), 96; St. R. Hauser, 'Ecological limits and political frontiers: The "Kingdom of the Arabs" in the eastern Jazirah in the Arsacid period', in L. Milano—S. De Martino (eds.), *Landscapes. Territories, frontiers and horizons in the*

kinship group assembled in sanctuaries in the city.³² The Hatrene rulers controlled the nomads that roamed the city's territory, and, through them, the entire region; thus, in order to control the region, the Parthian kings allied themselves with the Hatrene rulers.

THE RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENTS OF PALMYRA AND HATRA

Like the culture of the two cities, the cults of Palmyra and Hatra have also frequently been lumped together.³³ It is true that religion in both cities was preponderantly Semitic, with notable Babylonian and Arab influences.³⁴ That is, however, as far as the similarities go. Apart from a few names of deities, the religious organisation in the cities was very different. In my view, this distinction is largely due to the different character of the two cities: Palmyra was primarily a caravan city, whereas Hatra was a strategic stronghold that also functioned as a holy city. In addition, however, it can be shown that at least some of the differences were due to their political affiliations. I shall start with a general description and subsequently turn to a discussion of the possible political influences on the religious life of the cities.

Religion in Palmyra mirrors the town's social organization and follows the same development.³⁵ The varied origins of Palmyra's inhabitants are reflected in great religious diversity. The divine world of Palmyra comprised at least sixty deities, originating from a variety of traditions. Most of these gods functioned as the ancestral deities of individuals and families. In turn, the families assembled to worship their deities in clan sanctuaries that were headed by one of the family gods. When Palmyra developed into a city in the first century AD, several of these tribal sanctuaries came to function as the sanctuary of a city quarter. In turn, the divine and human representatives of the most important temples assembled in the city temple, the temple of Bel. As far as we

ancient Near East. Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Venezia 7-11 July 1997, II: Geography and cultural landscapes (Padova 2000) (History of the ancient Near East. Monographs, 3.2), 191.

³² Notably H79 and H336.

³³ H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Mithra at Hatra? Some Remarks on the Problem of Irano-Mesopotamian Syncretism' *Acta Iranica IV, Études Mithriaques* (1978), 167.

³⁴ J. Caquot, 'Nouvelles inscriptions Araméennes de Hatra I', *Syria* 29 (1952), 118. Followed by J. Greenfield, 'Nergal dhspt', *Acta Iranica* 12 (1988), 135-136.

³⁵ M. Gawlikowski, 'Les dieux de Palmyre', *ANRW II* 18.4 (1990), 2652-2653. Recently Dirven 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 97-98 and Kaizer 2002, op. cit. (n. 25), 239.

can tell, the gods did not lose their original character in this process. Although they acquired a new meaning when incorporated into a new constellation, their original character and cult remained unaltered.³⁶ During the first three centuries of the Common Era, these three levels of religious organisation changed according to social developments in the oasis. In due time, tribal structures became less important, whereas the civic, supra-tribal character became increasingly prominent.³⁷

The first thing that strikes one in comparing the religious world of Hatra with that of Palmyra, is how few deities were worshipped in Hatra.³⁸ Instead of sixty names, the inscriptions of Hatra yield only about seventeen divine names.³⁹ Furthermore, it is clear that many of these names refer to various manifestations of the same god. Hence Maren is also called Shamash and Nasr, Marten is also known as Allat or Iššarbel, and Barmaren is possibly another name for the god Nergal.⁴⁰ The figure of Heracles, who is exceedingly popular in the city, is known as Nergal, but also appears as the Gad or protective deity of a number of groups or places.⁴¹ Together, these four deities figure in eighty percent of the inscriptions.

³⁶ The most obvious examples are the gods Iarhibol and Aglibol, who are both members of the triad of Bel in his temple, but are still worshipped in their older manifestations in sanctuaries in the city: Dirven 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 47–63.

³⁷ Dirven 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 66.

³⁸ For an overview of religion in Hatra and references for further reading, see T. Kaizer, 'Some Remarks on the Religious Life of Hatra', *Topoi* 10 (2000), 229–252.

³⁹ For a list of the divine names that are attested in inscriptions from Hatra, see the index in B. Aggoula, *Inventaire des inscriptions Hatréennes* (Paris 1991), 195. The following deities are attested in the inscriptions (in alphabetical order): Allat, Atarata (Atargatis), Bel (?), Baalshamin, Barmaren, Gad, Iššarbel, Zaqqy, Maren, Marten, Nanaia, Nergal, Nabu; Nasra, Shahiru, Shahru, Shamash.

⁴⁰ On the identity of Shamash-Maren-Nasr, see Tubach 1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 261–270. On Allat-Iššarbel-Marten, see J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thèses sémitiques à l'époque romaine* (Paris 1972), 338; J. Hoftijzer, *Religio Aramaica* (Leiden 1968), 52 with note 2, concludes from H81, a graffito in which Nergal takes the place normally taken by Barmaren, that Barmaren and Nergal were in fact the same god. Although this pushes the evidence too far, the two were undoubtedly closely associated. On the cult of Barmaren in Hatra and its relationship with the cult of Nergal, see G. Theuer, *Der Mondgott in den Religionen Syrien-Palaestinas. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von KTU 1.24* (Göttingen 2000), 390–399.

⁴¹ About a quarter of all divine images from the small shrines represent Heracles (of the 107 statues of divinities that were unearthed in the small shrines, 29 are representations of the Greek god). Furthermore, the cult of Nergal-Heracles is attested in 9 of the 14 small shrines. On the cult of this god in Hatra, see now L. Dirven, 'My Lord with his Dogs. Continuity and Change in the Cult of Nergal in Parthian Mesopotamia' in L. Greisiger, C. Rammelt, J. Tubach (eds.), *Edessa in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Religion, Kultur und*

The huge temenos in the centre of the city demonstrates the prominence of a small number of deities that were crucial to the religious life of the city as a whole. In this central temple complex Hatra's most important gods were worshipped in various cult buildings. Inscriptions and representations from the great Temenos clearly show that the rulers of Hatra were intimately connected with this set of centralized cults; not only were they the principal commissioners of the cult buildings in the Temenos, but the king of Hatra also figured as the chief priest of Shamash, the principal deity of the city.⁴² In this respect, Hatra's main sanctuary differs significantly from the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, which was a communal enterprise financed by many individuals.⁴³

The most important deities of the city were not only worshipped in temples inside the central Temenos, but also received a cult in various of the fourteen small shrines located in the living quarters around the great court in the centre.⁴⁴ Several of these small shrines can be ascribed to tribal groups. It follows from inscriptions that were found here, that some members of these groups still adhered to the nomadic way of life.⁴⁵ This suggests the small shrines functioned as a place of assembly for those from outside and from inside Hatra. They gathered here to worship their family gods and to pay their respects to the Gad of the king and the main deities of Hatra that were associated with him.⁴⁶ Hence the function of the small shrines was twofold: on the one hand they affirmed the tribal identity of the people that gathered here; on the other, they formed a bridge between these groups and the central authorities.

Politik zwischen Ost und West. Beiträge des internationalen Edessa-Symposiums in Halle an der Saale, 14.-17. Juli 2005 (Beirut 2009), 47–69.

⁴² On the intimate relation between rulers and central cult in Hatra, see L. Dirven, 'Hatra: a 'Pre-Islamic Mecca' in the Eastern Jazirah', *ARAM* 18–19 (2006–2007), 375–377.

⁴³ M.A.R. Colledge, 'Le temple de Bel à Palmyre. Qui l'a fait et pourquoi?', in *Palmyre. Bilan et perspectives. Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques* 3 (Strasbourg 1976), 45–52.

⁴⁴ The temples are usually indicated by numerals in the sequence in which they were found. Since it is frequently not known to which god or gods they were dedicated, it is best to follow this custom.

⁴⁵ Notably H79. On the relationship between sedentary and nomads in Hatra, see Dijkstra 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 31), 90–94.

⁴⁶ On the tribal character of the cult in the small shrines, see L. Dirven, 'Banquet scenes from Hatra', *ARAM* 17 (2005), 61–82. The prominent role of the central cults in the small shrines and the role of the king in them have largely been neglected so far and will be discussed in my forthcoming publication on the sculptures from Hatra.

It is noteworthy that apart from Hatra's main deities, few gods were worshipped in the small shrines. In fact, eight of the fourteen shrines seem to have been dedicated to a god who looks like the Greek god Heracles and who is variously identified as the Gad of a particular family or tribe. In all likelihood, all manifestations of this god were assimilated to Nergal, a deity of Babylonian origin associated with the netherworld.⁴⁷ The prominence of this Heracles figure in the small shrines, and the fact that he seems to embody various tribal deities, suggest that the people who visited the holy city or who settled here assimilated their gods to the deities that were of primary importance in Hatra. This would explain the relatively small number of divine names and divine figures attested in Hatrene inscriptions and sculptures. How exactly this Heracles-figure relates to the gods that were worshipped in the main sanctuaries in the city is not entirely clear. Representations of the god have been found in various temples in the great temenos, which suggests that he received a cult here as well.

This brief overview shows two distinct religious worlds that are illustrative of the way the two cities functioned. In Palmyra, shared interests in economic resources and Roman influence eventually led to the rise of a civic religious identity and a reduction of clan affiliations. The gods of the city that received a cult in the temple of Bel are hardly attested in the tribal sanctuaries in the city. Instead, the main gods from the tribal sanctuaries were assembled in the temple of Bel. Unlike the caravan city Palmyra, Hatra was first and foremost a holy city and a strategic stronghold. As such, it functioned as a political and religious centre for the desert peoples living in and around the city. The tribes gathered in the city centre to pay homage to the main deities of Hatra and to its ruler. In addition, they assembled in their tribal sanctuaries, where tribal affiliations seem to have remained strong throughout. Contrary to Palmyra, the central gods of the city were worshipped in these family temples as well. Furthermore, the tribal deities were frequently adapted to their new habitat and assimilated to Hatra's most important gods.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Notwithstanding the distinctly local character of religious life in Palmyra and Hatra, it can be shown that their religion was also influenced by their

⁴⁷ Dirven 2009, *op. cit.* (n. 41) on the cult of Heracles-Nergal at Hatra.

respective political overlords. In both Palmyra and Hatra, these practices were related to the local elite or to local rulers, who used foreign religious elements to confirm their own position.

The sole instance of clear Roman influences in the religion of Palmyra is the imperial cult. Evidence of the cult of the Roman emperors is confined to three, or perhaps four, inscriptions. However, these inscriptions do show beyond doubt that the imperial cult was of civic importance. The office of priest of the imperial cult was fulfilled by the *symposiarch* and high priest of the god Bel, the most prestigious religious office of the city.⁴⁸ Hence the imperial cult was extremely well integrated into the civic, communal life of Palmyra. As in cities in Asia Minor, the imperial cult was dominated by the local elite. This incorporation is reflected in the iconography of Palmyrene gods, that was influenced by the image of the emperor. Around the middle of the first century, shortly after Palmyra's incorporation into the Roman Empire, a significant change took place in the iconography of Palmyra's most important deities. As in many cities and villages in the region, military deities were extremely popular in Palmyra.⁴⁹ Before the advent of the Romans, the gods were depicted wearing a so-called lamellar-cuirass, of Hellenistic origin.⁵⁰ Around 80 CE, however, the most prominent gods of the city such as Iarhibol, Aglibol and Arsu, changed their costume, adopting a Roman muscle cuirass, the cuirass normally worn by the Roman emperor.⁵¹ It is noteworthy that it is only the city gods of Palmyra that take on this costume; the military deities worshipped in the villages around Palmyra remained clad in their traditional outfit. This suggests that the adoption of the emperor's dress for Palmyra's deities assured these deities a place in the Roman order. That the adoption of the Roman cuirass was indeed related to Roman rule is confirmed by the gods of Parthian Hatra, who were not represented wearing Roman armour.⁵²

⁴⁸ For an overview of all material that possibly refers to the imperial cult in Palmyra, see Yon 2002, op. cit. (n. 24), 122–123, with note 191.

⁴⁹ H. Seyrig, 'Les dieux armés et les arabes en Syrie', *Syria* 47 (1970), 92.

⁵⁰ In many publications, this type of cuirass is referred to as 'strip cuirass'. 'Lamellar cuirass' is, in fact, the proper designation. I thank Andreas Kropp for this information.

⁵¹ On the adoption of the body cuirass by Palmyrene deities and its implications for emperor worship, see L. Dirven, 'The Julius Terentius fresco and the Roman Imperial cult', *Mediterraneo Antico* 10. 1–2 (2007) [2010], 1–13.

⁵² Contra Sommer 2005, op. cit. (n. 4), 386, who argues that cuirassed gods are common in the divine iconography of Hatra. In fact, only two representations of cuirassed gods are known to date; the statue of a bearded god flanked by eagles from Temple V (Drijvers 1977, op. cit. (n. 2), 808) and a relief from the great Temenos (S. Downey, 'A Stele

In Parthian Hatra, Iranian influences are mainly found in administrative titles and are hardly noticeable in the religious sphere.⁵³ The epithet *Dahashpata*, ‘Lord of the Guards’, associated with the god Nergal, is one of the few exceptions.⁵⁴ All gods were of Semitic stock and none appears to have been assimilated to an Iranian deity.⁵⁵ However, if my interpretation of one of Hatra’s religious buildings is correct, there is one noticeable exception to this rule. Somewhere around 170, Sanatruq, the first king of Hatra, constructed a square building behind the great southern iwan in the central Temenos. From an architectural point of view, this building is an anomaly in Hatra’s religious architecture. In view of its obvious similarities to Zoroastrian fire temples dated to the Sasanian period, it was formerly identified as an Iranian fire temple.⁵⁶ However, since Iranian gods do not otherwise feature in Hatrene religion, this hypothesis is now generally rejected. Most scholars hold that the building was dedicated to Shamash. I propose to return to the former interpretation, albeit with a slight alteration. In my view the ‘Square Building’ housed the dynastic fire of the Hatrene monarchs.

The ascription of the building to Shamash is based on the presence of a bust of a sun god, who is represented in the centre of the lintel of the door that leads into the Square Building.⁵⁷ Since door lintels are not the most obvious place to express theological notions, this argument is rather unconvincing. Doubt is augmented by the fact that no inscription dedicated to Shamash has been found in the Square Building. In fact, divine names hardly figure in inscriptions from this building, nor are many gods represented in the figurative decoration. Instead, numerous

from Hatra, *Sumer* 30 (1974), 179–182). The gods from Hatra wear Hellenistic lamellar and strip cuirasses, rather than the Roman muscular cuirass.

⁵³ On Iranian titles in Hatra, see Greenfield 1988, op. cit. (n. 34), 136.

⁵⁴ Dirven 2009, op. cit. (n. 41), on the possible Iranian-Semitic syncretism reflected in this name.

⁵⁵ Drijvers 1978, op. cit. (n. 33), 151–186.

⁵⁶ K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin—New York 1971), 489–492, quotes previous publications and summarizes the problems. Against the idea that the Square Temple was a fire temple: H. Lenzen, ‘Der Altar auf der Westseite des sogenannten Feuerheiligtums in Hatra’, in K. Bittel—A. Moortgat (eds.), *Vorderasiatische Archaeologie. Festschrift Anton Moortgat* (Berlin 1964), 136–138. The identification of the bust of a sun god in the door lintel as Mithra was an important argument in this respect. This identification was convincingly rejected by Drijvers 1978, op. cit. (n. 33), 151–186.

⁵⁷ W. Andrae, *Hatra. I. Teil: Allgemeine Beschreibung der Ruinen. Nach Aufnahmen von Mitgliedern der Assur-Expedition der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig 1908), 19–20, fig. 32, Pl. XI; Tubach 1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 410–443; pl. 11A–B.

life-size statues of royalty were found here.⁵⁸ For this reason, it is unlikely that the place functioned as a shrine for a deity. Doubts are increased still further by the fact that the building in front of the Square Building, known as the South Iwan, was dedicated to Shamash.⁵⁹ This follows from H107, a very important text, which is inscribed on a limestone slab found inside room 4. It refers to the temple (*sgyl*), which Barmaren built for Shamash, his father. As far as we can tell, the addition of the Square Building did not affect the cult in the South Iwan; at its back wall a cult installation was found that probably served as the base for the cult statue.

The Square Building was probably constructed by Sanatruq I, about fifty years after the great iwans were built.⁶⁰ Sanatruq was the first of the Hatrene rulers who referred to himself as king of Hatra and wore the royal headgear, the tiara.⁶¹ Both title and crown were probably granted him by the Parthian king of kings, due to the augmented strategic position of the city at the time.⁶² The Square Building strikingly resembles later Sasanian fire temples, that consist of a square chamber topped with a round dome which rests on squinches springing from four corner piers. Sanctuaries with permanent fires are surrounded by roofed ambulatories

⁵⁸ All material pertaining to this temple will be published in my forthcoming book on the sculptures from Hatra.

⁵⁹ H107. For the reading and translation, see K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty. A Study in the Socio-Religious Culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman Period Based on Epigraphic Evidence* (Leiden 1995), 197–198.

⁶⁰ A vexed question is who decided to build the Square Building. According to F. Safar and M.A. Mustafa, *Hatra. The City of the Sun God* (Baghdad 1974) (in Arabic), 334, King Sanatruq I finished the building. Sanatruq I is mentioned in the inscription in the lintel (H199) and in a text inscribed in one of the fragmentary columns that once formed a baldachin. Unfortunately, it can no longer be established whether Sanatruq I started the building or whether he finished a building that was begun by his predecessors. Roberta Venco-Ricciardi dates the foundation of the building to the reign of Nasru, around 130–140 CE (oral communication). However, the style of the lintel that adorns the door that leads into the Square Building substantiates a much later date, in the reign of Sanatruq I (above, note 57). Compared to the other lintels that decorate the doors in the North and South Iwan Complex, the style of this lintel is remarkably un-classical and crude. It is much closer to the architectural decoration in the Temple of Allat, dated to the reign of King Sanatruq (Sommer 2003, op. cit. (n. 27), figs. 37, 55, 69, 70), than to the remainder of the architectural decoration from the great iwans (W. Andrae, *Hatra. II. Teil: Einzelbeschreibung der Ruinen. Nach Aufnahmen von Mitgliedern der Assur-Expedition der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig 1912), figs. 249–251, pl. XII; Sommer 2003, op. cit. (n. 27), fig. 96).

⁶¹ On the change in Hatra from *mrn* (lord) to *mlk'* (king), see Sommer 2005, op. cit. (n. 4), 370–376.

⁶² Above, n. 28.

which protect the fire burning in the inner chamber.⁶³ The fact that the construction of this building of Iranian appearance coincides with the intensification of the relations with Parthia strongly suggests that its function is also related to the Arsacids.

Not much is known about the fire cult during the Parthian Era, as is the case with most things related to the Parthians. In fact, it seems that the temple-cult of fire familiar from later Zoroastrian practice appeared fairly late in Iran, and probably only fully developed in the Sasanian period. The worship of various kinds of sacred fires did exist before this date, however, probably in conjunction with other forms of worship.⁶⁴ One such form of fire worshipping is dynastic fire. Its use and meaning must be pieced together from Iranian sources dated before and after the Parthian era. It may be inferred from an account by Diodorus Siculus that a sacred fire was lit upon the accession of the Persian king and was extinguished at his funeral.⁶⁵ In all likelihood, this custom derived from the well-attested example of a householder's fire that was lit for every man in his own home.⁶⁶ The eternal fire at Asaak in Astauene, where the Parthian king Arsaces I was crowned, may very well have been such a dynastic fire.⁶⁷

By the end of the Parthian period, the sub-kings and great vassals of the Arsacids had established dynastic fires of their own, possibly with the knowledge of the Parthian king of kings. This is known from a text called the "letter of Tansar", Ardashir's high priest. Tansar's letter is written in defence of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, who was accused by a former Parthian vassal king of having extinguished many dynastic fires of other former Parthian vassal kings.⁶⁸ According to Tansar, these fires had been installed without royal authorisation, so that Ardashir had every

⁶³ M. Boyce, 'Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire', *Journal of the American Society* 93.5 (1975), 462.

⁶⁴ Boyce 1975, op. cit. (n. 63), 462, who argues that the fire cult and the cult of images initially existed side by side.

⁶⁵ Alexander ordered all the inhabitants of Asia to ... "extinguish what the Persians call the sacred fire, until the funeral was over. The Persians were accustomed to do this on the death of kings. So the people thought the order was an ill omen, and the deities were foretelling the king's own death." (Diodorus Siculus 17.114.5). Translation A. Kuhrt, *Persian Empire Sourcebook: a Corpus of Sources of Achaemenid Period* (London—New York 2007), 571.

⁶⁶ M. Boyce—F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*. 3. *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden 1991), 17.

⁶⁷ *Mansiones Parthicae*, par. 11.

⁶⁸ M. Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar* (Rome 1968), 47 (translation) and 16–17 (notes).

right to remove them. In fact, however, the vassal kings probably did have royal authorization, but from the wrong royal house. As for the religious meaning of these fires, it seems that they embodied the divine Fortune of the king and provided a divine legitimation of his rule. Undoubtedly, this incited Ardashir to destroy these fires and centralise the cult around his own person and dynasty.⁶⁹

The hypothesis that the Square Building housed the dynastic fire of the Hatrene royal house accords well with the foundation of the building at the time that the Hatrene lords were granted royal status by the Parthian king of kings. This function is confirmed by the large number of royal statues set up in the ambulatory of the Square Building.⁷⁰ The close association between the king and the gods is apparent from H79, found in Temple XI, that speaks of ‘the Fortune of the king that is with the gods’, a concept that recalls Iranian *xwarrah*.⁷¹ The new and elevated position of the Hatrene rulers is not a radical departure from the existing political and religious situation. The Parthian notion was a supplement that was integrated into the existing situation without apparently altering it substantially.

CONCLUSION

It follows from the above that the religious worlds of Palmyra and Hatra differed substantially. These differences are mainly due to the distinct character of the two cities, which in turn results from their own peculiar economic and social histories. Politics did not have a profound effect here. The elites of both cities did, however, adopt religious elements from their respective political overlords that confirmed their elevated position. Although the political frontier between the Roman and Parthian Empire by no means gave rise to two utterly different religious worlds, there

⁶⁹ Early Sasanian coins have the image of the dynastic fire of the reigning monarch on their reverse, identifying it as such (e.g. “Fire of Ardashir”): M. Alram—R. Gysselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum I. Ardashir I.—Shapur I.* (Wien 2003), 49–59 (P.O. Skaervo).

⁷⁰ In total, seven life-size statues of royalty were found here whereas no statues of other people were recovered. Safar—Mustafa 1974, op. cit. (n. 60), figs 1–4 and 8–10.

⁷¹ Already Dijkstra 1990, op. cit. (n. 31), 89. For the debate on the exact meaning of this notion, see A. de Jong, ‘Neither in ideology, nor in art. Reassessing the concept of *xwarrah* in Sasanian Iran’ (forthcoming). I am grateful to Albert de Jong for sending me this unpublished manuscript.

is ample proof that political alliances account for at least some of the differences in the religious domains of Palmyra and Hatra.

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A FINE LINE? CATHOLICS AND DONATISTS IN ROMAN NORTH AFRICA*

ALEXANDER EVERS

I. INTRODUCTION

On the 1st of June of the year 411 AD, bishops from all over Roman North Africa gathered together in the main hall of the Baths of Gargilius at Carthage, right in the centre of the city, as Augustine of Hippo pointed out—*in urbe media*.¹ They were divided in two camps: on the one side 286 Catholic bishops were present, on the other 285 Donatist. The Emperor Honorius had called for this council, in order to find the Donatists guilty of schism and to deliver a final blow to the movement, which had started a hundred years earlier. The *verbatim* records of the meeting were meticulously written down and have been carefully preserved, thus being by far the most valuable literary source, providing an almost complete record of the African episcopal sees—on both sides of the dividing line—at the beginning of the fifth century.

* First of all I would like to express my gratitude to Olivier Hekster and Ted Kaizer for organising this colloquium on Frontiers in the Roman World, and for allowing me to speak on mostly imaginary boundaries—the dividing lines between two parties within an entity that at the time was perhaps also only separated from its surrounding world in the “imagination of their hearts”: the Church within the Roman Empire. I am very grateful to Averil Cameron, Robert Dodaro o.s.a., Alan Fitzgerald o.s.a., Peter Garnsey, Paul van Geest, Claude Lepelley, Fergus Millar, Simon Price, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Greg Woolf for providing directions and sharing opinions. Alan Dearn has been particularly kind in sending me some of his own material on Donatist martyr stories and the archaeology of Roman Africa from his Oxford DPhil thesis, *The Polemical Use of the Past in the Catholic/Donatist Schism* (2003). Also, in his article ‘The Abitinian martyrs and the outbreak of the Donatist schism’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55.1 (2004), 1–18, he argues how texts are used to create divisions, even centuries after the actual events.

¹ Augustine, *Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis libri III* 1.14; Augustine, *Ad Donatistas post Collationem* 25.43. See also Augustine, *Collatio cum Donatistis*; S. Lancel (ed.), *Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris 1972–1991) 194, 195, 224, 373; SC 194, 50–53; B.D. Shaw, ‘African Christianity: disputes, definitions, and ‘Donatists’’, in M.R. Greenshields—T.A. Robinson (eds.), *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Religious Movements: Discipline and Dissent* (Lampeter 1992), 5–34, at 6.

The development of the Christian Church in Roman Africa during the fourth and fifth centuries was greatly influenced by the issue of Donatism. In a relatively short period of time this division within the Church, largely a direct result of the persecutions of the Emperor Diocletian, developed into an effectively organised movement: an independent Church, with its own bishops, other clergy, and an ever growing, flourishing faithful flock. Our knowledge of the schism is largely limited and unilateral, and mostly determined by the works of Catholic writers against the party of Donatus, thus creating more than a fine line. As Barnes already indicated: “the early history of the Donatist schism is known almost exclusively from documents quoted by Eusebius, and from documents which Optatus and Augustine used in their polemical works against the Donatists”² Augustine, of course, can be regarded as the champion of virtually everything, being one of the most influential figures of the Latin Church in the West, as well as the Church in general. But when it comes to being a relevant source regarding the Donatist issue, Optatus is equally important. As bishop of Milevis in Numidia during the second half of the fourth century, he was the pronounced predecessor of Augustine in his battle against the Donatists, and possibly set the tone for the decades to come. Extremely little is known about and of him, as only his treatise known as *Contra Parmenianum* has survived throughout the ages—a highly polemical work divided into seven books, addressing Parmenian, the Donatist bishop of Carthage at the time. Of great, perhaps even greater, historical importance is the dossier of contemporary documents, which Optatus had collected and used as a reference to support his own arguments, such as the *Acta purgationis Felicis* (AD 315) and the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* (AD 320).

When talking about the Donatists and the Donatist Church, it is important to reflect on definitions. Shaw reckons that modern-day historians have consistently labelled the movement as Donatism, but unjustifiably so. For the “sake of convenience”, historians and also theologians have deluded themselves by exploiting the past mostly for present ideological purposes. The existing records were obviously biased towards “those” people, and referred to them as “Donatists”. But then these records were almost without exception written by members of the “winning” Catholic side. And so ever since the battle was fought hegemonic domination has severely influenced labelling these “African Chris-

² T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge 1982), 238.

tians”—as Shaw prefers to call them, since he argues that they were more tied to African roots and traditions—as “Donatists”.³ For now, however, “convenience” has won once again, be it in full awareness of the issues attached to it. Shaw’s “African Christians” shall continue to be labelled “Donatists”—a party, a movement, a Church.

It is probably unlikely that the ancient literary sources regarding Donatism will ever be described and analysed in greater magnitude than by Monceaux.⁴ Frend’s impressive work has made that Donatism has often been, and still is, regarded as a social movement of resistance of the poor population of Africa against Roman rule.⁵ The geographical divide in the African territories led him to believe so. Frend pointed out that the literary evidence by itself shows that Donatism was strongest in Numidia. In Africa Proconsularis the Catholics were at an advantage. In the two outlying provinces of Tripolitania and Mauretania Caesariensis the two rival parties appear to have been of approximately the same strength. The majority of the native *castella* in Mauretania Sitifensis were unchallenged Donatist bishoprics. According to Frend the main division between the Donatist and the Catholic Church was that between respectively the inland plains and the cities and towns on the Tell. There was a clear divergence between the cities and the countryside, between rich and poor, between Roman and indigenous. To a certain extent there was another difference, in that the Donatist areas were Berber-speaking, whereas the Catholics seem to have spoken Latin.⁶ The division of language also marked the geographical distribution of Donatists and Catholics in North Africa. All this, according to Frend, is confirmed by archaeological and epigraphic evidence.⁷

³ Shaw 1992, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 8.

⁴ P. Monceaux, *L'histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne: d'origine jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, 7 vols. (Paris 1901–1923).

⁵ W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church. A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1971, 2nd ed.).

⁶ One ought to be prudent about the use of the term “Berber”. See for example F.G.B. Millar, ‘Local cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic, and Latin in Roman Africa’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 58 (1968), 126–134, at 128–129; J.N. Adams, ‘Latin and Punic in contact? The case of the Bu Njem ostraca’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), 87–112, at 88–89. On the survival of African culture and languages see also D.J. Mattingly, ‘Libyans and the *Limes*: culture and society in Roman Tripolitania’, *Antiquités africaines* 23 (1987), 71–93; G. Camps, ‘*Punica lingua* et épigraphique libyque dans la Numidie d’Hippone’, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 23 (1994), 33–49.

⁷ See Frend 1971, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 48–59.

All these divisions, however, must have been less clear-cut, and the question remains whether the mutual differences between Catholics and Donatists were really that big. Also, greater emphasis ought to be put on the religious character and background of the schism. I will get back to this further on. First, however, it is useful to briefly outline the history of the schism, mainly on the basis of our literary sources, before addressing some problems concerning the literature, both ancient and modern, as well as some of the archaeological evidence from various Roman cities of North Africa. The principal argument would be that the archaeology can contribute to an understanding of Donatism as a religious movement not all that different from its Catholic brothers and sisters.

II. CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA

In the aftermath of his victory at the Milvian Bridge in Rome in 312 AD, the Emperor Constantine made enormous efforts to create an equal position for Christianity amongst all the other religions of the Roman Empire.⁸ Christians no longer constituted a persecuted minority, but their faith became an ever faster rising star at the religious firmament. Christianity spread rapidly, not only geographically, but also across all levels of Roman society. The spiritual leaders of the Christian communities, bishops, priests, and deacons, became public figures with an increasing authority—due to the emperor's dream not only prominent within the Church, but also outside its organisation. They gained a wide range of imperial and juridical privileges. The emperor himself greatly stimulated the construction of churches. But private initiatives also took off. Christian buildings gradually became a familiar feature of the urban landscape, both in Rome and in all other parts of the empire. Christian communities came into being and flourished everywhere, in the cities and in the countryside, often with their own bishop.

North Africa always was one of the most desirable areas of the Roman Empire, from the time of its conquest on Carthage until the Arab invasions. With Egypt and Cyrene not included, the African provinces of the Roman empire stretched from the Gulf of Sydra (Syrtes) to modern Casablanca, sandwiched between the Sahara desert and the Mediterranean Sea. In the mid-fourth century AD, the writer of the *Expositio*

⁸ See Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 44; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.27–32.

totius mundi et gentium described the province of Africa Proconsularis alone as:

... rich in all things. It is adorned with all goods, grains as well as beasts, and almost alone it supplies to all peoples the oil they need.⁹

By this time the Romans had governed North Africa for some five hundred years. The provinces had developed into some of the most prosperous within the entire Empire. They clearly showed the creative force of Roman civilisation, probably most obviously so in the many towns and cities densely packed across the entire region. Many traces have been left behind, bearing witness to the rich “Romano-African” culture in one of the most urbanised areas of the Empire. An exact number of cities cannot be determined, but plausible estimates waver around five hundred for the whole of Roman Africa and more than two hundred for Africa Proconsularis.¹⁰ Carthage was by far the most important city, the only *metropolis* in the region, with a six-figure population.¹¹ According to Ausonius it was the third largest city in the Empire, after Rome and Constantinople.¹² Other cities counted populations between twenty and eighty thousand inhabitants, for example Lepcis Magna, which found itself at the top end of the scale. Places like Caesarea, and some of the major ports such as Sabratha, Hadrumetum, Utica, Hippo Regius and Hippo Diarrhytus, as well as inland cities as Volubilis, Cirta and Thysdrus ranked further down.¹³ Most cities were comparatively small. Yet, one of the main characteristics of urban life in Africa, unlike many other parts of the Empire, was the continuity of a large number of towns and cities, almost all with their legal status and their municipal apparatus still intact. They

⁹ *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 61: ... *dives in omnibus invenitur; omnibus bonis ornata est, fructibus quoque et iumentis, et paene ipsa omnibus gentibus usum olei praestat.*

¹⁰ F.G.B. Millar, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours* (London 1993, 3rd ed.), 169; G.-Ch. Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine* (Paris 1990, 2nd ed.), 27. A listing of all the identified cities in North Africa can be found in C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol. 2 (Paris 1981). See also J.-M. Lassère, *Ubique populus. Peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères, 146 a.C.–235 p.C.* (Paris 1977); and P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa* (Rome 1959).

¹¹ *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 61: *Quae multas et differentes civitates possidens unam praecipuam et admirabilem nimium habet, quae sic vocatur Karthago.*

¹² Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium* 1; 2.1–3: *Prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma [...] Constantinopoli assurgit Carthago priori non toto cessura gradu, quia tertia dici fastidit.*

¹³ These estimates are derived from S. Raven, *Rome in North Africa* (London 1993, 3rd ed.), 101.

continued to be “the main centres of life and of local administration”.¹⁴ According to the writer of the *Expositio*, Africa in the fourth century still had a great number of excellent cities—*multas et differentes civitates*.¹⁵

The urbanisation of Roman Africa has strongly contributed to the christianisation of the region. It is not clear when exactly Christianity reached Africa for the first time. It is not difficult, however, to understand where and how: Carthage and the other ports along the coast surely must have been the places where missionaries started their work. The Christian religion originally possessed a strongly urban character. Cities were the main centres whence the faith was preached. Christians made grateful use of the infrastructure of the Roman Empire. Due to its extensive and intensely used lines of communication—sea routes as well as highways across the regions—rapid connections existed between the various parts of the Empire, between provinces, and between cities, towns, and villages. Towards the end of the second century AD, the “new religion” had penetrated virtually all areas of the African provinces, both geographically and socially. Although the Church in Africa supposedly knew a relatively late start, she flourished incredibly rapidly: not just in numbers, but also from a material and cultural perspective. Furthermore, the African contribution to early Christian literature and theology has been significantly greater and far more substantial than for example that of Rome. The great minds and spiritual leaders of Latin Christianity during the second, third, and fourth centuries came from Roman Africa. Tertullian lived and worked in Carthage, just like Cyprian, who became a bishop in 248 and died a martyr ten years later, in 258. The writer Arnobius came from Sicca, modern El Kef, and also Lactantius originated from the province of Africa Proconsularis when the Emperor Diocletian summoned him as a teacher of Latin rhetoric to the imperial court at Nicomedia. Later, of course, it was Augustine of Hippo, who has had a more than paramount influence on the further development of the Church.

With the spread of Christianity, persecutions also began to affect the African provinces. On the 17th of July in the year 180, during the reign of the Emperor Commodus, twelve Christians from the town of

¹⁴ J.M. Reynolds, ‘Cities’, in D. Braund (ed.), *The Administration of the Roman Empire. 241 BC–AD 193* (Exeter 1988), 15–51, at 15. See also Raven 1993, op. cit. (n. 13), 101–102; and B.H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge 1954), 27.

¹⁵ The Latin *differens* is used here as its Greek equivalent *διαφορος*. See *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. and transl. J. Rougé, *Sources Chrétiennes* 124 (Paris 1966), 321.

Scillium in Numidia were condemned to death by the *proconsul* Vigellius Saturninus. Their trial has been recorded and handed down, and the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs are in fact our earliest dated document from the Latin Church—although one should take into account the possibility that the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs in their present form were only composed at a later stage, due to a number of inconsistencies in the text. However, despite some problems, “the *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum* seems to reflect one of the earliest and most authentic stages in the textual transmission of the *acta martyrum*”.¹⁶ In any case, these acts seem to allow the assumption that Christianity had made a large-scale advancement into the interior of the African provinces.¹⁷ The persecutions could not slow down, or even halt, the “new religion”. On the contrary: the number of Christians increased even more rapidly. The population of all parts of the Empire often felt deeply impressed by the courage and steadfastness of the Christian martyrs, like one of the guards of the young, pregnant Perpetua, a Roman *miles optio* named Pudens.¹⁸ Without perhaps actually intending to do so, by way of the persecutions and executions of the Christians the Roman authorities contributed to the further advance of the Christian faith. And so, at the time of Cyprian eighty-seven bishops from Africa Proconsularis and Numidia attended the Council of Carthage in 256. The total number of bishops, however, was much higher: probably there were already more than one hundred and fifty episcopal sees, perhaps even two hundred.¹⁹ The great many cities of Roman Africa also made many bishops: each town, each city had its own church, each church its own bishop.

The Emperor Diocletian’s Great Persecution (303–305) apparently raged heavily in North Africa, where his tetrarchic colleague Maximian held the reins of power.²⁰ The literary sources, however, that account

¹⁶ *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*; See H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford 1972), xxii–xxiii.

¹⁷ See also T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (Oxford 1985, 2nd ed.), 62–64.

¹⁸ *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 9; Musurillo 1972, op. cit. (n. 16), 116–117.

¹⁹ See Y. Duval, ‘Densité et répartition des évêchés dans les provinces africaines au temps de Cyprien’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’École Française de Rome, série antiquité* 96.1 (Rome 1984), 493–521; Barnes 1985, op. cit. (n. 17), 71; and also J.-L. Maier, *L’épiscopat de l’Afrique romaine, vandale et byzantine* (Rome 1973), 23.

²⁰ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.6.10. On the edicts of Diocletian, see J. Molthagen, *Der römische Staat und die Christen im zweiten und dritten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen 1970), 101–122; J.-L. Maier, *Le Dossier du Donatisme*, 2 vols (Berlin 1987–1989), 1.40–45; and S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (Oxford 1996), 179–182.

for the imperial edicts and their implementation in the African cities not only deal with the hardships that Christians had to suffer, but at the same time demonstrate that the Church in Africa during the fifty years between the episcopate of Cyprian of Carthage and the outbreak of the persecutions had grown considerably once more. The number of episcopal sees had risen, and it continued to rise in the following years. In 312 AD there must have been no less than seventy bishoprics in Numidia alone.²¹ And in the year 330, Donatus was able to bring together two hundred and seventy bishops of his schismatic movement for a council in Carthage.²² After the persecutions had come to an end, the African provinces of the Roman Empire counted hundreds of episcopal sees. And the issue of Donatism, partly created as a result of the imperial actions of Diocletian *cum suis*, meant that the number was even larger, in fact almost double the amount: many cities in the fourth century saw two bishops—one Catholic, and one Donatist.²³ The Donatists also created bishoprics outside the towns and cities, on the rural estates and throughout the countryside.²⁴ For a period of a hundred years the situation remained rather explosive. Eventually bishops of both parties assembled in Carthage in the year 411, in what was supposed to have been a final attempt to find a way out of the *impasse*.

III. DONATISM

Two years after they had started, Diocletian's persecutions came to an end in March 305, at least in the West. However, this did not bring peace to the

²¹ Warmington 1954, op. cit. (n. 14), 76–77. See also W. Eck, 'Der Episkopat im späntiken Africa: organisatorische Entwicklung, soziale Herkunft und öffentliche Funktionen', *Historische Zeitschrift* 236 (1983), 265–295; and S. Lancel, 'Évêchés et cités dans les provinces africaines (III^e–V^e siècles)', in A. Akerraz—E. Lenoir (eds.), *L'Afrique dans l'Occident Romain, I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.—IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.* Collection de l'École Française de Rome 134 (Rome—Paris 1990), 273–290.

²² Augustinus, *Epistulae* 93.43: *a ducentis et septuaginta episcopis vestries concilium Carthagini celebratum*.

²³ D. Hunt, 'The Church as a public institution', in A. Cameron—P. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* vol. 13, *The Late Empire, AD 337–425* (Cambridge 1998, 2nd ed.), 238–276, particularly 238–241.

²⁴ *Gesta Conlotionis Carthaginiensis* 1.181: *Alypius episcopus Ecclesiae catholicae dixit, Scriptum sit istos omnes in villis vel in fundis esse episcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus civitatibus*. As far as the establishment of episcopal sees on the estates in the countryside is concerned, see Lancel 1972, op. cit. (n. 1), 181–182; and also Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5), 49.

Church in Africa. A number of theological disputes immediately following the end of the persecutions were the starting point of the long-lasting struggle between Catholics and Donatists.²⁵ Many Christians, including considerable parts of the clergy, had given way even before the violence of the persecutors had arrived or had at least in some way compromised with them. Obeying Diocletian's first decree against the Christian religion, bishops, priests and deacons handed over sacred books and liturgical objects. Afterwards, as a reaction, fundamentalist Christians who had remained steadfast in the years of persecution regarded those who had bowed to the authorities as *traditores* (traitors, or literally "those who handed over"—namely the Scriptures and liturgical objects). Bishop Mensurius of Carthage, himself not guilty of *traditio*, did not approve of these hard-liners. This placed him in a rather difficult position, both in Carthage and in parts of Numidia. When Mensurius died, towards the end of 311 or early in 312, the issue rapidly escalated.

With the episcopal see at Carthage vacant, the administration of the church there was left to the clergy and the *seniores laici*, a group of elderly lay members of the community.²⁶ They almost immediately arranged the election of a new bishop. Caecilian, the archdeacon of Carthage at

²⁵ It would exceed the limits of this paper to give a full description of the history of Donatism, but a general background needs to be provided for a better understanding. For detailed studies see Monceaux 1912, op. cit. (n. 4), vol. 4, 8–97; Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5). An essential contribution to the debate on the schism is E. Tengström, *Donatisten und Katholiken. Soziale, wirtschaftliche und politische Aspekte einer nordafrikanischen Kirchenspaltung* (Göteborg 1964). Tengström dismantles many of Frend's theories. See also P. Brown, 'Religious dissent in the later Roman Empire: the case of North Africa', *History* 46 (1961), 83–101; reprinted in P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (London 1972), 237–259; T.D. Barnes, 'The beginnings of Donatism', *Journal of Theological Studies* 26 (1975), 13–22; W.H.C. Frend and K. Clancy, 'When did the Donatist schism begin?', *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series 28 (1977), 104–109; Barnes 1982, op. cit. (n. 2); B. Kriegbaum, *Kirche der Traditoren oder Kirche der Märtyrer? Die Vorgeschichte des Donatismus* (Innsbruck—Vienna 1986); A.R. Birley, 'Some notes on the Donatist schism', *Libyan Studies* 18 (1987), 29–41; Shaw 1992, op. cit. (n. 1). An excellent and extensive collection of documents dealing with the origins and developments of the Donatist issue is Maier 1987–1989, op. cit. (n. 20); M.A. Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa. The Donatist World* (Minneapolis 1997) is focusing on the religious dimension of the movement, providing new insights into Donatism and placing it in a better perspective.

²⁶ See P.G. Caron, *I poteri giuridici del laicato nella Chiesa primitiva* (Milano 1948); P.G. Caron, 'Les *seniores laici* de l'Église africaine', *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 6 (1951), 7–22. See also P. Monceaux, 'Les *seniores laici* des églises africaines', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (Paris 1903), 283–285; W.H.C. Frend, 'The *seniores laici* and the origins of the Church in North Africa', *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series 12 (1961), 280–284; B.D. Shaw, 'The Elders of Christian

the time, was to succeed Mensurius.²⁷ Like his predecessor, Caecilian was also a man of moderate tendency. However, his election was unacceptable for the fanatics. They were determined to oppose Caecilian, urged on by:

some factious woman or other called Lucilla, who, while the church was still tranquil and the peace had not yet been shattered by the whirlwinds of persecution, was unable to bear the rebuke of the archdeacon Caecilian. She was said to kiss the bone of some martyr or other—if, that is, he was a martyr—before the spiritual food and drink [of communion], and, since she preferred to the saving cup the bone of some dead man, who if he was a martyr had not yet been confirmed as one, she was rebuked, and went away in angry humiliation.²⁸

The main accusation against Caecilian was that he himself had been a *traditor* when still a deacon. Allegedly both his predecessor bishop Mensurius and bishop Felix of Abthungi, one of the three bishops who had ordained him, were also guilty of *traditio*.²⁹ Furthermore, both Mensurius and Caecilian were accused of not doing anything when, at the time of the persecutions, a group of Christians from Abitinia was transported to Carthage and imprisoned in the capital of the province. Matters turned even worse, as the bishop and his deacon supposedly sent their own guards to watch the gates of the prison to prevent supporters of the Abitinians from entering with provisions for the prisoners. Apparently, physical force was used against their family and friends. This hostile act by two leading members of the church at Carthage towards the Abitinian martyrs and their circle was not received extremely well. Hence, when Caecilian was elected bishop, he was believed to be unworthy of

Africa', in P. Brind'Amour (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à R.P. Etienne Gareau (Cahiers des Études anciennes)* (Ottawa 1982), 207–226.

²⁷ See 'Caecilianus 1': A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1: *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533), d'après la documentation élaborée par A.M. Bonnardière* (Paris 1982), 165–174.

²⁸ Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum* 1.16.1: *per Lucillam scilicet, nescio quam feminam factiosam quae ante concussam persecutionis turbinibus pacem, dum adhuc in tranquillo esset ecclesia, cum correptionem archidiaconi Caeciliani ferre non posset, quae ante spiritalem cibum et potum os nescio cuius martyris, si tamen martyris, libare dicebatur, et cum praeponeret calici salutari os nescio cuius hominis mortui, et si martyris sed necdum vindicati, correpta cum confusione irata discessit.* See 'Lucilla 1': Mandouze 1982, op. cit. (n. 27), 649; 'Lucilla 1': A.H.M. Jones—J.R. Martindale—J. Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1: AD 260–395 (Cambridge 1971), 517; Shaw 1992, op. cit. (n. 1), 25–26; see also F. Dölger, 'Das Kultvergehen der Donatistin Lucilla von Karthago. Reliquienkuss vor dem Kuss der Eucharistie', *Antike und Christentum* 3 (1950), 245–252; P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago 1981), 34.

²⁹ On bishop Felix, see 'Felix 2': Mandouze 1982, op. cit. (n. 27), 409–410.

the office by the Abitinians and many others. Bishop Felix's *traditio*, Caecilian's communion with him through his episcopal ordination, as well as Caecilian's acquiescence in the martyrdom of those who had embodied the words of the Bible in their own lives were reasons enough for the opposing party not to accept the new bishop of Carthage.³⁰ Alan Dearn is very convincing in arguing that the text of the Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, also known as the *Passio Saturnini*, one of the very few surviving Donatist documents, is of a much later, fifth-century date, rather than a contemporary eye-witness account, which was composed and used in the polemical battle between Catholics and Donatists. He argues that "[p]olemical texts such as the *Passio Saturnini* primarily furnish evidence for the context in which they were written, amended or used, rather than for the context to which they refer".³¹ According to the writer, or possibly even writers, of the *Passio*, the events concerning the Abitinian martyrs were true and justified motives for the Donatist schism. This piece offers a far more exciting introduction than a "disputed ecclesiastical appointment", which is "not the most evocative motif with which to engage the reader".³²

Further accusations towards the invalidity of Caecilian's ordination comprised the fact that the Numidian bishops had not been present at his election.³³ Ever since Cyprian's time, and probably already well before he had possession of the episcopal see of Carthage, the primate of Numidia had acquired the right of consecrating the new bishop of Carthage. For the head of the Carthaginian church was not only metropolitan of Africa Proconsularis. He also carried spiritual and pastoral responsibility for the whole of Africa, including Numidia, Byzacena, and the two Mauretaniae. However, the primate's right was only a customary one. In Caecilian's case a number of bishops from some of the surrounding cities in Africa Proconsularis had been present at his election and ordination. Their presence and their approval of Caecilian as a candidate (either beforehand or afterwards), combined with the vote of the clergy and the people of Carthage, was sufficient to guarantee a valid election. The three relevant parties required for episcopal elections had all been represented, and so the criteria for a lawful election had been met. The absence of

³⁰ Tilley 1997, op. cit. (n. 25), 9–10; M.A. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories. The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (Liverpool 1996), 25–49.

³¹ Dearn 2004, op. cit. (n. 1), 4.

³² Dearn 2004, op. cit. (n. 1), 2.

³³ Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum* 1.18–19: *absentibus Numidis*; see also the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, passim.

the Numidian bishops, and specifically of their primate, did not affect the electoral procedures as such. Caecilian was elected by the vote of the entire people and consecrated by bishop Felix.³⁴ However, regardless of early canon law, it weighed heavier that Felix was considered a *traditor*. The act of *traditio* was regarded to be the worst of all sins. Not only the *traditores* were guilty, but also everyone in communion with them. Sacraments imposed by a bishop or a priest who had been found guilty of *traditio* were regarded as invalid. And so Caecilian's ordination was condemned from its outset.

Bishop Secundus of Tigisis, in Numidia, did not accept this *fait accompli*.³⁵ He called for a council of all the Numidian bishops. In 312 AD seventy of them met at Carthage. The ordination of Caecilian was overruled, and in his place the Numidian prelates elected a certain Maiorinus—a man also supported by Lucilla.³⁶ The dispute over Caecilian's consecration now actually had caused a schism. Maiorinus, however, was taken ill shortly after his election and died. Donatus of Casae Nigrae was immediately chosen in his place.³⁷ He proved to be a great organiser, and eventually his role and his influence gave a name to the movement—Donatism.

Shortly after his conversion in 312 the Emperor Constantine donated a considerable amount of money to Caecilian from the revenues of the imperial estates in the African provinces. Constantine understood Caecilian to be the rightful bishop of Carthage. In an imperial letter to the bishop the emperor wrote that he had:

dispatched a letter to Ursus, the most distinguished finance minister of Africa [*i.e.* the *rationalis*—financial officer—in charge of the imperial estates in Africa], and ... notified to him that he be careful to pay over to thy Firmness three thousand *folles*.³⁸

³⁴ Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum* 1.18.2: *Tunc suffragio totius populi Caecilianus eligitur et manum imponente Felice Autumnitano episcopus ordinatur.*

³⁵ See 'Secundus 1': Mandouze 1982, op. cit. (n. 27), 1052–1054; Augustine, *Contra Cresconium grammaticum partis Donati libri IV* 3.27: *episcopus Tigisitanus primae cathedrae*—this indicates that he acted as primate of Numidia.

³⁶ See 'Maiorinus 1': Mandouze 1982, op. cit. (n. 27), 666–667.

³⁷ On the identity of this Donatus of Casae Nigrae, see 'Donatus 5': Mandouze 1982, op. cit. (n. 27), 292–303, particularly at 292–293. See also Barnes 1975, op. cit. (n. 25), 16; J.S. Alexander, 'The motive for a distinction between Donatus of Carthage and Donatus of Casae Nigrae', *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1980), 540–547; A. Mandouze, 'Le mystère Donat', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (Paris 1982), 98–104. Donatus gave his name to the movement, but before him they were also known as 'the party of Maiorinus' or 'Maiorians'. See Shaw 1992, op. cit. (n. 1), 11, n. 8.

³⁸ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.6; H. von Soden, *Urkunden zur Entstehungs-*

Previously, Constantine had already ordered the proconsul of Africa, Anulinus, to restore to the Church its possessions from before and during the persecution. In a second letter the emperor confirmed his recognition of Caecilian as the one and only bishop of Carthage. Concomitantly he exempted all clergy in communion with him from municipal *munera*. Constantine ordered that:

those persons who, within the province committed to thee [*i.e.* Anulinus], in the Catholic Church over which Caecilian presides, bestow their service on this holy worship—those whom they are accustomed to call clerics—should once and for all be kept absolutely free from all the public offices, that they not be drawn away by any error or sacrilegious fault from the worship they owe to the Divinity, but rather without any hindrance serve to the utmost their own law. For when they render supreme service to the Deity, it seems that they confer incalculable benefit on the affairs of the State.³⁹

This step was extremely important. The priesthood in due course became a refuge for members of the curial class, who sought to escape their municipal duties.⁴⁰ More immediately, however, the situation changed dramatically for the Donatists. Orthodoxy, in the shape of imperial recognition, now also meant having considerable financial privileges. Therefore it became virtually essential to be labelled as nothing but orthodox, in order not to be ruled out. Hence, the Donatists decided to appeal to the emperor. In October 313 the bishop of Rome, Miltiades, along with bishop Maternus of Cologne, bishop Reticus of Autun, and bishop Marinus of Arles convoked a council. Fifteen bishops from the Italian peninsula were called to Rome. The proconsul Anulinus was asked to send Caecilian and ten other Catholic bishops from Africa, as well as an equal number of their opponents—among them Donatus of Casae Nigrae, the newly chosen successor of Maiorinus. The council decided in favour of Caecilian. Donatus and his followers were condemned for disturbing discipline, re-baptising clergy, and causing a schism.⁴¹ Not accepting the outcome of the meeting in Rome, the Donatist party decided to appeal to the emperor once more. Donatus *cum suis* insisted that the evidence

geschichte des Donatismus (Bonn 1913), 10–11; Barnes 1982, op. cit. (n. 2), 240; Maier 1987, op. cit. (n. 20), 140–142.

³⁹ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.7.2; Von Soden 1913, op. cit. (n. 38), 11–12; Barnes 1982, op. cit. (n. 2), 240; Maier 1987, op. cit. (n. 20), 142–144.

⁴⁰ C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol. 1, *La permanence d'une civilisation municipale* (Paris 1979), 279–287.

⁴¹ K.M. Girardet, 'Die Petition der Donatisten an Kaiser Konstantin (Frühjahr 313). Historische Voraussetzungen und Folgen', *Chiron* 19 (1989), 185–206.

against bishop Felix of Abthungi would be taken into account. Constantine ordered the case of Felix to be re-investigated before the proconsul at Carthage. At the same time a general council was to be held at Arles, in 314. But again, Caecilian was vindicated, and bishop Felix found innocent.⁴²

In the years between 317 and 321 more violent means were used in order to try to repress and dissolve the Donatist Church. Its leaders were sent into exile.⁴³ But actions against the movement were only incidental, not very severe, nor successful either. The Donatist leaders did not withdraw, and it came to a permanent breach between the two rival Churches. In a letter to all the African bishops and the people of the Catholic Church, dated 5 May 321, Constantine recognised that there was no hope in trying to restore religious unity to the African provinces. He therefore recommended both clergy and laity to have faith in God's judgement, and urged that the Donatists would be tolerated.⁴⁴ Donatism was left to grow almost unchecked.⁴⁵

For a long period of time the Donatists had a free hand in the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia. A large part of the North African population was won over for their cause. The Donatist Church grew into an effective organisation, mainly due to the leadership and organisational talents of Donatus. The Catholic Church came under enormous pressure, as it was not capable of carrying out any form of effective opposition.

IV. EVIDENCE AND DEBATE

The bulk of information concerning the Donatist schism and the movement that resulted from it comes from authors such as Optatus of Milevis and Augustine of Hippo. Frend argued that the literary evidence by itself shows that Donatism prevailed in Numidia. The Catholics were at an advantage in Africa Proconsularis. In Tripolitania and Mauretania the two sides seem to have been of equal strength. This geographic

⁴² For the council at Rome, see Von Soden 1913, op. cit. (n. 38), 14–16; Maier 1987, op. cit. (n. 20), 151–153. For the one held at Arles, see Von Soden 1913, op. cit. (n. 38), 20–22; and Maier 1987, op. cit. (n. 20), 160–167; see also Barnes 1982, op. cit. (n. 2), 242.

⁴³ Von Soden 1913, op. cit. (n. 38), 37–51, covering the period between 316/317–321.

⁴⁴ Optatus, *Appendix 9*; Von Soden 1913, op. cit. (n. 38), 31; see also Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5), 145–162; F.G.B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1992, 2nd ed.), 584–590; Tengström 1964, op. cit. (n. 25), 93–94.

⁴⁵ On the growth and consolidation of Donatism, see Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5), 162–177.

division brought along a linguistic difference. Catholics spoke and wrote in Latin, whereas the Donatist regions were mainly of a native Berber tongue. According to Frend, archaeological and epigraphic evidence confirm what is written.⁴⁶

There is certainly nothing wrong in trying to indicate a geographic and linguistic distribution. Tengström, however, already questioned the main elements of Frend's thesis: the revolutionary aims of the *Circumcelliones* and the Donatists; the Donatist predominance in a distinctive geographical area; and the preponderance of Donatism in the countryside and that of the Catholics in the African towns and cities. According to Tengström the distribution of the two Churches was not determined by the fact that the Donatists constituted a revolutionary movement, shaped by social and geographical circumstances. Social class or racial origin were not the decisive elements, but the effective use of force by either side: the active repression exerted by Catholic bishops and imperial legislation, and the from time to time extremely fanatic and violent manifestations of the Donatists.⁴⁷

Without disregarding the value of Frend's work and that of other socio-political studies, I believe it is crucial to stress above all the religious nature of Donatism. Brown already notes that in dealing with Donatism one should first of all consider the implications of the role of a religious movement in society. Its main objective is most of all to defend its own identity. Only then can it expand into and eventually dominate the society in which it exists.⁴⁸ Markus believes that Donatism represented a much older African theological tradition, rooted in its own characteristic religious mentality.⁴⁹ Tilley specifically points at the religious character of the movement. Because this particular aspect is usually ignored, most historians are not able to integrate available materials into a coherent whole, as they focus too much on literary and socio-political issues. Because of this very reason they cannot explain the persistence of Donatism in strongly romanised areas, or why the Catholic Church was still widely present in the Donatist regions of Numidia. A straightforward

⁴⁶ See Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5), 48–59.

⁴⁷ Tengström 1964, op. cit. (n. 25), 66–78; 121–164.

⁴⁸ P. Brown, 'Review of *Donatisten und Katholiken. Soziale, wirtschaftliche und politische Aspekte einer nordafrikanischen Kirchenspaltung* by Tengström', *Journal of Roman Studies* 55 (1965), 281–283, at 282–283.

⁴⁹ R.A. Markus, 'Christianity and dissent in Roman North Africa: changing perspectives in recent work', in D. Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*. *Studies in Church History* 9 (Cambridge 1972), 21–36, at 28–29.

and logical geographical distribution, as suggested by Frend, simply does not exist. Furthermore, it can no longer be maintained that the Donatist Church was a movement of popular resistance of the poor indigenous people against the Romans and the romanised Catholic Church, due to the financial resources available.⁵⁰

Brown believes that Christian culture in the African provinces was exclusively Latin. Instead of fostering native traditions, both Catholic and Donatist Christianity became closely connected to education, thus widening the franchise of the Latin language. And even though literacy may still have been relatively limited, audiences and congregations would have listened to homilies and speeches delivered in Latin. Christian preaching and religious debates drew large audiences. As a constant feature in the African cities this would have favoured the uniform language of culture.⁵¹ Furthermore, in Numidia, where Donatism was strongest, large urban basilicas were to be found. Inscriptions on these great Donatist churches, as that of Timgad, praised the Donatist bishop, in Latin.⁵²

The preponderantly rural character of Numidia, more so than the other provinces of late Roman Africa, as an explanation for the tenacity of the Donatist Church has become more and more questionable. To persist in describing Donatism as a distinctively “rural” religion is to misunderstand the continuing role of the African towns and cities in this period. Their vigour during the Late Empire cannot be underestimated. Brown argues that if a social conflict in Numidia existed in the fourth century, it was probably not between “town” and “country”, but more so between two layers of the urban élites. On the one side one could find the “traditional” local *curiales* and *grammatici*, who tended to be either pagan or Donatist. The “new” aristocracy of *honorati*, largely depending on imperial patronage, more likely followed the emperors into Catholicism.⁵³ But even this division does not stand tall, as one can see that at the beginning of the fifth century a Donatist aristocracy clearly existed, including *honorati*.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Tilley 1997, op. cit. (n. 25), 11 ff.

⁵¹ P. Brown, ‘Christianity and local culture in late Roman Africa’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 58 (1968), 85–95, at 92.

⁵² Brown 1968, op. cit. (n. 51), 92–93.

⁵³ Brown 1968, op. cit. (n. 51), 92–93.

⁵⁴ C. Lepelley, ‘Les sénateurs donatistes’, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1990), 45–56, at 54.

The search for a specific basis of local discontent might have been carried too far, then. It has often been assumed that Christianity *à la* Donatus was to provide an ideological expression for pre-existing tensions, a vehicle of social grievances, strengthening the solidarity of a group. But religion can also act as a mediator. It can open up an elite culture, and make it available to a wider audience, enabling people to participate in something different from their ordinary existence.⁵⁵ Christianity was precisely such a catalyst. Gradually expanding during the centuries it had to adapt to Roman society in order to achieve a complete victory. Constantine's dream alone was not enough. Traditional Roman culture became a vehicle for the new religion. At the same time Christianity became a vehicle for the Roman way of life. The Donatist bishops, their clergy, and their laity were submerged in the universal culture of the Latin world. They had gained their belief in Latin, and they claimed to be right, in Latin.⁵⁶

It is important to ask whether and to what extent Donatism really did represent an exclusive and local tradition of resistance; and whether it can be treated as "a symptom of the break-up of the parasitic bulk of the Roman Empire".⁵⁷ A possible answer entirely depends, of course, on a belief in a social and economic, or rather a more strictly internal and religious, basis of the movement. The question arises to what extent this emphasis in modern scholarship on the local and the exclusive in Donatism in fact obscured its links with Christianity as a whole.⁵⁸ Friend's view of the Donatist schism as a social movement has been an extremely important contribution, and in many ways it still is. But it is virtually impossible to regard Donatism as just a simple division between town and country, between rich and poor. The balance between town and countryside cannot be regarded in quantitative terms of wealth and

⁵⁵ Brown 1968, op. cit. (n. 51), 93; See P. Brown 1961, op. cit. (n. 25).

⁵⁶ Brown 1968, op. cit. (n. 51), 93.

⁵⁷ Brown 1961, op. cit. (n. 25), 90.

