

FINES

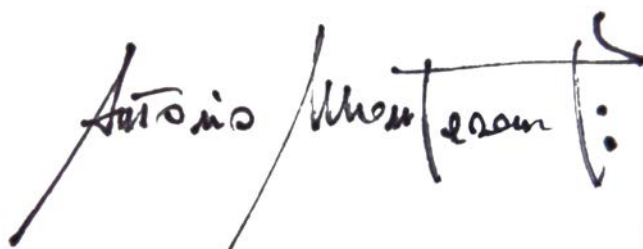
Bordering Practices and Natural Features in Livy

Submitted by Antonio Montesanti to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics, May 2014

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(Signature)

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Antonio Montesanti". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent horizontal stroke across the middle.

Τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μεγάλῳ, ἀνίκητῳ Ἑλίῳ, Πατρίδι μου...

Declaration

FINES. Bordering practices and natural features in Livy. (2 vols.: 1.Text, 2.Documentation) Submitted by Antonio Montesanti, to the University of Exeter as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History, May 2014. This dissertation is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement. I certify that all material in this dissertation which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Abstract

FINES. Bordering practices and natural features in Livy

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PhD in Classics and Ancient History

May 2014

The fullest and most comprehensive unpacking of the term *finis* has yet to be achieved. Studies have narrowly focussed on the idea of border, boundary or frontier, without even entertaining the prospect of interpreting the study from the ancient point of view. This investigation considers the use of the word *finis* in Livy and attempts to recreate a conception of *finis* which mirrors as closely as possible that of a Roman of the Republic up to the very Early Empire. Besides the remarkably high usage of the term by Livy, the author's work is also useful due to its chronological nature, which allows for broad investigation throughout the Republican Period, as well as shedding light on the Early Imperial concept of *finis*.

The main aim of this dissertation is to provide a collective analysis of diverse cases, which together can help build a complete picture of the detectable features related to the term *finis*. As well as this, the analysis of the contexts – in which the term *finis* is used has also cast light on those features of *finis* – that have remained fixed despite the different historical contexts in which they appear. For example, throughout my study, two fundamental concepts will continue to pop up in front of the reader's eyes: a) the inapplicability of modern conceptual categories to the idea of *finis* and b) *finis* – if translated as border, boundary or frontier – as a concept applicable not to a line, but to a spatial element.

On the basis of Livy's evidence – drawn from his work *Ab Urbe Condita* – this study attempts to present a reconstruction of the term through the identification of an entirely new concept. This study is conceived in terms of a crescendo, which begins with the basic definitions attached to *finis* and evolves, adding an increasing number of evidences until it reaches a climax, whereby the reader can see both those invariable features of *finis* in Livy's account and the

evolution of the term as *finēs* are applied within different political contexts. Rome – a city that rose on a *finis*, the Tiber River – reinvented or remodelled the concept of *finis*, demonstrating behaviour antithetical to the notion of confining herself behind a ‘single line’. Once identified as a *finis*, the natural features helped the Romans to exert their *imperium*, which was itself an embodiment of the features contained within the concept of *finis*. The establishment of the *finēs* provided an ‘imaginary’ subdivision of the territory subjected to the Roman *imperium* in a series of land strips. This is documented by Livy through Rome’s expansionist ‘*finis*-system’, from a single occupation of the Janiculum Hill to the scientific approach and setting of the treaty of Apamea.

Although the *lacunae* in *Ab Urbe Condita* – from 168 B.C. onwards – do not permit a direct connection between the Late Republic and the Early Empire, some elements can be used to evidence an intimate relationship between Livy’s and Augustus’ thinking and terminology. To some extent, this common intent has made possible this attempted reconstruction of the ‘bordering practices’ used in the last 150 years of the Republic, as well as the possible evolution of such practices in the first 150 about years of the Empire.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to a number of people who have helped me throughout the course of my study at Exeter. I begin by thanking my supervisor, Dr. E. Isayev, whose continuous guidance, lively interest, patient advice and valuable corrections and revisions were indispensable for bringing this study to its final complete form. I should also like to thank Dr. M. Pitts for his very helpful comments and suggestions regarding the methodological approach to this study and for his general support during its development. I would like to express my gratitude to the department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter, for the moral support during my course of study. I address a special thanks to the former and the actual head of the department, Profs S. Mitchell and B. Borg, R. Seaford, J. Wilkins, Drs R. Langlands and K. Ni-Mheallaigh. Sincere thanks for the trust that Prof. L. Mitchell and Dr C. Holleran bestowed me in giving me the chance to teach. A concrete thanks to Mike and Dr Sharon Marshall, without whom this study would have been 'different'. A thankful mention to my colleagues and friend, who materially and psychologically supported me and with whom I shared a long chunk of this journey: firstly to Chris Siwiki and Keith Stewart, Claude Kananack and Shaun Mudd. And a special mention once again to Lynette Mitchell for every welcome she gave me any time I needed both professional and moral support.

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Notes to the reader

Volume 1: for the translations of the excerpts of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, I used the versions – revisited by myself – of the Cambridge University, Massachusetts (Cambridge. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann). Books 1 to 10 are translated by B.O. Foster (1919: books 1-2; 1922: books 3-4; 1924: books 5-7; 1926: books 8-10; 1929: books 21-22). F.G. Moore has translated the books from 23 to 30 (1940: books 23-25; 1943: books 26-27; 1946: books 28-30). I used Evan T. Sage's translation for the books from 31 to 43 (1935: books 31-37; 1936: books 38-39; 1938: books 40-42). The last three books (1951:43-45) have been translated by A.C. Schlesinger.

Volume 2: the translation has been kept unaltered and is drawn from Canon, R. (1905) *The History of Rome*, by Titus Livius. London: Dent & Sons.

Crossing references within the same volume or between volume 1 and 2 are indicated by square brackets and in grey colour []. The reference to figures or appendixes is put at the beginning of a sentence i.e. [FIG. 1] / [APPENDIX], while the reference to chapters or section is set at the end of the sentence and will appear in the following format: [1.1.1 = chapter.section.subsection].

“The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes”.

(M. Proust, In Search of Lost Time)

Introduction: Research guidelines

*“We’re going to be on the frontier for the next three years. Or at the border, on the edge, at the limit, in the margin, on the boundary, perhaps in no-man’s land – maybe at the barrier or on the barricade, or even on the fence ... and especially, perhaps, on the frontier (or border, edge, limit, margin, boundary, barrier, barricade or fence) between these various, non-synonymous words or concepts. But even though we’ll be on the frontier for three years, we’ll take things term by term”.*¹

Approaching the question

The object of this study is the analysis of the term² *finis* in Livy’s work *Ab Urbe Condita* (*AUC*), in its tangible/material aspect with applications to real-world contexts. Thus, this is an investigation of the practical existence of *finis* in relation to the real world – the material environment. The main aim of this project is to identify the features of the term *finis* as found in Livy’s historical reconstruction of Rome’s history from a Late Republican/Early Imperial perspective. In later chapters I will also consider Livy’s link with Augustus and his ‘propagandistic’ literary circle.³ The chronological limits of my study are set within *AUC*, analysing the period of Republican Rome from her birth to the Third Macedonian War (753-168 B.C.), as viewed through Livy’s perspective of the 1st century BC. I have avoided comparisons with the Imperial Period, as I believe it is incomparable with the Republic due to the substantial changes in ideology of the 1st century A.D. The adopted methodology will avoid the application of modern definitional categories to the ancient terms. On the contrary, my major aim is to attempt a reconstruction of the concept of *finis* from a Roman point of view: namely Livy’s. The reason behind this investigation is the almost complete absence of a scholarly discussion about *finis* as a territorial element, which has led to confusing interpretations of the term, due to assumptions made about its meaning and distinct but overlapping ancient and modern definitions. In this

¹ Bennington, G. 2003. *Frontiers: Kant, Hegel, Frege, Wittgenstein*. Charleston. SC: CreateSpace:1.

² Bennington (2003:4) stress that “The term ‘term’, at any rate, means just that: boundary, border or frontier of territory: a term can be a stone or post (traditionally carved with the image of Jupiter Terminus, god of boundaries) marking the limit of possession of a piece of ground”. See also Piccaluga (1974:99-107) on *Terminus*.

³ On the Augustan circle, s. Buczek 2008:37; White 1993:35-63; Ker & Sellar 2010:esp. 213-8.

introduction, I aim to set out and clarify the research process through the objects of the study, the main issues linked to the research, and through two main methodological problems: the explanation of terminology used and the general perception of the environmental space at the time of Livy.

Questions and aims of the research

*“Nevertheless, for many periods of the republic Livy is our best or only authority”.*⁴

The overall objective of this study is to provide examples that may help to build or rebuild the definition of *finis* as it was perceived in Republican Rome as seen through the eyes of a late Republican author, living on the cusp of the Empire. The reasons for analysing the word *finis* in Livy's *AUC* and the bordering practices linked to this term are three-fold: a) Livy presents an extensive usage of the word *finis*. Livy is the Roman author who uses this term the most in the whole history of Latin literature. The presence of *finis* has not just a substantial average use throughout the entire length of *AUC*, but its massive incidence ratio concerns a number of differing contexts and acceptations; b) Livy's narration allows crucial associations to be made between *finis* and geographical, topographical and perceptive features from diverse points of view; c) The periodisation and contextualisation of Livy's work in the particular historical moment in which he lived. Historically, Livy represents a link and a watershed: telling the Republican history and foreshadowing future developments of Rome's policy.

The main challenge of this investigation is to gain an understanding of the concept of *finis* and its function through the analysis of the relationship between spatiality and functionality in 'key places' linked with Rome's expansion. In other words, the modern 'linear concept' of the boundaries has been overlapped with 'natural features'. These 'natural features' are distinctive, in that they protrude from the landscape, shaping the environmental space. For this reason, humans have considered 'natural features' as 'natural boundaries', embodying 'natural

⁴ Lewis, N. & Reinhold, M. (1955) [1966] Roman Civilization, Sourcebook I: the Republic. New York: Columbia University: ch. 1.2, Livy.

communities' (rather than social) that coalesce almost accidentally.⁵ Consequently, it became quite common to encounter the description of rivers, mountain ranges or promontories as 'natural boundaries'. Such places might have represented elements of territorial control and also functioned as a symbolic element at the frontline of Rome's foreign policy of expansion. Some of the questions posed by Bennington may be useful if adapted to this study: "Are natural boundaries called boundaries by analogy with non-natural ones, once they have been crossed? Are boundaries natural boundaries in the sense of being boundaries of nature, boundaries to nature, lines where nature ends, the transition or transgression point of nature into one of its others (culture, law, *tekhnē*, politics, etc.)? Maybe every frontier also divides nature and culture."⁶

In addressing some of these, I will examine the extent to which the bordering practices overlap with *finēs* and how they converged into a natural feature. Varro's main statement in Frontinus – as recorded by Grotius – represents the major hypotheses of this study: the superimposing of 'natural features' with the *finēs* and the 'spatiality' of the *finis* versus the common place of its 'linearity'. The terms *Ager Arcifinius*, often compared with the *Ager Occupatorius* do not appear to be exactly equivalent, though some of the writers on the *Res Agraria* make them so. *Ager Arcifinius* appears to express the whole of a territory, which had only some natural or arbitrary boundary, and was not defined by measurement (*qui nulla mensura continetur*).⁷ Grotius' exact words on the *finis arcifinius* provide a very clear distinction between *limes* and *finis*.⁸ "Writers, who have treated of the division of land, have described it as of a threefold nature; one kind they name divided and assigned land, which Frontinus the Lawyer calls limited, because it is marked out by artificial boundaries. By land assigned, is meant that which has been appropriated to a whole community, comprising a certain number of families; a hundred for instance; from whence it has derived that name. And those portions are called hundreds. There is another division called *arcifinium*, which is applied when the land is defended against an enemy by the natural boundaries of rivers or mountains. These lands Aggenus Urbicus calls occupatory, being such as have been occupied either by reason of their

⁵ Bennington 2003:2

⁶ Bennington 2003:5.

⁷ Front. *Agr. Qual.* 1.3-5; Smith 1875: 29-31, sv. *Ager*; Castillo Pascual 1993.

⁸ Cf. Whittaker 1997:20.

being vacant, or by the power of conquest. In the two first kinds of lands, because their extent and bounds are fixed and determined, though a river should change its course, it occasions no change of territory, and what is added by alluvion will belong to the former occupant. In arcifinious lands, where the bounds are formed by nature, any gradual change in the course of the river makes a change also in the boundaries of territory, and whatever accession is given by the river to one side, it will belong to the possessor of the land on that side. Because the respective nations are supposed originally to have taken possession of those lands, with an intention of making the middle of that river, as a natural boundary, the line of separation between them”.⁹

Livy’s work will be the Litmus test to prove the words of Romans jurists and surveyors. Recalling the idea of *pomerium*, *finis* will be identified with a natural feature (river, mountain range, promontory, strait), which allows it to serve as a geographical and political constant within formal agreements and as the building block for a political/territorial subdivision/organisation/grid. Through the synthesis of the data provided by the study cases, *finis* had particular features, listed in the following table:

Chapter	Feature	Oppidum	Means	Agreement	Passageways	Control
[2]Tiber	River	Janiculum	Defensive	<i>pax</i>	Bridge / Island	Material presence
[5]Ebro	River	Saguntum	Checkpoint	Treaty	Ford?	<i>Imperium</i>
[6]Alps	M. range	Aquileia	Defensive	Settlement / occupation	Saltus / luga	Material presence / <i>Imperium?</i>
[7]Apamea	M. range + river	Telmessus (+ <i>oppida</i>)	Checkpoint	Treaty	Vallis / luga	<i>Imperium</i>

Table 1 – Synopsis of the main concordances between *fines* and natural features in this thesis.

Through the analysis of several Livian contexts, I will ask different, more direct questions (and propose answers): ‘What was their function? How did they work? Where were they placed? What were their features?’ In this way, I hope

⁹ Grotius 1901:106 cf. Frontin. *Agr. Qual. init.*

to provide new perspectives from the ancient point of view, allowing for a number of previously unexplored propositions and possibilities.

Issues and problems

In the opening sentence of this introduction, Bennington¹⁰ had already detected the main issue that the concept of 'land or territorial limit' – at least in English¹¹ – has a broad and interchangeable range of non-synonymous descriptors, in particular nowadays, the word 'frontier'.¹² Unclear and superimposable notions of these bordering terms, along with a lack of scientific studies related to them, has created two types of problem for scholars: a) they use interchangeably various concepts within the 'non-synonymous basket' and b) none of them seems to have tackled the topic from the ancient perspective. Owing to this, modern categorisations have been applied to the ancient world but they have been unable to explain ancient concepts or notions, which is the main aim of this investigation.¹³ In undertaking this research, I will avoid any sort of label or connection with modern constructs. Mainly by assessing the term *finis*, I will provide concepts rather than a precise translation of the Latin term. To do that, I will borrow Bennington's terminology, who uses the expression 'non-synonymous concepts'. However, when I need to provide an undefined translation of one of the terms listed above for the word *finis*, I will use the expression 'bordering concept'. On the other hand, when I need to detect a geo-political area such as a *finis* or such potential limit, I will use the expression

¹⁰ Bennington 2003:1.

¹¹ The problem is also present in other languages as stressed by Berend 2001:26

¹² Bennington (2003:4) listed all the related terms: frontier, boundary, edge, limit, border, margin. He invokes Derrida's handy notion of 'non-synonymous substitutions', though we need to recognise that this is also the name of a problem (what determines the substitutions if the terms are not synonymous – i.e. interchangeable *salva veritate* – in Leibniz's definition?). "These words or concepts or terms (frontier, border, etc.) seem to share with others, such as difference, the complication involved in also saying something about what it is to be a concept, a word or a term. In one conception of philosophy at least, it would be our task to establish as precisely as possible the frontiers between these various concepts – and the establishment of precise frontiers between them would be a condition of their conceptuality". The roots of the problems are evident also in: Crabb (1893:135-40), where a distinction is made: a set of words comprises: border, edge, rim, brim/brink, margin, verge. Another set is so subdivided: border, boundary, frontier, confine, precinct.

¹³ See Marx about exchange which begins 'accidentally' at the frontiers of natural communities. Aristotle's analysis of exchange in the *Politic* considers as the term 'accidental' as opposed to 'natural', which play a vital role in the argument about exchange. In Bennington 2003:263.

'bordering practice'.¹⁴ Hence, I tried not to decontextualise the word *finis*, since in our minds the terminology is profoundly entrenched within modern conceptions, as the literature review will show.[1.3] However, I will preserve the original terminology when referencing other studies or authors.

Another issue that has immediately surfaced relates to the fact that the perception of 'bordering concept' fluctuates in time and space. Bordering practices have been a contentious subject for centuries, across different languages and schools of thought. Scholars' generalisation provides a list of terms and so-called 'non-synonymous words', whereas the indiscriminate use of 'frontier' in many cases assumes a global connotation, which practically conflates all bordering practices and concepts.¹⁵ Comparison of the long list of bordering concepts has provided no appreciable results. Despite the numerous terms such as frontier, border, boundary, edge, limit, margin, liminal, no-man's land, barrier or barricade, or even fence, there is an overuse of the term frontier (*limes*), which is often still used as an umbrella term for any other listed word.¹⁶

Furthermore, scholars prefer to focus the bulk of their studies on the (Late) Roman Empire rather than on the Republic. This concentration on the Late Empire has led to a kind of 'reverse' process – from the Late Empire backward in time – thus creating a 'one-way effect' in which importance has been given only to structural or dividing lines emphasised by walls, roads, dykes, *clausurae* or rivers which were functional to block the advancing '*Barbaricum*'.¹⁷ Finally, this study aims to open a breach in the modern view, led by Whittaker's statement: "It is impossible to find any evidence of a Roman frontier policy in the

¹⁴ Overall for this terminology, see: Sahlins 1989; Popescu 2011:38.

¹⁵ An 'Ordinary language philosophy' could be adopted, establishing their 'grammar', in Wittgenstein's sense or invoking Derrida's handy notion of 'non-synonymous substitutions'. At the moment, there is an expected need to recognise a common problem. This issue determines the substitutions if the terms which are not synonymous or interchangeable, in Leibniz's definition. Bennington (2003:3) thinks of Derrida, not only when he makes abundant use of this vocabulary, but because these words or concepts or terms (frontier, border, etc.) seem to share with others the complication involved, regarding whether or not it is to be a concept, a word or a term.

¹⁶ Frege famously suggests that if a concept does not have precise boundaries then it is simply not a concept (Bennington 2003:5).

¹⁷ Bennington 2003:3.

period of the Republic, despite the strong Roman sense of organised social and political space".¹⁸

Methodological definitions and 'natural' perception

The terminology comprises four main keywords, which will be used throughout this study:¹⁹ a) 'Term'²⁰ indicates 'a word or expression used in relation to a particular subject, often to describe something official or technical'.²¹ However, it is necessary to remember also its temporal meaning: 'The fixed period of time that something lasts for'.²² In this way, I 'lock' the descriptive definition of 'term' to the temporal one, therefore in space and time; b) 'definition':²³ for which there are two definitions reported in the dictionary: b1) 'a statement that explains the meaning of a word or phrase' and b2) 'a description of the features and limits of something'. For my purposes, definition is a blend of these two descriptions: practically, going back to its etymology, 'definition' is the recognised statement of the meaning or significance of a word, phrase or idiom, which sets its definite, distinct, or clear limits; c) 'acceptation'²⁴ – a particular challenge as it is not

¹⁸ Whittaker 1997:26.

¹⁹ Not casually, they are linked with Roman bordering practices.

²⁰ Early 13c., *terme* "limit in time, set or appointed period," from Old French *terme* "limit of time or place" (11c.), from Latin *terminus* "end, boundary line," related to *termen* "boundary, end" (see *terminus*). Old English had *termen* "term, end," from Latin. Sense of "period of time during which something happens" first recorded c.1300, especially of a school or law court session (mid-15c.). The meaning "word or phrase used in a limited or precise sense" is first recorded late 14c., from Medieval Latin use to render Greek *horos* "boundary," employed in mathematics and logic.

²¹ Cambridge dictionaries on line 2011: s. 'term'.

²² See n. above.

²³ *Dēfīnītio*, -ōnis f. Gloss. *gissus. statum, finitum. In strictiore sensu: A proprie de loco: i.q. actio definiendi sive de linea definiēte* (s. Mart. Cap. 6.710: *definitio est res, quae alicuius est terminus*); Helv. Pr. Corp. IX 2827 (12): *eorum locorum ... factam definitionem: i.q. finis: lex arae urb. S. Corp. VI 826. 30837 (2): intra hanc -em cipporum (genit. rei definiēntis)*. Pompon., *Libr. sing. enchir. = Dig. 50.16.239.6: 'Urbs' ab urbo appellata est: urbare est aratro definire. Et Varus ait urbem appellari curvaturam aratri, quod in urbe condenda adhiberi solet*. Ulpian, *Libr. LXIX ad edict. = Dig. 50.16.60.2: Sed fundus quidem suos habet fines, locus vero latere potest, quatenus determinetur et definiatur*. Cf. late 14c., "decision, setting of boundaries," from Old French *definicion*, from Latin *definitionem* (nominative *definitio*), noun of action from past participle stem of *definire* (see *define*). In logic, meaning "act of stating what something means" is from 1640s; meaning "a statement of the essential nature of something" is from late 14c.; the special focus on words developed after c.1550. Meaning "degree of distinctness of the details in a picture" is from 1889. See Carcaterra 1966:39-41; Martini 1966:61-4.

²⁴ *Accepta*, -ae f. (sc. *sors agrī*). *Agrimensurum vocabulum*. Frontin. *Grom. 51.16: quo pertica cecidit, eatenus acceptae designantur*; Frontin. 45.8. Hyg. *Limit. Grom. 113.3 = Dig. 1.0.281.25: sortes dividi debent ... et in forma secari denu hominum acceptae, ut quot singuli accipere debent in unum coniungantur*; Hyg. 199.12: *agro limitato accepturorum comparationem faciemus ad modum acceptarum*; Hyg. 201.18: *acceptas acceperunt*; Hyg. 204.5: *primum*

completely ‘accepted’ or understood in English. The Oxford dictionary only reports its meaning as ‘a particular sense or the generally recognised meaning (common acceptance) of a word or phrase’, which is the usage that I will employ in this paper; d) ‘concept’,²⁵ which contains the simple definition of a principle or idea;²⁶ however, I will be using it to refer to a mixture of abstract objects and the common mental representation of an idea, which will allow us to draw appropriate definitions of the targeted entities.²⁷

The second point relates to the perception of the environment. Livy’s work (*AUC*) is a literary work, which includes description and use of ‘natural or environmental features’, as distinguished from a flat landscape. This perception is based on three main stages: the abstract literary evidence, authors’ conceptual ideas and visions, and the transliteration into the material environment. Within this process it is important to establish the relationship between the perception, the literary rendering, and the reality. I borrow philosophical, mathematical and geometrical concepts to help explain the main concepts used throughout this research. [FIG.2] support the Kantian theory that phenomenal space such as that experienced during visual perception or imagery may be described by Euclidean geometry.²⁸ As articulated by Schlick: “The description of reality with the help of the four-dimensional schema (one of time) is a result of the construction of physical space from psychological spaces (visual and tactile spaces, etc.). These latter are, however, by no means relative. In these regions, the application of Euclidean geometry is more than an

agrum ... centuriabimus, deinde acceptas terminabimus; Hyg. 204.8 = Dig. 1.0.281.30: sortes sic inscribes, ut, si una accepta duas... pluresve centurias continebit, has centurias et quantum ex accepta habeant, in una sorte inscribemus; Hyg. 293.21 al. v. ind. Lachm. forma dubia. Hyg. Limit. grom. 132.1: veterani vendentes ex acceptis suis aut ... adicientes ... ad accepta sua (sic Arcer., Lachm.; -tas suas Gudian). Cf. Wölfflin 1893:120. Kubitschek 1894 1.137-8.

²⁵ *Concipio, -cēpī, -ceptum, -ere* [i. q. falisc. *cuncaptum* ‘conceptum’, a *con* et *capere*. Th.]. *Diom. Gramm. 1.379.3 = Dig. 4.0.54.40: nec solum coniugationes, verum. etiam ipsam positionem verborum conpositio mutat ut... facio conficio... capio concipio decipio. Corp. XI.3081 (Faleriis): cuncaptum. Gloss. V.182.21: concapito concipito. Dubium Apic. 4.171 concapis (cum cepis Flor., concerpis Humelbergius). Cf. concapio. concerpis pro -cipis: Carm. Epigr. 1339.18 = Dig. 4.0.54.45: gloss. συλλαμβάνω-conprae-hendo; conceptus-συλληφθεις; concepta-συγκειμένη; conceptum-ὑποδεχθέν. Concepta-νενομισμένα, ειλημμένα. Concept (n.) 1550s, from Medieval Latin *conceptum* “draft, abstract,” in classical Latin “(a thing) conceived,” from *concep-*, past participle stem of *concipere* “to take in” (see *conceive*); francog. *Concevoir*; hisp. *concebir*. In some 16c. cases a refashioning of *conceit* (perhaps to avoid negative connotations).*

²⁶ OED2, s. 1.4 Philosophy: ‘concept’.

²⁷ Murphy 2002; Carey 2009; Margolis & Laurence 2007.

²⁸ Of course Kant’s arguments have been criticised frequently and Euclidean geometry cannot describe and be applied to the space of the physical universe. Cf. Salmon 1975; Sklar 1974.

arbitrary convention”.²⁹ I am emphasising this point for a number of reasons. [FIG.2] Firstly, it is important to justify, at least geometrically, the difference between line and plane. In the following investigation, I will establish a scientific basis mainly to clarify the concept of a line – but also point and plane – in their primary application to the material environment/reality. In spatial contexts, it is of vital importance to bear in mind a few basic geometric concepts: a ‘point’ is an exact location in space, while a line consists of an infinite set of points and is a subset of a plane. This line is stated to have certain properties which relate it to other lines and points, and both are contained by the plane, which is an infinite set of points forming a connected flat surface extending infinitely far in all directions. Some geometrical assumptions or axioms, which represent the basis of the Euclidean geometry, are also useful for our purpose: a) a straight line segment can be drawn joining any two points or, for any two distinct points, there is a unique line containing them (1st Euclid’s’ axiom); b) through any two points is exactly one line (Unique Line Assumption); c) given a line in a plane, there exists at least one point in the plane that is not on the line (Dimension Assumption); d) there are an infinite number of lines that can contain that one point (consequence of the Euclid’s axiom); e) two or more line segments may have some of the same relationships as lines, such as being parallel, intersecting, or skewed (consequence of Euclid’s axiom).³⁰ Secondly, in the section on Livy’s representation of the material environment, I insist on the fact that, because “(*environmental*) spaces apparently necessitate considerable information integration in memory over time, their mental representations have been termed cognitive maps or cognitive spaces”.³¹ [1.3.6; 1.5.1] How the material environment is represented visually will be one of the keys to understanding how different perspectives and different visions can change perceptions of reality.³²

²⁹ Schlick 1964:296.

³⁰ From: Faber 1983:303; Hartshorne 2000:82.

³¹ In Montello 1992: esp.137. Cf. Cadwallader 1976; Canter and Tagg 1975; Downs and Stea 1973; Ittelson 1973.

³² My reference is to the comparison between the geometrical representation of environmental by Polybius (e.g. 2.14.4-16.5, cf. i.e. Walbank 2002:38) and the spatial vision by Livy, as I will show in this research through several arguments.

Outline of the chapters

Chapter 1 is divided into three main sections. In the Literature review, I analyse European studies on 'bordering concepts' throughout the centuries, which is useful for assessing comparisons, outlines and initial questions. My primary objective is to present a series of problems related to the perception of bordering practices in the European context and explore them in my study. In the second section, my aim is to provide a stable and comprehensive definition of *finis*. The meanings, value of *finis*, its appearance, and the features associated with it are completed by the importance and quantitative incidence of the term *finis* in *AUC*, through the raw data. In the third section, my objective is to highlight the main features of the Livian narration and the importance of the term *finis*, contextualised both in *AUC* and in the context within which he lived. I will also emphasise the connection between the Augustan literary circle and the programmed use of *finis*.

Chapter 2 explores Livy's introduction on the role of the Tiber in Rome's history. Livy's key observation that the Tiber was the *finis* between Etruscans and Latins shows both the guidelines and the issues related to its function and highlights the importance of rivers as *finis*. By starting from this point, the chapter analyses the relationship of Rome with her river, highlighting the importance of the Janiculum Hill and the Bridge (*Sublicius*) as connector between the core of the original foundation and the bulwark on the other bank. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to the early expansion of Rome toward the North (Veii) and the importance of rivers in this process. As further evidence of the significance assigned by Livy to rivers, other instances will be used to help us understand how some rivers – linked to *finis* – have a delimitative function in Livy's geography.

Chapter 3 is grounded in a single passage:³³ the foundation of Jupiter Feretrius' temple. This chapter is crucial, as it puts forward the planning of a subdivision of the surrounding territory. This process went through different stages, which were possibly a *topos* in Rome's history: a) conquest of territories and Rome's expansive process; b) choice of a place of command and control (Capitol); and

³³ Liv. 1.10.6.

c) subdivision of the encompassed/conquered territory. The presence of *finēs* in this context is crucial as it works both as a delimiting element and also to demonstrate how Livy, for the first time in his narration, seems to emphasise the importance of a vision from above.

In Chapter 4, I stress the relationship between the *finēs* and the *fetiales*, during Republican Rome's expansive process. In the first part, I explain the composition of *fetiales'* college, its origins and the main skill it offered: the *ius fetiale*. Furthermore, I also describe the procedure which connected the *fetiales* with foreign powers and the territory within the *finēs*. The second part shows the *fetiales'* connection with the temple of Jupiter Feretrius and with the Capitol. The main case studies are recorded, such as the wars against Alba and Veii, which show a procedure for approaching the enemy and declaring war that differs from that of the middle Republic. The third part highlights those differences both in the procedure and in Livy's narration, which show an adaptation by periods. Further developments in *fetiales'* rituals during the Augustan period are also reported, in order to link Livy's work to them during this time period.