⁵⁸ Brown 1961, op. cit. (n. 25). On this matter see also A.H.M. Jones, 'Were ancient heresies national or social movements in disguise?', *Journal of Theological Studies* 10.2 (1959), 280–298; and B. Baldwin, *Peasant Revolt in Africa in the Later Roman Empire* (Nottingham Mediaeval Studies 18) (Nottingham 1974); A. Mandouze, 'Le donatisme représente-t-il la résistance à Rome de l'Afrique chrétienne tardive?', in D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien. Travaux du VI^e congrès international de la fédération internationale des Associations d'études classiques (Madrid, septembre 1974)* (Bucharest—Paris 1976), 257–366; A. Mandouze, 'Les donatistes entre ville et campagne', *Colloque international d'histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord, actes*, vol. 3 (Paris 1986), 193–216; A. Chapon, *Le donatisme: expression d'un phénomène d'acculturation* (Paris 1989).

population. More importantly, there is the enormous gap between urban culture on the one side and the absence of it on the other. Towns and cities remained the centres of political, social and cultural life for quite a long time, most certainly in Roman Africa. It is therefore highly improbable to suggest that Donatism was a form of Christianity which practically rejected the towns. Most significantly, throughout the fourth century the Donatist movement continued to be led from major cities such as Carthage, Cirta and Timgad. These were important Roman centres and their prominence literally excludes a conscious rejection of the cities by Donatists.⁵⁹

Most of all, it is essential to realise that one cannot deny the overall importance of the religious basis of Donatism. Precisely because of this foundation and all the religious dimensions, the Donatist movement was able to gain and maintain the commitment and the involvement of both the educated urban Christians and the illiterate rural faithful for such a considerable period of time. The historical circumstances changed during the hundred years and a bit in which the Donatists constituted a dominant feature of the religious as well as the secular African world. They answered these changes, using various images of self-representation, which in fact were not that different from the Catholic points of view: essentially, both parties regarded themselves as the one and only, true and holy Church. The Donatist self-perception of the re-incarnated people's assembly of Israel was not at all that different from the collective Catholic conceptualisation of *populus Dei*, God's chosen people, for these perceptions of identification had the same root: the Bible. Beside this, numerous Donatist martyr-acts were composed, or written down, in Latin, in which a whole range of arguments was presented, aimed at creating the world of the opponents as the complete opposite of Donatist orthodoxy. Only few of these stories have survived—such as the *Passio SS. Dativi, Saturnini presbyteri et aliorum* (better known as the Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs), the *Passio SS. Maximae, Donatillae et Secundae*, the *Sermo de Passione SS. Donati et Advocati*, the *Sermo de Passione Maximiani et Isaac* and the *Passio Benedicti Martyris Marculi*—but despite all the polemics, they show almost an identical world as that of the “enemy”.⁶⁰ Furthermore, apart from the same Biblical roots and similar literary motives,

⁵⁹ Brown 1961, op. cit. (n. 25), 94; Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5); W.H.C. Frend, ‘Heresy and schism as social movements’, in D. Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*. Studies in Church History 9 (Cambridge 1972), 37–56.

⁶⁰ Tilley 1996, op. cit. (n. 30).

the ideology of both self-identification and identification was also influenced by the conventional terminology that came from secular, imperial and local, municipal society as it was still known and intact in Roman Africa in Late Antiquity. The interaction between religion and society had its effects, in that society helped to shape the “new” Christian religion—and that society continued to be thoroughly Latin and Roman. But just as one can argue in favour of a Latin character, perhaps even the *Romanitas*, of the Donatist Church, the African Catholics definitely cannot be denied a certain *Africanitas*—despite the polemics of Optatus and Augustine.

At this point the archaeological evidence comes in, or rather: the hunt for Donatist churches. Optatus claimed that

basilicas [...] non habebant.⁶¹

In one of his letters Augustine clearly refers to how his sermon at the occasion of the feast of Leontius, on the 4th of May in the year 395, was disturbed by the sound of revelry from the Donatist basilica, one block away from his own church.⁶² The great Donatist basilica at Timgad was constructed towards the South-West of the city by Optatus, the Donatist bishop there from 388 to 398—an important and rather brutal leader of the movement, or so we are told by Augustine. This was a vast church, 200 feet long by 50 feet across, with important structures attached to it. In front of the great nave was a spacious atrium, to one side of the basilica a richly decorated baptisterium, on the other the bishop’s palace, where an inscription was found, referring to Optatus himself.⁶³ And also in his cathedral a mosaic recorded: “How great is the praise of his name”.⁶⁴ Here, then, is a perfect example of a great and splendid Donatist basilica. So—and apologies to Optatus, but then again he would not have known about this particular church, as his work is of an earlier date—*basilicas habebant!*

Frend pointed out that before the Second World War Berthier and Martin carried out a vast number of investigations into seventy-two sites of Romano-Berber villages. They established the plans of over 200

⁶¹ Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum* 2.4.5: *Non enim grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci qui inter quadraginta et quod excurrit basilicas locum ubi colligerent non habebant. Sic speluncam quamdam foris a civitate cratibus saepserunt, ubi ipso tempore conventiculum habere potuissent, unde Montenses appellati sunt.*

⁶² Augustine, *Epistulae* 29.11. On the location of the Donatist *basilica*, see F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop. The Life and Work of a Father of the Church* (London 1961), 107.

⁶³ Lepelley 1979, op. cit. (n. 40), 445.

⁶⁴ Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5).

churches and chapels. The results of their explorations show a native Christian culture, which is remarkably uniform and largely based on the veneration of martyrs and their relics. The churches and chapels in these villages under examination were mostly rudely constructed with mud and stone walls and floors of beaten earth, and often crowded together with surrounding edificial structures.⁶⁵ Frend believed many of these churches to be undoubtedly Donatist. "In about a dozen, as at Ain Chorab, Henchir Zoura, Medfoun, Henchir el Atrous, Bir es Sedd, Ain Mtirchou, Foum el Amba, and Oued R'zel vi, the Donatist war-cry *Deo Laudes* has been found on inscriptions".⁶⁶ This, in fact, is one of the very few ways in order to possibly identify a Donatist church.

Already in 1909, Monceaux emphasised that no obvious, exterior, visible differences existed in the appearance of Donatist and Catholic churches. Virtually nothing in the composition of the liturgical space points at a distinctly unambiguous building of either side. Only the inscriptions could perhaps contribute to some sort of identification. But to be honest, the differences are minimal. Instead of the Catholic *Deo gratias* and *Deo gratias agamus*, sounded the Donatist *Deo Laudes* and the variations *Deo laudes dicamus* / *Deo laudes agamus*. Where the Catholics seemed to wish upon each other *Pax Dei*, the Donatists saluted any visitor to their basilicas with *Hic pax in Deo*.⁶⁷

A number of general remarks can be made regarding the African churches. First, many of them are rather poor, and always have been. Even though some may have been vast, even though their composition and their plans form an architectural ensemble of fairly great character, they usually leave an impression of a certain mediocrity, without rich and exuberant decorations, except for the many floor mosaics. A second remark follows the first one: many basilicas are built in a strange fashion, as one can see for example in the fact that many of them show ruptures in their axes, or are built in between the exterior walls of other, adjacent buildings. The insensibility to the aesthetics could have been due to poverty. At the same time, many of these churches would have been built at times when the respective communities were still small, and so needed to be expanded at given moments. Perhaps more than anything, compared to other parts of the Mediterranean, these buildings

⁶⁵ Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5), 53.

⁶⁶ Frend 1971, op. cit. (n. 5), 53.

⁶⁷ P. Monceaux, 'Épigraphie donatiste', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 53.4 (1909), 249–252.

may well have changed owner several times from the beginning of the fourth century, hence explaining the ruptures and adaptations. Orthodox, “Catholic” churches passed into the hands of Donatists. With the arrival of the Vandals, churches were destroyed or, again, were taken over by the other side, in this case the Arians; or given away, by the Arians to collaborating Donatists. And finally, the Byzantines arrived—time for probably another kind of liturgy. Churches probably changed with Catholics, Donatists, Arians and Byzantines, in their interior by moving around *baptisteria* and altars, but also in their exterior by the addition of counter-apses—a phenomenon which has been extensively studied by Noël Duval.⁶⁸ However, it is still a difficult task to try and identify the remaining monuments and their spatial structures in combination with the very little we know about the actual types of liturgy of the various denominations. We only know that the Donatists had a particular cult for their martyrs—as is being told by adversaries like Optatus and Augustine, but which becomes also apparent from the surviving Donatist martyr-acts. Here, however, one has to bear in mind again the polemical character of these writings. And so far, not many places have been positively identified in connection with Donatist martyrs and their cult.⁶⁹ In fact, the only person known from the literary sources and whose cult is archaeologically attested is that of the donatist martyr Marculus. His tomb was identified in a small basilica in Ksar el Kelb (Vegelesela), in what used to be ancient Numidia.⁷⁰ Three inscriptions were found in this church: on the door a Constantinian monogram and the inscription “*Domus Dei*” and “*Aula Pacis*”, while the keystone to an internal arch was inscribed “*Deo laudes h(ic) omnes dicamu(s)*”.⁷¹ This was already enough to convince scholars that this was in fact a Donatist church.⁷² Of greater interest, however, was the discovery of the third inscription: “*Memoria domni Machuli*”—*domnus* being equivalent to *sanctus* or martyr.⁷³ This left no doubt that at Ksar el Kelb the cult of this Donatist martyr was

⁶⁸ N. Duval, *Les églises africaines à deux absides*, 2 vols. (Paris 1971–1973).

⁶⁹ Y. Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Rome 1982).

⁷⁰ See P. Cayrel, ‘Une basilique donatiste de Numidie’, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’École Française de Rome* 51 (1934), 114–142, at 114; P. Courcelle, ‘Une seconde campagne de fouilles à Ksar el Kelb’, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’École Française de Rome* 53 (1936), 166–197, at 166. H. Delehaye, ‘Dominus Marculus’, *Analecta Bollandiniana* 53 (1935), 81–89. Duval 1982, op. cit. (n. 69), 158–160.

⁷¹ Cayrel 1934, op. cit. (n. 70), 126–129.

⁷² Delehaye 1935, op. cit. (n. 70), 81.

⁷³ Delehaye 1935, op. cit. (n. 70), 82.

practised. At the Council of Carthage the Donatist bishop of Nova Petra also remembered Marculus in similar words.

One other inscription, from Ala Miliaria in Mauretania Caesariensis, refers to a woman, a consecrated virgin named Robba or Bobba. She is otherwise unknown. However, the inscription also mentions her brother Honoratus, the Donatist bishop of Aquae Sirenses, known from the *Gesta* of the Council of Carthage in 411. Furthermore, she died at the hands of *traditores*, which makes a positive Donatist identification certain. She died in AD 434, as we can tell by the provincial dating system.

But the Donatists were not the only ones who worshipped their martyrs. On the Catholic side the martyr-cult was also practised, for example in the case of Victorinus and Salsa, at Tipasa. To reckon the worship of martyrs as a specifically Donatist habit, on the basis of which their churches can be identified, would be too simple, and wrong. Many of the churches with counter-apses, as listed by Duval, and which are used for the liturgical celebration of the life and death of a local martyr, are in fact not Donatist. The counter-apse as a place for the baptisterium is also not a strictly schismatic feature. The basilica of Servus at Sufetula, modern Sbeitla in Tunisia, has been identified as a Donatist church. A high *ciborium* towers above the baptismal font. It could be interpreted as a signal to the outside world, indicating the place where according to the puritan Donatists true baptism happened. However, this is highly suggestive. The epigraphic evidence remains as one of the few straws we can hold on to. But even here caution is needed. Exclamations such as *Deo Laudes* were not monopolised by Donatus and his followers. Even Augustine himself, as well as the members of his community at Hippo, can be found praising God, and not just thanking Him.

If the epigraphic evidence is one of the very few, and certainly not totally unambiguous, leads we have, it immediately triggers the question of how different the Donatists were from the Catholics. From the polemical wars fought by the two parties, it seems to have been an enormous difference. When looking at the material world, things become rather more complicated. The remains are not extremely helpful. Churches have been demolished all over the African provinces of the Roman Empire, either by force of nature, or by the hands of men: destroyed by fire, accidentally lit, or as a result of someone's pyromanic desires. And of course after the Council of Carthage, many Donatist churches were taken over by the "winning team", visible memories removed, back to what it used to be, or going along with new liturgical moods. Therefore, traces are hard to find. This, however, might also be the case because, despite

all the polemics, Donatists were perhaps more “Roman” and Catholics more “African” than has always been argued, at least until recently. The divisions between the two might not have been as sharp and as clear. Donatism started as a schism, not a heresy. In the words of Mihalic: “Donatism was a dispute between Christians. To stress non-religious factors too strongly would misinterpret the nature of the conflict”.⁷⁴ And from a religious point of view, it could perhaps be argued that both Catholics and Donatists remained brothers (and sisters) in arms. They perhaps showed more similarities than either side would have wanted or dared to admit—perhaps like an unsuspecting Roman Catholic walking into a High-Anglican church on a Sunday morning, leaving again with the idea he has fulfilled his Sunday duty, not realising he did not attend Holy Mass, but only a Eucharist. Both parties wanted to present themselves as the one and only, true and holy Church. They aimed at identifying the legitimate bishops, the pure and righteous clergymen, and all the faithful and steadfast people in communion with them—both with similar means.

The Emperor Honorius called for the Council of Carthage in 411 with its only purpose: to have the Donatists found guilty of schism. It was a “ceremonial display of power”.⁷⁵ The conclusion of this final verbal confrontation had already been drawn well before the actual meeting. Flavius Marcellinus was appointed to chair all sessions. He was an extremely pious, orthodox Catholic, and a good friend of Augustine of Hippo. The latter was no doubt the most powerful, prestigious, and influential bishop present at the Council, as well as of his time. Shaw appropriately calls the whole process a “puppet trial” and a “kangaroo court”.⁷⁶ The Council of 411 is usually regarded as the victory of the Catholic Church, the final blow to the Donatists. Kangaroos, however, are highly flexible animals, able to jump high and far, to run very fast, and they are extremely good boxers. Despite a few quick successes, the religious unification of the African provinces received little support and still considerable resistance. The Donatist Church was able to maintain its position, particularly in Numidia and Mauretania. Despite the rules and regulations of the Council and a constantly growing number of imperial edicts, Donatism subsisted. Catholic propaganda, the work of

⁷⁴ P.M. Mihalic, *Constructive Confrontation: The Approach of Optatus the African Toward the Donatists. An analysis of Libri Optati* (Rome 1982), 37–38.

⁷⁵ Shaw 1992, op. cit. (n. 1), 18.

⁷⁶ Shaw 1992, op. cit. (n. 1), 16–17.

people such as Augustine, did not have the desired effect. Shaw's "African Christians" were able to resist imperial policies and survived oppression, into the Vandal period and even beyond, until well after the arrival of Islam.

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ZWISCHEN ITALIEN UND DEN ‚BARBAREN‘:
DAS WERDEN NEUER POLITISCHER
UND ADMINISTRATIVER GRENZEN IN
CAESARISCH-AUGUSTEISCHER ZEIT

KARL STROBEL

Die entscheidende Phase in der historischen Entwicklung Norditaliens zum Bürgerland, dessen Grenzen im südlichen Saum der Alpen lagen und das im Osten über die Iulischen Alpen hinausreichte, ist mit dem Wirken Caesars und der Regierung des Augustus zu verbinden. Aus der Provinz Gallia Cisalpina wurde der nördliche Teil Italias, deren Grenzen nun an den Pässen der Westalpen, am Mont Genève, Mont Cénis, Großen und Kleinen Sankt Bernhard, Simplon, Sankt Gotthard, Splügen, Septimer, Stilsfer Joch, Ritten, Plöckenpaß, Predil, Loiblpaß und Paß von Atrians definiert waren. Die vorgelagerten West-, Zentral- und Ostalpen wurden neu gegliedert und mit den Provinzen Raetien und Noricum neue administrative Räume der römischen Herrschaft geschaffen, deren Nordgrenze am Lauf der Donau definiert wurde.¹ So war zwischen Italien und den ‚Barbaren‘ eine neue militärisch gesicherte Zone provinzieller Herrschaft des *populus Romanus* gebildet.

In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir zuerst auf die Maßnahmen Caesars in Oberitalien zurückkommen. Durch das Volk hatte sich Caesar in der *Lex Vatinia de imperio C. Caesaris* 59 v. Chr. für sein Prokonsulat die Provinz Gallia Cisalpina mit drei Legionen und die *provincia* Illyricum auf fünf Jahre übertragen lassen; der eingeschüchterte Senat fügte noch die Provinz Gallia Transalpina mit einer weiteren Legion hinzu (Plut. *Caes.* 14, 10; Suet. *Caes.* 22, 1–2). Es kann als sicher betrachtet werden, dass Caesar 59 v. Chr. den Plan verfolgt hat, von der Gallia Cisalpina aus, die durch das römische Bürgerrecht für die Bevölkerung südlich des Po und das Latinische Recht für die unter römischer Herrschaft stehende

¹ Vgl. zusammenfassend mit Angabe weiterer Literatur und Diskussionsbeiträge K. Strobel, ‚Der Alpenkrieg und die Eingliederung Noricums und Raetiens in die römische Herrschaft‘, in Christiane Franek et al. (Hrsg.), *Thiasos. Festschrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wien 2008), 967–1004; K. Strobel, ‚Augustus und die Annexion des Alpengebogens‘, *Germania* 2010 (Im Druck).

Bevölkerung nördlich des Flusses ein entscheidendes Rekrutierungsgebiet für die römischen Legionen darstellte, einen Eroberungskrieg im pannonisch-dalmatischen Raum zu führen. Auch ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Caesar, der Sohn des Göttlichen, der spätere Augustus, in seinem Illyrienkrieg 35–33 v. Chr. den militärischen Plänen Caesars folgte.² Gleiches gilt bekanntlich für den gescheiterten Partherkrieg des Marcus Antonius.

Im Sommer des Jahres 52 v. Chr., als Caesar seine Kräfte zum Kampf gegen den großen gallischen Aufstand konzentriert hatte, war es zu einem plötzlichen Überfall wohl der in den Südostalpen lebenden Iapoden³ auf das Territorium von Tergeste (Triest) gekommen; deshalb wurde 51 v. Chr. die Legio XV in der Gallia Cisalpina, sehr wahrscheinlich in Aquileia, stationiert.⁴ Als Caesar die 15. Legion im Jahre 50 an Pompeius abgeben musste, wurde diese durch die 13. Legion ersetzt.⁵ Caesar selbst war im Frühling 50 v. Chr. in Oberitalien anwesend, wo ihn eine Rundreise durch alle Regionen führte.⁶ Obwohl die erhaltenen Quellen dazu schweigen, hat Caesar als Antwort auf den Überfall auf Tergeste offensichtlich die direkte römische Kontrolle an der Ostflanke der Provinz ausgebaut und Teile des Gebietes der Carni,⁷ das sich bis Tergeste

² Zum Illyrienkrieg vgl. J. Bleicken, *Augustus* (Berlin 2000), 250–255; ein ausführlicher Kommentar zu Appians Illyriké bei M. Šašel-Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Ljubljana 2005), hier zu Illyriké 16–28. Bereits im Sommer 35 waren die iapodischen und pannonischen Gebiete unterworfen, im Sommer 34 und Winter 34/33 konzentrierte sich das Geschehen auf die Operationen gegen den dalmatischen Raum zwischen Senia bzw. dem südlichen Iapodengebiet und Salona. Unter dem ethnischen Namen Iapoden wurden zahlreiche Stämme zusammengefaßt, die vom Hinterland von Tergeste bzw. des Ocrapasses sowie der Innerkrain bis hin nach Westbosnien lebten. Die Stämme in den Julischen Alpen, die inneralpinen Iapoden und die Karner waren 35 v. Chr. endgültig unterworfen (Appian, *Illyriké* 16); vgl. K. Strobel, ‚Die Noreia-Frage. Neue Aspekte und Überlegungen zu einem alten Problem der historischen Geographie Kärntens‘, *Carinthia I* 193 (2003), 25–71, bes. 31, 45–49. Wichtige chronologischen Ansätze sind bei Šašel-Kos zu hoch; Emona wurde nicht bereits 33 v. Chr. römische Colonia, die Inschriften von Nauptus können nicht in caesarische Zeit gesetzt werden.

³ Vgl. Šašel-Kos 2005 a. a. O. (Anm. 2), 422 ff.; Božič 1999.2001, a. a. O. (Anm. 15); D. Balen-Letunić, *Iapodi* (Ogulin 2006); B. Olujić, *Povijest Japoda* (Zagreb 2007). Sie schließen im Süden an die Notranjska-Kras-Gruppe an. Vgl. u. Anm. 27.

⁴ Hirtius, in: *De bello Gallico* 8.24.3; Appian, *Illyriké* 18.

⁵ Hirtius, in: *De bello Gallico* 8.54.3.

⁶ Hirtius, in: *De bello Gallico* 8.50.1–52. 1.

⁷ Vgl. V. Vedaldi Iasbez, *La Venetia orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente* (Rom 1994), 229–239; G. Bandelli, ‚Veneti e Carni dalle origini alla romanizzazione‘, in G. Bandelli—F. Fontana (Hrsg.), *Iulium Carnicum. Centro Alpino tra Italia e Norico dalla protostoria all'età imperiale* (Roma 2001), 13–38; S. Vitri (Hrsg.), *I Celti in Carnia e nell'arco alpino centro orien-*

erstreckte, annektiert und dies mit der Gründung von Forum Iulii (Cividale) gesichert,⁸ welches die entsprechende venetisch-karnische Vorgängersiedlung ablöste.⁹ Damit war die Kontrolle über den wichtigen Verkehrsweg des Natiso hergestellt, was sicher zu einer Steigerung der

tale (Trieste 2001); G. Cuscito (Hrsg.), *I Celti nell'Alto Adriatico* (Trieste 2001); G. Righi, ‚I Celti in Carnia: I dati archeologici‘, in Cuscito 2001, a. a. O., 141–150; M. Buora, ‚Le monete celtiche del Friuli. La documentazione archeologica‘, in *Numismatica e archeologia del celtismo padano* (Aosta 1994), 7–21; zur Gesamtregion L. Rupel, ‚Contributi alla carta archeologica delle valli del Natisone I‘, *Forum Iulii* 28 (2004), 55–78; L. Rupel, ‚Contributi alla carta archeologica delle valli del Natisone II‘, *Forum Iulii* 29 (2005), 37–116; S. Vitri, ‚Castellieri tra l'età del ferro e la romanizzazione in Friuli‘, in G. Bandelli—E. Montanari (Hrsg.), *Carlo Marchesetti e i castellieri 1903–2003* (Trieste 2005), 239–256; P. Donat—G. Righi—S. Vitri, ‚Pratiche culturali nel Friuli settentrionale tra tarda età del ferro e prima età imperiale‘, in: S. Groh—H. Sedlmayer (Hrsg.), *Blut und Wein. Keltisch-römische Kultpraktiken* (Montagnac 2007), 91–117.

⁸ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* 2.14.; Vgl. V. Vedaldi Iasbez, ‚Cesare, Forum Iulii e il confine nordorientale dell'Italia‘, in G. Urso (Hrsg.), *L'ultimo Cesare* (Roma 2000), 329–352; M. Chiabà, ‚La romanizzazione tra Natisone e Isonzo‘, in M. Chiabà—P. Maggi—C. Magrini (Hrsg.), *Le valli del Natisone e dell'Isonzo tra Centroeuropea e Adriatico* (Roma—Trieste 2007), 53–58; J. Šašel, ‚Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina in caesarischer Zeit‘, *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992), 469–477; Zur Organisation eines römischen Territoriums durch die Anlage von Fora vgl. E. Ruoff-Väänänen, *Studies on the Italian Fora* (Wiesbaden 1978). Dass der Ort bereits 49 v. Chr. Municipium wurde, ist eher unwahrscheinlich. Zum Wegenetz der Region vgl. S. Magnani, ‚Le vie di comunicazione in epoca romana‘, in G. Banchig et al. (Hrsg.), *Terre d'Incontro. Kraji Srečanj* (Cividale 2007), 129–151; S. Magnani, ‚Viabilità e comunicazioni tra Italia settentrionale ed area alpina nell'antichità: tendenze e prospettive della ricerca‘, *Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia* 17 (2007), 23–43. Die Bedeutung der Routen über Iulium Carnicum/Plöckenpaß, Civale/Predil und auch das begangene Fellatal werden durch die Münzfunde deutlich; vgl. Buora 1994 a. a. O. (Anm. 7); S. Vitri, ‚Monete preromane dalle valli del Natisone‘, in: Banchig 2007, a. a. O., 153–171, bes. Fig. 6; auch F. Tassaux, ‚Les importations de l'Adriatique et de l'Italie du Nord vers les provinces danubiennes de César aux Sévères‘, in G. Urso (Hrsg.), *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. L'Illirico nell'età greca e romana* (Pisa 2004), 167–205, bes. 170 ff. Zur Entwicklung der Münzprägung zwischen Karnischen Aplen bzw. Karawanken und Tauern bzw. Boiern vgl. G. Gorini, *Il ripostiglio de Enemonzo e la monetazione del Norico* (Padua 2005).

⁹ San Pietro al Natisone; die befestigte Siedlung Monte Barba-Roda vor dem Übergang in das Isonzotal war bereits in der älteren Eisenzeit von Bedeutung; seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. zeigt sich donau-keltische Präsenz. Das frühe römische Interesse spiegeln Importe und die Ende 2. /Anfang 1. Jh. zu datierenden Schleuderbleie, die wohl mit dem Karnerkrieg des M. Aemilius Scaurus 115 v. Chr. zu verbinden sind; in caesarisch-augusteischer Zeit war hier römisches Militär stationiert. Vgl. D. Casagrande—A. Pessina—G. Righi, ‚San Pietro al Natisone, loc. Monte Roba‘, *Aquileia Nostra* 74 (2003), 666–671; G. Righi, ‚Armi celtiche da Monte Roba presso S. Pietro al Natisone‘, *Forum Iulii* 28 (2004), 9–23; Rupel 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 7), 73–75; S. Pettarin, *Le necropoli di San Pietro al Natisone e Dernazzaco nella documentazione del Museo Archeologica Nazionale di Cividale del Friuli* (Roma 2006).

Bedeutung der Route Aquileia—Cividale—S. Pietro al Natisone—Kobarit—Predil—Tarvis/Gailitz—Gailtal/Villacher Becken führte und vermutlich auch den Übergang über den Wurzenpaß förderte. Zur Sicherung der römischen Position vor dem zentralen Durchgang durch die Iulischen Alpen, der Adelsberger Pforte, wurde in Tergeste eine römische Kolonie errichtet¹⁰

Caesars Eingreifen im mitteldalmatischen Küstenraum 50 v. Chr. brachte keinen Erfolg; 48 v. Chr. entsandte er Q. Cornificius mit zwei Legionen in diesen Raum, wo es zu schweren Kampfhandlungen kam; in der Zeit nach dem Sieg bei Pharsalos wurde zudem A. Gabinius mit 15 kürzlich in Italien ausgehobenen Kohorten und 3000 Reitern dorthin entsandt, der jedoch im Winter 48/47 v. Chr. schwere Verluste erlitt.¹¹ Im Jahre 49 veranlasste Caesar die *Lex de civitate* für die Provinz Gallia Cisalpina, mit der auch die latinischen Bewohner ihrer Civitates nördlich des Po das römische Bürgerrecht erhielten; im Frühjahr 41 wurde durch die Triumvirn auf Veranlassung Caesar des Sohnes des Göttlichen der Provinzstatus aufgehoben und die bisherige Gallia Cisalpina in das italische Bürgerland voll integriert.¹² Spätestens 49 v. Chr. wurde Istrien zu Illyricum geschlagen. Dessen größter Teil kam mit der Verschiebung der Ostgrenze Italias vom Formio an die Arsia (Raša)¹³ entweder im Vorfeld des Alpenkriege 18/16 oder bei der Neuorganisation 14 v. Chr. ebenfalls zu Italien.

Die strategisch und wirtschaftlich überaus wichtige Passage der Südostalpen durch den Pass von Odra und die Adelsberger Pforte stand bereits seit Ende des 2. Jh. v. Chr. unter römischer Kontrolle.¹⁴ Dieser

¹⁰ Vgl. Appian, *Illyriké* 18; P. Càssola Guida—F. Càssola, 'Tergeste preromane e romane: nuove considerazioni', in *La necropoli di San Servolo. Veneti, Istri, Celti e Romani nel territorio di Trieste* (Trieste 2002), 7–14; F. Salimbeni (Hrsg.), *Per la storia di Trieste* (Trieste 1998); C. Zaccaria, 'L'età romana', in Salimbeni 1998, a. a. O. 31–54, bes. 33 f.; C. Zaccaria, 'Tergeste—Ager Tergestinus et Tergesti adtributus', *Supplementa Italica* 10 (Roma 1992), 139–283; zu den Bevölkerungsgruppen R.F. Rossi, 'Romani, preromani, non romani nel territorio di Tergeste', in G. Cuscito (Hrsg.), *I Celti nell'Alto Adriatico* (Trieste 2001), 119–139; auch U. Laffi, 'La provincia della Gallia Cisalpina', *Athenaeum* 80 (1992), 5–23. Zum ethnisch uneinheitlichen Umland von Tergeste vgl. *La necropoli di San Servolo. Veneti, Istri, Celti e Romani nel territorio di Trieste* (Trieste 2002).

¹¹ Appian, *Illyriké* 12; *Bellum Alexandrinum* 42–44; Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 11.17(16).1.

¹² *Lex de Gallia Cisalpina, Lex Roscia*; M.H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (London 1996), Nr. 16.28; vgl. C. Zaccaria, 'Amministrazione e vita politica ad Aquileia dalle origini al III secolo D.C.', in G. Cuscito (Hrsg.), *Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del Ducato Longobardo* (Trieste 2003), 313 f.

¹³ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.127; 3.129.

¹⁴ Vgl. zusammenfassend Strobel 2008.2010, a. a. O. (Anm. 1); J. Horvat—A. Bavdek,

wichtige Durchgangsraum war das Siedlungsgebiet der latènezeitlichen Notranjska-Kras-Gruppe (Odra/Razdrto und Postojna (Adelsberg), Gebiet der Flüsse Reka, Pivka und Cerniščika sowie des Kras/Karst).¹⁵ Er hatte seit der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. für den römisch-italischen Fernhandel zunehmend Bedeutung gewonnen; dies zeigen besonders die Funde von Victoriati.¹⁶ Nach Osten schloss sich das Gebiet der keltischen Tauriskier, der Träger der Mokronog-Kulturgruppe an.¹⁷ Der wichtige Handels- und Stapelplatz Nauportus¹⁸ gehörte zu jenem Teil der Tauriskier im Gebiet der oberen Save, der Ljubjanica und von Celeia, der Ende des 2. Jh. v. Chr. als Noriker oder norische Tauriskier von den (eigentlichen Tauriskern) unterschieden wurde und in dessen

Odra: The Gateway between the Mediterranean and Central Europe (Ljubljana 2009), bes. 129 ff.; J. Horvat, ‚The beginning of Roman commerce along the main route Aquileia—Emona‘, in S. Karini (Hrsg.), *Terre di Mare* (Udine 2008), 444–453; J. Horvat, ‚Roman provincial archaeology in Slovenia following the year 1965: settlements and small finds‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 50 (1999), 215–257, bes. 218–228; auch G. Guštin—A. Gaspari, ‚Odra. Il passo tra il mondo romano e la comunità protostoriche continentali‘, in Bandelli—Montanari 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 7), 353–360; V. Vedaldi-Iasbez, ‚Aquileia dalla seconda guerra istrica all’età postsilliana‘, in Cuscito 2003, a. a. O. (Anm. 12), 123–154; G. Bandelli, ‚Momenti e forme nella politica illirica della Repubblica romana (229–49 a. C.)‘, in Urso 2004, a. a. O. (Anm. 8), 95–139; überholt K. Tausend, *RGA* 30 (2005²), 312–318, s. v. Tauriskier.

¹⁵ Laténisierte Osthallstattgruppe, als Karner im weiteren Sinne bezeichnet; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.133 nennt offenbar *Subocrini* als die (römische) Bezeichnung der im Karst im Vorfeld des PASSES lebende Bevölkerung. Vgl. J. Horvat, ‚Settlement in the Pivka area and along the upper course of the Reka River from Late Bronze Age to the Late Antic Period‘, in: J. Horvat (Hrsg.), *Water and Life in a Rocky Landscape* (Ljubljana 2005), 220–248; J. Horvat, ‚Notranjska (Inner Carniola) at the beginning of Roman Times‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 46 (1995), 177–216; D. Božič, ‚Zur latènezeitlichen Bevölkerung an Krka und Kolpa‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 52 (2001), 181–198; D. Božič, ‚Die Erforschung der Latènezeit in Slowenien seit dem Jahre 1964‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 50 (1999), 189–213, bes. 191 (Karte); auch J. Dular, ‚Höhensiedlungen in Zentralslowenien von der Kupfer- bis zur Eisenzeit‘, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 74 (1999), 129–153; J. Dular, *Podzemelj* (Ljubljana 1978); J. Dular, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Nekropolen in der Umgebung von Vinji Vrh oberhalb von Bela Cerkev* (Ljubljana 1991).

¹⁶ Vgl. Strabon 4.6.10; 7.5.2; es ist der sogenannte Argonautenweg, jene Verkehrsroute, auf der von Aquileia/Adria über Natisone, die Isonzomündung und Frigidus (Vipava) hinaufgefahren respektive hochgetreidelt wurde, um dann von Nauportus aus über den Nauportus (Ljubjanica) und die Save zur Donau zu gelangen (Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.127). Die Argo sei auf den Schultern der Männer über die Landbrücke getragen worden. Vgl. A. Mišček, ‚The early romanization of the Southeastern Alpine Region in the light of Numismatic finds‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 54 (2003), 369–379.

¹⁷ Vgl. D. Božič 1999.2001, a. a. O. (Anm. 15); D. Božič, *Late Latène-Roman Cemetery in Novo Mesto* (Ljubljana 2008).

¹⁸ Strabon 4.6.10; 7.5.2; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.128, zum Nauportus (Ljubjanica) als Wasserweg für die Güter von und zur Donau.

Territorium 113 v. Chr. die Schlacht bei Noreia stattfand.¹⁹ Beherrscht wurde der Durchgangsraum von der größten befestigten Höhensiedlung der Innerkrain Grad bei Šmihel am Berg Nanos²⁰ am Nordrand des Pivka-Beckens, die ziemlich sicher mit dem karnischen Ort Ocra²¹ am Mons Ocra (Nanos/Birnbaumerwald) zu identifizieren ist. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit stammen die dortigen mittelrepublikanischen Waffenfunde aus Kampfhandlungen während des Überfalls des Konsuls C. Cassius Longinus auf die Karner, Histrier und Iapoden im Jahre 171 v. Chr.²²

Die Klage gegen das rechtswidrige Handeln des Konsuls wurde 170 v. Chr. von einer Gesandtschaft des *rex Gallorum* Cincibilus unter der Führung seines Bruders im Senat vorgebracht. Gleichzeitig kamen Gesandte der betroffenen Völkerschaften. Cincibilus erhob Klage, dass man die Gebiete der „Alpenvölker“, seiner Bundesgenossen, verwüstet und viele Menschen in die Sklaverei verschleppt habe. Der Senat behandelte die Gesandtschaft des Cincibilus besonders ehrenvoll und beschloss zwei angesehene Senatoren als Gesandte zu ihm „über die Alpen hinüber“ zu schicken; drei weitere Gesandte sandte man zu den drei Völkerschaften. Hieraus wird deutlich, dass Cincibilus für Rom eine durchaus bedeutende Größe darstellte. Man hat immer wieder versucht, in ihm einen König der Noriker zu sehen und daraus weitreichende Schlüsse für die innerstaatlichen Strukturen Noricums und seiner frühen diplomatischen Beziehungen zu Rom zu folgern.²³ Dies ist jedoch ohne Grundlage. Vielmehr ist Cincibilus als keltischer Herrscher jenseits der Iulischen Alpen

¹⁹ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.133; 3.146; vgl. Strobel 2003, a. a. O. (Anm. 2). Die Keltisierung des eigentlichen vorrömischen Noricum südlich des Tauern-Hauptkammes und westlich der Koralpe wurde durch die Mokronog-Kultur getragen; vgl. Božič 2008, a. a. O. (Anm. 17); H. Sedlmayer, *Die Fibeln vom Magdalensberg* (Klagenfurt 2009); K. Dolenz, ‚Restaurierung keltischer Grabfunde aus Mittelkärnten‘, *Rudolfinum. Jahrbuch des Landesmuseums Kärnten* (2004), 547–557; P. Gleirscher, ‚Gräber keltischer Schwertkrieger vom Fuße der Gracarca (Kärnten)‘, in G. Tiefengraber—B. Kavur—A. Gaspari (Hrsg.), *Keltske študie II. Studies in Celtic Archeology. Papers in Honour of Mitja Guštin* (Montagnac 2009), 143–162.

²⁰ J. Horvat, ‚The hoard of Roman republican weapons from Grad near Šmihel‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 53 (2002), 117–192. Die Höhensiedlung setzt im 8. Jh. v. Chr. ein und behielt ihre zentrale Stellung bis zum Ende der Periode Latène (Lt) C₁ und dem Übergang zu Lt. D₁ (Stufe Mokronog II/IIIa), also bis gegen ca. 120 n. Chr.

²¹ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.126–127; 3.131.

²² Livius 43.1.4–12; 43.5.1–10.

²³ So G. Dobesch, ‚Zum Hospitium publicum zwischen Rom und dem Regnum Noricum‘, *Römisches Österreich* 4 (1976), 17–37; G. Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike* (Wien—Köln—Graz 1980), 108–157; 177–182; 182–236; zuletzt Tausend 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 14), 315f.

zu verstehen, wobei wir ihn mit gutem Grund als König der Taurischer bzw. des tauriskischen Herrschaftsverbandes identifizieren können.²⁴ Seine betroffenen Verbündeten sind in den Carni Taurisci (s. u.), der Notranjska-Kras-Gruppe und wohl auch im Raum Nauportus zu lokalisieren.

Der Feldzug des Konsuls C. Sempronius Tuditanus richtete sich 129 v. Chr. gegen die aufständischen Histrier sowie gegen Taurischer²⁵ und Iapoden,²⁶ wobei er letztere erst mit Hilfe seines konsularischen Legaten D. Brutus Callaicus besiegen konnte. Mit diesen Karner-Tauriskern kann nur die Bevölkerung der Notranjska-Kras-Gruppe gemeint sein. Die besiegten Iapoden waren offensichtlich die angrenzenden, in den Ausläufern der Südostalpen im Hinterland von Ost-Istrien²⁷ bzw. Rijeka und im Raum des Oberlaufes der Kolpa/Kupa lebenden Gruppen. Damals wurde die römische Kontrolle über den Odra-Pass hergestellt; die zentrale befestigte Siedlung Grad bei Šmihel endete jetzt, spätestens aber 115 v. Chr.; im Pass bei Razdrto entstand ein römischer Posten mit italischen Siedlern, die kaum Kontakt zur einheimischen Umwelt hatten.²⁸ Im Jahre 119 unternahm der Konsul L. Aurelius Cotta einen Feldzug gegen das karnische Segesta,²⁹ das bei Plinius als abgegangener Ort vermerkt ist und wahrscheinlich im Raum des mittleren Isonzo zwischen Tolmein und Görz zu suchen ist. Der Konsul des Jahres 115 v. Chr., M. Aemilius Scaurus, triumphierte über die Galli Carni bzw. Carni Taurisci, was auf die Bevölkerung der Notranjska und des Karst mit

²⁴ So auch Bandelli 2001, a. a. O. (Anm. 7), 20 f.

²⁵ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.129 und ILS 8885 = *Inscr. Aquil.* 28 = *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII 3, 90; die Inschrift ist entgegen bisherigen Vorschlägen im Versmaß zu ergänzen: ... *Tauriscos C[arneos et Iapudes]*.

²⁶ Livius, *Epitoma* 59; Appian, *Illyriké* 10; die Triumphalfasten (*Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII 1, 1b) nennen nur einen Triumph *De Iapudis*. Vgl. Strobel 2003, a. a. O. (Anm. 2), 113; H. Graßl, ‚Die Taurischer. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lokalisierung eines antiken Ethnonyms‘, *Orbis Terrarum* 2 (2000), 130 f.; nicht immer zutreffend Šašel-Kos 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 2), 321 ff.

²⁷ Vgl. Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.127; 3.129; Strabon 7.5.2.

²⁸ Razdrto-Mandrga; vgl. Horvat—Bavdek 2009, a. a. O. (Anm. 14), 39 ff. (spätes 2. und Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr.; später scheint die Paßstation nach dem klimatisch geschützteren Šušec verlegt zu sein). Ein Sicherungsposten in der spätlatènezeitlichen Befestigung auf den Goli vrh ist möglich.

²⁹ Appian, *Illyriké* 10; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 131. Die traditionelle Gleichsetzung mit Segesta/Siscia am Zusammenfluss von mittlerer Save und Kolpa/Kupa (so auch Šašel-Kos 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 2), 329 ff.) ist unwahrscheinlich. Die hier angegriffenen Segestani können mit gutem Grund als die Bevölkerung des mittleren Isonzo-Tales angesehen werden.

dem Gebiet der Vipava und von Hrušica zu beziehen ist.³⁰ Im Jahre 113 berief sich der Konsul Cn. Papirius Carbo gegenüber den Kimbern auf das bestehende *amicitia*-Verhältnis zu den keltischen Gruppen jenseits der Adelsberger Pforte, den tauriskischen Norikern³¹ im Raum südlich der Karawanken, also den nordöstlichen Nachbarn der Notranjska-Kras-Gruppe um obere Save, Nauportus (Ljubljana) und im Laibacher Becken.

Das Gebiet der Notranjska-Kras-Kulturgruppe zeigt seit dem ausgehenden 2. Jh. v. Chr. einen starken römischen Einfluß. Ausgangspunkt für den als Bernsteinstraße bekannten Handelsweg über den Ocrapass waren Aquileia und auch Tergeste; von ersterem führte der Weg über das Tal des Frigidus (Vipava), von Tergeste über die Siedlung von Škočjan durch den Karst. Im Pivka-Becken zweigte unterhalb von Grad bei Šmihel ein Verkehrsweg nach Süden zur liburnischen Küstenstadt Tarsatica bei Rijeka ab; nach der Passage durch die Pforte von Postojna/Adelsberg verlief ein wichtiger Abzweig über das Becken von Cerknjško mit dem „Sumpfgewässer Lugeon“ zum Fluß Krokoras (Krka), auf dem die Waren nach Segesta/Siscia verschifft wurden.³² Zudem führte von hier ein Verkehrsweg zur oberen Colapis (Kupa/Kolpa).

Strategisch beherrscht wurden beide Routen von der befestigten Höhensiedlung Žerovnišček, deren Auffassung mit dem Illyrienkrieg 35 v. Chr. und der römischen Annexion des Raumes zu verbinden ist.³³ Die im Laufe der 40er Jahre des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. in Nauportus entstandene römische Händlerniederlassung wurde für den Illyrischen Krieg zu einer befestigten logistischen Nachschubbasis ausgebaut.³⁴ Auch Emona

³⁰ *De Galleis Karneis* (Triumphalfasten); Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Liber de viris illustribus Urbis Romae* 72.7, bringt die Nachricht, er habe *Ligures et Gantiscos* gezähmt und über sie triumphiert; der mit Variationen überlieferte Volksname *C/Gantisci* ist zweifellos verderbt überliefert und zu (*Carni*) *Taurisci* zu verbessern.

³¹ Appian, *Kelitiké* 13; vgl. Strabon 7.2.2. Während die Präsenz der älteren norischen Prägungen die engere Verbindung des Raumes von Celeia zu dem Raum nördlich der Karawanken bereits in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. anzeigt, deutet die massive Präsenz von Münzen des jüngeren norischen Prägehorizontes des 1. Jh. v. Chr. (ab ca. 90/80 v. Chr.) eine Ausdehnung des direkten Einflusses aus dem zentralnorischen Raumes auf diese Gruppen jenseits der Karawanken hin. Vgl. A. Miškec, ‚Monetary circulation in the Posočje Region in Antiquity‘, in Chiabà et al. 2007, a. a. O. (Anm. 8), 275–281.

³² Strabon 7.5.2. Zur Stellung Siscias im Verkehrssystem des gesamten Raumes vgl. auch Šašel-Kos 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 2), 437 ff.

³³ B. Laharnar, ‚The Žerovnišček Iron Age hillfort near Bločice in the Notranjska Region‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 60 (2009), 97–157.

³⁴ Die wichtige Siedlung der Phasen Lt D1 und D2 ist durch Funde gesichert, jedoch noch nicht lokalisiert. Als Siedlung der (norischen) Tauriskier bei Strabon 7.5.2. Zum

entwickelte sich seit Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. zu einem wichtigen Handelsplatz, vermutlich sogar mit einem *Conventus* römischer Bürger. Die als Noriker bezeichnete Bevölkerung südlich der Karawanken (Nauportus, obere Save, Laibacher Becken) wurde 35 v. Chr. der Provinz *Illyricum* unterstellt. Der Raum des späteren Stadtterritoriums von Celeia, wahrscheinlich das Stammesgebiet der Uperaci, dürfte hingegen Teil des Vasallenstaates des *Regnum Noricum* geblieben sein.³⁵ Die Beziehungen zum Königreich der Noriker, dessen zentrales *Oppidum* auf dem Magdalensberg in der Übergangsperiode Lt D1/Lt D2a ca. 80/60 v. Chr. errichtet sein dürfte, wurden zweifellos bereits von Caesar intensiviert, dessen Bedarf an Stahl mit der Aufrüstung seines Heeres seit 58 v. Chr. massiv angestiegen war. Spätestens 52/50 v. Chr. wird man anlässlich des Vordringens in das nördliche und nordöstliche Karnergebiet einen Vertrag geschlossen haben, den Caesar zur Absicherung seiner Aktionen und mit Blick auf die sich abzeichnende Auseinandersetzung mit seinen Gegnern benötigte. Entsprechend seiner Stellung als *amicus et socius* unterstützte der norische König Caesar durch die Entsendung eines Kavalleriekorps von 300 Adelsreitern.³⁶ Als Folge des neuen

Befund vgl. B. Mušič—J. Horvat, ‚Nauportus—An Early Roman trading post at Dolge Njive in Vrhnika‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 58 (2007), 219–283. Die ältesten römischen Befunde finden sich am Flußufer. Der bronzezeitliche und hallstattzeitliche Vorgänger als Zentralsiedlung konnte auf der Tičnica-Höhe bei Vrhnika festgestellt werden: A. Gaspari—R. Masaryk, ‚Tracing the Prehistoric Nauportus‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 60 (2009), 195–206; vgl. ferner J. Istenič, ‚The Early Roman ‚Hoard of Vrhnika‘; A collection of Roman finds from the river Ljubjanica‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 54 (2004), 281–298; J. Istenič, ‚The Early Roman military route along the river Ljubjanica (Slovenia)‘, in A. Morillo—N. Hanel—E. Martín (Hrsg.), *Limes XX* (Madrid 2009), 855–865; P. Turk et al. (Hrsg.), *The Ljubjanica—A River and its Past* (Ljubjana 2009); bes. 95 ff. zu Emona.

³⁵ Vgl. Strobel 2008.2010 a. a. O. (Anm. 1). Zu den neuen Befunden vom Magdalensberg weiter K. Strobel—H. Dolenz, ‚Der Magdalensberg‘, in *Kelten am Rhein. Akten des dreizehnten Internationalen Keltologiekongresses 1* (Mainz 2009), 171–180; H. Dolenz, ‚Zu spätlatènezeitlichen Wallanlagen am Magdalensberg‘, *Römische Österreich* 32 (2009), 1–16; Dolenz et al., ‚Zur vorannexionszeitlichen Siedlung auf dem Magdalensberg‘, *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 47 (2008), 235–266; Sedlmayer 2009, a. a. O. (Anm. 19), bes. 178 ff. Befunde verfälschend und sich in Polemik erschöpfend P. Gleirscher, ‚Zur antiken Bebauung auf dem Gipfel des Magdalensberges. Zwischen *Oppidum*, Königsburg und Heiligtum‘, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 207 (2007), 103–120. Durch die Grabung von H. Dolenz im Jahre 2010 ist für den nördlichen Annexwall zum *Terminus post quem* von 40/30 v. Chr. ein *Terminus ante quem* von 15/10 v. Chr. erwiesen. Damals wurde zur Errichtung der monumentalen Bauten auf dem Gipfelplateau eine massive Auffahrtsrampe mit beidseitigen Stützmauern errichtet, die den Annexwall wie die vorrömische Straße zum nördlichen Haupttor des älteren Hauptwalles teils überlagert, teils durchschneidet.

³⁶ Caesar, *Bellum civile* 1.19.80. Es ist für die Entwicklung der Beziehungen charakteristisch, dass die jüngeren norischen Tetradrachmen-Serien mit vermindertem Gewicht

Vertragsverhältnisses kam es wohl nach dem Ende der Hauptphase des Bürgerkrieges 46 v. Chr. zur Errichtung der römischen Händlersiedlung am Südhang des Magdalensberges unterhalb des Walles des Oppidums. Für die Rüstungen der Triumvirn war 43/42 norisches Eisen ebenfalls von Bedeutung. In Vorbereitung des Illyrienkrieges musste schließlich die Sicherung der Nordflanke der römischen Operationen ein zentrales Anliegen sein. Wir können mit gutem Grund annehmen, dass das Regnum Noricum damals die Römische Oberhoheit anerkennen musste und zu einem abhängigen Vasallenstaat geworden war.

Die Karner, deren Siedlungsgebiet sich vom oberen Tagliamento bis in das südliche Vorfeld des Mons Odra erstreckt hat,³⁷ wurden, was ihr ostalpines Gebiet, die Idrija-Isonzo/Soča-Kulturgruppe, betrifft, endgültig von Caesar dem Sohn 35/34 v. Chr. der direkten römischen Herrschaft unterworfen und später in die Regio X Italiens eingegliedert.³⁸ Dabei

den Denar des Münzmeisters P. Crepusius von 82 v. Chr. zum Vorbild haben; G. Dembski, Beginn und Ende der Münzprägung in Noricum, in U. Peter (Hrsg.), Stephanos Nomismatikos. Festschrift Edith Schönert-Geiss (Berlin 1998, 201). Dagegen sind Victoriati nicht nach Noricum gelangt, obwohl sie mit älterem Großsilber des norischen Raumes im venetisch-karnischen Raum Verwendung fanden (Hort von Enemonzo; Gorini 2005, a. a. O. [Anm. 8]). Dies widerlegt die Thesen eines frühen engeren Verhältnisses zwischen Rom und den Norikern; die hierzu herangezogenen Livius-Stellen beziehen sich auf das Gebiet jenseits der Iulischen Alpen bzw. auf den Taurischer-Komplex (Liv. 39, 55, 1–4; 41, 1, 8; 43, 5, 1–10; 44, 14, 1–2). App. Kelt. 13, 2 bezieht sich auf die (tauriskischen) Südnoriker, die zusammen mit Noreia, dem Schlachtort von 113 v. Chr., südlich der Krawanken zu lokalisieren sind. Im 2. Jh. v. Chr. war der Handel zwischen dem norischen Raum und Italien noch in den Händen der Veneter, wie auch die Verwendung nordostitalisch-venetischen Alphabets nicht nur auf Tetradrachmenprägungen ca. 130–100/90 v. Chr., sondern auch auf einem Graffiti vom keltischen Heiligtum des Oppidums Frauenberg bei Leibnitz zeigen (D. Stifter, Vernacular Celtic Writing Traditions in the East-Alpine Region in the Iron-Age Period?, in R. Karl—J. Leskovar (Hrsg.), Interpretierte Eisenzeiten 3, Linz 2009, 361–372). Auch auf die venetischen Bleche von der Gurina und auf die venetischen Felsinschriften ist hinzuweisen (P. Jablonka *Die Gurina bei Dellach im Gailtal* (Klagenfurt 2001), 199; 207–212).

³⁷ Strabon 4.6.10; 7.5.2 fixiert hier die Grenzzone zwischen Karnern und Iapoden, wobei er in 7.5.2–4 die in den Ausläufern der Südostalpen lebenden Iapoden von deren Kernbereich in Westkroatien und Südwestbosnien abgrenzt. Unter dem Iapoden-Namen waren, wie Strabon zeigt, verschiedene Gruppen einer keltisierten Bevölkerung des genannten Raumes zusammengefasst. Die Notranjska-Kras-Kulturgruppe stellte im Süden nach Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.127 bereits eine Überlappungszone mit den alpinen Iapoden dar.

³⁸ Appian, *Illyriké* 16; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 3.126. Teile der Karner und nördlichen Iapoden wurden von Augustus der Colonia von Tergeste adtribuiert (Carni, Catili, Rundictes); ihre Oberschicht erhielt erst unter Antoninus Pius über die Bekleidung der städtischen Adilität das römische Bürgerrecht und den Eintritt in den Curialenstand (*CIL* 5, 532 = *ILS* 6680 = *AE* 1975, 423; *CIL* 5, 698 = *ILS* 5889).

ist es offensichtlich im Bereich des mittleren Isonzo- und Idrijca-Tal zu Kampfhandlungen gekommen.³⁹

Zu den militärischen Operationen Caesars im Karnischen Raum verfügen wir nur über die Nachricht bei Vitruv von der Belagerung und Einnahme der befestigten Höhensiedlung Larignum, deren Lokalisierung bisher unbekannt ist, dies im Zusammenhang mit seiner Behandlung des Lärchenholzes (2, 9, 15–16). Daraus ergibt sich, dass Lärchenholz, das nach diesem Ort benannt worden sei, später auf dem Po nach Ravenna transportiert wurde. Dies sagt jedoch nichts über die Lage des Ortes aus, der mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit im Bereich der Karnischen Alpen zu suchen ist, wo Caesar bis ins Vorfeld des Plöckenpasses vorstieß und hier zur Sicherung dieses wichtigen Verkehrsweges den römischen Vicus Iulium Carnicum an der Stelle einer karnischen Siedlung mit venetischem Bevölkerungsanteil vor dem Aufstieg zum Plöckenpaß gründete; dieser Ort wurde von Augustus möglicherweise schon vor dem Alpenkrieg zum Municipium und noch vor Claudius zur Colonia erhoben.⁴⁰

³⁹ Waffenfunde von den befestigten Höhensiedlungen Grad bei Reka und Gradišče bei Cerkno; vgl. J. Istenič, ‚Evidence for a very Late Republican siege at Grad near Reka in Western Slovenia‘, *Carnuntum-Jahrbuch* (2005), 77–87. Der Grabstein eines Angehörigen der Legio XV von Most na Soči ist kein Indiz für eine Besetzung des Isonzo-Tales bereits in caesarischer Zeit; er kann nur grob in die Zeitspanne 40/30–20/15 v. Chr. datiert werden.

⁴⁰ Vgl. G. Uggeri, *DNP* 6 (1999), 18 s.v. Iulium Carnicum; F. Mainardis, ‚Iulium Carnicum‘, *Supplementa Italica* 12, 1994, 67–150; G. Bandelli—F. Fontana (Hrsg.), *Iulium Carnicum. Centro Alpino tra Italia e Norico dalla protostoria all'età imperiale* (Roma 2001); dazu G. Cresci Marrone, *Aquileia Nosta* 72 (2001), 691–696; S. Vitri, ‚L'Alto Friuli tra età del Ferro e romanizzazione‘, in Bandelli—Fontana 2001, a. a. O. 39–83; C. Zaccaria, ‚L'arco alpino orientale nell'età romana. Iulium Carnicum—Un centro alpino tra Italia e Norico (I sec. a.C.—I sec. d.C.)‘, in Bandelli—Fontana 2001, a. a. O. 75–98, 139–151; F. Mainardis, *Iulium Carnicum. Storia ed epigrafia* (Trieste 2008). Befunde: Latène-Keramik, venetische Keramik, römisches Importgut seit ca. 100 v. Chr. Die Gründung eines Municipiums noch in caesarischer Zeit ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Das Territorium umfasste die Südseite des Kammes der Karnischen Alpen mit dem oberen Tagliamento von den Quelltälern der Piave oberhalb von Bellunum (Grenze bei Cadore) bis Chiusaforte unter Einschluss von Glemona (Gemona) und Osopus (Osoppo). Die römische Annexion seit caesarischer Zeit wird in den archäologischen Befunden von Amaro, Verzegnis-Colle Mazéit und Raveo-Monte Soranti deutlich; vgl. P. Donat—G. Righi—S. Vitri, ‚Pratiche culturali nel Friuli settentrionale tra tarda età del ferro e prima età imperiale‘, in S. Groh—H. Sedlmayr (Hrsg.), *Blut und Wein. Keltisch-römische Kultpraktiken* (Montagnac 2007), 91–118; G. Vannacci Lunazzi, ‚L'esperienza di scavi nell'insediamento fortificato di Verzegnis località Colle Mazéit‘, in M. Valoppi Basso (Hrsg.), *Le fortificazioni e i castelli della Carnia* (Udine 2007), 79–111; M. Buora, ‚I dati archeologici sul popolamento del settore alpino in epoca romana‘, in *Castelraimondo. Scavi 1988–1990* 1 (Roma 1992), 99–110. Zur Entwicklung der Gallia Cisalpina auch L. Brecciaroli Taborelli (Hrsg.), *Forme e tempi dell'urbanizzazione nella Cisalpina (II secolo a.C.—I secolo d.C.)* (Florenz 2007).

Die Grenze zum Venetergebiet als Teil der Gallia Cisalpina, also zum Territorium von Bellunum, lag bei Cadore.⁴¹ Der Plöckenpass (1360 m) war zusammen mit dem Findenig-Törl (Lodintörl, 1863 m) die traditionelle Pforte von Norditalien über den oberen Tagliamento nach Kärnten ins Gailtal, über das die Verkehrsdrehscheibe des Villacher Beckens erreicht wurde. Die Bedeutung der beiden Übergänge wird durch venetische Schriftzeugnisse belegt, die sich auch im späthallstattzeitlichen Kontext der Gurina finden. Während die hallstattzeitliche und dann römische Siedlung auf der Gurina direkt gegenüber dem Abstieg vom Findenig-Törl lag, konnte nach dem Abstieg vom Plöckenpass bei Keutschach-Mautern über den Gailbergsattel (970 m) auch das obere Drautal und damit der Brenner erreicht werden. Ein weiterer Übergang, der sich in den frühen Münzfunden abzeichnet, führte vom unteren Fella-Tal⁴² über den Pontebba-Pass (1060 m), den Sattel von Camporosso und Tarvis ins Gailitztal und direkt nach Villach. Die mittlere Fella-Schlucht war als Verkehrsweg ungeeignet.

Für das Jahr 44 v. Chr. hatte Caesar die Provinzen Gallia Comata L. Munatius Plancus und Gallia Cisalpina D. Iunius Brutus Albinus übertragen lassen. Beide waren für den Konsulat des Jahres 42 vorgesehen. Ende April traf der Caesarmörder in der Provinz ein, wo ihm zwei Veteranenlegionen zur Verfügung standen. Im Sommer drang er in die Alpentäler vor, wo er reiche Beute machte und viele Höhenbefestigungen eroberte.⁴³ In einem Schreiben erklärte er Cicero im September 44, dass er das nicht wegen des Imperatorentitels getan habe, mit dem ihn seine Soldaten akklamiert hatten, sondern um seine Truppen zu trainieren und an sich zu binden. Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, dass diese Operationen zu den Anweisungen Caesars für Brutus' Statthalterschaft gehörten. Es ist kein Zufall, dass auch Munatius Plancus im Jahre 44 offensiv gegen alpine bzw. raetische Stämme vorging, die, wie mit gutem Grund anzunehmen ist, an das Helvetier- oder Allobrogergebiet angrenzten; dafür feierte er am 29.12.43 einen Triumph *ex Raetis*.⁴⁴ Caesars Versuch einer

⁴¹ *Supplementa Italica 4, Bellunum 1* = AE 1992, 730.

⁴² Der Fundplatz Moggio bringt römisch-italisches Fundmaterial der 2. Hälfte 2. und 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.; vgl. M. Faleschini, 'Materiali di epoca romana da Moggio Udinese', *Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia* 3 (1993), 57–62. Zur Problematik des schluchtartigen mittleren Fella-Tals vgl. M. Faleschini, 'Viabilità alpina e presenze insediative tra Alto Tagliamento e Val Canale', *Rivista di Topografia Antica* 9 (1999), 37–50.

⁴³ Cicero, *Ad familiares* 11.4.1–2 (September 44 v. Chr.). Vgl. Münzer, *RE* Suppl. V, 1931, 369–385.

⁴⁴ *CIL* 10, 6087 = *ILS* 886; Vgl. W. Eck, *DNP* 8, 2000, 469–471.

Eroberung des Wallis (Gebiet der Nantuatzen, Veragrer und Seduner) im Herbst 57 v. Chr. durch den Vorstoß des Legaten Servius Galba mit der 12. Legion und Reiterei vom Genfer See aus in das obere Rhonetal war unter schweren Verlusten beider Seiten in der Schlacht um Octodurus im Spätherbst 57 gescheitert.⁴⁵

Caesars Ziel war nach den Kämpfen beim Alpenübergang 58 v. Chr.⁴⁶ zweifellos die sichere Öffnung wichtiger Alpenpässe nach Italien. Munatius Plancus dürfte in der Ostschweiz (Schwyz, Walensee-Gebiet) operiert haben, hauptsächlich aber wohl im Bereich der Savoyer Alpen und der Isère, wo es sicher ein Anliegen Caesars war, die Scharte von Octodurus auszuweiten und die Kontrolle wichtiger Passverbindungen zu gewinnen. Sehr wahrscheinlich kamen dabei die Ceutrones, gegen die Caesar schon im Jahre 58 gekämpft hatte, im Tal der oberen Isère (Tarentaise) mit dem westlichen Vorfeld des Kleinen St. Bernhard unter römische Herrschaft.⁴⁷ Es dürfte Brutus' Auftrag gewesen sein, das von Caesar 52–50 v. Chr. am nordöstlichen Alpenbogen Erreichte fortzuführen und gegebenenfalls die direkte Verbindung zum Helvetiergebiet bzw. nach Ostgallien zu öffnen. Es ist somit anzunehmen, dass Brutus die Dolomitenregion westlich des karnischen Gebietes der römischen Herrschaft unterworfen hat, also das Trentino, die Vicenzer Alpen und das Gardasee-Gebiet. Die gewaltsame Unterwerfung der Trumpulini (Val Trompia) ist sehr wahrscheinlich im Zusammenhang mit der Neugründung des Municipium Brixia als Colonia Civica Augusta 27 v. Chr. zu sehen. Sie zeigt die Wiederaufnahme der von Caesar initiierten, dann unterbrochenen, aktiven Politik im Alpenbogen.⁴⁸

Die Salasser, die das Tal der Duria Maior (Dora Baltea) und das Gebiet von Aosta mit den Zugängen zu den wichtigen westlichen Alpenpässen (Großer/Kleiner St. Bernhard) kontrollierten sowie über große Bodenschätze verfügten, waren bereits 143 v. Chr. formell der römischen Oberhoheit unterworfen worden; gegen sie führten im Jahre 35 C. Antistius Vetus und 34 v. Chr. Valerius Mesalla Corvinus als Legaten Caesars, des

⁴⁵ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 3.1–6.