The whole of Chapter 5 is dedicated to the treaty of the Ebro as *finis*. In the analysis of the treaty, the major point I will discuss is the position of Saguntum in relation to the Ebro. Through comparison with Polybius, it has been possible to understand: a) a different perception of the idea of 'non-synonymous words' from different cultures (e.g. Greek and Carthaginian); and b) a framework behind the notion or concept of *finis*, which is real and applicable to real contexts. The last point is possibly the most significant for this present study: the *finis* is not a simple line, but is based on spaces on both sides, which granted strategic security to Rome.

The Alps are the key focus of Chapter 6. In one passage, Livy characterises the mountain range as an almost 'impassable wall'. In this chapter, the contextualisation of this passage allows us to tackle different aspects of the Alps as *finis*: a) the actual extension or 'thickness' of a *finis*; b) the importance of a colony (Aquileia) in relation to a *finis*; c) the importance of the *iuga* (passes) (see the importance of the bridge for Tiber); d) the sense of dominance that accompanies the vision from a high vantage point, which might have been

employed by armies looking to conquer Italy; e) the link with the Augustan policy on the Alps (s. the trophy of La Turbie).

The germinal principles planted in the preceding chapters come to fruition in Chapter 7, which is dedicated to the treaty of Apamea. The treaty of the Ebro had created problems for Rome due to a misunderstanding on the Carthaginian side. In the treaty of Apamea, the clauses are clearer and the text of the agreement is detailed such that the construct around the Taurus mountain range (*finis*) appears clearer. We are facing, therefore, not just a concept of *finis* based on spaces, but a concept grounded on different layers of space, possibly concentric if compared with the new centralised position of Rome.

The conclusions in Chapter 8 prefigure the assumed developments in *AUC* and in Livy's concept of *finis*. I will propose a hypothesis, which provides signs of continuity in *AUC*, changes and breaks between the Late Republic and Early Empire. The rise of individuals, the positioning of trophies and Pompey's improvements in marking territory are the fertile background that led to a general outline of Augustan territorial policy, involving monumentalisation and areas of passage at key points. Stressing the continuity between these and the guidelines present in Livy, this study aims to show: a) a different perspective and approach to the conceptual question, b) the materialisation or visualisation of boundaries and c) continuity throughout the Roman world, analysing the role of the monuments, which worked as landmarks. During the Empire, landmarks took on meaningful shapes related to their function. The entrance in a different context, i.e. passing from an environmental context to a diverse one, through specific points of passage, was seen as a ritual emphasised by specific monuments linked to each other through a homogenous project. Such monuments were embedded in the territorial organisation with specific meanings and significance, linking different areas/zones of the rising Empire.

Chapter 1. *Finis*. Project and research

1.1 Literature review (History of studies)

1.1.1 Guidelines, problems and challenges

*“You may ransack the catalogues of libraries, you may search the indexes of celebrated historical works, you may study the writings of scholars, and you will find the subject almost wholly ignored”.*³⁴

The excerpt quoted above underlines the lack of studies concerning ‘ancient frontiers’ at the beginning of the 20th century. In Lord Curzon’s opinion, all works focus on political geography, places or space, but they neglect the concept of ‘frontier’.³⁵ When approaching the question of the number of ‘bordering concepts’ connected to the term *finis* from an ancient perspective, I found myself in the same position as Lord Curzon. Whereas others have hitherto surveyed various diverse aspects of bordering practices, it is very likely that no one has undertaken such holistic or extensive interrogations of the issue. Few have tried ‘understanding borders from the ancient point of view’ and even fewer have applied this to the concept of *finis*.³⁶

I will show this by exhibiting how scholars have taken for granted even the broad notions and meanings of the ancient terminology and how their research has often led to a superimposition of modern categories upon the ancient terminology itself.³⁷ The following section will also show how the concept of bordering evolved. In the first part of this section, I emphasised the evolution of the studies based on the ancient sources and perspectives: how they were used and eventually exploited.

³⁴ The sentence was pronounced by G.N. Curzon of Kedleston at the prestigious *Romanes Lecture* at Oxford University in 1907, which had as subject ‘Frontiers: Curzon 1907:4-5.

³⁵ Although specific studies on the frontiers had still largely been disregarded, Lord Curzon was criticised within academic circles for having ignored any extensive work by European geographers over the previous century. Cf. Whittaker’s 1994:2, *overture*.

³⁶ The only three monographs on *finis* are: Sini 1991; Richardson 2011; Cacciari 2007: esp. 277-8.

³⁷ From the middle of the 20th century, just a few studies have focussed purely on the concept of borders, boundaries and frontiers in the ancient world and just two of them are a sort of monographic work. Sordi 1987 and Piccaluga 1974.

Two more points are relevant in this process of assessment: a) the English and French colonial experience, which gave to the studies a real and tangible dimension, and b) the more recent practical approach to the question – just after WWII – resulting from a ‘fresh’ support provided by new archaeological excavations and the introduction of new technologies (GIS, GPS and satellites).³⁸

The very last part of this section will highlight how the terms *limes* and ‘frontier’³⁹ have taken centre stage in almost every study, to the extent that scholars neglect the fact that a frontier is just a subcategory (or ‘hypercategory’) of the bordering concepts. While several attempts have been made to elucidate the meaning of ‘frontier’, showing the substantial geopolitical value of the concept of *limes*, in many cases more problems have arisen due to the different translations of ‘frontier’ and their superimposition on the acceptance of the word *limes*.⁴⁰ Researchers have accepted a sort of ‘pre-formed’ (pre-packed) idea of frontier – as if suggesting that the Roman Empire was formed from nothing! Instead, to undertake a uniform study, scholars have preferred to focus (mainly) on the Late Empire, comparing e.g. the Roman frontier (*limes*) and similar patterns identifiable in other cultures or continents.⁴¹ Consequently, studies on the frontiers of the Roman Empire ramified into non-homogeneous concepts, monopolised by the frontiers/*limes*.

It also provides a detailed analysis showing that: a) European study is deeply rooted in the Roman tradition; b) the notion of bordering concept has often been superimposed upon material or natural features; c) borders are often considered to be shaped like a single line; and d) the bordering concept is often associated with a broad plethora of terms, the most common of which – in recent years – has been ‘frontier’ (roughly translated from *limes*). I collect and assess raw data on the term *finis* in *AUC* both from a qualitative (meaning, definition, acceptance) and a quantitative point of view, visualising the data in contextual assessments such as

³⁸ Showley 1998; Van Sickle 2001; Van Sickle 2004; Wolf and Brinker 1994; Robinson 1995; Monmonier 1995; Wolf & Brinker 1984; Witcher 1999.

³⁹ See esp. Ch. 1 from Anderson 1996.

⁴⁰ Cf. Moschek 2011.

⁴¹ It is interesting to note the distinction made by Bowersock, Lamont Brown and Grabar (1999:542; the unknown author put just the abbreviation of his name: ‘C.W.’): “... in the Roman Empire never meant a military frontier in the modern sense and was probably never used as an official term for boundary”.

tables and charts.[1.4.2; APPENDIX 1] I also underline the significant factors that have led to my choice of Livy as the subject of this study: a) the structure and subdivision of *AUC*; and b) the period in which Livy lived.[1.5]

These problems can be listed as follows: a) the lack of a homogeneous concept of bordering within the different perspectives and perceptions of European scholars, who have taken for granted the meanings of the bordering concepts and exploited the meaning and the usage of these terms; b) the application of modern definitional categories to the ancient pattern, which has led to an undeniable association between natural features (mountains ranges, rivers, promontories), bordering concepts, and the 'linear concept' – the identification of bordering practices with a simple line; and c) the endemic lack of scientific work on terminology and its definition in relation to *finis*. The difficulties surrounding this last point are caused by the vulnerability of the terminology, due to a largely indeterminate use of different terms, often considered interchangeable; the absence of systematic and scientific investigation of the term *finis*; and the fact that currently the term 'frontier' / *limes* is the most commonly used term for the borders in the context of Roman Empire.⁴²

1.1.2 Medieval and modern 'bridges' to Antiquity

"The concept of natural frontiers is deeply 'encrusted' in us all".⁴³

[FIG 1]The first idea of bordering practice drew on ancient sources and natural features. Between the Low Middle Ages and Renaissance Humanism, blurred concepts of bordering were intertwined with nationalism, geography and religion. Until then, references to bordering practices – which looked back to classical times – had been almost latent or ignored. Following this, Charlemagne brought about innovations within his kingdom and the immediate vicinity, leading to the rise of absolutist states.⁴⁴ Only the humanists commenced to build 'cultural myths', inspired and based on classic authors.

⁴² Cf. Bartolini 1998:25.

⁴³ Febvre 1922:324.

⁴⁴ Conscious reference to rivers is clearly established in the treaty of Verdun (843), which defines the middle Frankish kingdom of Lotharingia as that of the *Quatre Rivières*. A first attempt at evoking the

Ancient writers were more often interpreted and regularly cited to justify a sort of 'nationalistic geography',⁴⁵ in which rivers, mountains, and seas were always stressed as ideological borders.⁴⁶ By virtue of the fact that it was surrounded by sea and limited by the Alps, it is easy to see why Italy was the first 'subject' to be explored, becoming a geophysical rather than a political idea.⁴⁷ The Italian historical/geographical definition and the ease, with which her natural limits can be recognised, formed mainly by mountains and sea, gave rise to the idea that the Alpine range was a gift from nature, or divinely dispensed. The idea that, politically speaking, "whole Italy rose from the Alpine passes" ("*Universa Italia surgit a jugis Alpium*") is present in Riccobaldo Gervasio.⁴⁸ Petrarch, instead, described the Alps as frontiers of certain Italian kingdoms (*certissimos regnorum fines*), working as Italy's defenders by acting as a barrier.⁴⁹ This 'Alpine barrier' (*schermo delle Alpi*)⁵⁰ was exalted by Boccaccio as Italy's natural stronghold capable of halting Hannibal's advance.⁵¹ The traditional view of Rome and her frontiers was emphasised by Flavio Biondo's *De Roma instaurata*, which explicitly equated contemporaneous Italy with Republican Rome. He commenced a process whereby the Roman model of state frontiers was manipulated and adapted by early modern Europe.⁵²

France followed the example of the Italian Renaissance by claiming her own integrity and extent and reinventing the Roman provincial borders of Gaul. This

Greek and Roman style of boundaries is made in the Treaty of Verdun (843), which involved 120 emissaries, who worked for more than a year to determine the boundaries and parcels distributed to the three heirs of Charlemagne. Cf. Dion 1947:71-85. The failure of the treaty confirms that France had no conception of precise territorial boundaries at that time. Cf. Doucet 1948:1.16; Lapradelle 1928:29-31; Dupont-Ferrier 1942; Sahlins 1989:5.

⁴⁵ This long shadow of "Italy's sentiment and dreams" extended to the 19th century, when Republican Rome frequently provided the inspiration for a supposed own political identity. Cf. Michel (1982:84-91) cites Biondo 1531.

⁴⁶ Willems 1986.

⁴⁷ Liv. 1.1.3.

⁴⁸ Rizzi 2008.

⁴⁹ Rawski 1991:1.160.

⁵⁰ Rawski 1991:2.92; cf. "*Ben provide Natura al nostro stato, / quando de l'Alpi schermo / pose fra noi et la tedesca rabbia*" (Our State was well provided by Nature, / when She put the barrier of the Alps / between us and the German fury). Cf. "*Italia mia, benché 'l parlar sia indarno*" (My Italy! Yet saying this is a problem) [*Canzoniere* 128I].

⁵¹ The tensions are excellently discussed by Clarke 1999. Cf. Polyb. 3.39.8 and Livy 34.12.12; the latter criticised by Strabo (8.8.5) for "following the chance route of a general"; Boccaccio, *Comm. Dante Alighieri*: see Mazzacurati 1987:342-50. In the Italian Renaissance art echoed literature, as evident in a brass relief in which God draws the borders of Italy. St. Peter Cathedral, Baptistery, Rome, Italy.

⁵² E.g. Biondo 1531:3.75. Mastrosera 2009; Robathan 1970; Nordman 1979:81-7; Alliès 1980:31; cf. Febvre 1922:326; Whittaker 1997:3; Whittaker 2004:183.

rendering was applied to natural boundaries, which delimited the '*Hexagone*'.⁵³ Although the concept of riverine frontiers was deeply embedded in the French psyche in the Middle Ages,⁵⁴ *De Bello Gallico* provided the instructions to legitimise French claims up to the natural frontiers of the Rhine, the upper Rhone, the Alps and the Pyrenees.⁵⁵ In the 17th century '*la permanence de César*' (Caesar's durability) became the cornerstone of national political geography in the two centuries following.⁵⁶ Cardinal Richelieu targeted France's contemporary geopolitical aspirations and ambitions, exploiting Roman historical and geographical authors – like Strabo and Ptolemy – in order to justify their national territorial ambitions.⁵⁷ Richelieu linked his idea of natural borders with the ancient classical one, when he spoke of wishing "*restituer a la Gaule les limites que la nature lui a fixées*" ("to give back those limits that nature established for Gaul").⁵⁸ This is a key concept in the process of interpretation of the frontiers. Richelieu's theoretical ideal of natural frontiers aimed to extend French strongholds up to or beyond the Rhine and the Alps.⁵⁹

The Roman *limes* was virtually replaced not as a continuous line, natural or static, but rather as a '*cordon de noeuds*' ('cordon of knots'): communication lines and rivers formed an open, unlimited 'bordering area' or 'frontier region'.⁶⁰ Grotius and

⁵³ The *hexagon* resembles the geometrical shape of France, following her borders and natural limits.

⁵⁴ Mazarin argued that the commission's task was to search for "the ancient limits which divided the Gauls from the Spains, and not the historical frontier of the two crowns", cited by Sahlins 1989:47. Whittaker 2004:183.

⁵⁵ Caesar was first cited in the 15th century, when Aeneas Sylvius asserted that Alsace was part of Gallia. Sylvius is cited by Sorel 1897; cf. Pounds 1951:152, The Alps are not named by Caesar (*BG* 1.1) in his opening description of Gaul (*BG* 1.1), but were clearly intended to define Gaul, as he shows later (*BG* 3.1 and 7). Nordman 1998:45-6.

⁵⁶ In 1501 Jakob Wimpfeling, the Alsatian reformer, used the newly discovered Tacitus' *Germania* to prove that Alsace had always been German; cf. Rives 1999:71. However, Julius Caesar's statement was virtually airbrushed out of history by the subsequent frontiers created by Augustus and his successors beyond the Rhine; Nordman 1998:474.

⁵⁷ Nordman 1998:45-6.

⁵⁸ Note the identity between *la Gaule and la France*, in Allières 1980:65.

⁵⁹ Louis XIV's expansionist policy in the late 17th century was enforced by architect Vauban, who planned and set up some of the greatest fortresses of Europe since Trier and Cologne. Strasbourg (Argentorate) was regarded not as a frontier but as the '*entrée en Allemagne*'; the bridgehead at Brisach happened to repeat the fortress of Valentinian's Roman frontier in the 4th century AD; Pignerol was held to control Savoy and Montferrat to stop Spain; Allières 1980:20; Nordman 1998:91-4.

⁶⁰ Vauban considered a frontier should be constructed entrenching political geography, "in such a way that it closes the enemy's way into our country and facilitates our entry into his", which resonates remarkably with Roman practice. Cf. Luttwak's (1976) theory; Allières 1980:20; Nordman 1998:91-4. Whittaker 2004:186.

his entourage lent intellectual weight to Richelieu's claims, deliberately exploiting Roman historians: jurists and *agrimensores* were cited to defend the thesis of natural, territorial boundaries.⁶¹ In 1659, they were invoked by the negotiators of the treaty of the Pyrenees, who wished to reset the boundaries between France and Spain based on the old ones between *Gallia* (*Aquitania* and *Narbonensis*) and *Hispania* (*Terraconensis*).⁶² The failure in assessing them led historians and politicians to quote Tacitus,⁶³ his words echoed in two statements: a) "Rivers are the most natural limits because they serve to defend the frontiers: hence they are called *arcifinium* by the Doctors. ... These are the boundaries which were always chosen in ancient times to separate states, as the Romans did, who had bounded their empire on the German side by the Rhine, from the Scythians and Moesians by the Danube, and from the Parthians by the Euphrates";⁶⁴ b) "*Ses limites sont marquées par la Nature; nous les atteindrons toutes des quatre points de l'horizon, du côté du Rhin, du côté l'Océan, du côté des Alpes*"⁶⁵ ("Its boundaries are determined by nature; we will reach all four points of the horizon, as far as the Rhine, the Ocean and the Alps"). The natural frontiers of ancient Gallia were thus no longer a geopolitical '*représentation*'. They rather turned into an instrument of aggression in Napoleon's hands in the wake of growing nationalism subsequent to '*la Revolution*'.⁶⁶ His imperialist expansion would have followed Rome's frontier policy when he exclaimed that the rivers of Europe, "which seem so well created to separate nations, nowhere form the real line of the frontiers".⁶⁷ This French conviction demonstrates an evolution in the concept of border, stressing with customary clarity that the two concepts of fixed military 'front' and territorial

⁶¹ The most interesting citation from the *agrimensores* is Varro's category of *arcifinium* borderland; for which see Nordman 1979:81-3, discussed in its original context by Whittaker 1997:20.

⁶² Despite the Roman texts, the commission was unable to detect territorial and linear borders, the jurisdictional sovereignty of which, on either side, thus remained uncertain for about 200 years afterward. Goudineau 1990:9-12; Nordman 1998:14.

⁶³ Tac. *Ann.* 1.9: "The Ocean and remote rivers were the boundaries of the Empire".

⁶⁴ Declaration of Nice (1703), leading up to the treaty of Turin (1760): *Archiv. Department. Alpes-Maritimes, Fiume Varo. Mazzo 3, no. 4* quoted by Nordman 1979:85.

⁶⁵ Danton's famous speech on the natural frontiers of France (1793) in: Jaurès 1901:972.

⁶⁶ "*Quand un peuple se fixe une frontière naturelle...c'est simplement un limite qu'il établit à l'intensité de son désir d'expansion*" in Lapradelle 1928:55-7; Whittaker 1997:280, n. 11.

⁶⁷ The Treaties of Bâle (1795) and Campo Formio (1797) applied supposed Romano-Gallic principles of natural river frontiers in France's advance to the Rhine. Foucher 1986:135-6 cites Henri Martin's "*Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés*", who 'played' the references to Roman Gaul and became "the historic bible of the middle classes". Jomini 1857, quoted by Foucher 1986:152; cf. Whittaker 2004:186.

boundary (*fins*) did not merge until the 19th century. In the ideology of French historiography, the new fixed frontiers were an evolution from a natural barrier line to a *cordon sanitaire*, made more explicit after the Congress of Vienna (1815), which formalised the rise of the nation states.⁶⁸

1.1.3 The German School

The end of the 16th century is notable for two discoveries, which deeply marked the German school of thought in its debate with its French neighbours: a) the manuscript of Tacitus' *De Germania* and b) the only known ancient map of the Roman Empire purchased by Conrad Peutinger. While *De Germania* provided the Germans with an effective 'weapon' to counter the *De Bello Gallico*, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* showed the total absence of any sort of boundary⁶⁹ (although a physical line existed in the shape of Hadrian's Wall).⁷⁰ *De Germania* confirmed the ancestral distinctiveness of *Der Volk* (The people):⁷¹

*Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur.*⁷²

For my own part, I agree with those who think that the tribes of Germany are free from all taint of inter-marriages with foreign nations, and that they appear as a distinct, unmixed race, like none but themselves.

Tacitus sparked two consequential and crucial concepts: a) Germans were beginning to be deemed and to identify themselves as a whole, and b) '*die Grenze*'⁷³ limited the population rather than the landscape/territory. Tacitus' statement also echoed in the anthropological Enlightenment and in the 'discovery' of Indo-European languages. While Emmanuel Kant argued that miscegenation produced the degeneration of races,⁷⁴ the Englishman William Jones traced

⁶⁸ Febvre 1922:39

⁶⁹ Peutinger was author of '*de mirandis Germaniae*' (1530), but it is difficult to assess the impact of the map on German historical geography.

⁷⁰ Talbert 2011:171.

⁷¹ The translation might be 'The people', meaning 'The ethnic' of the Germans, but also 'The Nation'.

⁷² Tac. *Germ.* 4.1.

⁷³ This German word can be translated with one of the terms, which implies several acceptations of the 'bordering concepts' (border, boundary, frontier). For a better understanding of the term, see Böckler 2006.

⁷⁴ Lectures held in the University of Königsberg and published in 1789.

German linguistic origins from India.⁷⁵ Both theories received enthusiastic support from German geographers, such as Karl Ritter and Heinrich Berghaus, as well as from philologists like Friedrich Schlegel, inventor of the Aryan myth, or Jacob Grimm, who was responsible for the towering thesis of Indo-European *Einwanderung* and ‘*Volk ohne Raum*’. They were laying strong foundations for the later theories of *Lebensraum* (vital space) and expanding borders.⁷⁶ The scholars justified them through the Roman *Kriegsgeographen* (war geographers) such as Strabo, Polybius and, even more strongly, Tacitus:⁷⁷

*Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur.*⁷⁸

Germania is separated from the Galli, the Rhæti, and Pannonii, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; mountain ranges, or the fear which each feels for the other, divide it from the Sarmatæ and Daci.

The process of change from common customs to a common culture to a common place of the Germanic *Stamme* (tribe/stock) was a consequent mental transposition. It generated the concept of *Volkraum* (space of people), a space-population, where *Naturgrenzen* (natural boundaries) were defined by language and race, not by territory.⁷⁹

The Congress of Vienna (1815) left behind the core of a unified Germany with indistinct boundaries and a sense of growing nationalism, where Prussia became the confederate leader and ‘*la terre des géographes*’ (land of geographers).⁸⁰ Although Carl Ritter’s (1843) work – which compared geographical places to the human body⁸¹ – was limited to Africa and Asia, his *Meisterwerk* (masterpiece) was hailed as a ‘pioneer of geography of frontiers’.⁸² Cultural clashes foreshadowed the Franco-Prussian War, which started where the Roman Empire ceased: on the Rhine frontier. Mommsen stressed that “the value of a natural barrier is not what it was. Great rivers, being great highways, should in all reason be national property,

⁷⁵ Bates 1995:231.

⁷⁶ The figures cited by Bryce 1914:5-6 and 155 were for India.

⁷⁷ Ratzel 1882:119-20; see e.g. Hänger 2000.

⁷⁸ Tac. *Germ.* 1.

⁷⁹ See Zahariade (1997) claims.

⁸⁰ Mackinder 1919:26-7; the term ‘*terre des géographes*’ comes from Korinman 1990:9.

⁸¹ Cf. the Roman conception of limbs and body of the empire. Allied native kings were regarded as “limbs and parts of the Empire: “...membra partis que imperii”; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 18.

⁸² Whittaker 2004:181.

not national boundaries”.⁸³ Underlying this theory was a rejection of the restrictions of traditional perceptions of Roman frontiers. Fustel de Coulanges replied: “A historian like yourself should pretend not to know that it is neither race nor language that makes a nation. History perhaps tells you that Alsace is a German country. ... What about when ancient Gaul held the whole Rhine and when Strasbourg, Saverne and Colmar were Roman towns?”⁸⁴ Ritter⁸⁵ and Mommsen’s theories echoed in Ratzel’s works. On the one hand, he theorised that the state possessed frontiers resembling the skin of a living organism, which expanded and contracted according to scientific, determined laws.⁸⁶ He provided a key concept, embedded in a final postulate: Rome’s evolution from a village to an Empire was unrestrained by rivers or mountains.⁸⁷ On the other hand, he affirmed that “rivers unite, and although both sides of the Rhine may once have been occupied by Gallic tribes, the Teutonic people have made it into a German river”. There was no such thing as fixed *Naturgrenzen*, “since Nature abhors fixed boundary lines and sudden transitions”.⁸⁸ An abstract boundary was just always a broad brim (*Saum*), which became a “border/zone of assimilation”.⁸⁹ This acquired awareness of Roman frontiers placed more emphasis on their function than on their strategic location.⁹⁰ This direct attack upon traditional perceptions of frontiers had a profound effect on

⁸³ Mommsen 1871:30.

⁸⁴ Mommsen *et al.* 1871:13. Later speeches on Tacitus’ Germania (Mommsen 1870) and the ‘*Uniform Limes*’ (Mommsen 1890) are remarkably free from crude, political geography. In this scenario, Bismarck would have put to use the *Deutschtum*, a German-speaking Empire, which culminated in the Franco-Prussian Wars and France’s loss of Alsace and Lorraine in the treaty of Frankfurt (1871).

⁸⁵ Ritter’s evolutionism played a key role in the biological theory of frontiers as he was trained in zoology and much influenced by theories of social Darwinism. Although Ritter strongly influenced Ratzel’s first book (1881), influence is more evident in Ratzel’s further work, *Politische Geographie* (1897).

⁸⁶ The work is subdivided into two volumes. Other, subsequent titles of Ratzel announced his specific interest in frontiers – e.g. Ratzel 1892 and Ratzel 1896.

⁸⁷ Ratzel’s work was disliked by the father of American frontier studies, E.J. Turner, although his influential paper (Turner 1920) contains similarities with Ratzel’s views on the impermanence of natural barriers and visions of space, as expressed in Ratzel 1873; Bogue 1998:129. Turner had studied at Johns Hopkins University under Herbert Baxter Adams, the scholar who had brought the German theory of the state as a biological organism into American academic life; Hofstadter 1969:60-1.

⁸⁸ Ratzel 1882:114; Semple 1911:204.

⁸⁹ The Barbarians, therefore, did not deserve their reputation as destroyers, as they had ‘assimilated Roman civilisation’ over a long period on the frontiers. By contrast, the weakness of Rome was its multiethnicity, over-extension and loss of political control and communications from the centre. Ratzel 1896:40; Cf. Semple 1911:191,230.

⁹⁰ Vidal de la Blache 1918:201. If Ratzel was the villain of Febvre’s attacks, there is no doubt that Vidal de la Blache was the hero.

prevailing European thought and the perception of borders. But, significantly, the debate has focussed primarily on the concept of frontier/*limes* and not on *finis*, drawing a deep line between the two terms.[1.3.1; 1.3.6]

1.1.4 France and Britain as Empires: awareness through the practice.

*“(The Roman Empire) lights up our own Empire, for example in India, at every turn”.*⁹¹

The notions of ‘frontier’ in modern and ancient times converged only when some European nations developed a form of imperialism territorially closer or similar to the Roman Empire, setting their frontiers in wild territories.⁹² Nevertheless, Britain and France wished to compare their Empires and colonial borders exclusively to the Roman Empire and its frontiers (*limites*), rather than to the wider concept of border.⁹³ After all, there were good reasons for Europeans to study Roman frontiers, as “...half the warfare of the European continent has raged around the frontier barriers of the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Danube and the Rhine”.⁹⁴

Despite striking differences, which led to two very different perspectives, Britain and France would have experienced and shared a common issue – involvement with and understanding of ‘natural frontiers’. Their lieutenants, governors or writers in colonial border-areas were responsible for the early practical studies on the topic.⁹⁵ Connections and analogies can be found in the Romantic-Roman Imperial vision of the frontiers, representing still a line often superimposed onto environmental or natural features, with the frontiers considered as a dividing line between the civilised and the barbarian world. France’s history led to frontiers being clearly based on natural features and landscape, evidently rooted in the country’s Roman past.

⁹¹ Francis Haverfield, Professor of Archaeology at Oxford and affectionately known as ‘The Pope of Roman Britain’, used the inaugural lecture of the Roman Society in 1911. Haverfield 1911:xvii, cited by Majeed 1999:88.

⁹² Continuing colonial confirmations of a natural-historical border are evident in both the Indian Subcontinent and North Africa.

⁹³ Whittaker 1994:2; 2004:184.

⁹⁴ Bryce 1914:8; Davies 1932:1932:16-17.

⁹⁵ Other essays by colonial administrators include Sir Charles Lucas (1912), Lord Cromer (1910). Even *Le Figaro* on the occasion of Queen Victoria’s Diamond jubilee (1897) declared that Rome had been ‘equalled if not surpassed’ by the British Empire. Poliakov 1974 and Korinman 1990.

Rivers and mountains encapsulated the country into a natural container, representing the material link between the ‘myth’ of natural frontiers and the scientific concepts of *potamologie* and *orologie*.⁹⁶ On the contrary, the British historical background based on walls and ditches viewed borders as “a line of trespass rather than a frontier”.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, anachronistically British India was compared to the Roman Empire, which appeared to function, at that time, as a model for its legal, administrative and military history.⁹⁸ British India might have learned from the “Roman Empire’s frontier policy and experience”, as the northwest frontier of India could compare “point by point with its ancient counterpart and prototype, the frontier system of Rome”.⁹⁹ Both Empires, concluded Lord Bryce, had “been favoured in their extension and their maintenance by the frontiers, which nature had provided”.¹⁰⁰

The question of frontiers soon began to assume a different tone, leaning toward the cultural, symbolic and also sacred value of the Roman *limites*, which encapsulated the Roman Empire within water or mountain boundaries. The ‘natural frontier’ – the classical idea that the bordering practices matched with natural features – began to be thwarted. The British in India and the French in Indo-China had advanced beyond the natural frontiers of the Indus or Mekong, surpassing the Roman achievement. However, military practice highlighted that rivers were untenable as frontier, as was plainly stated by the Duke of Wellington in 1808 when rejecting the river Indus as a northern frontier: “The art of crossing rivers is so well understood and has been so frequently practised... that we cannot hope to defend the Indus as

⁹⁶ Whittaker 2004:182

⁹⁷ The danger was that Britain, like Rome, would be tempted beyond these limits, comparing the disaster of Varus (*Clades Variana*) in the Teutoburg Forest with the retreat from Kabul in 1843. See Whittaker 2004:185 and Macrory 2002.