⁴⁶ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.10.4.

⁴⁷ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.10.4; vgl. Strabon 4.6.6; sie erscheinen im Gegensatz zu den sie umgebenden Stämmen nicht auf der Liste des Tropaeum Alpium. Caesar kämpfte 58 v. Chr., als er die Legionen aus Oberitalien heranzuführte, auch gegen die Caturiges und die Graioceli (östliches Vorfeld des Mt. Cenis).

⁴⁸ Vgl. Strobel 2008.2010, a. a. O. (Anm. 1). Zu Trient vgl. C. Bassi, ‚Nuovi dati sulla fondazione e l’impianto urbano di Tridentum‘, in Brecciaroli Taborelli 2007, a. a. O. (Anm. 40), 275–282.

Sohnes des Göttlichen, Feldzüge, die mit einer formellen Unterwerfung endeten.⁴⁹ Ziel war offenkundig die sichere Kontrolle der Verbindung mit Gallien über den Kleinen St. Bernhard. Im Jahre 25 v. Chr. wurde ihr Gebiet von A. Terentius Varro Murena erobert, offiziell nach einer Empörung gegen Rom.⁵⁰ Murenas Heer war in zahlreiche Kolonnen aufgeteilt vorgedrungen; nach Strabon wurden 36.000 Salasser, darunter 8.000 wehrfähigen Männer, in die Sklaverei verkauft. Auf dem besten Teil ihres Landes wurde die Colonia Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) gegründet und damit die Grenze Italiens in die Westalpen hinein ausgeweitet. Ein Teil der Salasser, der sich offenkundig mit Rom arrangiert hatte, wurde als *incolae* in das Territorium der Kolonie eingegliedert.⁵¹

DER ALPENFELDZUG

Die offizielle Begründung für den ganz offensichtlich intensiv vorbereiteten Alpenkrieg des Jahres 15 v. Chr.⁵² waren angeblich vielfache Einfälle der „Raeter, die zwischen Noricum und Gallien ihre Wohnsitze nahe den an Italien grenzenden Tridentiner Alpen hatten“, in das benachbarte Gallien und auch nach Italien; dabei hätten sich die Raeter durch besondere barbarische Grausamkeit ausgezeichnet und zudem hätten sie Reisende belästigt.⁵³ Dem entspricht die Schilderung dieser Völker bei Strabon (4, 6, 6.8). Es handelt sich hierbei um Propaganda zur Konstruktion eines *bellum iustum* und zur Kaschierung des römischen Angriffskrieges. Dies betont Augustus ausdrücklich: „Die Alpen ließ ich von der Gegend nahe der Adria bis zum Tyrrhenischen Meer besetzen, wobei keiner Völker-

⁴⁹ Strabon 4.6.7–11; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 18.182; Livius, *Periocha* 53; Cassius Dio 49.34.2; 49.38.3; Appian, *Illyriké* 17. Selbst Caesar musste für den Durchzug mit seinen Truppen bezahlen (Strabon 4.6.7).

⁵⁰ Strabon 4.6.7; Cassius Dio 53.25.2–5; Sueton, *Augustus* 21.1.

⁵¹ *ILS* 6753: die *Salassi incolae qui initio se in coloniam contulerunt* ehrten Augustus 23/20 v. Chr. als ihren Patronus.

⁵² Livius, *Periocha* 138; Horaz, *Carmen* 4.4–14; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 26; *Consolatio ad Liviam* 15–16; 173–176; 384–386; Velleius Paterculus 2.95.1–2; 2.109.5; 2.122.1; Strabon 4.6.9; 7.1.5; 7.5.1; Sueton, *Augustus* 21.1; *Tiberius* 9.1–2; Cassius Dio 54.22; Florus 2.22.4–5; *CIL* 5, 8002.8003; vgl. Strobel 2008.2010, a. a. O. (Anm. 1); C.S. Sommer, „Die Anfänge der Provinz Raetien“, in I. Piso (Hrsg.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung* (Cluj–Napoca 2008), 209 möchte mit W. Eck, „Germanien—Eine Provinz unter Augustus“, in I. Piso (Hrsg.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung* (Cluj–Napoca 2008), 165 f. („Gesamtkonzept an Rhein und Donau“) erneut von einer Einbindung der Alpeneroberung in eine groß angelegte Germanienpolitik des Augustus sprechen.

⁵³ Cassius Dio 54.22.1–2; Appian, *Illyriké* 15; Florus 2.22.5.

schaft der Krieg unrechtmäßig erklärt wurde“ (*Res Gestae* 26.3). Natürlich haben die Alpenvölker Wegzölle erhoben und schon Caesar Schwierigkeiten bereitet, ebenso sind sicher Überfälle auf benachbarte Gebiete nicht von der Hand zu weisen, wie der aber weit zurückliegende raetische Überfall auf Comum 95/94 v. Chr. zeigt. Das Verlangen von Passgeldern wird als Räubersitte gekennzeichnet; so hatten die Salasser dem D. Iunius Brutus Albinus bei der Verfolgung des Antonius nach den Kämpfen bei Mutina einen Denar pro Mann abgepresst (Strabon 4, 6, 7). Caesar begründete seinen Vorstoß in das Wallis damit, den Alpenübergang frei von Zöllen machen zu wollen (*De bello Gallico* 3, 1, 2).

Das römische Sicherheitsbedürfnis, wie es die Propaganda als zentrales Motiv betont, trifft sicher nicht den wahren Grund. Horaz spricht bezeichnender Weise von den Raetern, die um ihre Freiheit kämpften (*Carmen* 4, 14, 18). Es war vielmehr das propagandistisch gut verkaufte ideologische Schlagwort von der Sicherung Italiens, von der Rolle des Augustus als Vollender und Garant seiner Sicherheit, der die Gefahr durch barbarische Stämme endgültig beseitigt habe.⁵⁴ Augustus selbst hat in seinen *Commentarii* die Unterwerfung der illyrischen Völker und des gesamten Alpenraumes als seine Leistung dargestellt (Appian, *Illyriké* 15). Die breit angelegte Siegespropaganda spiegeln die Drusus-Panegyrik in Horaz (*Carmen* 4, 4) und später die *Consolatio ad Liviam*. Livius hatte einen Teil des 138. Buches der Bezwingung der Raeter durch Tiberius und Drusus gewidmet, wie die *Periocha* dieses verlorenen Buches zeigt, das bis zum Census in Gallien 13 v. Chr. und bis zum Tod des Agrippa im Jahre 12 v. Chr. herabreichte.

Lösen wir uns von der offiziellen, ideologisch bestimmten Version, so zeigt sich als konkretes Ziel des Eroberungskrieges die Schließung jener Lücke, die in der Kontrolle des Alpenbogens und damit des nördlichen Vorfelds Italiens zwischen Noricum im Osten und dem römischen Ostgallien mit dem Helvetiergebiet klaffte, aber nicht, wie oft postuliert, die Vorbereitung der Eroberung Germaniens als Teil eines groß angelegten augusteischen Konzeptes. Die Provinz Gallia Cisalpina, deren Gemeinden südlich des Po im Jahre 89 das römische Bürgerrecht, jene nördlich des Po das latinische Bürgerrecht erhalten hatten, war bisher der nördliche Schutzschild des italischen Bürgergebietes und für Caesar seit 58 v. Chr. die Rekrutierungsbasis seiner Legionen gewesen. 49 v. Chr. blieb die Provinz als Militärkommando bestehen. Nach der Aufhebung der

⁵⁴ Vgl. Appian, *Illyriké* 15; Horaz, *Carmen* 4.14.43–44; *Epistula* 2.1; 2.250–255. Das 4. Odenbuch hatte Horaz auf Drängen des Augustus verfasst.

Provinz aber war die Nordgrenze des entmilitarisierten italischen Bürgergebietes militärisch ungeschützt. Militärische Aufgaben mussten von dem gallischen oder illyrischen Kommando aus organisiert werden. Es war nach 27 v. Chr. politisch und strategisch vordringlich, für Italien eine neue, im Norden vorgelagerte und militärisch besetzte Grenzzone durch die Einrichtung von Provinzen zu schaffen. Auch bildete die endgültige Herstellung einer geschlossenen territorialen Verbindung zwischen Norditalien und Gallien eine zwingende Aufgabe. Im Jahre 19 v. Chr. war Augustus aus dem Orient, wo er im Vorjahr die Armenien- und Partherfrage geregelt hatte, nach Rom zurückgekommen; Agrippa hatte die sich über Jahre hinziehende Eroberung Nordspaniens erfolgreich abgeschlossen, und die innenpolitische Lage war mit den Maßnahmen der Jahre 18 und 17 v. Chr. endgültig stabilisiert. Nach der glanzvollen Feier der Säkularspiele konnten neue militärische Projekte in Planung genommen und für 16 v. Chr. die unmittelbare Vorbereitung des Alpenkrieges eingeleitet werden. Dagegen war die Clades Lolliana im Frühsommer 16 v. Chr., bei der die Legio V Gallica ihr Ende fand, ein überraschend eingetretenes Ereignis, das die Aufmerksamkeit des Princeps wieder auf Gallien und Germanien lenkte.

Die Planung des römischen Vorgehens folgte den Transitwegen über die Zentralalpen,⁵⁵ einmal über das Etschtal zum Reschenpaß (1508 m) ins Inntal, zum anderen vom Etschtal über Ritten und Eisacktal zum Brenner (1372 m) und dann über das Silltal ins Inntal. Für den Verkehr musste allerdings die Kunter-Schlucht nördlich von Bozen erst durch eine römische Kunststraße passierbar bemacht werden. Die Umgehungsroute zog über den Ritten. Von Osten, von Noricum aus, war der Brenner über das obere Drautal und das Pustertal, also über die Gebiete der Laianci und Saevates, zu erreichen. Sowohl Reschenpaß wie Brenner hatten schon früh große Bedeutung für den Alpenransit. Das Inntal war bereits in der Frühgeschichte eine zentrale Verkehrsrouten. In das schwäbisch-oberbayrische Alpenvorland gelangte man vom Inntal aus über den Fernpaß (1209 m) und das Loisach—bzw. Lechtal, ferner über den Seefelder Sattel (1180 m) und Mittenwald-Scharnitz (938 m) sowie über die Achensee-Pforte und das nach Norden führende Isartal. Die andere große Alpenraverse führte als Straßenroute von Comum über Julier- und Septimer-Paß in das Alpenrheintal und war für Wagen-

⁵⁵ Vgl. etwa die Beiträge in: *Über die Alpen. Menschen. Wege. Waren* (Stuttgart 2002); M. Dolci, *Perviae paucis Alpes. Viabilità romana attraverso i valichi delle Alpe Centrali* (Oxford 2003).

transporte in römischer Zeit von großer Bedeutung. Salzach, Inn, Traun und Etsch wurden schon im vorrömischen Verkehr im Sommer als Wasserstraßen genutzt.

Der Krieg war bereits am 1.8.15 v. Chr. mit einem glänzenden Erfolg abgeschlossen.⁵⁶ Unmittelbar danach und in den Jahren 14 und 13 v. Chr. kann bis zum Beginn des Offensivkrieges gegen Germanien und der damit verbundenen Truppenkonzentration am Rhein von einer systematischen Durchdringung des Raumes und von der Präsenz größerer Truppenverbände, auch von Legionseinheiten, ausgegangen werden. Der Großteil der waffenfähigen Männer bzw. die Jungmannschaften der besiegten Raeter und Vindeliker wurden außer Landes geführt und in Auxiliareinheiten in das römische Heer eingegliedert.⁵⁷ Die vier Cohortes Alpinorum⁵⁸ wurden aus den unterworfenen Stämmen der Alpes Maritimae, Alpes Cottiae und Alpes Graiae rekrutiert.

DIE SCHAFFUNG DER PROVINZEN RAETIA ET VINDELICIA UND IN REGNO NORICO

Die Eingliederung Noricums in das Imperium Romanum wird noch in jüngster Zeit in zwei zeitlich getrennten Schritten gesehen, erst in einer „Okkupation“ des Regnum Noricum im Rahmen der Alpenfeldzüge 15 v. Chr., obwohl direkte Quellen hierfür fehlen, dann in der Errichtung der prokuratorischen Provinz in claudischer Zeit,⁵⁹ als der

⁵⁶ Horaz, *Carmen* 4.14.34–40.

⁵⁷ Cassius Dio 54.22.5, der nur von den Raetern spricht.

⁵⁸ Vgl. J. Spaul, *Cohors*² (Oxford 2000), 257; 259–268.

⁵⁹ So Th. Fischer, *Noricum* (Mainz 2002), 18; G. Ubl, *RGa*² 21 (2002), 324–340, bes. 326–329; Ubl, ‚Die Bersteinstrasse als Verkehrsweg des römischen Heeres‘, *Römisches Österreich* 31 (2008), 127–140, bes. 130 f.; 135; K.-H. Dietz, *DNP* 8 (2000), 1003–1007; G. Dobesch, ‚Die Okkupation des Regnum Noricum durch Rom‘, *Ausgewählte Schriften II. Kelten und Germanen* (Köln–Wien–Weimar 2001), 859–874; die ältere Forschung zusammenfassend G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London–Boston 1974), 52–81; nur oberflächlich behandelt bei V. Gassner—S. Jilek—S. Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reiches. Die Römer in Österreich, Österreichische Geschichte 15 v. Chr.–378 n. Chr.* (Wien 2002), 48–63; unbefriedigend M. Šašel-Kos, ‚The end of the Norican kingdom and the formation of the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia‘, in *Akten des IV. Internat. Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens* (Ljubljana 1997), 21–42; Šašel-Kos 2005, a. a. O. (Anm. 2), 485; E. Weber, ‚Die Anfänge der Provinz Noricum‘, in *Piso* 2008, a. a. O. (Anm. 52), 225–235 versucht das claudische Datum zu retten, wobei er eine Mitverwaltung durch Pannonien und „staatsrechtliche Bedenken“ annimmt, die gegen eine sofortige Annexion gesprochen hätte.

erste prokuratorische Statthalter⁶⁰ belegt ist. Ebenso ging man auch für Raetien, dessen Annexion während des Alpenkrieges bezeugt ist, von einer Einrichtung der römischen Provinz erst in claudischer Zeit aus. In beiden Fällen wurden in der Forschung ähnliche Szenarien der geschichtlichen Entwicklung gezeichnet und Parallelen gezogen.⁶¹

Wie Strabon 4, 6, 9 ausdrücklich darlegt, hatten alle von Tiberius und Drusus im Jahre 15 v. Chr. unterworfenen Alpenvölker, also Raeter und Vindeliker, zum Zeitpunkt seiner Niederschrift 33 Jahre in friedfertiger Ruhe gelebt und ihre Steuern bezahlt. Das gesamte Gebiet der unter die römische Herrschaft geratenen Völkerschaften war also zum *ager stipendiarius*, zum steuerpflichtigen Territorium römischer Untertanen geworden. Es kommt hinzu, dass schon der Oberbefehl der Stiefsöhne des Augustus einen deutlichen dynastischen und propagandistischen Aspekt aufweist. Die Propagierung der Unterwerfung der Raeter und Vindeliker (*gentes in dicionem populi Romani redactae*) hatte diese 15 v. Chr. ohne Zweifel als in den Status einer *provincia* des römischen Volkes übergeführt erklärt (*Raetia* bzw. *Vindelicia in formam provinciae redacta*). Wir können als Parallele auf Germanien verweisen, wo mit dem Triumph des Tiberius am 1.1.7 v. Chr. *ex Germania* die römische Provinz als errichtet proklamiert wurde.⁶² Der Winter 8/7 v. Chr. war offiziell

⁶⁰ Ehreninschrift für C. Baebius Atticus, *procurator Ti. Claudii Caesaris Germanici in Norico*; Bronzetafel aus Iulium Carnicum/Zuglio, gestiftet von der Civitas Saevatum et Laianorum; *CIL* 5, 1838 = *ILS* 1349; *CIL* 5, 1839. Er war Primuspilus der Legio V Macedonia, dann *praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae, praefectus civitatum in Alpibus Maritimis*, Tribun der 8. Prätorianerkohorte, *primus pilus iterum*, dann Statthalter in Noricum und zuletzt *Duovir iure dicundo* in Iulium Carnicum. Vgl. *PIR*² B 11.

⁶¹ Typisch F.M. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches* (Darmstadt 1998), 26, „Die Alpengebiete, die Augustus bereits 15 v. Chr. erobert hatte, wurden erst unter Claudius zu Provinzen“. Vgl. etwa K.-H. Dietz, ‚Okkupation und Frühzeit‘, in W. Cysz—K. Dietz—T. Fischer (Hrsg.) *Die Römer in Bayern* (Stuttgart 1995), 18–99; G.H. Waldherr, *DNP* 10 (2001), 749–754; *DNP* 12 2 (2002), 228; R. Kaiser, *RGa*² 24 (2003), 79–86; Zuletzt sucht D. Faoro, ‚Neues zu den ritterlichen Fasten der Statthalter Raetiens‘, *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 73 (2008), 5–28; D. Faoro, ‚Novità sui Fasti Equestri della Rezia‘, *Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia* 17 (2007), 97–120 mit ganz unzureichenden Argumenten eine Provinzgründung erst unter Claudius zu erweisen. Hirrutus ist zu spät angesetzt, für Caecilius Cisiacus wird sogar eine Datierung erst unter Lucius Verus und Marc Aurel diskutiert, was als ausgeschlossen gelten muss.

⁶² Vgl. K. Strobel, ‚Vom marginalen Grenzraum zum Kernraum Europas‘, in L. De Blois—E. LoCascio (Hrsg.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476)* (Leiden—Boston 2007), 207–237, bes. 210 ff.; G. Weiler, ‚Römisches Militär und die Gründung der niedergermanischen Städte‘, in De Blois—LoCascio 2007, a. a. O., 371–390, bes. 384–390; zu Köln; W. Eck, ‚Germanien—Eine Provinz unter Augustus‘, in: Piso 2008, a. a. O. (Anm. 52), 165–178.

der Abschluss der mit den Feldzügen des Drusus im Spätsommer 12 v. Chr. begonnenen Eroberung Germaniens.

Es muss von der unmittelbar gegebenen Absicht und der Notwendigkeit einer eigenständigen militärischen und zivilen Organisation des neuen römischen Herrschaftsgebietes ausgegangen werden. Man kann nicht, wie lange Zeit üblich, nach einem zeitlichen Abstand zwischen der römischen Eroberung und der Einrichtung als Provinz suchen, der am Fortschritt des inneren Ausbaus festgemacht werden soll. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre der Anschluss an eine bestehende *provincia*, einen entsprechenden militärischen und zivilen Aufgabenbereich. Doch gibt es hierfür weder im Falle Raetiens noch Noricums einen Hinweis, ja dies muss als im höchsten Maße unwahrscheinlich gelten. Vielmehr folgten administrative Durchdringung und innerer Ausbau immer erst in der Zeit nach der formalen Einrichtung einer Provinz in Folge von Sieg oder Annexion. Der spätere Ausbau einer Provinz ist somit kein Kriterium, deren Einrichtung erst erheblich nach der Eingliederung eines Gebietes in das Imperium Romanum anzusetzen. Auch Velleius' Provinzliste ist hierfür kein Zeugnis, da er mehrfach nur zwischen dem ersten militärischen Auftreten der Römer und der endgültigen Unterwerfung unterscheiden will.

In diesem Zusammenhang muss, da immer wieder Missverständnisse in der Diskussion zu beobachten sind, auf die Bedeutung von *provincia*⁶³ und auf den aktuellen Wissensstand zu den Anfängen ritterlicher Provinzen hingewiesen werden, den zuletzt S. Demougin⁶⁴ herausgearbeitet hat, wobei sie die Bezeichnung „prokuratorische“ Provinz mit gutem Grund ablehnt. Kennzeichen einer ritterlichen Provinz ist die Einsetzung eines Statthalters ritterlichen Ranges als Delegierten des Princeps. *Provincia* bezeichnete generell den räumlichen und sachlichen Kompetenz- bzw. Zuständigkeitsbereich eines Magistrats oder Promagistrats bzw. Imperiumsträgers, sodann im speziellen die territoriale und administrative Einheit des Untertanengebietes, die als Amtsbereich eines Magistrats oder Promagistrats dauerhaft eingerichtet war. Dabei kann die

⁶³ Vgl. etwa W. Eck, ‚Provinz—Ihre Definition unter politisch-administrativem Aspekt‘, in: H.v. Hesberg (Hrsg.), *Was ist eigentlich Provinz? Zur Beschreibung eines Bewusstseins* (Köln 1995), 15–32.

⁶⁴ S. Demougin, ‚Les débuts des provinces procuratoriennes‘, in: Piso 2008, a. a. O. (Anm. 52), 65–79; vgl. weiter W. Eck, ‚Die Ausformung der ritterlichen Administration als Antisenatspolitik? Die Leitung und Verwaltung einer prokuratorischen Provinz‘, in: W. Eck (Hrsg.), *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge 1* (Basel 1995), 29–54; 327–340.

Ausübung der militärischen und administrativen Leitung einer solchen territorialen Einheit delegiert werden.

Schon Pompeius hatte für sein Kommando gegen die Seeräuber und Mithradates VI. von Pontos ein proconsularisches Imperium mit dem Recht erhalten, Legaten mit *propraetorischem* Imperium zu bestellen; später ließ er die spanischen Provinzen durch Legaten verwalten. Bis zur Diktatur Caesars musste die formelle Einrichtung einer Provinz durch eine *lex provinciae* in Rom erfolgen, in der die Rechtstellung der Städte bzw. Landgemeinden sowie die juristischen und administrativen Prinzipien, die innerhalb der Provinz zu gelten hatten, d. h. die Statuten der Provinz, festgeschrieben wurden. Die bei der Annexion eines Gebietes durch den jeweiligen Imperiumsträger erlassenen Regelungen mussten darin bestätigt werden. Dieses *Procedere* entfiel mit der Sonderstellung zuerst des Diktators Caesar, dann der triumviralen Sondergewalt, die Caesar, der Sohn des Göttlichen, bis 27 v. Chr. allein innehatte. Bei der Teilung der Provinzen zwischen dem Princeps und dem Senat im Jahre 27 wurden ihm in der Stellung eines Proconsuls die wichtigen Militärprovinzen mit dem entsprechenden uneingeschränkten Imperium übertragen, wobei dies mit einem allgemein formulierten Schutzauftrag, der *cura tutelaque rei publicae* verbunden war.⁶⁵ Im Jahre 23 wurde das Imperium proconsulare des Augustus dann auch formalrechtlich den Statthaltern in den senatorischen Provinzen übergeordnet und damit zu einem allgemeinen *imperium maius*.⁶⁶ Hinzu kamen seine Sondervollmachten, wie sie in der *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* (ILS 244) direkt zu fassen sind, so das Recht und die Vollmacht, Verträge zu schließen, mit wem er wolle, sowie alle Maßnahmen einzuleiten und zu treffen, die nach seiner Ansicht im Interesse des Staates liegen. Die Einrichtung einer neuen Provinz war nun allein ein Akt der politischen Entscheidung des Princeps.

Die Einrichtung einer Provinz als territoriale Einheit militärischer und ziviler Administration, geführt von einem Delegierten des Princeps, der mit den entsprechenden *mandata principis*⁶⁷ seiner Beauftragung versehen war, kann nicht im archäologischen Befund erkannt werden. Weder der Grad des Ausbaus eines annektierten Gebietes noch die vollständige militärische Besetzung sind Kennzeichen für die Existenz einer formal eingerichteten Provinz. Die Einrichtung einer Provinz war ein politischer

⁶⁵ Vgl. D. Kienast, *Augustus. Princeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt 1999, 3rd ed.), 84–90.

⁶⁶ Cicero, *Philippica* 11.30; vgl. Kienast 1999, a. a. O. (Anm. 65), 105 f.

⁶⁷ Vgl. V. Marotta, *Mandata Principum* (Turin 1991).

Entschluss des Princeps, gefolgt von dem entsprechenden, von ihm erlassenen administrativen Akt, der nun das Provinzreglement und die Definition der Grenzen beinhaltete. Verlautbart wurde dies durch eine kaiserliche Constitutio, einen Erlass bzw. eine Verfügung des Princeps, wobei man offiziell feierlich verkündete, dass ein Gebiet unter die Botmäßigkeit des römischen Volkes gekommen und in eine Provinz umgewandelt sei.

Die Einsetzung von Statthaltern ritterlichen Ranges begann im Jahre 30 v. Chr. mit der Übertragung der neu errichteten Provinz Aegyptus an C. Cornelius Gallus (*praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*); die Befugnisse des ritterlichen Vizekönigs der ‚Hausprovinz‘ Ägypten orientierten sich an den Kompetenzen der republikanischen Promagistrate mit voller militärischer und ziviler Gewalt (*imperium*).⁶⁸ Im augusteischen System bezeichnete der Titel *procurator* zuerst allein den Repräsentanten des Princeps in Finanzangelegenheiten; für Männer ritterlichen Ranges, die mit der Führung von neu geschaffenen Provinzen als Delegierte des Princeps mit voller ziviler und militärischer Vollmacht beauftragt wurden, fand dagegen einer spätrepublikanischen, besonders in der Triumviralzeit gepflegten Manier folgend, der Titel *praefectus* Verwendung.⁶⁹ Ritterliche *praefecti* wurden von Imperiumsträgern, Magistraten oder Promagistraten für Aufgaben verschiedenster Art als Stellvertreter bzw. Beauftragte ernannt; zwischen einem solchen ritterlichen Präfekten und demjenigen, der ihn mit der konkret definierten Aufgabe betraut hatte, bestand eine direkte Bindung und Abhängigkeit, die weit größer war als zwischen einem Imperiumsträger und einen Legaten senatorischen Ranges. Der Unterschied zwischen senatorischen Legaten und ritterlichen Präfekten als von einem Imperiumsträger eingesetzte und mit Befehlsgewalt ausgestattete Handlungsträger lag im sozialen Rang, nicht jedoch in der Natur ihrer Statthalterschaft, sieht man davon ab, dass Ritter auf Grund der sozialen Hierarchie nicht das Kommando über Verbände führen konnten, die von Offizieren senatorischen Ranges befehligt wurden, und somit Legionsgarnison in ihrem Aufgabenbereich fehlten.

⁶⁸ Ulpian, *Dig.* 1.17.1; vgl. R. Haensch, ‚Die Provinz Aegyptus: Kontinuitäten und Brüche zum ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Beispiel des administrativen Personals‘, in Piso 2008, a. a. O. (Anm. 52), 81–105, bes. 83–85; A. Jördens *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti* (Stuttgart 2009), 24–58; zu Gallus: F. Hoffmann—M. Minas-Nerpel—S. Pfeiffer, *Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus* (Berlin—New York 2009).

⁶⁹ Vgl. Demougin 2008 a. a. O. (Anm. 64), 76f.; C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine* (Paris 1966), 280; 434. Beispiele sind etwa der Freund Ciceros, Q. *Caecilius Atticus*, als *praefectus* Caesars und des Triumvirn Caesar, Sohn des Göttlichen (*SEG* 41 [1991], 1465).

Wir können zu Recht davon ausgehen, dass alle Statthalter ritterlichen Ranges unter Augustus und Tiberius den Titel *praefectus* getragen haben.⁷⁰ Entsprechend war die Amtsbezeichnung des Pontius Pilatus *praefectus Iudaeae* (I. Caesarea Maritima 43).⁷¹ Mit den *praefecti civitatum* haben diese Statthalter nichts zu tun. In dem Falle, dass in der Provinz Abteilungen von Legionen lagen, erhielten sie den allerdings meist nur verkürzt wiedergegebenen Amtstitel *praefectus pro legato* und damit das Kommando auch über diese Einheiten.⁷² Der Titel Procurator war in den Provinzen bis Claudius nur den kaiserlichen Finanzprokuratoren vorbehalten; erst jetzt wurde der Titel zur allgemeinen Bezeichnung von Statthaltern ritterlichen Ranges, wobei etwa der Statthalter der neu eingerichteten Provinz Mauretania Tingitana zu Beginn den Titel *procurator pro legato* trug, da er das Oberkommando nicht nur über Auxilien, sondern auch über eine Legionsvexillation führte (M. Fadus Celer Flavianus Maximus, 44/45 n. Chr.; ILM 56).

Rechtlich gibt es nur die Unterwerfung unter die römische Herrschaft oder die Erlaubnis, als Klientelstaat mit einer von Rom eingesetzten oder zugestandenen Führung weiter zu bestehen (Augustus, *Res Gestae* 27, 1). Die Einrichtung als Provinz bedeutet den Übergang aller Hoheitsrechte auf den *populus Romanus*, die Auferlegung des Tributs, die Einrichtung einer Rechtsprechung durch römische Funktionsträger sowie die Festlegung der territorialen Abgrenzung gegenüber den anderen Verwaltungseinheiten und den nicht unter römischer Botmäßigkeit stehenden Territorien. Es gibt kein rechtliches Zwischending zwischen der Einrichtung als Provinz (*in formam provinciae* oder *in potestatem populi Romani redigere*) und der Existenz als eigenständiger, ein ‚völkerrechtliches‘ Subjekt darstellender Klientelstaat. Durch die *deditio in fidem* bzw. *in potestatem populi Romani*, die formal immer freiwillige Selbstübergabe eines unabhängigen Gemeinwesens an Rom, die vom Senat respektive vom Imperiumsträger, also nun vom Princeps angenommen wurde, verlor dieses seine Existenz. Land, Menschen und materielle Güter wurden römischer Besitz.⁷³ Die Einrichtung einer *provincia* erfolgte nun nicht

⁷⁰ Vgl. Demougin 2008 a. a. O. 74–79.

⁷¹ Vgl. Demougin 2008 a. a. O. 66 ff. Ein anderes Beispiel ist der *praefect[us] Comma-genis Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti)* (anders ergänzt bei S. Demougin, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 96–107) an der Spitze des 17–38 n. Chr. zu einer Provinz umgewandelten Königreichs Kommagene; zur Diskussion vgl. M. Christol—T. Drew-Bear, ‚Un nouveau notable d’Antioche de Pisidie et les préfets de Duumviri de la colonie‘, *Anatolia Antiqua* 10 (2002), 286–288.

⁷² Vgl. *ILS* 1331; J. Šašel, ‚Pro legato‘, *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992), 305–315.

⁷³ Zur *Deditio* bzw. Provinzialisierung durch Unterwerfung vgl. W. Dahlheim, *Struk-*

mehr durch eine *lex provinciae*, sondern durch eine *Constitutio* oder ein Edikt des Princeps im Rahmen seines *imperium proconsulare*. Es ist zu betonen, dass es keine Präsenz, insbesondere keine dauerhafte Präsenz von römischem Militär ohne die Einrichtung einer entsprechenden *provincia*, eines Amtsbereiches für einem Imperiumsträger oder für einen Legaten respektive einen ritterlichen Funktionsträgers mit übertragener Befehlsgewalt, geben konnte, ein Akt, der nun eben vom übergeordneten Imperium des Princeps ausging. Die Organisation eines solchen territorial definierten Aufgabenbereiches eines römischen Funktionsträgers mit *imperium* erfolgte nun aufgrund seiner Beauftragung durch den Princeps; es genügte dessen Edikt, ein kaiserliches Dekret war nicht notwendig, die *mandata principis* regelten die Befugnisse des Statthalters.⁷⁴ Die Etablierung der inneren Ordnung der *provincia* im Sinne der Organisation des Landes in *Civitates* und kaiserliches *Patrimonium* erfolgte durch das Edikt, das der römische Funktionsträger im Namen des Princeps verkündete (*formula provinciae*).

Unmittelbar nach der Eroberung kann in Raetien in den Jahren 15 / 14 bis zum Beginn des Offensivkrieges gegen Germanien und der damit verbundenen Truppenkonzentration am Rhein 13 v. Chr. von einer systematischen Durchdringung des Raumes und der Präsenz größerer Truppenverbände einschließlich von Legionseinheiten ausgegangen werden. In dieser Phase hatte Vindelicien, zu dem damals das große Lager Dangstetten zu rechnen ist, offensichtlich eine eigenständige militärische und administrative Führung durch einen *propraetischen* Legaten konsularen Ranges, wie dies durch C. Vibius Pansa als *legatus pro praetore in Vindoliciis*⁷⁵ belegt ist. Die Einsetzung eines solchen Legaten beinhaltet selbstverständlich die exakte Definition seiner *provincia*, seines territorialen

tur und Entwicklung des römischen Völkerrechts im 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. (München 1968), 1–109; D. Nörr, *Fides im römischen Völkerrecht* (Heidelberg 1991); L. Loreto, *Il bellum iustum e suoi equivoci* (Neapel 2001); L. De Libero, ‚Vernichtung oder Vertrag? Bemerkungen zum Kriegsende in der Antike‘, in B. Wegner (Hrsg.), *Wie Kriege enden. Wege aus dem Krieg von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn 2003), 3–23; auch M. Kaser, ‚Die Typen der römischen Bodenrechte in der späten Republik‘, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 62 (1942), 1–81.

⁷⁴ Vgl. *Dig.* 1.18.3–4; ferner *Dig.* 1.16.4.3.

⁷⁵ *CIL* 5, 4910 = *ILS* 847 = *Inscriptiones Italiae* X 5, 1133 = *AE* 1987, 789; W. Eck, *DNP* 12 2 (2002), 176; W. Eck, ‚Senatorische Amtsträger in Rätien unter Augustus‘, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), 203–209 (Pansa nur „faktisch als Statthalter“ zu sehen); *PIR*² P 92. Allerdings wurde bisher die Möglichkeit einer ursprünglichen militärischen und administrativen Trennung von Raetia und Vindeliciana nicht in Betracht gezogen.

Amtsbereiches und seiner Kompetenzen; damit war eine Provinz *in Vindolicis* existent. Dementsprechend sind Raetia und Vindelicia zuerst als getrennte Amtsbereiche, als zwei eigenständige *provinciae*, organisiert anzunehmen, wobei der Alpenrand östlich der Likatier mit den Fokunaten, Kosuaneten und Runikaten zu Raetia geschlagen war.

Eine gleichzeitige übergreifende Organisation beider Distrikte hinsichtlich Finanzen und Logistik, wie sie auch von der Rheinzone bekannt ist, zeigt die Funktion des Q. Octavius Sagitta; in seiner noch vor dem Tode des Augustus gesetzten Inschrift erscheinen die folgenden prokuratorischen Posten: *procurator Caesaris Augusti in Vindolicis et Raetis et in valle Poenina per annos IIII et in Hispania provincia per annos X et in Suria biennium*;⁷⁶ dies ist zweifellos als eine Folge von Finanzprokaturen mit einer Dienstzeit von insgesamt 16 Jahren zu verstehen. Zuvor hatte Sagitta eine ritterliche Offizierskarriere als *praefectus fabrum*, *praefectus equitum* und *tribunus militum a populo* durchlaufen. Seine Amtszeit in Raetien und Vindelicien kann nur in die Jahre 15/14–11 v. Chr. datiert werden. Die nach Pansa eingesetzten *propraetorischen* Legaten könnten bereits den Gesamtkomplex der *provincia in Vindelicis et Raetis et in valle Poenina* verwaltet haben, der für den aus Oberitalien kommenden Nachschub für die Operationen in Germanien große Bedeutung hatte. Spätestens mit der Einrichtung der Provinz Germania 7 v. Chr. dürfen wir wohl von einer einheitlichen Organisation der südlichen Nachbarregion ausgehen. Während der Existenz der großen Basisstellung in Augsburg und der Anwesenheit von großen Legionsverbänden ist von einem *propraetorischen* Legaten konsularen oder prätorischen Ranges auszugehen.

Es ist nicht verständlich, warum diese Legaten nur eine militärische Funktion, nicht aber die Verwaltung der unterworfenen Bevölkerung ausgeübt hätten.⁷⁷ Dies widerspricht allem, was wir über die Amtstel-

⁷⁶ AE 1902, 189 = ILS 9007 = AE 1977, 241 = *Supplementa Italica* 5 (1989), 111–112 Nr. 7; die Inschrift wurde noch vor dem Tod des Augustus gesetzt. Bis zu dessen Tod war er ferner dreimal *Duovir quinquennalis* (CIL 9, 3311 = ILS 6532; AE 1898, 79 = AE 1984, 282 = *Supplementa Italica* 5, Nr. 8). Es besteht kein Grund, in dem angesprochenen Herrscher Tiberius zu sehen; Vgl. S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains Julio-Claudiens (43 av. J.-C.–70 ap. J.-C.)* (Roma 1992), 242–244 Nr. 281; PIR² O 58; auch U. Laffi, ‚La procuratela quadriennale di Q. Octavius Sagitta‘, *Athenaeum* 55 (1977), 369–379. Aufgrund der besonderen strategischen und militärischen Situation trägt das Argument, der Sprengel sei im Vergleich mit regulären Finanzprokaturen zu klein, nicht.

⁷⁷ So Dietz 1995, a.a.O. (Anm. 61), 51–73, bes. 54, 58–61, 65f., 69–73 mit der Annahme eines abhängigen, dem germanischen Kommando (das doch erst 7 v. Chr. nach

lung eines *propraetorischen* Legaten konsularen Ranges außerhalb eines direkten Feldzugsgeschehens wissen. Tacitus bezeichnet Raetien für das Jahr 14 n. Chr. keineswegs untechnisch als *provincia*; Germanicus kommandierte damals im Rahmen seines *imperium proconsulare* den Verband unruhiger, frisch entlassener Veteranen in die Provinz Raetia ab, wo eine entsprechende Befehls- und Militärstruktur vorauszusetzen ist.⁷⁸ Der entscheidende Einschnitt in der weiteren Entwicklung war die Varus-Katastrophe im September des Jahres 9 n. Chr.; der Kommandeur des oberen Heeres in *Germania* mit zwei Legionen, Nonius Asprenas, konzentrierte alle verfügbaren Truppen an der niedergermanischen Rheinfront. Mit der raschen Ankunft des Tiberius wurden weitere Truppen am Rhein zusammengezogen.⁷⁹ Der Abzug der noch in Raetien stehenden Legionsabteilungen und auch von Auxilien kann zu Recht mit den Jahren 9–10 n. Chr. verbunden werden.

Nach diesem Truppenabzug war ein *propraetorischer* Legat in Raetien nicht mehr erforderlich. An seine Stelle trat ein ritterlicher *praefectus*; ein gutes Parallelbeispiel ist die im Jahre 6 n. Chr. eingerichtete Provinz Iudaea.⁸⁰ Dieser war trotz einer gewissen Übergeordnetheit des konsularen syrischen Statthalters durch sein Kommando über die zum syrischen Provinzheer gehörenden Truppen ein eigenständig handelnder Statthalter und verfügte über die entsprechenden Kommandobefugnisse.

dem Weggang des Tiberius etabliert wurde) untergeordneten Militärbezirk, obwohl er zu Recht von einer kontinuierlichen frühen römischen, auch militärischen Administration für die unterworfenen Völkerschaften ausgeht, hierfür aber *praefecti* als selbständige Militäradministratoren annimmt, die neben den „fallweise“ als Heereskommandeure eingesetzten Legaten amtiert haben sollen; 16/17 n. Chr. sei ein Prokurator mit erweiterten Kompetenzen in dem sich zunehmend verselbständigenden Verwaltungsdistrikt eingesetzt worden und wohl schon unter Tiberius, spätestens unter Caligula habe dann ein *procurator et pro legato* in der nun erst vollwertigen Provinz amtiert. Das möchte er mit den administrativen Maßnahmen des Germanicus in Gallien verbinden, auf welche die *Tabula Siarensis* AE 1984, Frg. I, Z. 15 hinweist, doch beziehen sich diese auf die Vorbereitungen für die Wiederaufnahme der Offensivfeldzüge 13/14 n. Chr.

⁷⁸ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.44.4 mit 1.36.3; 1.39.1. Die Stärke des Verbandes dieser *sub vexillo* in Reserve gehaltenen Veteranen dürfte ca. 2000 Mann betragen. Dietz möchte sowohl diese Stelle wie auch Velleius' Gebrauch des Begriffs *provincia* als „untechnisch“ bewerten.

⁷⁹ Vgl. Cassius Dio 56.18 ff.; 56.22,2a–2b; 56.23; 56.25.2–3; Velleius 2.120.1–121; 2.120.2; R. Wiegels (Hrsg.), *Die Varusschlacht. Wendepunkt der Geschichte?* (Stuttgart 2007), 117–127.

⁸⁰ Vgl. G. Vermes—F. Millar—M. Black—P. Vermes (Hrsg.), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 1 (Edinburgh 1973), 357–373. Für die Provinz Raetien kommt hinzu, dass nach der Abberufung des Germanicus der Legat des obergermanischen Heeres *de iure* nur ein Militärkommando in dem formal nicht administrativ eigenständigen Militärdistrikt führte und keiner Provinz vorstand.

Die Präsidualprokuratur als Institution der ritterliche Statthalter (außerhalb Ägyptens) war in ihrer endgültigen Form dann unter Claudius eingerichtet⁸¹

Als erster ritterlicher Statthalter erscheint Sex. Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus, *praefectus Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae et levis armaturae*.⁸² Er hatte diese Provinzpräfektur nach einer Karriere, die ihn zum Primpilat der Legio XXI Rapax führte, inne; anschließend verfolgte er eine kommunale Karriere in seiner Heimatstadt als Quattuorvir, dann *praefectus Germanici Caesaris quinquennialici iuris ex senatus consulto*, der den gewählten kaiserlichen Prinzen vertrat, und schließlich selbst zweimal als Quattuorvir quinquennialis. Sein zweites städtisches Amt ist jedenfalls vor 19, wahrscheinlich vor die Abreise des Germanicus in den Osten 18 n. Chr. zu datieren. Seine ritterliche Statthalterschaft in Raetien ist somit am wahrscheinlichsten 10–14/15 n. Chr. anzusetzen; sein offenkundig persönlicher Kontakt zu Germanicus dürfte auf die Vorgänge des Jahres 14 n. Chr. zurückgehen. Mit Q. Caecilius Cisiacus Septicius Pica Caecilianus,⁸³ dessen Ehreninschrift auf Grund der verwendeten Archaismen (durchgehend *AI* statt *AE*) zu Recht in claudische Zeit gesetzt wird, können wir sehr wahrscheinlich die Einführung des Procuratorentitels für die raetischen Statthalter fassen. Die Titulatur *procurator Augustorum et pro legato provinciae Raitiai et Vindeliciai et vallis Poeninai* zeigt die Bekleidung des Postens über einen Regierungswechsel hinweg an, wobei ein Amtsantritt noch unter Tiberius kaum anzunehmen ist, so dass er die Statthalterschaft offensichtlich unter Caligula übernommen hat.

Kommen wir nun zu Noricum. Es ist bezeichnend, dass in der bei Cassius Dio 54, 22, 3–5 übernommenen Quelle nur von den Bewohnern zwischen Gallien und Noricum als den Gegnern des Alpenkrieges gesprochen wird, und zwar in dem Sinne, dass diese beiden Gebiete zum Zeitpunkt des Feldzuges bereits römisch beherrschten Territorien waren. Dagegen fällt ins Auge, dass Florus nach der Darstellung des Bürgerkrie-

⁸¹ Vgl. Tacitus, *Annales* 12.60.2–3; S. Demougin, *Lordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens* (Roma 1988) 721–725 (zu einseitig in der Aussage „un chevalier qui gouvernait un territoire sous le contrôle militaire“); W. Eck, *DNP* 10, 2001, 244, 367; er fasst diese Kategorie von Praefecti unter dem Stichwort *praefectus civitatum* zusammen; jedoch ist eine Differenzierung notwendig und die statthalterschaftliche Stellung der Praefecti in Raetien oder Iudaea hervorzuheben.

⁸² *CIL* 9, 3044 = *ILS* 2689 = *EAOR* 3, 74 = *AE* 1986, 221; Demougin 1992, a. a. O. (Anm. 76), 198 f. nr. 227; *PIR*² P 217. Unbegründet ist der Ansatz auf 14–17 n. Chr. bei Dietz 1995, a. a. O. (Anm. 61), 56 f.

⁸³ *CIL* 5, 3936 = *ILS* 1348; vgl. *PIR*² C 31; Demougin a. a. O. (Anm. 81), 355.

ges die Kriege gegen auswärtige Völker, die gegen Rom aufgeehrt hätten, in einer Liste zusammenfaßt, in der Raeter und Vindeliker fehlen, jedoch die Noriker sogar als erste genannt sind: *Ad septentrionem conversa ferme plaga ferocius agebat, Norici, Illyrii, Pannonii, Delmatae, Moesi, Thraces et Daci, Sarmatae atque Germani* (2, [IV 12], 1–3). Das folgende Kapitel ist mit *Bellum Noricum* überschrieben und setzt auch entsprechend ein: „Den Norikern verliehen die Alpen Mut, als ob ein Krieg nicht in zerklüftete Felsen und Schneefelder hinaufsteigen könne; aber alle Völker, die in jener Gegend siedelten, die Breuner, Kenner und Vindeliker, hat der führende Mann durch seinen Stiefsohn Claudius Drusus vollständig unterworfen“.⁸⁴ Wie auch Florus 2, 22, 5 deutlich macht, ist hier unter dem *Bellum Noricum* die gesamte Unterwerfung der Alpenvölker subsumiert; die zugrunde liegende Darstellung des Livius muss dementsprechend mit einer militärischen Auseinandersetzung mit den Norikern begonnen haben.

Dies ist mit gutem Grund auf die Operationen des P. Silius Nerva⁸⁵ im Jahre 16 v. Chr. zu beziehen, mit denen Livius offenbar seine verlorene Darstellung des Alpenkrieges begonnen hatte. Silius Nerva, ordentlicher Konsul 20 v. Chr. und enger Gefolgsmann des Augustus, war 17 / 16–13 v. Chr. Proconsul von Illyricum. Wie Cassius Dio 54, 20, 2 berichtet, haben damals Pannonier im Verein mit Norikern das römische Istrien überfallen. Der Vorstoß ist entweder über den Odra-Pass oder über den Weg Pivka—Ilirska Bistrica erfolgt. Die Pannonier, die man bereits im Rahmen des Illyrienkrieges 35 / 34 v. Chr. unterworfen hatte, boten von sich aus ihre erneute *deditio* an, nachdem ihnen Silius Nerva und seine Unterfeldherren schweren Schaden zugefügt hatten. 14 v. Chr. erhoben sich die Pannonier erneut, wurden aber sofort wieder niedergeworfen (Cassius Dio 54, 24, 3), wobei nicht gesagt ist, dass es sich dabei um die gleichen Stämme gehandelt hat wie zwei Jahre zuvor. Über die Noriker sagt Cassius Dio ausdrücklich, dass Silius Nerva und seine Kommandeure es dahin gebracht haben, dass die Noriker in die gleiche Sklaverei gerieten, d. h. ihre Freiheit verloren und unter direkte römische Herrschaft gebracht wurden.

⁸⁴ Florus 2.22.4; Übersetzung nach: G. Laser (Hrsg.), *Florus. Römische Geschichte* (Darmstadt 2005). Die Version *Ucennos* ist nur eine Konjektur zur problematischen Textüberlieferung *Brennos Cennos*; zweifellos sind letztere die Caenaunes/Genauni.

⁸⁵ Vgl. *PIR*² S 726; W. Eck, *DNP* 11, 2001, 559, der allerdings annimmt, dass das norische Königreich von ihm 16 v. Chr. aufgelöst und unter einem Präfekten an Illyricum angeschlossen worden sei.

Die Aussage ist eindeutig. Der massive römische Gegenstoß wurde 16 v. Chr., wie sich aus Cassius Dio ergibt, von mehreren römischen Heereskolonnen gegen die rebellierenden Pannonier und Noriker durchgeführt. Die befestigten Höhensiedlungen in der Untersteiermark enden 16 v. Chr. oder unmittelbar danach. In Celeia ist eine frühe römische Militärpräsenz zu fassen; auf der Hochterrasse am Miklavž-Hügel wurde eine frühromische befestigte Siedlung als neuer Hauptort der Region angelegt.⁸⁶ In der Höhenbefestigung Gobavica bei Mengeš nördlich von Emona ist eine römische Besatzung nachzuweisen, in Krainburg/Kranj⁸⁷ eine kurzlebige augusteische Siedlung zur Kontrolle des oberen Save-Tals. Die Gründung der römischen Colonia Emona ist mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit bereits im Rahmen der umfangreichen Veteraneneduktion von 14 v. Chr. erfolgt. In der Neuordnung nach dem Jahre 16 bzw. 15 v. Chr. wurde das Gebiet bis Nauportus dem Territorium von Aquileia zugeordnet, während das nunmehr fixierte Territorium von Emona zur Regio X Italiens kam. Damit wurde das Gebiet der Südnoriker aus der Provinz Illyricum herausgenommen und bis zum Pass von Atrans in das italische Bürgerland einbezogen; die Iulischen Alpen waren zu einem Teil Italiens geworden.

An der Erhebung pannonischer Stämme hatten sich wohl nur Noriker südlich der Karawanken in den spätere Territorien von Emona und Celeia wahrscheinlich angesichts der zunehmenden Leistungsanforderungen in Vorbereitung des Alpenkrieges, insbesondere der Rekrutierungen von Auxilien, angeschlossen. Dies dürfte für die römische Seite ein willkommener Anlass gewesen sein, das abhängige Regnum Noricum zur Provinz zu machen. Denn es liegt in der Logik des fehlenden provinzialen Vorfeldes des Bürgergebietes, auch das an Nordostitalien grenzende Gebiet jenseits von Karnischen Alpen und Karawanken zu besetzen. Die einzige Stelle, in der Noriker im Zusammenhang des Alpenfeldzuges erscheinen, findet sich bei Velleius Paterculus 2, 38–39 in der Aufzählung der dem Imperium Romanum hinzugefügten Provinzen, die mit Sizilien beginnt. Tiberius erscheint bei Velleius als Oberkommandierender und alleiniger Sieger über die Raeter und Vindeliker (2, 122, 1), dem entsprechend der Gesamterfolg im Alpenkrieg zugerechnet wird,

⁸⁶ Zu Celeia vgl. B. Vičič, ‚Römische Funde am Fuße des Miklavški rhib be Cilli‘, *Arheološki Vestnik* 48 (1997), 41–52; R. Krempuš—A. Gaspari—M. Novšak, ‚Die neuen spätkeltischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Heiligtümer von Celeia‘, in: H. Dolenz (Hrsg.), *Götterwelten. Tempel—Riten—Religionen in Noricum* (Klagenfurt 2007), 39–44, zur frühromischen Militärpräsenz in Celeia: Alföldy 1974, a. a. O. (Anm. 59), 66.

⁸⁷ Vgl. M. Sagadin, *Ancient Kranj. Zgodnjeantični Kranj* (Kranj 2003).

was auch in der oft zitierten Passage 2, 39, 2–3 zum Ausdruck kommt.⁸⁸ Hier führt Velleius zuerst aus, der Divus Augustus habe außer Spanien und den anderen Völkern, die an seinem Forum genannt seien, insbesondere Ägypten dem Reich einverleibt (2, 39, 2); dann geht er zu den Leistungen des Tiberius über (2, 39, 3): *at Ti. Caesar quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat parens Illyrii Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias. ut has armis, ita auctoritate Cappadociam populo Romano fecit stipendiariam*. Wie Augustus den Spaniern, so habe Tiberius den Illyrern und Dalmatern ein sicheres Gehorsamsgebot abgenötigt. Er habe dem Reich neue Provinzen hinzugefügt, und zwar die erste Gruppe durch Waffengewalt („Die Provinz Raetia hingegen ... und die Provinz Pannonia ... hat er durch Unterwerfung unserem Reich hinzugefügt“), das zuletzt genannte Kappadokien allein durch seine *auctoritas*.⁸⁹

Beide Provinznamen der ersten Gruppe werden durch die Nennung von Völkerschaften ergänzt, die nicht in dem jeweiligen Provinznamen zum Ausdruck kommen, aber ebenfalls von Tiberius der römischen Herrschaft unterworfen wurden. Es sind dies bei Raetia die Vindeliker und Noriker, bei Pannonia die Skordisker. Von der Einrichtung der Provinz Noricum ist hier aber nicht die Rede, auch wenn diese Stelle immer wieder als Beleg dafür genannt wird, dass Tiberius die Provinz Noricum eingerichtet habe. Velleius will eine komplette Liste der großen, von Tiberius militärisch besiegt und der von ihm erworbenen Provinzen

⁸⁸ Ausführlich zu dieser Stelle: R. Rollinger, ‚Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias. Oder: Wann wurde Raetien (einschließlich Noricums und Pannoniens) als römische Provinz eingerichtet? Eine Studie zu Vell. 2, 38 f. (mit einigen einleitenden Bemerkungen zur ‚provinzialrömischen Geschichte‘ im wissenschaftlichen Oeuvre Franz Hampf)‘, in P.W. Haider—R. Rollinger (Hrsg.), *Althistorische Studien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Universal- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Stuttgart 2001), 267–315, wo allerdings S. 274 f. eine unrichtige Übersetzung der Stelle übernommen ist. Zu Recht betont Rollinger hingegen, dass die Versuche, das Zeugnis des Velleius herunterzuspielen, nicht gerechtfertigt sind und *provincia nova* als klarer Terminus technicus verwendet ist. Rollinger sieht für Raetien einen Übergang von der militärischen Verwaltung, zu der er Hirrutus zählt, zu einer zivilen unter Tiberius um 17 n. Chr. (Sagitta als erster Präsidialprokurator; noch unter Caligula ein *procurator et pro legato* im Amt). Ähnlich: A. Schaub, ‚Die förmliche Provinzkonstituierung Raetiens unter Tiberius nach dem Zeugnis des Velleius Paterculus‘, *Germania* 79 (2001), 391–400; C.S. Sommer, ‚Die Anfänge der Provinz Raetien‘, in Piso 2008, a. a. O. (Anm. 52), 207–224.

⁸⁹ Tiberius lockte Archelaos nach Rom. Dort wurde er vor dem Senat angeklagt und starb noch vor seiner Verurteilung als gebrochener Mann im Jahre 17 n. Chr. Sein Königreich wurde als Provinz eingezogen (Tacitus *Annales* 2.42.2–4).

vorführen.⁹⁰ Allein die Ambisontes, die von den Römern seit 15 v. Chr. zu den norischen Civitates gezählt wurden, finden sich in der Liste der mit Waffengewalt unterworfenen Alpenvölker des Tropaeum Alpium. Dies kann als Grund für die Erwähnung der Noriker unter den von Tiberius militärisch unterworfenen Völkern ausgemacht werden. Während also die oben behandelte Stelle des Velleius Paterculus für den Zeitpunkt der Umwandlung des Regnum Noricum in eine römische Provinz keinen Anhaltspunkt gibt, wird die Einrichtung der Provinzen Raetia und Pannonia eindeutig auf Tiberius, genauer auf eine militärische Unterwerfung durch ihn zurückgeführt.

Von der *provincia Norica* spricht Tacitus im Zusammenhang des Jahres 19 n. Chr. (Annales 2, 63, 1.5); es gibt es kein zwingendes Argument, den Begriff *provincia* hier nicht als den für die Zeit zutreffenden Terminus technicus zu sehen. Velleius 2, 109, 5 nennt zwar für das Jahr 6 n. Chr. ausdrücklich das Regnum Noricum, doch ist dies kein Gegenargument. Denn wie die Titulatur der ritterlichen Statthalter als *procuratores regni Norici* noch zwischen 160 und 169 n. Chr. zeigt,⁹¹ ist *Regnum Noricum* die korrekte, jedoch meist abgekürzte Bezeichnung der Provinz, was die von den üblichen Provinznamen abweichende Form *Noricum* erklärt. Wir können mit gutem Grund davon ausgehen, dass sofort mit der Annexion des Jahres 16 v. Chr. ein römischer Funktionsträger *in regno Norico* eingesetzt wurde, dessen Aufgabe zuerst die militärische Sicherung und die Teilnahme am Alpenkrieg des Jahres 15 war, dann ab 15/14 v. Chr. der Aufbau der zivilen Verwaltung. Da nach der ersten Phase der Provinz von der Annexion und der Zeit des Alpenkrieges bis zu den schweren Kämpfen in Pannonien ab 13/12 v. Chr. mit der Anwesenheit zumindest von Legionsvexillationen zu rechnen ist, dürfte es sich zuerst um einen propraetorischen Legaten gehandelt haben; als anschließend keine größeren militärischen Verbände in der Provinz standen—neben Auxilien sicherten relativ kleine Detachements der Legio VIII Augusta Ruhe und Ordnung—, dürfte sie ein *praefectus in regno Norico* als ritterlicher Statthalter übernommen haben, der seinen Amtssitz auf dem zu einer

⁹⁰ Unrichtig Rollinger 2001, a. a. O. (Anm. 88), bes. 283 f.; 295 f., der hier die Nennung von drei Provinzen sehen will (Raetia et Vindelici, Noricum, Pannonia et Scordisci), wobei er eine Ersetzung der Toponyme durch Ethnonyme als Stilmittel des Velleius postuliert. Eine Provinz Pannonia et Scordiscia hat es aber nie gegeben. Auch der Verweis auf Vell. 2.40.1 bringt kein zusätzliches Argument, ebenso wenig die Tatsache, dass in der Titulatur der frühen Amtsträger in Raetien neben den Raeti und Vindelici das Toponym Vallis Poenina anstelle der Aufzählung der dortigen Civitates erscheint.

⁹¹ Vgl. auch Alföldy 1974, a. a. O. (Anm. 59), 79 mit Anm. 10, 246 f.

Macht und Herrschaft demonstrierenden Akropolis ausgebauten Magdalensberggipfel errichtete. Wesentlich für die innere Organisation der neuen Provinz war die Einrichtung der Civitates und ihres Conventus, ebenso die Festlegung des *patrimonium regni Norici*, des kaiserlichen Besitzes der Gold- und Erzgebiete, Salzlager und ausgehnter Waldgebiete.⁹² Dies darf jedoch nicht als Einziehung eines früheren Königsgutes verstanden werden. Für die bewiesene Loyalität gegenüber Rom wurden Mitglieder der einheimischen Elite mit dem Bürgerrecht ausgezeichnet, wobei sich Schwerpunkte im Raum Virunum, Celeia, Frauenberg bei Leibnitz/Flavia Solva, aber auch in Aguntum und Iuvavum abzeichnen.⁹³

Entscheidend für das Verständnis der Organisation dieser Provinz sind die Monumente, welche die Civitates der Norici, Ambilini, Ambidravi, Uperaci, Saevates, Laianci, Ambisontes und Elveti für Livia (Tafel 1), Iulia Maior (Tafel 2) und Iulia Minor (Tafel 3) sowie für Augustus (Tafel 4) sehr wahrscheinlich 10/9 v. Chr. in Virunum errichtet haben.⁹⁴ Die Stämme mit den dominierenden, in Zentralkärnten beheimateten Norici an der Spitze erscheinen in allen Inschriftentafeln in der gleichen Reihenfolge. Es handelt sich hier um die Civitates des von den Römern eingerichteten Conventus Noricorum bzw. des Provinziallandtages (*concilium Noricorum*), die diesen Loyalitätsakt wahrscheinlich 10/9 v. Chr. während der Anwesenheit des Augustus und seiner Familie in Aquileia vollzogen. Versammlungsort des Conventus war Virunum, die nun römische Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg.

Die Alauni oder Alouni im Chiemgau gehörten in mittelaugusteischer Zeit nicht zum Conventus Noricorum, wie die Inschriften zeigen. Es ist mit gutem Grund anzunehmen, dass sie wie das Innviertel und das gesamte Inntal damals zu Raetia/Vindelicia gehörten und die

⁹² Vgl. *CIL* 3, 5048; G. Alföldy, ‚Die regionale Gliederung in der römischen Provinz Noricum‘, in: G. Gottlieb (Hrsg.), *Raumordnung im römischen Reich. Zur regionalen Gliederung in den gallischen Provinzen, in Rätien, Noricum und Pannonien* (München 1989), 37–55; dagegen aber: R. Wedenig, *Epigraphische Quellen zur städtischen Administration in Noricum* (Klagenfurt 1997) 38 f., der die Existenz einer zusammenhängenden kaiserlichen Großdomäne zu Recht verwirft und von einer Reihe von teils sehr großen kaiserlichen *fundi* ausgeht.

⁹³ Vgl. Alföldy 1974, a. a. O. (Anm. 59), 76; 262 f.

⁹⁴ G. Piccottini, ‚Zu den augusteischen Ehreninschriften vom Magdalensberg‘, in: F. Beutler—W. Hameter (Hrsg.), *„Eine ganz normale Inschrift“ ... und Ähnliches. Festschrift Ekkehard Weber* (Wien 2005), 389–402; G. Piccottini, ‚Zu den augusteischen Ehreninschriften vom Magdalensberg‘, *Carinthia* 1 195 (2005), 11–26. Piccottinis Vermutung, die 4. Tafel könnte Tiberius gewidmet sein, ist weniger wahrscheinlich. Überholt Dobesch 1980, a. a. O. (Anm. 23), 271–274, auch zur Ausdehnung eines ‚norischen Reiches‘.

Provinzgrenze am Ostufer des Inn nördlich der Chiemgauer Berge erst durch die Reorganisationsmaßnahmen des Tiberius 9/11 n. Chr. zustande kam. Auch die Bevölkerung in der Steiermark jenseits von Seetaler Alpen und Koralpe, deren Zentralort das latènezeitliche Oppidum auf dem Frauenberg bei Leibnitz war, zählte nicht zum augusteischen Conventus. Das Gebiet, für das wir bisher keinen einheimischen Civitas-Namen kennen und das nie zum vorrömischen Regnum Noricum gehörte,⁹⁵ wurde demnach erst nach dem Alpenkrieg, entweder im Zusammenhang mit dem pannonischen Aufstand von 14 v. Chr. oder den Operationen des Tiberius 12/9 v. Chr. annektiert und der Provinz zugeschlagen. Später wurde der Raum als Territorium des Municipium Flavia Solva organisiert. Die römische Provinz Regnum Noricum erstreckte sich, auch wenn wie in Raetien und Pannonien der Ausbau eines Donaulimes erst später einsetzte, staatsrechtlich und formal bis zur Donau, wie Tacitus (*Annales* 2, 63) für das Jahr 19 n. Chr. bezeugt. Diese Ausdehnung war jedoch allein eine Folge der römischen Neuordnung und Definition der Grenzen der *provincia* des Statthalters, wobei sich dessen Donauabschnitt 15/14 v. Chr.–9/10 n. Chr. vom augusteischen Carnuntum im Osten, das heute in Bratislava/ Preßburg zu lokalisieren sein dürfte, wohl nur bis zur Traunmündung erstreckte.⁹⁶ Vorrömische Civitas-Organisationen waren im Voralpengebiet in der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. offenkundig nicht mehr existent.

Das Gebiet beiderseits der Bernsteinstraße nördlich von Poetovio/Ptuj gehörte bis zur Neuordnung Illyricums durch die Einrichtung der Pro-

⁹⁵ In die mittlere und östliche Steiermark sind keine sogenannten westnorische Prägungen gelangt. Der Geldverkehr beruhte auf Prägungen primär der Taurischer sowie der Boier (im Norden) und des pannonischen Raumes; dies gilt auch für die anderen Höhensiedlungen des Raumes im 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. Vgl. U. Schachinger, ‚Der römerzeitliche Geldverkehr im norisch-pannonischen Grenzgebiet‘, in C. Franek et al. (Hrsg.) *Thiasos. Festschrift Erwin Pochmarski* (Wien 2008), 843–845 (keltische Münzfunde); dies., ‚Die keltischen Münzen aus einem spätlatènezeitlichen Heiligtum am Frauenberg bei Leibnitz/Steiermark‘, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 108/109 (2001), 17–32. Das Verbreitungsgebiet der älteren Prägungen des norischen Raumes erstreckt sich von Oberkärnten bis Celeia mit Funden in Norditalien, die jüngeren Prägungen haben einen zusätzlichen Verbreitungsschwerpunkt im oberen Save-Gebiet. Kleinsiber des Magdalenberg-Typs kam erst mit der römischen Okkupation auf den Frauenberg.

⁹⁶ Vgl. K. Strobel, ‚Das Werden der römischen Provinz *in Regno Norico* unter Augustus‘, in: Anodos. Studies of the Ancient World in Honour of Werner Jobst, Trnava 2010, 365–374. Die zahlreichen Kleinsibermünzen der Typen Magdalensberg, Eis und Karstein sind mit der jetzt nachgewiesenen römischen Händlersiedlung am Burgberg, römischer Militärpräsenz und der Zugehörigkeit zur Provinz Regnum Noricum bis zur Neuordnung durch Tiberius mit der Gründung der Provinz Pannonia zu verbinden.

vinzen Dalmatia und Pannonia durch Tiberius 8 n. Chr. zur Provinz Noricum; entsprechend nennt Velleius 2, 109, 5 Carnuntum als den dem Reich des Marbod nächstgelegenen Ort des (römischen) Regnum Noricum. Später ist im Osten der Raum der Bernsteinstraße mit dem Wiener Becken und der Civitas Boiorum an Pannonien gefallen, im Westen dafür Raetien auf das Gebiet bis zum Inn beschränkt worden. Der Fluss selbst verblieb im Zuständigkeitsbereich des raetischen Statthalters. Die zur Fritzens-Sanzeno-Kultur Tirols gehörenden Saevates im Pustertal, die Laianci in Osttirol mit oberem Drau- und Mölltal, die im Pongau siedelnden Ambisontes und die im Tennengau, Flachgau und Salzkammergut zu lokalisierenden Elveti kamen erst durch die römische Neuordnung 15/14 v. Chr. in den Verband des Conventus Noricorum. Die Saevates, Laianci und Elveti haben sich offenkundig Rom freiwillig unterworfen.

Das vorrömische Regnum Noricum, das sich erst im 1. Jh. v. Chr. ausgebildet hatte und als Vasallenstaat wegen ‚erwiesener Unbotmäßigkeit‘ 16 v. Chr. annektiert worden war, wurde im Norden durch den Alpenhauptkamm begrenzt. Es umfasste das Gebiet der eigentlichen Norici in Zentralkärnten mit dem oberen Murrthal, die sich offensichtlich in mehrere Gaue gliederten. Hinzu kamen die keine ethnische Namen tragenden Verbände der Ambilini (Gailtal) und Ambidravi (unteres Mölltal, Drautal bis zum Villacher Becken mit Malta- und Liesertal); es handelt es sich offenkundig um Ethnogenesen auf räumlich-politischer Basis ohne einen Namenstradition und Stammesidentität tragenden Kernverband. Die Uperaci waren sehr wahrscheinlich die südöstlichen Nachbarn der Norici im Gebiet von Celeia bis zum Radlpass und Possruck. Da dieser Raum, obwohl er sich in den Verlauf des zentralen Verkehrsweges der Bernsteinstraße zwischen der Regio X und der Provinz Pannonien (Legionslager Poetovio) schob, dauerhaft bei der Provinz Noricum verblieb, ist er offenkundig ein Bestandteil des vorrömischen Regnum Noricum gewesen. Die Besetzung des Landes dürfte 16 v. Chr. sehr wahrscheinlich sogar wesentlich von der Untersteiermark aus erfolgt sein. Im Falle von Celeia wurde die Scheidelinie zwischen Pannoniern und norisch-taurischen Gruppen in die römische Grenzziehung übernommen.

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THE NEW FRONTIERS OF
LATE ANTIQUITY IN THE NEAR EAST.
FROM DIOCLETIAN TO JUSTINIAN*

ARIEL S. LEWIN

The present article aims to discuss a more general issue: is it methodologically correct to argue that all late antique near-eastern frontiers stretching from the Euphrates to the Red Sea must be seen as a more or less coherent system having the same demographic, economic and military features in all its sections? In the last years, a fundamental change has occurred in the ways scholars have perceived the character of the late-antique Near East: they have stressed how it was a world where economy and commerce developed, cities were thriving, the number of settlements in the countryside was expanding, and a demographic peak was attained. The refreshing air that penetrated into the scholarly world was, at least to a large degree, the result of new archaeological campaigns carried out according to modern methodologies and using better criteria for dating ceramic material. In fact, excavations and surveys conducted at several sites showed the extraordinary vitality of late-antique settlements.¹

A stimulating introduction to an important volume has thus stated confidently that (and this is worth quoting at length): “The permanent deployment of soldiers in the East acted as a stimulus for settlement in the desert fringes, especially following the reorganisation of the *limitrophe* from the Red Sea to the Euphrates under Diocletian. Centres ... developed in such a climate ..., when *limitanei* manned the impressive chain of posts and mansions on the fortified *Strata Diocletiana*, the military road built to quickly move troops along the frontier and which

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¹ For an overview see A. Walmsley, ‘Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: urban prosperity in Late Antiquity’, in N. Christie—S.T. Loseby (eds.), *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1996), 126–158; B. Ward-Perkins, ‘Specialised production and exchange’, in A. Cameron—B. Ward-Perkins—M. Whitby (eds.), *CAH* 14 (Cambridge 2001²), 346–391.

stretched from Bostra to the Euphrates . . . In this period of demographic growth and cultural and military reorientation, which saw the Church ubiquitous even in the desert margins and the army entrench itself in the Syrian steppe . . ., the unprecedented urbanisation of central Syria hardly seems accidental. Way stations on the *Strata Diocletiana* policed the highway and provided security, and their garrisons attracted merchants and eventually a permanent population, as had their early imperial predecessors elsewhere”.² Such observations present a stimulus for a more subtle and deeper investigation. In the sixth workshop of the present series, *The Impact of the Roman Army*, I already tried to show that the great economic and demographic development in the late fifth and sixth century of two different marginal areas, the Negev and Central Jordan, was not due to the presence of the army there. Other factors were sufficiently influential to cause the expansion of the settled area and to improve the economy. Moreover, it can be observed that the features of these two areas did not remain the same throughout the centuries of Late Antiquity. They both underwent changes in their economy and in developments of trade and agriculture.³

Equally, it is interesting to note that other studies have strongly argued against the idea of one generalised development for all areas of the Near East in Late Antiquity. Some areas were less vital in late antiquity than in previous times, whereas for others changes or fluctuations are less easily detectable.⁴ In evaluating the wide world of the near-eastern frontier, it will appear immediately clear that we are dealing here, too, with a large mosaic, in which each part had peculiar features of its own. But we can go further than this. The character of the various sections of the frontier changed several times during Late Antiquity: these changes were caused by several factors, such as the policy of the

² S. Kingsley—M. Decker, ‘New Rome, new theories on inter-regional exchange. An introduction to the East Mediterranean economy in Late Antiquity’, in S. Kingsley—M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001), 8–9.

³ A.S. Lewin, ‘The Late Roman army in Palaestina and Arabia’, in L. de Blois—E. Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army, (200 BC–AD 476)* (Leiden—Boston 2007), 463–480.

⁴ Ch. Ben David, ‘Late Antique Gaulanitis settlement patterns of Christian and Jews in rural landscape’, in A.S. Lewin—P. Pellegrini (eds.), *Settlements and Demography in the Near East in Late Antiquity* (Pisa—Roma 2006), 35–50; Z.T. Fiema, ‘City and countryside in Byzantine Palestine. Prosperity in question’, in Lewin—Pellegrini 2006, op. cit. supra, 67–88; U. Leibner, ‘Settlement and demography in Late Roman and Byzantine eastern Galilee’, in Lewin—Pellegrini 2006, op. cit. supra, 105–130.

imperial government, activities of the Arab tribes, and the different pace of the development of agriculture and commerce. Moreover, as we will see, the development within such areas was subject to fluctuations, that were sometimes, but not always, connected with the presence of the army.

One main point must be stressed in order to understand the history of the late-antique frontier. The renovation of the whole near-eastern military system, as accomplished by Diocletian after the crisis of the third century, had an extraordinarily deep impact. This emperor built a series of structures and routes with the aim of reasserting the strength of the Roman Empire. His soldiers occupied marginal areas bordering on the desert, and in a couple of sections of the frontier the army was deployed beyond the sites that had been previously occupied by Septimius Severus' soldiers. No scholar can any longer maintain doubts about the existence of a grand scheme that was conceived and, at least to a large degree, accomplished by Diocletian.⁵ Moreover, we must observe that in the following decades his successors added some new forts along the frontier.⁶

My first example is the section of the frontier running from Sura to Palmyra, stretching for a length of something less than 200 km. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists three legions deployed along it, the *XVI Flavia*

⁵ A.S. Lewin, 'Diocletian: politics and *limites* in the Near East', in Ph. Freeman et al. (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Studies* (Oxford 2002), 91–101; A.S. Lewin, 'Did the Roman Empire have a military strategy and were the Jafnids a part of it?', in D. Genequand—Ch. Robin (eds.), *Regards croisés de l'histoire et de l'archéologie sur la dynastie Jafnide*, forthcoming. The idea that a great plan of reconstruction of the near eastern frontier was launched by Diocletian finds new support by the discovery of an inscription at Udruh revealing that the fort for the *legio VI Ferrata* was built around 303. See D. Kennedy—H. Falahat, 'Castrum legionis VI Ferratae: a building inscription for the legionary fortress at Udruh near Petra', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008), 150–169. Moreover a new inscription reveals that the *castra nova* at Teima in Syria were built in 296. See M. Sartre, 'L'armée romaine et la défense de la Syrie du sud', in A.S. Lewin—P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East. From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest* (Oxford 2007), 263–264.

⁶ On Qusair-as Saila (*Tetrapyrgium*), located between Sura and Oriza and built after 320 see M. Konrad, 'Research on the Roman and Early Byzantine frontier in north Syria', *JRA* 12 (1999), 400–404; M. Konrad, *Der spätrömische Limes in Syrien: archäologische Untersuchungen an den Grenzkastellen von Sura, Tetrapyrgium, Cholle und in Resafa* (Mainz 2001). Some forts were built in the area of the Jebel Druze around mid-fourth century. See M. Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Bruxelles 1982), 102–103; M. Sartre, 'Un nouveau dux d'Arabie', in *Mélanges en l'honneur de J.P. Rey-Coquais. Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 60 (2007), 313–318.

Firma at Sura, the *IV Scythica* at Oriza, and the *I Illyricorum* at Palmyra. This last one was stationed into its base by Diocletian and probably it was under the same emperor that the other two were established in the forts mentioned in the *Notitia*.⁷

The two most important sites located between the cities of Sura and Palmyra were Oriza and Resafa. Oriza lies approximately half way between Sura and Palmyra. This site is described in the anonymous *Vita* of the monk Alexander who visited it in the first decades of the fifth century as a village having rich inhabitants who harvested their fields and owned livestock.⁸ Resafa is listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the base of a unit of *equites promoti indigenae*. Scholars are convinced that such units were deployed in their forts in the near eastern ducates in Tetrarchic time.⁹

According to tradition, the famous saint Sergius was martyred at Resafa during the Tetrarchic persecutions. After the christianization of the Empire, the site acquired great fame and was visited by pilgrims coming also from distant places in order to worship Sergius. The settlement expanded, eventually to attain the status of city at the time of Anastasius. Procopius affirms that Justinian built several civic buildings there and a new city wall. Moreover, he says that the same emperor established a

⁷ *Notitia Dignitatum or.* 33.28; 33.23; 32.20.

⁸ V. Alex. Acoem. 34; P.L. Gatier, 'Un moine sur la frontière, Alexandre l'Acémète en Syrie', in A. Rousselle (ed.), *Frontières terrestres, frontières célestes dans l'antiquité* (Perpignan 1995), 453–454; F. Millar, 'Community, religion and language in the Middle-Euphrates zone in Late Antiquity', *SCI* 27 (2008), 70–71, argues that most probably the site described in the *Vita* is Resafa and not Oriza. He arrives at this conclusion noting that the *Vita* mentions the presence of a bishop there, while it is known that at the beginning of the fifth-century Oriza, unlike Resafa, was not a bishopric. Oriza is attested as a suffragan bishopric of Resafa only at the time of Anastasius. See A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman provinces* (Oxford 1937), 459. However, it must be stressed that in the V. Alex. Acoem. 34 it is said that bishops (at plural) were approached by the inhabitants of the *castrum* on their behalf. The text does not state explicitly that the site had a bishop and that the inhabitants were asking for the support of the bishop of the *castrum*. P.L. Gatier 1995, op. cit. supra observes that the *Vita* tells how Alexander and the monks had spent three days in the desert before reaching Palmyra. This fits with the distance between Palmyra and Oriza.

⁹ *Notitia Dignitatum or.* 33.27. For a discussion of the documentary evidence supporting the idea that the units of *equites promoti indigenae* were deployed in Diocletianic time in the near eastern bases mentioned in the *Notitia* see P. Brennan, 'Divide and fall. The separation of legionary cavalry and the fragmentation of the Roman Empire', in T. Hillard (ed.), *Ancient History in a Modern University* 2 (Grand Rapids 1998), 238–244; A. Lewin, 'Limitanei and comitatenses in the Near East from Diocletian to Valens', in Y. Le Bohec—C. Wolff (eds.), *L'armée romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien Ier* (Lyon 2004), 299–304.

garrison of soldiers in the city in order to protect it from enemy assaults. The magnificent city wall with its fifteen towers and four main gates is still visible today. Among the collapsed structures of Rusafa, archaeologists have detected the presence of some large churches. The evidence proves that the site was a thriving one, adorned with colonnaded streets, courtyards and civil buildings. The quality of the decoration of the monuments, in particular of the north gate, reveals the prosperity the city had attained in the sixth century.¹⁰

Palmyra, after having been seriously damaged at the time of its revolts during Aurelian's reign, received a legionary garrison in the reign of Diocletian, which was stationed in the *castra* built in the area of the temple of Bel. The extraordinary wealth of the city had gone by that time, but the site still maintained its city status, although populated by far fewer inhabitants than in the past. Under Diocletian new baths were built and in 328 a *curator civitatis* restored the columns of a portico. Palmyra is still attested as being a polis in the fifth and sixth century.¹¹

Procopius affirms that Justinian found the site almost completely deserted. He strengthened its defences, provided it with abundant water and a garrison of troops.¹² According to Malalas, in 527 Justinian decided to increase Palmyra's military importance, by adding a unit, perhaps a comitatensian one, to the limitanean garrison already present in the city. Moreover, the seat of the *dux Phoenicis Libanensis* was shifted from Emesa to Palmyra. At the same time the emperor invested large sums of money in order to embellish Palmyra with churches and public buildings.¹³ Finally, it is interesting to observe that the presence of some late antique farmsteads in the hinterland of the city has been detected. It

¹⁰ *Notitia Dignitatum* or. 33.27; M. Konrad, 'Flavische und spätantike Bebauung unter der Basilika B von Resafa', *DaM* 6 (1992), 313–402; E. Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain. St. Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley 1999); G. Brands, *Die Bauormanentik von Resafa-Sergiupolis* (Mainz 2002).

¹¹ See M. Baranski, 'The Roman army in Palmyra. A case of adaptation of a pre-existing city', in E. Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East* (Krakow 1994), 9–17. For a collection of the relevant sources see S.P. Kowalski, 'Late Roman Palmyra in literature and epigraphy', *Studia Palmyrenskie* 10 (1997), 39–62. For the military camp built by Diocletian at Palmyra see M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VIII. Les principia de Dioclétien. "Temples des Enseignes"* (Warszawa 1984); S.P. Kowalski, 'The camp of the *legio I Illyricorum* in Palmyra', *Novensia* 10 (1998), 189–209.

¹² Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.11.10–12.

¹³ Malalas 426; G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (Leeds 1998), 151; G. Greatrex, 'Dukes of the Eastern frontier', in J. Drinkwater—B. Salway (eds.), *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected* (London 2007), 92.

appears that they were inhabited during the sixth century, but only future research will show whether or not their occupation predates Justinian's time.¹⁴

Sura was valiantly defended by the soldiers and by the civil population before suffering capture and destruction by Chosroes I and his army in 540. Procopius narrates that Justinian later provided a stout wall for the city, which had previously only been protected by quite a weak fortification. Actually, the city wall displays the presence of two different parts: the western one is made of ashlar from local stone; the eastern part has a rubble stone base and mud bricks. The two sections are divided by another wall, which runs directly to the western curtain wall of the fort. It is known from Procopius that the fortifications erected by Diocletian were made of mud bricks. Consequently, we must suppose that the new *vicus* built by Justinian was the one comprised by the western circuit. Equally, a fort is still visible at the site. It is located on a corner of the older settlement and has its western wall running directly into the eastern one of the new settlement. Its features indicate that it is the fort built by Justinian, most probably on the ruins of the older one that had had the same groundplan.¹⁵

Some minor military installations had been built along this section of the frontier, such as *Tetrapyrgium*, Cholle and Juwal between Sura and Oriza; Sukneh between Oriza and Palmyra. Archaeological research reveals that *vici* arose around the forts and that agriculture was practised.¹⁶ Detailed campaigns of excavations conducted at *Tetrapyrgium* have shown that the fort was built some time after 320, as an addition to the project of renovation of the frontier launched by Diocletian. The archaeological evidence points to a continuous occupation of the fort until around 580. The *vicus* underwent its most intense development phase in the fifth and sixth century and was inhabited until Ummayyad

¹⁴ D. Genequand, 'Projet "implantations umayyades de Syrie et de Jordanie". Rapport de prospection (Juin/Juillet 2002)', *Schweizerische-Liechtensteinische Stiftung für Archäologische Forschungen im Ausland* (2003), 31–68.

¹⁵ See Procopius, *De bellis* 2.5.8–33; *De aedificiis* 2.9.1. In the twenties of the sixth century some soldiers from the Balkans had been transferred to Sura. See Malalas 442. Again, that would not imply that they found the city void of a military presence. For an important interpretation of the ruins of the site see M. Konrad, 'Research on the Roman and Early Byzantine frontier in north Syria', *JRA* 12 (1999), 398–400; Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 5–12.

¹⁶ Konrad 1999, op. cit. (n. 15), 392–410; Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6); G. Majcherek—A. Taha, 'Roman and Byzantine layers at Umm el-Tlel: ceramics and other finds', *Syria* 81 (2004), 229–248.

times. Most probably, the same happened also at the other sites along the route between Palmyra and Sura.¹⁷

Unlike *Tetrapyrgium*, whose fort was built on the corner of the *vicus*, Cholle has a *quadriburgium* built in the middle of its *vicus*. The *vicus* itself was protected by a wall. The layout of the settlement is a hippodamian one, regularly aligned with respect to its circuit wall. Such a fact, combined with the observation that the walls of the *vici* of *Tetrapyrgium* and Cholle reveal quite similar features, suggests the existence of a well-conceived plan behind the renovation of both settlements. According to the archaeological investigations, the city wall at *Tetrapyrgium* was built in the sixth century. However, some considerations may indicate the existence of an older city wall, running on the same lines of the new one.

It has been argued that *Tetrapyrgium* and Cholle were built in the context of a general program, most probably supported by the army. If so, the purpose behind it could have been to facilitate the logistics along the network of a militarized route system. Moreover, the *vici* were used as stopping-places for caravans, traders and nomads.¹⁸ Resafa apart, all the military sites were built in natural spring-fed oases.¹⁹ We may easily infer that the geographical features of this section of the frontier made easier the conditions of life for the soldiers and for a civilian population. The sites were capable of developing agriculture and became magnets for commercial activity.

Two fascinating literary texts describe the character of life along this stretch of frontier. The first of them is the the Anonymous *Passio* of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus. The setting of the events is the route running along the border of the desert between Barbalissus and Sura and from there to *Tetrapyrgium* and Resafa. According to the text, it was at the time of the Tetrarchy that the *dux* of *Euphratensis* tried to convince Sergius to abandon the Christian faith; after Sergius's vigorous denial, the military commander compelled him to walk for several miles along the frontier route, from one fort to the other, with spikes fixed in his feet. Sergius

¹⁷ See the detailed discussion of the material finds by Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 99–100. See also M. Konrad, 'Roman military fortifications along the eastern desert frontier: settlement continuities and change in North Syria, 4th–8th century AD', in K. Bartl—A al-Razzaq Moaz (eds.), *Residences, Castles, Settlements, Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham* (Rahden 2008), 433–453.

¹⁸ Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 98–113.

¹⁹ Key Fowden 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), 71–73.

displayed an extraordinary endurance but was eventually beheaded in the *castrum* of Resafa.²⁰

The second extraordinary text is the *Vita* of the monk Alexander the Akoimeites, written in Greek in the sixth century, but derived from an original Syriac text, most probably written by one of his companions in the second part of the fifth century. According to the *Vita*, at a certain stage of his activity, at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second decade of the fifth century, Alexander and his group of monks walked along a series of fortresses built every ten to twenty miles from each other for defense against the barbarians. The soldiers and their officers lived there, and Alexander used to preach to the inhabitants of the *castra*, soldiers, officers and, most probably, civilians as well. The world described by the *Vita* was a dangerous one: bandits used to attack travellers and to steal livestock; years of drought were always a powerful threat to the life of the inhabitants.²¹

Again, as in the case of the aforementioned *Passio*, we can note the existence of a series of military fortresses located along a route bordering the desert. The presence of the soldiers was dictated by the need to protect the area from Arab attacks. However, we must note that in the *Vita* of Alexander a caravan of Saracens leading their camels is described as providing help to the monks. The *Passio* reveals that Resafa was a place where different worlds and cultures had the chance to meet each other. In fact, the Saracens used to visit the *martyrium* of the saint and together with the inhabitants of the *castrum* and other pilgrims worshipped him there.

Both literary works were written in the second half of the fifth century. As we have seen, Sergius' martyrdom described in the *Passio* pertains to the Tetrarchic age; in his turn Alexander visited the same section of frontier in the early fifth century. The setting of both the stories is a frontier route in the steppe bordering the desert where a series of fortresses had been built at a more or less regular distance one from the other. It is interesting to observe that according to the witness of the author of the *Vita* such a route with forts and other military structures located along it was called *limes*.²²

²⁰ Key Fowden 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), 7–26.

²¹ V. Alex. Acoem. 33–34; Gatier 1995, op. cit. (n. 8); D. Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks. Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 2002), 249–280.

²² See C. Zuckerman, 'Sur le dispositif frontalier en Arménie', *Historia* 47 (1998), 112–118. The *Passio* cannot prove that all the structures of the system were already established

Procopius affirms that Justinian established a garrison in Palmyra. However, as we have seen, Malalas provides a more detailed description of the same event. He reveals that when Justinian transferred a new unit, presumably a comitatensian one, to Palmyra, there were already some *limitanei* who were garrisoning the city.²³ Consequently, it must be noted that Procopius's description is in some way deceptive. Equally, Procopius praises Justinian for having established a garrison of soldiers in Resafa, in order to defend its city wall against Saracen assaults.²⁴ It is doubtful if this information is more reliable than that about Palmyra. Most probably, it was beyond his interest to specify that some soldiers were already present in the sites. Alternatively, scholars have argued that Procopius did not visit Palmyra or Resafa.²⁵ If this were true, he would not have had any first-hand knowledge about that section of the frontier, and we can consequently suspect that he failed to know how some soldiers were already stationed in the city before Justinian transferred other troops there.

In 542, when Chosroes attacked Resafa, there were two hundred soldiers to defend the city.²⁶ That was a small garrison, perhaps a weakened limitanean unit. It is possible that in previous times, immediately after Justinian had transferred some soldiers, perhaps at the same time as he increased the garrison of Palmyra, the garrison had been larger. The more relaxed atmosphere of the years after the conclusion of the treaty of Eternal peace, combined with the financial problems of the imperial administration, could have brought about a reduction of the army at the frontiers. It is true that the archaeological research conducted by Michaela Konrad has shown that *Tetrapyrgium* was continuously occupied until around 580.²⁷ Nonetheless it remains possible, and indeed probable, that in peace time the units were kept under-strength. However, Konrad also argues that analysis of the pottery and coins indicates that an Arab garrison was installed at Tetrapyrgium at the time of the alliance of Arab tribes

at the time of Diocletian. In fact the fort of *Tetrapyrgium*, although mentioned in the narration provided by the author as one of the military installations crossed by Sergius and his persecutors, was built only later, some time after AD 320. See Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 98–99.

²³ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.11.10.

²⁴ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.9.8.

²⁵ Th. Ulbert, 'Procopius de aedificiis. Einige Überlegungen zu Buch II, Syrien', *AnTard* 8 (2000), 142–145, is sceptical about the idea that Procopius had a first hand knowledge of Resafa.

²⁶ Procopius, *De bellis* 2.20.13.

²⁷ See Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 100; 112–113.

with Byzantium, under the leadership of the Ghassanids.²⁸ If so, such a presence would give us a glimpse of the new situation which was emerging on the edge of the empire, with federates occupying some frontier forts.

As far as the embellishment of Resafa is concerned, we must note that Procopius narrates that Justinian surrounded the site with a city wall and stored up a great quantity of water there and thus provided the inhabitants with a bountiful supply. Moreover, he added houses, stoas and other buildings to the place.

Yet two inscriptions discovered in the last decades cast serious doubt on the reliability of Procopius' description. The first of them recalls that work on the building of the so-called basilica B begun in 518; the other one that, approximately in the same years, a cistern was constructed. It is significant to observe that they indicate that both the projects were financed by the episcopal see of the city.²⁹ On the other hand, it must be noted that Procopius does not actually say that Justinian built the churches. Moreover, the first inscription recalls the time of the beginning of the works, but we cannot establish when they were finished. If so, we might assume the existence of two phases of works at Resafa: in the first the churches were built; the regular plan of the city, the circuit and the general layout were established later.³⁰

We have already noted that, unlike the other military sites along this section of the near eastern frontier, Resafa was not an oasis. It was not supplied by wells. It was, however, located on the intersection of some wadis. Water from some wadis had to be collected and rainwater was stored in cavelike hollows in the ground and in cisterns. Elizabeth Key Fowden has observed that "Aerial photograph of Rusafa show traces of gardens with enclosures ... and built basins and barrages ... With the help of collected rainwater, the area under the walled settlement of Rusafa could conceivably have supported orchards, olive and fig trees and even grain, but no evidence survives to bear witness to such industry".³¹ To

²⁸ Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 100; 112–113.

²⁹ See Ulbert 2000, op. cit. (n. 25), 143–145. See also Key Fowden 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), 77–92.

³⁰ See the observations advanced by R. Harrison, *CR* 34 (1984), 105–106 reviewing the important study by W. Karnapp, *Die Stadmauer von Resafa in Syrien* (Berlin 1976). Nonetheless, it must be observed that Harrison argued that the construction of the cistern belonged to the first building phase. For the chronology of the building of the city wall see also the discussion by Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 14–15, n. 99.

³¹ Key Fowden 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), 72.

conclude, it seems clear that the settlement expanded only as a result of the establishment and growth of Sergius' worship. At the beginning, it had been a fort surrounded by a *vicus*, as other sites along the route. Eventually it attained the status of city under Anastasius and took the name of Sergiopolis. It was under that emperor that new important building works were planned. However, it was only later, under Justinian, that the city finally had the chance of displaying a completely new urban look, protected by magnificent city walls.³²

The second section of the frontier that I intend to discuss is the one leading from Palmyra to Thelsee and Damascus in the steppe south of the Jebel Rawaq. It passed through the slopes of the Jebel at an altitude of approximately 500 meters, at the edge of the *hamad*. Diocletian built a series of forts there along a route that the French scholars have designated "la route des khans". Some milestones found along this route reveal that it was called *Strata Diocletiana*. The same name was given to at least a part of the frontier line connecting Palmyra with Sura, where a similar milestone had been found at Arak, 8 miles north of Palmyra. Moreover, it must be observed that the *Strata Diocletiana*, far from being a simple linear route, was composed of a series of different trunks. A good example of such a situation is provided by the trunk that diverted from the main one from Palmyra to Damascus, stretching 21 km. to the south of Palmyra to the fort at al Bakhra, identified with the ancient *Avatha*.³³

It is possible that at the time of Septimius Severus only a couple of forts existed along "la route des khans", at places where there were access points through the chain of the Jebel Rawaq. If so, we could assume that at the time of that emperor no coherent system with a military route and a series of forts had yet been built south of the Jebel Rawaq and that the best

³² Key Fowden 1999, op. cit. (n. 10), 70–72. See now T. Ulbert, '50 Jahre Forschungen in Resafa/Sergiupolis. Struktur und Kontinuität', in K. Bartl—A. al-Razzaq Moaz (eds.), *Residences, Castles, Settlements* (Rahden 2008), 19–30; D. Sacks, 'Resafa-Sergiupolis/Rusafat Hisham-neue Forschungsansätze', in Bartl—al-Razzaq Moaz 2008, op. cit. supra, 31–44.

³³ Th. Bauzou, 'Épigraphie et toponymie: le cas de la Palmyrène du Sud-Ovest', *Syria* 70 (1993), 27–50; D. Genequand, 'Al-Bakhra' (Avatha), from the Tetrarchic Fort to the Umayyad Castle', *Levant* 36 (2004), 225–242. A unit of *equites promoti indigenae* was stationed in the fort of Avatha in Diocletianic time. See Th. Bauzou, 'Activité de la mission archéologique "Strata Diocletiana" en 1990 à 1992', *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* (1992), 136–140.

connection between Palmyra and Damascus was still the route running north of the mountain chain.³⁴

It is fundamental to note that archaeology has shown that, contrary to what we have observed about the route between Sura and Palmyra, no *vici* arose near the forts along the route of the khans. Moreover, it is difficult to prove that interval towers were built between one fort and another. It is true that some minor sites have been noted between different forts, but it is impossible to prove that they were military installations; moreover, the date of these structures is not known. The same holds true for agriculture: in his famous book, Antoine Poidebard wrote that along the greatest part of the route he had noted the existence of water points and farmed lands.³⁵ However, as with the case of the minor military installations, it is doubtful if the claim is supported by the evidence. In particular, it must be noted that Poidebard considered every ruin to belong to the Roman or late-Roman period, and did not envisage the possibility that they had been built earlier or later. It can be called to mind that some important studies have now shown that at sites elsewhere, where Poidebard noted huge agricultural systems, these should be dated to a much later date.³⁶ Most importantly of all, recent investigations have detected that there were not many structures related to agriculture along “la route des khans”; consequently, it can be argued that only a limited amount of agriculture was practiced, and not around all the khans.³⁷ Most of the area receives under 150 mm. of annual rainfall and requires huge irrigation devices if one wishes to undertake a large scale agriculture. The soldiers got their water only from wells; barrages for keeping water were used in order to water the cattle.³⁸ We must deduce that the soldiers who lived in the installations along that route endured a difficult life.

The *Notitia Dignitatum* shows that the forts along the *Strata Diocletiana* were still occupied by Roman soldiers around the year 400 AD. However, in a famous passage, Procopius describes how a short time before the outbreak of the war between Rome and Persia in 540, the chiefs

³⁴ See D. van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Paris 1952), 12–13.

³⁵ A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie* (Paris 1934), 36–40; 42–50.

³⁶ See e.g. Genequand 2003, op. cit. (n. 14), 31–68.

³⁷ This information was provided by D. Genequand.

³⁸ Th. Bauzou, ‘Les routes romaines de Syrie’, in J.M. Dentzer—W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archeologie et histoire de la Syrie II* (Saarbrücken 1989), 219; Th. Bauzou, ‘La “Strata Diocletiana”’, in L. Nordiguiian—J.F. Salles (eds.), *Aux origines de l'archéologie aérienne. A. Poidebard (1878–1955)* (Beyrouth 2000), 87–88.

of the Arab allies of the two superpowers quarreled over some rights to a desolate land:

This country, which at that time was claimed by both tribes of Saracens is called *Strata*, and extends to the south of Palmyra; nowhere does it produce a single tree or any of the useful growth of corn-lands, for it is burned exceedingly dry by the sun, but from of old it has been devoted to the pasturage of some few flocks. Now Arethas—the ally of the Romans—maintained that the place belonged to the Romans, proving his assertion by the name which has long been applied to it by all (for *Strata* signifies a paved road in the Latin tongue) and he also adduced the testimonies of men of the oldest times. Alamoundaras, the ally of the Persians, however was by no means inclined to quarrel concerning the name, but he claimed that tribute had been given him from old for the pasturage there by the owners of the flocks.³⁹

Later, a minister of Justinian advised the emperor not to offer the Persians a pretext for war for the sake of a small bit of land which was of absolutely no account, but altogether unproductive and unsuitable for crops.⁴⁰ The *Strata* south of Palmyra must be identified with “la voie des khans”. We must remain confident that the Roman troops had long since withdrawn from it. As Ben Isaac has observed: “The very fact that such a dispute could take place is an indication that there was no army presence there”.⁴¹

³⁹ Procopius, *De bellis* 2.1.1–8 (tr. H.B. Dewing). It must be stressed that until now the area has not been the subject of intensive survey. For the water systems of Manqura and Qattar see Y. Calvet—B. Geyer, *Barrages antiques de Syrie* (Lyon 1992), where only for the first site evidence for cultivation is presented. It must be observed that elsewhere hydraulic devices and huge agricultural systems previously supposed to belong to Roman time have been dated to late 6th–8th centuries. See D. Genequand, ‘Some thoughts on Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, its dam, its monastery and the Ghassanids’, *Levant* 38 (2006), 63–83 where it is shown that the Harbaqa dam was most probably constructed by the Umayyads.

⁴⁰ Procopius, *De bellis* 2.1.9–11. See G. Greatrex—S.N.C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part II AD 363–630* (London—New York 2002), 102–103.

⁴¹ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford 1990), 211. He argues that the same was true of the section of the frontier between Sura and Palmyra. Nonetheless the documentation we have examined above proves a continuity of the military presence in the sites along that section of the frontier. Actually, Procopius is accurate enough in telling that the setting of the quarrel between Arethas and Al Mundhir was the area south of Palmyra. W. Liebeschuetz, ‘The defences of Syria in the sixth century’, in D. Haupt—H.G. Horn (eds.), *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II* (Köln 1977), 489–490 connected such a disappearance of the Roman military presence along the *strata diocletiana* with a general weakening in the fifth century of the limitanean armies in the near eastern ducates.

Let us now examine the section of the frontier running along the right side of the river Euphrates, from the city of Sura to the confluence of the Khabur. The most important site along that route was Zenobia, located approximately halfway along. According to Procopius, it was founded as a small city by the Palmyrenians, but later, after the collapse of their power, the Romans did not show any serious interest in taking care of it.⁴² Even now, Zenobia's urban plan and its solid circuit impress visitors. The city was built in a strategic position, dominating from a cliff, where the chain of the Jebel Bishri comes closer to the Euphrates and the valley has a width of only approximately 10 km. It has a triangular shape, adapted to the features of the terrain.

It must be observed that Zenobia is not mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Such an absence can be taken as a proof of the fact that no garrison was present there around AD 400. Consequently, we must assume that it is extremely probable that Diocletian, and the other emperors after him, were not interested in deploying a military force in the site. That fits with Procopius' comments on Zenobias' decay, and his silence about any interest shown by Diocletian. According to the same writer, in Justinian's time the city walls of Zenobia had become a heap of ruins, and the place was destitute of inhabitants: "so it was possible for the Persians freely, whenever they wished, to get into the middle of Roman territory before the Romans had word of the hostile inroad". But, still according to Procopius Justinian rebuilt it completely and filled it with inhabitants; moreover he introduced a garrison with its commander. In order to give greater strength to the circuit wall in the western part of the city he incorporated a high cliff into it. The emperor had a large and ambitious plan for Zenobia in order to enhance its civilian features: in fact, relying on the ability of two famous architects, he erected churches, baths and stoas.⁴³

It has been noted that the long description provided by Procopius about the character of the Justinianic works seems to suggest that there were two different phases of renovation works, both undertaken by that emperor. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to establish the timing of the beginning of the renovations works. Moreover, it must be stressed that scholars suppose that no new fortifications on the frontier had been

⁴² Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.8.9. See also Procopius, *De bellis* 2.5.4. Scholars used to tentatively identify the site with the *Birtha-Asporakos* mentioned in some Roman documents of the first half of the third century. For the story of the frontier in the second and third century AD see P. Edwell, *Between Rome and Persia. The Middle Euphrates, Mesopotamia and Palmyra under Roman Control* (London-New York 2008), 78; 81–85.

⁴³ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.8.8–25.

built in the time between the eternal peace of 532/3 and the invasion led by Kosroes in 540.⁴⁴ Accordingly, Geoffrey Greatrex suggests that at the time of the Persian invasion in 531 “what Roman forts there were along the Euphrates here, such as Circesium and Zenobia, were in bad condition and poorly guarded” and that their strengthening occurred only some years after Chosroes’ invasion.⁴⁵

Procopius writes that the Persians who invaded the Roman provinces in 531 passed through a territory in *Euphratesia* where there were no well-protected cities. He says that the Persians had never before that time launched an attack by marching along the bank of the Euphrates: “They disregarded the land outside the river Euphrates, which was for the most part unwatered and deserted by men” (*Bell.* I, 17, 25). The idea of leading an army through the route flanking the river was suggested by the chief of the Arab allies of the Persians, Al Mundhir. He said to the Persian king that: “in the land which lies outside the river Euphrates and in Syria which adjoins it there is neither a fortified city nor an army of any importance” (*Bell.* I, 17, 34). A few pages later Procopius narrates how the invasion materialized: “the Persians crossed the river Euphrates in Assyria, and, after passing over some inhabited country, they suddenly and unexpectedly threw their forces into Commagene” (*Bell.* I, 18, 2). Pseudo-Zacharias describes the character of the invasion-route employed by the Persians in a quite similar way: “The Persians passed through the desert land of the Romans” (*Zach.* IX, 4). Information provided by Malalas clarifies that the Persian army crossed the river near Circesium. If so, it must be clear that Procopius, in describing a land for the most part unwatered and deserted by men, intended the section of the frontier between Circesium and Sura on the right flank of the river.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See L.M. Whitby, ‘Procopius and the development of defences in Upper Mesopotamia’, in Ph. Freeman—D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East* (Oxford 1986), 717–735 with a discussion of the character and the chronology of the fortification works undertaken by Justinian; Greatrex 1998, op. cit. (n. 13), 196; Greatrex—Lieu 2002, op. cit. (n. 40), 99.

⁴⁵ Greatrex 1998, op. cit. (n. 13), 196. Contra Ulbert 2000, op. cit. (n. 25), 141, prefers to draw from Procopius, *De bellis* 2.5.2–3 that in 540 Circesium had already been strengthened by Justinian.

⁴⁶ Malalas 461 with the observations offered by Greatrex 1998, op. cit. (n. 13), 196–197, n. 35. On the character of the work written by the so-called Pseudo-Zacharias and on the source used by this author see now G. Greatrex, ‘Le Pseudo-Zacharie de Mytilène et l’historiographie syriaque au sixième siècle’, in M. Debié (ed.), *L’Historiographie syriaque* (Paris 2009), 33–55. For a new translation of the text see R. Phenix—C. Horn—G. Greatrex, *The Miscellaneous History of Pseudo Zacharias of Mytilene* (Liverpool 2010).

Finally, Procopius says that the Persians on their return home after having devastated the provinces of *Syria* and *Euphratesia* stopped opposite the city of Callinicum: “From there they were about to march through a country absolutely uninhabited by man, and thus to quit the land of the Romans; for they purposed no longer to proceed as before, keeping to the bank of the river” (*Bell.* I, 18, 13–14).

It must be noted that when he describes the invasion of the year 540 led by Chosroes I, Procopius reveals the existence of a different scenario. Chosroes attacked the Roman Empire, coming again through the land near the Euphrates, in *Euphratesia*. He passed near Zenobia, which is now described by the writer as a city. However, in the following narration of the events Procopius stresses the fact that Zenobia was not an important center at that time. “Chosroes upon learning that the place was not important and observing that the land was untenanted and destitute of all good things feared lest any time spent by him would be wasted by an affair of no consequence. He attempted to force the place to surrender, but meeting no success he hastened his march forward” (*Bell.* II, 5, 7).

Accordingly, Procopius’ passages seem to imply that in 531 Zenobia was still a deserted site; however, when the Persian army skirted it in 540 it was an inhabited city, presumably protected by some defences. If so, it could be argued that the first rebuilding works were undertaken during the thirties and that the most important phase of the renovation of the city occurred later, at the end of the forties or at the beginning of the fifties, when Justinian decided to strengthen the city walls. In fact, one of the engineers mentioned by Procopius as involved in the rebuilding of Zenobia, Isidorus the younger, from Miletos, is attested as responsible for some important works at the city walls of Chalcis in 550/551.⁴⁷

As we have seen, there is a serious problem with a chronology implying that a first phase of building works occurred in the thirties of the sixth century: in fact, it is possible that, as happened in previous cases,

⁴⁷ See the important discussion by F. de’ Maffei, ‘Zenobia e Annoukas: fortificazioni di Giustiniano sul medio Eufrate. Fasi degli interventi e data’, *Milione* 2 (1990), 135–177, in disagreement with the evaluation of the phases of the works offered by J. Lauffray, *Halebiyya-Zenobia. Place forte de limes Orientale et la Haute Mésopotamie au VIe siècle*, I (Paris 1983), who argues that it was Anastasius who began to rebuild Zenobia. Actually such an idea does not appear convincing: Procopius usually admits which works were initiated by that emperor; moreover the sources record that Anastasius was active in reinforcing the defences in Osrhoene, Mesopotamia and Armenia, but are silent about his involvement in projects in *Euphratesia*. An exception was represented by his interest in embellishing Resafa, dictated by the fact that the site was a very important Christian shrine.

the treaty of the so-called aeternal peace stipulated in 532/533 obliged Romans and Persians not to build new fortifications along the frontiers.⁴⁸ I have discussed the topic elsewhere, trying to verify if it is possible to argue that some exceptions were made to such a scheme.⁴⁹ I am not sure to have arrived at sufficient conclusions there; yet at least two important points have to be advanced now.

Firstly, I feel less confident than in my previous study that Procopius' passages in the first book of the *Bella* suggest beyond reasonable doubt that at the time of the Persian attack the area on the right bank of the Euphrates between Circesium and Sura was deserted. As far as Zenobia is concerned, Procopius affirms that Justinian made it a solid stronghold (*phylakterion*) and an offensive fortress (*epiteichisma*) against the Persians.⁵⁰ At first sight that would imply that from the beginning, Zenobia's building was conceived as a strategic reaction to the use by enemy forces of the route on the right flank of the Euphrates as a penetration axis. If so, Justinian became interested in strengthening Zenobia only after 531 or, alternatively, after the invasion of AD 540. Procopius' statement is, however, to a certain degree, misleading. The *de aedificiis* was a panegyric work, aimed at magnifying Justinian's achievements, and we cannot expect from it a complete list of all the works launched by Justinian or a clear description and chronology of different stages of execution of these works.⁵¹

If this is true, it remains possible that Justinian rebuilt Zenobia before the outbreak of the first Persian war, in the same years in which he accomplished the building of the new circuit at Resafa and strengthened the military presence in Palmyra. Procopius stresses that the Saracen threat pushed the emperor to reinforce the defences and the military presence there. We may surmise that the same kind of considerations led Justinian to plan the foundation of a well-fortified new city in the Middle Euphrates area, in order to stress the weight of the Roman presence in that area. At a later stage the route on the right flank of the river became a focus

⁴⁸ See above Whitby 1986, op.cit. (n. 44), and Greatrex 1998, op. cit. (n. 13).

⁴⁹ See the discussion in A.S. Lewin, *Popoli terre e frontiere dell'impero romano. Il vicino oriente nella tarda antichità I: il problema militare* (Catania 2008), 123–140.

⁵⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.8.11.

⁵¹ See Whitby 1986, op. cit. (n. 44), 721–723; D. Roques, 'Les constructions de Justinien de Procope de Césarée: documents ou monuments?', *CRAI* (1988), 989–1001. On the ideology at work behind the *de aedificiis* see A. Cameron, *Procopius* (London 1985), 84–112. For the important observations made by B. Isaac on the character of Procopius' works see below.

of confrontation between the two superpowers and consequently the Roman authorities decided that there was a need to further strengthen the defences of Zenobia.

The second point I intend to underline is that actually Zenobia was not built as a city located in the middle of a completely deserted area. In fact, Procopius says that Diocletian had built three *phouria* in mud bricks in the desert area between Sura and the Khabour. He clarifies that one of them, Mambri, fallen into decay over time, was rebuilt by Justinian.⁵² Scholars have noted the existence of at least six sites of some importance along the right flank of the Euphrates between Sura and the confluence of the Khabur, all of them probably inhabited in late antiquity. Four of them, Siffin, Nouhaila, Djazla, Tell Ma'adan are situated along the first section of the route, between Sura and Zenobia; two, Tibni, which was usually identified with Mambri mentioned by Procopius, and Tabus, lay between Zenobia and the Khabur. The research conducted on the site has revealed that Djazla was a Seleucid colony, founded in the second or in the first century BC. Its walls underwent important works of restoration in late antiquity, perhaps in Diocletian's time. It is also probable that the other three sites placed along the first stretch of the route have the same chronological sequence as Djazla, but in the absence of any excavations no firm conclusions can be drawn.⁵³

Recent studies have now suggested that Tibni cannot be identified with Mambri. Unfortunately, the ancient settlement lies under a Muslim cemetery and consequently it will not be investigated. On the other hand, archaeological research has been conducted at Tabus, located 28 km. from Zenobia in the direction of the confluence with the Khabur. The site has a dimension of 300 m. × 80 m. × 100 m. It displays late antique occupation, most probably stretching from Diocletian to the sixth century.⁵⁴ The dimensions and the features of its circuit appear to establish that Tabus was a civilian settlement.⁵⁵

⁵² Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.8.5–7.

⁵³ J. Napoli, 'Les remparts de la forteresse de Djazla sur le moyen-Euphrate', *Syria* 77 (2000), 117–136. The five miles distance given by Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.8.7–8 between Mambri and Zenobia fits with Tibni's location.

⁵⁴ J.L. Montero Fenollos—F. Caramelo—I. Marquez—J. Vidal, 'O projecto arqueológico "Medio Eufrates Sirio": resultados provisionarios de primera campana', *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 9 (2006), 116 (Tibni); M. Lönnqvist, 'Archaeological survey of Jebel Bishri', *Kaskal* 3 (2006), 203–240; M. Lönnqvist et al., 'Archaeological surveys of Jebel Bishri. The preliminary report of the Finnish mission to Syria 2005–2006', *Kaskal* 6 (2009), 1–42.

⁵⁵ On the features of the city wall, which displays a similarity with the ones of Re-

As we have seen, in the *bella* Procopius seems to describe the area between Sura and the confluence with the Khabur as quite marginal, deserted of men and without any settlements. On the other hand, a passage in the *de aedificiis* mentions the existence of three forts there. As far as is known, then, Tabus was the last Roman settlement downstream the river. Moreover, a detailed investigation has revealed no significant late-antique presence along the right bank of the Euphrates from Deir ez-Zor to Abu Kamal.⁵⁶ That was the area that Procopius and the ps. Zacharias describe as bare and unproductive. They were thus right in affirming that the Persian attack in the year 531 was led through a Roman land that was deserted. The first settlement the Persians could have met, Tabus, was almost 100 km. from the confluence of the Euphrates with the Khabur.

According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the boundary of the Roman state was established at Sura: the awkward Latin of the text transmitted to us affirms that the site was *Finis exercitus syriaticae et comertium Barbaros*. The city functioned as an official toll station, where the goods crossing the boundary were taxed. Nonetheless, the area downstream of Sura along the right bank of the river until the confluence with the Khabur was considered to be within the Roman sphere.

Along the left bank of the river a series of fortified settlements arose in Late Antiquity. A study of the pottery at the site reveals that Tall ar-Rum, a fortified site with an enclosure of 160 × 150 m., must have been founded by the first half of the fifth century AD at the latest, and that it was continuously occupied until Umayyad times. It is important to note that the types of ceramic used in the fourth century are still not very well known. Consequently, it still remains probable that the settlement was founded before the fifth century,⁵⁷ possibly at the time of the

safa and Zenobia see M. Gschwind—H. Hasan, 'Die spätrömische-frühislamische Zivilsiedlung Tall ar-Rum und die spätantike Besiedlung des Euphrates zwischen Zenobia und Circesium', *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 15 (2006), 368–370. It must be remarked that extreme caution is needed before assuming that all the sites we can detect along the right flank of the Euphrates were occupied during the same span of time. In fact, recent studies have proved that al Qreiye was a Roman fort of the Middle imperial period, built by Septimius Severus, evacuated in the mid-third of the 3rd century, never to be occupied again. See M. Gschwind—H. Hasan, 'Das römische Kastell Qreiye-Ayyash, Provinz Deir ez-Zor, Syrien. Ergebnisse des syrisch-deutschen Kooperationsprojektes', *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 1 (2008), 316–334.

⁵⁶ See B. Geyer—J.Y. Monchambert, *La basse vallée de l'Euphrate syrien du Néolithique à l'avènement de l'Islam* (Paris 2003), 280.

⁵⁷ See Gschwind—Hasan 2008, op. cit. (n. 55), 321–373.

Tetrarchy or some time later. As we will see, some historical considerations support such an idea.

The features of the circuit and of the road system at Tall ar-Rum resemble the ones we have already noted for the *vici* of *Tetrapyrgium* and *Cholle* along the route between Sura and Oriza. Hence, we must suspect that in this case, too, the building of the site was part of a wider plan, supported by the imperial government. However, unlike at *Tetrapyrgium* and *Cholle*, in the case of the fortified settlement of Tall ar-Rum we can exclude that the site included a military fort.

Tall as-Sinn and al-Kasra, with their 20 ha., are much larger sites than Tall ar-Rum. They display strong polygonal fortifications built with clay bricks. No detailed investigations have been conducted there; nonetheless it is logical to suppose that they both, together with Tall ar-Rum and Annoukas, were part of the same late-antique system which had the aim of supporting the logistics of the army and of providing facilities to the traders.⁵⁸

As far as the last site is concerned, we must observe that it was built just opposite Zenobia, on the other side of the river. Procopius says that Justinian found the wall of the fort of Annoukas, which had been built in previous times, to be completely ruined. He then rebuilt it in a magnificent way. The fortress is located in a strategic position, upon a spur overlooking the Euphrates. Scholars have noted the close similarities between the features of its city walls and those of Zenobia. That points to the idea that they were constructed in the frame of the same plan of strengthening the frontier. Moreover, an investigation at the site reveals that Procopius was right in affirming that Annoukas, although only a *phourion*, had dimensions comparable to the ones of some cities.⁵⁹

Unlike the situation attested on the right bank of the Euphrates where sites such as Qreye and Tabus were already occupied in the second-third century, Tall ar-Rum, Tall as-Sinn and al Qasra were built for the first time

⁵⁸ Gschwind—Hasan 2008, op. cit. (n. 55), 366; 370–372; Gschwind—Hasan, ‘Tall ar-Rum. A Late Roman to Early Islamic settlement on the river Euphrates’, in K. Bartl—A. al-Razzaq Moaz (eds.), *Residences, Castles, Settlements* (Rahden 2008), 455–471; M. Gschwind, ‘Every square structure a Roman fort? Recent research in Qreiyeh-‘Ayyash and its alleged bridgehead fort Tall ar-Rum on the Euphrates’, in A. Morillo—N. Hanel—E. Martin (eds.), *Limes XX. XX Congreso internacional de estudios sobre la frontera romana* (Madrid 2009), 1593–1604. See now the publication of the necropolis of Tall as-Sinn by J. Montero-Fenollos, *La necropolis byzantine de Tall as-Sinn* (Madrid 2008).

⁵⁹ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.6.12. See de’ Maffei 1999, op.cit. (n. 47), 172–177.

in Late Antiquity.⁶⁰ *Circesium* is described by Ammianus Marcellinus as a small and not well defended place before Diocletian's time. That emperor rebuilt the defences at the frontier by deploying the Roman army in barbarian territories to reduce the chances that the Persians could attack the Roman Empire, as they had previously done. Consequently, he erected high city walls with towers at *Circesium* which became a *munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum*.⁶¹

The place is listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the base of the *legio IV Parthica*. However, it is known that in the year 586 the legion was stationed at Beroea. Most probably the unit had abandoned *Circesium* during the fifth century. Procopius reports that Justinian shifted the seat of the *dux* to *Circesium*, adding a new unit to the local garrison. The fact that a need for a military presence was felt there, suggests that only a few soldiers lived in the city at that time. It seems logical to deduce that the weakening of the military presence at *Circesium*, and most probably along all the sites along the middle Euphrates, had occurred during the fifth century, in the context of a general situation of more peaceful relations with the Persians.⁶²

The last section of the frontier I intend to discuss is the one in the area of central Jordan. Along a route in the steppe bordering the desert, some 20–25 km. beyond the *via nova Traiana*, a series of military installation was built in Late Antiquity, such as at Umm al-Rasas (Kastron Mefaa), Qasr el Thuraiya, Qasr el Al, Qasr Bshir (*Castra Praetorii Moberi*). Especially important was the legionary basis of *Bethorus* (Lejjun) where the *legio IV Martia* was stationed.

The traces of the route in the section north of the wadi Mujib have been observed by scholars. Its paved stones are still visible between Umm al Rasas and Qasr el Thuraiya; moreover, beyond the last mentioned fort it is possible to observe the descent of the route into the gorge of the wadi Souaida, a tributary of the wadi Mujib. The imperial engineers had to

⁶⁰ Gschwind—Hasan 2008, op. cit. (n. 55), 321–373. In absence of any archaeological research conducted on the site it is still impossible to establish the time of Annoukas' foundation.

⁶¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 23.5.1–2. It must be recalled that some Arab sources affirm that *Circesium* had belonged to the queen al-Zabba. See A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates. A Topographical Itinerary* (New York 1927), 337.

⁶² *Notitia Dignitatum* or. 35.24; Theoph. Sym. 2.8.9; Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.6.9. For the convincing idea that the legion had been withdrawn from *Circesium* during the fifth century see Whitby 1986, op. cit. (n. 44), 725. See also Greatrex 2007, op. cit. (n. 13), 92.

overcome great difficulties in order to build such a road that descended to the bottom of the wadi and went up again. It can be argued that such a military system was conceived by Diocletian and Galerius: in fact, a group of Tetrarchic milestones, unfortunately still unpublished, has been found along the route near Umm al-Rasas. Moreover, a fragmentary Latin inscription attests to the presence of the Roman army at Umm al Rasas in 306. The site has been identified with the Mefa listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the base of a unit of *equites promoti indigenae*.⁶³ It is now clear that such a type of unit was deployed in the near eastern ducates in Tetrarchic times.⁶⁴

Surveys and excavations conducted in sites as Qasr el Thuraiya, Qasr Bshir, the legionary fort of Lejjun and other minor sites south of the wadi Mujib show that they were occupied for the first time in the Tetrarchic age. Detailed archaeological research has shown that a series of towers and minor military installations was built in this section of the frontier. All the structures were part of a complex system where the sites were at such a distance as to enable them to communicate one with another through optical signaling. Such a system was still active at the time of the *Notitia* which lists *Bethorus* and *Mefaa* among the bases occupied by Roman soldiers. However, it has been detected that by AD 500 it was no longer active. In fact, at that time Qasr el Thuraiya, Qasr Bshir and Khirbet el-Fityan, together with all the other minor sites south of the wadi Mujib, had been abandoned.⁶⁵

At the legionary camp at el Lejjun some of the the barracks in the *praetentura* were not rebuilt after the earthquake of 363. It must be deduced that the new accommodations were provided for a unit that was now reduced in respect to the original one. Moreover, it is probable that the *vicus* attached to the fort was abandoned in the same years. In fact, surveys made at three different buildings in the *vicus* have detected a lack of occupation after 363. Nonetheless, the fort itself continued to be occupied until the mid-sixth century. The evidence shows a female presence in the fort during the fifth and sixth century and it is logical to assume that the families of the soldiers moved to live inside the fort.

⁶³ A. Lewin, 'Kastron Mefaa, the *equites promoti indigenae* and the Creation of a Late Roman Empire', *Liber Annuus* 51 (2001), 293–304.

⁶⁴ Lewin 2004, op. cit. (n. 9).

⁶⁵ S.T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens. A History of the Arabian Frontier* (Winona Lake 1986), 74–86; S.T. Parker, 'History of the Roman frontier east of the Dead Sea', in S.T. Parker (ed.), *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan. Final Report on the limes arabicus Project 1980–1989* (Washington D.C. 2006), 565–566.

Parker has argued that after the earthquake of AD 502 the fort was less intensively inhabited.⁶⁶ The character of this late occupation is under discussion and Parker's view that it was very reduced has now been challenged.⁶⁷ The fort was evacuated after the earthquake of the year 551. The settlements that had grown on the the eastern plateau and adjacent desert fringe were largely abandoned by sedentary populations in the sixth century.⁶⁸

As far as Umm al-Rasas is concerned, it is important to note that the research conducted by the Franciscan fathers shows the absence of fifth-century ceramics in the investigated areas. That would lead us to assume a gap in the occupation of the site during the fifth century. Moreover, the same trend appears to emerge at the neighbouring site of Nitl, where the area of the complex of Saint Sergius has been investigated by Basema Hamarneh.⁶⁹ On the other hand, it is possible that the final report of the archaeological research conducted by the Swiss team lead by Jacques Bujard on other areas of Umm al-Rasas will modify such negative conclusions.

A new phase in the life of this section of the frontier in central Jordan emerged in the following century. The area within the fort of Kastron Mefaa became a village with four churches; the settlement expanded to the area outside the fort as well, where another ten churches arose. The churches were adorned with beautiful mosaics; many of them were discovered and studied by father Michele Piccirillo whose death is now deeply regretted.⁷⁰

Another fascinating mosaic was found in the church dedicated to Saint Sergius in the nearby village of Nitl, 12 km. north east of Mefaa. A group of inscriptions reveal that the Ghassanids—or rather as scholars have pointed out, the Jafnids—who were the chief arab allies of Rome at that time, had a strong impact on the village life. One of their leaders

⁶⁶ Parker 2006, op. cit. (n. 65), 561.

⁶⁷ C. Whately, 'El-Lejjun: Logistics and localization on Rome's eastern frontier in the sixth century', forthcoming.

⁶⁸ Parker 2006, op. cit. (n. 65), 567–569.

⁶⁹ E. Alliaia, 'Ceramica romana, bizantina, araba', in M. Piccirillo—E. Alliaia (eds.), *Umm al-Rasas Mayfa'ah. I. Gli scavi del complesso di S. Stefano* (Jerusalem 1994), 279–282; B. Hamarneh, 'Relazione dello scavo del complesso ecclesiale di Nitl, stratigrafia e ceramica', *Liber annuus* 56 (2006), 399–458.

⁷⁰ For a bibliography of Piccirillo's publications on Umm ar-Rasas, see B. Hamarneh, *Topografia cristiana ed insediamenti rurali nel territorio dell'odierna Giordania nelle epoche bizantina ed islamica V–IX sec.* (Città del Vaticano 2003), 326–330.

was buried in the church itself.⁷¹ The great development that occurred at Mefaa and at Nitl must, therefore, have been heavily influenced by the presence of the Ghassanids, who revitalized the area, offering an effective protection to the population. Probably some groups of the same confederation settled and inhabited the two villages.

It is time now to offer some evaluation of the dynamics of the development of the four sections of the frontier we have investigated. First of all, they display different features and tipology of development. However, they have in common that they were reorganised, and in some cases organised for the first time, according to a plan launched by Diocletian. Most probably, until the beginning of the fourth century no coherent military system existed between Palmyra and Damascus beyond the Jebel Rawaq. However, the Tetrarchic organization of the route with its series of forts did not survive for a long time. In fact it seems that it was during the fifth century that the structures along “la route des khans” were abandoned.

The research conducted by Thomas Parker with his team prove that in central Jordan, south of the wadi Mujib, Diocletian and Galerius installed the army in marginal places not previously occupied by Roman soldiers. In particular, the fort of Lejjun was built on a virgin site. On the other hand, we cannot be sure that Umm al-Rasas had not been settled before the Tetrarchs installed a garrison of *equites promoti indigenae* there. In fact, ceramics of earlier times have been found at the site and such material still needs to be studied.⁷²

The route in central Jordan south of the wadi Mujib was quite marginal. Most probably it was built for the movement of troops and travellers as an alternative route to the *via nova Traiana*, which in the wadi Mujib section used to be flooded after seasonal rains. However, such a system with a route beyond the *via nova Traiana* and a series of military installations connecting the area north of the wadi Mujib with the territory to the south of it came to an end during the fifth century. South of the wadi some military occupation, clearly reduced, continued only at the fort of Lejjun.

As we have seen, however, it is possible that new publications will reveal the presence of fifth-century ceramics at Umm al-Rasas. The same remains true for the results of the next excavations at Nitl. If so, the idea

⁷¹ See Lewin 2007, op. cit. (n. 3), 474–476; 480 with the relevant bibliography.

⁷² Information provided by D. Genequand.

of a gap in the occupation of the site could be rejected and the one of a continuous presence of soldiers with their families advanced. These people could have transformed the look of the fort, constructing houses, roads and churches and extending the settled area beyond the walls. There are indeed some cases where it is possible to argue that at least a few limitanean soldiers used to live in a village, together with their families and the rest of the civilian population. For example, some inscriptions reveal that at Shivta in the Negev the soldiers and the officers of the army lived in the village in the sixth century; however, no fort is discernible at the site. Moreover, at Nessana and Avdat fortified enclosures were built on the acropolis. In the final stage there were twenty-seven small rooms at the fortress of Nessana and only two at the one at Avdat.⁷³ Probably the soldiers did not live in the rooms, which were used for storing weapons or for keeping documents.