⁹⁸ This association was not just limited to the borders: their size and populations appeared roughly the same; both were controlled by armies of approximately the same size, composed of native and colonial troops. The figures cited by Bryce 1914:5-6 and 155 were for India: area 2 million sq. miles, population 515 million, army 550-400,000 soldiers; for the Roman Empire area 2.5 million sq. miles, population 515 million, army 500,000 soldiers. Not all these figures would be accepted today, but the Native States were, presumably, not included.

⁹⁹ “I wonder if my heaters appreciate the part that frontiers are playing in the everyday history and policy of the British Empire” (Curzon 1907:8). Davies 1932:115; Curzon 1907:54; Whittaker 1997:2.

¹⁰⁰ Bryce 1914:14; a governor of Bengal who believed that the British had “pretty well reached the limit set by nature”, which some thought was the River Indus, others the Himalaya Mountains; Morris 1992:16. Whittaker 2004:184-6.

a barrier.”¹⁰¹ Experience also radically challenged Curzon’s own traditional perceptions. In his opinion: “Augustus selected rivers as frontiers of the Roman Empire, though strategic reasons soon tempted the Romans beyond.”¹⁰² According to Whittaker,¹⁰³ rivers connected rather than separated and, jurisprudentially, the more powerful nation always demanded rights over the far bank.

Broad geographic definitions of territory soon became neither natural nor even real. Scholars were divided over whether or not the mountain ranges were administratively impossible to control or little better than rivers, since “both the entrance and the exit of the passes (must be) in the hands of the defending power”.¹⁰⁴ This had been demonstrated in British and French experiences, on the Khyber Pass and the range of Atlas respectively, since they had a dynamic of their own and were not fixed lines.¹⁰⁵ The French mission *civilatrice* in the Maghreb was used by Capitaine Dinaux during his Saharan expedition in 1905,¹⁰⁶ when he redrew and replaced the ‘*chaîne du African limes*’ on the mountain range from Aures to Tlemcem.¹⁰⁷

French scholars remarked that the chronic Anglo-saxon ‘disease’ in studying Roman North Africa had been to believe that Hadrian’s Wall in Britain and the African *fossatum* were not only the creation of a single mentality (Hadrian’s), but were constructed with the single strategy of forming a barrier line to keep the barbarians out.¹⁰⁸ The modern colonisation period gave rise to the perception of the Roman frontier as a splitting element between cultures: beyond it laid another world, different from the known one.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, this attitude was not just a British prerogative. The commander of the French expedition in North Africa, Capitaine Dinaux, affirmed by his experience that “beyond (the frontier) lay another world

¹⁰¹ Davies 1932:4, 6.

¹⁰² Whittaker 2004:185.

¹⁰³ Whittaker 2004:185; recalling Mommsen 1871:30.

¹⁰⁴ Curzon 1907:14.

¹⁰⁵ Febvre 1922:330.

¹⁰⁶ Keenan 2004:24; McDougall and Scheele:237.

¹⁰⁷ Mannert 1842.

¹⁰⁸ Birley 1956; *contra* Troussset 1981:62; Whittaker 1994:3.

¹⁰⁹ Kipling’s experience is paradigmatic of that feeling. In 1884, the young journalist was shot by a tribesman on the north Indian frontier, by the Khyber Pass, during the Afghan Wars. His Romantic vision was suddenly broken in a mixture of fear and homesickness, brought on by the presence of the enemy beyond it in the outer darkness waiting to attack and his great distance from a sure and protected home. Whittaker 1997:1-2; Carrington 1970:447.

made of barbarian nomads, uncontrollable and uneconomical”.¹¹⁰ This idea was profoundly embedded in the unknown world hidden over the frontier, still a sinister ‘Tartar steppe’ of Buzzatian inspiration.¹¹¹ This perception has led many historians to accept the classical *Weltanschauung* that, by adopting the Roman frontier policy, they, like the Greeks, created a world of ‘barbarians’,¹¹² which Whittaker considered a false stereotype.¹¹³

1.1.4.1 The ‘scientific frontier’

During the Second Afghan War of 1890, Britain enforced an extraordinary concept on the Indian northern frontier. Lord Roberts struck upon the idea of a ‘scientific frontier’: a strip of land between the Indus and ‘natural line’ of the Sulaiman Mountains.¹¹⁴ This attempt to push the borders beyond the British territories in India was compared to Rome’s search for a wider frontier and Hadrian’s “regular system of frontier defence” in Britain and Germany.¹¹⁵ Britain synthesised in this way her collective memory of territorial frontiers, its historical and geographical features: a land divided into rival kingdoms, with no apparent natural divisions.¹¹⁶ Paradoxically, between England and Scotland lies that most visible of Roman frontiers, which consists of the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus.¹¹⁷ Lord Roberts insisted that control of the road from Kabul to Kandahar would bring advantages. Indeed, India’s northwest frontier was not a line but a deep zone: administrative, military and political.¹¹⁸ This large belt encompassed many native tribes “over which we exercise no jurisdiction and only the minimum control”.¹¹⁹ The impossibility of

¹¹⁰ Gautier 1952:211-212; Porch 1986:9.

¹¹¹ Buzzati 1952; s. Curta 2005a:3.

¹¹² Hartog 1988:207.

¹¹³ Whittaker 1997:8.

¹¹⁴ Davies 1932:6-7.

¹¹⁵ Bryce 1914:14; Morris 1992:16.

¹¹⁶ Febvre 1970:525. Francis Bacon advised King James in 1605 to adopt the single title of ‘Great Britain’ for the unified crown, on the analogy that in antiquity the single names Graecia, Hispania, etc. carried an ideological message. Foucher 1986:119.

¹¹⁷ Although they often follow no obvious natural features, the impressive remains appear designed to exclude untamed Scots, building a powerful theme in British political geography of artificial, closed frontiers that drew a moral line between ‘barbaricum’ and civilisation. For example, Davies (1932:6), writing about British India: “Rome fell because the dykes were not strong enough to hold back the flood of barbarian inroads’ a lesson, he argued, for great powers that neglect their frontiers”.

¹¹⁸ Davies 1932:185; cf. Semple 1911:212; Morris 1992:296.

¹¹⁹ Kirk 1979:43; Curzon 1907:40; Davies 1932:13-6; Whittaker 1997:60.

maintaining a 'zonal' rather than a 'linear' frontier is evident in the position of several strategic 'lines' within that area. In 1893, the 'Durand Line' coincided with a sort of unstable and predictably undefined, political frontier. Six years later, in 1899, the administration of the new territory, the northwest Frontier Province, was assigned to Lord Curzon, putting him in charge of the relationship between political agents and environmental features. The new Viceroy of India was credited with the most successful attempt made by any administrator to bring stability to the Indian frontier. Despite Lord Curzon's praise of the scientific frontier – that 'unites natural and strategic strength'¹²⁰ –, Roberts' line was abandoned because no military strategists could agree on its precise location or on how to cover the logistics of its supply.¹²¹ Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich continued to consider the mountain ranges the most convenient border, when he identified the best 'border/zone' as lying on the northwest Frontier of the Subcontinent.¹²² The practical experience of the British – gained in the field in India – provided a more real connection between ancient and present, altering the perceptions of frontiers from 'linear' to 'zonal'.

1.1.5 Beyond the colonial experience. Return to Europe

"The advance on the Rhine was the tradition of our ancestors... a true frontier".¹²³

French and British scholars' theories were profoundly shaken and also stimulated by lessons learnt from the period through the Franco-Prussian War and the two World Wars, when a powerless France suffered three humiliating invasions by Germany. At the beginning and end of every conflict, the borders of Europe, and those along the Rhine frontier, were redrawn, confirming that it had never represented a fixed '*frontiere naturelle*'. The "natural theory of borders" became therefore a blatantly geopolitical construct and the old theories of the Enlightenment were discarded. In this climate, Ratzel's principles were set on both sides of the Rhine, and such principles became benchmarks fixed by Karl Haushofer, the main

¹²⁰ Curzon 1907:48-9.

¹²¹ The importance of Roberts' line is before our eyes still today, as it is the actual border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

¹²² Holdich (1916) was in charge to draw the borders between Argentina and Chile along the Andes belt, and issued a military manual in 1918.

¹²³ So G. Clemenceau (citing Sorel and quoted in Foucher 1986:137): "*La poussée sur le Rhin était la tradition des nos ancêtres, une vrai frontière.*" Febvre 1922:325.

historical theorist of Germany's expansion in WWII. Despite his aggressive attitude, he underlined the *Deutsche Lebensraum* (German vital space), claiming that Germany, unlike Rome, had built its frontiers upon zones or marks, not on boundary lines.¹²⁴

On the other side of Rhine, Lucien Febvre began the process of revisiting French theories on the subject. Although he abandoned the French tradition and ancient texts, and rejected the determinism of natural conditions,¹²⁵ Febvre included several comparisons with Rome. Mountains, rivers, and deserts – “promoted to the dignity of being a natural frontier” – were far from being barriers.¹²⁶ Conveniently, expansive nations and politicians considered rivers or mountains as geographical markers in their desire to define space.¹²⁷ Rome's *limites* were now viewed in a different light, becoming: “*symbole de crainte ou de domination*” (“a political instrument of imperialism”), an artificial tool of organisation and a base for conquests, not a limitation.¹²⁸ Febvre's theory dismantled the ancient historians' idea of natural borders and modern scholars' notions of ‘strategic’ borders, proving they were historically elusive as scientific frontiers.¹²⁹ “Natural borders were only conventions imposed by the strong on the weak, and in antiquity they were zones, never lines. There was (as currently still) need for greater study in antiquity of the concept of frontiers as well as their real outline on the ground.”¹³⁰

However, he was historically obliged to accept the Rhine and the Danube as Rome's natural frontier and to regard the German and the British *limites* both as territorial boundaries and as military barricades of the Roman Empire, long before the advent of the nation-state.¹³¹ Febvre's legacy was perpetuated by Albert Sorel

¹²⁴ Korinman 1990:273; Weigert 1942:226; Parker 1985:58. Ratzel 1882:115-19; Semple 1911:44-5. Semple states in the introduction that her adaptation of Ratzel's *Anthropo-geographie* had been read and approved by Ratzel. Whittaker 2004:186, 189.

¹²⁵ Montesquieu's school.

¹²⁶ Febvre 1922:325-31; Allières 1980:70.

¹²⁷ Nordman 1998:436.

¹²⁸ Lapradelle 1928:55-7; Allières 1980:42-3; Febvre 1922:336.

¹²⁹ Despite the negation of his ancestor's convictions, Febvre's target was Friedrich Ratzel, whose name appears on the first and last page of Febvre 1922.

¹³⁰ Febvre in Burke 1973:215; Y. Lacoste introduction to Korinman 1990:v.

¹³¹ Whittaker 2004:186.

and his disciple Paul Vidal de la Blache,¹³² who exploited the victorious end of WWI as an opportunity to once again reference Roman frontiers and Germans.¹³³ Again, France was approximated to Gaul in terms of its physical extent, its borders matching those of its forerunner as it shared the same fate.¹³⁴ Their main question focused on “how the Roman Empire had fallen to or had survived the barbarian invasion over three centuries”.¹³⁵

Practical experience in India led British scholars to question key assumptions about the Roman Empire’s frontiers. Some – for instance – pinpointed the Balkan area as one the most complex in Europe, and likewise a constant cause of preoccupation for the Romans.¹³⁶ Others – like those from Davies – verged on the absurd, who declared that “Rome fell because her dykes were not strong enough to hold back the flood of barbarian inroads”.¹³⁷ Contradicting himself, he also asserts that the ‘Barbarians’ would have been able to cross the Rhine definitively only in 406 AD, when the frozen river permitted *en masse* to break through to the Empire.¹³⁸

¹³² Lacoste introduction to Korinman 1990:xiii; cf. Vidal de la Blache 1903:263. The first was the teacher of almost all French diplomats; the second is regarded as the father of French geography. Vidal de la Blache, who was working in the recently founded nursery for French diplomats, the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques*, under Albert Sorel. Sorel himself was a substantial authority on the frontiers of France, important enough to be cited by Marshal Foch and Georges Clemenceau in the border negotiations of 1919.

¹³³ Just as the theories expressed by Ratzel were manipulated by Hitler and his officials, Vidal de la Blanche was later used by General de Gaulle in the reorganisation of French borders after WWII. Despite keeping a portrait of Arminius beside that of Bismarck in the *Arbeitszimmer* of the Chancellery, Hitler thought that Arminius had been the commander of the Third Roman Legion; Hitler and Bormann 1988:486.

¹³⁴ Vidal de la Blache 1903: “*On répète volontiers que la France, comme la Gaule, s’est assise a cette place en vertu du développement naturel de ses destinées*”.

¹³⁵ Which is roughly different from Gibbon’s (1776) reasons “why the Roman Empire had fallen”.

¹³⁶ Holdich 1916:289, 500-6; 1918:9. He claimed a process of peace for the Balkan area, foreshadowing the cause of WWI. The weakness of Holdich’s (1916:165-4) Roman history is evident when he claimed that the Antonine Wall in Scotland had been built in AD 80 by Tacitus (*sic!*). A contemporary study by Fawcett (1918:92-8) suggested a possible solution in the Balkans might be to deport minority populations/ethnic cleansing, no less. The irony is not lost on us when he suggested some international force should be organised “backed by the sword” in order to allow Serbia to form a united Slav state “with a great future before her”.

¹³⁷ Davies 1932:6.

¹³⁸ However, new scholarship seems to show that the idea that barbarians would not dare to cross natural frontiers, such as rivers, except when frozen, is an old *topos*. Hornstein 1957:154-61.

1.1.6 The modern vision: breaking-up with old theories, new visions

The US school had developed different perspectives, even long before the turning point of the WWI. Ellen Semple – one of Ratzel’s disciples – labelled her theory as “The law of the natural growth of states”, after which frontier zones “removed the sharp edge of cultural antagonism”.¹³⁹ Focussing his attention on Greek colonisation, Turner altered common perceptions of borders.¹⁴⁰ The frontier was rather a ‘state of mind’ that created the constant tendency to expand – an unstable zone, an open gateway without a closed boundary or juridical limit.¹⁴¹ Lattimore represents the last evolutionary stage of the traditional view of the role of frontiers. He deconstructed the British experience in India and the frontiers of the Roman Empire: the scientific, rational frontier of Curzon’s was deemed as fantasy.¹⁴² Nevertheless, he conceded that the Romans, like the Greeks (and the Chinese), may have had an ideological view of a *limite de civilisation*.¹⁴³ An imperial boundary, he stated, was not solely concerned with keeping out barbarians, but represented the optimum growth of one particular society.¹⁴⁴ The national borders became a compromise between the range of conquest and the economy of rule.¹⁴⁵ However,

¹³⁹ Semple 1911:229-30 and her later work, where history and geography are linked to each other (Semple 1932).

¹⁴⁰ C.A. Beard, cited by Hofstadter 1969:48. Cf. also Turner 1920 (preface quoted by Villard 1972): “The significance of the frontiers in American history”, which was said to have had “a more profound influence on thought about American history than any other essay or volume ever written on the subject”. Heinrich Himmler not only ordered a facsimile edition of Tacitus’ *Germania* to be made from the earliest known manuscript, the *Codex Aesinas*, but he also used his SS commandos to raid and steal the original.

¹⁴¹ The American expansionism with a continuous frontier-line was compared to “the ever retreating Great West”, once the Greeks crossed the Mediterranean. Turner 1938:83; Lepore 1989:66, n.19.

¹⁴² “That which was politically conceived as a sharp edge was persistently spread by the ebb and flow of history into a broad and vague margin” (Lattimore 1940:238). Lattimore 1940: *introduction*. Hofhauser declared Lattimore to be the outstanding political geographer of his day; Weigert 1942:12, 146.

¹⁴³ Lattimore 1940; 1962.

¹⁴⁴ Lattimore 1940:238-9.

¹⁴⁵ This refers to the description of the transformation of China, which was affected by increasingly assimilated nomads along the frontier. Lattimore’s launch pad was the remarkable study ‘The Inner Asian Frontiers of China’ (1940), which he broadened into a frontier theory through a series of subsequent papers (Lattimore 1940, 1962; cf Whittaker 1997, *passim*, esp. 85-6). His theory derived entirely from personal experience as a traveller along the Inner Mongolian and Turkestan frontier, as well as a political adviser to Chiang Kai-Chek. An international ‘bordering concept’ was always a broad zone, a compromise between the economically agrarian society within and the pastoral society beyond the border. The great nomad conquests of China, furthermore, came not from the open high

the long and contiguous chain of topics and points of view – which connected past and present – was about to be severed.¹⁴⁶ The necessity in recognising and mapping borders became a political issue, so that international controversies could be avoided or solved. The Treatise on International Borders (1945) concisely and incisively stated: “Boundaries and boundary problems have undergone great changes. (...) Even a century and a half ago the international boundary picture bore little resemblance to that of today. In Asia, there were few treaties or other definite lines, but only fluctuating limits of various kingdoms. (...) European boundary concepts have proliferated until they now extend to nearly all.”¹⁴⁷

The early stage of the bordering practice and demarcation saw rapid precision as it was employed to provide correct, definitive and mainly enduring boundaries to avoid local and international disputes. In the early 1960s, studies on bordering practices were predominantly focused on mapping the demarcation lines which formed the political borders. Developments of new technologies and sophisticated detection devices such as the *Global Positioning System* (GPS) and its application through *Geographic Information Systems* (GIS) imagery progressively led to an extreme precision in setting, drawing and delimiting of borders.¹⁴⁸ This method of identifying borders is now universally recognised and politically accepted, with few exceptions, when disputes arise between two states.¹⁴⁹ This process, strictly linked with the mapping of borders, has also led to an overall imaginary stereotype, due to the overlapping of maps with the environmental reality. As a consequence of this, the bordering concepts partially shares the similar and simple definition of a line.¹⁵⁰ This line representing a bordering concept can be traced on maps, can be assumed and,

stepped but from the borderlands, where the margins between the extremes of the centre and the exterior were ‘contaminated’ during periods of stability.

¹⁴⁶ Whittemore Boggs 1945: vi.

¹⁴⁷ Whittemore Boggs 1945: vi.

¹⁴⁸ Computer hardware development spurred by nuclear weapon research led to general-purpose computer “mapping” applications by the early 1960s. See Fitzgerald 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Claussen 2009:257; Sumner 2004; Prakash Sharma 1976. For instance, in order to remain in an historical-archaeological context, a mapping survey in October 1991 showed that the body of the chalcolithic mummy found in the *Ötztal* (Ötz valley) in the Alps was located 92.56 meters inside Italian territory rather than Austrian. The result was achieved following the geodetic coordinates (46°46’44”N 10°50’23”E / 46.77889°N 10.83972°E) and since 1998 it has been on display at the South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology in Bolzano, Alto Adige, Italy. Information taken from the website of the STMA (= South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology).

¹⁵⁰ Boundary is defined as “a line which marks the limits of an area”, whilst a border is considered as “a line separating two countries, administrative divisions, or other areas” (OED 2010).

in some cases, becomes real and effective in transitional areas such as dividing walls and customs houses. The two main consequences of this are: a) from here onward, a bordering concept or practice is now associated with a line, which is intangible and materially “is visible – in exaggerated fashion – only on maps”;¹⁵¹ b) the progress made in deconstructing and reconsidering the concept of frontier-as-line was halted, as this concept once again became the status quo.

Lattimore’s influence provided European historians with new instruments of comparison for the reinterpretation of Roman imperial history.¹⁵² However, the scholars, instead of approaching the problem through a scientific study from the beginning of Rome’s history – as I will do –, explored different areas of study related to the bordering practices. This process led scholars to entertain the Roman perception of bordering practices, without completely grasping their meaning. This cultural attitude has been recognised as overtaking the materialistic sense of the frontier: “Not only a waterway... not only did a palisade isolate the (Barbarians) ... but the frontier line was at the same time a line of demarcation between two fundamentally different realms of thought.”¹⁵³ Historical and geographical studies contradicted the old ‘theory’ that Roman expansion was restricted by ‘natural’ or ‘linear boundaries’ such as rivers or walls.¹⁵⁴ The landscape perspective led to what was called the ‘ludicrous misunderstanding’ that Augustus’ expansionist drive to the Elbe was in defence of the line of the Rhine frontier.¹⁵⁵

Social and cultural constructions of historical and political frontiers were removed from the focus of research at this time, despite the significance of borders in the representation of power. The frontier became “a process rather than a fixed

¹⁵¹ Van Gennep 1909:15.

Bibliography on maps in Roman world: Talbert 2007; Talbert 2008; Trimble 2008.

¹⁵² See, for example Williams 1996:670, describing Hun spatial identity – “The system of outer walls was never a permanent or tidy barrier separating mobile herders from sedentary farmers. The imposing barricades functioned more like a screen than an envelope, because they allowed for economic and cultural exchange. (on) the edge of two soil zones. The walls clearly served as a visible ideological marker of domesticated space...”

¹⁵³ Alföldi 1952:1; Whittaker 1997:8.

¹⁵⁴ On the primitive and sacred character of linear boundaries, see Lapradelle 1928:18-19; Van Gennep 1909:15-25, for the concept of linear boundary: Foucher 1986:63-97, Lapradelle 1928:20-25.

¹⁵⁵ Rice Holmes 1931:2.164-5; Wells 1972:152; Whittaker 1994:3.

geographical region".¹⁵⁶ More importantly, henceforth the frontier was a source of continual adaptation.¹⁵⁷ Archaeologists shifted the arguments towards symbolism and ideology, due to the evidence gained by intense excavations of hundreds of imperial forts across Europe, Africa and the Near East. Archaeology revolutionised the flow of information, and the focus of interest shifted from where the frontiers were located to what function they served, changing the terms of the debate. They could, in other words, be studied both objectively and subjectively.¹⁵⁸ Theories on borders and boundaries were suddenly put aside to make room for the concept of frontier, supported by the 'post-processual' archaeology.¹⁵⁹ Finally, scholars rightly concluded that frontiers were imprecise, and more 'zonal' than linear.¹⁶⁰

The majority of the remains of frontiers and their discoveries were mostly from the period of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and profound¹⁶¹ but disparate changes were taking place within this discipline.¹⁶² It was inevitable that similarities and differences were going to form, as scholars undertook parallel but independent studies comparing the works of ancient authors such as Eutropius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Procopius with excavation data and cultural differences across modern state frontiers.¹⁶³ Within many of these studies, the written evidence was taken at face value, with the archaeological outcomes confirming in detail the Roman record of defence policy. Most historians began to rely wholly on archaeological analysis and the field of *Limesforschung* became a sort of annual institutional meeting. In spite of these advances, early surveys and archaeological

¹⁵⁶ It is a quotation of Turner in one of his letters dated to 1920s, cited by Worster 1987:154; cf. See Nichols 1986.

¹⁵⁷ Powell *et al.* 1983:4; Guichonnet & Raffestin 1974:36; Papagno 1987:77. Whittaker 2004:190

¹⁵⁸ Papagno 1987; 64; Alliès 1980:32-3.

¹⁵⁹ See i.e. Barth 1969: 10-38; Lightfoot, Kent & Martinez 1995.

¹⁶⁰ Guichonnet & Raffestin 1974:16.

¹⁶¹ Recently scholars came to question the traditional concept of frontier: Schneider 1993:51-68; Drinkwater 1996:20-30; Berend 1999:54-72; Abulafia 2002:1-34. See also Pohl 2001:11-8, and Pohl 2001:17-41. Medievalists were the first to appropriate Turner's approach. As early as the 20th century, Thompson (1913:490-504) applied the frontier thesis to the study of German medieval frontiers; cf. Lewis 1958:475-83. The most remarkable application of a fundamentally 'Turnerian' approach in recent studies is Bartlett 1993. For Roman frontiers, see Dyson 1974:277-83. By contrast, historians of Byzantium were slow in responding to this challenge, but the situation is rapidly changing. See Papadopoulos 1975:415-19; Stephenson 2000; Curta 2005a:4.

¹⁶² Webb's (1953) thesis had a great echo among historians of the classical and medieval world. Green & Perlman 1985:3-13; Lightfoot, Kent & Martinez 1995:471-92. See also the interesting comments of Bonnie Urciuoli 1995:525-46. See Hodder 1991.

¹⁶³ Willems 1989:33-45; Chappell 1993:267-75; Miller 1993:277-85; Olster 1996:93-101; Curta 2005b:335-50; Wood 2001:209-18; Curta 2005a:4-5.

excavations confirmed that Roman frontiers were not – politically or militarily, – rigid barriers:¹⁶⁴ the *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*¹⁶⁵ explained this point, giving rise to harsh debates among ancient historians.¹⁶⁶

In the late 1980s, a considerable amount of archaeological and field data were available and this, combined with the diversity of chronological and geographical focus within contributors' research papers, opened interdisciplinary and comparative dialogues and new scenarios in the study of frontiers.¹⁶⁷ An attempt to give a modern reading of the Roman frontier, with excellent results, has been undertaken by Whittaker.¹⁶⁸ The theorised Roman *limes* illuminating the main points of the argument, which assumed the presence of a 'limit' of the Roman Empire and focussed attention on a potential absence of bordering practices in the Early Empire, and a strong presence in the Late Empire. Detailed studies could and still do take this approach much further; at various points in time, barriers broke into pieces, each with its own history of utter destruction. Inevitably, however, the strength of emphasis on the military aspects of the frontier tended to limit the focus of attention to only those details around forts and within them.¹⁶⁹

At the present time, publications on frontiers have begun examining the Roman territoriality and its spatiality, often comparing it with the ever-changing European situation – both political and economic – in order to grasp the political evolution of the city.¹⁷⁰ Different views are held on how to approach and study the 'non-synonymous words': e.g., vehement attacks have been made on the idea that the Roman *limes* was a frontier line.¹⁷¹ The orthodox perception of Roman frontiers,

¹⁶⁴ Concept expressed firstly by Webb (1953:31), affirming that a frontier is not "a line to stop at, but an area inviting entrance", therefore not a boundary. However, the apex of this process was touched with Lattimore in his masterpiece, where the frontier, still an immense barrier, assumed new features, becoming elastic and receptive in its structure, but always ready to repel continuously the invasions.

¹⁶⁵ Luttwak 1976.

¹⁶⁶ Some of the debate can be followed in Wheeler 1993; Isaac 1990:410-13. Trouset 1987; Okun 1989; cf. Powell *et al.* 1983:4-5.

¹⁶⁷ Curta 2005a:6

¹⁶⁸ Whittaker 1997.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. Bülow & Alexandra 1999.

¹⁷⁰ Note, for example, Austria's enthusiasm for the European Union as a means of embracing ethnically diverse links; Barker 1998. Italy established '*Euroregioni*' (Eurodioceses or euroregions) as a solution to age-old problems of frontiers in the Tyrol and Istria; Strassoldo 1998.

¹⁷¹ E.g., Haubrichs & Schneider 1993; Power & Standen 1999; Pohl, Wood & Reimitz 2001; Abulafia & Berend 2002. Berend (2002:201) argues that "on a conceptual level, even if not in a practical

which influenced early modern European ideology is now in turn being transformed by the reality of European history. Spatiality and ‘line negationism’ were possibly inspired by comparisons with the recent developing situation in Europe.¹⁷² The collapse of the Iron Curtain forced scholars to redefine borders from a perspective different to that of ‘military control’. The political changes of the last twenty-five years – the disaggregation of the Soviet Union and its political aftermath – has arguably seen a shift from ‘border studies’ to ‘boundary studies’. The Yugoslavian Wars and their aftermath moved toward ethnic solutions, revealing a repeatedly demonstrated instability of the Balkan area, as the tragic events in Bosnia and Kosovo have shown. The debate has moved away from the study of the evolution and changes of the territorial line to the border, now perceived as a spatial element, through which socio-spatial differences are communicated. In other words, more attention has been paid to the space rather than the boundary itself through the analysis of comparisons between different (overlapping) contexts, such as: political, environmental, linguistic and especially cultural.¹⁷³

1.1.7 Conclusions

Just twenty years ago, when Western Europe was discussing the abolition of economic and political borders, the conference of Saarbrücken opened with ‘the concept of border’ which, despite being a topical issue, saw several contributors referring back to Roman history.¹⁷⁴ The conference represented a watershed, in which the issue of borders and boundaries was directly addressed, reversing – very slowly – the process ‘from borders to frontiers’ back to ‘from frontiers to borders’.¹⁷⁵ Frontiers and boundaries were now perceived as historically less permanent and geographically more complex than once thought, without any necessary evolution

institutional sense, the frontiers of the kingdom could be, and in some contexts were, conceived of as linear in the Middle Ages”.

¹⁷² Note, for example, Prescott 1987:45, or Foucher 1986:75, asserting that, unlike the Great Wall of China, the Roman walls in Britain and Germany were closed frontiers in a system of defence, despite citing Lattimore.

¹⁷³ Van Houtum 2005:1; Hettlage and Deger 2006.

¹⁷⁴ Haubrichs & Schneider 1993; Whittaker 2004:191-3.

¹⁷⁵ Schneider 1993:51-68.

from one to the other.¹⁷⁶ From here, research has been pushed in two directions: a) the simplification of the bordering concept and practice as a 'delimitation line' began to be overturned, and b) the identification of borders has been bypassed through the exploration of new perspectives. Scholars have altered their field studies from the concept of line to that of plane, analysing the content (space) of the borders rather than its delimiting container (boundaries).¹⁷⁷

The Roman *limes* ceased to be a linear frontier; instead of being understood as a fortified system of erected structures, the study of the distribution of forts and other fortified sites along or across natural frontiers focussed instead on the network of roads which they created.¹⁷⁸ Archaeology shows clearly that they were neither restraints to expansion nor defensive barriers, but lines of communication and supply. The break-up of the 'frontier-as-barrier' concept, as expressed by Procopius, was now viewed as a literary construct and an element of propaganda.¹⁷⁹ Badie made use of Roman history to legitimise his argument: a multi-ethnic, supra-territorial power must figure somewhere as a solution in the search for new solidarities.¹⁸⁰ Frontiers become less important than acculturation, and the notion of territoriality also fell out of favour. The *limes* turned into a channel of communication and exchange of information between populations living on either side; a deep zone including the supporting provinces and, in some cases, even territories over the frontier. Natural frontiers came under attack: earlier, as natural barriers, they separated one world from another; now they had become vital arteries of cultural dialogue.¹⁸¹ They, with political frontiers, were key elements in the 'creation' – as opposed to 'separation' – of ethnic groups.¹⁸² That was the place,

¹⁷⁶ Lapradelle 1928:9-11; Sahlins 1989:3. The point is made by Paolo Prodi's introduction to Ossola, Raffestin, & Ricciardi 1987:13, and by Papagno 1987:77.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Talbert & Brodersen 2004.