Nonetheless, in light of all the other evidence we have about the situation in central Jordan, we must suppose that at Umm al-Rasas as well the trend was towards a shrinking of the military presence. Moreover, although the place was called *Kastron Mefaa* in sixth-century inscriptions, it is obvious that such a fact cannot prove that a military unit was still there at that time. Also, assuming that the ceramic material will indeed reveal continuity in the occupation of Umm al-Rasas through the fifth century, such evidence *per se* cannot represent proof that the development at Umm al-Rasas and Nitl was due to the military presence. After all, the few soldiers with their families who lived in Lejjun in the fifth century and perhaps in the first half of the sixth, were not capable of expanding the inhabited area of the site beyond the walls of the fort.

⁷³ See Lewin 2007, op. cit. (n. 3), 469–480. That does not imply that in the Near East no new fort was built at a late date for housing soldiers. See J. Magness, 'Redating the forts at Ein Boqeq, Upper Zohar, and other sites in se Judaea, and the implications for the nature of the *Limes Palaestinae*', in J. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East. Volume 2. Some Recent Archaeological Research* (Portsmouth 1999), 189–206 where it is argued that the archaeological evidence shows that the fortlets at Ein Boqeq and Upper Zohar were built in the mid-sixth century. At Sura, a new fort whose ruins are still visible was built by Justinian after the Persian attack had destroyed the city and the old fort. See Konrad 1999, op. cit. (n. 15), 398–400; Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 6–7; 12. On the other hand, no sixth-century fort is discernible among the ruins of Resafa. The old one built by the Tetrarchs had been abandoned already several decades before a new church was built in its area. M. Konrad (personal communication) observing that the towers at Resafa are quite big suggests to keep in mind the possibility that the soldiers were lodged in them. For changes in the character of the limitanean army, due to the fact that soldiers were allowed to own lands see C. Zuckerman, 'L'armée', in C. Morrisson (ed.), *Le monde byzantin I. L'Empire romain d'Orient (330–641)* (Paris 2004), 154–163.

In fact, they abandoned the *vicus*. The most probable reason for the important development which occurred at Umm al-Rasas and Nitl must remain the impulse given to it by an external force, the Jafnids.

In the section between Sura and the Khabur, Diocletian built only three forts. On the left bank of the Euphrates he enlarged the small site of Circesium, connecting it to Callinicum by a military route. Some fortified villages were built along it; presumably the imperial authorities were involved in supporting the enterprise. Most probably a weakening of the military presence along the route occurred during the fifth century. In fact, as we have seen, there are some indications that the legion installed at Circesium by Diocletian was transferred elsewhere in the fifth century. In Justinian's time the situation changed again: relations with Persia deteriorated and the area became the focus of renewed military activity. The walls of Circesium were strengthened and the defences of the city were reinforced with the transfer of soldiers. On the right bank of the river Zenobia now emerged as a solid stronghold, according to the new imperial strategic plans.

We can be sure that the section of the frontier between Sura and Palmyra did not experience a gap in occupation in the fifth century. A very detailed and scholarly study, conducted by Michaela Konrad at the fort of *Tetrapyrgium*, has revealed the presence of ceramic of the late fifth and the beginning of the sixth century.⁷⁴ If that fort, as it is logical to argue, was part of a military system built along the frontier route, the other installations were not abandoned in the fifth century. An impulse for the development of the area was given by the presence of a famous Christian shrine at Resafa. Moreover, as we have seen, all the sites were located at good water points, a fact that enabled them to develop agriculture.

To conclude: two main issues have been discussed by scholars in recent years. First, they have advanced the idea that a weakening of the military presence in the ducates of the Near East occurred in the fifth century. The peaceful relations with the Persians prompted a lesser investment in the upkeep of the Near-Eastern frontiers, the Arab allies of the Persians remained quiet for many years, and the ducates allowed a reduced presence of soldiers. It was such a reduced presence of the limitanean army that made the success of Amorkesos' ambitious plans at the time

⁷⁴ Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), 171; 74–75.

of the emperor Leo easier. This Arab chief succeeded in occupying the island of Jotabe, threatening the borders of *Palaestina III* and eventually became officially acknowledged as phylarch by the emperor. It is probable that before that time the limitanean army had been further weakened by its participation in the African campaign against the Vandals undertaken by Leo. The African expedition was a failure and most of the army perished in it.⁷⁵

On the other hand, we cannot be sure that the situation along the near-eastern frontier from the Euphrates to the Red Sea was always peaceful throughout the fifth century. In fact, some sources reveal that conflicts with Arab tribes at the borders of the aforementioned ducates occurred also in years when there was no war between the Persians and the Romans.⁷⁶ According to the evidence examined in this article, the idea of a weakening military presence in the fifth century must be maintained. The section of the frontier beyond the Jebel Rawaq was dismantled and the same happened to the system in Central Jordan. If some forts remained occupied, as was the case at Lejjun, they were the exception.

A reduction of the military presence in the two other sections of the frontier we have examined can be surmised by the fact that at Justinian's time the need was felt to reinforce the garrisons at both Circesium and Palmyra. However, that does not imply that during the fifth century all the soldiers had been withdrawn from the sites along those sections of the frontier. Moreover, it must be observed that there is some documentation from other sections of the Near East showing that military forces had been withdrawn from their bases. The small fort of Yotvatah, built at the time of the first Tetrarchy, was abandoned in the second part of the fourth century. The fort of Udruh, built around the year 303 as a base for the *legio VI Ferrata*, is not mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* where the legion itself is also absent. In the northern part of the ducate of Arabia the fort at Sa'aneh, built around 300, does not show traces of occupation in the fifth century.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ See G. Fisher, 'A new perspective on Rome's desert frontier', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 336 (2004), 49–60 who exploring the results of recent archaeological excavations and the witness of literary sources shows that a weakening of the Tetrarchic military apparatus already begun in the second half of the fourth century; I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington 1989), 59–113.

⁷⁶ A.S. Lewin, 'Amr ibn 'Adi, Mavia, the Phylarchs and the Late Roman army. Peace and war in the Near East', in Lewin—Pellegrini 2007, op. cit. (n. 5), 254.

⁷⁷ U. Avner—G. Davies—J. Magness, 'The Roman fort at Yotvatah: interim report

We can assume that the weakening of the limitanean army led to a more intense use by the Roman government of the Arab allies as brokers between the world of the agriculturalist and the one of the pastoralists living astride the frontiers. The Arab allies could have effectively worked at inspecting the movements of the pastoralists, monitoring their access to the farmed lands at the time of the seasonal migrations. In particular, it is well attested that in the sixth century the Jafnids had the task of supporting the limitanean army against the attacks brought by hostile Arab tribes, especially the Nasrid allies of the Persians.

The second issue that deserves attention is the problem of a supposed disbandment of the *limitanei* in Justinian's reign. A famous statement by Procopius has long puzzled scholars. The writer says that the emperor, after having left the *limitanei* unpaid for four to five years, requested some sums of money from them. Finally they lost the title of soldiers.⁷⁸ It is not only that the value of the story has been severely challenged. The character of Procopius' grand general statements in the *de aedificiis* and in the *Anecdota* has itself undergone radical criticism: Procopius says explicitly that under Justinian churches anywhere in the empire were built or restored with imperial funds only. The statement is definitely not true, and this is of interest for our judgement of the author: he must have known it was untrue and that his readers were aware that it was untrue, like his passing remarks that Justinian 'abolished' the *limitanei*. He does, however, mention by name numerous churches which Justinian built or restored.⁷⁹ Yet, the dearth of coins dated to the years after 540 in some forts of *Palaestina* has been seen by John Casey as a proof of the veracity of Procopius' statement, at least as far as that province was concerned. Other scholars have advanced the idea that his observation could be enlarged to other areas of the Near East.⁸⁰

(2003); *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004), 405–412 (Yotvatah); Kennedy—Falahat 2008, op. cit. (n. 5) (Udruh); M. Lenoir, 'Sa'aneh ou le désert des tartares: un camp oublié du *limes arabicus*', *Syria* 80 (2003), 145–157 (Sa'aneh). It must be recalled that the fort at Avdat, built at the time of the Tetrarchy, was abandoned few decades later, probably at the time of Constantine. See T. Erickson-Gini, 'Nabataean or Roman? Reconsidering the date of the camp at Avdat in light of recent excavations', in Ph. Freeman et al. (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Studies* (Oxford 2002), 113–130. It remains probable that the unit stationed at Avdat was later transferred to a site closer to the edge of the empire.

⁷⁸ Procopius, *Anecdota* 24.12–14.

⁷⁹ Isaac 1990, op. cit. (n. 41), 368.

⁸⁰ J. Casey, 'Justinian, the *limitanei*, and Arab-Byzantine relations in the 6th century', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 (1996), 214–222. See also Konrad 2001, op. cit. (n. 6),

However, the continuity of the presence of Roman military units in *Palaestina* at Justinian's time and later is solidly attested by inscriptions and papyri.⁸¹ Moreover, new forts were built at Ein Boqeq and Upper Zohar in the mid sixth century.⁸² In the ducate of *Arabia* an inscription attests that the fort of Hallabat was restored in 529.⁸³ At the end of the twenties of the sixth century Justinian was reinforcing the military apparatus along the borders of the near eastern ducates. We have seen that he transferred some units to Palmyra in 527. Most probably, it was at the same time or very few years later that he deployed some soldiers in Resafa and Circesium and began to rebuild Zenobia. When Resafa was besieged by Chosroes in 542, it had still two hundred soldiers in it. Moreover, the building of a new fort at Sura in the forties must prove the presence of a unit there. More than thirty years ago, Wolf Liebeschuetz argued that, although the *strata diocletiana* between Palmyra and Damascus had been abandoned in the fifth century, there were still some military forces in Syria in the sixth century.⁸⁴ We have seen that new documents and a fresh examination of the sources reinforce his view.

Another important issue deserves attention: as we have seen, the return of the conflict with the Persians by Anastasius' time led the emperors to strengthen the military apparatus at the near-eastern frontiers. Two

who noting the absence of Justinianic issues post dating at *Tetrapyrgium* argues that the Roman garrison had been disbanded by that time. The presence of ceramic material is explained by the fact that Arab allies, who presumably did not receive a cash payment, replaced the Roman soldiers in the fort. For difficulties in the payment of the army, already in the thirties, see Greatrex 1998, *Rome and Persia*, op. cit. (n. 13), 219–220.

⁸¹ See B. Isaac, 'The army in the Late Roman east: the Persian Wars and the defence of the Byzantine provinces', in A. Cameron—L. Conrad—G. King (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III. States, Resources and Armies* (Princeton 1995), 125–155; A. Cameron—L. Conrad—G. King (eds.), *The Near East under Roman Rule. Selected Papers* (Leiden 1998), 437–469. For some corrections see L. Di Segni, 'The Beer Sheba Tax Edict reconsidered', *Scripta classica israelica* 23 (2004), 149–150, n. 69. For an up-to-date discussion of the sources, see Z.T. Fiema, 'The military presence in the countryside of Petra in the 6th century', in Ph. Freeman et al. (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Studies* (Oxford 2002), 131–136; Z.T. Fiema, 'The Byzantine military in the Petra papyrus—a summary', in Lewin—Pellegrini 2007, op. cit., (n. 5), 313–319; G. Greatrex, 'Les Jafnides et la défense de l'empire au VIe s.', in D. Genequand—Ch. Robin (eds.), *Regards croisés de l'histoire et de l'archéologie sur la dynastie Jafnide*, forthcoming.

⁸² Magness 1999, op. cit. (n. 73).

⁸³ D.L. Kennedy, *Archaeological Explorations on the Roman Frontier in North-East Jordan* (Oxford 1982), 40.

⁸⁴ W. Liebeschuetz, 'The defences of Syria in the sixth century', in D. Haupt—H.G. Horn (eds.), *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II* (Köln 1977), 487–499.

new large fortresses were built, Dara and Zenobia. The Roman government, however, combined the program of reinforcement of the military defences with an important plan of urbanisation of the cities at the frontiers.⁸⁵ So the deployment of military forces at the borders of the empire had the effect of creating new cities and of shifting the main characters of the Roman urban culture to the most peripheral areas of the Near East. Cities, such as Palmyra, where stagnation had occurred during the time of the long peace with the Persians, were now furnished with new civic monuments. Still, the measure of the financial involvement of the imperial government in the realisation of new urban monuments is under discussion. Some inscriptions confirm that the emperors were credited with the realisation of important works, but in other cases the initiative was a local one.⁸⁶

Finally, it must be stressed that all along the frontier from Sura to Aila on the Red Sea the external threat that the Romans had to cope with was represented by the Arab tribes. Their activities had to be controlled, negotiated, and eventually opposed when hostile attacks materialised. In time the Arab allies of Rome became involved in supporting the Roman army in such important tasks.⁸⁷ It is important to observe that the Persians were never active along this section of the frontier. According to Procopius, when Justinian reinforced the defences at Palmyra at Resafa he had in mind the Saracen threat.⁸⁸ It was only as revenge against the bishop of Resafa, Candidus, that Chosroes led his army against Resafa in 542.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ S. Janniard, 'Armée et "acculturation" dans l'Orient romain tardif: l'exemple des confins syro-mésopotamiens (V–VI s. apr. J.C.)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 118 (2006), 133–149.

⁸⁶ D. Feissel, 'Les édifices de Justinien au témoignage de Procope et de l'épigraphie', *Antiquités tardives* 8 (2000), 81–104. Two inscriptions show that the local bishopric of Resafa organised and financed two important buildings there. See Ulbert 2000, op. cit. (n. 25), 142–145. See also Isaac 1990, op. cit. (n. 41), 365–371; E. Zanini, 'The urban ideal and urban planning in Byzantine new cities of the sixth century AD', in L. Lavan—K. Bowden (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (Leiden 2003), 196–223. For the character of the sixth-century urbanisation see now the splendid book by H.G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century. Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens 2006).

⁸⁷ Lewin 2007, op. cit. (n. 71); Lewin 2007, op. cit. (n. 76), 155–173; W. Liebeschuetz, 'Nomads, Phylarchs, and settlement in Syria and Palaestine', in Lewin—Pellegrini 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 131–145.

⁸⁸ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.9.3–4; 2.11.10.

⁸⁹ Procopius, *De bellis* 2.5.29–32; 20.1–16.

This is very different from the situation of the third century, when the invasion led by Shapur I used the route along the Euphrates as a Persian axis of penetration. Diocletian strongly reinforced Circesium and built other military installations there in order to avoid new attacks conducted along the flanks of the river. Nonetheless, until the sixth century, that part of the frontier did not become a focus of military confrontation with Persia. Only the Arab tribes hostile to Rome used to roam there and eventually the Jafnid Al-Mundhir revealed its strategic importance to the Persian king.⁹⁰

Florence, January 2011

⁹⁰ Procopius, *De bellis* 1.17.30–39; 1.18.2.

REDUCING SENATORIAL CONTROL
OVER PROVINCIAL COMMANDERS:
A FORGOTTEN GABINIAN LAW OF 67 BCE

F.J. VERVAET

I. INTRODUCTION

At two critical junctures in Roman history, M. Tullius Cicero (*cos.* 63) bitterly complained that Caesar's legally-guaranteed second *quinquennium* in the Gauls and Illyricum (from 1 March 54 to 1 March 49) had put him in a formidable position of power vis-à-vis a frustrated Senate.¹ On the 9th of December 50, less than a month before the outbreak of civil war between Caesar and his opponents in the Senate, Cicero indicates in *Ad Atticum* 7.3.4 (Trebula) that this second five-year term, protected by law, was one of the main factors that had made Caesar nigh-irresistible. He complains,

Cur imperium illi aut cur illo modo prorogatum est? Cur tanto opere pugnatum ut de eius absentis ratione habenda decem tribune pl. ferrent? His ille rebus ita conualuit ut nunc in uno cuius spes ad resistendum sit; qui malle tantas ei uiris non dedisset quam nunc tam ualenti resisteret.

Why was his command extended, and in such a fashion [i.e., in 55 under the terms of the *lex Pompeia Licinia*]? Why was there such pressure to get the ten tribunes to bring in the law about his candidature *in absentia* [i.e., for a second consulship in 52, passed with the support of Cn. Pompeius as *consul sine conlega*]? By these steps, he has become so strong that hope of resistance now depends on one man; and I would rather that he [i.e., Pompeius] had not given Caesar such formidable strength in the first place than that he should resist him now that he is so powerful.

In *Ad Atticum* 7.6.2 (Formia, ca. 18 Dec. 50), Cicero repeats the same bitter complaint:

Cur autem nunc primum ei resistam(us)? 'οὐ γὰρ δὴ τότε μείζον ἐπι κακὸν' quam cum quinquennium prorogabamus, aut cum ut absentis ratio haberetur ferebamus, nisi forte haec illi tum arma dedimus ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus.

¹ * All dates are BCE, unless indicated otherwise.

And why should we start standing up to him now? ‘Sure, ’tis no worse a thing’ than when we gave him his five years extension or when we brought in the law authorizing his candidature *in absentia*. Or did we put these weapons into his hands only to fight him now that he is equipped and ready?

In September 44, Cicero again calls to mind in *Philippicae* 2.24 that Caesar’s legally-guaranteed second *quinquennium* proved a formidable weapon against the Senate:

Duo tamen tempora inciderunt quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim; ea uelim reprehendas, si potes: unum ne quinquenni imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumuis persuasissem, in has miseras numquam incidisimus.

However, there were two occasions when I advised Pompeius against Caesar’s interests, and you may blame me if you can: one when I advised him not to prorogue Caesar’s five-year command, the other when I cautioned him against letting through the proposal that Caesar should be permitted to stand for office *in absentia*. If he had listened to me on either point, we should never have fallen on these evil times.

Indeed, legally-defined tenure simply meant that the Senate alone could not recall the provincial commander concerned before the expiry date of his term. In this respect, it is also well worth calling to mind that at the beginning of 43, as Caesar Octavianus and Marcus Antonius were still fighting each other, the Senate passed a decree abolishing,

πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν τῷ πρὶν δυναστείας τισὶν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων δοθέντα παρεσκευάκει προκατέλυσαν, ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροις μὲν που ταῦτα ψηφισόμενοι ὡς καὶ προκαταληψόμενοι δι’ αὐτῶν τὸν νικήσοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἡττηθησόμενον μέλλοντες ἀναφέρειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπειπον μηδένα ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἄρχειν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπογόρευσαν μήτε τινὰ σίτου ἐπιμελητὴν μήτε τροφῶν ἐπιστάτην ἕνα αἰρεῖσθαι.

all the privileges the granting of which hitherto to any individuals contrary to established customs had paved the way for supreme power; they voted, of course, that this decree should apply to both parties, intending thereby to forestall the victor, but planning to lay the blame upon the other who should be defeated. In the first place, they forbade anyone to hold office for a longer period than a year, and, second, they provided that no one man should be chosen superintendent of the corn supply or commissioner of food.²

² Dio 46.39.1–3.

On 27 November of this very same year, the notorious Titian Law would invest Lepidus, Antonius and Octavianus with the infamous Triumvirate for Constituting the Republic, complete with a battery of special powers and a generous quinquennial *tempus*.³

In their quest for precedents and watersheds on the road from Republic to Empire, Roman historians have mostly focused on the notorious *lex Gabinia de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo* which resulted in Pompeius' second elected—and thus extraordinary—proconsulate.⁴ In order to facilitate the gigantic task of eradicating piracy across the Mediterranean, one of the law's clauses indeed provided for a triennial *tempus*.⁵ Regardless of the fact that this *lex Gabinia* would certainly redefine the concept of extraordinary command, there are good grounds to believe that the historic precedent for the practice of legally-defined provincial tenure was set by another, mostly forgotten, Gabinian Law passed earlier that year. Although P. Willems believed that the *lex Gabinia* appointing Pompeius to his powerful Mediterranean command also assigned the province of Bithynia to the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio,⁶ the evidence supports R.S. Williams' suggestion that Gabinius carried a separate law "appointing M. Acilius Glabrio governor of Bithynia-Pontus to succeed L. Licinius Lucullus."⁷ To my thinking, there are strong indications that this Gabinian law not only assigned a (new) province to one of the consuls of 67 *sine sorte*, on the model of the notorious *lex Manlia* of 107, but also that it introduced a couple of momentous novelties in the institutional history of the Roman Republic.

³ For a discussion of the duration of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* as well as the nature of its *tempus*, see F.J. Vervaeet, 'The secret history: the official position of imperator Caesar Divi filius from 31 to 27 BCE', *Ancient Society* 40 (2010), 79–152. For a discussion of how precisely the *curatio annonae* would from 22 become one of the cornerstones of the Augustan regime, see F.J. Vervaeet, 'Arrogating despotic power through deceit: the Pompeian model for Augustan *dissimulatio*', in A.J. Turner—K.O. Chong-Gossard—F.J. Vervaeet (eds.), *Private and Public Lies: The Discourse of Despotism and Deceit in the Ancient World* (Leiden—Boston 2010), 136–139.

⁴ That this probably was the official denomination of this Gabinian Law can be deduced from Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia* 52: *A. Gabinium [...] de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset*.

⁵ Dio 36.23.4; 34.3; 37.1 and Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 94.

⁶ P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la République romaine. Sa composition et ses attributions*, (Leuven 1883), 586.

⁷ R.S. Williams, 'The appointment of Glabrio (cos. 67) to the eastern command', *Phoenix* 38 (1984), 221; 232: Gabinius "simply passed a law altering the province already assigned to Glabrio under the *lex Sempronia*". Comp. also V. Mühlh, 'Gabinus' (nr. 11), in *RE*, Band 7 (1912), c. 424.

II. THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND: THE WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES FROM 74 TO 67

The main issue of this inquiry cannot be properly addressed without a preliminary discussion of the varying fortunes of L. Licinius Lucullus in the East from 74 to 67. In 74, after intensive lobbying by the consuls, the Senate overturned its previous *s.c. de prouinciis consularibus* (passed in 75 *lege Sempronia*) by assigning Cilicia with the war against Mithridates to Lucullus and Bithynia as well as the Propontis with a fleet to his colleague, M. Aurelius Cotta, both assignments being made *sine sorte*.⁸ By 70, Lucullus commanded an area spanning Asia, Cilicia, Bithynia and Pontus, obviously by virtue of a series of additional *senatus consulta*.⁹ From the next year onward, however, his formidable position in the East became increasingly contested.¹⁰ In 36.2.1 f., Dio records that Lucullus' decision to let Tigranes escape triggered the gradual and ultimately complete reduction of his powerful command:

καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλησας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρχῇ, καταλῦσαι παρὰ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἔσχε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε τε ἐς τοὺς στρατηγούς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὡς καὶ αὐθις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξε, τὸν ὑπατον αὐτῶ τὸν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα διάδοχον ἐπεμψαν.

Because of this he was charged by the citizens, as well as others, with refusing to end the war, in order that he might retain his command a longer time. Therefore they at this time [i.e., 69] restored the province of Asia to the praetors, and later, when he was believed to have acted in this same way again, they sent to him the consul of that year to relieve him.

In other words: in what would prove to be just the first stage of the dismantlement of Lucullus' command, the Senate threw the province of Asia into the *sortitia praetoria* for 69.¹¹ In 36.14.4, Dio completes this

⁸ See Plutarch, *Lucullus* 5 f.; and T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* Vol. 2 (Ann Arbor 1968, 2nd ed.) [= *MRR* 2], 101. For the fact that the Sempronian Law concerning the consular provinces did not prohibit assignments of consular provinces *sine sorte*, either before or after the consuls concerned had assumed office, see F.J. Vervae, 'The scope of the *lex Sempronia* concerning the assignment of the consular provinces (123 BCE)', *Athenaeum* 94 (2006), 627–656.

⁹ Broughton 1968, op. cit. (n. 8), 129.

¹⁰ See Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 222 f. for a good outline of the reasons for the decreasing popularity of Lucullus in Rome and abroad, for which Lucullus was at least partially to blame himself.

¹¹ Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 223 accepts the suggestion of E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners: Private Enterprise in the Service of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca 1972), 98; 151

picture by recounting that in 67, Lucullus' soldiers grew restive again "largely because they heard that Acilius, the consul, who had been sent out to relieve Lucullus for the reasons mentioned [in 36.2.1 f., *supra*], was drawing near, and they accordingly regarded Lucullus with contempt, as being already a mere private citizen."¹² The complement of both passages shows that Lucullus was to be succeeded altogether by M. Acilius Glabrio, one of the consuls of 67. Dio goes on to explain in 36.15.1 that Lucullus' position grew even weaker as "Marcius [Rex], Acilius' predecessor, who was on his way to Cilicia, his destined province, had refused a request of his for aid."¹³ Although Marcius Rex must have received Cilicia as consul in 68, he had apparently reached his province only at some point early in 67, shortly before Glabrio was to arrive in his.¹⁴ This means that Glabrio must have been charged with Lucullus' command early in 67 and had rushed off to his province at his earliest convenience, planning to spend the better part of his consulship in the East.

that the *publicani* were the driving force behind this allocation of Asia to a new governor, *in casu* one of the praetors of 69. In *Lucullus* 20.4 f., Plutarch relates that the *publicani* in Asia were outraged by Lucullus' measures to reduce the public debt of the Asian cities and began lobbying against the proconsul at Rome. Plutarch explains that they bribed some of the tribunes to proceed against Lucullus as they were men of great influence who got many of the active politicians into their debt. A. Keaveney, *Lucullus: A Life* (London—New York 1992), 115 suggests that Asia was withdrawn from Lucullus' command by means of a plebiscite early in 68. Although this powerful coalition of publicans and tribunes of the *plebs* indeed successfully pressured the Senate in 69 to reduce Lucullus' provincial command, there is no conclusive proof of a plebiscite at this stage.

¹² ἐταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀκίλιον τὸν ὑπάτον ἐξεπέμψθη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπύθοντο· ἐν γὰρ ὀλιγοῦρά αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύοντα ἤδη ἐποιούντο.

¹³ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου ὑπατεύσαντος, ἐς Κιλικίαν τοῦ ἧς ἄρχεῖν ἔμελλε παρόντος, ἐπικουρίαν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἔτυχεν. For the fact that the Senate had authorized Marcus Rex to conscript the huge force of three legions for service in Cilicia, see Sallust, *Historiae* 5, frag. 14 (ed. Maurenbrecher 1891, 194): *At Lucullus audito Q. Marcium Regem pro consule per Lycaoniam cum tribus legionibus in Ciliciam tendere*. In 36.17.2, Dio further adds that Marcus turned Lucullus' request for help down on the pretext that his troops refused to follow him (to render assistance to Lucullus). Instead, he went straight to Cilicia where, adding insult to injury, he received a prominent deserter from Tigranes as well as the young P. Claudius Pulcher, who had deserted Lucullus because of his subversive role in the mutiny at Nisibis.

¹⁴ Marcus' rather late departure for Cilicia must have been due to the fact that he held office alone for the greater part of his tenure. His colleague, L. Caecilius Metellus, died early in the year and the suffect consul designate died before entering upon his office: Dio 36.4.1. In all likelihood, this sequence of ominous events caused the Senate to consult the augural college, who then formally advised against any further attempt to get Metellus replaced.

In sum, this brief analysis reveals that in 69, the Senate had not only decided to make Asia *prouincia praetoria*, but also assigned Cilicia as one of the consular provinces for 68 under the terms of the Sempronian Law.¹⁵ Although Lucullus would thus be gradually deprived of Asia and Cilicia, the Senate did leave him in command of Bithynia and the *bellum Mithridaticum* in Pontus and its periphery. This strongly suggests that they still wanted to give the besieged proconsul the opportunity to take full credit for his troubles by putting an honourable end to the war against Mithridates and Tigranes.¹⁶ The Senate's intentions, however, were soon to be thwarted as one of the consuls of 67 got the remainder of Lucullus' command and hurried to secure his prize.

In *Pro Lege Manilia* 20–26, Cicero produces a striking survey of the political and military situation in Asia Minor until the spring of 67, when total chaos seemed to be imminent. Cicero begins to tell how Lucullus conducted an initially highly successful campaign which culminated in the conquest and sack of Pontus, the heartland of Mithridates' kingdom, including the capture of a series of Pontic cities and Cappadocian towns. Mithridates ultimately had to flee to Tigranes the Great, who had turned Armenia into a formidable regional power. As Tigranes overconfidently refused to extradite Mithridates, Lucullus promptly invaded Armenia. After the conquest of Tigranocerta, however, mutiny put an inglorious end to Lucullus' triumphant advance. Livy's epitomator indicates that this insubordination chiefly was the work of the two so-called 'Valerian' legions, who insisted that their term of service had expired.¹⁷ At the same time, Mithridates, resilient as ever, returned to Pontus in command of a

¹⁵ See *MRR* 2, 137; 139. Broughton seems to think that Marcius got Cilicia *extra sortem* in 68. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish whether or not the consuls of 68, L. Caecilius Metellus and Q. Marcius Rex, had proceeded to the *sortitio consularia* immediately upon entering their office. In case the consuls had not cast lots before Metellus' untimely death, it is possible that Marcius Rex was allowed to take his pick from the provinces assigned the year before *lege Sempronia*, or that the Senate indeed passed a new decree, assigning Cilicia to Marcius Rex *sine sorte*. I am inclined to believe that Cilicia was assigned in 69 *lege Sempronia*, and that the consuls of 68 duly cast lots for their *prouvinciae* at some point early in their tenure. See Vervaet 2006, op. cit. (n. 7) for a discussion of how the time and actual order of the decrees on the consular and praetorian provinces, the *sortitio consularis/praetoria*, the *prorogatio imperii* of the various imperators in the field and the *ornatio prouinciarum* were always fully at the discretion of the Senate and could vary substantially.

¹⁶ See Plutarch, *Lucullus* 35.7 (*infra*) for the fact that the nobles were dismayed at what they believed to be Lucullus' wrongful succession by Pompeius in 66.

¹⁷ *Periochae* 98: *duae legiones Valerianae, quae impleta a se stipendia dicentes Lucullum reliquerunt.*

new army consisting of Pontic troops and soldiers provided by Tigranes and his vassals. At the beginning of 67, Mithridates even managed to inflict a crushing defeat upon the army of C. Valerius Triarius, one of Lucullus' legates.¹⁸ In *Pro Lege Manilia* 26, Cicero implicitly indicates that around the very time of this disastrous defeat, Lucullus was robbed of the remaining part of his once powerful command by the Comitia, who compelled the proud proconsul to demobilize those troops who had served their time and hand over the rest to Manius Acilius Glabrio:

Hic in illo ipso malo grauissimaque belli offensione Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, uestro iussu coactus, quod imperi diuturnitati modum statuendum uetere exemplo putauistis, partem militum qui iam stipendiis confectis erant dimisit, partem M'. Glabriori tradidit.

Here in the very hour of disaster and of a most serious reverse, because you thought that, out of deference to old precedent, some limit should be set on his long tenure of command, Lucullus—a man who might perhaps have been able in some measure to repair these losses—was by your orders compelled to disband a part of his troops, who had served their time, and to hand over a part to Manius Glabrio.

Cicero next indicates that Glabrio was in for a particularly rough ride in Asia Minor:

Multa praetereo consulto, sed ea uos coniectura perspicite quantum illud bellum factum putetis quod coniungant reges potentissimi, renouent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, nouus imperator noster accipiat uetere exercitu pulso.

There is much that I leave out on purpose: you must supply the omission for yourselves and realize what magnitude this war must have attained when it is waged in concert by two most powerful kings, renewed by tribes in ferment, taken up by fresh nations and entrusted, after the defeat of the old army, to a new Roman *imperator*.

This evidence unambiguously confirms that, early in 67, a popular vote terminated Lucullus' provincial command altogether by transferring it to the consul M'. Acilius Glabrio.¹⁹ Another fragment from Sallust's *Histories*

¹⁸ In *Pro Lege Manilia* 25, Cicero clearly reveals the magnitude of this reverse: *Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poetae solent qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit ut eam ad auris [L. Luculli] imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius sed ex sermone rumor adferret*. Cf. also Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 89 and Plutarch, *Lucullus* 35.1 for the notoriously serious character of this defeat.

¹⁹ In point of fact, Cicero had already indicated in *Pro Lege Manilia* 5 that Acilius Glabrio was appointed to replace Lucullus as commander-in-chief in the war against

corroborates and completes Cicero's evidence since it tells us that *Legiones Valerianae comperto lege Gabinia Bithyniam et Pontum consuli datam, sese missos esse*: "The legions of Valerius, when it had been discovered that (the province of) Bithynia and Pontus had been given to the consul by a Gabinian Law, that they [reading *sese* after Douza] had been discharged."²⁰ The brevity of this bit of information is inversely proportional to its importance. It not only shows that Acilius was given Bithynia and Pontus with the war against Mithridates and Tigranes by virtue of a Gabinian Law, but also that this statute contained a number of accurate provisions concerning the army of Lucullus and Acilius Glabrio. The statute therefore did more than just transferring Lucullus' command to one of the consuls of 67. This, then, begs the question of the precise nature of its additional provisions.

However, before addressing this key issue, it not unimportant to point out that the chief aim of this Gabinian Law, viz. Lucullus' replacement in the war against Mithridates by the consul M. Acilius Glabrio, never materialized. After explaining how the imminent arrival of the consul rekindled the mutiny in Lucullus' army (*supra*), Dio notes in 36.15.3 that the 'Valerians' withdrew altogether when they learned that they had been discharged by the authorities at home.²¹ In 36.17.1, Dio explains that as a direct result of this desertion, Mithridates managed to recover most of his domain and to invade Cappadocia, "since neither Lucullus defended it, on the ground that Acilius was near, nor yet Acilius himself." According to Dio, the latter had at first been hurrying to rob Lucullus of the victory, whereas after he learned what had actually taken place he did not venture to come to the camp but delayed in Bithynia. In all probability, tidings of Triarius' crushing defeat and renewed mutiny in Lucullus' army made the consul reconsider. This shows that Acilius had been blissfully unaware of the reality in the field before arriving in Bithynia. In a similar vein, Plutarch recounts in *Luc.* 35.5 f. how the traditional commission of *decem*

Mithridates and Tigranes: *L. Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello decedere; huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum*. Compare also a concise but clear reference in *Scholia Gronoviana Pompeiana* § 26 p. 319 (ed. Stangl 1912): *Novus imperator. Glabrio*. For a late antique allusion to Lucullus' replacement by one of the consuls of 67, see Eutropius 6.9.3: *Lucullo paranti capta Nisibi contra Persas successor est missus*.

²⁰ *Historiae* 5, frag. 13 (ed. Maurenbrecher 1891, 194)—I warmly thank my colleague, Dr. Andrew Turner, for his valuable assistance with translating this rather difficult excerpt.

²¹ *παρὰ τοῖς οἴκοι τέλειον*.

legati cum auctoritate, sent by the Senate to regulate the affairs of Pontus on the supposition that it was a secure Roman possession,²² too, were in for a rather unpleasant surprise. To their utter astonishment, they found that, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia and Mithridates tried to recover his former power, Lucullus had become the *risée* of his own army. The sudden turn for the worse in the East in the spring of 67 apparently came as a complete surprise to outsiders, friend and foe alike. The instability of the army was, perhaps, the most important rationale behind Acilius' decision to remain in Bithynia and, perhaps, wait for the storm to blow over. After all, years of bitter fighting had brought Mithridates on the verge of exhaustion, regardless of his crushing defeat of Triarius. His successes in the spring of 67 were largely due to the subversive inaction of Lucullus' army. Indeed, when Pompeius refused to come to terms with Mithridates in 66, the latter immediately took to his heels again.²³

III. THE SCOPE OF THE GABINIAN LAW

The *lex Gabinia de permutatione prouinciae M. Acilii Gabrionis* was one of the highlights of *popularis* agitation against Lucullus.²⁴ In *Luc.* 33.4 f., Plutarch recounts that Lucullus' army, dissatisfied with his arrogant austerity,²⁵ got the vigorous backing of popular leaders at Rome. These envied Lucullus and denounced him for protracting the war through enjoyment of power and greed. They portrayed Lucullus as the absolute

²² *καὶ οἱ πρόεσβεις παρήσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ πραγμάτων, ὡς δὴ βεβαίως ἐχομένων.* As Plutarch points out that Lucullus himself had reported to the Senate that Tigranes had been completely subdued, it is obvious that the proconsul's victorious missives about Mithridates had been equally premature.

²³ Dio 36.45.

²⁴ See esp. R.S. Williams, *Aulus Gabinius: A Political Biography* (Diss. Michigan State University 1973), 48 f. for a good discussion of the political context and Gabinius' political methods. Since, in all likelihood, the Senate had already defined the consular provinces *lege Sempronia* in 68, this *lex Gabinia* probably was a *lex de permutatione prouinciae*. Nonetheless, the possibility that it was a *lex de bello Mithridatico M. Acilio Glabrione extra ordinem mandando* (on the analogy with the notorious Manilian Law of 66—see Asconius (ed. Orellius 1833, 66): *altera de bello Mithridatico Cn. Pompeio extra ordinem mandando, ex qua lege tum Magnus Pompeius bellum gerebat*) cannot be ruled out altogether.

²⁵ In fact, Dio in 36.16 ascribes Lucullus' embarrassing failure to maintain the loyalty of his troops, costing him the chance to conclude his brilliant campaign gloriously, entirely to his demanding, haughty, stingy and harsh disposition. See, for example, Plutarch, *Lucullus* 14.2 for war booty and loot providing a vital source of income for the rank and file at the time.

ruler of Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia and the regions extending to the Phasis, and declared that the sacking of Tigranes' palaces suggested that he had been sent to strip the kings, not to subdue them. According to Plutarch, these were chiefly the accusations of L. Quinctius,²⁶ "one of the praetors, to whom most of all the People listened when they passed a vote to send men who should succeed Lucullus in the command of his province. They also voted", Plutarch adds, "that many of the soldiers under him should be released from military service."²⁷ In *Luc.* 35.1–3, Plutarch clarifies that, after their mutiny at Nisibis during the winter of 68/67, the troops returned to their standards following Mithridates' defeat of M. Fabius Hadrianus and his march against Sornatius and Triarius, and departed with Lucullus to settle scores with Mithridates. However, while Lucullus was marching back to deal with Tigranes before he could join forces with Mithridates, the 'Fimbrians' mutinied and left their ranks, declaring "that they were discharged from service by decree, and that Lucullus no longer had the right to command them, since his provinces had been assigned to others."²⁸ In *Mithr.* 90, Appian, too, records that shortly after the defeat of Triarius, when Lucullus was already encamped near Mithridates, the proconsul of Asia sent heralds to proclaim that the Romans had accused Lucullus of needlessly prolonging the war, and had ordered that the soldiers under him be dismissed, and that the property of those who did not obey this order should be confiscated.²⁹ Appian adds that the troops concerned disbanded at once, except a few who remained with the proconsul because they were very poor and did not fear the penalty.

²⁶ For Plutarch's L. Quintus being really L. Quinctius, see (the sources listed in) *MRR* 2, 103.

²⁷ τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν, φασὶν ἓνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Λεύκιον Κόϊντον, ὃς οὐ μάλιστα πεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν διαδόχους τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσουσέων πολλοὺς ἀφεῖσθαι στρατείας.

²⁸ ὡς ἀρεμίνοι δόγματι τῆς στρατείας καὶ μηκέτι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ προσῆκον ἄρχειν, ἑτέροις ἀποδειγμένων τῶν ἐπαρχῶν.

²⁹ Λευκόλλου δ' ἤδη τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγὸς περιπέμπων ἐκήρυσσε Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλεῖν Λευκόλλῳ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος πολεμοῦντι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῶν οὐ πειθομένων τὰ ὄντα δημεύσειν. ὧν ἐξαγγελθέντων ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα διελύετο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. ὅσοι πάνυ πένητες ὄντες καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ δεδιότες τῷ Λευκόλλῳ παρέμενον. As the proconsul of Asia probably sent this message early in 67, it obviously regards the praetor who had drawn *prouvincia Asia* in 69. See *MRR* 2, 132; 139 for the plausible suggestion that the proconsul involved was P. Cornelius Dolabella. This eagerness on behalf of the proconsul of Asia suggests that he was hostile to Lucullus.

For the sake of this argument, it is not unimportant to point out that some confusion has crept into Plutarch's account. First, Plutarch's representation in *Luc.* 33.4f. might create the impression that as early as in 69 a plebiscite had assigned one or both consular provinces at the expense of Lucullus. The explicit connection between the dispatch of 'successors' for Lucullus and the demobilization of a considerable part of his army, however, strongly suggests that Plutarch refers to the popular vote of 67 on behalf of Acilius Glabrio. Plutarch seems to confuse the events of 67 with the Senate's decision of 69 to assign Cilicia as one of the consular provinces for 68. In *Luc.* 33.4, Plutarch simply recapitulates the case made by Lucullus' enemies before the Senate decided to withdraw Asia and Cilicia from his command.³⁰ L. Quinctius was thus praetor in either 69, since both Cilicia and Asia were mentioned in what reportedly was his speech, or 67, as his agitation is explicitly linked to the popular vote to send 'successors' to the command of Lucullus.³¹ At any rate, it is clear that Quinctius carried much weight with the commons and that the decrees of 69 concerning Asia and Cilicia were passed under strong popular pressure.³² Still not satisfied with the quite substantial reduction of Lucullus' command of 69, his opponents in Rome and abroad relentlessly continued to undermine him through 68 and finally won a complete victory at the outset of 67. Plutarch's twofold reference to 'successors' for Lucullus' 'provinces',³³ too, can be explained easily. Both in 69/68 and at the beginning of 67, successors indeed arrived successively for Asia (one of the praetors of 69), Cilicia (one of the consuls of 68) and Bithynia (one of the consuls of 67). Plutarch made the error of

³⁰ Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 223, n. 10 argues that Plutarch here confounds the events of two years, and that the reference to the release of some of Lucullus' troops from military service regards "surely a confusion with the release of the Valerians by Gabinius the following year".

³¹ *Contra* MRR 2, 138; Keaveney 1992, op. cit. (n. 11), 115, who range L. Quinctius among the praetors of 68. Mühl 1912, op. cit. (n. 7), c. 424 dates the praetorship of L. Quinctius correctly to 67. It is perfectly possible that L. Quinctius had already been vociferously opposing the position and policies of Lucullus in 69, making the argument paraphrased by Plutarch, and subsequently gave his full backing to Gabinius' bill to terminate Lucullus' command as praetor in 67.

³² Cf. MRR 1, 101; 103 (where Broughton more cautiously asserts that Quinctius was praetor in "68 or 67") for the fact that Lucullus as consul checked an attempt on the part of the tribune of the *plebs* L. Quinctius to restore the powers of the tribunate. Since we do not hear of him anymore in the context of the *leges Gabinia* and *Manilia* on behalf of Pompeius, Quinctius apparently acted primarily out of rancour towards Lucullus.

³³ Cf. *Lucullus* 33.5; 35.3, quoted in the above.

ascribing all three of these appointments to the same popular vote. Furthermore, a commission of *decem legati cum auctoritate* was dispatched at the very latest in 68 to assist Lucullus in his capacity of proconsul of Bithynia with the task of reorganizing Pontus and the surrounding regions.³⁴ That some of Lucullus' closest connections were among the appointees³⁵ confirms the suspicion that, regardless of the gradual reduction of Lucullus' sphere of command, the Senate still wanted him to put a glorious end to the war.³⁶ Although increasing popular and equestrian pressure may partially explain the assignments of 69 (Cilicia *prouincia consularis* for 68 and Asia *prouincia praetoria* for 69), these decisions probably also resulted from Lucullus' own optimistic reports of that year. As a matter of fact, Machares' request for Pontus to be enrolled amongst Rome's friends and allies made Lucullus decide that the war against Mithridates was finished and prompted him to invade Armenia. This campaign culminated in the defeat of Tigranes near Tigranocerta on the sixth of October 69.³⁷ The fact that the Senate in 68 authorized Marcius Rex to raise the considerable force of three legions in order to quash piracy in Cilicia further underscores their genuine belief that the time was ripe for an overall reorganization of the troubled peninsula.³⁸

³⁴ Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 223 suggests that by requesting for a commission of *decem legati*, Lucullus "had given his political enemies justification for charges that he was needlessly prolonging the war". In my view, quite the opposite is true.

³⁵ *Ad Atticum* 13.6a (June 45): *atque hoc etiam accepi, non solitos maiores nostros eos legare in decem qui essent imperatorum necessarii, ut nos ignari pulcherrimorum institutorum aut neglegentes potius M. Lucullum et L. Murenam et ceteros coniunctissimos ad L. Lucullum misimus*. These words also show that such commissions of *decem legati ex SC*, mandated to settle the affairs of a conquered area or a shattered province, were still common practice during the last century of the Republic.

³⁶ *MRR* 2, 129 (+ n. 6, 131) dates the appointment of the *decem legati* to 70, arguing that the favourable composition of the commission "suggests the leadership of the consuls of 69 rather than of 70, yet a political climate in Rome more favorable than that which set in in 69." In light of the fact that the Senate at any rate wanted Lucullus to complete his achievements against Mithridates, both 69 and, perhaps more plausible, 68 are perfectly feasible.

³⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus* 24.1; 27.7.

³⁸ For the plausible suggestion that Marcius' powerful Cilician command was primarily aimed at eradicating piracy in that region, see Keaveney 1992, op. cit. (n. 11), 124 "Rex's brief was to fight the pirates in Cilicia". Precisely one year later, Cn. Pompeius would conduct a sweeping campaign against the strongholds of Cilician piracy. Besides, the Senate had already demonstrated its determination to gain control of the Anatolian coastal waters in 73, when it proposed to vote no less than 3,000 talents to provide Lucullus with an adequate fleet for the war against Mithridates. According to Plutarch, *Lucullus* 13.4, this motion was eventually dropped since Lucullus himself wrote a letter in which he

Most importantly, however, Plutarch and Appian not only confirm that Lucullus was to be replaced altogether by vote of the People, but also that this statute at once ordered the demobilization of a part of his army. Under normal circumstances, the arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio in his province in the spring of 67 would have officially terminated Lucullus' command in Asia Minor. Since the Gabinian Law ordered the dismissal of a great number of Lucullus' soldiers³⁹ and Acilius himself assumed that he would easily gain the final victory against two kings widely believed defeated,⁴⁰ the plan clearly was to rob Lucullus of the crowning glory of his campaign. In all likelihood, Acilius Glabrio was to impose the *leges pacis* on the vanquished kings, possibly in cooperation with the *legati cum auctoritate* dispatched in 68.⁴¹ This bold intervention on the part of the *populares* was a direct assault on Lucullus' dignity. Once confronted with reality in the field, however, Acilius deemed it wiser to remain in Bithynia,⁴² so delaying the *traditio imperii* in the war against Mithridates. Lucullus' own decision to remain in Cappadocia with his unruly army, in the midst of a very chaotic situation, may suggest that he still nursed hopes that he would eventually be reinstated as commander in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes.⁴³

stated that he would drive Mithridates from the sea without such costly array, using only allied naval forces. Last but not least, the fact that Marcus Rex put P. Claudius Pulcher in command of his fleet in 67, leading to the latter's abduction by pirates (Dio 36.17.2 f.), also suggests that Marcus had been sent to Cilicia with a mandate to crush the infamous Cilician *praedones*. All this indicates that in 69/68, when the stage seemed to have been set for the restoration of law and order across Asia Minor, the Senate had also decided to destroy the threat of Cilician piracy.

³⁹ Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 226 points out that, as far as we know, Acilius was not given any new troops.

⁴⁰ M. Gelzer, *Das erste Consulat des Pompeius und die Übertragung der großen Imperien* (Berlin 1943), 31 rightly suggests that the clause of the law concerning the so-called Valerian legions shows that authorities in Rome underestimated the military situation in the East and had not factored the change for the worse.

⁴¹ Since Acilius Glabrio owed his command to a plebiscite passed early in 67 against the will of the Senate (cf. *infra*) and they had already dispatched *legati cum auctoritate* mandated to reorganize affairs in Asia Minor in cooperation with Lucullus, 'the Senate's proconsul, a collision between this plenipotentiary commission and Glabrio was written in the stars. For an excellent study on the role of such senatorial embassies in the administration of the provinces and in particular the nature of the so-called *leges prouvinciae*, see D. Hoyos, 'Lex Provinciae and governor's edict', *Antichthon* 7 (1973), 47–53.

⁴² See Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 226 for a good description of the hopeless situation confronting Glabrio at the time of his arrival.

⁴³ Comp. also *Lucullus* 35.4–6, where Plutarch records that at the behest of the other troops, the legally dismissed soldiers agreed to remain during the summer provided they

Equally importantly, there is some good circumstantial evidence for supposing that the Gabinian Law on behalf of Acilius Glabrio also broke new ground in that it contained a clause concerning the duration of his provincial tenure. First, Dio records in 36.42.4–43.2 that, at the very outset of 66, the tribune of the *plebs* C. Manilius, in a drastic bid to secure the support of Gabinius and Pompeius, “went so far as to offer him command in the war against Tigranes and that against Mithridates, and the governorship of Bithynia and Cilicia at the same time.” Dio goes on to say that,

ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ διότι ὁ τε Μάρκιος καὶ ὁ Ἀκίλιος πρὶν τὸν χρόνον σφίσι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήκειν κατελύοντο, ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ ὄμιλος, καίτοι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταστήσοντας τὰ ἐαλωκότα, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκῶς ἐξ ὧν σφίσιν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπεστάλκει, πέμψας, ὁμῶς ἐψηφίσαστο αὐτὰ, ἐναγόντων σφᾶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου.

Now indignation and opposition were manifest even then on the part of the *optimates*, particularly because Marcius and Acilius were being removed before the period of their command had expired.⁴⁴ But the populace, although a little earlier it had sent the proper officials to establish a government over the conquered territory, regarding the war as at an end from the letters which Lucullus sent them, nevertheless voted to do as Manilius proposed. They were urged to this course very strongly by Caesar and Marcus Cicero.⁴⁵

On the one hand, Dio’s valuable note implies that the *imperium* of Marcius Rex had probably been prolonged *in annum* in 67, which meant that he was normally entitled to govern Cilicia as proconsul throughout 66.

were to be discharged if no enemy should come down to fight them. After the expiration of this agreed term, the vast majority of these soldiers in rather theatrical fashion discharged from service.

⁴⁴ See Suetonius, *Diuus Iulius* 8 for the Latin equivalent being *ante tempus*: before the expiry of the officially defined term.

⁴⁵ Dio here wrongly suggests that the senatorial commission, too, had been constituted and sent out by virtue of a popular vote. It should not be doubted that it was dispatched by decree of the Senate some time before Gabinius passed his law on behalf of Acilius Glabrio. First, Dio himself notes in 36.46.1f. that Lucullus in 66 tried to convince Pompeius that the whole conflict was over and that there was no further need of an expedition, and that for this reason the men sent by Senate to arrange for the government of the conquered districts had duly arrived: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν πεμφθέντας ἤδη παρῆναι. Second, Cicero records in *Ad Atticum* 13.6a (June 45, quoted in n. 35) that some of Lucullus’ closest connections served in this commission. This positively rules out the possibility that they had been sent by the People as part of the campaign to deprive him of his responsibilities in the East.

On the other hand, it also indicates that the Gabinian Law had defined a *tempus* for Glabrio's command in Bithynia and the *bellum Mithridaticum*. Second, there is the fact that the subsequent and famous *lex Gabinia de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo* amongst other things empowered the proconsul Pompeius to exercise his *imperium* in the war against the pirates *in triennium*. Therefore, it is quite likely that the Gabinian Law concerning Glabrio's province contained an analogous clause authorizing him to administer Bithynia and the war against Mithridates *in triennium*, i.e., for three consecutive years. Admittedly, the Senate themselves had first introduced the practice of triennial provincial tenure on behalf of Cn. Pompeius and M. Antonius Creticus in 77 and 74 respectively.⁴⁶ The critical difference, though, was that the Senate could always revise their own decisions whereas they could not alter the provisions of statute law. Finally, it is important to point out that the Gabinian law concerning Glabrio's consular province was most probably passed *inuito senatu*, against the will of the Senate. In *Luc.* 35.7, Plutarch explains that the Senate, and the *nobiles* in particular, felt aggrieved about Lucullus' succession by Pompeius in 66 and considered the former a wronged man, because they believed that he had been superseded in a triumph, not in a war, and that he had been forced to relinquish and turn over to others the prizes of victory in his campaign, and not his campaign itself. By analogy, it is reasonable to suppose that the Gabinian Law on behalf of the consul Acilius Glabrio must have met with similar objections from the Senate, especially as the military situation had seemed much better at the turn of 68/67. Given these circumstances, it would have made perfect sense to protect Glabrio's provincial tenure legally so as to preclude any premature senatorial attempts to have him recalled or replaced.

It should not be doubted that this Gabinian Law was passed sometime at the very beginning of the year 67. Dio, whose chronologically organized account of this year runs from 36.12 to 36.42.2, mentions the imminent arrival of Acilius Glabrio in Bithynia 36.14.4–15.1, at a time when Q. Marcius Rex had not yet arrived in Cilicia. This suggests that the Gabinian Law must have been passed around, perhaps, February 67. Since Acilius subsequently departed for Bithynia at his earliest

⁴⁶ For Pompeius initially being granted a triennial tenure against Sertorius in 77, see F.J. Vervaet, 'Pompeius' career from 79 to 70 BCE: constitutional, political and historical considerations', *Klio* 91 (2009), 419–422; for M. Antonius (*pr.* 74) being given his command against the pirates *in triennium*, see Velleius 2.31.2–4.

convenience he had probably arrived in his province by May at the latest.⁴⁷ By analogy with the scope of the *tempora legitima* as defined by the *leges Vatinia* and *Pompeia Licinia* of 59 and 55 successively, which notoriously authorized Caesar to govern his provinces from 1 March 59 to 1 March 54 and then again from 1 March 54 to 1 March 49,⁴⁸ it is quite possible that this Gabinian law entitled Acilius to exercise his *imperium* in Bithynia and the war against Mithridates from, for example, 1 April 67 to 1 April 64.⁴⁹ This generous term would give him ample opportunity to end the war in eastern Asia Minor and so secure a public triumph, to reorganize the region in accordance with the best interest of the forces which had backed him, and, last but not least, to enrich himself.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Precisely forty years after the *lex Manlia* had transferred *prouincia Africa* and the war against Iugurtha from the proconsul Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (*cos.* 109) to the consul C. Marius,⁵⁰ a similar plebiscite transferred Bithynia with the war against Mithridates from the proconsul Lucullus to the consul Acilius Glabrio. Another striking parallel was that this plebiscite, too, was passed against the will of the Senate and with strong popular and equestrian backing. In terms of its scope, however, this Gabinian Law represents another important milestone in Roman history. In his famous analysis of the Roman polity as the prototype of composite, well-balanced constitution, Polybius explains that the Senate essentially had three instruments to keep the consuls—and by extension all *imperatores cum prouincia*—in check: namely its traditional discretion in all matters pertaining to (1) the *ornatio prouinciae* (*stipendium, uestimenta & frumentatio*); (2) the *tempus imperii* (through its decisions on *prorogatio imperii*); and (3) the ratification of the commanders' acts and grants of public funds for triumphs.⁵¹ As the provisions of the Gabinian Law defined the consul's *ornatio prouinciae* as well as a legally-guaranteed

⁴⁷ Williams 1984, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 221; 224, too, believes that this law was voted "Early in 67", and that the Gabinian law on piracy followed "later in the spring of 67". Williams (226) supposes that Glabrio left Rome in the spring of 67.

⁴⁸ A discussion of the *termini* of Caesar's successive quinquennial terms in the Gauls and Illyricum is beyond the scope of this inquiry.

⁴⁹ This would further explain why the consul was in such a hurry to make it to his province in 67: he wanted to make the most of his legally-guaranteed triennial tenure.

⁵⁰ See *MRR* 1, 550.

⁵¹ Polybius 6.15.2–8.

minimum term for his provincial command, two of these fundamental pillars of senatorial control were for the first time undermined simultaneously. While the first arrangement was, perhaps, modeled on the notorious *lex Sulpicia* of 88, which transferred the command against Mithridates from the consul Sulla to the extraordinarily appointed proconsul Marius,⁵² the additional establishment of a legally-defined *tempus imperii* represents an important precedent. By virtue of this clause, the position of Acilius Glabrio in Bithynia was secure vis-à-vis the Senate and this from some time early in 67 to some time early in 64. It therefore was this Gabinian Law rather than its successor concerning the war against piracy⁵³ which served as the pioneering, if largely forgotten, model for Caesar's legally-guaranteed quinquennial commands in the Gauls and Illyricum, and, ultimately, the successive long-term provincial commands granted to Augustus. Regardless of the fact that the Senate had set the precedent for triennial provincial tenure in 77 and 74, this Gabinian Law, passed hardly three years after the restoration of the *tribunicia potestas*, thus was a remarkable and audacious piece of legislation.

On the one hand, Acilius Glabrio was no part of the *pauci potentes* who dominated the Senate around 67, regardless of his noble ancestry.⁵⁴ On the other hand, as regards the question of the extent of Pompeius' involvement in the run-up and vote of this *lex Gabinia*, this analysis corroborates Williams' cogent argument that Acilius Glabrio did not receive the command against Mithridates as Pompeius' "place holder",⁵⁵ and that one may

⁵² Appian's note in *Bella Ciuilia* 1.57 that the legionaries encamped at Nola feared that Marius might enlist other soldiers instead of themselves strongly suggests that the Sulpician Law had transferred the six legions of the consular army to Marius, authorizing him to replace or supplement the legions as he saw fit.

⁵³ So E. Badian, 'The young Betti and the practice of history', in G. Crifò (ed.), *Costituzione Romana e Crisi della Repubblica* (Perugia 1986), 84 and K.M. Girardet, 'Imperium 'maius'. Politische und Verfassungsrechtliche Aspekte. Versuch einer Klärung', in *Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique, Entretiens, Tome XLVI: La Révolution Romaine après Ronald Syme* (Genève 2000), 184 n. 55.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Gelzer 1943, op. cit. (n. 40), 30; and Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 231; n. 48.

⁵⁵ For this line of thought, see, amongst others, J.M. Cobban, *Senate and Provinces 78–49 BC. Some aspects of the foreign policy and provincial relations in the Senate during the closing years of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge 1935), 123 f., who argues that Pompeius did not receive Lucullus' command in 67 in order not to snub the Senate needlessly: "Glabrio was deliberately chosen, without his own knowledge, to keep the place warm for Pompey. Certainly, there could have been no better choice; for while his known integrity lulled the Senate into acquiescence, his constitutional laziness and indecision

not consider this Gabinian law as “part of a single, far-sighted scheme, as many believe”, but as “one of a series of fortunate circumstances which Pompeius shrewdly manipulated to his own advantage.” To my thinking, Williams rightly concludes that,

“To see Pompeius as a Machiavellian overlord with the foresight to know how events in the East would stand in 66 is to exaggerate grossly his abilities. That Pompeius had secured and executed the pirate command brilliantly was due to his talents and ambition. That he had accomplished this within a year and was thus available to step into the now deteriorated command in the East in 66 was the result of his good fortune.”⁵⁶

Williams explains that Glabrio was the natural choice because C. Calpurnius Piso, “a political enemy whose active hostility was demonstrated later in Gabinus’ tribunate, was clearly unacceptable”.⁵⁷ This law effectively secured, if not the active support, the benevolent neutrality of one of the consuls of 67 and so seriously undermined the position of the remaining consul. Williams’ argument that this Gabinian Law cannot be considered a prelude to the *lex Manilia (de bello Mithridatico Cn. Pompeio extra ordinem mandando)* does not, however, preclude the probability that Gabinus, Pompeius and Acilius Glabrio had reached some agreement towards the end of 68: a bill to award Glabrio with a promising provincial command followed by a bill to invest Pompeius with a powerful command against the pirates, both commissions being granted *in triennium*.⁵⁸ There is every indication that at the beginning of 67, the

made his own replacement an easy matter when the time came.” For a similar view, see also R. Seager, *Pompey. A Political Biography* (Oxford 1979), 32; and Keaveney 1992, op. cit. (n. 11), 120f.

⁵⁶ Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 225–230.

⁵⁷ Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 230–232. An incident recorded in Dio 36.41.1f. indicates that ever since 78 there may have been bad blood between Glabrio and Lucullus. In that year, both men held the tribunate of the *plebs* and the praetorship successively. For the fact that even though the Calpurnii Pisones were not a monolithic bloc, they consistently opposed Pompeius and his associates well into the fifties BCE, see E.S. Gruen, ‘Pompey and the Pisones’, *CSCA* 1 (1968), 155–170.

⁵⁸ Williams final conclusion on this matter (Williams 1984, op. cit. (n. 7), 233f.: “All things considered, an interpretation that removes Pompeius from the role of Machiavellian mastermind in 67 is much more in keeping with both his military and political activities at that point in this career. Such an interpretation effectively takes into account the actions and ambitions of Gabinus and Glabrio and leads to a more balanced view of the complex political climate of the late first-century Republic. By stripping away the subsequent events of Mithridates’ revival and Pompeius’ succession to the Eastern command, more plausible explanations emerge for the issues at hand. Gabinus appears as an able tribune establishing popularis credentials and demonstrating his effectiveness in the

interests of Cn. Pompeius and those of Lucullus' predominantly *popularis* and equestrian enemies converged, to the detriment of the Senate and its control over the administration of the provinces, both in the short and the long term.

political arena. Pompeius' *amicitia* with Gabinius seems to be the result, rather the cause, of the Glabrio appointment. Glabrio surfaces from obscurity as a figure who hoped to benefit through personal military glory, not one who merely served as a place-holder for the awesome Pompeius. Finally one is able to see Pompeius in a more realistic frame of reference. He did not emerge in 67 from retirement to take charge of the Roman political arena. Rather, the political scene remained what it had been: a tapestry of many ambitious men, all seeking political power, military glory, and personal *dignitas*. Pompeius was ultimately the greatest beneficiary of events of 67, but still only the beneficiary.") should be qualified in this respect.

APPENDIX: THE PROVINCIAL
COMMAND OF C. CALPURNIUS PISO

On the basis of Dio 33.37.2 f., L. Lange suggested that this Gabinian Law also benefitted the other consul of 67, C. Calpurnius Piso, by putting him in command of Gallia Transalpina. According to Lange, this statute thus really was a *lex de prouinciis consularibus* rather than a *lex de bello Mithridatico*.⁵⁹ If this were true, this Gabinian Law would have been the first of its kind in Roman history. As this study focuses on the precedent value of this largely forgotten Gabinian Law, this matter certainly deserves further scrutiny and requires a closer look at how Piso got his consular province.

In 36.37.2 f., Dio relates that the Senate eventually proceeded to a reluctant ratification of the provisions of the *lex Gabinia de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo*, and likewise passed such other decrees from time to time as were necessary to their effectiveness. Dio also explains that this policy was prompted more particularly by the fact that the consul Piso refused to allow Pompeius' officers to levy troops in Gallia Narbonensis, "which he (then) governed".⁶⁰

*καὶ ἐκεῖνα τε καὶ ἡ γερονσία καὶ ἄκουσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα
πρόσοφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἦν ἐκάστοτε ἐγίνωσκεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ
Πίσωνος μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῇ Γαλατία τῇ
Ναβωνησίᾳ, ἧς ἦρχε, ποιήσασθαι*

⁵⁹ L. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* 3 (Berlin 1876, 3rd ed.), 209f.: "da setzte sich A. Gabinius den Antrag durch, daß Bithynien nebst Pontus dem Consul M'. Acilius Glabrio als sofort anzutretende Provinz überwiesen und die Legiones Valerianae entlassen werden sollten. Bei der Kürze des einen diese *lex Gabinia* nennende Sallustianischen Fragments muß es dahin gestellt bleiben, ob die *Lex Gabinia* passender eine *lex de bello Mithridatico* oder eine *lex de prouinciis consularibus* genannt wird. Letzteres erscheint indessen wahrscheinlicher, weil der andere Consul C. Calpurnius Piso schon in seinem Consulatsjahre sich als Statthalter der Provinz Gallia Narbonensis betrachtete, obwohl er erst 688/66 dahin abging. Offenbar war es die Absicht dieser *Lex Gabinia*, zunächst den Lucullus, der die Provinz Asia vorläufig behielt, lahm zu legen, um dann, wenn sich M'. Acilius Glabrio, wie erwartet werden konnte, unfähig bewies, diesem und nicht direct dem Lucullus, den Pompejus als Nachfolger zu senden. Da diese Absicht sorgfältig verheimlicht wurde, so scheint der Antrag, der den Interessen der beiden Consuln entsprach, ohne Schwierigkeiten durchgegangen zu sein. Erst nachdem dieß gelungen war, aber auch noch früh im Jahre (vgl. S. 212), promulgirte A. Gabinius den zweiten, auf die Unterdrückung der Seeräuber bezüglichen Antrag ..." In the same sense (supposedly) also A.W. Zumpt, *Studia Romana* (1859), 55 (non vidi).

⁶⁰ That Piso had been put in charge of Gallia Narbonensis is also on record in Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 49.2.

The consul's intractable opposition so angered the commons that they "would straightway have removed him from office, had not Pompeius begged him off".⁶¹ After this incident, Dio goes on to say, Pompeius prepared his campaign as he saw fit and subsequently managed to subdue the greater part of the Mediterranean in 67.⁶² In *Pomp.* 27.1 f., Plutarch likewise records that, from Rome (*ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ*), Piso, consumed with wrath and envy, interfered with Pompeius' equipment and discharged his crews. Pompeius therefore had to send his fleet round to Brundisium while he himself promptly returned to Rome by way of Tuscany. Since abundant provisions were meanwhile flowing into Rome, his popularity among the commons skyrocketed. Plutarch also recounts that Piso was almost deprived of his consulship and that Pompeius personally prevented the passage of a *rogatio Gabinia de abrogando imperio C. Calpurnii Pisonis* as well as a series of other hostile acts. Pompeius subsequently departed for Brundisium and set sail, "after arranging everything else in a reasonable matter and getting what he wanted",⁶³ evidently by virtue of those supplementary *senatus consulta* on record in Dio. Plutarch sets Pompeius' intervention immediately after his preliminary campaign to purge the Tyrrhenian and the Libyan Seas and the waters about Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily, the so-called *provinciae frumentariae*, an operation which reportedly took only forty days.⁶⁴

Piso's last-ditch attempt to block Pompeius' designs should come as no surprise. After all, his fierce opposition against the *rogatio Gabinia de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo* had almost had him lynched by a furious mob on the day of its promulgation. In 36.24.1–3, Dio clarifies that the senators were so outraged at this bill that they almost slew Gabinius in the *curia*. When the commons learned of this they turned violent and stormed the Senate-house. Dio indicates that the senators would have perished had they not fled the scene. Piso, however, boldly stood his ground, and only a personal intervention on the part of Gabinius himself saved him from being slain on the spot.⁶⁵ In

⁶¹ δεινῶς ὁ ὄμιλος ἠγανάκτησε· καὶ εὐθύς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πομπήιος παρετήσατο.

⁶² Dio 36.37.3 f.

⁶³ διαπραξάμενος ὧν ἔδειτο.

⁶⁴ *Pompeius* 26.3 f. Plutarch explains that all his sources were unanimous on the matter of the duration of this part of Pompeius' war on piracy. Appian also attests in *The Mithridatic Wars* 95 that Pompeius cleared the Western basin of the Mediterranean from piracy in forty days.

⁶⁵ In *Pro Flacco* 98, Cicero recalls that Piso had been a *consul fortis constansque*.

Pompeius 25.4, Plutarch likewise relates that one of the consuls (τῶν μὲν ὑπάτων ἄτερος) was nearly lynched by a mob when he told Pompeius after the promulgation of the *rogatio Gabinia* that if he emulated Romulus he would share his fate.⁶⁶ Further in his account of 67 Dio moreover recounts that, later that year, Piso headed the optimate opposition against the program of the tribune C. Cornelius, and how his *fasces* were broken to pieces by a furious crowd as a result of his raving opposition to Cornelius's intention to carry a bill reasserting the exclusive discretion of the People in matters involving exemptions from the existing laws.⁶⁷

As Piso thus was one of the most zealous opponents to the *rogatio Gabinia de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo*, the possibility that he had shortly before received his consular province by virtue of another *lex Gabinia* is highly unlikely. Lange's suggestion has therefore rightly found very little acceptance.⁶⁸ It is generally assumed that Piso, also on record as governor of Cisalpine Gaul,⁶⁹ got both Gauls by decree

⁶⁶ This note shows that Acilius Glabrio was still in Rome at this time, which suggests that this Gabinian bill, too, must have been promulgated and passed sometime early in 67.

⁶⁷ Dio 36.39.3. For the fact that Piso's *fasces* were broken in consequence of his opposition against this bill, see also Asconius, *Pro Cornelio* 1, p. 48 (ed. Stangl 1912). In 36.38, Dio asserts that in 67, the Senate ordained both consuls to frame a law *de ambitu*, in reaction to C. Cornelius' far more severe bill on bribery. In 39.1 f., Dio indicates that since the (consular) elections had already been announced and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, the Senate voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and that a body-guard should be given "to the consuls". Cornelius angrily responded by proposing to make the People the sole source of exemption from the laws. In 36.39.3, Dio goes on to say that this particular bill caused the uproar wherein Piso's *fasces* were broken. At first sight, one might deduce from Dio's representation that Acilius Glabrio was still in Rome around mid-67. However, as Cicero, *Pro Murena* 46; 67, Asconius p. 68; 75; 89 and *Scholia Bobiana* p. 361 (ed. Orellius 1833) invariably mention a *lex Calpurnia (de ambitu)*, not a *lex Calpurnia Acilia*, and since only Piso took the lead of the optimate opposition against Cornelius' rogation *de legibus soluendo*, it is better to conclude that Dio is mistaken in that Acilius Glabrio was no longer in Rome at the time of the political turmoil caused by these two Cornelian bills. The Senate might have simply referred to the generic plural in its decree concerning a body-guard for Piso. This also implies that the definition of this law as a '*lex [Acilia] Calpurnia de ambitu*' (e.g., G. Rotondi, *Leges Publicae Populi Romani* (Milano 1912), 374; C. Macdonald in the 1996 [= 3rd] Loeb edition of Cicero's *Pro Murena*, 174), ought be discarded in favour of '*lex Calpurnia de ambitu*' tout court.

⁶⁸ Rotondi 1912, op. cit. (n. 67), 373 makes mention of a "Lex Gabinia (de provinciis consularibus?)". Gelzer 1943, op. cit. (n. 40), 41 n. 7 takes note of Lange's suggestion but stops short of expressing his own view on the matter. Gelzer leaves aside the question whether Piso in 67 received Cisalpina, too.

⁶⁹ See *Ad Atticum* 1.1.1.2 (Rome, shortly before 17 July 65), where Cicero tells Atticus

of the Senate, and that at least the Cisalpine province was assigned during his actual term of office.⁷⁰ In my opinion, Dio does not offer any relevant information in 36.37.2f. concerning the procedure by which Piso got Gallia Narbonensis. Although Dio's fairly extensive report of 67 (from 36.12 to 36.42.2) is partially lost (the bits from 36.17.3 to 36.18, and from 36.36.4 to 36.37), it looks as if he didn't make any mention of the Gabinian Law on behalf of the consul Acilius Glabrio. Dio's narrative rather revolves chiefly around the *lex Gabinia de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo* (36.20–36.37.1). Neither does Dio indicate that Piso's colleague got his attractive provincial command by means of a popular vote, something he could have done perfectly in, for example, 36.14.4; 15.3 and 17.1.

Anyhow, the information provided by Dio and Plutarch is not at all inconsistent or contradictory.⁷¹ Both sources clearly show that in the immediate aftermath of Pompeius' appointment to his second extraordinary proconsulship by virtue of the Gabinian Law, Piso proactively tried to prevent him from making the necessary preparations and apparently did so wherever he felt entitled to, viz. in Gallia Narbonensis, his *provincia decreta*, as well as in Italy.⁷² That Piso staged this interference as consul

that he planned to serve on Piso's staff in (Cisalpine) Gaul from September 65 to January 64, and Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 49.2.

⁷⁰ Willems 1883, op. cit. (n. 6), 577 n. 1 suggests that Piso got Gallia Narbonensis under the terms of the Sempronian law, and argues (578) on the basis of Dio 36.37 that Piso governed this province in 67 *in absentia*, through legates. Gelzer 1943, op. cit. (n. 40), 41 n. 7 observes that Willems "Wohl unrichtig bezieht . . . die Diostelle 578, 4 auf Legaten des Piso, und so bleibt fraglich, ob er seine Provinzen schon durch Senatsbeschluss erhalten hatte." With reference to Dio 36.37.2f., Broughton (*MRR* 2, 143) claims that Gallia Transalpina, too, was given to Piso during his consulship. N.J. Woodall, *A Study of the Lex Sempronia de Provinciis Consularibus with reference to the Roman constitution and Roman politics from 123 to 48 B. C.* (Dissertation State University of New York at Albany 1972), 89f., however, believes that this passage from Dio does not rule out the possibility that Transalpina was assigned *lege Sempronia*, although uncertainty remains.

⁷¹ *Contra* H. Siber, *Das Führeramt des Augustus* (Leipzig 1940), 29 where it is argued that Dio caused confusion to the extent that he mixed up "den von Plutarch Pompeius 27, 1 erzählten Widerstand, den Piso als Konsul 67 den Rüstungen in Italien geleistet hatte, mit einem Fall, der sich erst in den Jahren seiner prokonsularen Statthalterschaft in der Narbonensis 66/65 zugetragen haben kann". Gelzer 1943, op. cit. (n. 40), 41 n. 7 thinks it unlikely that Dio would not have extracted this detailed information directly from one of his sources, and correctly adds that "Plutarch, der von Entlassung der Schiffsmannschaften spricht, kann zur Not auch damit vereinbart werden."

⁷² As is clear from Plutarch, *Pompeius* 27.1.

from Rome is particularly interesting.⁷³ Normally, any imperator could only exercise his *imperium* in his *prouincia decreta* from the moment he had physically entered this *prouincia*, the so-called *traditio imperii* being the embodiment of the actual assumption of the right to wield one's *imperium* in one's decreed province.⁷⁴ Piso's notable (and noted) interference from Rome suggests that he might have felt entitled to do so in consequence of a more or less unusual situation. As Lange's erroneous assumption that Piso interfered in Narbonensis because he was given this province by virtue of a law fails to explain why Piso apparently also tampered with Pompeius' equipment in Rome and Italy,⁷⁵ this question requires a more plausible explanation.

To my thinking, the highly strategic concentration of both the Gallic provinces under the command of the consul Piso suggests an unusual arrangement made in the face of an exceptional situation. Possibly, the Senate had assigned both Gauls in 68 to the consuls of 67, in accordance with the provisions of the Sempronian Law. While the *lex Gabinia* on behalf of Acilius Glabrio doubtlessly sullied the prestige of the Senate and must have offended proud nobles like Piso, Pompeius' subsequent election to a position of unprecedented and unparalleled power doubtlessly caused far greater concern amongst the vast majority of senators, now fearful of outright military despotism.⁷⁶ It is, therefore, quite possible that the *rogatio Gabinia* against piracy prompted the Senate to assign both the Gallic provinces *sine sorte* to the 'loyal' consul. This would create a powerful safeguard to protect Rome and Italy against any possible Pompeian *coup d'état*.⁷⁷ On the strength of this strong senatorial backing and his consulship, which theoretically still made him one of two *summi imperatores* in charge of the Republic and the provinces of the Roman Peo-

⁷³ Compare also Gelzer 1943, op. cit. (n. 40), 41, n. 7, who remarks that if Lange would be right and Piso did owe his province to a *lex de prouinciis consularibus*, "so ergäbe sich die wichtige Erkenntnis, daß Piso, obwohl noch als Konsul in Rom amtierend, sich berechtigt fühlte, in der ihm durch Plebiszit übertragenen Provinz derartige Verfügungen zu treffen."

⁷⁴ See Chapter 4 (*Summum imperium auspiciumque* and *prouincia*) of my forthcoming monograph on *The Roman High Command. The Principle of the summum imperium auspiciumque under the Roman Republic*.

⁷⁵ Plutarch, *Pompeius* 27.1 f.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Dio 36.24.1 f.; Plutarch, *Pompeius* 25.3 f.

⁷⁷ After all, Pompeius had already ruthlessly abused his legions to impose his will upon the Senate in 80, 77 and 71: Vervae 2009, op. cit. (n. 46). In all likelihood, Gabinius and his associates refrained from obstructing this decree not to endanger their own projects for 67 by pushing Piso and the Senate to the limits.

ple,⁷⁸ Piso perhaps felt strong enough to interfere with Pompeius' equipment in Italy and his *provinciae decretae*. In the face of what he and most of his senatorial peers perceived as a formidable threat to the Republic, he may have simply felt that it was his duty to obstruct Pompeius *rei publicae causa*, even if this meant a measured breach of prevailing rules and restrictions.⁷⁹ Both Gabinius and Pompeius must have subsequently made it clear to Piso that he had no right whatsoever to exercise his *imperium* in his decreed provinces *in absentia*,⁸⁰ and that he was furthermore obstructing the execution of the provisions of a tremendously popular piece of comitial legislation. In all likelihood, Gabinius framed his bill to abrogate Piso's *imperium* as a clear warning that, once stripped of office, he could and would be prosecuted for violations of the *lex Cornelia maiestatis*.⁸¹ Both Dio and Plutarch explicitly attest that only after Gabinius and next Pompeius himself had brought the recalcitrant consul to reason, the Senate reconciled itself with the facts by passing a series of decrees in support of Pompeius' equipment efforts as provided for in the Gabinian law.⁸² This was not the end of this bitter feud, though, as Piso

⁷⁸ For a discussion of this theoretical Republican constitutional doctrine, see Chapter 6 (The consuls and the *provinciae Populi Romani*) of my forthcoming monograph on *The Roman High Command. The Principle of the summum imperium auspiciumque under the Roman Republic*.

⁷⁹ As Piso's interference seems to have been limited to Italy, traditionally a consular sphere of power, and his decreed provinces, he apparently decided to act with calculated measurement. See, for example, Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 19 (*Gabinius se id fecisse dicebat rei publicae causae, quod classem Archelai timeret, quod mare refertum fore praedonem putaret*) for the fact that legislation restricting certain activities and movements on the part of provincial commanders (*maiestatis, repetundarum*) allowed for exceptions on an *ad hoc* basis and *rei publicae causa*, in the best interest of the Republic. Obviously, invoking such discretionary clauses in court would require a very strong defence argument.

⁸⁰ Lange wrongly supposes that a *lex Gabinia de provinciis consularibus* had empowered Piso to exercise his *imperium* in his province *in absentia*. In my opinion, Cn. Pompeius was the first proconsul ever to receive the right to administrate his provinces *in absentia*, while remaining in Italy and through *legati pro praetore*: Velleius 2.48.1 and Dio 39.39.4. Pompeius got this privilege by virtue of the Trebonian Law of 55, the exception being officially made *rei publicae causa*, in order in order to allow Pompeius to continue his *curatio annonae*: Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.1; Dio 39.39.4.

⁸¹ Not quite correctly, Williams 1973, *op. cit.* (n. 24), 68 styles this move on the part of Gabinius as "an unprecedented step which would have been truly revolutionary had it been carried out." For *abrogatio imperii* usually being the first step towards criminal prosecution, see R.A. Bauman, "The abrogation of imperium, some cases and a principle" *RhM* 111 (1968), 37–50.

⁸² Dio 36.37.1 f.; *Pompeius* 27.2, *cf. supra*.

was eventually prosecuted *de pecuniis repetundis* in 63 for facts allegedly committed in Transpadane Gaul, Caesar being among the advocates of the provincials.⁸³

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⁸³ Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 98; Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* 49.2.

THE 'ULTIMATE FRONTIER':
WAR, TERROR AND THE GREEK *POLEIS*
BETWEEN MITHRIDATES AND ROME

T. ÑACO DEL HOYO, B. ANTELA-BERNÁRDEZ,
I. ARRAYÁS-MORALES, S. BUSQUETS-ARTIGAS¹

“On the one hand, we have to see the world in terms of the choices made by these local communities; on the other, we have to remember that Rome was not the only imperialist power [in the East], and that Roman control was fluctuating and incomplete throughout most of the century.”²

In 88 Mithridates VI Eupator instigated a great number of Greek *poleis*. With Ephesus at its head, they systematically murdered, on the same day, all the *romaioi* who for decades had controlled their ports and were in charge of collecting *vectigalia* in the name of Rome.³ All of this took place a few months after Mithridates' spring intervention in the province of Asia, when the Pontic kingdom took advantage of the Republic's

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² F. Millar, 'The Mediterranean and the Roman revolution: politics, war, and the economy', in H.M. Cotton—G.M. Rogers (eds.), *Rome, the Greek World, and the East* vol. 1 (Chapel Hill—London 2002), 224–225.

³ Appian, *Mithridateios* 22; 54; 62; Cicero, *pro Lege Manilia* 3.8; 5.11; Cicero, *pro Flacco* 57; 59; Livius, *Periochae* 78; Velleius Paterculus, 2.38.1; Valerius Maximus, 9.2.3; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.14.2; Plutarch, *Sulla* 24.7; Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos* 6.2.2–3; Eutropius, 5.5.2; Florus 1.40.7. See, most recently: S. Alcock, 'Making sure you know whom to kill: spatial strategies and strategic boundaries in the Eastern Roman Empire', *Millennium* 4 (2007), 13–20; T. Ñaco—B. Antela-Bernárdez—I. Arrayás-Morales—S. Busquets-Artigas, 'The impact of the Roman intervention in Greece and Asia Minor upon civilians (88–63 BC)', in B. Antela—T. Ñaco (eds.), *Transforming Historical Landscapes in the Ancient Empires, BA.R., Int.Ser.* 1986 (Oxford 2009), 38–39; A. Mayor, *The Poison King* (Princeton 2009), 13–26.

weakness, still in the midst of the Social War, to advance decisively over Roman territory. Later on, in 85, the deportation of the majority of the population of the city of Chios, also under Mithridates' orders, had the contrary effect on Greek public opinion, which largely rejected it, even in the cities that had initially supported the Pontic king.⁴

Both cases indicate that the Mithridatic Wars elevated the scale of violence in the Eastern Mediterranean to rates that were previously unknown, with intense combats and harsh reprisals. Nevertheless, neither army suffered the most in the conflict; the situation of intense war and prolonged periods of 'cold war' notably increased collateral damage, which took the form of sieges and plunder of the urban centres, seriously affecting its inhabitants. Confronted with such atrocities, it was very difficult for the *poleis* to respond unanimously, for they were socially and politically divided; a situation that was undoubtedly used by both powers. The support to either Mithridates or the Republic depended on who controlled the city at each moment, either the *demos* or certain aristocratic factions. After all, the survival of these elites also depended on the eventual success or failure of their political alliance with one of the two superpowers.⁵ It is precisely this 'ultimate frontier', understood in geostrategical terms, that this article will analyze in detail, using evidence from the cities of continental Greece, the islands and Asia Minor.

SIX TOWNS, TWO SUPERPOWERS, ONE DESTINY

During the year 101/100, Athens suffered a harsh slave revolt.⁶ The economic losses resulted in the impoverishment of a good portion of Athenian society.⁷ In the following decade, the most significant posts in

⁴ Appian *Mithridateios* 46–47; Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 23; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941), 2; 941–942; W.Z. Rubinsohn, 'Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysos and Rome's conquest of the Hellenistic east', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8.1 (1993), 31–33; R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1995), 271; L. Ballesteros Pastor, *Mithridates Eupator, rey del Ponto* (Granada 1996), 130–133; J. Thornton, 'Terror, terrorismo e imperialismo. Violenza e intimidazione nell'età della conquista romana', in G. Urso (ed.), *Terror et pavor* (Pisa 2006), 290–291.

⁵ F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites and the Empire* (Leiden-Boston 2007), 20–49; J.M. Madsen, 'The ambitions of Mithridates VI: Hellenistic kingship and modern Interpretation', in J.M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom* (Aarhus 2009), 191–201.

⁶ *SIG*² 711; E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens and Mithridates', *American Journal of Ancient History* 1 (1976), 105–128; S.V. Tracy, *IG II² 2336* (Meisenheim am Glan 1982), 155–182.

⁷ S.V. Tracy, 'Athens in 100', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83 (1979), 233.

Athenian politics were held by a reduced number of figures,⁸ probably the only ones with sufficient capital to confront the elevated costs of the main positions of public responsibility.⁹ The source of wealth of this dominating group, with Medeios of Piraeus at its head, apparently came from the commerce of the island of Delos.¹⁰ Actually, the men who monopolized political posts during the decade of the 90s also did the same with the rest of the offices on Delos. In 91, Medeios was elected and then re-elected Archon several times until 88,¹¹ and in 88/7, *anarchía* was declared. This unusual situation is reflected in Athenion's speech, in which he judged the Roman senate responsible for the situation in Athens. Thus, with the support of many impoverished citizens,¹² Athenion seized power in Athens.¹³ He then sent Apellicon of Teos to Delos to assure Athenian control over the Delian treasure.¹⁴ The mission was unsuccessful, and nothing more is known of Athenion or Apellicon.¹⁵ Shortly after, the Pontic general Archelaos reduced Delos by force.¹⁶ The money obtained helped finance the government of the Epicurean Aristion, who governed Athens as a loyal ally of Mithridates until Sulla deposed him in 86.¹⁷

Unlike Athens, the city of Kos almost brought disaster on itself in 88 by joining the *poleis* of Asia that had sided with Mithridates. Fortunately

⁸ P. MacKendrick, *The Athenian Aristocracy 339 to 31 BC* (Cambridge 1969), 55; E. Badian, op. cit. (n. 6), 106; Tracy, op. cit. (n. 6), 159–164.

⁹ D. Glew, 'The Selling of the King', *Hermes* 105 (1977), 255; S.V. Tracy, op. cit. (n. 7), 207.

¹⁰ On Athens and Delos: C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Anthony* (Cambridge 1997), 246–263. On the Roman interests in Delos, see: C. Hasenohr—C. Müller, 'Gentilices et circulation des Italiens: quelques reflexions méthodologiques', in C. Hasenohr—C. Müller (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le Monde Grec* (Paris 2002), 13–16; C. Habicht, 'Roman citizens in Athens (228–231)', in M.C. Hoff—S.I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens* (Oxford 1997), 9–17; C. Hasenohr, 'Les Italiens à Délos: entre romanité et hellénisme', *Pallas* 73 (2007), 221–232. On Athens and Rome: E. Candiloro, 'Politica e cultura en Atene da Pidna alla guerra Mitridaica', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14 (1965), 134–176.

¹¹ An unprecedented event in Athenian politics: E. Badian, op. cit. (n. 6), 108.

¹² Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.20.5.; B. Antela-Bernárdez, 'Between Medeios and Mithridates: The Peripathetic Constitution of Athens in 88 BC', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 171 (2009), 105–108.

¹³ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 5.212–213; L. Ballesteros Pastor, 'Atenión', *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua* 23 (2005), 385–400.

¹⁴ C. Hoff, 'Sulla's siege of Athens in 87/6 BC and its aftermath', in Hoff—Rotroff 1997, op. cit. (n. 10), 34; B. Antela-Bernárdez, 'Sila no vino a aprender Historia Antigua', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 111.2 (2009), 475–491.

¹⁵ B. Antela-Bernárdez, op. cit. (n. 12).

¹⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 214D–215B; Appian, *Mithridateios* 28; Pausanias 1; 20,5; Plutarch, *Lucullus* 12.1.

¹⁷ G.R. Bugh, 'Athenion and Aristion', *Phoenix* 46 (1992), 108–123.

for Kos, its actions at the beginning and end of the Pontic dominion of Asia were sufficient to avoid the direct consequences of Roman revenge, because, like Chios, Kos protected the Roman and Italian settlers from the massacre that spread throughout the Asian cities.¹⁸ Kos only accepted to surrender to Mithridates' demands out of pure necessity, for the island was not prepared to sustain a Pontic assault, like neighbouring Rhodes had done.¹⁹ Instead, the latter showed itself a loyal ally of Rome. From the beginning of Roman intervention in Hellenistic affairs, at the end of the third century BC, Rhodes played a predominant role in the relations between Rome and the local powers, although the tensions that broke out periodically conditioned the policy of the city for the following centuries. After Pydna (168), the Republic punished Rhodes' ambiguous attitude during the Third Macedonian War. This was carried out by directly attacking the commercial capacities of Lycia and Caria and creating the free Port of Delos.²⁰ Considering the complex Romano-Rhodian relationship of the second century, as well as their behaviour during the First Mithridatic War, it is hardly surprising that the Rhodians adopted a resigned and loyal alliance with Rome, conscious that the latter unquestionably dominated the whole Mediterranean, despite the temporary victories of Mithridates.²¹

During the very last period of the First Mithridatic War, Pergamon and other Asian *poleis* were directly involved in combat (Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 24.4). The imminent arrival of Fimbria forced Mithridates to flee the city that he had made his capital since the winter of 89, while he helplessly watched the defection of most of the Asian *poleis*.²² There are three inscriptions that refer to the king's period at Pergamon that are dedicated to his supporters: two in

¹⁸ A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East 168 BC to AD 1* (London 1984), 240.

¹⁹ K. Buraselis, *Kos. Between Hellenism and Rome* (Philadelphia 2000), 15.

²⁰ E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the coming of Rome 1* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1984), 39–40.

²¹ Its role as a Roman ally may already be seen in the campaigns against the pirates: H.A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool-London 1924), 208–209; Ph. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1999); Ph. de Souza, 'Naval battles and sieges', *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (Cambridge 2008), 1; 435–437.

²² Appian, *Mithridateios* 52; 56; Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos* 6.2.10; Livius, *Periochae* 83.1; Plutarch, *Sulla* 23.7; *Lucullus* 3.4; Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 24.5; Ballesteros Pastor 1996, op. cit. (n. 4), 175–180; F. de Callataÿ, *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1997) 5; 40–42; 286–293; 321–325; 332.

honour of respective *strategoï* (I.Perg. 453–454) and one dedicated to the priest Asclepiades (I.Perg. 474). A fourth one might have honoured a pro-Roman *strategos*, who, at the arrival of Fimbria, resisted in the acropolis (I.Perg. 455; IGRR 4, 298).²³ The inscription records the stress suffered in Pergamon in those days; a divided city and symbol of the adherence of the Asian cities to the Pontic cause,²⁴ which had, furthermore, participated in the massacre of *romaïoi* decreed by Eupator.²⁵ It is possible that the *strategos* took over the reign of the city after the flight of the king, as the leader of the pro-Roman elite faction and, therefore, initiated the transition towards the restitution of Roman control.²⁶

During the Mithridatic wars, the destiny of Heraclea Pontica was marked by a calculated equidistance between Rome's interests and those of the Pontic king. Most of the historical evidence for this period derives from the historian, Memnon who was probably of Heracleian origin.²⁷ Despite the geographical proximity of Pontus, Heraclea's pro-Roman character was well established since the beginning of the second century, probably thanks to a certain military alliance of mutual protection.²⁸ After receiving several legations from Heraclea during the war between Antiochus III and Rome (192–189), Memnon records the brothers Publius and Cornelius Scipio sending a letter ratifying, in the name of the senate, the terms of a military alliance. It was promulgated through a double inscription in bronze (Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 18.6–10). However, since there exists a similar inscription referring to Heraclea under Latmos, this may cause a degree of confusion. This inscription, attributed to the second Heraclea and dated to

²³ T. Drew-Bear, 'Deux décrets hellénistiques d'Asie Mineure', *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 96 (1972), 435–471; C.P. Jones, 'Diodoros Paspáros and the Nikephoria of Pergamon', *Chiron* 4 (1974), 198–199.

²⁴ B.C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (Leiden 1986), 94–108; B. Virgilio, *Gli Attalidi di Pergamo* (Pisa 1993), 73–74.

²⁵ M. Sartre, 'Tuez-les tous ou les Grecs, Rome et Mithridate VI Eupator', *Histoires Grecques* (Paris 2006), 315–323.

²⁶ Virgilio 1993, op. cit. (n. 24), 74–75.

²⁷ H.B. Mattingly, 'Rome's earliest relations with Byzantium, Heraclea Pontica and Callatis', in A.G. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria* (Nottingham 1983), 1; 241–143; 249–250; L. Jonnes, *The inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica* (Bonn 1994); S.Y. Saprykin, *Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman Domination. VI–I centuries BC* (Amsterdam 1997).

²⁸ S.M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: the emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley—London—Los Angeles 1976), 1–3; D.B. Erciyas, *Wealth, aristocracy and royal propaganda under the Hellenistic kingdom of the Mithradatids* (Leiden-Boston 2006), 11; 13.

c. 190, mentions a letter, in which both Scipios recognized the ‘freedom’ of the city, just before announcing the arrival of L. Orbius, “so that no one should trouble you” (CIG 3800, lin. 16–17), perhaps as the head of a hypothetical Roman garrison. Actually, in the midst of the Macedonian War in 171, Heraclea Pontica sent two triremes to Chalcis, where the Roman fleet of M. Lucretius was docked, although the latter refused the reinforcements (Livy, 42.56.5–7). This dispatch must have been part of the military obligations assumed by various cities of the Black Sea, Heraclea among them, established in the treaty that ended the war between Pharnaces of Pontus and Eumenes II of Pergamon (183–179). In fact, the inscription, which preserves some of its clauses, already reveals the increasing Roman influence over the region, which was made more explicit at the end of the Third Macedonian War in 168.²⁹

CONFRONTING MITHRIDATES & ROME: COLLATERAL DAMAGE AMONG THE GREEKS

The commercial and mercantile capacity of the port of Delos was completely linked to the maintenance of the circulation of goods from the recently created Roman province of Asia.³⁰ Many of the Italian residents in Delos were dedicated to the mercantile relations between Rome and the East.³¹ Still, despite their number, there is no mention of any *Romaioi* from Delos having suffered the Ephesian Vespers.³² Amiotti has showed the adherence (through clientage) of the majority of the victims, probably *negotiatores*, to the Marian party. Additionally, we also know of the links that existed between the governing elite of Athens, through Medeios, and the Marian faction during the decade of the 90s, if not before.³³ Therefore, blaming the senate of the Athenian *anarchia*, Athenion’s words must be taken into consideration. It is very probable that, despite the theo-

²⁹ Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 23.1; J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme* (Rome 1988), 150–154; n. 88; J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford 2002), 367.

³⁰ E. Will, *Histoire Politique du Monde Hellénistique* 2 (323–30 av. J.C.) (Nancy 1982), 382–383; S.V. Tracy, op. cit. (n. 6), 146–153.

³¹ C. Hasenohr, ‘Les collèges de magistris et la communauté italienne de Délos’, in Müller—Hasenohr 2002, op. cit. (n. 10), 67–76.

³² G. Amiotti, ‘I Greci ed il massacre degli Italici nell’ 88 a. C.’, *Aevum* (1980), 132–139.

³³ S. Byrne, ‘IG II² 1095 and the Delia of 98 / 7’, *Zeitschrift Papyrologie Epigraphik* 109 (1995), 59.

retical autonomy of Athens after the end of the Achaean War,³⁴ Rome would have favoured the creation of a dominant group through which to manage its relation with Athens.³⁵ Furthermore, this pro-Roman aristocratic group maintained its economic position through the onerous Delian commerce, as is clear from the case of Medeios.³⁶

Thus, the figure of Athenion remains as a sort of opposition to the 'conservative' elite, represented by Medeios. Athenion and Apellicon,³⁷ as well as their salient supporters, including Aristion, were all rich descendants from foreign families with mercantile links to Delos, and had recently acquired citizenship.³⁸ In addition, they were also the commercial competitors of the *negotiatores* and the Italians, who were allied to the aristocrats led by Medeios. Thus, in opposition to the traditional and pro-Roman elite of Medeios, the crisis in the 90s gave rise to a new social and economic group, which aligned itself to Mithridates for the necessary support to gain power in the city and depose the old aristocracy.³⁹ Despite everything, Delos returned to its economic prowess; the pillar, that in conflict, sustained the resources of the two groups. Whoever controlled Delos would control Athens.

The internal struggle in Athens over the control of Delos was also a fight between Mithridates and Rome. At the same time, it also meant a dispute between the supporters of Marius and the Sullani. Once the command against Mithridates was granted, and the king's supporters substituted the Marian elite, Sulla managed to renew the economic relations of the Delian *negotiatores* in his favour, eliminating the economic power of Marius' supporters in the East. After all, the First Mithridatic War highlights the complexity of the situation. It demonstrated the various links of power between Rome and Athens. The external conflict between Rome and Pontus, then, exposed the fight over the political control of Athens, as did the fight over the exploitation of the port of Delos by two groups of

³⁴ Tacitus, *Annals* 2.53; Strabo, *Geographica* 9.398; S. Accame, *Il dominio Romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (Roma 1946), 163.

³⁵ A.K. Schiller, 'Multiple gentile affiliations and the Athenian response to Roman domination', *Historia* 55.3 (2006), 264–284.

³⁶ Schiller 2006, op. cit. (n. 35), 266–268.

³⁷ On the role of the philosophical schools in the Athenian uprising, see: Ferrary 1988, op. cit. (n. 29), 441–444.

³⁸ S. Dow, 'A leader of the Anti-Roman party in Athens in 88 BC', *Classical Philology* 37 (1942), 313–314.

³⁹ Cicero, *Brutus* 306; Plutarch, *Sulla* 14.9. On the fidelity of Athens to Rome until the 'anarchia' year, see: H.B. Mattingly, 'Some third magistrates in the Athenian new style silver coinage', in H.B. Mattingly (ed.), *From Coins to History* (Ann Arbor 2004), 86.

wealthy Athenians, one traditional, the other composed from new rich men.⁴⁰ For Athens, the result was one of the most brutal sieges in its history. As for Pontus, the transgression of its last boundary with Rome meant the beginning of its own decomposition as a state.⁴¹

The inhabitants of Kos opened their port to Lucullus' fleet and therefore their old alliance with Mithridates suddenly came to an end, very likely with dramatic consequences for the anti-Roman factions.⁴² On the other hand, the case of Cnidos, which also offered its port to the Roman forces is similar, but it did not avoid Sulla's reprisals.⁴³ An apparent will to cooperate was, therefore, not sufficient for the Roman commanders. An inscription found in Patara, Lycia, refers to the establishment of a garrison in Kos by contingents of Roman auxiliaries, commanded by a Lycian named Krinolaos.⁴⁴ At the beginning, Krinolaos' troops served Rhodes. Perhaps their service in Kos was of a different nature. This is a controversial matter, though. According to Ch. Marek, the Lycians would have kept an eye on the Pontic ships stationed at Kos, while K. Buraselis thinks that their role was to garrison the island to avoid an uprising.⁴⁵ A supporting factor to Rome's mistrust was the behaviour of Kos' forces. As a matter of fact, Lucullus incorporated the ships belonging to the *poleis* of Kos and Cnidos with his own fleet and attacked Samos, where he was defeated. After the loss, the ships of Kos and Cnidos returned to their ports, and no longer collaborated militarily.⁴⁶

Sulla rewarded or punished those Ancient cities whose attitudes 'seemed' favourable to Rome. Therefore, because Kos had opened its port for the Romans towards the end of the First Mithridatic War, it found itself in a relatively good position and received mixed rewards: it acquired its freedom, but got no financial exemption.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Rhodes

⁴⁰ On the Roman financial situation during the Social War: Plutarch, *Pompey* 1.4; Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos* 5.18.26–27; M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge (1974), 702–703; de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 281; C.T. Barlow, 'The Roman government and the economy, 92–80 BC', *American Journal of Philology* 101 (1980), 202–219; Santangelo 2007, op. cit. (n. 5), 33.

⁴¹ B.C. McGing, 'Subjection and resistance: to the death of Mithridates', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 2005), 71–89.

⁴² And that occurred between 86 and 85 BC. A. Keaveney, *Lucullus. A Life* (London & NY 1992), 25.

⁴³ Buraselis 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), 17.

⁴⁴ Buraselis 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), 151.

⁴⁵ Buraselis 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), 152–153.

⁴⁶ S.J. van Ooteghem, *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* (Namur 1959), 29; A. Keaveney, *Sulla. The Last Republican* (London 1992), 25.

⁴⁷ Sherwin-White 1984, op. cit. (n. 18), 245.

gained a larger recognition, i.e., *immunitas*, for having resisted the Pontic forces practically on its own. Despite everything, these Roman concessions progressively lost their practical use. Such, for instance, was the case for Gytheion, a Peloponnesian city that suffered from the actions of M. Antonius Creticus as he was preparing to invade Crete in 71.⁴⁸ An example of the contributions Kos was forced to give the Romans is found in the Second Mithridatic War. Both the military operations of Murena and Aulus Terentius Varro are related to the use of ships from Kos.⁴⁹ Another intriguing problem, although difficult to solve with the available sources, is the evolution of coinage in Kos during the First Mithridatic War. The island as of 88 minted the *tetraoboloi*, i.e., since the Pontic invasion of Asia. Kos did not mint coins again until 40–30, and then only in bronze.⁵⁰ The reasons for this may be due to Mithridates partially depleting Kos' treasury as left by the Ptolomeic crown and, to the legal dispositions issued by Sulla.

Although resignation to Roman preponderance seems to have lain behind Rhodes' military collaboration, the initiative behind the anti-piracy campaigns came from Rhodes, not Rome, since it was the island's commercial routes which were most affected. Rhodes, then, was not immune to the growing interest in Mithridates from certain social circles of Asia. Cicero points out that honours and statues were dedicated to him in Athens and Rhodes (Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.2.159). In this sense, it is important to underline that Mithridatic supporters in the Asian cities mainly came from lower social classes, whilst in Rhodes the commercial and landowning elite held control over the powerful commercial and military fleet. Any kind of internal tension in Rhodes thus remains unknown, although control clearly remained in pro-Roman hands. A similar argument applies to Kos.⁵¹

Rhodes' long resistance against the Pontic forces is, therefore, a differentiating factor when comparing it with its neighbouring *polis*. This difference in 'foreign policy' is directly related to military capacity, since other factors bring the context of both cities together.⁵² When the Pontic menace became a reality for the two *poleis*, Rhodes considered both

⁴⁸ Accame 1946, op. cit. (n. 34), 131–132; Buraselis 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), 130.

⁴⁹ Sherwin-White 1984, op. cit. (n. 18), 154; Buraselis 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), 127.

⁵⁰ Buraselis 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), 126.

⁵¹ J. Thornton, 'Misos Rhomaion o phobos Mithridatou? Echi storiografici di un dibattito diplomatico', *Mediterraneo Antico* 1.1 (1998), 302 ff.

⁵² It hardly needs emphasising that both *poleis* are adjacent islands and in 88, kept a close alliance with Rome.

its military capacity and its internal and external affairs. Its insularity and naval capacity⁵³ were strong factors in favour of defending itself against Mithridates' troops. But military reasons are not enough to explain Rhodes' firm defence; in fact, it was the fear of Rome's return to Asia, which drove Rhodes to risk a siege or Pontic attack. Given that Rhodes had first-hand knowledge of the inflexibility of Rome's handling of unfaithful allies,⁵⁴ its attitude during the First Mithridatic War is plainly along the lines that they took after Pydna. After that conflict, Rhodes' firm alliance to Rome was rewarded with the concession of Caunus, Caria.⁵⁵

As to Pergamon, the harsh punishments imposed by Sulla in 85 caused the most severe socio-economic crisis ever suffered by most of the Asian cities.⁵⁶ Actually, disorder ensued and some *poleis*, too committed with Mithridates' policies in Asia, could hardly avoid Rome's decisive reprisal.⁵⁷ Pergamon's condition as the old Mithridatic capital in Asia meant the loss of all its privileges and of its free and federated status.⁵⁸ Only through the intercession of eminent citizens, who were well thought of by Roman authorities, did Pergamon manage to overcome the severe crisis it suffered and to restore its links with Rome.⁵⁹ The political and economic situation resulted in the emergence of a new civil elite. Besides the Italo-Roman residents who, due to their wealth and influence, were integrated in city life, there were also notable Greeks who were able to take advantage of the situation and create great fortunes in commerce, through speculating and lending (Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 91). Paradoxically, these fortunes allowed them to establish friendly relations with the authorities and residing *romaioi*, as well as to become the saviours of their *poleis*, which earned them honours and exceptional privileges.⁶⁰

⁵³ V. Gabrielsen, *The naval aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes* (Aarhus 1997), 38–40.

⁵⁴ B.C. McGing, 'Mithridates VI Eupator, Victim or Aggressor?', in Højte 2009, op. cit. (n. 5), 210.

⁵⁵ Kallet-Marx 1995, op. cit. (n. 4), 246. However, all Caria had been taken by Rome from the Rhodian dominion after the III Macedonian War.

⁵⁶ Appian, *Mithridateios* 62; Plutarch, *Sulla* 25.4; *Lucullus* 4.1; 20.4; Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 670. Ballesteros Pastor 1996, op. cit. (n. 4), 180–185; de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 328; McGing 2005, op. cit. (n. 41), 87.

⁵⁷ Livius, *Periochae* 89.14; Plutarch, *Lucullus* 4.2–3; Suetonius, *Iulius* 2.1.

⁵⁸ Strabo, *Geographica* 14.1.38; Sallustius, *Historiae* 4.69; Appian, *Mithridateios* 15; 57; *Bellum Civile* 1.22; J.-M. Bertrand, *Inscriptions historiques grecques* (Paris 1992), 239–241 n. 136.

⁵⁹ J.-L. Ferrary, 'Les Grecs des cités et l'obtention de la *ciuitas Romana*', *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique* (Paris 2005), 51–75.

⁶⁰ M. Sartre, *L'Asie Mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexandre à Dioclétien* (Paris 1995), 160–164.

Diodoros Paspáros, whose political activity covered the whole period of Mithridatic wars, stands out among the *evergetai* of Pergamon.⁶¹ His epigraphic record reflects the importance of his actions during the dramatic times in Pergamon and, in general, in the whole Asian province.⁶² An inscription of Diodoros tells us how he tried to recover all property of those people who had been executed by Mithridates, or had died during the war (IGRR 4, 292). It seems to allude to the execution of 80 people from Pergamon in 86, who were accused of conspiring against the Pontic king, and whose property was afterwards confiscated.⁶³ It could, however, also refer to the execution of the Galatian tetrarchs, whose goods were similarly extracted (Appian, *Mithridateios* 46, 54–58), or even to the confiscations suffered by the pro-Pontic faction in Pergamon, who either committed suicide, were executed by Sulla, or fled with Eupator after Dardanos (Appian, *Mithridateios* 48).⁶⁴ As it happens, recovery of property lost by the proscribed during the war contributed to a reduction of social tension, and helped to reconcile civil life in Pergamon, which, due to the conflict, had been divided between followers and detractors of the king. This was especially problematic in a decimated city. Pergamon was in a very precarious state of affairs as a result of disturbances, persecutions and confiscations. This dramatic situation unleashed an intense diplomatic activity directed towards Rome, led by the most eminent members of Pergamon's elite, and headed by Diodoros. The latter was offered exceptional honours by his fellow citizens,⁶⁵ who were encouraged by the success of his embassies and his flawless administration as *gymnasiarchos*.⁶⁶ The restoration of the *gymnasion* and the celebration of the *XXIX Nikephoria* (Plutarch, *Lucullus* 23.1), the first since the beginning of the war (IGRR 4, 293), were both a responsibility of Diodoros' towards 69, and constituted the first signs of the recuperation of Pergamon.⁶⁷

⁶¹ H. Halfmann, *Éphèse et Pergame* (Bordeaux 2004), 29–30.

⁶² IGRR 4; 292; 293; 294; Jones 1974, op. cit. (n. 23), 198; Virgilio 1993, op. cit. (n. 24), 78; 89.

⁶³ Appian, *Mithridateios* 48; Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos* 6.2.8.

⁶⁴ McGing 2005, op. cit. (n. 24), 127; 129; Jones 1974, op. cit. (n. 23), 196–197; Virgilio 1993, op. cit. (n. 24), 73; Ballesteros Pastor 1996, op. cit. (n. 4), 155–160.

⁶⁵ P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (Athens 1985), 56–66; Virgilio 1993, op. cit. (n. 24), 76–77.

⁶⁶ Drew-Bear 1972, op. cit. (n. 23), 471; Jones 1974, op. cit. (n. 23), 203; Virgilio 1993, op. cit. (n. 24), 76; 82; 92.

⁶⁷ Halfmann 2004, op. cit. (n. 61), 29–30.

During the Social War (91–89), Heraclea Pontica decided to offer military support to the Republic, and, according to a controversial account of Memnon, even sent two triremes all the way to Italy.⁶⁸ If this were true, it would show the extent to which Heraclea went to keep alive its ancient military alliance with Rome (Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 21). Despite its theoretical neutrality, the Greek town must have been more disturbed by Pontic expansionism than by Rome's. Shortly after the defeat of Archelaos in Chaeronea (86–85), the Heracleian fleet freed the prisoners of the city of Chios, which had practically been destroyed by Mithridates on account of having supported Rhodes and Rome. Months later, Lucullus expelled the Pontic garrison left in Chios as a measure of protection. Mithridates' attempt to deport the massive population of Chios to Pontus created great discomfort in many Greek *poleis*, to the point that part of the elites started to conspire against the king. He, in turn, tried to attract the favour of the *demos* in these cities through the use of a clearly anti-aristocratic rhetoric (Appian, *Mithridateios* 48).⁶⁹

This situation started to change at the beginning of the Second Mithridatic War, when both contending parties increased their demands. In fact, the 'Chios episode' meant the beginning of the end of Heraclea's apparent neutrality in foreign policy.⁷⁰ An episode in 82, as described by Memnon, is particularly revealing for its further political consequences.⁷¹ The text notes the coinciding of two diplomatic delegations sent to Heraclea at the same time. One was dispatched by L. Licinius Murena, Sulla's promagistrate in Asia, the other by Mithridates (Cicero, *pro Murena* 15. 31–33). The leading elites of the city expressed their fear to the arrival of Murena's legates of what they considered an excessively close presence of

⁶⁸ D. Dueck, 'Memnon of Herakleia on Rome and the Romans', in T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Rome and the Black Sea Region* (Aarhus 2006), 43–62.

⁶⁹ Decree: R.K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East* (Cambridge 1984), n. 30. See also: T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* (Paris 1890), 110–112; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950), 2; 969 n. 92; 1099 n. 18; Mattingly 1983, op. cit. (n. 27), 242–243; 250 (n. 24); de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 287 n. 47; Saprykin 1997, op. cit. (n. 27), 284 ff.

⁷⁰ Appian, *Mithridateios* 46–47; Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 33; Plutarch, *Lucullus* 3.3. Sherwin-White 1984, op. cit. (n. 18), 242; Kallet-Marx 1995, op. cit. (n. 4), 271; de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 318 n. 276.

⁷¹ Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 26. 2: 'Therefore, they [the Heracleians] replied to the ambassadors that inasmuch as so many wars were erupting, they were hardly able to protect their own interests, let alone to provide assistance to others.' Transl. Jonnes 1994, op. cit. (n. 27).

Mithridatic armies to their *chora*. Even so, they did not commit themselves to the Roman demands either, with the excuse that their foremost preoccupation was to look after the defence of their own interests.⁷²

Thanks to Memnon we know the circumstances under which Heraclea switched to the Pontic faction in 74–73, although his account may not be very accurate. Thus, according to his version, Archelaos' fleet not only obtained provisions from the Greek city, but, taking two members of Heraclea's elite hostage, Archelaos also forced the authorities to hand over five triremes to fight against Rome. Next, Memnon mentions the dispatch of Roman *publicani* to the city to collect money, to which the population responded with the killing of these Roman agents.⁷³ Considering these events, it is more logical to see the decision of supplying the Mithridatic fleet and the defection from the Roman side as a reaction to the previous and inconvenient presence of *publicani* in Heraclea, and not the other way around. The decision would have been carefully deliberated during the inter-war period, and would then have been made effective at Mithridates' pressure. At the same time, all of this may be concealing an internal fight between the interests of the *demos*, better disposed to an alliance with the Pontic kingdom, and the interests of some aristocratic factions, reluctant to abandon the traditional pro-Roman policy, perhaps because they had previously established business with Romans and Italians.⁷⁴ In fact, the change of sides resulted in a long siege and the brutal plunder of the city undertaken by Lucullus' deputy, M. Aurelius Cotta, Lucullus' deputy (72–70; Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 35.5–9). Cotta had to face the consequences of his actions once he returned to Rome, losing not only the booty, but also his senatorial rank.⁷⁵ As a result, the senate decided to allow the

⁷² D.G. Glew, 'Between the wars: Mithridates Eupator and Rome, 85–73 BC', *Chiron* 11 (1981), 111–120; Kallet-Marx 1995, op. cit. (n. 4), 196; de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 330–335; Saprykin 1997, op. cit. (n. 27), 293–294; J.-L. Ferrary, 'L'essor de la puissance romaine dans la zone pontique', A. Bresson et al. (eds.), *Une Koinè pontique* (Bordeaux 2007), 323.

⁷³ Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 27.5–6; Magie 1950, op. cit. (n. 69), vol. 1, 325; vol. 2, 1231; Sherwin-White 1984, op. cit. (n. 18), 165–166; Dueck 2006, op. cit. (n. 68), 58.

⁷⁴ Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424), 29.4; Kallet-Marx 1995, op. cit. (n. 4), 302; Saprykin 1997, op. cit. (n. 27), 294–295; de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 361–362; Ferrary 2007, op. cit. (n. 72), 320–321; S. Mitchell, 'Geography, politics, and imperialism in the Asian customs law', in M. Cottier et al. (eds.), *The Customs Law of Asia* (Oxford 2008), 176–182; 201.

⁷⁵ Appian, *Mithridateios* 82; Memnon (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 424),

restoration of Heraclea's civic institutions and port infrastructure, although the *polis* never regained its ancient splendour as a commercial enclave of the Black Sea, nor its previous status (Memnon (*Fragments der griechischen Historiker* 424), 39.3; 40.2; Strabo, *Geographica* 12.3.1). Rome attempted to compensate, in this way, the damage done by Cotta, although it certainly could not forget the treason of an ancient ally.⁷⁶ In the end, Heraclea had paid a higher price than others for its sudden decision to back the Mithridatic party.

THE MITHRIDATIC WARS, THE 'ULTIMATE FRONTIER'

The wars between Rome and Mithridates VI emerge as the 'ultimate frontier' of the Hellenistic World. A series of boundaries were crossed, not only through the large number of victims among local non-combatants, but especially through the relevant political consequences of such events. Therefore, most *poleis* in the Eastern Mediterranean became the passive objects of desire for the two leading powers in the region: Rome and Pontus. They openly disputed for the political and military hegemony of the East. In this context, as Fergus Millar has suggested, most of the Greek towns were forced to make their own choices in foreign policy. They either aligned themselves with Republican commanders or the Pontic king.⁷⁷ At the same time, internal leadership was divided into several factions with opposing commercial, political and social interests, often different from the interests of the *demos*. Yet, in the end, there was no room for ambiguous positions. Any alliance, regardless whether it was started early or late in the conflict, posed a limit to the post-war conditions, and to the degree of economic and political recovery which the Greek *poleis*, and their social institutions, were going to enjoy when that 'ultimate frontier' finally ceased to exist.

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39.1–3; Reinach 1890, op. cit. (n. 69), 322 n. 3; Sherwin-White 1984, op. cit. (n. 18), 333–335; M. Alexander, *Trials in the Late Roman Republic* (Toronto 1990), 70; de Callataÿ 1997, op. cit. (n. 22), 351; Saprykin 1997, op. cit. (n. 27), 295 ff.; Dueck 2006, op. cit. (n. 68), 55–56.

⁷⁶ McGing 2005, op. cit. (n. 24), 151–152; Saprykin 1997, op. cit. (n. 27), 309–310; C. Eilers, 'A Roman East: Pompey's settlement to the death of Augustus', in Erskine 2005, op. cit. (n. 41), 90–93; H.-L. Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine* (Lyon 2004), 171.

⁷⁷ F. Millar 2002, op. cit. (n. 2), 224–225.

LES BATAVES AU CENTRE ET À
LA PÉRIPHÉRIE DE L'EMPIRE :
QUELQUES HYPOTHÈSES SUR LES
ORIGINES DE LA RÉVOLTE DE 69-70

P. COSME

Il y a une cinquantaine d'années, G. Walser¹ et P.A. Brunt² ont défendu deux interprétations opposées de la révolte batave. Pour le premier, le récit de Tacite s'inspirait d'un ouvrage perdu de Pline l'Ancien consacré aux guerres de Germanie. Soucieux de ménager la nouvelle dynastie, Pline aurait délibérément présenté comme un conflit extérieur des événements qui ne représentaient qu'un prolongement de la guerre civile, Julius Civilis prenant parti pour Vespasien contre une armée romaine de Germanie demeurée très attachée à Vitellius. Au contraire, P.A. Brunt prenait davantage au pied de la lettre le récit de Tacite en considérant qu'il ne fallait pas négliger l'exaspération des populations rhénanes contre la conscription romaine, qui s'était déjà manifestée contre Varus, sous la conduite d'Arminius. L'historien britannique allait même jusqu'à comparer le désir d'indépendance des populations rhénanes à celui des Grecs confrontés à la puissance perse.

Il me semble que ces deux hypothèses ne prennent toutefois pas assez en compte le rôle joué par une élite de soldats germains dans la garde impériale. Environ cinq cents cavaliers germains étaient en effet attachés personnellement à Auguste, comme ils l'avaient été auparavant à César, appelés *Germani corporis custodes*. On relève certes parfois dans les sources un regain de défiance du pouvoir impérial envers cette catégorie de soldats. Auguste avait ainsi déjà licencié ses gardes du corps germains à la nouvelle de la défaite de Varus, mais une nouvelle garde à cheval avait été rapidement reconstituée.³ Or, cette troupe recrutait beaucoup chez les

¹ G. Walser, *Rom, das Reich und die fremden Völker in der Geschichtsschreibung der frühen Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Glaubwürdigkeit des Tacitus* (Baden-Baden 1951), 86-128.

² P.A. Brunt, « Tacitus on the Batavian revolt », *Latomus* 19 (1960), 494-517; Cf. G.E.F. Chilver—G.B. Townend, *A Historical Commentary on Tacitus' Histories* (Oxford 1985), 8-13.

³ Suétone, *Auguste* 49; *CIL* 6, 8807 (*ILS* 1725); et M.P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar. The Roman Emperors' Horse Guard* (Londres 1994), 12-19.

Bataves comme en témoignent les épitaphes de ses soldats retrouvées à Rome,⁴ au point que ces *Germani corporis custodes* étaient couramment appelés *Bataui*.⁵

M.P. Speidel, qui a étudié ces inscriptions souvent ornées de bas-reliefs, insiste sur leur qualité et leur ressemblance avec les épitaphes des prétoriens entre les règnes de Caligula et de Néron.⁶ Elles témoignent d'un enrichissement de ces gardes du corps qui, à cette époque, étaient les seuls militaires à pouvoir fonder un collège, attesté sous le nom de *collegium Germanorum*, dont les membres cotisaient pour supporter le coût de la gravure de stèles funéraires.⁷ Mais ce processus d'intégration dans l'élite de la garnison de Rome fut brutalement interrompu par Galba qui licencia les *Germani corporis custodes* :

*Item Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissoluit ac sine commodo ullo remisit in patriam, quasi Cn. Dollabellae, iuxta cuius hortos tendebat, proniore.*⁸

On s'est interrogé sur les motivations de Galba. Il est difficile d'envisager qu'il ait pris cette décision pour sanctionner l'abandon de Néron par ses gardes du corps.⁹ Outre que nos sources manquent de clarté sur l'enchaînement des événements qui conduisirent à la chute du dernier Julio-Claudien,¹⁰ Galba, à la différence d'Othon et de Vitellius, n'a jamais cherché à se présenter comme son continuateur. J. Sancery avance le traditionalisme de Galba qui lui aurait interdit de confier la sécurité personnelle du prince à des barbares.¹¹ Toutefois, on a vu que l'épigraphie suggérait plutôt une acculturation de cette troupe dont certains soldats étaient d'ailleurs citoyens romains.¹² Leur prétendu appui à un *capax*

⁴ *CIL* 6, 8802 (*ILS* 1729); 6, 8803 (*ILS* 1730); 6, 8804; 6, 8806 (*ILS* 1727) et 6, 8807 (*ILS* 1725) sous les règnes de Claude et de Néron. Tous ces défunts se disent d'origine batave.

⁵ Dion Cassius, 55.24. Dion Cassius se place dans ce passage à l'époque augustéenne, avant la création de la cité des Bataves à l'intérieur de l'Empire romain.

⁶ Speidel 1994, op. cit. (n. 3), 25-26.

⁷ Speidel 1994, op. cit. (n. 3), 25-26; et *CIL* 6, 8803 (*ILS* 1730).

⁸ Suétone, *Galba* 12 (trad. H. Ailloud, Paris 1932): «De plus, il licencia la cohorte germaine que les Césars avaient constituée jadis pour en faire leur garde du corps et qui avait donné maintes preuves de son absolue fidélité, puis il la renvoya dans sa patrie sans aucune récompense, sous prétexte qu'elle penchait pour Cn. Dolabella, dont les jardins avoisinaient son camp».

⁹ Dion Cassius, 53.27.

¹⁰ M.T. Griffin, *Néron ou la fin d'une dynastie* (Gollion 2002), 215.

¹¹ J. Sancery, *Galba ou l'armée face au pouvoir* (Paris 1983), 127.

¹² *CIL* 6, 8803 (*ILS* 1730).

*imperii*¹³ comme Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, qui suppose une bonne insertion dans les factions politiques de l' *Vrbs*, va dans le même sens.¹⁴ Ce dernier avait peut-être profité de la proximité de ses jardins avec la caserne des *Germani corporis custodes* dans le quartier *Trans Tiberim* pour solliciter leur soutien.¹⁵ M.P. Speidel invoque la volonté impériale de réduire les dépenses militaires.¹⁶ Suétone, qui est le seul à rapporter cette mesure, la cite d'ailleurs dans un passage censé illustrer l'avarice de Galba. Or, ses biographies suivent généralement un plan thématique. L'empereur économisait les soldes et les nombreuses gratifications dont bénéficiaient les gardes du corps, mais en profita sans doute aussi pour saisir la caisse du *collegium Germanorum* dissous par la même occasion. Les anciens *Germani corporis custodes* furent donc réduits soit à rester à Rome pour tenter leur chance dans l'agitation qui y régnait, soit à rentrer chez eux.¹⁷ Mais dans les deux cas, ils se retrouvaient dans une situation très inférieure à celle qu'ils avaient pu espérer au moment de leur enrôlement. Cette frustration suscita donc vraisemblablement une rancoeur croissante à l'encontre d'un pouvoir romain qui les privait des perspectives d'enrichissement et de promotion sociale qu'avaient connues les générations précédentes de gardes.

Les anciens gardes du corps qui étaient rentrés chez eux supportèrent probablement d'autant plus mal les levées de Vitellius qu'elles leur offraient des conditions de service nettement moins gratifiantes que celles dont ils avaient bénéficié auparavant :

*Iussu Vitellii Bataurorum iuventus ad dilectum uocabatur, quem suapte natura grauem onerabant ministri auaritia ac luxu, senes aut inualidos conquirendo, quos pretio dimitterent; rursus impubes et forma conspicui (et est plerisque procerca pueritia) ad stuprum trahebantur. Hinc inuidia, et compositi seditionis auctores perpulere ut dilectum abnuerent.*¹⁸

¹³ Sur cette notion, cf. I. Cogitore, *La légitimité dynastique d'Auguste à Néron à l'épreuve des conspirations* (Rome 2002), 242-243.

¹⁴ Plutarque, *Galba* 23 ; et *AE*, 1984.236.

¹⁵ Speidel 1994, op. cit. (n. 3), 114 ; et W. Eck, « Horti: P. Cn. Dolabella », dans M. Steinby (éd.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 3 (Rome 1996), 58.

¹⁶ Speidel 1994, op. cit. (n. 3), 30.

¹⁷ C'est l'hypothèse privilégiée par A.R. Birley, *Garrison Life at Vindolanda. A Band of Brothers* (Stroud 2002), 125.

¹⁸ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.14 (trad. H. Le Bonniec, Paris 1992) : « Sur l'ordre de Vitellius, les Bataves en âge de porter les armes étaient appelés à s'enrôler ; cette obligation, déjà lourde en elle-même, était rendue plus pesante par la cupidité et les excès des recruteurs, qui recherchaient les vieillards et les infirmes, pour les rançonner avant de les libérer ; d'autre part, les impubères qui se faisaient remarquer par leur beauté (la plupart des jeunes garçons du pays sont de taille élancée) étaient enlevés pour être livrés à la débauche. Ce fut

Selon G. Alföldy, il s'agirait de la première application du *dilectus* romain chez les Bataves qui, jusqu'alors, auraient levé pour Rome des contingents de soldats en vertu d'un *foedus* particulier.¹⁹ Il explique cette innovation par la nécessité où s'est alors trouvé Vitellius de procéder à des recrutements massifs. Mais si l'on prend en compte, outre les *Germani corporis custodes*, les troupes auxiliaires qui recrutaient également des Bataves, on peut considérer que ces derniers étaient déjà très sollicités auparavant.²⁰ W.J.H. Willems évalue en effet à au moins cinq mille hommes le contingent de Bataves dans l'armée romaine à l'époque Julio-Claudienne, sur une population totale qu'il estime à environ trente-cinq mille.²¹ Surtout, dans la mesure où les auxiliaires bataves percevaient un *stipendium*,²² dont le versement était effectué sur la base de rôles dressés dans chaque unité, il semble difficile d'envisager qu'ils n'aient pas été soumis au *dilectus*, avant les levées de Vitellius de 69. Le fait que ceux qui comptabilisaient un certain nombre d'années de service puissent être qualifiés de vétérans va dans le même sens. Le changement de vocabulaire employé par Tacite pour désigner les soldats bataves entre les campagnes de Germanicus et la conquête de la Bretagne²³ incite plutôt à dater cette application des règles romaines en matière de recrutement militaire du règne de Tibère ou de celui de Caligula. Ce ne serait donc pas le premier *dilectus* imposé aux Bataves qui les aurait mécontents, mais peut-être plutôt un sentiment de brimade chez un peuple qui, auparavant, avait fourni des soldats d'élite.²⁴ Parmi les premiers partisans de Civilis, les Bataves chassés de l'élite de la garde impériale étaient donc peut-être plus nombreux que les véritables barbares demeurés complètement imperméables à toute influence romaine. Dans ces conditions,

un motif de ressentiment, et des meneurs chargés de comploter une sédition poussèrent les Bataves à refuser l'enrôlement.» ; Cf. Dion Cassius, 55.24.