¹⁷⁸ Much of this work of revision was done by Isaac 1990. See also Miller 1996:162. For the meaning of *limes*, see Isaac 1988:125-47.

¹⁷⁹ Curta 2005a:2.

¹⁸⁰ Badie 1995.

¹⁸¹ Whittaker 2004:191.

¹⁸² Lee 1993. For a similar approach, see Hardt 1991:155-67.

area or zone, for the construction of cultural identity and the process of political mobilisation.¹⁸³

This section has provided both the scholarship approach to the study of ancient bordering practice, and a consistent stimulus for reflection – a sort of launch pad for this investigation. I undertook this introductory and retrospective walkthrough in order to understand the disputes and differences linked with the diverse national perspectives, terminologies, acceptations and problems encountered.¹⁸⁴ [Table 2]

LANGUAGE TERMS	GERMANY	ITALY	FRANCE	ENGLAND	US
<i>hóros</i> (gr.) <i>péras</i> (gr.)	<i>Horizont</i>	<i>orizzonte</i>		horizon	Horizon
<i>limes, limen</i> (lat.)		<i>limite</i>	<i>limite</i>	Limit	Limit
<i>finis, confinium</i> (lat.)		<i>confine</i>	<i>confines</i>	confine	Confine
<i>terma</i> (gr.) <i>terminus</i> (lat.)		<i>termine</i>	<i>terme</i>		
<i>borna</i> (lat.)			<i>borne</i>	border, boundary, bound	border, boundary, bound
<i>granica</i> (slav.)	<i>Grenze</i>				
<i>Macha/Marka</i> (germ./got.) <i>Mörk</i> (germ. = <i>Wald</i>)	<i>Mark</i>	<i>marca</i>	<i>marche</i>	<i>marche</i>	<i>Marche</i>
<i>frons</i> (lat.)	<i>Schranke</i>	<i>frontiera</i>	<i>frontière</i>	frontier (1-3)	frontier (1-4)

Table 2 – Terminology derivate from ancient language as reflected into modern western languages (adapted from Böckler 2007:30).

In particular TABLE 2 shows: a) the translation or adaptation of ancient terms into different languages; b) the list of acceptations and definitions given to the ‘non synonymous words’; c) the low consideration given to the term *finis*; d) the very specific definition in modern terminology. The assimilation between frontiers/*limes* and borders has caused several problems, which it is necessary to bear in mind during the course of the study: a) the word frontier/*limes* is the most commonly used

¹⁸³ Curta 2005a:2-3, 5. More recently, the pressure exerted by wandering populations upon the *limes* in the later Roman Empire finds a striking analogy with the European Union facing similar pressures by immigrants from Africa, the Middle East and the Balkans, demonised as the new ‘barbarians’. See King 1998. The same notion is expressed in Rufin 1991.

¹⁸⁴ The need to have a clear definition of terminology is not just an English-speaking issue: cf. Böckler 2006:39-44.

term in the hierarchy of the bordering concepts;¹⁸⁵ b) potential developments in the concept of bordering have been left aside, neglecting the term *finis*;¹⁸⁶ c) authors and scholars have a tendency to equate the frontier with geographical elements and link them to the 'scientific frontier' as defensive mechanisms; d) the exploitation of the concept of frontier for political ends; e) the fact that modern studies have focussed their attention mainly on the Roman Empire and not on the Republic;¹⁸⁷ f) the lack of a comprehensive and overall study of the notion of 'non-synonymous' categories according to their original meanings; g) up to the invention of GIS / GPS, the superimposing of natural features with 'bordering concepts'.

1.2 *Finis*, the term

This section is divided into three main subsections: the first explains the linguistic implication of the word, etymology, translation and features;**[1.2.1]** the second part presents the raw data based on a quantitative and qualitative assessment, from which it is possible to draw some conclusions;¹⁸⁸ **[1.2.2]** the third part is dedicated to the context in which the word and concept of *finis* are embedded, the Augustan Era in which Livy lived.**[1.2.3]**

By providing a general definition of *finis* both from the ancient and modern point of view.¹⁸⁹ This analysis will facilitate a reconstructive process leading to the last section, in which I will attempt to rebuild the development of the term within the missing books of *AUC*. By cross-referencing the data between the two sections, it will also be possible to present the data in a more graphic format with the exploitation of graphs and charts, allowing me to visualise some major points of the

¹⁸⁵ The concept of frontier has been taken for granted and assimilated to border and boundary. However, still in late sources the term *finis* is used and in some cases preferred to *limes*. A 5th century manual chose the term *finis* to indicate the frontier road line (cf. Ps.-Boethius, *Grom. Vet.* 401.8L: *viae militares finem faciunt*) and the Justinian's decree ordered the restitution of the African *finis* in the 6th century (Cod. Just. 1.17-4). Cf. Bowersock, Lamont Brown and Grabar 1999:543.

¹⁸⁶ Only a couple of times has a comparison between *limes* and *finis* been made: Bowersock, Lamont Brown and Grabar 1999:543 and Drijvers 2009:20.

¹⁸⁷ Dyson 1985 is an exception to the chronic lack of assessments and studies on the Republic.

¹⁸⁸ The data and the results of this assessment need to be compared to and superimposed upon the internal subdivision of *AUC*.

¹⁸⁹ The guidelines for the methodological research have been provided by Sini 1991:47.

development of the conceptualised use of *finis*. Through this assessment, I shall highlight the usage of *finis* and the importance of the visualisation of the surrounding material environment. This methodology is essential to help identify historical evidence of different occurrences of *finis* offered by Livy, not all of which will be explicit. This is because his topographical references often embody related areas, in which *finis* may be detected through comparisons with other passages.

1.2.1 The linguistic nature and character of *finis*

Investigating the etymology of the term *finis* is somewhat of a challenge, as the origins of the word seem to be quite confusing.¹⁹⁰ The oldest etymology of *finis* derives from Isidore of Seville in the 6th century AD, who connects *finis* with the word *funis* (rope).¹⁹¹ The word *finis* is also too often and sometimes exclusively associated with land properties¹⁹² and with boundary signs (*termini*).¹⁹³ Probably, 'its primitive character' and the evanescent value of the *finis* justify the intimate connection between *finis* and *terminus* (which means both 'land marker' and divinity¹⁹⁴) as Varro¹⁹⁵ and Paulus Diaconus¹⁹⁶ have shown. The late texts put

¹⁹⁰ *finis* [m. *i* (acc.pl. *fineis* in inscr., abl.sg. *finī* Pl.=)] (Pl.+; f. on Acc.+). The etymology is disputed. Ernout and Meillet (1979:236-7) connect *finis* with *figo*; Walde & Hoffman (1954:1.502-3) link it with *findo* instead, reconstructing **fīg-s-ni-* 'driven in, implanted', as referring to a material boundary marker (a standing stone, a pole). Another possibility would be **b^hiH-ni-* to **b^hiH-* 'to hit, strike', especially in view of *perfinis* 'you must strike'. Bammesberger (1990) connects PGm. **baina-* could go back to **b^hoⁱH-n-o-*, Lat. *finis* could reflect **b^hiH-n-i-*. See Vaan 2008:222; Pokorny 1959:243-4; Leumann 1977:343 see *figō*, *perfinis*. For overall arguments on *finis* cfr. Leonhard 1909:6.2325; Bauer 1927:col. 788; Walde & Hoffman 1954:1.503; Ernout & Meillet 1979:237. The term *finis* is also attested Gradenwitz *et al.*1909:col. 133.

¹⁹¹ Is. *Siv. Orig.* 15.14.1, links *finis* with *funis*: "*Fines dicti eo quod agri funiculis sint divisi*". The title of the paragraph is '*de finibus agrorum*'. Probably, Isidorus got the information from the literary tradition of Agrimensores; Fontaine (1959:402, n. 3) and more recently Behrends (1985:88, n. 87) support the notion that Isidore preserved "*les restes d'art gramatique*".

¹⁹² E.g. Cels. *Dig.* 41.2.18.2. Schanbaker 2004:428.

¹⁹³ The taking out of the *terminus* from the ground was considered *sacer* (= course), s. Paul. Fest. 505.20-1L. Schanbaker 2004:428.

¹⁹⁴ On the first aspect of *terminus* as 'land marker' see Rykwert 1976:130 ff.; on the cult of *Terminus* see Wissowa 1912:136-7; Dumézil 1974:210-4; esp. Piccaluga 1974:99-107.

¹⁹⁵ Cfr. Varro *L.L.* 5.21: "*Hinc fines agrorum termini, quod eae partis propter limitare iter maxime teruntur*". Cf. Isidore *Orig.* 15.14.3: "*Termini dicti quod terrae mensuras distinguunt atque declarant. His enim testimonia finium intelleguntur, et agrorum intentio et certamen aufertur*".

¹⁹⁶ Paul. Fest. 505L.: "*Termino sacra faciebant, quod in eius tutela fines agrorum esse putabant. Denique Numa Pompilius statuit, eum, qui terminum exarasset, et ipsum et boves sacros esse*".) and Plutarchus (*Num.* 16.1-2: Πρώτον δὲ φασὶ καὶ Πίστεως καὶ Τέρμονος ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν Πίστιν ὄρκον ἀποδείξαι Ῥωμαίοις μέγιστον, ᾧ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Τέρμων ὄρος ἂν τις εἴη, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν περιορισμούς, νῦν μὲν ἔμψυχα, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἀνάιμακτος ἦν ἡ θυσία, Νομᾶ φιλοσοφῆσαντος ὡς χρῆ τὸν ὄριον θεῶν

emphasis on the regulation of the *finis* between private landowners.¹⁹⁷ Although they do not provide the earliest meaning of the word – leaving the origins of *finis* still uncertain – later authors such as Isidore add a physical description and interesting features, crucial to my study:

*Finium regundorum actio dicta eo, quod per eam regantur fines utriusque, ne dissipentur, dummodo non angustiore quinque pedum loco ea controversia sit.*¹⁹⁸

The action of *finis* drawing (*fines regundi*) is so called because through it the *fines* of each party may be drawn (*regere*), lest they be blurred, as long as the disagreement does not concern a place narrower than five feet.

Although Isidore lived more than five centuries after Livy, his is not a late construction: at least one feature of *finis* was already present in the law of Twelve Tables.¹⁹⁹ According to the surviving text in the Twelve Tables,²⁰⁰ the *finis* between two properties had a ridge width of five feet for each side, which could not be acquired²⁰¹ and called *arcifinium*.²⁰² As we will see, this last concept is key to the present study, in order to understand the acceptance(s) of *finis* and its use in Livy. However, it is not without controversy. Scholars such as Leonhard have expressed doubt as to whether a *finis* should be considered as a standing line or a strip of land five feet wide.²⁰³ Indeed, the issue of whether or not *finis* was a built strip, a cultivable area, or a common area to be ploughed, was already an area of debate

εἰρήνης φύλακα καὶ δικαιοσύνης μάρτυν ὄντα φόνου καθαρὸν εἶναι) pinpoint that King Numa would have introduced in Rome the cult of *Terminus*, dedicating his first temple. However, Livy (1.21.4) mentions just the cult of *Fides*. About the temple of god *Terminus* and on his celebrations – the *Terminalia*. See Dion. Hal. 2.74.2 ff.; Ovid *Fast.* 2.639 ff.; Mac Cornack 1979:239-41; Sabbatucci 1988:74-8.

¹⁹⁷ The *finis* adjustment suit (*actio finium regundorum*) was an action *in personam* (against an individual) and yet it was also *pro vindicatio rei* (an action concerning the handing over of property). It concerned in particular rural properties, occasionally also large gardens in Rome (*controversia de fine*), as well as unequal allocations in assigned areas (*controversia de modo or de loco*). See Frontin. *Contr. Agr.* 1.9.2; Hygin. *Gen. Contr.* 1.126L; Paul. *Dig.* 10.1.1-2; Ulp. *Dig.* 10.1.4.10; Mod. *Dig.* 10.1.7. Cf. Leonhard 1909:2325; Schanbaker 2004:428-9.

¹⁹⁸ Isid. *Orig.* 5.25.11.

¹⁹⁹ Tab. VII.2-6 = Riccobono 1941:48-9; Sini 1991:53. About the *actio finium regundorum*: in the age of decemvirs see esp. Behrends 1985:92-4; in the Early-Middle Republic: Gaius *Dig.* 10.1.13; Paul. *Dig.* 10.1.1,.4; Ulp. *Dig.* 10.1.2; *Codex Th.* 2.26.5; *Inst. Iust.* 4.17.6; more generally see also: Humbert 1896; Leonhard 1909:2385-87; Sargenti 1959; Talamanca, Bellomo & Magazzù 1961; Ciulei 1964; Broggin 1968.

²⁰⁰ Tab. VII.4. Schanbaker 2004:428.

²⁰¹ S. *Usucapio*, Cic. *Leg.* 1.12.55-6. Schanbaker 2004:428.

²⁰² *Ager arcifinius*: land on the periphery of the roman territory, which was occupied informally. It was unsurveyed, with irregular boundaries usually demarcated by natural features. The name may be derived from *arceo* in the sense of 'warding off' the enemy, or from *arcus* in the sense of 'wavy' or 'curving'. This land was sometimes identified with (*ager*) *occupatorius*. Cf. Campbell 2000:499.

²⁰³ Leonhard 1909:2326; cf. Sini 1991:50.

among Roman authors.²⁰⁴ The ancient definitions of *finis* seem also to be confused among the *agrimensores*: the extremity is a defined line (*extremitas finitima linea est*).²⁰⁵ Schulten proposed that *finis* “*non è un concetto materiale, bensì matematico, al pari della linea e del punto*” (“is not a concrete concept, but a mathematical one, as well as the line and the point”).²⁰⁶ This definition of *finis* as flat line contrasts with both the definition from Isidore of Seville (see above) and that of Hygin, who states that:

de fine si ageretur, quae res intra pedum quinque aut sex latitudinem questionem habet.

about the *finis* we can conclude, that whatever happens between five or six feet of width leads to controversies.²⁰⁷

Although Isidore’s connection between *finis* and *funis* is supported among modern linguists,²⁰⁸ doubts still remain about the primitive, original and concrete features of *finis*.²⁰⁹ Horace considered Silvanus to be the protecting divinity of the *fines*.²¹⁰ As *tutor finium* and *custos* (guardian),²¹¹ Silvanus had the task of defending the realm of agriculture and domestic life from untamed wilds: he was the overseer of boundaries separating the farm from the woods.²¹² From this perspective, the *finis* needed real or material elements to be identified, such as trees or *termini*, which formed the point of this imaginary line, as Varro stresses in his *concepta verba* of the formula made on the *auguraculum capitolinum*.²¹³ [2.2.7; esp. 3.5] There are general features and attributes of the term *finis*, which will be relevant for my investigation. In the next section I consider the more specific features of *finis*.

²⁰⁴ Leonhard 1909:2326.

²⁰⁵ Frontin. 41.15L; cf. Hygin. 126.9-11.

²⁰⁶ Schulten 1922; see also Cipriano 1983:54.

²⁰⁷ Hygin. 126.4; cf. Front. (39.24) writes about the *Lex Mamilia* referring to ‘*fini latitudinem*’. Leonhard 1909:2326.

²⁰⁸ Bréal 1909:137; Niedermann 1931:5-8.; Bertoldi 1948. Cacciari (2007:277) considers the provenience of *finis* from *figere*.

²⁰⁹ Ernout & Meillet (1979:236) affirm that: “*Il est difficile de dire ce que finis désignait primitivement, mais le caractère matériel de finis n'est pas douteux*”. See again Bauer 1927:788; Leonhard 1909:2325.

²¹⁰ Hor. *Epod.* 2.21-2: “*ua muneretur te, Priape, et te ater Silane, tutor finium*”.

²¹¹ CIL VI.310, 640; CIL XI.7560; Panciera 1991:no. 246 (Rome); cf. Dorcey 1992:159.

²¹² Silvanus as Latin god and protector of boundaries: Preller 1858:349; Peter 1915:846; Domaszewski 1902:7; Jensen 1962:22; Ross 1961; Dilke 1971:98-9; Piccaluga 1974:146-7, 251; Palmer 1978:222; Dorcey 1992:22-24.

²¹³ Cf. Varro *L.L.* 7.8-9.

I have shown a lack of extensive studies of the term *finis*, and how it differs from other bordering concepts.[1.3] The primary modern definitions given for *finis* come from the philological and philosophical field. Leo has proposed an etymological similarity between the term *finis* and the Italian word ‘border’ (*confine*), stressing the fact that the Italian word ‘indicates something “that has an end (a limit) in common”’.²¹⁴ Richardson provides a ‘capable notion’ of the term *finis* as ‘frontier’. He adds to one of the main issues in this research, by saying that this notion has a “wide spectrum of significance, meaning and context”,²¹⁵ though he does not go on to explore this spectrum. Da Costa,²¹⁶ like Richardson,²¹⁷ also seems to connect the term *finis* to the Roman provincial boundaries, providing a translation for *finis* (limit) and a contrasting comparison with *limes* (boundary).²¹⁸ The general agreement on its common acceptation or translation is ‘border’ and its related terminology ‘boundary, limit, end’.²¹⁹ Scholars and translators also mainly agree on its meaning of ‘territory’ when used in the plural form.²²⁰ But, in my opinion, this translation renders an ineffective idea of the political and geographical space and confuses the reader. Livy has a specific word for ‘territory’, which is *ager* and which differs from *finis*. Campbell,²²¹ instead, provides a definition from translation, which is not satisfactory, but adds an interesting feature to *finis*: “(Plural) land or territory *within special limits*”. Other acceptations of *finis*, which it is beneficial to compare with Livy’s usage, are: a) legal remedy,²²² b) legal concept,²²³ c) behaviour,²²⁴ sum,²²⁵ amount²²⁶ or end.²²⁷

²¹⁴ Leo 2012: 17 and *introduction*.

²¹⁵ Richardson 2011:1.

²¹⁶ Da Costa 2009.

²¹⁷ Richardson 2011.

²¹⁸ Cacciari (2007:277) has shown this striking dichotomy between *finis* and *limes*; cf. Da Costa 2009:51.

²¹⁹ Schanbaker 2004:427; cf. Williams 2005:83; Tillich:172.

²²⁰ See Bauer 1927. The collective sense of the plural of *finis* is predominant (Caes. BG v. 46. 4: “*ad fines Nerviorum veniat*”; BG v. 54. 2: “*usque ad fines insecuti*”); there is somewhat of a distributive sense in Cic. *Phil.* 13. 14: “*fines imperi*”. The singular in the sense of “border” is usually the defined singular (Liv. 7.19.9: “*ad finem Tusculanum*”; cf. Liv. 38. 15.10 and Cic. *Phil.* 6.5). For the undefined singular see Bauer 1927:798, s. “*sine fine*”.

²²¹ Campbell 2000:500.

²²² ‘*Actio*’, in figurative sense: *Dig.* 47.4.1.2.

²²³ ‘*Culpa lata*’, *Dig.* 50.16.223.

²²⁴ ‘*Deliberare*’, Gai. *Inst.* 2.164.

²²⁵ Gai. *Inst.* 4.57.

²²⁶ *Dig.* 50.16.124.

²²⁷ ‘*Litium, vitae*’: *Dig.* 41.10.5 pr.; 36.1.67.1. Schanbaker 2004:429; Campbell 2000:500.

In order to understand the basic principles and features of the *finis*, we have to consider that its specific character can be applied to private and public contexts. In other words, the nature of *finis* might be distinguished as being either land delimited by a natural feature or land measured out.²²⁸ The acceptance of *finis* linked with interstate law and occurring as a geo-political limit²²⁹ has remained less considered.²³⁰ The main feature of *arcifinium* is comparable to the concept of *postliminium*²³¹, where the application of *finis* to interstate law will become one of the main concerns of this study. The two Roman concepts above are key elements when they are used by sovereign states informed Roman diplomatic practice. Yet scholars have preferred to set aside the interstate specification of borders – especially ‘shared borders’ – in treaties.²³² What is important to bear in mind is the existence for the Romans of a zonal area, abutted and belonged to the *finis*, representing a key element in this process of investigation.

1.2.2 Collecting data

The detailed work of Schafter has served as the basic template for my data collection methodology.²³³ By analysing Livy’s translation from Ph. Hollands, Schafter arranges the passages of *AUC* by subject and, although his work is limited

²²⁸ Dilke 1971 and Campbell 2000:498.

²²⁹ ‘*Finis provinciae*’, ‘*finis patriae*’: Dig. 1.18.15; 47.18.1.1. Schanbaker 2004:429.

²³⁰ Completely ignored by Leonhard 1909.

²³¹ The concept of postliminium created a ‘grey area’ between allied and client states on the one hand, and foreign and hostile powers on the other. Marcus Antistus Labeo (Dig. 49.15.30) – Livy’s contemporary – asserts that slaves should be understood as having returned by postliminium as soon as they escaped from the enemy and “began to be within the borders of our empire” (*Si id, quod nostrum hostes ceperunt, eius generis est, ut postliminio redire possit: simul atque ad nos redeundi causa profugit ab hostibus et intra fines imperii nostri esse coepit, postliminio redisse existimandum est*). Paulus (Dig. 49.15.19.3) later qualified this view: to be sure, “a person is understood to have returned by postliminium when he enters into our borders, just as a person is lost when he departs our borders”, but “a person should also be understood to have returned by postliminium who comes to an allied or friendly community or an allied or friendly king” (*Postliminio redisse videtur, cum in fines nostros intraverit, sicuti amittitur, ubi fines nostros excessit. sed et si in civi tatem sociam amicamve aut ad regem socium vel amicum venerit, statim postliminio redisse videtur, quia ibi primum nomine publico tutus esse incipiat*).

²³² Ando 2008:505,n.36.: e.g., see Liv. 21.2.7 (“*Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renouauerat populus Romanus ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntisque mediis inter imperia duorum populo rum libertas seruaretur*”) and 34.58.2-3 (describing negotiations between Flaminius and Antiochus, to be contrasted with the conditions imposed after Antiochus’ defeat: 38.38.2-4). For a skeptical position regarding the concept of the border in the debates leading up to the Second Punic War, see Brunt 1990:300.

²³³ Schafter 1910.

to only a few instances, he succeeds in categorising several subjects present in Livy. Besides serving as a template for my investigation, Schafter's work is also useful for other reasons such as: a) common meanings and acceptations of translations found in passages considered in this study; b) analysis of specific categories, applicable to this study; c) provision of interesting elements of analysis, otherwise not considered. The Finnish school also presents an advanced method for data collection, although it is still limited to visual statistics. Kajanto and especially Viljamaa used tables and lists to provide data on the presence of the infinitive in Livy's Books.²³⁴ The procedure I will follow is similar to Viljamaa's, e.g. in highlighting the use of the term *finis* and its derivatives in every Book of *AUC*. However, his method is limited to collection and collation of data, with little explanation given of the practical uses of such lists. [APPENDIX 1] In order to visualise the data in relation to the historical timeline of events in the Livian narration, I will implement this method, then present the data in graphical forms (charts and diagrams).

[APPENDIX 2] A table shows the primary framework for an analytic assessment of the data. In this summary table, the term *finis* is connected with its identifiable features, in order to provide methods for evaluation. Without doubt, Livy uses the term *finis* much more frequently than any other Latin author: the word *finis* appears 372 times – 157 in singular form and 215 in plural.²³⁵ [FIG 3] *Finis* appears in *AUC* in all cases of declension: 53 times as *finis* (nom., gen., voc. sing.), 96 as *finem* (acc. sing), 8 as *fine* (abl. sing.), 120 *fines* (nom., acc., voc. plur.), 24 *finium* (gen. plur.); and 71 *finibus* (dat., abl. plur.).²³⁶ [FIG 4] Moreover, the term appears a further five times (all of them as *fines*) in the '*Periochae*' and once in a fragment.²³⁷ But before analysing the term *finis* as 'land marker', it is necessary to draw a particular distinction: in *AUC*, the term *finis* has chiefly two main acceptations (A and B). Although conceptually part of the same framework, the two acceptations require a distinction. The first acceptation (A) refers to resolution of a temporal event, such as a speech, a pursuit, a war or a day. The second acceptation (B)

²³⁴ See Kajanto 1967; Viljamaa 1983.

²³⁵ As shown in: Packard 1968:615-9.

²³⁶ Packard 1968:615-21.

²³⁷ *Fragmentum in cod. palimps. Uaticano seruatum.*

incorporates the plethora of ‘non-synonymous categories’ in a political, geographical or topographical context. Roughly and summarily this second acceptance might be likened to the translation of boundary, only with different nuances of meaning.²³⁸ *Finis* as defined under category (A) and related to the ‘end of something’ is used by Livy 116 times, always in the singular case. Due to the temporal usage of *finis* in these instances, acceptance (A) has been deemed non-useful for the purpose of this research, which is only concerned with the reconstructive process of identification of the term *finis* as ‘land marker’. In this way, the number of usable instances, defined under category (B), drops to 256, which still leaves a sufficient number of cases to undertake an elaborate and appropriate study. Its translation can be identify with one of the concepts of bordering, but with different shades.[FIG 5, 6]

The second step of the research is to identify and distinguish the acceptance (B) of *finis* under ten different subcategories: (B₁)-(B₁₀). This is necessary due to the broad number of contexts within which Livy uses the term *finis* as ‘land marker’, linking it with geography, topography and natural features. In other words, the ten main subcategories (named B₁-B₁₀) relate directly to the idea of ‘plane’ – in the sense of surrounding space – and ‘line’, as limit of the same space. Before continuing, it is worth reminding ourselves of the geometrical notion of *finis* provided by Shulten, where a mathematical concept is juxtaposed with natural features.²³⁹ These diverse typologies of *finis* (B) have been quantitatively listed as:

<i>FINIS</i> TYPE	DESCRIPTION	N. of CASES
B ₁	NATURAL / ENVIRONMENTAL / GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURE	14
B ₂	DELIMITING SACRED AREAS AS A <i>TEMPLUM</i>	5
B ₃	PART OF THE FETIALS’ RITUAL	9

²³⁸ Although the verb form appears only once (Vitr. 64.20: “*terminavi finitionibus*”, “I defined the limits”), the use of the substantive *terminatio* occurs thirteen times in Vitruvius. In five of these it means ‘limits’ (36.24: *finire terminationibus*, cf. 64.20: *terminavi finitionibus*; and 28.8; 67.20; 112.6; 113.21); ‘end’ in 103.13; ‘terminating point’ in 135.21; ‘boundary’ in 203.5, 232.2; ‘departments’ in 12.8; ‘extremities’ 111.2; ‘rules’ or ‘laws’ in 155.16; ‘scope’ in 32.28. Cf. Morgan 1909:174.

²³⁹ Cf. section 1.3.1.

B ₄	GENERAL BORDERING CONCEPT	81
B ₅	BELONGING TO A POPULATION / ETHNIC GROUP	49
B ₆	BELONGING TO INHABITANTS OF A CITY	34
B ₇	BELONGING TO A GEOPOLITICAL ENTITY / WITH A SPECIFIC NAME	15
B ₈	ROMANUS	11
B ₉	CONNECTED WITH CONCEPTUAL OR EFFECTIVE POWER (<i>IMPERIUM, REGNUM, PROVINCIA, IURIS</i>)	23
B ₁₀	STRONGHOLD, BULWARK, COLONY OR CAMP WORKING AS 'BORDERING CONCEPT'	15

Table 3 – *Fines* B₁-B₁₀: 'labels' and quantitative subdivision.[FIG 7, 8; APPENDIX 2]

However, a given categorisation is not always schematically and strictly applied to one subcategory. In a few cases, the definition of *finis* might fall into more than one category, fluctuating between two or three of them and sharing different labels. In these cases, the exact detection and classification of some *fines* in one category rather than another has been possible through the matching (or mismatching) of different categorisations: the use of singular or plural, the related verbs or the prepositions used. Conversely, sometimes Livy's descriptions related to *fines* are extremely detailed, allowing for a precise classification. The crucial parallels between the term *finis* and territorial elements provided by Livy might also help us, through his terminology, to understand the expansionistic process of Republican Rome and its territorial expansion in sensitive areas.

1.2.3 *Fines* and structure in *AUC*

In this section, I briefly provide an assessment of *AUC*, in order to understand its construction and internal subdivisions. This process is useful for matching these subdivisions within the *AUC* with the observed incidence of the word *finis* throughout the whole text. [FIG 9]Despite the fact that roughly 107 of 142 Books

(75%) of *AUC* have been lost,²⁴⁰ the surviving 35 Books still provide enough material to facilitate a reasonable study.

Livy has been accused of failing to impose a large-scale vision upon his history, contrasting with Polybius' interpretation of historical developments.²⁴¹ This view argues, in its extreme form, that Livy's conception of history is a series of unconnected, isolated scenes, which stress unchanging values.²⁴² Attempts to perceive large-scale unity in *AUC* have been based on the simple recurrence of a single historical topic or on elaborate structural symmetry.²⁴³ Although no reader would notice any unifying structure within *AUC*, Lipovsky has shown that every chapter represents a monadic element by itself.²⁴⁴ The chapters seem to be arranged in a 'crescendo' of narration, which usually leads to a final event of immense magnitude in Roman history. Lipovsky argues that Book 1 asserts the greatness of Rome and anticipates the themes of the other books.²⁴⁵ Ogilvie has extended this conception (Burck's view), assigning to every chapter a single skill within them: *libertas* – Book 2; *modestia* – Book 3; *moderatio* – Book 4; *pietas* – Book 5.²⁴⁶ It is reasonably clear that Livy composed his work episode by episode without planning ahead and was controlled by his sources.²⁴⁷ However, Luce's work shows also that Livy chose particular events for detailed treatment at the start, arguing that such careful 'architecture' can only be achieved by planning substantially in advance.²⁴⁸ As Walsh had already reported, *AUC* is divided by decades and pentads.²⁴⁹ Luce, following the results from the book edited by Dorey, proposed a series of major subdivisions.²⁵⁰ He argued that *AUC* could be given

²⁴⁰ *AUC* originally comprised 142 'books' (*libri*) which in modern terminology would be considered 'chapters'. Thirty-five of these – Books 1-10 with the Preface and Books 21-45 – still exist in reasonably complete form. Damage to a manuscript of the 5th century resulted in large gaps (*lacunae*) in Books 41 and 43-45.