¹⁹ G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der Römischen Provinz Germania inferior* (Düsseldorf 1968), 46-47 ; 88-90.

²⁰ On connaît pour cette période au moins huit cohortes et trois ailes, dont le cas sera étudié *infra*.

²¹ W.J.H. Willems, *Romans and Batavians. A Regional Study in the Dutch East River Area* (Amsterdam 1986), 234.

²² Tacite, *Histoires* 4.19 ; Contre H. Callies, *Die fremden Truppen im römischen Heer des Prinzipats und die sogenannten nationalen Numeri. Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Heeres* (1965), 172 ; et K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Berne 1951), 38-40 ; Alföldy 1968, op. cit. (n. 19), 46-47 ; 88-90 admet qu'ils percevaient le *stipendium* et constituaient des unités régulières mais conteste leur soumission au *dilectus*, ce qui paraît contradictoire.

²³ Tacite, *Annales* 2.11 et 14.38.

²⁴ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.17 ; 4.21.

il vaudrait peut-être mieux parler de déçus de la romanisation que de réfractaires à la romanisation.

La dissolution des *Germani corporis custodes* a d'ailleurs pu affecter d'autres peuples germaniques, qui leur fournissaient également des recrues. C'est le cas, notamment, des Frisons, attestés aussi sur les stèles funéraires romaines des gardes du corps.²⁵ Or, Tacite nous apprend que les Frisons se joignirent très rapidement aux Canninéfates pour piller les quartiers d'hiver de deux cohortes auxiliaires :

... *statimque accitis Frisis (Transrhenana gens est) duarum cohortium hiberna proxima [occupata] Oceano inrumpit. Nec praeuiderant impetum hostium milites, nec, si prouidissent, satis uirium ad arcendum erat: capta igitur ac direpta castra.*²⁶

La confrontation des *Histoires* avec les vestiges archéologiques a soulevé des interrogations quant à la date de ces raids. En effet, l'appel au soulèvement lancé par Civilis ne peut avoir été antérieur au mois de septembre 69, alors que l'analyse de débris végétaux et animaux sur le site de *Traiectum* suggère que l'incendie remonterait au début du mois de mai 69.²⁷ Toutefois, il ne s'agissait pas du camp «le plus proche de l'Océan», pour reprendre la terminologie de Tacite: *Praetorium Agripinae* et *Nigrum Pullum* étaient plus proches de la Mer du Nord et on y a également retrouvé des traces de destruction par le feu. Si l'attaque de ces deux camps par des Canninéfates et des Frisons en septembre 69 répondait à une démarche de Civilis, on peut se demander si les pilliers de *Traiectum* au printemps précédent ne comptaient pas déjà dans leur rang un certain nombre d'anciens gardes du corps licenciés et appauvris, peut-être frisons, qui auraient entraîné leurs compatriotes sans attendre d'y être incités par le prince batave.²⁸

En dehors des *Germani corporis custodes*, de nombreux Bataves avaient été recrutés dans les auxiliaires au moment de la conquête de la Bretagne. Dans ses *Annales*, Tacite mentionne huit cohortes auxiliaires associées à la XIV^e Légion *Martia Gemina Victrix* pendant la campagne contre la

²⁵ Par exemple, *CIL* 6, 4342-4343 (*ILS* 1720-1721).

²⁶ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.15 (trad. H. Le Bonniec, Paris 1992): «Aussitôt [Brinno, chef des Canninéfates] appelle à lui les Frisons (c'est une nation transrhénane) et attaque par surprise les quartiers d'hiver de deux cohortes, tout proches de l'Océan. Les soldats n'avaient pas prévu l'attaque ennemie, et même s'ils l'avaient prévue, ils n'étaient pas assez forts pour la repousser; le camp fut donc pris et pillé».

²⁷ L.A.W.C. Venmans, «De incendio castrorum romanorum quae fuerunt in media urbe Traiecto ad Rhenum», *Mnemosyne* 3 (1935-1936), 83-87.

²⁸ Chilver—Townend 1985, op. cit. (n. 2), 12.

reine Boudicca en 61,²⁹ sans préciser leur nom. Mais dans les *Histoires*, il évoque à plusieurs reprises³⁰ les huit cohortes auxiliaires bataves de la XIV^e Légion de façon explicite. Il s'agit donc sans aucun doute des mêmes, qui auraient été levées dès le règne de Claude, méritant ainsi leur appellation *ueteranae cohortes* sous la plume de Tacite.³¹ Elles avaient en effet suivi cette légion en Italie quand elle y avait été appelée par Néron. Destinés à partir combattre dans le Caucase, légionnaires et auxiliaires furent en fait envoyés combattre Vindex en 68.³² Des dissensions opposèrent alors la XIV^e Légion et ses cohortes bataves :

*Grauis alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio—neque enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat—repetam. Cohortes Bataurorum, quas bello Neronis a quarta decima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu, in ciuitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas rettulimus, superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coercitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes.*³³

Le conflit que Tacite désigne sous le nom de *bellum Neronis* correspond aux opérations militaires conduites sur ordre de Néron contre ses adversaires. Contrairement à ce qu'écrivit E. Flaig sur l'absence d'initiative politique propre aux auxiliaires,³⁴ les Bataves prirent parti contre le dernier Julio-Claudien au point de prétendre lui avoir « enlevé l'Italie », alors que la XIV^e Légion lui demeurait fidèle. D'après cette formule, la légion et ses auxiliaires composaient les troupes que Néron envoya au nord de l'Italie en apprenant la proclamation de Galba par ses soldats, probablement le 7 ou le 8 avril 68. Nos sources ne permettent pas de déterminer avec certitude qui en exerça le commandement. Si Dion Cassius cite le nom du

²⁹ Tacite, *Annales* 14.38 ; et Alföldy 1968, op. cit. (n. 19), 45-48.

³⁰ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.59 ; 1.64 ; 2.27 ; 2.66 ; 2.69 ; Cf. Chilver—Townend 1985, op. cit. (n. 2), 10.

³¹ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.17 ; 4.21 ; 4.33 ; et Alföldy 1968, op. cit. (n. 19), 46.

³² Tacite, *Histoires* 1.6.

³³ Tacite, *Histoires* 2.27 (trad. H. Le Bonniec, Paris 1992) : « Une grave mutinerie avait éclaté parmi eux en une autre occasion ; je remonterai un peu plus haut pour la raconter—car il n'eût pas été opportun d'interrompre le récit suivi des opérations de Caecina. Les cohortes bataves qui, pendant la guerre contre Néron, s'étaient séparées de la quatorzième légion et qui, se rendant en Bretagne, avaient fait leur jonction avec Fabius Valens dans la cité des Lingons, à la nouvelle du soulèvement de Vitellius, comme nous l'avons rapporté, faisaient preuve d'arrogance : parcourant les tentes de chaque légion, elles se vantaient d'avoir mis au pas les soldats de la quatorzième, d'avoir enlevé l'Italie à Néron et de tenir entre leurs mains tout le sort de la guerre ».

³⁴ E. Flaig, *Den kaiser herausfordern. Die Usurpation im Römischen Reich* (Francfort—New-York 1992), 132.

consulaire Rubrius Gallus,³⁵ Tacite fait brièvement allusion, au début des *Histoires*,³⁶ à un autre consulaire auquel la direction de ces opérations militaires aurait pu être confiée : il s'agit de Petronius Turpilianus, ensuite condamné à mort pour avoir été un *dux Neronis* par Galba.³⁷ A.R. Birley envisage qu'ils aient été désignés tous les deux, mais doute de la réalité des opérations qu'ils auraient pu conduire.³⁸ Quoi qu'il en soit, le désaccord entre légionnaires et auxiliaires bataves éclata avant que cette armée ait quitté l'Italie.

Est-ce dans ce contexte troublé qu'il faut situer la première arrestation de Civilis ? Certes, Tacite n'y fait allusion qu'au moment où éclata la révolte batave :

*Iulius Ciuilis et Claudius Paulus regia stirpe multo ceteros anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit; iniectae Ciuili catenae, missusque ad Neronem et a Galba absolutus sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu: inde causae irarum spesque ex malis nostris.*³⁹

La concision de l'auteur des *Histoires* a conduit certains historiens modernes à conclure que ces deux princes bataves avaient été jugés tous les deux chez eux.⁴⁰ Claudius Paulus devait effectivement alors se trouver en Germanie inférieure, puisqu'il fut accusé de rébellion et exécuté à la suite d'une sentence prononcée par le légat Fonteius Capito. Quant à Julius

³⁵ Dion Cassius, 63.27; et P. Le Roux, « Mai 68 en Gaule », dans M.-M. Mactoux—E. Geny (éds.), *Mélanges P. Lévêque*, 8: *Religion, anthropologie et société. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 499 (Besançon 1994), 266. Galba avait été proclamé le 3 avril.

³⁶ 1.6.

³⁷ Plutarque, *Galba* 15; 17; Griffin 2002, op. cit. (n. 10), 215 n'envisage pas d'autre commandant en chef que Petronius Turpilianus, alors que le témoignage de Tacite n'est guère explicite. E. Cizek, *Néron* (Paris 1982), 398 laisse la question ouverte en les citant tous les deux.

³⁸ A.R. Birley, *The Roman government of Britain* (Oxford 2005), 50–52; et aussi R. Syme, 'The colony of Cornelius Fuscus: an episode in the *Bellum Neronis*', *American Journal of Philology* 58 (1937), 12 = *Danubian Papers* (Bucarest 1971), 77.

³⁹ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.13 (trad. H. Le Bonniec, Paris 1992) : « Julius Civilis et Claudius Paulus, de souche royale, surpassaient de beaucoup tous les autres Bataves. Paulus, accusé faussement de rébellion, fut mis à mort par Fonteius Capito; Civilis fut chargé de chaînes et envoyé à Néron; acquitté par Galba, il fut de nouveau en danger sous Vitellius, car l'armée réclamait son supplice : telles furent les causes de ses ressentiments, et il mit son espoir dans nos malheurs ».

⁴⁰ C'est le point de vue de D. Timpe, *Arminius-Studien* (Heidelberg 1970), 39; d'H. Devijver, *PME* 1. I.45 (Louvain 1976); et de K. Wellesley, *The year of the four emperors* (Londres—New York 2000, 3rd éd.), 169 qui envisage également qu'ils auraient pu être cousins. Certains manuscrits attribuent aussi le gentilice Claudius à Civilis.

Civilis, Tacite écrit simplement qu'il fut envoyé enchaîné à Néron mais acquitté par Galba. L'accusation de rébellion lancée par Fonteius Capito à l'encontre de Claudius Paulus ne le concernait donc peut-être pas.⁴¹

Dans sa réponse au préfet de cohorte trévière Alpinus Montanus qui cherchait à le convaincre de déposer les armes, au début de novembre 69, Civilis revient sur ces faits en précisant ses liens de parenté avec Claudius Paulus :

*... si Vespasianum iuuare adgressus foret, satis factum coeptis. Ad ea Civilis primo callide; post ubi uidet Montanum praefectorem ingenio paratumque in res nouas, orsus a questu periculisque, quae per quinque et uiginti annos in castris Romanis exhausisset, «Egregium, inquit, pretium laborum recepi, necem fratris et uincula mea et saeuissimas huius exercitus uoces, quibus ad supplicium petitus iure gentium poenas reposco».*⁴²

J. Hellegouarc'h, dans les notes de l'édition de la Collection des Universités de France commente l'allusion de Civilis aux vingt-cinq années passées dans les camps romains, en expliquant qu'il s'agissait de la durée habituelle de service chez les auxiliaires. Outre que cette durée ne fit l'objet d'une véritable réglementation qu'à l'époque flavienne, elle ne concernait normalement que les simples soldats, ce qui n'était pas le cas de Civilis. Toutefois, les officiers de rang équestre qui commandaient des cohortes ou des ailes levées exclusivement dans leur propre peuple ne bénéficiaient pas des mêmes perspectives de carrière que les autres chevaliers romains dotés de commandement militaire. En effet, ils n'étaient d'habitude pas promus à la tête d'autres corps de troupe ni ne pouvaient prétendre à un avancement dans les procuratèles et les préfetures et restaient donc très longtemps préfets d'une cohorte ou d'une aile.⁴³ Ils échappaient donc au règlement et à l'avancement habituels des carrières militaires en conservant leur préfecture d'aile ou de cohorte plus longtemps que les autres chevaliers romains, tout comme Julius Civilis.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Selon R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958), 172, il en voulait aux Romains pour diverses raisons ...

⁴² Tacite, *Histoires* 4,32 (trad. H. Le Bonniec, Paris 1992) : ... «s'il avait entrepris de venir en aide à Vespasien, c'était assez d'avoir commencé. Civilis répondit d'abord avec adresse; puis, voyant que Montanus avait un caractère fougueux et disposé à la révolte, il se mit à se plaindre, rappelant les périls qu'il avait endurés dans les camps romains pendant vingt-cinq longues années: «Elle est belle, dit-il, la récompense que j'ai reçue pour mes peines: le meurtre de mon frère, pour moi, la prison et les cris féroces de cette armée exigeant mon supplice; au nom du droit des gens, je demande réparation».

⁴³ Timpe 1970, op. cit. (n. 40), 38-40; et S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers Julio-Claudiens: 43av. J.-C.-70 ap. J.-C.* (Rome 1992), n° 687, 578-579.

⁴⁴ Demougin 1992, op. cit. (n. 43).

Un prince batave nommé Chariovalda avait déjà combattu Arminius aux côtés de Germanicus en 16.⁴⁵ Mais Tacite ne lui reconnaît que le titre de *dux*, sans qualifier ses troupes d'*ala* ou de *cohors*, alors qu'en 69-70, Civilis porte le grade de *praefectus* et commande une cohorte auxiliaire régulière.⁴⁶

Entre autres arguments, Alpinus Montanus se référait à la cause flavienne dont Civilis se disait un fervent partisan. Or, dans le dernier discours que lui prête Tacite, adressé à Q. Petilius Cerialis sur le fleuve Nabalia,⁴⁷ le chef batave va même plus loin, en évoquant son « respect de longue date » pour Vespasien, dont il se dit l'*amicus*.⁴⁸ Au moment de cette rencontre, le soulèvement avait pris de telles proportions que le soutien au rival de Vitellius ne pouvait plus lui servir de prétexte. Cette proximité toujours revendiquée à ce moment-là entre Civilis et le fondateur de la dynastie flavienne dépasse donc le simple ralliement tactique à Vespasien, qui avait justifié l'insurrection à la fin de l'été 69. Ces liens d'amitié encore invoqués devaient donc vraisemblablement correspondre à une certaine réalité. On peut se demander s'ils n'avaient pas été tissés en Bretagne, à l'époque où Vespasien y commandait la II^e Légion Auguste, en tant que légat, entre 43 et 47 ap. J.-C. Si Civilis était effectivement préfet de cohorte depuis vingt-cinq ans à la fin de l'année 69, il avait pu commencer sa carrière militaire vers 44 et faire la connaissance de Vespasien en Bretagne à l'occasion de la conquête, d'autant plus que la XIV^e Légion y avait participé dès le début.⁴⁹ D'après M.W.C. Hassal, il aurait pu faire partie des recrues levées par Caligula pour sa garde et recevoir à cette occasion le droit de cité romaine avec le gentilice *Iulius*, tandis que son frère l'aurait reçu plus tard de Claude.⁵⁰ Or, les princes bataves restant longtemps à la tête du même corps de troupes, sans connaître les affectations successives des autres officiers équestres, ne pourrait-on envisager que Civilis fût demeuré sur l'île jusqu'aux opérations militaires menées contre la reine Boudicca en 61 ? On pourrait certes objecter à cette hypothèse que Tacite ne fait jamais état d'un commandement que

⁴⁵ Tacite, *Annales* 2.11 ; Cf. Alföldy 1968, op. cit. (n. 19), 12 ; et H. Devijver, *PME* 1.I.43 (Louvain 1976).

⁴⁶ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.16 ; 4.32 ; et Demougin 1992, op. cit. (n. 43), n° 687, 578-579.

⁴⁷ On l'identifie généralement avec l'Yssel, un bras du Rhin en amont de Arnhem ou avec le Lee dans la région de Lienden.

⁴⁸ Tacite, *Histoires* 5.26.

⁴⁹ Tacite, *Agricola* 13 ; Suétone, *Vespasien* 4 ; M.W.C. Hassal, « Batavians and the Roman conquest of Britain », *Britannia* 1 (1970), 133 ; B. Levick, *Vespasien* (Gollion 2002), 32-36 ; et Birley 2005, op. cit. (n. 38), 232-233.

⁵⁰ Suétone, *Caligula* 43 ; et Hassal 1970, op. cit. (n. 49), 133.

Civilis aurait exercé au début de la guerre civile. Mais ce dernier est présenté généralement comme un préfet de cohorte.⁵¹ D' autre part, il arrive à l' auteur des *Histoires* de passer sous silence certains épisodes importants pour la compréhension des événements qu' il relate. C' est d' ailleurs particulièrement le cas pour le récit du soulèvement des Bataves. C' est ainsi qu' il évoque à un moment un second siège de *Vetera* par Civilis après avoir mentionné un premier dont l' issue n' est pas précisée,⁵² ou encore qu' il fait allusion à une tentative romaine de faire lever le siège de Mayence, sans avoir écrit auparavant que ce camp était assiégé⁵³ ...

Julius Civilis serait rentré sur le continent quand la légion au côté de laquelle il commandait une cohorte auxiliaire fut appelée par Néron en Italie, avant d' être envoyée vers le Caucase. Ce passage dans l' *Vrbs* lui aurait fait prendre conscience que d' autres Bataves menaient dans la capitale une vie de garnison qui n' avait rien à voir avec les années qu' il avait passées dans les camps romains, pour reprendre l' expression que lui prête Tacite. De même que la guerre civile réveilla ensuite une hostilité entre prétoriens et légionnaires, qui était latente depuis les mutineries qui avaient éclaté à la mort d' Auguste,⁵⁴ le rôle joué par ses compatriotes auprès du prince, put inciter Civilis à revendiquer pour lui un commandement plus important, pour ses hommes des conditions de service plus avantageuses. C' est cette attitude, au moment où le pouvoir de Néron était déjà contesté, qui lui aurait valu d' être mis au fer, puis grâcié par Galba avant même d' avoir eu le temps d' être jugé par son prédécesseur. Un retournement aussi rapide de situation se comprend mieux, me semble-t-il, s' il exerçait alors la préfecture d' une des huit cohortes de Bataves entrées en conflit avec la XIV^e Légion, quand elles se trouvaient encore en Italie du nord, sur le chemin des Gaules. Dans sa réponse à Alpinus Montanus déjà citée, on peut relever que Civilis ne parle pas de Fonteius Capito, mais « des cris féroces de cette armée qui réclamait son supplice », peut-être poussés par les légionnaires de la XIV^e Légion.

Tacite lui fait alors demander réparation au nom du *ius gentium*, traduit par « droit des gens » par H. Le Bonniec, dans un sens peut-être un peu affadi. Julius Civilis était citoyen romain, mais la formule employée dans les *Histoires* suggère l' invocation d' un droit différent des garanties offertes par la condition civique. Un conflit entre Julius

⁵¹ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.16; 4.32.

⁵² Tacite, *Histoires* 4.18; 4.36.

⁵³ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.37.

⁵⁴ Tacite, *Annales* 1.17.

Civilis et le légat de la XIV^e *Martia Gemina Victrix* sur le sol italien, si l'on retient cette hypothèse, posait des problèmes juridiques. Un simple légat de légion était en effet dépourvu du *ius gladii*, qui permettait, en revanche, à un légat d'Auguste propréteur ou à un proconsul, placé à la tête d'une province, de condamner à mort un militaire, même citoyen romain, sans appel.⁵⁵ Or, nous ignorons si le ou les consulaires investis du commandement de cette armée par Néron, Rubrius Gallus et Petronius Turpilianus, l'avaient reçu. Tout au plus, peut-on remarquer que si Petronius Turpilianus s'était trouvé à la tête de l'*exercitus*, il aurait pu avoir fait, lui aussi, la connaissance du préfet batave, pendant qu'il gouvernait la Bretagne entre 61 et 63.⁵⁶ Peut-être Civilis avait-t-il jugé plus sûr de se prévaloir de garanties judiciaires attachées à son statut de prince batave. Dans ce dernier cas, le terme *gens* correspondrait à son peuple. Mais on peut aussi considérer qu'il voulait simplement signifier à Alpius Montanus qu'il avait été traité de façon inhumaine.

Dans une situation déjà confuse, le cas inhabituel représenté par Civilis avait dû embarrasser la hiérarchie militaire romaine, qui aurait renoncé à l'exécuter. Son incarcération traduit d'ailleurs probablement cet embarras, dans la mesure où il ne s'agissait pas, à proprement parler, d'une peine à Rome, mais d'une mesure de sûreté.⁵⁷ Cette détention avait vraisemblablement pour seul objet d'empêcher Civilis de s'échapper avant qu'il fût jugé. Son cas rappelle celui du légat Quintus Pleminius accusé d'exactions à Locres en 205 av. J.-C.,⁵⁸ ou encore celui du rebelle trévire Julius Valentinus. Capturé près de Trèves, ce dernier comparut devant Domitien et Mucien qui l'entendirent avant de prononcer sa condamnation.⁵⁹ Civilis est lui aussi considéré comme un ennemi dans un contexte d'état de guerre. Tacite emploie les termes de *catenae* et de *uincula*.⁶⁰ Ce dernier terme peut avoir une valeur métonymique et désigner l'emprisonnement, mais aussi correspondre à une peine de

⁵⁵ Dion Cassius, 52.22; 53.13; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1950), 117-119; A.H.M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford 1960), 59-62; et A.H.M. Jones, *The Criminal Courts of the Roman Republic and Principate* (Oxford 1972), 103-104; P. Cosme, 'Le châtement des déserteurs dans l'armée romaine', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 81 / 3 (2003), 304-306; et Fr. Hurllet, *Le proconsul et le prince d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Bordeaux 2006), 158.

⁵⁶ Tacite, *Annales* 14.39; et Birley 2005, op. cit. (n. 38), 50-52.

⁵⁷ Y. Rivière, *Le cachot et les fers. Détention et coercition à Rome* (Paris 2004), 91-134.

⁵⁸ Tite Live, 29.19-22.

⁵⁹ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.85.

⁶⁰ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.13; 4.32.

travaux forcés.⁶¹ En ce qui concerne Civilis, c'est plutôt le sens métonymique qu'il faut retenir. Il en alla de même un peu plus tard pour Herennius Gallus et Numisius Rufus, respectivement légats des Légions *Ia Germanica* et *XVIa Gallica*, « mis aux fers » sur ordre de Julius Classicus.⁶² Civilis aurait été dégradé puis transféré à l'empereur, seul susceptible de trancher l'imbroglio juridique que son cas représentait. Il n'était d'ailleurs peut-être arrivé à Rome qu'après le suicide de Néron. On pourrait alors avancer l'hypothèse que l'armée où avaient été intégrées la XIV^e Légion *Martia Victrix* et les cohortes bataves avait été placée sous les ordres de Petronius Turpilianus, peut-être choisi parce qu'il avait déjà eu l'occasion de les commander en Bretagne et en raison de la fidélité dont il avait fait preuve envers Néron lors de la conspiration de Pison en 65.⁶³ Dès lors, il était logique qu'il fût condamné par Galba et exécuté à Rome,⁶⁴ en même temps que Julius Civilis y était grâcié. En revanche, Rubrius Gallus, moins marqué par ses liens avec le dernier Julio-Claudien sut habilement louvoyer entre Othon, Vitellius et Vespasien, de manière à poursuivre sous les Flaviens une carrière qui l'amena au gouvernement de la province de Mésie en 70.⁶⁵

Julius Civilis fut de nouveau inquiété quand Vitellius fut proclamé empereur par l'armée de Germanie inférieure le 2 janvier 69 :

*Iulius deinde Ciuilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter Batauos, ne supplicio eius ferox gens alienaretur. Et erant in ciuitate Lingonum octo Batauorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressae, prout inclinassent, grande momentum sociae aut aduersae.*⁶⁶

Une lecture rapide de ce seul passage de Tacite pourrait laisser croire qu'il avait alors été réintégré dans son commandement de cohorte. Mais le déroulement des événements rapportés dans les *Histoires* suggère plutôt qu'il était déjà rentré chez lui, tandis que les huit cohortes de Bataves

⁶¹ Rivière 2004, op. cit. (n. 57), 118–119.

⁶² Tacite, *Histoires* 4.59.

⁶³ Tacite, *Annales* 15.72.

⁶⁴ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.37.

⁶⁵ Tacite, *Histoires* 2.51 ; 2.99 ; Flavius Josèphe, *Guerre des Juifs* 7.4 ; Cf. Levick 2002, op. cit. (n. 49), 85.

⁶⁶ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.59 : « Julius Civilis fut ensuite soustrait au péril : comme il avait une grande influence chez les Bataves, on craignait que son exécution n'aliénât ce peuple belliqueux. Or, il y avait dans la cité des Lingons huit cohortes de Bataves, auxiliaires de la quatorzième Légion, que les dissensions de l'époque avaient séparées de cette légion et qui, selon le côté où elles pencheraient, devaient peser, alliées ou ennemies, d'un grand poids dans la balance ».

avaient poursuivi leur route en direction de la Bretagne, où Galba avait décidé de les envoyer, et se trouvaient dans la cité des Lingons.⁶⁷ En effet, le cas de Civilis est évoqué juste après ceux du procureur de Belgique, Pompeius Propinquus, du préfet de la flotte de Germanie, Julius Burdo et du centurion Crispinus, assassin de Fonteius Capito.⁶⁸ Après avoir mentionné Civilis, Tacite relate l'exécution de quatre centurions de la XXII^e Légion *Primigenia* qui avaient tenté de protéger les images de Galba renversées par les partisans de Vitellius. Tous ces personnages se trouvaient en Germanie inférieure au moment de l'usurpation de Vitellius, au début du mois de janvier 69. Tacite rapporte ensuite le ralliement du légat de Gaule Belgique, avant d'en venir aux autres provinces. En revanche, Fabius Valens, qui avait pris le commandement d'une des deux armées vitelliennes qui marchaient sur l'Italie, opéra sa jonction avec les huit cohortes de Bataves chez les Lingons plus tard, après avoir appris la mort de Galba lors de son passage chez les Leuques.⁶⁹ Galba ayant été assassiné le 15 janvier à Rome, la nouvelle ne dut pas être connue dans le nord-est de la Gaule avant la dernière semaine de janvier. C'est donc parce qu'il savait que les troupes de Fabius Valens allaient rencontrer ces cohortes de Bataves que Vitellius avait ménagé Julius Civilis. Cette décision se comprend mieux dans l'hypothèse où ce dernier avait auparavant commandé l'une d'entre elles. Si ces auxiliaires étaient demeurés chez les Lingons pendant tout le mois de janvier, c'est qu'ils avaient dû être avertis de l'usurpation du légat de Germanie inférieure et avaient donc interrompu leur marche vers la Bretagne. D'ailleurs, Julius Civilis usa de son influence sur les Bataves dès la proclamation de Vitellius, puisque Tacite écrit qu'il sut habilement exploiter à son profit l'hostilité de son peuple aux levées ordonnées par le nouvel empereur.⁷⁰ Enfin, les messagers qu'il envoya alors aux cohortes de Bataves, que Vitellius avait finalement préféré envoyer en Germanie supérieure après la bataille de Bédriac, prouvent qu'il n'y exerçait plus de commandement :

*Mox occultis nuntiis pellexit Britannica auxilia, Batauorum cohortes missas in Germaniam, ut supra rettulimus, ac tum Mogontiaci agentes.*⁷¹

⁶⁷ L'actuelle ville de Langres, cf. Tacite, *Histoires* 1.64 ; 2.27.

⁶⁸ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.8.

⁶⁹ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.64. Le chef-lieu des Leuques correspond à la ville actuelle de Toul.

⁷⁰ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.14.

⁷¹ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.15 (trad. H. le Bonniec, Paris, CUF, 1992) : « Puis Civilis séduisit par des messagers secrets les auxiliaires de Bretagne, ces cohortes bataves dont nous avons dit plus haut qu'elles avaient été envoyées en Germanie et qui étaient alors cantonnées à Mayence ». Cf. aussi Tacite, *Histoires* 2.66 ; 2.69.

Cependant, Tacite attribue à Julius Civilis une allusion à une cohorte « qu'il commandait » après la première attaque lancée contre les camps romains par les Canninéfates.⁷² P.A. Brunt et K. Strobel en déduisent qu'il était préfet d'une cohorte demeurée en garnison sur le Rhin.⁷³ Mais à ce moment précis, il avait déjà écrit aux cohortes cantonnées à Mayence et, fort des instructions qu'il a reçues d'Antonius Primus et d'Hordeonius Flaccus, il pouvait prétendre avoir recouvré la préfecture de cohortes dont il avait été privé pendant le *bellum Neronis*.⁷⁴ Toutefois Tacite précise :

*Civilis aduentu ueteranarum cohortium iusti iam exercitus ductor*⁷⁵ ...

Julius Civilis n'exerçait donc pas de commandement avant cette arrivée des auxiliaires bataves.

On peut donc reconstituer ainsi son parcours pendant la guerre civile : préfet d'une des huit cohortes de Bataves associées à la XIV^e Légion *Martia Gemina Victrix*, il avait été appelé à Rome par Néron avant que fût connu le soulèvement de Vindex. Envoyé à la tête de son unité combattre l'usurpateur avec la XIV^e Légion et les sept autres cohortes de Bataves, Julius Civilis fut impliqué dans les dissensions qui éclatèrent entre légionnaires et auxiliaires, alors qu'ils se trouvaient encore en Italie. Cette attitude lui valut d'être déféré à Néron. Gracié par Galba sans retrouver son commandement, il rentra chez lui. Inquiété par certains partisans de Vitellius, il fut finalement de nouveau épargné et laissé libre de ses mouvements. Il put donc en profiter pour préparer une insurrection. Tacite revient à plusieurs reprises⁷⁶ sur l'opposition entre la XIV^e Légion et ses auxiliaires bataves sans avancer d'explication. La clef se trouve peut-être dans le séjour à Rome des huit cohortes venues de Bretagne sur l'ordre de Néron. Elles firent en effet partie des « troupes inaccoutumées qui remplissaient Rome » selon la formule de l'auteur des *Histoires*.⁷⁷ Les auxiliaires bataves eurent donc l'occasion de comparer leur rude expérience passée dans les camps insulaires au statut privilégié dont jouissaient leurs compatriotes entrés chez les *Germani corporis custodes*, qui tiraient un grand prestige de leur proximité avec l'empereur.

⁷² Tacite, *Histoires* 4.16.

⁷³ Brunt 1960, op. cit. (n. 2), 499, n. 1 ; et K. Strobel, « Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Batavikohorten in der hohen Kaiserzeit », *ZPE* 70 (1987), 283.

⁷⁴ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.13.

⁷⁵ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.21 (trad. H. le Bonniec, Paris 1992) : « L'arrivée de ces cohortes de vétérans faisait de Civilis le chef d'une armée régulière » ...

⁷⁶ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.59 ; 1.64 ; 2.27 ; 2.66.

⁷⁷ Tacite, *Histoires* 1.6.

Il est possible que les avantages des gardes du corps aient encouragé les auxiliaires à revendiquer une amélioration de leur sort et à refuser leur subordination à une légion. D'ailleurs, les propos que Tacite prête à Julius Civilis dans le discours qu'il adresse aux Bataves peuvent suggérer qu'il contestait la primauté hiérarchique des légions :

*Numquam magis adflictam rem Romanam nec aliud in hibernis quam praedam et senes: attollerent tantum oculos et inania legionum nomina ne pauescerent. At sibi robur peditum equitumque, consanguineos Germanos, Gallias idem cupientes.*⁷⁸

L'allusion aux *inania legionum nomina* correspond certes au départ d'une partie des légionnaires qui, en suivant Vitellius à Rome, ont dégarni les camps du Rhin. Mais n'exprimerait-elle pas aussi l'esprit de corps particulièrement fort de Bataves qui avaient prouvé leur valeur militaire sur les champs de bataille bretons et contribué à la protection du prince à Rome? D'ailleurs, le traducteur a traduit par un singulier le pluriel employé par Tacite, qui visait peut-être l'ensemble des légions. Tacite détaille les revendications des cohortes de Bataves au moment où elles furent rejointes par un auxiliaire de Civilis, alors qu'elles avaient été appelées en renfort en Italie par Vitellius :

*Isdem diebus Bataurorum et Canninefatium cohortes, cum iussu Vitellii in Urbem pergerent, missus a Civile nuntius adsequitur. Intumere statim superbia ferociaque et pretium itineris donatiuom, duplex stipendium, augeri equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni.*⁷⁹

L'auteur des *Histoires* attribue ces exigences au tempérament naturellement brutal des militaires en général, et de ces auxiliaires en particulier, mais on peut se demander si de telles réclamations, peut-être inspirées par les conditions de service avantageuses des *Germani corporis custodes*, n'avaient pas déjà été à l'origine des premières dissensions entre les Bataves et la XIV^e Légion.

⁷⁸ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.14: « Jamais la puissance romaine n'a été plus abattue; dans les quartiers d'hiver il ne reste que du butin et des vieillards: il suffit de relever la tête et de ne pas trembler au vain nom de légions. Eux, au contraire, ont une infanterie, une forte cavalerie, ils ont pour frère les Germains, les Gaules partagent leurs vœux ».

⁷⁹ Tacite, *Histoires* 4.19: « Dans le même temps, les cohortes des Bataves et des Canninéfates, qui, sur l'ordre de Vitellius, se dirigeaient vers Rome, sont rejointes par un émissaire de Civilis. Aussitôt elles s'enflèrent d'orgueil et d'arrogance et, pour prix de leur déplacement, elles réclamaient une gratification, une double paie, une augmentation de l'effectif des cavaliers, avantages promis, il est vrai, par Vitellius, mais qu'elles demandaient moins pour les obtenir que comme prétexte à sédition ».

Lorsque Galba licencia les *Germani corporis custodes*, leur rancœur s'ajouta aux revendications des auxiliaires bataves. Ces derniers avaient certes alors quitté l'*Vrbs*, à l'exception de Civilis. Mais si le successeur de Néron n'a pas rendu sa cohorte à Civilis, il lui a peut-être confié la mission de ramener sur le Rhin les Bataves renvoyés dans leurs foyers. Ce n'est bien sûr qu'une hypothèse, mais elle pourrait expliquer le retour du prince batave, dont l'influence est soulignée par Tacite, ainsi que sa capacité à fédérer tous les mécontents autour de sa personne. Dans ces conditions, on comprend que les huit cohortes de Bataves aient représenté un tel enjeu lors de la proclamation de Vitellius par l'armée de Germanie inférieure, au point que les partisans de l'usurpateur aient tenu à ménager Julius Civilis, de manière à obtenir le ralliement d'auxiliaires qui se trouvaient alors en territoire lingon.⁸⁰

Paris, décembre 2009

⁸⁰ Tacite, *Histoires* 2.27-2.28.

THE PRACTICE OF *HOSPITIUM*
ON THE ROMAN FRONTIER

J. NICOLS

APPIO IUNIO SILANO P(UBLIO) SILIO / NERVA CO(N)S(ULIBUS)
/ TILLEGUS AMBATI F(ILIIUS) SUSARRUS / |(CASTELLO) AIOBRI-
GIAECO HOSPITIUM / FECIT CUM LOUGEIS CASTELLANIS / TO-
LETENSIBUS SIBI UXORI LIBE/RIS POSTERISQUE SUIS EUMQ/UE
UXOREM LIBEROSQUE EIUS / IN FIDEM CLIENTELAMQUE SUA/M
SUORUMQUE IN PERPETUO CAS/TELLANEI TOLETENSIS RECE-
PERUNT / EGIT TILLEGUS AMBATI IPSE / MAG(ISTRIS) LATINO
ARI ET AIO TEMARI¹

Historians, both ancient and modern, assume that Romans interacted constructively with frontier peoples in ways that both parties understood. A central component of this interaction, and the basis of peaceful intercourse between people of different ethnic groups, was built around the practice of *iura hospitalis*.

Hospitium is one of those institutions that all claim to recognize. Yet it is a striking phenomenon in modern scholarship how little attention has been devoted to a systematic analysis of the expectations and rituals associated with the practice of *hospitium* in the Roman world. Mommsen's study remains even today central to any assessment. Only a very short article appeared in the RE. Occasional studies of the use of *hospitium* in Livy and in Cicero have been published more recently.² Moreover, and thanks to the development of 'metal defectors,' a good number of *tesserae* and *tabulae hospitalis* have been uncovered over

¹ P. Balbín Chamorro, *Hospitalidad y patronato en la Península Ibérica durante la Antigüedad* (Salamanca 2006), No. 50 = appendix below.

² Th. Mommsen, 'Das römische Gastrecht und die römische Clientel', in *Römische Forschungen* (Berlin 1864), I, 355–390; R. Leonhard, '*hospitium*', *RE* VIII (1913) 2493–2498. On Livy, L. Bolchazy, *Hospitality in Early Rome* (Chicago 1977); on Cicero, J. Nicols '*Hospitium* and Political Friendship in the Late Republic', in M. Peachin (ed) *Aspects of Friendship in the Greco-Roman World = JRomArch Suppl.* 43 (Portsmouth RI 2001) 99–108. Also O. Hiltbrunner / D. Gorce, 'Gastfreundschaft', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, VIII (Stuttgart 1972), Sp 1061–1123. Balbín Chamorro 2006, op.cit. (n. 1).

the last quarter century. These latter especially have provided important insights into the practice.

The evidence for the central period of Roman history (as distinct from the episodes described in Livy and dating to the earliest history of the city) is peculiar though hardly unique. That is, between Caesar and Tacitus we have a good number of references in the literary and legal corpus to the practice of *hospitium* especially on the Gallo-Germanic frontier.³ We also have now a considerable body of epigraphical / archaeological evidence, especially from Spain.

For our purposes here and in reference to the ‘frontier’ I wish to stress up-front that I understand ‘frontier’ in two senses, geographical and psychological. First, frontier refers to geographical space, to that area where Romans and peregrines interacted at or near the borders of the Empire. Conventionally, this frontier might be a military district on the upper Rhine or in that part of Northwest Spain pacified by Augustus and Agrippa. Even so, ‘borderland’ must be understood broadly to refer to areas that were ‘more or less’ or sometime even ‘rather less than more’ under Roman control. The ‘frontier’ may also be construed as psychological space, as a component of the intellectual and moral framework within which Romans and peregrines interacted regardless of where they were physically.

In this paper, and relying on both the archaeological and literary evidence, I intend to develop a case for understanding more precisely how *hospitium* facilitated exchange and understanding on the Roman frontier. In brief, the argument is that:

1. The Latin literary evidence indicates that the Romans understood that peregrines practiced *hospitium* in a manner that was consistent with Roman expectations.
2. *Hospitium* was easily and frequently established by travelers on official and on private business.
3. *Hospitium* is an extra-legal institution; there were no legal remedies for failure to respect its conventions.
4. There were a variety of rituals associated with the establishment of *hospitium*, some very formal, others quite informal.
5. A significant number of everyday issues could be resolved by appealing to existing relationships based on *hospitium*.

³ Cases from the legal and literary evidence appear in the text below especially in sections 3–5 of this paper.

6. The intensity of the relationship varied, but as circumstances changed, the parties to the relationship claimed and respected the expectations of the partner 'for the most part'.

There are other questions that cannot be addressed here, for example: In times of imperial crises, the contending parties calculated their support based on their belief that *hospites* really could be motivated to act on their behalf. Moreover, the literary evidence is more concerned with the abuse of the *iura hospitii* (e.g. Verres) than it is with its proper functioning.⁴

I. TOWARDS A DEFINITION

The conventions surrounding the social institution called *hospitium* (hospitality, or 'guest-friendship') by the Romans provided a means by which members of different communities, either individually or as a collective, might find a way to interact with one another to the *mutual* advantage of both parties; the alternative, hostility, inevitably led to the disadvantage of one, if not of both parties. Though it cannot be explicitly demonstrated from the extant sources, there are many indications that the practice of hospitality, in many forms, was ubiquitous in the ancient world, and that it was universally viewed in a positive light. Indeed, the conventions surrounding hospitality were probably critical in the mitigation of conflict.⁵

The word *hospitium* covers a range of meanings. So, for example, in reference to the earliest events in Roman history, the sources generally refer to *hospitium* in the context of social connections established between individuals of different states. We may call this kind of relationship *hospitium privatum* (private hospitality).⁶ In practice, this entailed some kind of explicit agreement between the two parties not only to offer one another amenities (lodging, entertainment: *locus lautiaque*. E.g., *hospitium ac loca lautia mihi praebiturum*. Apul. *Metam* 3 26), but also to show care for the interests and safety of the partner; that is, to provide legal protection for the person and for his property. It is

⁴ See J. Nicols, 'Hospitality among the Romans' in M. Peachin (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (OxfordUP, forthcoming).

⁵ Hiltbunner and Gorce 1972, op. cit. (n. 2), provide the most important references from Homer to the New Testament, and beyond.

⁶ For some early examples, Balbín Chamoro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1), 286 = *ILLRP Imagines* (Berlin 1965), 253. I have posted a sample of these texts at: <http://www.uoregon.edu/~nic/tess&tab/illustrations.html>.

implicit in these relationships that the parties, though of different communities, are of roughly equal social status, and that each should be capable of offering similar services to the other.⁷ During the course of the Republic, these private arrangements also acquired a public dimension, in that one of the partners to the arrangement was a collective. Hereafter, this form will be referred to as *hospitium publicum* (public hospitality) (appendix: *tessera* 2). Moreover, and already during the early period, *hospitium* also is applied to the actual structures devoted to providing hospitality; thus, *hospitium* may refer both to public buildings for entertaining visitors, and may also include guest houses. During the last decades of the Republic, and perhaps connected to the extension of citizenship to all Italians, *hospitium* was applied to include ‘hospitable’ arrangements even between Roman citizens.⁸ Despite the variations listed here, there is ample evidence that the word continued to be used in the traditional sense throughout Roman history, i.e., with respect to friendly relationships involving any combination of individuals or collectives (clan, tribe, *natio*, etc.) who were citizens / subjects of different states.

II. THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

References to traditional *hospitium* appear throughout Latin literature, and they continue well into the Principate. The chronological context of these references is predominantly, however, the early Republic and the ‘frontier’ geographically and psychologically is Italy and the central Mediterranean. Livy is of course a major source for these early exchanges; Cicero and Caesar employ the term extensively to describe contemporary social relationships between Romans and peregrines. Pliny the Elder also provides a good number of references; Tacitus fewer, but what all four provide is consistently illuminating. In brief, the literary evidence indicates that *hospitium* in its many forms continued to be practiced throughout the central period of Roman history (roughly, the second century BC through the second century AD).⁹

The epigraphical evidence is also extensive, but unevenly distributed, geographically and chronologically. Some inscriptions referencing *hospiti-*

⁷ See the articles cited in footnotes 2 and 4.

⁸ Cicero, *Balbus*, 43 suggests that Balbus, now a Roman citizen, was considered the *hospes* of his home town of Gades—that is, Balbus retained the affection of his home state and defended its interests as *sanctissimum hospitem*.

⁹ For the details, see the following sections and Nicols forthcoming, op. cit. (n. 4).

tium are found in all periods of Roman history in Italy and North Africa, but few in the Rhine/Danube areas. The Iberian Peninsula is the most important single source of material. A good number of the inscriptions originating there (and in Gaul) were written in Keltic or Keltiberic languages.¹⁰ Such evidence, and the statement of Tacitus that the practice of *hospitium* was also a critical component in interstate and interpersonal relations among the Germans, leads to the conclusion that the institution was already well established here and presumably elsewhere before the Romans arrived.

III. ON THE INITIATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Hospitium is extended by a formal invitation, by a decree of the local senate if it is public, or by an individual who offers lodging, victuals and protection, if it is in the private sphere. In both cases, the formula is clear (respectively): *invitare eum tecto ac domo* (to invite him into house and home; *In Verrem* 2. 4. 25); *vocare in hospitium* (to offer hospitality; Livy 24. 16. 16), *eum domum suam invitare* (to invite him into one's home; *In Verrem*. 2. 2. 89), or, *hospitio invitabit* (he will offer a hospitable relationship; Cicero *Orationes Philippicae* 12. 35). Depending on how formal the relationship was, a token (*tessera*, or later a *tabula*) might be prepared to commemorate the occasion (appendix: *tessera* 3).¹¹ The occasion might also be marked by the formal exchange of gifts, or by sacrificing and consuming an animal (cf. Statius *Achilleis* 1. 843: *munera . . . signum hospitii*, gifts which are a mark of hospitality). Alternatively, a political alliance might also complement *hospitium publicum*; for example, Caesar indicates that the Aedui enjoyed the *hospitium amicitiae populi Romani* (the hospitality and the friendship of the Roman people; *De bello gallico*. 1. 31).

How was the relationship initiated? As units of the Roman army progressed in the field and as caravans of traders proceeded to markets they had daily needs. Among them were to find water and fodder for their animals as well as campsites and / or secure places to spend the night. Both groups needed to gain access to local markets. Certain places lent

¹⁰ Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1.), nos. 8, 21, 40, 41 = Plates on pages 251, 255, 264, 265. Also: some texts at: <http://www.uoregon.edu/~nic/tess&tab/illustrations.html>.

¹¹ Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1), discussed p. 213 = No. 53; illustrated on page 275.

themselves well to these needs, and it is understandable that senior Roman soldiers and experienced traders not only knew which locations were most suitable, but also knew something about the locals who provided the services. I suspect that the connections were formed in a self-evident way: names were noted, services and gifts were exchanged, benefactions conferred and remembered. In some cases, the exchanges may have led to the establishment of formal *hospitium* but informal relationships surely also developed and were valued.

IV. *HOSPITIUM* ON THE FRONTIER AND IN THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

Caesar regularly employed as legates or as agents individuals in his army who had already established *hospitium* with the Gallic and German opponents. Hence, Marcus Mettius was sent to negotiate with his *hospes*, Ariovistus (*De bello gallico*, 1.47). Cicero comments that his brother, Quintus, was the *hospes* of Divitiacus, a Gaul and druid (*De Divinatione* 1.41.90). Valerius Proculus was the son of an enfranchised Gaul and *familiaris et hospes* of Caesar (*De bello gallico*, 1.53). Again, Caesar does not tell us how Mettius came to know Ariovistus and admittedly Mettius was not treated well when he arrived at the camp of the latter, but that should not distract from the fact that the relationship *hospitium privatum* existed, that this relationship was known to Caesar, and that Caesar felt he could build on it.

Caesar also notes among other similar cases, that that the Aedui enjoyed the *hospitium atque amicitia populi Romani* (*De bello gallico*, 1.31). Here we have *hospitium publicum*, and we may assume that it was formally confirmed by a decree of the Roman senate and by some action of the Aedui.¹²

¹² The most important episode for this process is Livy's story about Roman ambassadors (*legati*) on their way to Delphi to bring a gift to the god Apollo. When they came to Lipari, the chief magistrate, Timasitheus, entertained them *in publicum hospitium* (surely to be understood here as a public building specifically intended, at least in part, for entertaining important guests), and assisted the legates on their voyage to and from Delphi. After the legates had returned safely to Rome, a covenant of hospitality was made with Timasitheus by a decree of the senate, and gifts were presented to him in the name of the state (Livy 5. 28. 4–5). Here we find almost all the ingredients of the relationship: a chance encounter, a party in need, protection offered, the use of public facilities, mutual obligation, a senatorial decree authorizing *hospitium publicum*, and the arrangement for gifts to be provided at public expense.

In other passages Caesar mentions that Ambiorix enjoyed *hospitium* with the Menapii, and that both had ties with the Germans through the Treveri. So too did the Bellovaci send 2000 troops against the Roman at the request of their *hospes* Commius (*De bello gallico*. 7.75). Indeed, Caesar takes for granted that such relationships existed, but he does not explain how they came about. What is significant is that Caesar clearly perceives that what we might label ‘diplomacy’ is indeed covered by the rituals of *hospitium*. Moreover, his use of the words *hospes* and *hospitium* here makes it manifest that he judged that the peregrine version functioned in a manner that Romans understood. That peregrines and their communities would establish such relations is confirmed by the surviving *tesserae* from Spain to be discussed below.

Tacitus provides a good number of examples of the practice of *hospitium* on the Roman frontier: In the *Germania*, 2.1 he notes how *hospitium* served to facilitate blending among the various tribes. In one case, also, a disagreement between a legionary, his local *hospes*, and a member of a Batavian cohort turned violent when the Batavian accused the *hospes* of the legionary of fraud, and the latter came to the defense of his guest friend (*Historiae* 2.66.2). Furthermore, Tacitus mentions how the soldiers of Vitellius instilled fear in the hearts of their *hospites* as they marched toward Rome. Antonius Primus interpreted these depredations as a sign of weakness (*Historiae* 3.2.1). This episode confirms the suggestion above about how Roman soldiers and administrators might come to rely on local *hospites* for support while traveling. Moreover, and in connection with the same events, Valens regularly abused the *hospitium* provided to him by locals as he proceeded (*Historiae* 3.41). Most illuminating however is the description of the relationship between the Lingones and the legionaries in their midst. ‘The *civitas Lingonum*, following an ancient custom, had sent clasped right hands to the legionaries as a sign of *hospitium*’ (*Historiae* 1.54)¹³

In sum: we have sufficient evidence in the literary sources to conclude that Romans and peregrines easily established relationships of *hospitium* on the frontier. The formalities associated with such relationships varied considerably, but even from the brief episodes provided here we can understand that private relationships facilitated the provision of food and lodging for travelers, as well as protection and support when needed. So too is it readily apparent that those participating in *hospitium* came

¹³ Appendix: tessera 4; illustrated also at <http://www.uoregon.edu/~nic/tess&tab/illustrations.html>.

from *all social ranks*. Admittedly, providing *hospitium* did not guarantee that the good will would be reciprocated, but expectations were generally respected.

V. THE *TESSARAE HOSPITALES* (TOKENS OF GUEST-FRIENDSHIP)

The earliest *tesserae* (tokens) may have been of earthenware, having the head of Jupiter *Hospitalis* stamped upon them (Plautus *Poenulus*. 5. 1. 25; 2. 87–99). More common in the late Republic and early Principate was the use of metal *tesserae* and *tabulae*, especially in those cases involving the conclusion of a *hospitium publicum*. These objects, and most are found in areas that were on the Roman frontier, are sometimes in the form of animals, e.g., a pig (appendix: *tessera* 3), perhaps to commemorate an animal slaughtered as part of a ritual meal confirming the relationship.¹⁴ The *tesserae* at least in some cases appear to be deliberately broken in half, or constructed with interlocking parts, so that the two parties could recognize one another on a subsequent occasion by fitting the pieces together again.¹⁵ Later bronze tablets tend to take either a pentagonal (appendix: *tesserae* 1 and 6) or quadratic form (appendix: *tessera* 2).¹⁶ Though there are many variations, all record at least the names of the *hospites*, their intention to formalize a relationship, and the intention that the relationship should continue to future generations.¹⁷ In many cases, *hospitium* is brought into connection with other social relationships—most notably with forms of patronage that would seem to undermine an otherwise implicit notion of equality of status and services.

Another way to formalize such a relationship was the transmittal of clasped right hands as a sign/symbol of *hospitium* (appendix: *tesserae* 4 and 5). The Lingones, as described above, sent clasped right hands to the nearby legions as a sign of hospitality (Tacitus *Historiae* 1.54, and at His-

¹⁴ Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1). Dozens of such items are to be found in Balbín Chamorro's plates, pp. 249 ff. Fish and a variety four-legged, domesticated examples may be found. Note also the much-published pig from Pisuerga (No. 53). I have posted a sample of these texts at: <http://www.uoregon.edu/~nic/tess&tab/illustrations.html>.

¹⁵ Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1): Plate No. 38. This one appears to be manufactured to achieve the same result.

¹⁶ Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1): Plates 54 and 55 for examples of rectangular items; nos. 58, 72, 73 for the pentagonal.

¹⁷ ... *liberis posterisque*—for their children and descendants; also in literary texts, e.g., Livy 27. 16. On these formulations, see J. Nicols, 'Tabula Patronatus' in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 13 (Berlin 1980), 535–561.

toriae 2.8.11 where Syrian legions sent a similar gift to the praetorians). Tacitus is here explicit that this was a well-established Lingonian practice.¹⁸ In this case, the reference is clearly to *hospitium publicum*. Significant is the fact that the references from Pliny the Elder, from Statius, and from Tacitus confirm the archaeological record, namely, that *hospitium* continued to be initiated in a fairly conventional way well into the 2nd century AD.

It should also be noted that the identical form, clasped hands, may also been found on bronze *tesserae* that were fabricated to commemorate an alliance between peregrines (appendix: *tessera* 5), that is where Latin is not employed. Such *tesserae* confirm the conclusion mentioned earlier that the practice and rituals associated with *hospitium* have a universal quality.

VI. SERVICES

Aside from providing for the comforts of visitors, *hospites* also provided services, some of which are not at all easily distinguishable from those provided by patrons and clients. Recall the episode mentioned earlier, in which a legionary went to the aid of a *hospes* accused of fraud during the Year of the Four Emperors. The evidence, which is primarily epigraphical, also indicates that the Romans were not particularly troubled by the consequences of combining relationships that had very different implications in respect to equality or inequality of status and of service. Indeed, a significant number of *tesserae* and *tabulae* record not only the establishment of *hospitium* (appendix: *tesserae* 1 and 3), but also of *patrocinium/clientela* (patronage/ clientship).¹⁹ Moreover, these texts are explicit in saying that both relationships—i.e., hospitality and patronage—are being established at the same time. Though much scholarly ink has flowed on this issue, the evidence is consistent in at least two respects, namely, that: a) the Romans and peregrines did not see the two relationships (again, hospitality and patronage) as mutually exclusive; and b) an individual could thus simultaneously be both a *hospes* and a *cliens* and/or *patronus*. Indeed, the Romans do not appear to have been troubled by the fact that the

¹⁸ Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1): Plates 1, 24, 41. There is some reason to believe that the symbol *signum hospitalis* may have originated in Persia (cf. Xenophon *Anabasis* 2. 4).

¹⁹ For detailed account of the issue, see Balbín Chamorro 2006, op. cit. (n. 1), 21 ff.

first relationship assumes equality between the parties involved, and the latter inequality. There is not much sense in trying to bring (what we would perceive as) order to the system. One may guess that the circumstances dictated (in a fashion reasonably clear to a Roman) whether one responded as a guest-friend, as a patron, or as a client. Furthermore, the flexible nature of the structure may have made it more attractive to all the participants, allowing each to stress what seemed most important at any given moment.²⁰ That is, in seeking aide, an inferior might variously play the role of *hospes* in one situation and *cliens* in another. So, too, the superior party might also emphasize his status as *patronus* in one case or as *hospes* in another.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The literary and especially the epigraphical evidence suggest that Romans and peregrines easily entered into hospitable relationships. The process was so 'selbstverständlich' that the Latin authors comment on the fact only when there were cases of abuse (for example as Cicero does at length in the *Verrines*) or when Romans made specific calculations based on the connection (as Caesar does with Mettius). The self-evident nature of the relationship is amply confirmed by the *tesserae*. They document a wide variety of connections between individuals, between individuals and communities, and between communities. Moreover, the sources, both epigraphical and literary, are consistent that Romans and peregrines alike had a common understanding of what was involved.

And how might we describe the services and benefactions? Certainly they begin with the provision of accommodations and shelter, of victuals and fodder. They also involved a commitment to the security of person and property of the *hospites* and are emphatic that the children and

²⁰ Cicero *Cato* 32 notes Cato's on-going obligations to friends, clients, and *hospites*. Cf. also Cicero *Epistulae ad Familiares* 9. 16. 7, where *hospitium* and *amicitia* (friendship) are complementary; and *Epistulae ad Familiares* 13. 25, where Cicero commends Hegesaretus of Larissa as his *hospes* and *familiaris* (close acquaintance), and also as a grateful and good man, the first in his state. One might think also of C. Avianus Philoxenus, whom Cicero calls *antiquus hospes meus* (my long-standing guest-friend), and also *familiaris* (intimate acquaintance); as a favor to Cicero, Caesar made Philoxenus a citizen of Comum (Cicero *Epistulae ad Familiares* 13. 35). Reputable *amici et hospites* were summoned and tortured (Cicero *Pro Cluentio* 176) on his restoration (Cicero *Pro Cluentio* 202). Cicero offers *hospitium* to Atticus, clearly a generalized meaning here (Cicero *Epistulae ad Atticum* 2. 16. 4).

descendants of those who concluded the original treaty should continue enjoy the responsibilities and benefits.

Admittedly, there was considerable variation in the intensity of the relationships, but the very existence of the *tesserae* and *tabulae* constitute an important reminder of how seriously the participants took their commitments at least at the time that *hospitium* was established. Moreover, both in form and in content these document allude to the well-developed ritual that was employed to formalize the connection. Ritual means, exchange of gifts and tokens all appear to be part of the process.

In respect to the question that forms the theme of this volume, *hospitium* functioned on the Roman frontier to ameliorate the tensions that might arise when one party found himself a stranger in another community and thereby served to facilitate peaceful exchange on the frontier. It surely played a significant role in the process of Romanization.

Eugene, Oregon, and Munich, Germany, August 2010

APPENDIX: SELECTED TESSERAE

I have posted a sample of other texts at: <http://www.uoregon.edu/~nic/tess&tab/illustrations.html>

Tessera 1

- **Date:** 28 d.C.
- **Balbín Chamorro Plate on Page 273 = No. 50**
- **Form:** pentagonal
- **Transliteration:** *Appio Iunio Silano P(ublio) Silio / Nerva co(n)-s(ulibus) / Tillegus Ambati f(ilius) Susarrus / (castello) Alobrigiaeco hospitium / fecit cum Lougeis castellanis / Toletensibus sibi uxori libe/ris posterisque suis eumq/ue uxorem liberosque eius / in fidem clientelamque sua/m suorumque in perpetuo cas/tellanei Toletensis receperunt / egil Tillegus Ambati ipse / mag(istratibus) Latino Ari (filio) et Aio Temari (filio)*
- **Place Found:** Lugo

Tessera 2

- **Date:** ca. AD 40
- **Balbín Chamorro Plate on page 276 = No. 54**
- **Form:** Quadratic
- **Transliteration:** *C(aio) Laecanio Basso / Q(uinto) Terentio Culleo/ne co(n)s(sulibus) / Clunienses ex Hispania / Citeriore hospitium fe/cerunt cum C(aio) Terentio / Basso C(aii) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Mefanate / Etrusco praefecto Alae / Augustae liberis posteris / que eius sibi liberis posteris/ sque suis / Egerunt leg(ati) / C(aius) Magius L(ucii) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Silo / T(itus) Aemllius Fuscus*
- **Place Found:** Burgos

Tessera 3

- **Date:** 14 d.C.
- **Balbín Chamorro, discussed p. 213 = No. 53; illustrated on page 275.**
- **Form:** pig
- **Transliteration:** Part A: *Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(to) Appuleio co(n)-s(ulibus) / k(alendis) Augustis / Caraegius er Abuanus et Caelio mag(istratus) et / senatus Maggavienses Amparamum / Nemaieca-num Cusaburensim / civitate honoraria donata libertos / posterosque*

ita vota omnia ei fecerunt / finibus Maggav(i)ensium quae / civi(s) Maggaviensiu(m)

- Part B: *Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(to) Appuleio / co(n)s(ulibus) Apparamus Nemaioq[um / Cu]saburensis hospitium fecit cum / civitate Maggav(i)ensium sibi liberis liber/ [t]isque posterisque suis eunque liberos / libertos posterosq(ue) eius omnis Maggav(i)e(n)s/es in hospitium fidem clientelamque suam / suorumqui receper(un)t eademq(ue) condicione / esset qua civi(s) Per mag(istratus) Caelione(m) / er Carae-gium et Aburnum / actum*
- **Place Found:** Palencia

Tessera 4

- **Date:** early Principate
- **Balbin Charmorro, No. 24, plate on page 255.**
- **Form:** Clasped hands
- **Transliteration:** *Tessera de hospitalis / cum P(ublico) Turullio P(ublici) f(ilio) / Mai(cia)*
- **Place found:** Teruel (?)

Tessera 5

- **Date:** Late Republic??
- **Balbín Chamorro, No. 41; plate on page 265**
- **Form:** hand, clasped??
- **Transliteration:** *lubos aliðo / kum aualo ke / kontebiað / belaiskað*
- **Place found:** Zaragoza

Tessera 6

- **Date:** *early Principate*
- **Balbín Chamorro, No. 72. Plate on page 285**
- **Form:** Pentagonal
- **Transliteration:** *Sex(tus) Curvius Silvinus q(uaestor) pr(o) / pr(aetore) hospitium fecit cum senatu / populoque Muniguensi Hispaniae / Ulterioris eosque liberos posteros / que eorum in fidem clientelamque / suam liberorum posterorumque / suorum recepit / Egerunt / L(ucius) Luceius L(ucii) f(ilius) mag(istratus) / leg(atus) / L(ucius) Octavius M(arci) f(ilius) Silvanus*
- **Place Found:** Munigua (Mulva)

RESIDENT ALIENS AND TRANSLOCAL MERCHANT COLLEGIA IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

K. VERBOVEN

Boundaries are essential features of society. They determine the limits within which specific normative behavior is required. They define the 'ins' and the 'outs' and distinguish those to whom we are bound by socially prescribed ties of group related solidarity and respect from those who remain unbound by the impersonal rules of group related morality.¹

The greatest achievement of the Roman empire was that it succeeded in creating an imagined community based on Roman citizenship, which transcended the local level. Inside this grand imagined community, however, thousands of smaller communities organized in cities, tribes and nations, continued to provide the setting for social life. Under the technological conditions characterizing the empire, social life largely remained local life. Local communities (*patriae*) remained strong moral communities, based on local citizenship, ethnicity or tribal membership.