²⁴¹ Burck 1934, for the view which he refuted; see Witte 1910:418-9.

²⁴² Lipovsky 1979:1. The reference is to Syme (1963:148) and Walsh (1961:ix); the former speaks of "no instinct for historical structure" and the latter of "his inability to impose upon the historical material an organised design, a sense of control, and an acutely personal vision such as Polybius and Tacitus manifest".

²⁴³ Lipovsky 1979: pref.

²⁴⁴ Lipovsky 1979.

²⁴⁵ Ogilvie 1965:30-1; 233; 390; 526-7, 626. Cf. Lipovsky 1979:2.

²⁴⁶ Ogilvie 1965.

²⁴⁷ Luce 1977:xv-xxv.

²⁴⁸ Lipovsky 1979:3.

²⁴⁹ Walsh 1974:8.

²⁵⁰ Luce 1977:7.

uniformity and unity through subdivision by topic. **[FIG 10]**Books 1-15: Early Rome, with Books 1-5 forming a unit from the Founding to the Gallic Sack (and with yet further subdivisions, composed of Book 1: the Regal Period (Kings' Age), and Books 2-5: the Early Republic).²⁵¹ Books 6-15: The Conquest of Italy, devoted to the period from the Gallic crisis to the outbreak of the Punic wars.²⁵² Books 16-30: The Punic Wars, with Books 16-20 covering the First Punic War and its aftermath,²⁵³ and Books 21-30 covering the Second Punic War with a meticulous internal structure.²⁵⁴ Books 31-45: Wars in the East, with Books 31-35 covering the Second Macedonian War,²⁵⁵ Books 36-40 covering the Wars in Greece and with Antiochus,²⁵⁶ and Books 41-45 covering the Third Macedonian War.²⁵⁷ The internal subdivision of any single book, or section, is composed on the basis of a single source.²⁵⁸ However, it is important to underline that the lack of Books 45 onwards impedes the complete vision of the bordering practices in Livy. This part will be integrated into the research by way of a reconstructive process in the last chapter of this work. This architectural plan has been highlighted in Livy's emphasis of major scenes responding to a symmetrical architecture so common in Augustan authors.²⁵⁹ Such precise Livian subdivision, when married with the raw data, has allowed for a visual approach to the magnitude of the terminology on crucial events in Rome's Republican history. **[FIG 11]**The superimposition of quantitative raw data on *finis* to the structural subdivision of *AUC* has shown a massive usage of the term in those moments which were crucial to Rome's expansion. The diagram is also useful for detecting key passages, which will be examined in subsequent chapters.

The communicative function of the text and Livy's linguistic competence has constituted the basis for several studies, mainly in the last thirty years since the narrative value of Livy's work has been re-evaluated.²⁶⁰ From the way *AUC* has

²⁵¹ Ogilvie 1965:30; Burck 1934; Briscoe 1966:2.

²⁵² Stadter 1972:294; it was already noted that there is no clear break of subject between Book 10 and 11, see Briscoe 1966:1.

²⁵³ Burck in Dorey 1966:22-3.

²⁵⁴ Burck 1966:30 ff.

²⁵⁵ Walbank 1966:48-9; Jal 1971:vii-ix.

²⁵⁶ Walbank 1966:59-63.

²⁵⁷ Stadter 1972:294.

²⁵⁸ Walsh 1974:24; Luce 1977:139-184.

²⁵⁹ Lipovsky 1979:10.

²⁶⁰ Viljamaa 1983:8.

been structured, the reader can hardly recognise different text-types or verbal features. It is therefore a scholar's task to render this recognition possible: in the study of a text, it is not just the linguistic aspects but also the structure and, in the last thirty years, it has been argued that even the approach to the study of the narrative must be re-evaluated.²⁶¹ McDonald had already warned scholars: "One of the urgent needs in Latin studies is a re-examination of Livy's narrative style and detail, with reference to particular kinds of context. Especially, studies which deal with his language are needed, because it seems that in the nearer past relatively few studies have been devoted to the examination of his language".²⁶² In my research, I took up this invitation in relation to this single term. Although this research is centred on the term *finis*, it is also important to consider those words that originate from the main term. There is a wide range of words containing the root *fin-is* and they are quantitatively and qualitatively important. **[FIG 12]** From the main word *finis*, we have a broad range of derivative terms:²⁶³ a) simply derivate words (*finire*, v. (60); *finitus*, adj. (27); *finitimus/finitumos**, adj. + desinence *-iti(/u)mos* (88)); b) simply derivate words + preposition (*adfinis*, n. (7); *confinis*, n. (3)); c) preposition + simply derivate words (*infinitus*, adj. (1); *praefinitus*, adj. (1)); d) preposition + other derivate words (*confinius*, n. (2); *adfinitas*, n. (1)).²⁶⁴ The quantity provides the worth, which Livy assigns to the derivate word, while the quality is represented by the grade of linkage with the main term. The reason for this further underlining is to show how the Livian terminology is not casual, and also how the incidence of the derivative words in the chapters relates to the events within them.

²⁶¹ Viljamaa 1983:9.

²⁶² McDonald 1957:172, n.52; cf. Viljamaa 1983:11.

²⁶³ The order is as follows: word types or typology of word (derived term, sort of word: v. = verb; n. = noun; adj. = adjective [number of cases]).

²⁶⁴ For some of the derivate words linked to *finis* (*adfinitas*, *confinis*, *confinium*) compare: Cacciari 2007:280.

1.3 Livy's style and narrative: landscape, environment and world

[APPENDIX 3]The importance of natural elements (rivers, mountain and/or promontories) is crucial to my research as they are strongly linked to the word *finis*. For this reason, in this section I will assess the nature of this connection in Livy. Key points to bear in mind for this assessment are: a) Livy's style; b) the representation of the material environment (geography) around Livy at the time of his writing; c) Livy's idea of landscape; d) Romans' (Livy's) perspective on *fines*, which is different from any other non-Roman point of view (e.g. Greek/Polybius); e) the visualisation of the material environment in Livy's narration. In other words, Livy makes possible the identification of *fines* through his narrative, and these *fines* are often linked to the real and natural elements of the landscape, mainly when historical accounts require this association.

Well-founded criticisms have been aimed at Livy, due to the fact that his work-style is in essence an imitation, developed after the fashions of his time. His epic style used under the influence of the Augustan circle of literary poetry is infused with the style of the Late Republic, tracking back to Cicero's and Caesar's rhetoric style and principles.²⁶⁵ Livy took the principles of *exaedificatio* and *exornatio* from Cicero,²⁶⁶ and Walsh even connects the logistic aspects of *AUC* with the Ciceronian-structured style.²⁶⁷ However, Livy's main concerns, especially in military contexts, were clarification of time and place, such as description of planning, action and outcome,²⁶⁸ whose influence I assign instead to Caesar's narrative. Like Caesar, Livy's account provides continuous references, which link the term *finis* to the surrounding landscape. Space as a visual element is often marked by natural features, and *AUC* presents a coherent and continuous representation of reality, in which the reader relates himself to the incessant relationship between Rome's territorial possession and the outside world. In the first stage of Livian narrative,

²⁶⁵ Viljamaa 1983:11.

²⁶⁶ McDonald 1957.

²⁶⁷ Cic. *Or.* 2.63; Walsh 1974:24. Cf. The studies from Rambaud 1952; Rawson 1972.

²⁶⁸ Walsh 1974:24.

there is a sort of mutual exchange between the natural environment and the City. Then, when the narrative widens alongside Rome's own expansion, the relationship embraces those sensitive areas, where actions happen.²⁶⁹ Jaeger has argued this point convincingly: to a certain degree the ancient historian shares the orator's purpose in referring to the concreteness of the physical world and the facts as they developed.²⁷⁰ Livy identifies the natural features both on a textual plan and on a real framework, matching places and names when they become politically or militarily important. This process follows three main steps and progressively expands when Rome broadens, interacting with foreign and abutting powers: a) at the beginning, the functional portrayal of the *Urbs*, then b) the territory of Rome and c) her 'sphere of influence' or *imperium*.²⁷¹ In order to explain this interaction between different stages of Rome's growth, Livy's narrative produces a schematised topography: natural features – bound to the term *finis* – impose themselves upon events. Although Livy was a historian and not a geographer, he mainly uses the settings in an abstract way, filling the landscape with significance through the record of events and making them more meaningful for their abstraction.²⁷² Livy understands the importance of peculiar natural features, using them freely and often in conjunction with *finis*. [APPENDIX 3] *Fossae, montes, campi, agri, flumines, mares* are just a few examples in which those features serve a function within historical events. In several cases these natural features are 'locked' to the term *finis*, differentiating it from abstract or theoretical notions of the term.

²⁶⁹ It has become increasingly clear that modern standards of precision are inappropriate for evaluating Roman geographical writing, which scholars now tend to explain in terms of ancient readers' expectations and the limits of ancient geographical knowledge and terminology. As a result, attempts to match literary descriptions to places in the objective world have given way, in many cases, to the study of the conventions that guide such writing. Horsfall (1987:199) has observed that "no expectation existed in Augustan Rome that the geographical information contained in a work of literature should be precise". A particularly useful discussion of the use of conventions in topographical writing can be found in Thomas 1982. When applied to the study of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, these developments suggest not that we ignore the objective world, but that we consider Livy's use of the urban landscape and its monuments.

²⁷⁰ Jaeger 1997:22.

²⁷¹ For the interaction amongst these three strips see Morley 1996.

²⁷² Jaeger 1997:18-9.

This process of abstraction or schematisation, is a continuous system preserved in the Roman rhetorical handbooks.²⁷³ Livy's narration also seems to have two other systems of connectivity that imprint topographical elements in readers' minds simultaneously, and his narration becomes universal through the repetition of the same geographical *topoi*. This template is therefore positioned on an extensive framework, which forms the 'remembered landscape':²⁷⁴ blending geography, topography and historiography with memory. In this way, Livy has no need to match place and *finis* together, unless the action is more important than the place. It is, however, necessary for us to make this distinction. On the one hand, Livy associates the term *finis* and the 'remembered landscape' with toponyms, which have a correlation in the real world and are often named. In this case, the *locus* is *cognitus* (known) to the writer, putting it into the category of the places he knows or which have been crucial for historical, political or military reasons.[2.2.5-8; 3.3.1; 3.4-5; 5.4] On the other hand, we have a different category of passages in *AUC*, in which *finis* belong to imaginary places, visualised through Livy's mind's eye. In this second instance, Livy turns into an ideal historian, narrating events through the use of outlined details and not focussing on particulars which cannot be narrated in the absence of an eye witness. Therefore, Livy conveys events as visual imagining in two ways: a) by naming key topographical features in association with *finis*, when they are important, or b) by referring the term *finis* to a general landscape created as an imaginary one, when the climax of the main events overtakes the topographical information.²⁷⁵ In both cases, we shall bear in mind that geography shapes narrative structure.²⁷⁶ "Placing a literary phenomenon in its specific space – mapping it" – can thus be a powerful tool of analysis, "bringing to light relations that would otherwise remain hidden"²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Cf. *Ad Herenn.* 3.16-40; Cic. *Orat.* 2.86.351-87.360; Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.1-52. Yates 1966:1-26; Blum 1969; Leach 1988:75-9; Jaeger 1997:19,n.13.

²⁷⁴ Definition in Jaeger 1997:21.

²⁷⁵ According to Cicero (*Mat.* 2.87), the Greek Simonides, whom the Latin sources credit with having invented the art of memory. See Yates 1966:44.

²⁷⁶ Kinoshita 2006:3.

²⁷⁷ Moretti 1998:1.7-8.

1.3.1 Diverse perspectives: Polybius and Livy

Another key point of relevance is the fact that the Roman (Livy's) perspective is very different to that of other cultures, concerning the notion of *finis*. For instance, even comparisons with the Greek world are untenable, due to the difference in contexts and *mentalité*. I will stress this last point in two ways: a) by contrasting the challenging perception of 'border, boundary, frontier' in Livy's work with that used by Polybius, and b) by underlining the different ways in which they create links between their own notions, the surrounding landscape and the historical events. Livy had a privileged relationship with Polybius's work, in which Polybius insisted that first-hand or direct observation provides the best evidence.²⁷⁸ According to the historian of Megalopolis, the ideal scholar, when approaching historical events, actually travels to and gains personal experience of warfare and politics. If he cannot experience first-hand the events he reports, at least he knows how a soldier carries out his duties.²⁷⁹ Polybius represents the perfect source for Livy, due to his tendency to shift between his Greek instinct for geographic abstractions and the Roman readers' interest in itineraries.²⁸⁰

This link between Livy and Polybius has been widely proved and, as the author of Megalopolis, geography is undeniably subjugated to history within his writing: Polybius' descriptions of Gaul or central Greece, for instance, seem to follow routes into an environmentally-obliged framework. The Polybian description appears to be flat, from the onlooker's point of view, and does not seem to exploit diverse angulations in representing the reality.²⁸¹ This last statement leads to another question: how is history – and its veracity – affected when viewed from an alternate perspective? In this study we will see how different the perceptions of bordering concepts in Livy and Polybius really are. Jaeger proposed that Livy's constructive metaphors are different from those of Polybius, just as his project is different, and

²⁷⁸ Polyb. 12.4.3-4, 24.

²⁷⁹ Polyb. 12.25.7-8. As Miles (1995:19) points out, Polybius' criticism of Timaeus is invaluable for understanding Livy's "conspicuous and repeated difficulties". On this criticism, see Sacks 1981:21-95.

²⁸⁰ On ancient standards for evidence, see Fornara 1983:47-90. On vision in Livy's predecessors, with discussion of these passages see Miles 1995:9-14; in Polybius, Davidson 1991:10-24; in Cicero, Vasaly 1993:89-104; on Livy, see Feldherr 1998:3-7.

²⁸¹ Clarke 1999.

that they require terminology uniquely adapted to them. In my opinion, even the most basic concepts are different, such as the definition of *finis*. Livy manages to convey, through his precise use of evidence, the Roman sense and the limit of space through visual perspectives, which is evidently different from Polybius.²⁸² This will be especially evident in the chapters on the Alps,[6.2.3] and the treaties of the Ebro[5.2.1] and Apamea[7.2.2], when we will see how closely Livy made use of Polybius' chorographic descriptions of *topoi* and travel, since they chimed with Roman horizontal perspectives. It is not just a visual perspective; it is also a mental one, and throughout my study I will show that different populations had different ideas and conceptions of border, depending on their ethnic background (Etruscan, Celtic,²⁸³ Carthaginian or even Greek).

1.3.2 View and mapping in Augustan Rome

Polybius had the advantage of being a 'field historian', as he travelled to and visited those places he describes; his sources deriving from direct contact with the local people. Nicolet has pointed out, however, that since the 1st century B.C. a different way of seeing and of writing history had begun to develop among Augustus's contemporaries, Livy (in his last books), Strabo, and Velleius Paterculus.²⁸⁴ For Nicolet, in this period geography begins to influence history as the environment influences human actions. The standards for evidence – received from earlier historians – had placed vision at the top of the hierarchy of the senses (while interviews with witnesses and written accounts based on information that came aurally were considered less reliable).²⁸⁵ This 'sensoriality' (or direct approach, as in

²⁸² Strabo (8.8.5) criticised Livy (34.12.12) for "following the chance route of a general", with reference to Polybius (3.39.8). Cf. Clarke 1999.

²⁸³ The translation of *finis* in Celtic (North Italian dialect) is present in the Gallo-Latin bilingual inscription from Vercelli. The document deals with borders and the term *antos* is born out by the appellative noun, which actually means "limit, end". The same form and meaning is attested in '*anta*' – and the derivative PGerm. **antiiaz* – all of them thematic forms ultimately going back to IE *H2ent-"front" (cf. Pokorny 1959:48-9). The only extant Celtic parallel of *antos* is the accusative singular *atom* (with trivial omission of the nasal; alternative reading *atoš*, allegedly in the accusative plural!) cf. Cf. Meid 1989:13. In this inscription, its meaning is assured by the correspondance between Latin: FINIS CAMPO QVEM DEDIT ACISIVS ARGANTOCOMATER ECVS COMMVNEM DEIS ET HOMINIBVS ITA VT LAPIDE[S] IUI STATVTI SVNT, and Celtic: *Akisios Arkatokomaterikos tošokote atom/atoš teuoxtonion eu*. See Prósper:250-67.

²⁸⁴ Nicolet 1991:9.

²⁸⁵ Jaeger 1997:22.

the case of Polybius) of space contained horizontal, linear movement of itineraries over land and sea, where the perception of the material environment was never finalised. On the contrary, Livy – as a non-field historian – had the benefit of consulting different documents and diverse sources as potential visual representations of the landscape, such as sketches, drawings, itineraries and probably maps. Livy's description often seems to have an awareness of the existence of maps in the same way that he has clear in his mind the natural features of the environmental. Thus, a view of the historical landscape as conceptually coherent usually entails seeing it from outside or above, from the cartographer's perspective, just as seeing events as part of a coherent pattern entails adopting the objectivity of an omniscient narrator.²⁸⁶ And the goal of this vivid representation is to move (*mouere*) the reader or listener emotionally on the field of a hyperreality, capable of depicting vivid key areas (points) in the narrated, and therefore, built landscape.

Livy aimed to achieve *energeia*, vivid representation, or *subieciio sub oculis*, incorporating the information he had gleaned from maps to create a complete picture in the mind's eye.²⁸⁷ Livy recorded what is generally agreed to be the first provincial map drawn in Rome: the map of Sardinia (*'simulacra picta'*) to commemorate the victories of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus the Elder over the Carthaginians, displayed in the temple of Mater Matuta in Rome in 174 B.C.²⁸⁸ Livy also should have had access to the documents of Gaius Fabius Pictor, which depicted scenes of history.²⁸⁹ [4.2.3.1] In the same period, Fabius Pictor is said to have painted the map of Italy on the wall of the temple of Tellus,²⁹⁰ while Livy was probably an eyewitness to the first map of the known world displayed in the *porticus*

²⁸⁶ See Rykwert 1976:41-71. On conceptual models of the city, see Cancik 1985:250-65. Monmonier (1991) presents an amusing discussion of the abstraction and deception that all mapmaking entails. A journey connects particular places into an even more significant whole: cf. Horace's *Satires* 1.5 and 1.9. See also Mac Cormack 1990.

²⁸⁷ On the potency of images, Feldherr (1998:308) says, "spectacle is such a powerful tool in Livy's text that in some cases it can substitute for, or even generate, reality".

²⁸⁸ Liv. 41.28.10. Cf. Whittaker 1994:31; Tierney 1964:151.

²⁸⁹ G. Fabius Pictor painted the walls of the Temple of Salus, which was dedicated by C. Bubulcus for his victories over the Samnites in Second Samnite War. Cf. Valer. Maxim. 8.14.6; Dion. Hal. *exc. lib.* 16.6. The evidence of such contemporary paintings comes from the wall paintings from the necropolis of Esquilinus (Centrale Montemartini Museum, Rome). Brunn 1889:302; Overbeck 1868:2372-4; Münzer 1909:6.1835-6, n. 122; Sauer 1950:163; Pfuhl 1923:905; Rumpf 1953:142-6.

²⁹⁰ Varro *Re Rus.* 1.2.1.

Vipsania: the map of Agrippa.²⁹¹ With no evidence,²⁹² it can only be argued that Roman maps – up to the Mid-Late Empire – possibly differed slightly from those of modern cartography.²⁹³ In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, no line work is shown for any border, even a fortified one like Hadrian's Wall.²⁹⁴ However, the *fines* as place names are evident as termination points of itineraries, as hubs and as bordering zones in some critical areas. Moreover the natural features are well distinct from the itinerary and – although schematically defined – they look to have a distinctive role in the *tabula*. In his analysis, Talbert reports the presence of '*fines*', appearing as a "common name or component".²⁹⁵ The cartographer opted to omit such features, emphasising distances among places rather than accurate geopolitical features.²⁹⁶ This is made clear by a rare attempt to add dimensions to descriptions: a feature present also in Livy, who measured the length and breadth of the conquest of Lucius Scipio's campaign against Antiochus in days' marches.²⁹⁷ When we imagine the ancient perspective for viewing the landscape, we have to bear in mind that the view is mainly flattened, based on a vision at ground level, like the vision that Polybius had. We have to think of a reproduced landscape with no detailed maps, which could be drawn from above or from a high vantage point (without the aid of satellites or airplanes), providing an overall picture of the world. Livy does not often venture into spatial descriptions, but – in several description of landscapes– he delivers a new conceptual platform in his control of the landscape. The *vision* from a top place (hill, mountain or promontory) starts to become privileged in Livy's account,²⁹⁸ as I will show in some cases in which the view from the top performs a major role.²⁹⁹

²⁹¹ Plin. *N.H.* 3.17; Tierney 1964:151.

²⁹² Dilke 1985.

²⁹³ The discussion on maps has been pushed towards an idea of road maps based on itineraries. The *Tabula* would not reflect the late Roman cartography. See Levi & Levi 1967 and Bekker-Nielsen 1988:155-7.

²⁹⁴ Talbert & Brodersen 2004:130.

²⁹⁵ Talbert 2011:307: "At the provincial level, note *tvcca fines affrice et mauritanie* (IC5); *fines cilicie* (8B4 and note in database entry; 9B3). Cf. also Talbert 2011:129, *fines galatie*.

²⁹⁶ Talbert (2011:99) is convinced that the map is full of indicators which confirm the awareness of boundaries between communities and provinces and the exclusion of them was a conscious choice.

²⁹⁷ Liv. 9.36; 40.21-2; 38.59; Girod 1974:481-5. Whittaker 2004:67.

²⁹⁸ We will see in the chapter on Jupiter Feretrius, the Alps and Janiculum, where the dominant perspective is crucial from a strategic point of view.

²⁹⁹ I recorded at least four of them: the position of the Capitol from where a sort of control is exerted through the subdivision of the land around it: Romulus (Liv. 1.10.6.) Numa (Liv. 1.18.7); the famous

1.3.3 The Roman *imperium*

However, there is another aspect to consider in assessing the Peutinger Map: the concept of *imperium*. The Romans perceived two means of dominion: one based on the real occupation of territory (e.g. military conquest, economic exploitation, colonisation, and provincialisation) and the second grounded in the immanent power of *imperium*.³⁰⁰ In a recent study, Mattingly has provided one of the best approaches to the question.³⁰¹ Through a detailed list, Mattingly defines the issues linked with the *imperium Romanorum*. I would stress the qualitative importance of his work, and the suitability of his principles for comprehending Livy's view. Until the 20th century, there was a 'nurtured' identification of the European Empires with the Roman Empire, whereby *empire* was equated with *imperium*. Politically the two could be argued as being compatible, but historically and archeologically the two definitions did not match. Therefore, the need for a different definition arose. Despite the fact that *imperium* needed to remain quite distinct from the modern term *imperialism* – the first important concept here that we need to bear in mind – the new definition nevertheless took on political-economic connotations, even if they were well distinct from the current idea of Empire.³⁰² A proposed solution is the innovative linkage between empire and globalisation, although they are influenced by the current social developments.³⁰³ Despite the fact that the Roman Empire invites more than other ancient Empires a specific comparison with imperial powers,³⁰⁴ Livy's concept of *imperium* cannot match with any current³⁰⁵ or ancient view. As we will see, Livy's – and probably the Romans' – different view of the territory in a geo-political sense was incomprehensible to Polybius,[5.4.1;5.5.1] to Hannibal[5.6] and Eumenes in the treaty of Apamea.³⁰⁶ [7.5.2] *Fines* and *imperia*

scene when Hannibal looked out over the North Italian plain after crossing the Alps (Liv. 21.35.7-10; Cf. Polyb. 3.54.2); the Romans' first view over the route into central Etruria from *Mons Ciminus* (Liv. 9.37.1-2); Philip's view from *Mons Haemus* tracing his route to Italy (Liv. 40.21.2).

³⁰⁰ Nicolet 1991:31.

³⁰¹ Mattingly 2010.

³⁰² This difference has been stressed by Hobson (1909), in whose footsteps Mattingly (2010) follows.

³⁰³ Pitts 2008; Witcher 2000.

³⁰⁴ Mattingly 2010:11-3, 75-93. See also the position of Edwards & Woolf 2003 and Morley 1996.

³⁰⁵ Eich & Eich (2005) move their analysis over a political-military system, similar to the current 'USA Empire'.

³⁰⁶ Polybius' view is completely different from Livy in the shape and function of the Alps; moreover he is shown to have problems in understanding the Roman treaties. Livy emphasises the difficulty of

appear in Roman treaties, where subject and allied peoples serve to underline the unequal positions of these agreements, which “Rome adopted to control or to exert influence on far-flung territories”.³⁰⁷ The third and last concept to bear in mind is the fact that *finis* and *imperium Romanum* are strongly connected. The *imperium* was an ‘immanent presence’ – sometimes identified as ‘sphere of influence’,³⁰⁸ dominance, hegemony,³⁰⁹ authority and control³¹⁰ which became ‘visible’ especially in the treaties.[5.1; 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.4.1; 6.3.4; 7.3.1; 7.5.1]

Did Rome's 'invisible' *imperium* extended to ‘the ends of the earth’ (*ultimos terrarum fines*)?³¹¹ For some scholars the concept of *imperium* gained currency in the 2nd century B.C. as Rome’s empire grew; but it reached its climax in the age of the dynasts of the 1st century AD.³¹² Despite the fact that the Livian passage has been deemed an exaggeration, it is important to stress the distinction made a generation after Livy by Seneca. The philosopher distinguishes the extension of the world as different from the extension of ‘Roman authority’. Although Seneca’s conception is different from Livy’s, he reports the situation of a recent past, when *termini* were set up in key places by Augustus: “*Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras / qui finis mundo est, non erat imperii*” (The subject Ocean does with wonder see / Beyond his limits, altars rais’d to thee. / And the last borders of the farthest land, / Shall ne’er contract the bounds of thy command).³¹³ For the *Anthologia Latina* (scil. Seneca), the concept of *imperium* has already been affected by a deep dichotomy, whereas in Livy *imperium* and *finis* seem conceptually linked to each other throughout the whole narration.[Finis B₉] In light of the Augustan connection between the two terms, another concern within the present study is to investigate to what extent the idea of *imperium* affected the *finis* and their connectivity.

Hannibal and Eumenes II in their understanding of the acceptance of *finis*, using a different terminology (i.e. *terminus* instead then *finis*).

³⁰⁷ Mattingly 2010:6.

³⁰⁸ Heitland 1909:140.

³⁰⁹ Hoyos (2003:6-7, 12-3) give both definitions.

³¹⁰ Lavan (2013:176-210, esp. 54, 165, 186-189) denominates ‘sphere of activity’ as the direct control of the provinces, as distinct from ‘sphere of control’ – the latter being stronger, however – ‘*venire in in fidem* (or *in potestatem* or *dicionem*).

³¹¹ Liv. 38.60.5; cf. Nicolet 1991:31.

³¹² Whittaker 1997:31-2.

³¹³ (?Seneca) *Anth.Lat.* 419.3-4. Translation by E. Gibson from Camden 1695. Cf. Castagna 1996:81, stresses that the *Oceanus* was the border of Empire and at Seneca’s times it is part of the Rome’s *imperium*.

1.3.4 Livy and Augustus

Livy lived in the Augustan ‘golden age’ of Roman literature, and this fact, along with the character of *AUC*, placed him in a transient stage between two periods: classical and postclassical, republican and imperial.³¹⁴ The strong relationship between Livy and Augustus has led scholars to their dominant preoccupation: to what extent this liaison between the two might have affected *AUC*.³¹⁵ Tacitus confirms their friendly relationship³¹⁶ and Suetonius revealed that Livy focussed the last part of his work on the future Emperor Claudius.³¹⁷ Scholars have often disapproved of Livian historical method, criticising the composition of *AUC* and his research into the truth “far removed from the Thucydidean sense of history” – but this at least confirms his strong bond with the Augustan system.³¹⁸ A sort of symbiosis built up between Augustus and Livy, which is pinpointed by Syme as a mutual understanding created “to work upon the upper and middle classes of a regenerated society”.³¹⁹ Syme considered Livy as “the last of the Republican writers” and – I would say – the first of the Imperial ones,³²⁰ who accepted the new rising order.³²¹ Despite the evident connection between Augustus and Livy, other scholars have tried to demonstrate that in some way Livy warned his peer citizens “not to tolerate an unmitigated monarchy” from his very first book,³²² while others try to show how critical he was in later books.³²³ Of the four points, listed by Welsh,³²⁴ just two are relevant for our discussion: a) Livy was pro-Pompeian and generous in his praise of Brutus and Cassius,³²⁵ therefore pro-Republican; b) the references in *AUC* to Augustus are respectful but not adulatory or apologetic.³²⁶ These two points help us to understand: a) how Livy’s lost books (from 46 onwards) may have developed, in connection with the present study, and b) how great the influence

³¹⁴ Viljamaa 1983:11.

³¹⁵ Walsh 1974:5. This was also confirmed by the major Dessau’s (1906) work at the beginning of the 20th century.

³¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4.34.

³¹⁷ Suet. *Claud.* 41.1

³¹⁸ Cochrane 1940:98-9, 103.

³¹⁹ Syme 1939:317, 468.

³²⁰ Klinger 1967:56, notes that Livy’s work has been created on the verge of two Eras.

³²¹ Syme 1959:47,53,71-75.

³²² Petersen 1961:440 ff.