Nevertheless, as argued by Horden and Purcell,² mobility was the essence of the Mediterranean and of the Roman Empire. Ports and major cities were familiar with smaller or larger communities of migrants, resident aliens, and passing merchants. Ethnic groups and civic communities were bound together in a continuous exchange of outsiders frequenting and settling in each other's communities, spreading news and establishing links between distant places.³

Problems and challenges were inevitable. Foreign communities sought to maintain their ethnic or cultural identity, preserving close ties with

¹ This paper is largely based on research done at the *Academia Belgica* in Rome in March 2009. I would like to thank the staff of the *Academia Belgica* for their hospitality and support. Special thanks are due also to the *Ecole Française de Rome* and to the libraries of the British School and the American Academy.

² P. Horden—N. Purcell, *The corrupting sea. A study of mediterranean history* (Oxford 2000).

³ On the institutional and legal aspects see O. Licandro, 'Domicilium e incolae tra repubblica e principato', in R. Compatangelo-Soussignan—Chr. Schwentzel (eds.), *Étrangers dans la cité romaine (Actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14–15 octobre 2005) "Habiter une autre patrie": des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire)* (Rennes 2007), 43–76.

their homeland, but also had to integrate in local communities. Translocal merchants needed reliable local contacts and stopping places. Host communities had to find ways to satisfy both groups, without alienating the autochthonous population. This paper studies the role of voluntary associations (*collegia*) of resident aliens (*katoikountes*, *consistentes*) and translocal merchants in this process.⁴

In 174 AD the Tyrians of Puteoli sent a delegation to their mother city with a letter containing a request for financial aid.⁵ The Tyrian community in Puteoli (*hoi en Potiolois katoikountes*) had once been large and prosperous. Their *statio* was still the largest and most splendid in the city. But as a result (no doubt) of the growing importance of Ostia and Portus, their numbers and prosperity had declined and financial burdens had become increasingly difficult to shoulder. They had to finance and perform the sacrifices and rites to the paternal gods of Tyre in various temples, and were charged with the *munus* of paying the bull sacrifice at the games in Puteoli. In addition, they paid for the upkeep of the *statio* and its decoration on the imperial sacred days. Contrary to the Tyrian *statio* at Rome, the *statio* in Puteoli did not receive contributions from shippers and merchants. Therefore they requested that the city of Tyre would henceforth pay the rent of 250 *denarii* for the *statio* to ensure its continued existence.⁶

The request was opposed by Philokles son of Diodoros, who revealed that the Tyrian *stationarii* in Rome had until then paid the *misthos* on behalf of the Puteoleans (presumably because they originated as an off-spring of the Puteolean *statio* when the port of Ostia opened). The Tyrians based in Rome refused to continue this arrangement and the Puteolean group faced the additional expense, for which they requested help from Tyre. Philokles proposed instead that both clubs should merge into a new association. The Tyrians from Puteoli replied by producing a document to prove that the city of Tyre had provided for two *stationes*. Unfortunately the text breaks off at this point. Presumably, since the

⁴ J.R. Patterson, 'The collegia and the transformation of Italian towns', in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rome 1994), 237; N. Tran, *Les membres des associations romaines: le rang social des collegiati en Italie et en Gaules, sous le Haut-Empire* (Rome 2006), 273–294; H. Mouritsen, *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge 2000), 84. For reasons of space strictly local *collegia* accepting foreigners in their ranks will be excluded.

⁵ *CIG* 03, 5853 = *IG* 14, 0830. For the best recent edition and analysis (with further bibliography) see J.D. Sosin, 'Tyrian "stationarii" at Puteoli', *Tyche* 14 (1999), 275–284.

⁶ Mommsen and others read *C(entum milia) N(ummum)*, 100,000 *denarii*. But see against this persuasively Sosin (*loc. cit.*): CN = 0V = 250 (*drachmai*).

inscription was erected in Puteoli, their view had prevailed and the subsidy was accorded.

The inscription relating the case of the Tyrian *stationarii* is the richest document we have on an association of foreign residents. It documents its importance as a cult association, its relation with its home and its host city, its relation to a sister association and its relations with shippers and merchants. It is not, however, the only foreigners' club on record in Puteoli. Clubs are attested in the first and second century of Berytenses, Heliopolitanenses (Baalbek), Germellenses, and Nabataenses, besides many individual foreigners (merchants for the most part) and inscriptions attesting oriental cults.⁷ A graffito attests the existence of *compitani Daphnenses* (probably) from Antiochia.⁸ A *vicus Tyanianus* in Puteoli mentioned in a graffito in Herculaneum suggests a Cappadocian community.⁹ Foreign communities as these, prominent enough to lend their names to quarters of the city, undoubtedly had their own cult associations and *scholae*. Apart perhaps from its size and splendor there is no reason to believe that the Tyrian *statio* was exceptional.

Puteoli was an exceptional place. Like Ostia, the city was a commercial stronghold, where the number of outsiders rivaled the numbers of citizens. Both towns shared many features, but differed substantially from 'ordinary' cities.¹⁰ Nevertheless, *collegia* grouping foreigners are widely, although not abundantly, attested throughout the empire. In Rome (for obvious reasons) *stationes municipiorum* and *stationes civitatum exterarum* were common, some of them situated in the heart of the city on and near the *forum*. We find groups and *stationes* attested of Anazarbus, Ephesus, Heraclea, Mopsuestia, Tarsus, Tyre, Nysa, Sardis, Tralles, Tiberias and Claudiopolis.¹¹

⁷ G. Camodeca, 'Comunità di "peregrini" a Puteoli nei primi due secoli dell'impero', in M. Bertinelli—A. Donati (eds.), *Le vie della storia. Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazione di idee nel Mediterraneo antico (atti del II incontro internazionale di Storia Antica, Genova 2004)* (Roma 2006) (= *Serta antiqua et mediaevalia* 9), 269–287.

⁸ *AE* 1932, 0071 = *HD* 25203; G. Soricelli, 'Comunità orientali a Puteoli', in Compantangelo-Soussignan—Schwentzel (2007), op. cit. (n. 3), 133; D. Steuernagel, *Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenstädten: soziale Prozesse in archäologischer Perspektive* (Stuttgart 2004), 46, nr. 170.

⁹ *CIL* 4, 10676; *Ostraka* 9 (2000), 281–285; Soricelli 2007, op. cit. (n. 8), 133. Compare also infra n. 42 on the *pagus Tyrianus*.

¹⁰ Cf. J. D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the second century of the Roman empire: a social and economic study', *Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974), 112.

¹¹ D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome. Citizens and strangers* (London 2000), 160–161. *IGUR* 70–78, no. 78–93; L. Moretti, 'Sulle "stationes municipiorum" del Foro Romano',

In most places the number of foreign residents was too small to support such specific clubs. In Malaca the Syrian and Asian community formed a single association.¹² In Dacia we find *collegia* of Galatians, possibly grouping all Asian residents.¹³ In the German provinces we find *collegia* of *peregrini*.¹⁴ Even in Rome, we find a common *statio* for the entire province of Noricum.¹⁵

The model for such foreign resident associations goes back to pre-Roman times. Their essentially Mediterranean and Hellenistic character is illustrated by the Rhodian associations of the third and early second century BCE,¹⁶ the clubs of Romans and other nationalities at second- and first-century BCE Delos,¹⁷ and the *conventus civium Romanorum* throughout the empire in primarily the Republican period.¹⁸

Foreigners' associations not only tended to resident aliens, but also provided services to visiting merchants and shippers. The distinction between both groups was blurry, since resident aliens themselves were mostly merchants and merchants' agents. Nevertheless, the letter of the Tyrian *stationarii* expressly distinguishes the resident *stationarii* (*katoi-*

Athenaeum n.s. 36 (1958), 106–116; C. Ricci, *Orbis in urbe. Fenomeni migratory nella Roma imperial* (Roma 2005), 57–60.

¹² *CIL* 2, p. 251 = *CIGR* 26 cf. J.M. Santero Santurino, *Asociaciones populares en Hispania Romana* (Sevilla 1978), p. 165, no. 115.

¹³ *CIL* 3, 860 = *AE* 2004, 1182 = *HD* 47075.

¹⁴ *CIL* 13, 8808 (2, p. 31*) (*Forum Hadriani*); *CIL* 13, 11750 = *HD* 36883 (Waldheim); *CIL* 13, 06453 (Marbach).

¹⁵ *CIL* 6, 250 = 30723 = *HD* 1133 (note also the forged copy of the same inscription on an urn *AE* 1982, 162).

¹⁶ V. Gabrielsen, 'The Rhodian Associations and Economic Activity', in Z. Archibald et al. (eds.), *Hellenistic economies* (London—New York 2001), 163–184.

¹⁷ J.-M. Flambard, 'Observations sur la nature des magistri italiens de Délos', in F. Coarelli—D. Musti—H. Solin (eds.), *Delo e l'Italia* (Roma 1982), 67–77; C. Hasenohr, 'Les collèges de magistri et la communauté italienne de Délos', in C. Müller—C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec: IIe siècle av. J.-C.—Ier siècle ap. J.-C.: circulation, activités, intégration* (Actes table ronde, École normale supérieure, Paris, 1998) (Athènes 2002), 67–76; C. Hasenohr, 'Les "Compitalia" à Délos', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 127 (2003), 167–249; Note for instance the Heraclistes de Tyre and the Posidonias of Beritus: C. Hasenohr, 'Italiens et Phéniciens à Délos: organisation et relations de deux groupes d'étrangers résidents (IIe–Ier siècles av. J.-C.)', in R. Compatangelo-Soussignan—Chr.-G. Schwentzel, *Etrangers dans la cité romaine* (Actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14–15 octobre 2005) "Habiter une autre patrie": des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire) (Rennes 2007), 91–109.

¹⁸ W. Van Andringa, 'Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'Empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes', in N. Belayche—S.C. Mimouni (eds.), *Les communautés religieuses dans le monde gréco-romain. Essais de définition* (Turnhout 2003), 49–60.

kountes) in Rome and Puteoli from merchants and shippers. The Roman *statio* received income from the latter, while the Puteolean did not. Possibly, the Roman *stationarii* charged 'costs' for the facilities offered by the *statio*. These may have included performing rites and sacrifices, but laying contacts, obtaining introductions, finding lodgings and storing facilities etc. could likewise have persuaded merchants and shippers to contribute to the *statio*'s expenses.

Collegia of residents aliens maintained close relations with their home cities. The case of the Tyrian *stationarii* suggests that the home city at least had moral authority over their emigrant communities. The request that Tyre should pay the rent for their *statio* is not without parallel. Salvidienus Orfitus was charged for plotting against Nero because he had hired out three *tabernae* of his house near the forum to cities for use as *stationes*.¹⁹ In the case of the Tyrians the clubs at Rome and Puteoli operated independently, but this need not always have been the case. Particularly in Rome public *stationes*, with *stationarii* acting under instruction and on behalf of their *patria*, may have been common. The city of Gaza erected a statue with honorary inscription in Portus to Gordian on order of its ancestral god, under supervision of Ti. Claudius Papirius, *epimelètès* of the sanctuary of Marnas at Ostia—Portus. The fact that a citizen from Ostia served as the sanctuary's supervisor argues against the presence of a strong Gazan community.²⁰

Diodoros' proposal that the Roman and the Puteolean association of Tyrians should merge into a single translocal association may have been inspired by the prevalent model of translocal merchant associations that seems to have gained importance in the second century CE. In Ostia numerous *collegia* of *negotiantes* and *navicularii* are attested. They are differentiated according to their origin and (sometimes) specialty: the *olearii ex Baetica*, the *navicularii Misuenses*, the *navicularii Karthaginienes*, the *Sabratenses*, At least 12 (possibly 13) of the *stationes* at the 'Piazzale delle Corporazioni' belong to foreign merchants and shippers.²¹ Prominent members undoubtedly resided at least partly in Ostia or Rome, but there is no reason to assume that only resident merchants or shippers became members of these associations, or that the associations relied on local communities of long term residents.

¹⁹ Suetonius, *Nero* 37.2.

²⁰ *I.Porto* 5 = *IG* 14, 926; See L. Ross Taylor, *Cultus of Ostia* (Bryn Mawr 1912), 79–89.

²¹ *CIL* 14, 4549. On the role of the Ostian *collegia* in the integration of outsiders see Tran 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 285–289.

The *corpus oleariorum* had a *statio* in Rome or Ostia, but also one in Hispalis, where the daughter of a member, Valerius Valens, donated a statue of Venus Genetrix *ad cultum operis* to the *corpus*.²² L. Marius Phoebus, *mercator olearius ex Baetica* acquired a position as *viator tribunicius* in Rome, where he died. But he and his son figure among the dedicants of the funerary inscription in honor of a certain Auge who died and was buried in Corduba.²³ The presidents of the important *olearii ex Baetica* sometimes resided in Rome, but kept their estates and town houses in Baetica, where their families and descendents continued to live. Iulius Hermesianus, for instance, erected an epitaph for a freedwoman of his in Rome, but received statues in his honor from his son and the *corpus oleariorum* in Hispalis.²⁴

The *corpora* of foreign *negotiatores* and *navicularii* in Rome and Ostia were well integrated in local life. The ‘Piazzale delle Corporazioni’ in Ostia is an important landmark in the city’s public topography and emphatically links the corporations of foreign shippers and merchants to the city’s theatre and its public festivals. At least from the time of Trajan onwards *collegia* of *navicularii* and *negotiantes* mediated in the extension of privileges to merchants and shippers working for the imperial *annona*, which greatly increased their prestige and influence.²⁵

²² AE 2002, 716; A.M. Canto, ‘Addendum ad no. 577b’, *Hispania Epigraphica* 10 (2000) [2004], 209–211.

²³ CIL 6, 1935; AE 2000, 734 = CIL 2(2), 7,544 (Cordoba); CIL 15, 3943–3959 (*tituli picti* from the Monte Testaccio); J. Remesal Rodríguez, ‘L. Marius Phoebus mercator olei hipani ex provincia Baetica. Consideraciones en torno a los términos mercator, negotiator y diffusor olearius ex Baetica’, in P. Gianfranco (ed.), *Epigraphai. Miscellanea Epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini* (Roma 2000), 781–797.

²⁴ HEP 10, 576; CIL 6, 20742. G. Chic García et al., ‘Una nueva inscripción annonaria de Sevilla: M. Iulius Hermesianus, diffusor olei ad annonam urbi’, *Habis* 32 (2001), 353–374; P. Le Roux, ‘L’huile de Bétique et le Prince. Sur un itinéraire annonaire’, *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 88 (1986), 247–271; U. Ehmgig, ‘Pinselaufschrift und stempel auf einer südspanischen Ölamphore aus Mogontiacum—Mainz—Who is who in familia M. Iulii Frontiniani?’, *Pyrenae* 29 (1998), 237–248; A. Tchernia, ‘D. Caecilius Hospitalis et M. Iulius Hermesianus (CIL 6, 1625b; 20742)’, in J.M.B. Martínez (ed.), *Producción y comercio del aceite en la Antigüedad. Primer congreso Internacional* (Madrid 1980), 155–160; Cf. Chr. Rico, ‘Mercatores, negotiatores et diffusores olearii et le commerce de l’huile de Bétique à destination de Rome aux Ier et IIe siècles de notre ère’, *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 105 (2003), 413–433.

²⁵ B. Sirks, *Food for Rome: the legal structure of the transportation and processing of supplies for the imperial distributions in Rome and Constantinople* (Amsterdam 1991); L. De Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell’impero romano: i corpora naviculariorum* (Messina 1992); E. Lo Cascio, ‘Ancora sugli “Ostia’s services to Rome”: collegi

The epitome and perhaps the original model for supralocal associations was provided by the Greek guilds of actors (*Dionysitechnitai*) and of athletes. They originated in the Hellenistic period and continued to thrive in the Principate, when they were styled 'world-wide associations'. Their importance to one of the core aspects of Greek 'High' culture made them influential with local and imperial elites, guaranteeing them even imperial protection.²⁶

In Rome the Ephesian pancratis M. Ulpus Domesticus donated a building (?) dedicated to the emperor, to the city (?) of Ephesus and to the *nauklèroi* and *emporoi* of Ephesus. Whether the Ephesian merchants and shippers were organized in a translocal association that could have used the building as a *statio* is unknown. However, Ulpus Domesticus was also High Priest and president of the Roman Athletic Guild and patron of the international 'Sacred Guild of Athletes Devoted to Herakles'. He succeeded in obtaining from Antoninus Pius the donation of a spot of land near the baths of Trajan, where the splendid *Curia Athletarum* was built.²⁷

Translocal merchant and shipper associations are commonly found also elsewhere.²⁸ In Lugdunum we find a large community of residents *in canabis consistentes*, that was closely linked to the *colonia*. Many *consistentes* were no doubt long term residents, but not all. The important corporations of the *nautae Ararici*, the *nautae Rhodanici* and the *vinarii Lugduni consistentes*, were firmly based in Lugdunum, where they erected

e corporazioni annonarie a Ostia', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome et d'Athènes* 114 (2002), 87–109; W. Broekaert, 'Creatio ex nihilo? The Origin of the corpora nauculariorum reconsidered', *Latomus* 67 (2008), 692–706.

²⁶ Z. Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World* (Oxford 2006), 239–252; C.A. Forbes, 'Ancient athletic guilds', *Classical Philology* 50 (1955), 238–252; Caldelli 1992, op. cit. (n. 27); H.W. Pleket, 'Some aspects of the history of the Athletic Guilds', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 10 (1973), 197–227; V. Hirschmann, 'Macht durch Integration? Aspekte einer gesellschaftlichen Wechselwirkung zwischen Verein und Stadt am Beispiel der Mysten und Techniten des Dionysos von Smyrna', in A. Gutsfeld—D.-A. Koch (eds.), *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Tübingen 2006), 41–59.

²⁷ *IGUR* 26; Noy 2000, op. cit. (n. 11), 160–161; Forbes 1955, op. cit. (n. 26), 243–244; Newby 2006, op. cit. (n. 26), 34–36; M.I. Caldelli, 'Curia athletarum, iera xystike synodos e organizzazione delle terme a Roma', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 93 (1992), 75–87.

²⁸ See Verboven 2007, op. cit. (n. 41), 873–875; K. Verboven, 'Magistrates, patrons and benefactors of *collegia*: status building and Romanisation in the Spanish, Gallic and German provinces', in B. Antela-Bernárdez—T. Naco del Hoyo (eds.), *Transforming Historical Landscapes In The Ancient Empires* (Oxford 2009), 163–164.

honorary monuments, elected patrons and took part in the local and the provincial festivities. Their members, however, came from all over Gaul.²⁹ The wine merchant and barge shipper Apronius Raptor, for instance, was honored in Lugdunum by the *corpora* of the *nautae Ararici* and the *negotiatores vinarii Lugduni consistentes*, but was a citizen and council member of Trier.³⁰

Members from the *Corpus splendissimum mercatorum Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum* are attested in Lugdunum, Aventicum, Mediolanum, Novara and indirectly in Trier. The association enjoyed high protection from senators and may have dominated the land routes over the Alps.³¹ A high ranking nobleman from Aventicum, Q. Otacilius Pollinus, who represented the Helvetii at the council of the Gauls and received three times tax-immunity from Hadrian, was honoured as patron of the *Venalicii Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum*. In addition Pollinus was patron of the Helvetii and of the *nautae Ararici et Rhodanici*.³²

An important function of *collegia* of alien residents and translocal businessmen was to forge and strengthen social relations between persons sharing the same background, customs and (mostly) profession. *Collegia* were above all ‘brotherhoods’; closed groups with a select number of members tied together in bonds of trust and solidarity.³³ This community aspect rested on three pillars: cult, commemoration and conviviality.

It was unthinkable in the ancient world that a community could exist without tutelary deities. *Collegia* were always also cult associations.³⁴

²⁹ Tran 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 275–285.

³⁰ AE 1904, 176 = CIL 13, 11179; CIL 13, 1911; L. Wierschowski, *Fremde in Gallien—‘Gallier’ in der Fremde. Die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. Bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 2001), 318–319, no. 443.

³¹ G. Walser, ‘Corpus mercatorum Cisalpinorum et transalpinorum’, *Museum Helveticum* 48 (1991), 169–175; A. Alföldi, ‘La corporation des Transalpini et Cisalpini à Avenches’, *Suisse Primitive* 16 (1952), 3–9; Verboven 2007, op. cit. (n. 41), 876–877; B. Tasser, ‘Die Vereine der Cisalpini und Transalpini—eine Alpenumspannende Handelsgesellschaft?’, in R. Lafer—K. Strobel (eds.), *Die Geschichte der Antike aktuell: Methoden, Ergebnisse und Rezeption: Aktes des 9. gesamtösterreichischen Althistorik (Klagenfurt—Wien 2005)*, 187–198.

³² CIL 13, 11480–11492 = AE 1995, 1141. On Otacilius Pollinus: J. Reynolds, ‘Q. Otacilius Pollinus of Aventicum’, *Pro Aventico* 20 (1969), 53–57; R. Frei Stolba, ‘Q. Otacilius Pollinus: inquisitor III Galliarum’, in P. Kneissl—V. Losemann (eds.), *Alte Geschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Darmstadt 1988), 186–201; H.E. Herzig, ‘Die Familie der Otacilier in Aventicum’, *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 53–54 (1973–1974), 35–41.

³³ Cf. the *contubernium peregrinorum* mentioned in CIL 13, 11750 = HD 36883.

³⁴ Cf. J.-P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains: depuis les origines jusqu’à la chute de l’Empire d’Occident* (Bruxelles—Louvain),

The terms *schola*, *statio* and *templum* overlap and were mostly chosen merely to stress either profane or cultic aspects of an association.³⁵ The question is never 'are we dealing with a religious association?', but rather what other purposes did the association serve and how did its religious dimensions contribute to this? In the case of clubs of foreign residents and translocal merchants, affirming and experiencing the community's cultural identity through the performance of common cult practices was of major importance.

The letter from the Tyrian *stationarii* at Puteoli is almost entirely focused on the cult practices it ensured for the gods of Tyre and the emperor. The citizens from Berytus residing in Puteoli describe themselves as *cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt*.³⁶ Another inscription (possibly referring to the same community) mentions the *qui in cultu corporis Heliopolitanorum sunt*.³⁷

But 'national' gods are not the only deities being honored by foreigners' *collegia*. Residents from Bracara Augusta in Pax Iulia in Lusitania dedicated their *schola* (?) in the 2nd c. CE to Sol or to Mithra.³⁸ In Marbach (Germania Superior) a member of the *collegium peregrinorum* offered a statue of Victoria with base to his *collegium* in fulfillment of a vow.³⁹ Two members of a *collegium peregrinorum* in Forum Hadriani dedicated a statue to the Genius of their *collegium*.⁴⁰

Funeral and commemoration rites for deceased members, patrons and benefactors were a prime responsibility of all ancient *collegia*.⁴¹

I, 195–255; F. Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Kallmünz 1982), 29; J. Scheid, 'Communautés et communautés: réflexions sur quelques ambiguïtés d'après l'exemple des thiasos dans l'Égypte romaine', in N. Belayche—S.C. Mimouni (eds.), *Les communautés religieuses dans le monde gréco-romain. Essais de définition* (Turnhout 2003).

³⁵ D. Steuernagel, "'Corporate identity": über Vereins-, Stadt- und Staatskulte im kaiserzeitlichen Puteoli', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 106 (1999), 161.

³⁶ Camodeca 2006, op. cit. (n. 7), 271–272.

³⁷ *CIL* 10, 1679; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie* (Leiden 1972), 149; Steuernagel 1999, op. cit. (n. 35), 161; Camodeca 2006, op. cit. (n. 7).

³⁸ *AE* 1956, 254 = *AE* 1984, 465; J.C. Edmonson, 'Mithras at Pax Iulia—a re-examination', *Conimbriga* 23 (1984), 72–85.

³⁹ *CIL* 13, 6453.

⁴⁰ *CIL* 13, 8808.

⁴¹ Th. Mommsen, *De sodaliciis et collegiis Romanorum* (Kiel 1843); K. Hopkins, *Death and renewal* (Cambridge 1983), 211–217; See J.S. Perry, *A Death in the familia: the funerary colleges of the Roman Empire* (Chapel Hill Diss. 1999); J. Patterson, 'Patronage, collegia and burial in imperial Rome', in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100–1600* (Leicester 1992), 15–27; K. Verboven, 'The associative

Collegia guaranteed a respectable funeral, provided funds for the upkeep of collective sepulchral monuments and burial plots, and ensured that their deceased members would be remembered and their last resting places kept in honor. Membership was not free. Accordingly, the main contribution of *collegia* was not financial but social. Their implication in the funerary and commemoration rituals for members, patrons and benefactors expressed the integration of the deceased and his family in the brotherhood of the *collegium* and remembered the honorable position once attained by deceased presidents, patrons and benefactors.

In Puteoli the *corpus Heliopolitanorum* owned 7 *iugera* of land, with a cistern and workshops. This large complex was no doubt intended *inter alia* for commemorative rituals practiced by the *corpus*. The letter from the Tyrian *stationarii* makes no mention of it, but the existence of a *pagus Tyrianus* with a *taberna* and kitchen indicates that Tyrians owned substantial property outside the town of Puteoli. Presumably part of this served for burials and funerary monuments.⁴²

The kitchen points to the third core activity of ancient *collegia*: commensality. Collegiate life revolved around social gatherings for communal eating and drinking. In addition to regular more or less informal meetings,⁴³ banquets were held to mark birthdays, marriages, religious events, etc. Donahue described such meetings as ‘segregative commensality’, intended to reinforce intra-group relations. Ascough, however, noted that the banquets fit better in the category of ‘exceptional commensality’. The calendar for banquets was mostly based on life cycle events of outsiders (emperors, benefactors, patrons ...) and public festivals—in the case of foreigners’ *collegia* both of the host city and the members’ homeland.⁴⁴ Thus, they served to integrate foreigners’ *collegia* symbolically in their host cities and to express the members’ lasting relation with their *patria*.

One of the most obvious effects (and functions) of *collegia* and closely connected to their performance as communities was the creation of

order. Status and ethos among Roman businessmen in late republic and early empire’, *Athenaeum* 95 (2007), 872–873.

⁴² On the Heliopolitani cf. supra n. 37; on the *pagus Tyrianus*: Camodeca 2006, op. cit. (n. 7), 282–283; L. *Domitius Pudens patro/nus pagi Tyriani tabernam et culinam cocinatoriam ob honore patronici (sic) / pecunia sua a solo fecit paganis pagi / Tyriani*.

⁴³ *Dig.* 47.22.1.

⁴⁴ J.F. Donahue, ‘Toward a typology of Roman public feasting’, *American Journal of Philology* 124 (2003), 423–441; R. Ascough, ‘Forms of commensality in Greco-Roman associations’, *Classical World* 102 (2008), 33–45.

status positions. *Collegia* needed representatives, priests, protectors and benefactors.⁴⁵ The ethnic and trans-local *collegia* conferred status upon their magistrates and protectors as mediators between local communities on the one hand and foreign residents and frequent visitors on the other. This tied the elites of foreign residents and merchants firmly into the social and political fabric of local communities and gave foreigners' clubs a place in local society and politics.

The inscription of the Tyrian *stationarii* records two persons who spoke in the assembly of Tyr when the request was debated. The association of the Germellenses honored their priest and son of their *curator* Aurelius Theodorus by giving him a torque and a *velum*.⁴⁶ We already mentioned the honorary statue that Iulius Hermesianus, president of the *olearii ex Baetica*, received in Hispalis (cf. supra n. 24). Sentius Regulianus started his career as a wine merchant in Lyon, but began dealing in Baetican olive oil and rose through the ranks of their corporation, which brought him to Rome as their president. Here he became *diffusor olearius*, received the rank of *equus romanus* and eventually died. Although a resident of Rome at the time of his death, his wife and children appear to have lived elsewhere (probably their home-city Lugdunum).⁴⁷

Clubs of foreign residents and translocal businessmen engaged in a symbolic interaction with their host communities expressing the integration of the *collegia* and their members in local life. They did so primarily by following the model laid out by prominent local *collegia*. *Collegia* in general were closely connected with public festivals. Seating arrangements in theaters, amphitheaters, stadia etc., laid down by laws and council decrees, were an important way to signify publicly acknowledged social positions.⁴⁸ Important *collegia* had reserved seats in theaters throughout the empire. In the theatre of Aphrodisias seats

⁴⁵ See on this aspect Verboven 2007, op. cit. (n. 41); Verboven 2009, op. cit. (n. 28).

⁴⁶ *CIL* 10, 1578; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie* (Leiden 1972), 148–149; Camodeca 2006, op. cit. (n. 37), 272.

⁴⁷ *CIL* 6, 29722; B. Rémy, 'Une grande famille ségusiave: les Ulattii', *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est* 25 (1973), 92; J.P. Vallat, 'La cité des Ségusiaves à l'époque romaine', in S. Walker (ed.), *Récents recherches en archéologie gallo-romaine et paléochrétienne sur Lyon et sa région* (Oxford 1981), 262–263.

⁴⁸ J. Kolendo, 'La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l'empire romain', *Ktèma* 6 (1981), 301–315; 310–311; J.C. Edmondsen, 'Dynamic arenas: gladiatorial presentations in the city of Rome and the construction of Roman society during the early empire', in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Roman theater and society. E. Togo Salmon Papers I* (Ann Arbor 1996), 100–101; E. Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum: the lex Iulia theatralis', *Papers of the British School in Rome* 55 (1987), 83–114.

were reserved for tanners, gold-workers, gardeners, corn merchants (?), neighborhood associations, and a number of other clubs.⁴⁹ At the other end of the empire, examples are attested in Nemausus, Lugdunum and Arelate.⁵⁰ Foreign groups as well were given reserved seats. A number of seats in the Colosseum was reserved for Gaditani.⁵¹ In Lugdunum, seats were reserved for Macedones.⁵² In Aphrodisias we find reserved seats in the stadion for citizens of Mastaura and Antioch.⁵³ Although membership of a local foreigners' association was most likely not required, they were presumably involved in the individual distribution of the seats.

Likewise, associations of translocal businessmen sometimes received reserved seats. At Nemausus the corporations of the *nautae Atr(icae?) et Ovidis* and the *nautae Rhodanici et Ararici* respectively had 25 and 40 seats in the theatre.⁵⁴ At Arles the *diffusores olearii* (presumably elite members of the *corpus oleariorum* who served as *diffusores* at Rome) may have had reserved seats.⁵⁵

The integration of foreigners' and translocal merchant *collegia* in local communities was not only visually expressed through seating arrangements. *Scholae*, temples and monuments belonging or referring to *collegia* formed an integral part of the public urban topography in important cities. In Puteoli, at least seven rooms on the outside of the amphitheater were used by various *collegia*. In Ostia the 'Piazzale delle Corporazioni', adjoining the theater, was the result of deliberate urban planning. The *stationes* at the Piazzale were most likely rented out to the *corpora* occupying them. Steuernagel rightly stresses the representational function of

⁴⁹ C. Roueché, *Performers and partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London 1993), 124–128.

⁵⁰ Nemausus: *CIL* 12, 3316; 3317; Lugdunum: A. Audin—J. Guey, *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1976), 201–202, no. 1; Arelate: *CIL* 12, 714, 1.

⁵¹ *CIL* 6, 32098, l-m (not for official delegations, who received seats marked *hospitibus publicis* (*CIL* 6, 3298e; Roueché 1993, op. cit. (n. 49), 121)). Of course, a *statio* of the Gaditani in Rome may have been financed and supervised by Gades. On *peregrini* in theaters in general see Rawson 1987, op. cit. (n. 48), 92–94.

⁵² *AE* 2000, 0940 = *HD* 47671; C. Vismara—M.L. Caldelli, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano. 5: Alpes Maritimae, Gallia Narbonensis, Tres Galliae, Germaniae, Britannia* (Roma 2000), 124–125. Lugdunum was exceptional, because the theatre served at the yearly 'council of the Gauls' to which all Gallic *civitates* sent official representatives J. Guey—A. Audin, 'L'amphithéâtre des Trois-Gaules à Lyon', *Gallia* 22 (1964), 37–58.

⁵³ Roueché 1993, op. cit. (n. 49), 121, nos. 45.4, O; 45.34.S.

⁵⁴ *CIL* 12, 3316; 3317; *CIL* 12, 3318e possibly mentioning reserved seats for *nav(icularii)*.

⁵⁵ *CIL* 12, 714, 1.

these *stationes*.⁵⁶ By laying out the Piazzale in this way the city council emphatically put the translocal merchant corporations on a par with local *collegia*. Outside theaters too, public space was given to foreigners' and translocal merchant *collegia*. Thus the city council of Puteoli granted a public location for a stele commemorating the journey of Baal Sarepta to the city.⁵⁷

Immaterial arrangements symbolizing the integration of foreigners' and translocal merchant *collegia* are badly documented, but are likely to have been as prominent. The Tyrian *stationarii* at Puteoli at least were charged with the bull sacrifice at the occasion of the municipal games (cf. *supra*).

Another way for foreigners' and translocal merchant associations to express their integration in local life was through participation in the honorific practices for local notables, public benefactors and patrons. These not only enhanced the social status of those who were being honored, but also served to claim relevance for the social opinions of those who did the honoring, thus affirming their rightful place in the moral community.⁵⁸ In Ostia, the former grain merchant M. Iunius Faustus, who became *duumvir* of the city and *flamen* in the emperor cult, was co-opted as patron by the corporations of *curatores* of the African and of the Sardinian ships.⁵⁹ In Barcino, the college of the Assotani, contributed a statue with marble base in the series of 20+ such statues set up in or near the *forum* of Barcino in honor of L. Licinius Secundus, a powerful freedman *accensus* of the consular Licinius Sura. Secundus was elected *sevir augustalis* of Barcino and Tarraco. The *collegium* of the Assotani figures besides the *ordo* of Barcino, the *ordo* of the Iamontani, the *ordo* of Auso and the *collegium* of *seviri augustales* of Barcino.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Steuernagel 1999, op. cit. (n. 35), 155–156. On the visibility of *collegia* in urban topography see Tran 2006, op. cit. (n. 4), 241–261; B. Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser. Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (Mainz 1998).

⁵⁷ *IGRR* 1,420; for edition and commentary V. Tran Tam Tin 1972, op. cit. (n. 37), 137; 156–158 (no. S 18, fig. 77), 18; P. Visona, 'Puteolana Analecta', *Puteoli* 9–10 (1985–1986), 50–57.

⁵⁸ See Verboven 2007, op. cit. (n. 41), 879; O. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam 1997), 31–72.

⁵⁹ *CIL* 14, 4142; G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of the City of Rome* (Oxford 1980), 91; R. Meiggs 1960, op. cit. (n. 25), 186; 209; 277.

⁶⁰ *CIL* 2, 4540 (955, 982). See F. Piernavieja, 'El 'collegium assotan(orum)' y otros similares', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 50–51 (1977–1978), 437–443; Santurino 1978, op. cit. (n. 12), 124–125; 162, no. 96.

Last but not least, foreigners' associations were dedicated to the imperial cult and joined local *collegia* and cities in celebrating the emperor. We may guess they did so enthusiastically, because ultimately their position depended on the strength of the empire. Thus, the Tyrian *stationarii* in Puteoli spent what they felt was a considerable sum on decorating their *statio* on imperial holy days. In Germisara in Dacia, the club of 'Galatians' dedicated an altar to Hercules Invictus for the well-being of the emperor.⁶¹ A similar inscription in honor of Jupiter Tavianus was erected by the *Galatae consistentes* for the well-being of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Caesar in Napoca.⁶²

Collegia in general provided a framework for urban life. They tied sub-elite citizens to the formal structures of the city dominated by local aristocracies whose wealth was largely based on landed estates and urban property, and they introduced dynamic status distinctions among sub-elite groups.⁶³ *Collegia* of migrants, resident aliens and translocal businessmen did the same for foreigners residing in or frequenting local communities. They provided passage ways crossing through borders defined by the civic and imperial order, and—being micro-communities themselves—defined their own social boundaries crossing through civic frontiers. By doing so they facilitated and intensified the mobility of people, goods and ideas and thereby ultimately contributed to the cohesion of the empire.

Ghent, December 2009

⁶¹ *CIL* 3, 1394 = *HD* 45659.

⁶² *CIL* 3, 860; *AE* 2004, 1182; *AE* 2004.

⁶³ Verboven 2007, op. cit. (n. 41).

THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S TRAVELS ON MILITARY IMAGERY IN THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

L. FOUBERT

Anecdotes in the literary sources on the adventures of Agrippina Maior in Germania or of Julia Maior in Asia Minor clearly demonstrate that it was considered customary for a wife to travel through the provinces and join her husband during his military or diplomatic campaigns. At the same time, however, a woman was supposed to avoid the military, since this belonged to the public sphere, a domain which was traditionally reserved for men. During the Julio-Claudian period and thereafter, the tension between daily practice and ideal female behaviour played an important role in debates on social norms. The topic of women's travels in particular exposes aspects of the dominant ideologies with regard to female conduct and uncovers some of the mechanisms at work in the representation of Roman women. This contribution focuses on the correlation between the physical presence of imperial women in the provinces and their representation in literary and non-literary sources. The emphasis will lie on the western provinces, as we are better documented on women's travelling activities in these regions.

I. UPPER-CLASS WOMEN EN ROUTE: PRACTICE AND CONTROVERSY

The practice of women's travelling seems to have evolved from the extraordinary circumstances brought forth by a period of civil war in the first century BC.¹ The earliest examples of travelling women that are extensively described by the ancient writers refer to wives following their husbands during flights out of Rome or exile.² By the end of the century,

¹ The origin of women's travelling constitutes an important lacuna in modern scholarship as an in-depth study on the subject is missing. Scholarship is still largely confined to A.J. Marshall, 'Tacitus and the governor's lady. A note on Annals iii.33-4', *Greece & Rome* 22 (1975a), and A.J. Marshall, 'Roman women and the provinces', *Ancient Society* 6 (1975b), which, though indispensable, merely scratches the surface of the subject.

² E.g. Appianus, *Bellum civile* 4.40; Valerius Maximus 6.7.3; Plutarch, *Pompeius* 74.

the practice of wives accompanying their husbands abroad during military or diplomatic campaigns seems to have become common, with the example of Octavia who spent a considerable time with Antony in Athens as the best-known illustration of this development.³ It was similarly common practice for women of the Julio-Claudian family to accompany their husbands. Livia, for instance, is said to have joined Augustus during his travels in the eastern and western provinces, of which her presence in Gaul is the only specified attestation.⁴ Julia Maior followed her husband Agrippa during his campaign in Asia Minor, though the journey turned out to be not without peril. Julia almost drowned in the Scamander near Ilium on a night of heavy storms.⁵ During Agrippa's campaign she may have given birth to Agrippina Maior and perhaps also to Julia Minor.⁶ Several other imperial children were born in the provinces as well: Antonia Minor gave birth to Claudius in Lugdunum, Julia Maior delivered a child fathered by Tiberius in Aquileia, and Agrippina Maior gave birth to Agrippina Minor and Livilla while travelling with Germanicus.⁷ Near the end of the period under discussion, Statilia Messalina accompanied Nero during his voyage to Greece.⁸

Regardless of the fact that travelling women had become a common feature of Roman social life, the practice remained subject of male concern and public debate. The most illustrative example of the existing controversy occurs in Tacitus' description of Aulus Caecina Severus' intervention during a senatorial debate in AD 21.⁹ During a discussion on the question who should be the next governor of Africa, Caecina raised the issue of the presence of governors' wives in the provinces, which he saw as an insurmountable problem. In Caecina's view, women obstructed the execution of military campaigns, encouraged corrupt behaviour in men,

³ Plutarch, *Marcus Antonius* 33.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 3.34.6; Seneca, *De clementia* 1.9.

⁵ *FgrHist* 90 F134. Cf. E. Fantham, *Julia Augusti. The Emperor's Daughter* (London—New York 2006), 66.

⁶ The exact birth-dates of Julia Minor and Agrippina Maior are unknown and have to be deduced from their marriages and the known birth-dates of their brothers. Cf. J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome 1984), 448; Fantham 2006, op. cit. (n. 5), 59, 108.

⁷ Antonia Minor: Suetonius, *Claudius* 2.1; Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 6; Julia Maior: Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.3; Agrippina Maior: Tacitus, *Annales* 2.54.1; 2.57.4; 2.75.1.

⁸ *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (ed. Henzen), 84.

⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 3.32–35. The debate has been studied in Marshall 1975a, op. cit. (n. 1) and A.A. Barrett, 'Aulus Caecina Severus and the military woman', *Historia* 54 (2005), 301–314 with the latter focusing on the underlying motives of Caecina's intervention through a study of his career.

and were inclined to intrigue.¹⁰ The objections of Caecina, as articulated by Tacitus, seem to have been a prevailing view. Other authors such as Martial and Juvenal, near-contemporaries of Tacitus, voice similar sentiments in their descriptions of women's behaviour in the provinces. Both authors describe the wives of Roman officials staying in the provinces as greedy, corrupt and promiscuous.¹¹ In modern research, a passage in Suetonius' *Life of Augustus* has sometimes been cited as an example of the anxiety felt by men about travelling women and their presence in the provinces.¹² According to Suetonius, Augustus imposed renewed discipline by limiting the contact between officials and their wives during campaigns to brief winter visits. The author's phrasing, however, does not permit to interpret this regulation as an Augustan prohibition for women to travel. It does indicate, on the other hand, how Augustus felt that continuous contact between husbands and wives could distract the official in question from his duty—or at least that it was perceived as such by Suetonius.

Clearly, there seems to have been a tension between daily practice and general perception in this respect. In order to fully understand the literary and non-literary images discussed below which, as I see it, were fuelled by the presence of Julio-Claudian women abroad, one needs to be aware of the ideological discourses that played a role in the Romans' conception of female conduct, more specifically in the perception of the behaviour of upper-class women faced with a voyage to or stay in the provinces.

II. DEALING WITH IDEOLOGICAL FRONTIERS: PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE

As stated, in 21 AD Caecina raised the issue of women's presence in the provinces during a senatorial debate. In Tacitus' account, the senator

¹⁰ Tacitus, *Annales* 3.33.

¹¹ E.g. Juvenal, *Satirae* 6.398–412; 8.127–131; Martial, *Epigrammata* 2.56.

¹² Suetonius, *Augustus* 24: *Ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravitate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere* (It was with great reluctance that he allowed even his generals to visit their wives, and then only in the winter season). Cf. Marshall 1975b, op. cit. (n. 1). On this passage and its various interpretations, see A.A. Barrett, 'Augustus and the governors' wives', *Rheinisches Museum* 149 (2006). Note that the translations used in this contribution are taken from the Loeb Classical Library editions. Translations from Tacitus' *Annales* are taken from A.J. Woodman, *Tacitus. The Annals* (Indianapolis 2004).

criticized the practice of his day and the behaviour of his female contemporaries, while at the same time presenting himself and his wife as paradigms of exemplary behaviour:

Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magistratum cui provincia obvenisset uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italiam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia explevisset. (Tacitus, *Annales* 3.33)

It was in the midst of all this that Severus Caecina proposed that no magistrate to whose lot a province had fallen should be accompanied there by his wife (he had previously retracted at some length his own spouse's harmony with himself and her six childbirths and the fact that what he was establishing for the public good he had already observed at home, having restricted her to within Italy although he himself had fulfilled forty years' service across several provinces).

In Tacitus' version of Caecina's speech, the perceived opposition between the public and the private sphere is made explicit as an ideological concern.¹³ Caecina is positioned as a public figure, commendable for his years of service, while his wife is acknowledged for her role in the *domus*. She looked after the *concordia* between husband and wife and gave birth to six children. Both deeds contributed to what the Romans conceived of as ideal female behaviour.¹⁴ In Caecina's view, women's travels to the provinces, which implied leaving behind the *domus* and stepping into the public sphere, a domain traditionally seen as belonging to men, ruptured social order.

A similar ideological discourse appears in the *consolatio* which Seneca wrote to his mother from exile in 41 AD. In this text, he draws his mother's attention to her sister, a paragon of virtue and the ideal person to turn to for consolation. As the wife of Gaius Galerius, Seneca's aunt had spent sixteen years in Egypt, where her husband was governor.¹⁵ Seneca admires her because she never became the source or the subject of provincial gossip. In fact, she was never seen in public, but confined herself to the *domus*. Furthermore, she did not involve herself with her

¹³ For a discussion on whether Tacitus' rendering of the debate should be considered fact or fiction, see F. Santoro L'Hoir, 'Tacitus and women's usurpation of power', *Classical World* 88 (1994), 12–17.

¹⁴ On the impact of the ideal of female behaviour on the representation of Roman women, see L. Foubert, *Women Going Public. Ideals and Conflicts in the Representation of Julio-Claudian Women* (Nijmegen 2010, unpublished dissertation).

¹⁵ Seneca, *Consolatio ad Helviam* 19.6.

husband's affairs, never seeking favours for herself or others. Seneca's aunt, so the author seems to suggest, deferred to the separation of the public and the private sphere and the traditional roles attributed to men and women.

The perceived tension between the public and the private sphere, as well as the Roman notion of the ideal of female conduct, played an important role in the representation of Julio-Claudian women. Their importance for the dynastic policy of the Julio-Claudian emperors provided them with an—according to Roman view—unprecedented public position and a high amount of visibility.¹⁶ The act of travelling shook up the perceived ideological boundaries between the public/private dichotomy. On the one hand, imperial women in a way abandoned their Roman *domus*, while at the same time associating themselves with the public and military domain. On the other hand, however, accompanying their husbands abroad seemed to have become an extension of their wifely duties. This is illustrated by Tacitus' rendering of the words of Drusus, which constituted the closure of the debate started by Caecina:

Addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. Quoties divum Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meavisse comite Livia! Se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad gentis iturum, haud semper aequo animo si ab uxore carissima et tot communium liberorum parente divelleretur. (Tacitus, *Annales* 3.34)

Drusus added a few words about his own marriage: *principes* were often required to visit distant parts of the empire: how many times had Divine Augustus made expeditions to West and East with Livia as companion! He himself too had set off for Illyricum and, if it proved advantageous, would go to other nations, but always with a heavy heart if he were wrenched from his dearest wife, the parent of their numerous mutual children.

Taking the marital pair Augustus and Livia as an *exemplum*, Drusus' words suggest that standing alongside her husband was an intrinsic part of being an imperial woman. By following him, a woman did not cease to be a wife or mother, which formed her most important domestic roles. In fact, Tacitus' characterization of Agrippina Maior, which will be discussed next, indicates that the presence of a wife during her husband's travels led to the creation of a second (travelling) *domus*.

¹⁶ For a study on the impact of the notions 'public' and 'private' on the representation of Julio-Claudian women, see Foubert 2010, op. cit. (n. 14), esp. chapter 2.

III. THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S TRAVEL ON TACITUS' *DUX FEMINA* MODEL

Let us now turn to some concrete examples of the impact of women's travels and their presence abroad on their representation, starting with the literary portrayals by ancient authors. The presence of upper-class women in the provinces is closely connected to the rhetorical stereotype of the *dux femina*, a common feature in the literary sources from the first century BC onwards. A *dux femina* can be defined as an upper-class woman "who acts as a *dux* or who attempts to exercise power".¹⁷ The stereotype always contains a reference to the military sphere, either through the appearance or dress of the woman in question, her deeds or behaviour, or the vocabulary used by the ancient author in his description. The preoccupation of ancient authors with transgressive military behaviour by women seems to have increased as the practice of travelling women became more common.¹⁸ Though the attested transgressions differ in nature, they all seem to have the same ideological discourse at their core: namely the conception that the presence of women in the provinces and their proximity to military affairs turns them into usurpers of masculine power, thus dissolving the separation of the public and the private sphere, which in its turn leads to general disorder and corruption.

Literary authors present the carrying of arms as the clearest manifestation of a woman's craving for power. A well-known example of this is the portrayal of Mark Antony's wife Fulvia in the works of Cicero, Plutarch and Cassius Dio.¹⁹ According to these authors, Fulvia was actively involved in military campaigns, addressing the troops and organising councils of war. She is even described as carrying a sword, which served as a visual marker of her status as a *dux femina*.²⁰ A Julio-Claudian parallel to Fulvia's literary portrait is Suetonius' description of Caligula's wife Caesonia. The author states that Caesonia often accompanied the emperor when he met with his soldiers, riding by his side and wearing a cloak, helmet and shield.²¹ Of course, in these as well as in other cases, the literary characterization of women often contributed to the characterization of the husbands. Though the ancient authors do not make the notion

¹⁷ Santoro L'Hoir 1994, op. cit. (n. 13), 5.

¹⁸ On this subject, see Santoro L'Hoir 1994, op. cit. (n. 13).

¹⁹ Esp. Cicero, *Phillippica* 5.22; 13.18; Plutarch, *Marcus Antonius* 10.3; Cassius Dio 45.12–13.

²⁰ Cassius Dio 48.10.3–4.

²¹ Suetonius, *Caligula* 25.

of female travelling explicit as such, Fulvia and Caesonia are clearly dissociated from the *domus*. Their intrusion in the public sphere, both by being in the presence of soldiers and by dressing like one, turned them into a negative example of ideal female conduct.

The ancient authors' use of the stereotype of the *dux femina* does not necessarily always lead to character assassination, though it does so in the cases of Fulvia and Caesonia. In Tacitus' literary portrayal of Agrippina Maior, for instance, one can detect an undertone of praise for her actions on the battlefield. Tacitus' Agrippina Maior is arguably one of his most complex characterisations, as the reader needs a large frame of reference to fully grasp the complexity of her *persona*. Complete understanding is perhaps not even possible. Her literary portrayal is partly constructed through comparison with the portraits of her allies, for example Germanicus, and of her adversaries, for example Tiberius or Plancina. Unlike in the examples of Fulvia and Caesonia, the notion of female travelling is omnipresent in Tacitus' description of Agrippina and often provides the background for Tacitus' deliberate parallels between Agrippina and others.²²

It is well-known that Agrippina Maior accompanied her husband Germanicus on several of his travels abroad. Both her presence in the West during Germanicus' military campaign in Germania in 14 AD and their journey to the East in 18 AD are amply documented. Tacitus' description of Agrippina's stay in Germania presents her as a woman who travelled a long way to be with her husband and who followed military activities from up close. One example of her proximity to military affairs is her role in bringing down the mutiny which broke out among the soldiers after Augustus' death.²³ Whereas other resources seemed to have failed, the public spectacle of a fleeing Agrippina and her infant son Caligula, together with a throng of crying upper-class women, wives of Germanicus' friends, evoked a sense of shame among the soldiers, thus bringing the uprising to an end. A second example of Agrippina's involvement in military life illustrates more clearly how Tacitus applied the stereotype of the *dux femina* in his literary characterization.²⁴ When Germanicus and his army wanted to return to their camp after a military action, a rumour

²² On Tacitus' technique of paralleling female lives, see L. Foubert, 'Literary constructions of female identities. The parallel lives of Julio-Claudian women in Tacitus' *Annals*', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, vol. 15 (Brussels 2010), 344–365.

²³ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.40–41.

²⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.69.

had spread among the remaining soldiers that they had been trapped on one side of the Rhine and that German warriors were planning an attack. Only the intervention of Agrippina prevented the panicking soldiers from demolishing the Rhine bridge at Vetera, which would have entrapped Germanicus and the retreating soldiers. Tacitus states:

Sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium pontis laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. (Tacitus, *Annales* 1.69)

As it was, a *femina* of mighty spirit assumed during those days the responsibilities of a *dux* and distributed clothing and dressings to the soldiers according to each man's need or injuries. C. Plinius, the writer of the Germanic wars, transmits that she stood at the head of the bridge, extending praise and gratitude to the returning legions.

The authorial voice, by choice of vocabulary, clearly depicts Agrippina as a *dux femina*. Nevertheless, when one compares this passage with Tacitus' description of German women in *Germania*, which predates the *Annales*, the suggestion can be made that it was not the author's intention to paint a negative picture of Agrippina, but rather to praise her for the way she handled the crisis. It is well-known that in several instances Tacitus' attention was drawn to the conduct of German women, which he often considered opposite to contemporary Roman women and for which they deserved praise. In his view, German women were chaste and committed to their children and husband.²⁵ In fact, Tacitus claims that the exemplary behaviour of these women strengthened the bravery of their husbands on the battlefield. He believed that German women were present during military encounters, encouraging and praising their fighting husbands, after which they took care of the wounded and offered food to the warriors.²⁶ The similarities between the author's view on German women and the description of Agrippina's conduct at the Rhine bridge are striking. Like the German women, Agrippina acted out of loyalty towards her husband. She did not gird on a sword, of which enough examples existed in Roman literature. Agrippina Maior's behaviour can be considered as that of a *dux femina*, but in doing so she did not neglect her domestic roles. I would like to offer the hypothesis that the image of Agrippina as a 'travelling wife' and the location of her actions inspired

²⁵ Tacitus, *Germania* 18–20.

²⁶ Tacitus *Germania* 7–8. Cf. J.B. Rives, *Tacitus/ Germania* (Oxford 1999), pp. 152–153.

the author in his creative process: her presence in the Rhine region may have suggested to Tacitus a comparison with the German women.

The fact that Agrippina's role as a *dux femina* carries a positive connotation also derives from the parallel which Tacitus created between her and Plancina, the wife of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso. Plancina resembles Agrippina in many aspects.²⁷ She too was a member of the upper-class, and travelled abroad with her husband during his campaigns where she came into contact with the military sphere. However, in Tacitus' narrative, Plancina turned out to be a different sort of *dux femina*. Considering her behaviour during Piso's governorship of Asia, the author states:

Nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat.

(Tacitus, *Annales* 2.55)

Nor did Plancina keep herself within female proprieties but participated in cavalry exercises and the marches-past of cohorts, and hurled insults at Agrippina and Germanicus—some even of the good soldiers being ready for wicked compliance with her, because there had spread a concealed rumor that such developments were not contrary to the commander's will.

Here, Tacitus openly criticizes Plancina's unwomanly behaviour and its corruptive effect on the people surrounding her. The contrast with the figure of Agrippina, whose actions were presented as an extension of her domestic roles, is obvious.

For the sake of completeness, I should call attention to a speech which Tacitus attributes to Tiberius in reaction to Agrippina's intervention on the bridge at Vetera. In this speech, the emperor complained about her behaviour during Germanicus' campaign. Recalling the incident, Tacitus states:

Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplicis eas curas, nec adversus externos studia militum quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam appellari velit. Potiorem iam apud exercitum Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit.

(Tacitus, *Annales* 1.69)

²⁷ On Tacitus' parallel between Agrippina Maior and Plancina, see also Foubert 2010, op. cit. (n. 22).

That (i.e. the incident on the bridge) made an unusually deep penetration into Tiberius' mind: it was not the case that her concerns were straightforward, he reflected, nor was it with the aim of opposing foreigners that she was seeking the soldiers' affections; nothing was left for commanders when a female visited the maniples, inspected the standards, experimented with lavishness—as though she did too little canvassing when she carried around the leader's son in a trooper's dress and wanted him called Caesar Caligula! Already Agrippina was more influential with the armies than legates, than leaders: the woman had suppressed a mutiny which the *princeps's* name had been unable to stop.

At first glance, this passage presents Agrippina as a negatively described *dux femina*, taking an opposite direction from Tacitus' earlier words. However, since the speech is delivered by one of Agrippina's adversaries, an emperor whose depraved character is elaborated upon in the *Annales*, the picture becomes ambiguous. At the same time, Tiberius' words are highly ironic, since they constitute a portent of Plancina's behaviour, who, together with her husband, was commissioned by that very emperor and his mother to make the lives of Germanicus and Agrippina difficult, at least according to Tacitus.²⁸

IV. FEMALE PORTRAITS ON MILITARY OBJECTS

A final part of this contribution will examine the impact of women's travel on non-literary images. Over the years, utensils and other objects that can be attributed to a military context have been found containing depictions of female members of the Julio-Claudian family. Even though the appearance of female portraits on military objects concerns isolated cases, often difficult to identify, it might still indicate a broader iconographical trend. With the examples discussed below, I present the possibility that the presence of women in the provinces inspired the creative process of the image-makers, who took advantage of the fact that the user or recipient of these objects was familiar with the depicted woman's *persona*.²⁹

²⁸ Tacitus, *Annales* 2.43.

²⁹ Unfortunately, there is no general study on the appearance of portraits of imperial men or women on military or other utensils. In the present contribution, I will limit myself to objects found in the western provinces, since these are published most extensively. It would, however, be worthwhile to examine objects found in the eastern provinces as well and compare them to the travel activities of imperial women in these regions. The current state of research does not yet allow such a comparison.

As stated above, the travelling activities of Agrippina Maior are widely documented in the literary sources. When considering her non-literary representation, various occasions show a reflection of her reputation as a 'military wife' in the visual language used by the image-makers. The portrait of Agrippina Maior, for instance, appears on glass *phalerae* from Caligula's reign. *Phalerae* were given as a reward to deserving soldiers and many of them were found in the German regions.³⁰ It is unclear who decided on the subject for these medallions, but obviously the portrait of Agrippina was regarded to have a certain symbolic value and to be appreciated by the recipient of the gift. Her presence in the vicinity of the troops stationed in Germania and her actions on the bridge at Vetera may very well have contributed to her popularity.

The portrayal of Agrippina Maior on the so-called Gemma Claudia should be seen in the same light.³¹ Often interpreted as a wedding gift to Claudius and Agrippina Minor, the cameo shows the overlapping busts of the emperor and his new wife facing right and the busts of Germanicus and Agrippina Maior facing left. The entire composition rests on a collection of captured armour, referring to the spoils of victory of Claudius' military campaign in Britain and Germanicus' campaign in Germania.³² Claudius wears an oak crown and the aegis of Jupiter, while Germanicus wears a laurel wreath and a military *paludamentum*. Agrippina Maior's portrait refers to the military as well, for she wears a laurel wreath, like her husband, combined with a crested helmet. These manly attributes astonish Wood, who states that "the most obvious association is with Minerva, but here as in so many other cases, the identification of the virgin goddess

³⁰ Other surviving *phalerae* can be divided in three sets: a Tiberian set with images of Tiberius with Drusus and Germanicus, a Caligulan set with portraits of Agrippina Maior, Caligula and Germanicus, and thirdly a Claudian set with images of Claudius and his children. The most extensive treatment of these *phalerae* is D. Boschung, 'Römische Glasphalerae mit Porträtbüsten', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 187 (1987). See also, F. Drexel, 'Ein Bildnis der älteren Agrippina', in C. Albizzati (ed.), *Antike Plastik. Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin—Leipzig 1928), 67–72; J. Stäcker, *Princeps und miles. Studien zum Bindungs- und Nahverhältnis von Kaiser und Soldat im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Hildesheim 2003), 153–169.

³¹ W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus* (Berlin 1987), no. A81; T. Mikocki, *Sub specie dea. Les impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à des déesses: étude iconologique* (Rome 1995), no. 214; A. Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses. Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna* (Mainz am Rhein 2004), nos. 74, 123.

³² S. Wood, *Imperial Women. A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68* (Leiden 1999), 306.

with the mother of nine children makes an awkward fit.”³³ Wood does not find a conclusive context for an association with Minerva because she focuses on the aspect of the virginity of the goddess. However, the imagery bears above all a military connotation and, therefore, it seems more fitting to focus on the martial aspect of the attributes. The depiction of Agrippina with military attributes on the Gemma Claudia agrees with her military background and presents her as a worthy consort of Germanicus.

Two other military objects seem to depict Julio-Claudian women as well, but in these cases identification is more difficult to make. The first is a drinking cup found in Vetera and contains the signature of Chryseus.³⁴ On this cup, the association with the military is made through depictions of various wreaths together with refigurations of Victoria and Minerva. The cup contains images of 4 columns of which two show on top busts of members of the imperial family, possibly Augustus and Livia.³⁵ The second example is a bronze scabbard from the Augustan period, found in Bonn, showing three figures, two male and one female.³⁶ The male figures both wear a breastplate and a military cloak. In their midst stands a female figure with her hair in the so-called *nodus* hairdo. Based on the figures’ hairstyles, two suggestions for identification have been made. According to a first hypothesis, the threesome represents Julia Maior with her sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar.³⁷ In this view, the image should be read as a reference to Augustus’ dynastic policy. A second hypothesis identifies the three figures as Livia with her sons Tiberius and Drusus and sees the scabbard as a commemoration of the Roman military campaign in the Alps in 15 BC.³⁸ Both Livia and Julia Maior have been attested travelling with their husbands during military and diplomatic campaigns. As mentioned above, the sources state that Livia in par-

³³ Wood 1999, op. cit. (n. 32), 307.

³⁴ LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. 22534, 1–1.

³⁵ H. Lehner, ‘Zwei Trinkgefäße aus Vetera’, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 (1912), 430–435; K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton 1996), 329; J. Komp, ‘ACO-Becher’, in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht. Imperium* (Stuttgart 2009), no. 7.2.

³⁶ LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. 4320. Cf. A. Reis, ‘Zierblechfragment einer Schwertscheide’, in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht. Imperium* (Stuttgart 2009), no. 5.22.

³⁷ E.g. P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich 1987), 221; E.R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden 2004), 87. Cf. A. Reis 2009, op. cit. (n. 36).

³⁸ E.g. B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (New York—London 2003), 87. Cf. Reis 2009, op. cit. (n. 36).

ticular spent some time in the western provinces.³⁹ It is, however, difficult to ascertain the relation between their travels and the imagery on these military objects.

Obviously, it is difficult to determine the exact origins of the development of a new visual language. In the West, depictions of women in a military context, with the exception of military divinities, do not appear before the Augustan period.⁴⁰ One could imagine that artists sought a way to translate the extraordinary position of the Julio-Claudian women, leading perhaps to the choice for military elements. In some cases, such as the example of Agrippina Maior, the fame connected to the woman's presence in the provinces would have made that choice obvious.

Travelling became a common practice for female members of the Julio-Claudian family. Even though the presence of women in the provinces seemed to have been received with controversy, in several instances it also appears that the notion of 'imperial wives en route' contributed to the public image of the imperial family. The presence of Julio-Claudian women alongside their husbands evoked an image of marital harmony and familial unity. The case of Agrippina Maior in particular shows that a woman's activities abroad could have a strong impact on her representation in literary as well as non-literary sources. The travels of Agrippina Maior resulted in the crossing of both geographical and ideological frontiers.

Nijmegen, December 2009

³⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 3.34.6.

⁴⁰ A coin type minted by Mark Antony with a portrait of a winged Victoria has often been interpreted as a representation of his wife Fulvia (*RPC* 512–513). This identification, however, is highly uncertain. On the association of imperial women with so-called military deities, such as Minerva or Dea Roma, see L. Foubert 2010, *op. cit.* (n. 14), chapter 5.

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