³²³ Mette 1961:278 ff.

³²⁴ Welsh 1974:6,

³²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4.34.

³²⁶ Mensching 1967:12-4, 25.

exerted directly or indirectly by Augustus or his literary circle would have been on Livy. In the latter instance, the use of a common understanding, highlighted by a common terminology might turn out to be crucial, where the terminologies of *Res Gestae* and *AUC* match.³²⁷ Even in Virgil and Ovid several elements recall key passages in Livy, as Burck has pointed out.³²⁸ The sentence often repeated, “*tu regere imperio populos Romane memento*”,³²⁹ echoes the phrase in the Livian preface, “*iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi*”.³³⁰ Likewise, both of them directly connect their works with the Augustus’ inscription “*RERUM GESTARUM DIVI AUGUSTI, QUIBUS ORBEM TERRARUM IMPERIO POPULI ROMANI SUBIECI*”.³³¹ A further confirmation of this link can be found in M’ Acilius’ speech to his troops before the battle of the Thermopylae (191 B.C.).^[7.1.2] Considered as epochal, Livy connects the *Romanum imperium* with the extension of the *finis*, reporting the two extremities of such an extension: “*ab Gadibus ad mare rubrum Oceano finis terminemus, qui orbe terrarum amplexu finit*”.³³² This is an evident Livian *topos*, repeated few other times in his narration.³³³ The association ‘Gades-Oceanus’ (modern Cádiz-Atlantic Ocean) probably reflects directions to be followed in his work, as the same phrase appears in Augustus’ *Res Gestae*: ‘*ITEM GERMANIAM QUA INCLUDIT OCEANUS A GADIBUS AD OSTIUM ALBIS FLUMINIS PACAVI*’.³³⁴ Seen also is the presence of the term *finis* in the *Res Gestae Divi Avgvsti*³³⁵ and a very extensive use of the same word in Virgil,³³⁶ so it is reasonable to assume that Livy’s use of *finis* might also have been included within a programmed Augustan propaganda.³³⁷

³²⁷ Burck (1967:97, 106) emphasises the clarity and common sense between Virgil and Horace.

³²⁸ Burck 1967:110.

³²⁹ Virg. *Aen.* 6.851.

³³⁰ Liv. *Praef.* 5-6; cf. Mette 1961:165; Burck 1967:136, see also 139 ff.

³³¹ RG 1.1.

³³² Liv. 36.17.13.

³³³ See from the very early of *AUC*:5.37.2 and 21.43.13.

³³⁴ RG 5.26.

³³⁵ RG 5.26; 5.30.

³³⁶ *Finis* is used by Virgil 48 times, of which 28 with local value. Sini 1991:48. Cfr. Merguet 1912:249; Fasciano 1982:345.

³³⁷ Cf. Zanker 1988.

1.3.5 Clarification: Livian historicity and Augustan propaganda

The last section of this chapter casts a light on one main issue that might be detected by the reader: the non-historicity of *AUC*. One of the key points of this thesis is to open the reader's eyes to the potential of the term *finis* in Livy, with the aim of expanding the use of the framework detected in Livy to other ancient authors. After all, Livy offers an extraordinary opportunity, providing within his work the analysis of a 'longitudinal' study through the narration of almost 800 years of history. This is particularly significant in the context of the possible influence of Augustan developments and vision on his use of the term *finis*. For instance, it will be clarified through this study that Livy seems to follow a specific programme within *AUC*. As I will show, the concept of *finis* evolves throughout the centuries and that is evident in the detection of the main features of *finis*. Livy understands that the earliest Roman society is primitive, its political agreements (pacts, treaties) embedded with magical / sacred elements. However, considering the period in which Livy is writing, in the worst-case scenario his outlook is 800 years removed from the events he is depicting.

We will face Livy's construct from his first usage of *finis* in the prehistoric period – where the story he tells is useful for understanding the magic / religious value of the term, when an agreement between two ethnics is struck. In other words, Livy might have focused on particular episodes specifically because they functioned to help him achieve his objective. This idea seems especially clear in chapters 2, 3 and 4, which have the particular aim of emphasising the sacred value of the *finis*. The role of those elements, such as the function of the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius and the fetials' role, is to send messages – reading between the lines – rather than presenting factual accounts of historical reality. Yet, the evolution of 'bordering practices' in Livy runs parallel to the evolution of the fetials' practices, both changing through time. Moreover, the Livian construct – probably following an Augustan framework – necessarily applies to the story of Rome, which was useful both to the author and to his imperial committent. Livy distributes the main concepts – derivatives of, or derivable from, Augustan propaganda – throughout a convincing

historical process. Hence, although Livy states the Augustan guidelines, he also tries to reflect the earlier, historically-situated outlook, showing the different phases of the way that *finis* is defined. Through episodes, laws and debates, Livy's understanding, use and interpretation of *finis* alters from the earlier period, developing through time and acquiring a broad range of features, where – for instance – the sacred aspect of *finis* slowly fades away, while the legal value takes precedence.

Probably, Livy's early history is not factually reliable, but the story he presents is clear when considered in the context of the programme he is trying to put forth, and was probably adapted to the Augustan guidelines. Livian account is based on an interconnected series of episodes, linked to create a final plot of his history. We do not need to believe that what Livy tells us about the early history of Rome is true to understand the development of the term *finis* within his work. I will show through this thesis the reasoning behind Livy's programme, which consists of a developing concept of *finis*, probably following the Augustan propaganda.

Chapter 2. Tiber. The earliest paradigm for *finis*?

2.1 Aims and challenges

The first attested use of the term *finis* by Livy within *AUC* occurs at the beginning of Book 1, in relation to the river Tiber.³³⁸ Beginning with the connection ‘Tiber-*finis*’, I will use this chapter to analyse this first attestation, both in association with Rome’s river and also with the river Cremera. Through comparison of the contexts in which the label ‘*finis*’ is applied to these two rivers, I will attempt to elucidate several key features of its usage: a) the relevance of Tiber as *finis* in a context prior to Rome’s foundation; b) the concept of river and *finis* (Tiber) for peoples other than the Romans; c) the sacral value of the river, when considered as *finis* (Tiber / Cremera); and d) the function of rivers, when deemed as *fines* (Tiber / Cremera). My aim is to reveal consistent patterns and features of *finis*, providing instances which may lead to a better understanding of the term in relation to geographical features. The main question is: Does a *finis* represent a ‘limit’ of an occupied area – as political and legal acquisition – or is it rather a linkage between two territories, areas or zones?

I decided to begin this investigation with the analysis of *fines* as geographical features – like the rivers Tiber and Cremera – for several main reasons: a) the literature recognises geographical features as the main natural territorial markers; b) they are not generic in their identification, as they are linked to names and physical features in the environment that are still discernible in the present day; c) it is, within this context that we find, the first chronological and literary attestation of *finis* in the *AUC*; and d) although *finis* here is related to a pre-Roman context, it is significant for helping to understand the context within which Rome was founded.[1.5.1] Methodologically, in order to investigate and detect the common characteristics contributing to the concept of *finis*, I will provide a detailed analysis of Livy’s passages containing the term *finis*. The informative context around any single sentence reporting the term *finis* will likely be helpful to identify those features linked with the *fines* that might otherwise not be immediately detectable. It is also

³³⁸ Liv. 1.3.5.

important during this process to bear in mind the double perspective within Livy's writing: on the one hand, there is the contextualising location (setting), which is responsible for placing both the event and its perception; on the other hand, we have the distant, removed viewpoint of Livy, who looks at the event from the period in which he lives. Most significantly, this assessment will also be useful to help understand Livy's contextual adaptation of the timeline in *AUC*. In this way, we might note the way the Livian conception modified earlier conceptions of *finis* and the way in which this may have been adopted by Augustus and his political programme.

2.2 Tiber as *finis* between Etruscans and Latins³³⁹

In this section, I commence my investigation with the contextualisation and analysis of terms in the Livian passage which correlate the Tiber with a *finis*. This further analysis will assess and develop four key points: a) the *finis* as a place on which it is possible to strike an agreement, like a pact, a treaty or a covenant; b) the modifications of the name of the Tiber as possible hegemonic sign of possession or control over it; c) the sacral value connected with the impassability of the river once established as *finis*; and d) Rome's privileged position in the surrounding landscape, as the City rose upon a *finis* as determined between two populations: the river Tiber. I will commence by presenting the background situation between Etruscans and Latins preceding or contemporary to Rome's birth. In this way, my purpose is to test the link between the Etruscan and Latin attitude toward the *finis* and that of Rome. Under these premises, I will show how Livy specifically positioned the *Urbs* in relation to the Tiber, laying claim to and exploiting the river. I will also investigate the functional elements and diverse features of the Tiber, according to Livy's perception. The impression – mainly in light of key points discussed in later chapters – is that he seems not only to follow a chronological narrative, but also to

³³⁹ In order to avoid controversy not pertinent to the question, the terms Etruscan, Latin, and Sabine are used in a geographical, not an ethnic sense. For purposes of this discussion, Etruscans are the dominant people of the Etruscan cities in the Orientalising Period (beginning 725 B.C. ca.; for this 'traditional' chronology see Carafa 2004:49); Latins, the inhabitants of Latium in that and in the preceding period; Sabines, the neighbours of the Latins on the North and East. Cf. Holland 1949:290, n.1.

place every single episode firmly within its own historical context. It would seem then that the Tiber serves several functions within time and circumstance; my main concern within this chapter, however, will be how Livy outlines different perspectives on the function of the river, contextualising it both from a historical and a functional point of view. These considerations lead to a wealth of questions: Can all the detected features of the Tiber be applied also to the concept of *finis*? Or might the features apply only to *finis*-rivers? Are the features of the Tiber or other named rivers applicable just to the single context in which they appear, or are they also chronologically compatible?

[FIG 13]The starting point for this research is provided by a single sentence in Livy's text, where the word *finis* is strongly connected to the Tiber:

*Pax ita conuenerat ut Etruscis Latinisque fluuius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.*³⁴⁰

Thus, a peace (treaty) was agreed between Etruscans and Latins in order that the river Albula, which now is called Tiber, was the *finis*.

Livy emphasises the importance of two ethnic groups – Etruscans and Latins – involved both in the *pax* (agreement) and indirectly in Rome's foundation, and his comprehensive historical contextualisation of Rome's origins also emphasises the crucial role played by the river. The map of Italy reveals the importance of the Tiber at first glance, as its northern course divides Italy longitudinally, before splitting the country in the last part of its stream into almost two perfect halves. However, it is commonly accepted that the Middle Tiber Valley in fact represents a connecting zone and area of contact between four ethnic groups: Etruscans, Latins, Sabines and Faliscans-Capenates.³⁴¹

From a generally protohistoric (Iron Age) period,³⁴² Livy pinpoints the agreement of the *pax* between Etruscans and Latins as the first preparatory act for the foundation of Rome. In this process, her landscape, river and neighbouring populations played a vital role, as Forsythe confirms: "Rome...laid somewhat farther inland...and the river along which she arose was the largest one of central Italy and formed the

³⁴⁰ Liv. 1.3.5.

³⁴¹ Cifani 2002:220.

³⁴² As evident in Livy's account, he refers to a period prior to Rome's foundation.

boundary between Etruria and Latium".³⁴³ Despite the simplicity of Livy's passage, I shall try to rebuild the process that led Livy to consider the Tiber as a political dividing element between two ethnic groups. Firstly, this key sentence needs to be contextualised in order to clarify why Livy chose to highlight it. After all, this statement is the conclusion of Livy's account of a much longer historical process. This account, which is a vital testimony for the whole of my investigative process from here onwards, describes three different moments of pre-Roman history. In the first chapter of Book 1, Livy tells of the Trojan exiles' arrival on Italian soil and their impact on Italic communities, while in the second and third chapters he shifts the focus to the Etruscans and Latins. It is in the two chapters preceding the sentence on the Tiber as *finis*³⁴⁴ that the author follows an explanatory scheme vital for the detection of the features of the *finis*. Livy triggers a process – centring his story on three key passages – which leads to the Tiber as *finis*.

The first step in this process is the statement of the Etruscans' greatness, concerning limits to their spatial 'influence' in Italy:

*...quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui impleset*³⁴⁵

... so great was Etruria's richness/wealth that the renown of her people had been not only the inland parts of Italy but also the coastal districts along the whole length of the land from the Alps to the Straits of Messina.

The Etruscans appear to be the most powerful people in Italy at that time, with an affirmed territorial and marine supremacy over continental Italy, and Livy explains such Etruscan *fama* with a sentence that is a blend of geographical and political projections. In order to explain the power or extension of their *fama*, spread along the whole Italian peninsula, Livy explicitly mentions topographical features, explaining that the concept of Italy – probably the Augustan Italy – is embedded between two extremities: the Alps and the Strait of Messina (*fretum Siculum*).**[6.2.6]**

The second step in this process is represented by the might of the developing Latins who, at some point, commenced in all likelihood to contest the Etruscan

³⁴³ Forsythe 2005:80.

³⁴⁴ Liv. 1.3.5.

³⁴⁵ Liv. 1.2.5.

‘hegemony’. We cannot guess whether the confrontation was on a territorial or non-material (i.e. economic, prestigious – see the use of *fama*) basis. Considering the territorial occupations of the two ethnic groups, it is realistic that they were contesting control of the rich land strip that spanned and encompassed both banks of the Tiber. Livy speaks from a Latin perspective, as is made clear by: a) the name used for the Tiber (*Albula*); b) the contrasting historical situation, which led the Latins to “*tantum tamen opes creuerant*”³⁴⁶ (“an unexpected powerful growth”); and c) possibly by the renewed territorial control south of the Tiber.

The third step – before the *pax* – is the military confrontation between the Etruscan and Latin peoples. The latter’s expansion had been made possible by their union with the mythical exiles from Troy³⁴⁷ and “*maxime fusis Etruscis*”³⁴⁸ (mainly through the defeat of the Etruscans). The consequence of this clash was an agreement between the main ‘nations’ of central Italy, eventually leading to a definitive *pax* being struck between them. And although Livy prefers to present this *pax* between Etruscans and Latins from a mythical point of view, the use of the term *pax* becomes of vital importance when applied to the river, with the result that it ‘becomes’ a *finis*. The Tiber represents a ‘dividing’ element between two populations or ethnic groups, as defined³⁴⁹ by classicists as a boundary³⁴⁹ or frontier.³⁵⁰ Even more distinct is the position of the archeologists who define the Tiber as a ‘conventional frontier’.³⁵¹ Another point of note is the fact that *pax*, in this instance, is being used in a circumstance distinct from its usual meaning of a process of peace or a treaty, providing a very early example – both in a historical and narrative context – of the word *finis* being applied to exceptional circumstances of agreement.³⁵² Mommsen has already stressed the importance of this peaceful

³⁴⁶ Liv. 1.1.5.

³⁴⁷ The loyalty of the two nations who were day by day growing into one.

³⁴⁸ Liv. 1.3.5.

³⁴⁹ Forsythe 2005:80; Mommsen 1873:1.35.

³⁵⁰ Bourdin 2012:1007.

³⁵¹ See for different positions: Colonna 1986; Bartoloni 1986. For an attempt in seeking the ‘frontier’ at the time of the ‘*pax*’ between Latins and Etruscans see Cifani 2003.

³⁵² Cassell’s New Latin Dictionary (Simpson 1959) defines *pax* as “a state of peace, opp. to war,” then goes on to give as secondary and transferred meanings, “calm, serenity, quiet”. Thus the primary and secondary senses of Latin *pax* seem to be the same as those of English peace. More important is the etymological connection with the the verb *paciscor*, “to make a bargain or agreement, covenant, contract” (whence English pact). This would seem to imply that in Latin peace

process based on a demarcation line, which resulted in the two ethnic groups sharing 'this boundary line' without providing any 'essential change'.³⁵³ In the short term, the impact of the word *pax* and the 'limit' chosen to demarcate the two populations leads to something immediate in time, in contrast with a process of pacification. In the longer term, the river assumes a meaningful political significance, becoming a conciliatory instrument that might well have aided the development and prosperity of both opponents while simultaneously curbing and delimiting the Etruscan 'sphere of influence' southward.

From the Livian perspective, the *finis Tiberis* fulfils the function of granting a 'pact' between two populations, delineating their own spheres of influence. In Livy, the choice of the Tiber could be interpreted as a sort of preliminary manifesto whose main function is to underpin an associative context between treaties and natural features. It seems to be used as a sort of prologue to future agreements between Rome and her opponents,[4.3; 5.2; 7.2-3] based on the value and function of *finis* as guarantor of political pacts between ethnic entities. Around this time, a "sense of common advantage and danger consolidated the Latin and Sabine settlements, sharpening the realisation of the ties between them. On the other hand, the Etruscan threat overshadowing them all strengthened their solidarity and encouraged their common aims".³⁵⁴ Holland's statement here is crucial to understanding Rome's future political developments, her rulers were aware that by striking treaties the *finis* might also function as an element of reinforcement. In other words, although chronologically distanced from the actual events, Livy contextualises the events and considers the main river of peninsular Italy as a dividing and, at the same time, cohesive line between the two populations due to the *pax*.

is conceived as something resulting from an official interaction and agreement between two individuals or groups. Cf. Salomon 2007:58.

³⁵³ Mommsen 1873:1.181.

³⁵⁴ Holland 1949:317; Säflund 1932:164.

2.2.1 Naming and crossing the river

The fact that the Tiber was chosen as *finis* upon which the Etruscans and Latins struck their *pax* suggests that the river had not previously served this function. There are two main aspects which I will explore in this section: the change of the name – why was it that the name of the Tiber was so important?³⁵⁵ – and the action of crossing the Tiber, once it was defined as *finis*. My investigation delves into the ownership, as much as that is possible of a river, by either Etruscans or Latins as signified by the name adopted, and interprets the episode of crossing a ‘*finis*’ as a sacrilegious action, which could only lead to disaster for the one who performed it. The evidence for these two points comes from a passage in Livy immediately subsequent to the one in which the Tiber is named as *finis*:

*Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae regnarunt. ... Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit.*³⁵⁶

Later, everyone – who ruled Alba – bore the surname Silvius. ... Tiberinus, who was drowned in crossing the Albula, famously gave his name to the river.

Firstly, I will consider and explore the Tiber’s name change, which Livy explicitly states, and then I will examine Livy’s account of Tiberinus’ crossing and subsequent death. The point is ‘chained’ to the concept of sacredness of the *finis*: when they are crossed without performing any religious ritual and when there is a need to make them ‘safe to cross’. Both of these – the change of name to the divinised *Tiberinus* and the ‘geopolitical sacredness’ of the river as *finis* – are also present in other Augustan authors.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Liv. 1.3.6. In Latin, generally the names of rivers are masculine, although things are not always so straightforward (Cf. Kretschmer 1937). Of the three Latin words for river, only *fluuius* is masc. at all periods: *flumen* (originally ‘a flow[ing]’) is always neuter, and *amnis* (which incidentally disappeared early from ordinary speech and was hence avoided by Caesar, is very rare in later literature such as the Vulgate, and is not continued in Romance) was almost exclusively fem. in pre-classical Latin and not consistently treated as a masculine until the classical period. Probably the gender changed under the influence of *fluuius* because of the general gender rule. But in the context of the ancient view of rivers as male divinities (see Nissen 1902:1.300), all Italian river-names are masc., from *Tiberis* and *Anio* on. This normally applies even to 1st-declension names like *Albula* and *Cremera*, even though they are the only masc. *a*-stems with non-personal reference. The rule generally applies even to foreign river-names, especially those of Gaul and Germany, including many in *-a*, such as *Sequana*, *Garumna*, *Isara*, and even *Mosella* (in Ausonius’ poem about the Mosel, the river names *Druentia* at 479, and *Garumna* at 483, are fem.), from Langslow 2009:4-5.

³⁵⁶ Liv. 1.3.8.

³⁵⁷ Enn. *Ann.* 54.5; Virg. *Geor.* 4.369, *Aen.* 8.72; Liv. 2.10.11.

2.2.2 Changing the name of the River

The aforementioned passage of Livy lends itself to an interesting linguistic investigation, which can be connected to the Tiber's change of name and to the prohibition of river crossing, once the *finis* has been established. In the following analysis of both these aspects, it is also important to bear in mind the value Livy gives to the Tiber as *finis*. Under these premises, I will provide evidence showing that the river's change of name is linked with the hegemony exerted by Latins or Etruscans over the Tiber. I will also reconstruct the etymological process that led to the name Tiber, in order to understand the future relationship between Etruscans, Latins and Romans, and chiefly the way in which the Tiber worked as *finis*, according to the Late Republican tradition. Indeed, Livy's apparently 'informative' passage on the change of the name is mirrored by Ovid:

*Albula, quem Tiberim mersus Tiberinus in undis
reddidit, hibernis forte tumebat aquis
hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, lintres errare videres,
quaque iacent valles, Maxime Circe, tuae.*³⁵⁸

Albula, which turned in Tiber from Tiberinus,
drowned in its waves, was swollen with winter rain:
where now the forums are, you see boats floating,
and where the valley of the Circus Maximus lies.

Besides confirming that the episode occurred, Ovid also adds topographical elements, which make the future site of Rome the key point of the passage. [FIG 14]The area is outlined as the long hallway between the Aventine and Palatine hills, now occupied by the Circus Maximus and the area of the *fora*: the *Holitorium* and the *Boarium*, which lay next to the Tiber. The River's name was changed as a consequence of Tiberinus, one of the mythical kings of Alba, drowning in its waters while crossing (*in traiectu*) it. In both Livy's and Ovid's passages, the most ancient name of the Tiber would have been Albula, which, after the Tiberinus episode, changed to Tiber. However, another name for the river is also known:³⁵⁹ Ovid and

³⁵⁸ Ovid *Fast.* 2.389-92.

³⁵⁹ There is also a fourth and a fifth different name for the river in Servius: *Rumon* (*ad Aen.* 8.63; 8.90) and *Serra* (*ad Aen.* 8.63).

Virgil apply a third form to the river, the archaic *Thybris*.³⁶⁰ The former continues in providing topographical elements, linked with the places of future Rome:

*ipse solum colui, cuius placidissima laevum
radit harenosi Thybridis unda latus.*

*hic, ubi nunc Roma est, incaedua silva virebat,
tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat.*

*arx mea collis erat, quem volgo nomine nostro
nuncupat haec aetas Ianiculumque vocat.*³⁶¹

I myself inhabited the ground on the left
Passed by sandy Thybris' gentle waves.

Here, where Rome is now, uncut forest thrived,
and all this was pasture for scattered cattle. My
citadel was the hill the people of this age. Call by
my name, dubbing it the Janiculum.

Virgil also mentions the old names, contrasting the Etruscan with the Latin tradition:

*tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,
a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim diximus;
amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.*³⁶²

then the kings, and savage Thybris, of vast bulk,
after whom we Italians call our river by the name
of Thybris: the ancient Albula has lost her true name.

Ovid, therefore, confirms that *Albula* was the original name of the Tiber. But he also adds that the river took its name from an 'unspecified' king, *Thybris*, which represents a different tradition to that of Tiberinus (and even a different name, though they are reminiscent of one another). And yet further complications surrounding this process of changing the name and the chronological order of these changes are introduced by the fact that the various names were used contemporaneously by early Imperial authors – probably following the Augustan programme.³⁶³ Fortunately, much of the confusion caused by the above is eradicated by a passage of Varro. Although he remains within a mythical sphere, Varro is more detailed, explicit and linear in tracking the onomastic chronology:

Sed de Tiberis nomine anceps historia. Nam et suum Etruria et Latium suum esse credit, quod fuerunt qui ab Thebri vicino regulo Veientum, dixerint appellatum, primo Thebrim. Sunt qui Tiberim priscum nomen Latinum Albulam vocitatum litteris tradiderint,

³⁶⁰ Ovid *Fast.* 1.242; 2.68.; Virg. *Aen.* 5.83, 5.797, 7.242, 8.540; Sil. 8.369; 16.680; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13; Claud. *Cons. Prob. Et Olyb.* 226.

³⁶¹ Ovid *Fast.* 1.241-6; cf. Ovid. *Fast.* 2.68; 3.524; mainly 4.571-2 (*nunc adit Hesperios, Rhenum Rhodanumque Padumque / teque, future parens, Thybri, potentis aquae.*); 5.635, 637, 641; 6.228.

³⁶² Virg. *Aen.* 8.330.

³⁶³ Plin. *N.H.* 3.53.1: "*Tiberis, antea Thybris appellatus et prius Albula*"; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.328-31; Vib.Seq. *Flum.* 147.1. Cf. e.g. Sil. Ital. 6.391, 8.455.

*posterius propter Tiberinum regem Latinorum mutatum, quod ibi interierit: nam hoc eius ut tradunt sepulcrum.*³⁶⁴

But about the name of the Tiber there are two accounts. For Etruria believes it is hers, and so does Latium, because there have been those who said that at first, from Thebris, the nearby chieftain of the Veians, it was called the Thebris. There are also those who in their writings have handed down the story that the Tiber was called Albula as its early Latin name, and that later it was changed on account of Tiberinus king of the Latins, because he died there; for, as they relate, it was his burial-place.

Now, it is possible to reconstruct the onomastic process (the chronological order of the different names), already foreshadowed in Livy: the first name of the river was *Thybrim* or *Thebrim*, defined by the name of a Veientine ruler and setting, before it obtained the Latin name *Albula* and finally *Tiber*. The adaptation of these three names is key to understanding the process of naming the river. By comparing Varro's and Livy's passages, the three names of the Tiber in Varro might be superimposed onto the three different stages of the challenge between the Etruscans and the Latins. Thus, we have first a period of Etruscan dominion (*Thybris*),³⁶⁵ then a second moment when the Latins grew in power (*Albula*) and finally the definitive situation after Tiberinus' (*Tiber*) death. As we will see, this situation might be linked with a turn back of the Etruscans over the Latins, through physical possessions on the Latin side.[2.1.5]

If the change of name is linked to the 'claimed possession' of a natural *finis*, the 'sacrality' of the *finis* is given by the act of crossing that *finis* with any kind of deliberate purpose. Although in a very Late Imperial context, Servius links the ancestral name of Thybris both with the Etruscan King bearing its name and mainly with the fact that the Tiber would have received its name “ἀπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως”, (τῆς ὕβρεως = *Thybris*) from the arrogance (ὕβρις) of crossing it.³⁶⁶ Although

³⁶⁴ Varro *L.L.* 5.30; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.330

³⁶⁵ Cf. Cato the Elder: *Origines* 1.13 = fr. 62P: “*In Tvscorum Ivre pene omnis Italia fverat*” (Nearly the whole of Italy was once under Etruscan Rule). Cornell (1995:156) contextualises Cato's fragment, putting the Etruscan rule in a situation before Enea's arrival in Latium, when the legendary Etruscan king Metabus, ruled the southern Latium city of Privernum.

³⁶⁶ Serv. *ad. Aen.* 3.500: “*siquando Thybrim fluvium: pro quo regem ipsum posuit Thybrim, qui in hunc cecidit fluvium et ei nomen dedit; nam antea Albula dicebatur, ut ostendit in octavo Vergilius. alii volunt non Thybrim cecidisse, sed Tiberinum, regem Albanorum, a quo Tiberis dictus est. ut autem Thybris dicatur, haec ratio est: quodam tempore Syracusani, victores Atheniensium, ceperunt Syracusis ingentem hostium multitudinem et eam caesis montibus fecerunt addere munimenta civitati. tunc auctis muris etiam fossa intrinsecus facta est, quae flumine admissa repleta munitiorem redderet civitatem. hanc igitur fossam, per hostium poenam et iniuriam factam, Thybrin vocaverunt ἀπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως. postea profecti Siculi ad Italiam eam tenuerunt partem, ubi nunc Roma est, usque*

representing an impossible grammatical connection between the genitive and nominative and the phonetic, the ὕβρις denotes overconfident pride and lack of humility, often linked to arrogance.³⁶⁷ Servius reminds us also that the Tiber was “*fines super usque Sicanos*” (“the upper *finis* up to the Sicans”), in a still more ancient period whence Etruscan and Latin considered it.³⁶⁸ The comment of Servius on the *Aeneid* adds very little to this problem, except for small hints which might confirm the hypothesis of a sacral value to the *finis*. A sort of ancestral curse is contained in the episode of Tiberinus, who drowned in his attempt to cross the river. Although there might be several reasons for crossing the river, at first glance the Latin King seems to be guilty of crossing an established *finis*. The evidence of his guilt is not circumstantial and Livy did not write about the episode by chance. The parallel story is told by Servius,³⁶⁹ who describes Tiberinus as an aboriginal killed by Glaucus, an Etruscan, a Latin or a son of Jupiter who fell in battle near the river.³⁷⁰ This act of crossing a defined and agreed *finis* can often have terrible consequences in cases where a ‘struck pact’ has not been respected, having Jupiter as ‘guardian’ of the pact.[3.5.3; 4.3.2]

So who provided the definitive name of the *Tiber*, ultimately accepted by the ‘Italians’, as Ovid reports? Might a *finis* have different names, dictated by the population who claimed it? It could be that the change of name was decided by the population who controlled the river and/or its crossings, or that the final name of *Tiber* was established after the *pax* was struck. The rising Latins as a self-sufficient ethnic group must have represented enough of a threat to the Etruscans that they were able to push them to a reciprocal *pax*, and this final change is indicative of that: it would seem that the two peoples reached a compromise, in which the name resembled the original Etruscan *Thybris*, but linked with the Latin king Tiberinus.

ad Rutulos et Ardeam: unde est “fines super usque Sicanos”: et Albulam fluvium ad imaginem fossae Syracusanae Thybrin vocaverunt, quasi ὕβριν, ut “effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis”. circa Syracusas autem esse fossam Thybrin nomine Theocritus meminit’.

³⁶⁷ The referenced text and still actual is: Payne 1960.

³⁶⁸ Barker 1823:129-30.

³⁶⁹ Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.72.330.

³⁷⁰ Ogilvie 1965:45.

2.2.3 Name and geographical possession of a *finis*

These considerations – drawn both from the evidence provided by the earlier tradition about the agreement on the ‘conceptual line’ and from a reconstruction of the etymological process that resulted in the name Tiber – lead to three more areas of investigation: a) a sort of Etruscan-Latin polarism around the river; b) the process of pacification, based on the river, which had the function of separating territories held by ethnic groups; and c) a kind of cautionary tale for future generations who may plan to reattempt the crossing of the Tiber. Those historical/mythical premises are important for two reasons. Firstly they provide information about a potential dual interface which the river, chosen as a boundary, could possibly have. Secondly, they define an important point of view in the future of Rome’s expansionistic policy, as she would never be restrained in occupying the farthest side of any river.

2.2.4 Etruscan and Latin Tiber

In this section, I will link the name of the river to the evidence of its possession by Etruscans and Latins, through the evidence provided by Livy. The idea that the Romans could control the *finis* might also be useful to help us comprehend the diverse attitude toward the Tiber when compared with the conceptual ‘line’ shared by the Etruscans and Latins. ‘Possessing’ a *finis* can provide diverse advantages, the principal of which is the control of passage points on the *finis* itself. As we can see, the Romans applied different strategies to the Tiber, rivers and natural features in general, considering them a connecting feature between their two sides and capable of joining two different areas.[2.2.8; 6.2.3, 6.2.7]

The first point allows me to determine that, in the Etruscan conception, any river – or at least the Tiber – was always in a state of possession. As the Tiber has been considered as *finis*, we will focus on its possession in Livy’s passages. The Augustan literary circle seems to have had common directions in considering the Italian geo-onomastic. When reminding us of the mythic origins of Mantua, Virgil

calls the Tiber ‘*Thyrrenus Thybris*’³⁷¹ and three times as *Tuscus amnis*,³⁷² because the provenance is from Etruria.³⁷³ Horace names the Tiber as *Tuscus amnis*³⁷⁴ and *Tuscus alveus*,³⁷⁵ and when he talks to his friend Gaius Cilnius Mecenas, who had Etruscan origins, he names it ‘*paterni fluminis ripae*’.³⁷⁶ To the eyes of the Romans of the Early Empire, the northern bank of the Tiber still nominally belonged to the Etruscans, as it is shown in Pliny’s historical and geographical digression.³⁷⁷ Horace again explains that the Tiber ‘clashes’ with the northern bank:

*Vidimus flauom Tiberim retortis
litore Etrusco uiolenter undis.*³⁷⁸

We saw the ‘blonde’ Tiberis waves
hurled backwards from the Tuscan shore.

In the brief paragraph on Tiber, Pliny seems to have adopted the Augustan tradition, which differs from the Varronian one because the Albula would be the oldest name of the river: “*Tiberis, ante Thybris appellatus et prius Albula*”³⁷⁹ (The Tiber or Tiberis, formerly called Thybris, and previously Albula).³⁸⁰

³⁷¹ Virg. *Aen.* 7.242. The Etruscan forms recall the ancestral name of the river: [*th*]ep*rinie* (ET, Ve 3.41, 6th cent. B.C.), *thefarie* (ET, Cr 4.4 early 5th cent. B.C.), *thefri(-sa)* (ET, Pe 1.307, 2nd cent. B.C.:3), *thefrina* (ET, Ta 7.60, 4th cent. B.C.:3). On the Etruscan origin of the Tiber cf. Schulze 1933:247, 582.

³⁷² Virg. *Aen.* 8.473; 10.199, 11.316. Cf. Perkell 1999:193.

³⁷³ Gnilka 2001:225.

³⁷⁴ Hor. *Serm.* 2.2.33. Tiberis, whose declension has got the accusative in *-im* and ablative in *-i*, would confirm the Etruscan origin of the name as the other terms borrowed from Etruscan: *amnis*, *amussis*, *axis*, *cratis*, *curis*, *glanis*, *rumis*, *turris*, *tussis*, etc.: cf. Ernout 1930:22) e dopo da Bonfante 1985:204.

³⁷⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.5.

³⁷⁶ Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.28.

³⁷⁷ The role of the Tiber as *finis* is underlined several times in Pliny’s short statements (*N.H.* 3.53), which rises as a narrow stream, “*media fere longitudine Appennini finibus Arretinorum profluit*” (flowing down from nearly the central part of the chain of the Apennines, in the territory of the Arretini). The translation of this passage is quite difficult to understand. The meaning can be either the most academically considered (see above) or that the Tiber flowed ‘through’ the *finis* or boundaries. In this latter case, *finis* might be translated as boundaries or borders, as opposed to territories.

³⁷⁸ Hor. *Odes* 1.2.14. cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 38; Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.598: s. ‘*litus Tuscus*’. Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli 1976:33; Gnilka 2001:225.

³⁷⁹ Plin. *N.H.* 3.9.1.

³⁸⁰ However, Pliny’s (*N.H.* 3.9.4.) conception is slightly different from the Augustan view as the course of the Tiber ‘*dirimens*’ (divides or splits) different regions: “...*Etruriam ab Vmbris ac Sabinis, mox citra X’VI’ p. urbis Veientem agrum a Crustumino, dein Fidenatem Latinum que a Vaticano dirimens*” (winds along for a course of 150 miles, passing not far from Tifernum, Perugia, and Oriculum, and dividing Etruria from the Umbri and the Sabini, and then, at a distance of less than sixteen miles from the city, separating the territory of Veii from that of Crustumium, and afterwards that of the Fidenates and of Latium from Vaticanum).

However in a later period, the Latins – due to their growing power (“*tantum tamen opes creuerant*”³⁸¹) – would have imposed their influence up to the southern bank of the Tiber, giving to it their own name: *Albula*.³⁸² The etymological root of the Latin name *Albula* could be linked to the whitish colour of the river³⁸³ and therefore have a crucial meaning in the context of the bordering practices. Indeed, Servius³⁸⁴ had connected the name of the river with the white colour of the water, as well as the waters of the river Nar.³⁸⁵ The same root *Alb-* has been identified in several places across Romanised Europe, especially in the bordering practice areas, and the white colour may have been the main indicator of peripheral areas of the Empire, perhaps already in Livy’s time.³⁸⁶ Despite criticisms of this theory, it is therefore important to keep in mind the possibility that the colour might have been associated with some of the ‘bordering concepts’.³⁸⁷

³⁸¹ Liv. 1.1.5.

³⁸² The name recalls the colour white, in Latin: *albus*. It might be due to the fact that the deposits of sulphur (and calcium) in the Tiber basin did actually give the water a whitish colour, and this is what the Romans probably would have connected with the name (Virg. *Aen* 7. 82.: “*oracula Fauni. adit lucosque sub alta consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro fonte sonat saeuamque exhalat opaca mephitim*”). At Tivoli the water of the Anio is charged, not with sulphur, but with carbonate of lime (Burn 1871:394). The sulphurous springs called *Aquae Albula(e)* were used medicinally (Vitr. 8.3; Mart. *Ep.* 1.12; Statius 1.3.74.) and are connected with the nymph Albunea (Hor. *Odes* 1.7.12.), who dwelt in the white cascades of the Anio next to the Tibur (Tivoli) (Virg. *Aen.* 7.83-4; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.332). Burn (1871:360-1) speculated that the ancient *Aquae Albulae* were sulphur-ponds more than five miles from Tivoli on the plain below near Bagni, confirming the tradition (Statius 1.3.74) that the site is so attractive that the river-deities Anienus and Albula bathe in its waters and Tiburnus reclines in the shade of its trees. Tiburnus is mentioned because, like Anienus and Albula, he is a local deity and has a grove of his own. Hallam & Ashby (1914:125; cf. Dunbabin 1933 and Tilly 1934) point out the grove: “The ‘*luculus*’ is, of course, the grove where King Latinus went to consult Faunus as described by Virgil (*Aen.* 7.82: “*Lucosque sub alta Consulit Albunea*”). However, the true site of Virgil’s Albunea was discovered long ago by Bonstetten. It was a wood with a sulphur-spring in it at the Zolforata, 5 km from Lavinium (Pratica), the ancient city of the Laurentes (cf. Probus *Georg.* 1.1 “*itaque etiam oraculum eius (sc. Fauni) in Albunea, Laurentinorum silua, est*”; cf. Dunbabin 1933:56).

³⁸³ Ettema 2004:113.

³⁸⁴ Virg. *Aen.* 8.332: “*albula nomen antiquum hoc nomen a colore habuit*”; cf. Paul. *Fest.* 4L.

³⁸⁵ Enn. *Ann.* 260.5; Virg. *Aen.* 7.517: “*sulpurea Nar albus aqua*”.

³⁸⁶ The tribe of Albani along the southwestern shore of the Caspian Sea, Alba Longa, the modern Albanians (south of Montenegro), but also with Albion (the ancient name of the British Isles) and Alba = Scotland or the river *Albis*, the modern Elbe (lat. *Albis*) in Germany. The confirmation of the colour white is detectable in the slavish languages as in Czech the name is *Labe* and the first segment of the river is also called ‘*Bílá Labe*’ (White Elbe). See on the etymology of the Elbe: Krahe 1954:52-3, 101; Laur 1981:118. However, Haupt (1925:16) had already affirmed that Alba cannot be combined with the Latin ‘*albus*’ (white) and that “the designation Albion is not derived from the chalk-cliffs of Dover, and the old name of the Tiber, Albula, cannot mean White River”. Ogilvie (1965:330-1) following Haupt’s argument, supported the theory that Albula had nothing to do with Latin *albus* and also that the Alps would derive instead from a pre-Indo-European word, which meant ‘mountain’ or ‘stone’: cf. Eden 1975:108-9 and Bertoldi 1936.

³⁸⁷ To verify, the color red (*rubrum*) is present in other border areas and on toponyms which are connected with bordering areas: see Saxa Rubra in the war against Veii.

The practice of changing the name of the Tiber might even have affected political or ethnic identity, such as in the case of the Etruscans or Latins, when exerting their authority over this particularly sensitive area of Italy. And the undeniable duality which dominates this sensitive area of Italy and Rome's origins is traceable in Piccaluga's book, in reference to another mythical period when Silvanus on the Latin side and Jupiter on the Etruscan side shared the leadership in being the official protectors (divinities) of boundaries (*termini*).³⁸⁸ But while archaeology might have provided some confirmation of different stages in the relationship between Etruscans and Latins in the protohistoric age, unfortunately any conclusions drawn are currently limited and often disputed – in spite of the efforts of some scholars to construct a rough picture of them.³⁸⁹ Taking all this into consideration, the *pax* that included the *Albula* (Tiber) as *finis* between the two populations might have limited the Etruscan expansion in some way, as the name was later universally recognised as Tiber. Taking the definition of *finis*, the Tiber is confirmed as *finis* and not just in the Etruscan-Latin context.

Livy only rarely uses the verb *habere* (to have) to define the possession of a *finis*. [APPENDIX 2] He normally prefers the verb *esse* (to be) and those instances where *habere* is used are limited to the case of *Finis A*.³⁹⁰ In using the verb *esse*, Livy seems almost to neutralise the value of *finis* by not assigning the possession to anyone, mainly when the *finis* might be disputed. However, Livy does entertain the possibility that a *finis*, particularly a river, might belong to someone. In his usual way of delimiting a population or a geopolitical area within two 'natural features' working

³⁸⁸ Piccaluga 1974:148: the Latin-Etruscan (*Silvanus-Iuppiter*) dualism on the notion of borders, s. *Silvanus orientalis* and Vegoia's prophecy.

³⁸⁹ At an early stage of its history, Veii reveals a propensity for inhuming people which corresponds with others who penetrated into Latium at the same time, probably by way of the Tiber roads on both sides of the river. Von Duhn (1924:368-9) notes that Faliscan cremation graves are away from the Tiber toward the West, while the strongest inhuming element is in places more accessible from the valley roads. For progress westward of the inhuming rite, see Sundwall 1932:167; Colini 1914:361. The change reaches Veii before the coast (Sundwall 1932:93). Variants of an opposing theory are put forward by Säflund (1938:27) and Pareti (1947:5). They contend that inhumation was the original Italic rite, and that graves of that type are older than cremation tombs on sites where the two are mixed from an early period. Their hypotheses deserve thoughtful consideration, but the question of the physical relation between the two types seems against them. Inhumation graves of the Forum break into cremation pits in such a way as to prove the priority of the latter (Scott 1929:25-6,36). The poor and conservative contents of the graves cannot be dated accurately enough to override such evidence. Cf. Holland 1949:290-1.

³⁹⁰ In the idiom '*finem habere*': Liv. 33.35.12; 36.35.14; 37.26.10; 40.9.5.

as limits/outlines, Livy records that a population *habuere* (had/possessed) the *fines*, which corresponded with two rivers:

*tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere.*³⁹¹

Then the Senones, the latest to come, had their *fines* from the river Utens all the way to the Aesis.³⁹²

Livy seems to place special emphasis on the presence of the Senones as recent arrivals (*recentissimi advenarum*) in the territory between the rivers *Utens* (modern Uso) and *Aesis*³⁹³ (modern Esino), and the verb *habuere* seems to be justified by their occupation, which came with no agreement on the *fines*.³⁹⁴ I insist on the name because – as Ogilvie pinpointed – the change of name from *Thybris/ Thebris* to *Albula* is crucial and “represents the victory of the Etruscan language (*Thebris*) over the indigenous”.³⁹⁵ However, is it just a victory of the language or a tangible possession, which is reflected in the name?

Tiber was chosen to define a territorial end (*finis*) with the aim of avoiding future wars. In other words, it was a process which had ancient roots, as Livy pinpoints, where both parties counterbalanced each other through the use of reciprocal power. And this polarity became embedded in Rome’s nature, as demonstrated by the double or possibly triple name given to the Tiber. The dualism between Etruscans and Latins concerning the Tiber is important in order to understand the way the Tiber worked as, or became, that complementary agreed line between two populations. The explanations outlined above for these two different traditions, which would seem to be the most reasonable, would have contributed to the ultimate authority wielded on this geographical area, due to the historical process of conquest, expanding and holding territories. This dichotomy between Latins and

³⁹¹ Liv. 5.35.3.

³⁹² Husband 1911:386.

³⁹³ On the name of the Aesis: Whatmough 1937:189.

³⁹⁴ The Aesis-Utens area is problematic and for this reason might have received a different approach from Livy. The river Aesis was the old ‘frontier’ of peninsular Italy, before it shifted to the Rubicon, which is the river next to the Utens. Probably Sulla shifted the boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and Italy proper from the Aesis River to the Rubicon, which furnished his justification for extending the *pomerium*, thus satisfying Seneca’s criterion: see Mommsen 1873:122; cf. Sumi 2002:426; Ewins 1955:76. The whole area between the two rivers (*Ager Gallicus*: see Mason 1992:77, n.11; Sherwin-White 1973:76,n.5) is clearly a sensitive area. On the line Arnus-Aesis as ‘boundary’ of Italy before Sulla: Hardy 1916:65-6. Is that the reason why Livy justifies the possession of the *fines*?

³⁹⁵ Ogilvie 1965:330 ff; cf. Eden 1975:109.

Etruscans, which in all likelihood deeply affected the Roman conception of *finis*, can be seen in the future relationships between Rome and her neighbours: the same Latins and Etruscans from which Rome inherited her historical and political background.

2.2.5 Latins in ‘Etruria’ and Etruscans in ‘Latium’

The next four sections are distributed as follows: in the first, I will assess the position and the possession of the Etruscan settlements aligned on the left bank and the presence of Latin ethnic populations (Faliscans and Capenates) on the right bank of the Tiber.[2.2.5] In the second, I will show the distinctiveness of the Capitoline Hill as another settlement similar to Crustumium (modern Marcigliana, North of Rome), *Antemnae* (modern Monte Antenne, Rome) and Fidenae (modern Borgata Fidene, Rome), which were probably under the influence of the Etruscans.[2.2.6] The third section will show the connection between the left bank, where Rome’s core lay, and the right side: the occupation of the Janiculum.[2.2.7] The last will underline how the bridge – or previously any other conjoining means (ferry, Tiberine Island) – may have played a connective, vital part in linking two sides of the river.[2.2.8]

[FIG 13] In this section, I will provide an overall picture of the political and topographical situation along the Tiber prior to the foundation of Rome. The strip of land which follows the Tiber and goes from *Nomentum* (modern Mentana) to Rome is deemed especially sensitive, with the settlements on the left bank, in particular, dotted with fortified settlements occupying steep hills overlooking the course of the Tiber. Nomentum, Crustumium (or Crustumium), Antemnae, Fidenae and possibly Caenina (not identified) were – along with Rome – those bulwarks which directly faced the south bank of the Tiber. The strength of their strategic position came mainly from several points: a) the river crossings; b) the control of main communication routes; and c) the control of the junctions with tributaries. These

settlements were considered a critical hub along the two routes which, in their first section, flanked the Tiber and the break caused by the river-crossing itself.³⁹⁶

The towns of Caenina, Antemnae and Crustuminum were under the authority of the Sabines.³⁹⁷ [3.3] and although they were considered Latin cities by foundation,³⁹⁸ Livy suggests an alternative tradition. Two of the three strongholds were under the influence of the Etruscans: Crustumium (modern Marcigliana) and Fidenae³⁹⁹ (modern Castel Giubileo) and these communities had a ‘*blood connection*’ with Veii.⁴⁰⁰ Fidenae in particular – which was about five miles north of Rome (in Latin or Sabine territory) – was a city that was always allied with Veii and traditionally considered Etruscan.⁴⁰¹ The Livian statement is even stronger – he expressly states that “*nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt*” (“the Fidenates were also Etruscans”).⁴⁰² As a third connection between the Veientes and Fidenates, Livy even notices that the Fidenates had only learnt the Latin language from their intercourse with the Roman colonists.⁴⁰³ Yet Livy is the only writer who alludes to such extension of the Etruscan power beyond the Tiber, despite the fact that Fidenae frequently appears in alliance with Veii, which is sufficiently accounted for by their relative positions. Nomentum – the more southern city in this war scenario could be used as a stronghold from which the Etruscans could launch their attacks on Rome. Here, the Fidenates are also allied in a sort of federation – with Faliscans and Capenates – led by Veii itself (*Veientium Fidenatumque adiunctis Faliscis ad*

³⁹⁶ Hintzen-Bohlen 2001:359.

³⁹⁷ Liv. 1.9.6. They were invited by Romulus for the festival of *Consualia*. On the connection between *Consualia* and *Neptunus Equestris*; see Ogilvie 1965:66. Cf. Liv. 1.38.

³⁹⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.44, 2.35) expressly assigns to the Aborigines the foundation of Antemnae, Caenina, Ficulea, Tellenae, and Tibur.

³⁹⁹ FIDENAE (Φιδῆναι, Strab., Ptol., but Φιδῆνη in Dion. Hal., *Fidena* is used by Virg. *Aen.* 6.773 and by Tacitus *Ann.* 4.62; Eth. Fidenās, -ātis; Φιδηνάϊος, Dionys.) has been deemed an ancient city of Latium and on the Via Salaria, five miles from Rome. There appears no doubt that it was originally and properly a Latin city. Virgil mentions it among the colonies found by the kings of Alba; and in accordance with the same view, Dionysius relates that Fidenae, Crustumium, and Nomentum were founded by colonists from Alba led by three brothers, the eldest of whom was the founder of Fidenae (Virg. *Aen.* 6.773; Dion. Hal. 2.53; Steph.B. *sub voce*). Still more decisive is it that its name is found in Pliny in the list of the towns that were accustomed to share in the sacrifices on the Alban Mount. (Plin. *N.H.* 3.5. s. 9.69).

⁴⁰⁰ Liv. 1.15.1; Strabo 5.2.9. Guidi (2004) has shown the presence of pre- / protohistorical occupational patterns in both sites. See also Carafa 2004:52-3. Archaeological connections between Veii and Crustuminus are detectable in Di Gennaro, Schiappelli & Amoroso 2004:147-55.

⁴⁰¹ Camporeale 2005:18.

⁴⁰² Liv. 1.15.1.

⁴⁰³ Liv. 1.27.9; cf. Liv. 38.34.6; cf. Bayet 1938; Ogilvie 1965:119.

Nomentum exercitus fuderit).⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, it is clear that several cities on the left bank of the Tiber were linked in some way with Veii. However, once again Livy's vision appears to be different from that of other authors. Why did Livy need to show that the Fidenates, who were settled on the opposite bank from Veii, were Etruscans?

There is a common belief that the Etruscans had their core nation delimited by defined borders (Tiber and Arno). Some scholars, including Camporeale,⁴⁰⁵ have questioned this assumption, however. Briefly, therefore, I will present those cases in which the Tiber did not represent a separating line, concerning ethnicity, culture and language. Despite Livy presenting the Tiber as *finis*, it should not be considered as a demarcating or dividing line distinctly separating Etruscans from Latins. On the other side of the Tiber, the situation presented some anomalies in terms of the relationship between populations and territory. Holland here embraces the same thinking as Pliny:⁴⁰⁶ the central-Italian tribes or peoples encompassed specific spheres of competence and rivers played a key role in this subdivision.⁴⁰⁷ Directly opposite one another, the Faliscans and Capenati inhabited the right bank of the Tiber⁴⁰⁸ – in that region which Pliny denominates as 'Etruria' – yet they are often presented together in Livy.⁴⁰⁹ They occupied the *ager Faliscus* and, although they belonged geographically and politically to the Etruscan federation,⁴¹⁰ spoke Latin.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁴ Liv. 4.32.3.

⁴⁰⁵ Camporeale 2005:18.

⁴⁰⁶ Plin. *N.H.* 3.54. The geo-political situation of the Etruria's borders seems to be the clearest and 'sharpest' in the Italian peninsula, as it was enclosed inside two rivers and a sea. Pliny, although a geographer rather than an historian and writing two generations after Livy, uses rivers to shape geo-political entity and not populations or ethnic groups. Etruria and Latium are named, outlined and bordered by rivers.

⁴⁰⁷ Holland 1949:303-319.

⁴⁰⁸ Camilli & Vitali Rosati 1995; Mazzi 1995.

⁴⁰⁹ Liv. 5.8.4,8; 5.12.5; 5.13.9; 5.17.6; 5.18.7, 10; 5.19.7; 6.4.4.

⁴¹⁰ The *ager Faliscus* was bordered on the East by the Tiber and it seems that the significant crossing was by Lucus Feroniae at the southern end of the *ager Capenas*; cf. Frederiksen & Ward Perkins 1957. The northern and southern limits of the *ager Faliscus* are harder to establish. Northwards, the *ager Faliscus* extended to the *ager Hortanus* to the Northeast and the *ager Vulcentanus*. To the Southwest, the *ager Faliscus* bordered on the *ager Veientanus*. The most obvious natural boundary here is formed by the Monti Sabatini and the ridge connecting these with *Mons Soracte* (Monte Soratte), and this may well have been the original western boundary of the *ager Faliscus*. (Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 7.2.19) and Porphyrio (*in Hor. Carm.* 1.9.1) The border with the *ager Capenas* must have run somewhere along its southern and southeastern slopes. It is unclear whether the land between Monte Soratte and the Tiber belonged to the *ager Capenas* or the *ager Faliscus*: although modern authors tend to assign it to the *ager Capenas*, the 4th and 3rd century

After the fall of Veii (390 B.C.), the Faliscans allied with the Tarquinians.⁴¹² Politically, the *ager Faliscus* was probably subsumed into Etruria in a later period⁴¹³ and then aggregated into the *ager Veientem*,⁴¹⁴ the Faliscans were ‘federative’ allies of Veii.⁴¹⁵ Livy knew the natural features that characterised the logistic and strategic importance of the *ager Faliscus*. Geographically, it was ‘bordered’ by the Sabatini and Cimini Mountains – which Mommsen considers the earliest boundary of Etruria⁴¹⁶ – respectively on the South- and Northwest. Livy records that, at the end of the 4th century, the slopes of these mountains were densely wooded,⁴¹⁷ forming an impassable forest: the *Silva Cimina*.⁴¹⁸ Throughout the 5th century, the political influence of Veii extended northward, encompassing with the Ciminian slopes the bulwarks of *Sutrium* and *Nepet* (modern Sutri and Nepi), of which Livy recognises their strategic importance, limiting the northern expansion of the *ager Faliscus*. Although he does not use the term *finis*, Livy allows the reader to visualise the function with regard to the Sutrium and Nepet as:

*namque cum ea loca opposita Etruriae et uelut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea cum quid noui molirentur et Romanis recipiendi tuendique cura erat.*⁴¹⁹

fronting Etruria, served as gates and bulwarks on that side, and the Etruscans were anxious to secure them whenever they were meditating hostilities, whilst the Romans were equally anxious to recover and hold them.

Mommsen has already tackled the question of the Faliscans in the Etruscan territory, emphasising the role of Sutrium and Nepet.⁴²⁰ [2.2.5] The Livian comparison with gates and *claustra* is crucial as it brings to mind a comparison between the landscape and the city, imagining or considering them as part of a

inscriptions from the area to the east of Monte Soratte are virtually without exception Faliscan, instead of Capenate Latin). cf. De Lucia Brolli, Gallavotti & Aiello 1991.

⁴¹¹ On the Faliscan language: Mommsen 1873:1.121; Giacomelli 1963; Vetter 1953; Giacomelli 1978.

⁴¹² Liv. 7.17.2,7.

⁴¹³ Mommsen 1973 1.121, 130.

⁴¹⁴ Liv. 4.21.1.

⁴¹⁵ Liv. 4.17.11: ‘*Faliscorum auxilio venerunt*’; cf. 4.18; 4.21.8; 4.23.4; 4.32.3; 5.8.6; 5.11.8

⁴¹⁶ Mommsen 1873:1.130.

⁴¹⁷ Pollen analyses of samples from the beds of the Lago di Bracciano. The Lago di Monterosi and the Lago di Vico, which indicate that the eastern slopes of the Monti Sabatini were covered by dense oak forests that remained largely undisturbed until the 3rd and 2nd century B.C.; cf. Potter 1976:6.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Liv. 9.35.9-37.1, spec. 9.36.1. Cf. also 10.24.5. *In the last passage, Etruria is assigned to a member of Fabian family and he opened a route through the Silva Cimina.*

⁴¹⁹ Liv. 6.9.4.

⁴²⁰ Mommsen 1873:1.30. Morselli 1980; Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007:

‘walled’ area.⁴²¹ These towns subsequently became Roman colonies in the early 4th century, ceasing to be part of the *ager Faliscus* at an earlier date.⁴²² The same terminology and visualisation finds some correspondence in the Fetial’s procedure when accessing different areas or zones, where the gate of a city are equated to the *finis*.^[4.2.3] In summary, the situation as depicted by Livy appears as follows: the Etruscans of Veii seemed to have control of a federation of sorts, which extended beyond both banks of the Tiber.⁴²³ The definition of *finis* as given to the Tiber by Livy seems, therefore, not to conform to the idea of a dividing line, which dissects two territories in two distinctive parts.

2.2.6 The place of Rome

At some point, Livy describes the relationship between the landscape and the position occupied by Rome:

*non sine causa dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum clegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum.*⁴²⁴

Not without good reason did gods and men choose this spot as the site of a City, with its bracing hills, its commodious river, by means of which the produce of inland countries may be brought down and overseas supplies obtained; a sea near enough for all useful purposes, but not so near as to be exposed to danger from foreign fleets; a district in the very centre of Italy — in a word, a position singularly adapted by nature for the expansion of a city.

Ogilvie has pinpointed the importance of this passage, underlining that, once again, the structure of the sentence – which introduces the list of advantages for Rome – is not immediately clear.⁴²⁵ A combination of needs and decisions was the fertile

⁴²¹ Cf. Liv. 9.32.1. Scullard 1935:92; Fell 1924:94; Becker 2007:58; Bakkum 2009:39.

⁴²² Bakkum 2009:20.

⁴²³ Latin sherds found in Veii do not support the historicity of the war at Romulus’ times (Liv. 1.15.1-5), but they confirm the interchanging relationship between the two banks of the river: cf. Ward-Perkins 1961:22 ff.; Ogilvie 1965:83.

⁴²⁴ Liv. 5.54.4. cf. Ogilvie 1965:748-9. The last phrase in Livy is crucial as he shows the existence of *regiones Italiae* and stresses the importance of being in the middle of them. The statement after, that the Tiber would have been in the centre of Italy, was therefore a given. Ogilvie’s (1965:749) questioning is nonsense as he considers the parenthetic phrase as ‘awkward and artificial’. On the contrary, Livy refers probably to the Augustan regions as he did in the subdivision of the city.

⁴²⁵ Ogilvie 1965:749; cf. Patterson 2004:1.

ground of Rome's development, as Strabo bluntly confirms.⁴²⁶ The founders built Rome where they did more from necessity than from choice, even though the Roman writers tend to ascribe to the very nature of the site certain advantages that were in fact only acquired by generations of determined effort and exploitation of the location.⁴²⁷

[FIG 13, 14]The short segment along which Rome rose has been deemed as the main connective junction of peninsular Italy. Here, two routes intersected each other: the north-south route leading northward to Etruscan territory, and the East-West route, important in the transport of salt from the sea to the Sabine herders and other peoples in the interior, its name reflected in the ancient name Via 'Salaria' (Salt Road).⁴²⁸ Rome's prominent position on the Tiber exercised a position of control over both the naval traffic and any sort of crossing-ford, taking advantage of being the closest stronghold to the sea.⁴²⁹ The City straddles the Tiber at a point some 24km inland from the Mediterranean Sea and lies on the highest and steepest cliffs for anyone who comes from the sea – a maritime vantage that has been listed by both ancient and modern authorities as being among the first virtues of the location.⁴³⁰ Besides adding fish to the food supply,⁴³¹ ancient authors emphasised the importance of the Tiber. Rome was near enough to the sea for convenience, but not so near to be in danger from foreign fleets.⁴³² In its lower course, the Tiber was easily navigable for even large ships, which could reach a sort of natural *emporium*, a marketplace.⁴³³ Even though at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. maritime trade at Rome was still negligible, Livy depicts Camillus reaping the benefits from

⁴²⁶ Strabo 5.3.2, 7.

⁴²⁷ Cozzo 1935:135; Pareti 1947:56-7; Nissen 1902:1.317-8; Romanelli 1949:61; Cic. *Rep.* 2.6-11; Plin. *N.H.* 3.53-4. Beloch (1926:201-2) exaggerates the importance of the Tiber to Rome, which he says was the natural emporium of the whole district because of its situation on the river.

⁴²⁸ Gates 2003:329.

⁴²⁹ Campbell 2012:77.

⁴³⁰ Plin. *N.H.* 3.53-4; Sen. *Dial.* 12.9.7; Mela 3.39. Cozzo 1935:135; Pareti 1947:56-7; Nissen 1902:1.317-8; Romanelli 1949:61; Cic. *Rep.* 2.6-11; Beloch 1926:201-2.

⁴³¹ Bones of fresh water fish were found in Forum graves: cf. Von Duhn 1924:422.

⁴³² Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1.93 "*exposita ad praedandum Pamphylia*"; Mela 2.76; Tac. *Hist.* 1.11.3. Cf. Holland 1949:301; Cornell & Matthews 1982:17.

⁴³³ For late development of Portus and Emporium at Rome, see Säflund 1932:175, 177; for general lack of interest in seafaring, Jordan 1907:1.1.428; Ashby 1927:16; Frank 1940:1.54. Holland 1949:301; Campbell 2012:77.

the river, receiving merchandise from overseas.⁴³⁴ This ancestral marketplace – encompassing the whole district – was probably set in the area of the *Fora Boarium* and *Holitorium*, which is the place where Tiberinus attempted his crossing.⁴³⁵ Although no ancient writer suggests that there was a ford at Rome, in this area a river crossing might have been set up, as the mythical tradition would suggest: Hercules himself waded through the river at the future site of Rome with a herd of cattle, clashing with a primitive ‘Roman’ inhabitant, Cacus.⁴³⁶ The advantage of Rome was the same as Antemnae, Crustuminum and Fidenae, which had the control of key points along the Tiber: fords, crossings and connection with tributaries.⁴³⁷ Perhaps it is not accidental that Caeninae and Antemnae – with Fidenae – are listed amongst the first villages conquered by Romulus.[3.4] What was it that Rome had that the other towns listed above did not?

Rome’s first concern was to eliminate the installation of similar places. Furthermore, besides being the only ford/bridge in the area, Rome allowed travellers to cross just one river, before approaching the Anio, for those who used to head to Etruria from the South. Rome would have had advantages in controlling the opposite bank, keeping both sides strongly connected. The nature of the banks was already favourable, since they were fairly solid on both sides opposite the island, while the surrounding swamps helped to interconnect the approach to the river.⁴³⁸ Livy presents this landscape, creating an association in the reader’s mind between Rome’s hills and the Tiber, when the river used to flood:

*forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis, nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis.*⁴³⁹

It is something strongly divine that the Tiber used to spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools, as the main channel of the Tiber was not even recognisable when the flood happened.

[FIG 14] So what was the landscape like around a flooding river? In these cases, the Capitoline appeared like a peninsula, stretched out from standing waters merged

⁴³⁴ Livy (5.54.4) probably transposed the days of the Gallic disaster to the early imperial Rome, when the docks of the Emporium received daily deliveries from the markets of the world.

⁴³⁵ Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 2.389-92.

⁴³⁶ Liv. 1.7.4.

⁴³⁷ Holland 1949:310.

⁴³⁸ Holland 1949:312.

⁴³⁹ Liv. 1.4.4.

together. By flooding the area around it, the Tiber *de facto* isolated the Capitoline Hill, which stayed connected with the Quirinal Hill only through a thin, continuous saddle.⁴⁴⁰ The river and the picture drawn by Livy, of surrounding land flooded, would have given the Palatine and Capitoline the shape of a promontory. Although the situation was uncomfortable for the first settlers, they might have had easy access to the river through these broad bogs. Rome effectively turned into a seasonal peninsula and a comfortable refuge, as no enemy, neither man nor beast, could approach the settlement. In the early period the *Arx* – the northern slope of the Capitoline Hill – was one of the key spots of the *Urbs*. Besides being small enough to be defended with only a few men,⁴⁴¹ it also hosted the *auguraculum*,⁴⁴² a sacred place used to divide and control the space around it, and was used strategically and commercially as an observation post.[2.2.7; esp. 3.1] The importance of having a broad view of the surrounding area,⁴⁴³ and especially the Tiber, is a theme debated in the chapter dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. For now it is enough to say that the whole area around the *Arx* was readily visible and allowed for the regulation of any movement of people.

[FIG 13, 16]The only obstacle to the 360-degree visual was the Janiculus Hill. Positioned on the western bank, the ridge of Janiculum overlooked the hills on both sides of the Tiber. The first Roman objective, therefore, was to secure the hill on the opposite side within the City's borders. Rome began a series of wars with Veii,

⁴⁴⁰ The hill (*mons*) was cut by Trajan in creating his forum as the inscription on the base of his column reports: “SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS / IMP CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F NERVAE / TRAIANO AVG GERM DACICO PONTIF / MAXIMO TRIB POT XVII IMP VI COS VI P P / AD DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITVDINIS / MONS ET LOCVS TANTIS OPERIBVS SIT EGESTVS (The Senate and people of Rome to the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus, son of Nerva of blessed memory, conqueror in Germany and Dacia, High Priest, vested with the tribunician power 17 times, proclaimed Imperator 6 times, elected consul 6 times, Father of the Nation: as an illustration of the height which this hill and place attained, now removed for such great works as these).

⁴⁴¹ Livy (5.48.6) describes the bitter trial of the Roman force besieged on the Capitoline by the Gauls: “*diem de die prospectans ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret,*” and the hopelessness they felt because they knew that there was no relieving force if they could not see one.

⁴⁴² The open space (*templum*) on the *arx*, where the public auspices were taken after the Capitoline hill had become a part of the city. In the centre of this open space was the thatched hut of the observer, which was preserved in its primitive form at least as late as the time of Augustus (Vitr. 2.1.5; Varr. *L.L.* 7.8; Cic. *Off.* 3.66-7; Paul. Fest. 18; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 22.5; Liv. 1.24; Platner & Ashby s. ‘*auguraculum*’; Lugli 1946:37; Paul. Fest. 466-7L, s. ‘*summissiorem*’). The *auguraculum* was on the northeast corner of the *arx*, above the *clivus Argentarius*, probably near the apse of the present church, which coincidentally is called S. Maria in Aracoeli (Jordan 1907:1.2.102-6).

⁴⁴³ Jordan 1907:1.1.131.

which possessed at least the right bank of the Tiber.⁴⁴⁴ These wars can be historiographically divided into two moments: during the Regal Period (753-510 B.C.) and in the Republican Period (510-390 B.C.). I will focus on the war with Veii because the *finis* used by Livy is related to the rivers Tiber and Cremera, which bordered Veii's territory. We do not have to think that the Romans "were impressed by the feeling that the Etruscan was a foreigner, while the Latin was their countryman".⁴⁴⁵ On the contrary, Rome fought against both of them in various ways and also the territory south of Rome presented *finis*, shared with the Latins. [FIG 13]Livy refers to the *Fossa Cluilia* as a bordering practice area between the territories of Rome and Alba.⁴⁴⁶ It is almost the same sort of agreement when Rome had to fight Alba: it was agreed that the conflict would be decided by a duel between Horatii and Curiatii, so that the Etruscans could not take advantage of a war between them ("*etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit*").⁴⁴⁷ [4.3.2]

This task was apparently accomplished by Ancus Marcius (640-616 B.C.). Digging a defensive ditch (*Fossa Quiritum*)⁴⁴⁸ or building walls was a consistent part of his policy of expansion and defence of the whole city, as Livy stresses in different circumstances.⁴⁴⁹ [4.2.2] Amongst these works, Ancus undertook the main extension of the city based on the incorporation of the Janiculum into the City:

*Janiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. id non muniri solum sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit.*⁴⁵⁰

Janiculum was also annexed to the city, not from any lack of room, but lest it might someday become a stronghold of Rome's enemies. It was decided not only to fortify it, but also to connect it with the City, for greater ease in passing to and fro, by a bridge of piles, the first bridge ever built over the Tiber.

⁴⁴⁴ De Santis 1997.

⁴⁴⁵ Mommsen 1873:1.131.

⁴⁴⁶ Liv. 1.23.3; 2.39.5.

⁴⁴⁷ Liv. 1.23.8.

⁴⁴⁸ Liv. 1.33.7: "*Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est*" (The Quirites' Ditch also, no small protection on the more level and accessible side of town, was the work of King Ancus). Can this ditch be related to a sort of border line, similar to the *Fossa Cluilia* for the Latin territory? Cf. Liv. 1.38.6-7.

⁴⁴⁹ Liv. 1.38.6: "*nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem qua nondum munitur cingere parat*" (For he set to work to encircle the hitherto unfortified parts of the City with a stone wall, a task which had been interrupted by the Sabine war).

⁴⁵⁰ Liv. 1.33.6.

The occupation of the Janiculum was necessary in order to prevent surprise attacks from the North, i.e from the Veientes. Livy, however, focuses the attention on the connective value of the bridge, the main expedient used to improve the relations between the City and the detached area on the other side of the Tiber. Preceded by a ferry, the use of a bridge was possibly the crucial revolutionary idea that allowed for a joining of the banks lawfully, religiously and practically.⁴⁵¹ A pontoon bridge, or more probably the 'Sublicius',⁴⁵² was supported on piles driven into the bed of the stream.⁴⁵³ The existence of a massive stepping stone guarded by the Citadel – the Tiberine Island – was also helpful to build up the bridge, which connected the opposite bank.⁴⁵⁴ The ancient accounts explain artificial improvements to a massive island, right in front of the main city hills (Capitoline and Palatine), illustrating the effect of interfering with nature, through an act of creation.⁴⁵⁵ This place, which probably decided Rome's destiny was of vital importance for Rome of three factors: a) the consequent command and control of the crossing; b) the first bridge; and c) the island – which could have given an advantage to any invading forces who crossed from it.⁴⁵⁶ As consequence, scholars are in general agreement that Rome

⁴⁵¹ Holland 1949:311.

⁴⁵² Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.45.2, 9.68) says it was impossible to cross the Tiber on foot except by a bridge. Platner & Ashby s. 'Pons Sublicius' speaks of "slack water below the island where the original ford was situated". Jordan (1907:1.1.394) and Gilbert (1885:2.178, n. 1) describe the same place as dangerous with rapids. Smith (1877:25) and Nissen (1902:1.317) join the latter in supporting Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Plin. *N.H.* 36.100; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.646; Paul. Fest. 374L. A depiction of the bridge on an Antonine medallion shows the bridge's supports as vertical clusters, clearly representing bundled wooden piles; cf. Mayerhöfer 1883:26; Taylor 2002:3.

⁴⁵³ Holland 1949:312.

⁴⁵⁴ Holland (1961:242-6) identifies a bridge older than the Sublicius, which originally connected Rome, the Island and the *Trans Tiberim*.

⁴⁵⁵ There are two legends on the 'creation' of Tiberine Island: a) In Livy's account, the island is not considered in this process, as he follows the tradition after which it was created by the corpse of Tarquinius (Liv. 2.5.); b) the Vestal Virgins prepared the *mola salsa*, a meal served to the priests consisting of cakes of far (a type of wheat) and salt during various festivals. The waste material from the preparation process was thrown from the *Pons Sublicius* into the Tiber in the form of straw men. Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.135, 4.57, 10.541; Serv. *Eclog.* 8.82. See Holland 1961:316-7; Taylor 2002:2.

⁴⁵⁶ Weiss 1936:11.782-4; Almagià 1949:29.590; Cozzo 1935:87-91; Lugli 1938:3.620; Platner & Ashby:1929:536. Holland 1949:310 states that the *insula* was the best place to set up a cable ferry, if such a thing existed. However, some authors consider that the Romans did not have a major crossing by the Island, disregarding the island until the construction of embankments and the draining of the marsh on the east bank made development desirable: cf. Le Gall 1953a:83; Taylor 2002:2.

offered the first protected and comfortable crossing on the way upstream from the mouth of the Tiber.⁴⁵⁷

2.2.7 Connection Capitoline-Tiber-Janiculum

Since the *loca* (places) of the Tiber-*finis* has been established by the tradition, I will try to extrapolate from this section some features attributable to the *finis*, as Livy records them. In this section, my research targets one event: the occupation or the possession of Rome beyond the opposite bank of the Tiber as *finis*. Specifically, I will consider a key argument – the connection of a river (Tiber) with specific places (Janiculum and Capitolium Hills) – which helps to define the concept of *finis*. In order to understand how the Tiber-*finis* was considered, I will focus attention on the adjoining of the Janiculum to Rome, which lay on the left bank of the Tiber. The willingness to occupy the Janiculum – and to consider it as part of the city – represents a true revolution in Roman conception about *finis*: both sides of a *finis* are seen as a unity. Although it has not been definitively proven that the Janiculum was inhabited at the time of Ancus, Livy's narrative reveals the conjoining elements that made this annexation possible. The bridge as a means of connection is a key point both in the Livian account and in the reshaping of the concept of *finis* and is, nevertheless, crucial to my argument.

Although Livy acknowledges that the Janiculum was encompassed into the City by Ancus, this process was still unfinished at the time of Porsenna's invasion (509 B.C.). Therefore, I disagree with Ogilvie's somewhat radical belief that the "incorporation of the hill as a whole" was an exaggeration.⁴⁵⁸ It is merely the case that, at this crucial historical moment, Rome had obtained a permanent link with the Janiculum, but not its complete control. In this context, Livy's legendary account of the first war against Veii in Romulus' time can be read as a statement of the Roman

⁴⁵⁷ Besnier (1902) made an often repeated statement that the island is of the same tufa rock as the Capitoline (cf. Platner & Ashby 1929 s. 'Capitoline Hill'). De Angelis d'Ossat (1944:77) shows a dismaying lack of evidence for this assertion, but gives his opinion that the island existed from prehistoric times and was of cardinal importance in making an early bridge possible (1944:88). The small island shown in old maps at the upper end of the *Insula Tiberina* was apparently formed by a mass of masonry which fell away from the bank (1944:81). Cf. Holland 1949:312.

⁴⁵⁸ Ogilvie 1965:137.

attitude towards the presence and the function of the Tiber.⁴⁵⁹ Once attacked by the Etruscans, the Romans had an entrepreneurial determination in crossing the river. This determination is also evident in the difference between the Roman and the Veientine military tactics: the latter would devastate and plunder Rome's territory before returning to their own, without setting up any fort (*...itaque non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere*).⁴⁶⁰ Livy in this case uses the term *ager* (*agris*) to indicate the Roman territory – a key point for the exploration of the term *finis*. In the first chapter, I underlined that the translation of *fines* (plural) is often combined with the notion of territory.[1.4.1] Through the use of this term, Livy again highlights Roman tactics and strategy: instead of remaining ensconced behind Rome's river, "the Romans – not finding the enemy in their territory (*agris*) – ready and eager for a decisive struggle, crossed the Tiber" ("*Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit*").⁴⁶¹ Once again Livy relates those places with Ancus' expansion, stating the connection between the King and the enlargement of their borders. Ancus' expansionistic policy allows Livy the opportunity to emphasise this difference between *agri* and *fines*, in the process of Rome's extension of her dominion.

*Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretri amplificata.*⁴⁶²

And this reign was a period of growth, not only for the City, but also for her lands and *fines*. The Maesian Forest was taken from the Veientes, extending Rome's dominion clear to the sea; at the Tiber's mouth the city of Ostia was founded, and salt-works were established near-by; while in recognition of signal success in war the temple of Jupiter Feretrius[3.3] was enlarged.

In the first phrase, Livy reports Rome's expansion on three different levels: city (*urbs*), territory (*ager*) and *fines*. They are clearly three different layers, which form a sequence from the core to the periphery of the Roman domain. It is undeniable that *ager* and *fines* are distinguishable and clearly not synonymous, representing two different conceptions of space to Roman eyes. Moreover – besides this one aspect – Livy sums up in this key passage some other important aspects: a) the *Silva*

⁴⁵⁹ Liv. 1.15.1-3.

⁴⁶⁰ Liv. 1.15.2.

⁴⁶¹ Liv. 1.15.2.

⁴⁶² Liv. 1.33.9.

Maesa was probably part of the *fines*; b) the *fines* might also be connected with the extended (*prolatum*) *imperium*; c) the foundation of the colony of *Ostia Tiberis* might be linked to the control of salt-works; d) the enlargement of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was due to great victories and deeds, which some authors have linked with the extension of the *fines*.^[3.8]

Livy presents other examples, in which *finis* and *ager* are in the same context:

- *Sita in Maesessum finibus est, Bastetanae gentis ager frugifer; argentum etiam incolae fodiunt.*⁴⁶³

It is situated in the *fines* of the Maesesses, a Bastetanian tribe. Its land is fruitful; the inhabitants mine silver also.

- *finium is ager Cassandrensiu erat, longe fertilissimus omnis orae quam praeteruecti fuerant.*⁴⁶⁴

These *fines* belonged to the territory of Cassandrea and was by far the most fertile of all the coast they had passed.

- *[Fabii], qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem fecere.*⁴⁶⁵

but in all that region where the Tuscan territory marches with the Roman the Fabii afforded universal security to their own countrymen and vexation to the enemy, by ranging along the *finis* on both sides.

Fines have a precise spatial definition, which is not superimposable upon *ager* and therefore cannot be translated as territory. At the moment, it is important to emphasise this difference. The last passage – on the Fabii – will be discussed later,^[2.3.2] while the possibility of different territorial subdivision of the surrounding space will be analysed later.^[4.2.3.1]

2.2.8 *Finis* and the bridge

In this section, I emphasise the role of the ‘passageways’ across the *fines*, which turn into a means of connection between two separated areas. The extension of *fines* might also have encompassed Ancus’ expansion on the right bank of the

⁴⁶³ Liv. 28.3.3.

⁴⁶⁴ Liv. 44.10.12.

⁴⁶⁵ Liv. 2.49.9.

Tiber. Through the 'natural' incorporation of the area beyond the Tiber-*finis* and the setting up of a bridge, Rome created an 'osmotic area' (my definition).⁴⁶⁶

[FIG 16] Directly in front of the Capitoline lay the Janiculum hill, obscuring the sightline towards Etruria. The establishment of a Janiculan outpost was, therefore, one of the first concerns for early Romans although, in terms of occupation, it was more likely a watch tower than a fortress initially.⁴⁶⁷ Ancus added the Janiculum [to the City] (*Janiculum quoque adiectum*) for strategic purposes: to avoid the hill becoming a stronghold for the enemy [the Etruscans] (*sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset*) and not because of lack of space in Rome (*non inopia loci*). However, bringing the Janiculum within Rome's *fines* was a two-stage process. Firstly, the King crowned the Janiculum with walls and later he decided "also to connect it with the City, for greater ease in passing to and fro, by a bridge of piles, the first bridge ever built over the Tiber" ("*sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit*").⁴⁶⁸ This was not the establishment of an entity independent and separate from Rome; this new area was a part of the City herself.

The early ford heading to the right bank conveyed the existing synergic system toward the Janiculum. Historical reminiscences told the Romans that that side (*ripa*) belonged to the Etruscans of Veii. But the Tiber had never been considered a

⁴⁶⁶ OSMOSIS:1. Biology & Chemistry: A process by which molecules of a solvent tend to pass through a semipermeable membrane from a less concentrated solution into a more concentrated one. And especially acceptance 2. The process of gradual or unconscious assimilation of ideas, knowledge, etc. (OED2 2010). Although the Oxford Dictionary definition gives both ideas, biologically and socially, of an 'osmotic process', I just report the passage of a romance writer, who provides a more colourful idea of an 'osmotic area' by applying the biological aspects to the visual-narrative style [see ch. 1 on Livy's style]: "The Tendency of a solvent to pass through a "semipermeable" (which he defines as: "allowing some substances to pass; permeable (open to passage) to smaller molecules but not to larger ones, as a membrane in osmosis") membrane, as the wall of a living cell, into a solution of a higher concentration, so as to equalise concentrations on both sides of the membranes ('membrane' being fine skin, parchment—a thin pliable sheet)". A further definition of "osmosis" is given as: "The diffusion of fluids through a membrane or porous partition: an apparently effortless absorption of ideas—feelings—attitudes—etc.; as if by biological osmosis". (Freedman 2002:76-7). The 'osmotic process' might provide the idea of growing space and assimilation of Rome, performed already with Caenina, Antemnae and Crustumium, following the embodiment of the surrounding territory through connective means such as roads, sea routes, and mainly bridges, mountain passes and tunnels.

⁴⁶⁷ Taylor 2002:1

⁴⁶⁸ Liv. 1.33.6.

‘whole Etruscan river’ in Roman memory,⁴⁶⁹ and they now proceeded to override the schematic subdivision made in the protohistoric period through the annexation of Janiculum, by constructing across this *finis* – the Tiber – the first bridge as a substantial stepping stone in Ancus’ expansionistic policy. A sight-system of flag signals now linked the Janiculum to the *Arx*,⁴⁷⁰ which was still standing as a vestigial remnant of military past in the Late Republic.⁴⁷¹ Ancus’ construction of a wooden bridge over the Tiber – and his conquest of the salt-beds (*Salinae*) – allowed Rome to become the new hub along the salt road.⁴⁷² In this early period of Rome’s history, the river might have had the ancestral function of *finis*, inheriting both the situation and the concept from the Etrusco-Latin agreement. Here, across the Tiber, was situated the *Lucus Albionarum* where sacrifices of white oxen were offered, confirming that the name Albula does indeed share some connection with the colour of the river itself.⁴⁷³ North and south banks had shrines of *Anna Perenna* (*Amnis Perennis?*)⁴⁷⁴ and *Dea Dia*⁴⁷⁵ set up, both of which could be reached by boat on the occasion of their festivals. For this reason, Purcell stresses the liminal, religious and legal nature of the site along the river.⁴⁷⁶ In Rome, the Tiber had the strongest ideological meaning in dividing the *Urbs* from the ‘*litus Tuscus*’ (Etruscan bank),⁴⁷⁷ a strip of land belonging to Veii and running from the Faliscan / Capenate

⁴⁶⁹ I.e. Stat. *Silvae* 1.2.190.

⁴⁷⁰ Livy (4.18.6) describes a dictator with the army at Antemnae as he watches for the battle signal to be raised from the Roman *Arx* after the auspices. The signal in this case was apparently a flag, but Livy (4.27.12) and Caesar (*B.C.* 3.65.2) show that the ancients also used smoke signals. Other instances of long-distance communication are Dion. Hal. 3.6.3, 7.11, 5.41. Visibility was important when travel was so slow. Ancient towns were placed so that they could be approached by unseen enemies only at night. The long range of the eye in the neighbourhood of Rome has been important in history. The Alban Hills are visible from Caere, or even from Tarquinii on a very clear day, and they remain in sight for travellers on the coast road; cf. Von Duhn 1924:391. Antemnae was an early acquisition of the Romans and its height could be used for camp or signal station. It may have been called *turrigerae* (Virg. *Aen.* 7.631) not from turrets of a wall which it probably never had, but from a known tradition of a signal tower. It was useful to have a relay between Rome and Fidenae which was screened from the *arx* by the Pincian Hill (Dennis 1883:1.53). Holland 1949:309, n. 115.

⁴⁷¹ For the obscure question of “*vexillum in arce positum*,” see Grimal 1945:68-70; Lugli 1946:36. Cf. Cass. Dio 37.28; Macrobius *Sat.* 1.16.15; Liv. 39.15.11; Paul. Fest. s. 92L, s. ‘*iusti dies*’; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.1. Holland 1949:314.

⁴⁷² Ogilvie 1965:140-1, who connects the control of the *salinae* with Via Salaria and the journey to the Sabine hinterland; cf. Richardson 1992, s. ‘*Salinae*’; Taylor 2002:2.

⁴⁷³ Paul. Fest. 4L: “*Albiona ager trans Tiberim dicitur a luco Albionarum quo loco bos albas sacrificabatur*”. The word *Albio-na* would be ‘the place of the Albii’ like Murcio-na. Cf. Palmer 1970:109.

⁴⁷⁴ Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007:212-4.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Woodard 2006:227-9.

⁴⁷⁶ Purcell 1996:187.

⁴⁷⁷ Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.598; cf. Irollo 2004:139.

territory to the mouth of the Tiber.⁴⁷⁸ The festival of *Dea Dia* was also called *Tuscanicae*, with a reference to the Etruscan side of the bank.⁴⁷⁹ How far, both spatially and chronologically, that zone spread is demonstrated by the name '*ripa Veientana*',⁴⁸⁰ which clung to the Roman right bank for centuries after the great rival had fallen and the Roman territory had passed beyond its walls.⁴⁸¹

The 'alien' or *peregrinus* territory of Etruria,[*alienus:4.3.2; peregrinus:4.2.3*] as it was in the Roman conception, began directly on the other side of the river, and the river bank in both directions was the setting for important rituals that concerned the boundaries of space and time. A further confirmation of the nature of the Tiber as a *finis* is given by an essential step: the development of a limited concept of planning, detectable among the Romans in the distinction between public and private land or between sacred and other land. For instance, in order to protect public rights, the commissioners for water and for the banks of the Tiber had power to exercise such delimitation (*terminatio*), and erected *cippi* to mark the boundary.⁴⁸² In this context, both the bridge and the river served a dual role; first as 'divider' and later as 'joiner'. The Pontiffs – besides being tasked with looking after the Sublicius Bridge – used to perform sacred functions on both bridgeheads.⁴⁸³ And it would seem that bridges on both sides of the island were necessary for many centuries, as the ancient name of '*Inter duos pontes*'⁴⁸⁴ implies.

As previously mentioned, however, at the time of Porsenna's invasion (510/9 B.C.), the process of fortifying the Janiculum had still not been completed, as it could not check the Clusinian army. But Livy still underlines the defensive nature of the Tiber, confirming it as a natural barrier capable of repelling a siege and mostly as Rome's

⁴⁷⁸ This is in general the line on which raiding parties used to bring their attacks: Tarquinians and Faliscans appear at the Roman *Salinae* to which only Veii had had access (Liv. 7.17.6). Caeretans are involved in another raid there (Liv. 7.19.8).

⁴⁷⁹ Prudent. *Perist.* 2.77. During the feast dedicated to the *Dea Dia* (end of May), several banquet took place. Lit torches touched the pots (*tuscanicae*) of food, now profanated and made proper for human use, by carrying it to the Arval Brothers. Woodard 2006:230.

⁴⁸⁰ The name is still used on imperial *cippi* (CIL 6.31547, 31548 b). See Jordan 1907:622, 651-2. Cf. Hor. *Odes* 1.2.14: "*litore Etrusco*".

⁴⁸¹ Holland 1949:309.

⁴⁸² Robinson 1992:22.

⁴⁸³ Var. *L.L.* 5.83

⁴⁸⁴ Lanciani 1897:18. For the name, see Platner & Ashby 1929 s. '*Insula Tiberina*'. Cf. Holland 1949:311.

defender, and the defensive function of the Tiber is definitively confirmed by its comparison with the city walls.⁴⁸⁵ On the appearance of the enemy, the Romans:

*pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta.*⁴⁸⁶

decided to gather themselves, withdrawing from their fields into the City. The weakest points were protected by military posts, elsewhere by the walls and somewhere else by the barrier of the Tiber.

This equation between a natural feature, such as a water stream, and an artificial construction such as the city walls, might represent an important step in identifying some features of *finis*, which seems in this example to be more important as a defensive tool than as a ‘marking line’. We have already seen this consequent ‘crescendo’ of supposed layers in Livy’s historical representation of *urbs*, *ager*, *fines*, related to Ancus’ expansion (*nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque [urbs => ager => fines]*).⁴⁸⁷ In this case – when Rome had to defend herself, the order of the layers is inverted (*in urbem ex agris demigrant / urbem ipsam / alia muris, alia Tiberi*) and the term *finis* is omitted: territory => *urbs* => walls/Tiber. The Roman conception of the surrounding space/territory prefigures as a concentric view of the world, subdivided by imaginary strips. Moreover, Livy renders the bridge as a vital element through which two parts can be joined or split, united or separated, connected or divided. In common with Juvenal, he depicts the heroic deeds of Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola and Clelia, confirming the function of the Tiber in a sort of historical *topos* common to all three episodes. Romans’ fears were realised when Porsenna conquered the Janiculum, but most of all when he tried to take the city by passing over the bridge. The wooden piled ‘*sublicium*’ set up between two river sides served as a ‘corridor’ for the enemy (*pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit*)⁴⁸⁸ and what the Romans feared most came to pass: Porsenna had occupied the Janiculum and exploited it as a fortress to attack Rome on the opposite side. The Romans, meanwhile, were experiencing for the first time all possible functions of a bridge: not least that it could be defended by just a few people, in this case led by Horatius Cocles, “*qui positus forte in statione pontis,*

⁴⁸⁵ Burck 1967:124.

⁴⁸⁶ Liv. 2.10.1.

⁴⁸⁷ Liv. 1.33.9

⁴⁸⁸ Liv. 2.10.2

*cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum*⁴⁸⁹ (“who chanced to be on guard at the bridge when Janiculum was captured”). Horatius Cocles was the sole, last defence of the bridge in the face of Porsenna’s advancing army, and he succeeded brilliantly in holding it.⁴⁹⁰

Livy gives a series of clues in this passage that resume the previous observations: the Janiculum is part of the City and has a privileged link with the other two monumental hills, Palatine and Capitoline (*Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore*). *Pons Sublicius* was broken apart (*interrumpant*) with swords, fire and any other means available (*ferro, igni, quacumque vi possint*), and came crashing down when the Etruscans, stunned by a standoff with only three men, attempted to charge the defenders – to the delight and cheers of the Romans, who were consequently saved (*iam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum*). Cocles’ prayer addressed to the river, when he is about to dive into it, also reminds the reader of another reason the Romans had to defend these *finis*: its Latin name (*Tiberinus*) represents the sum of the importance given to the water stream, ‘*Tiberine pater*’. According to Cicero,⁴⁹¹ the name Tiberus or ‘Tiberinus’ was certainly ancient, since it appeared in the augural prayer and referred to the sacred value of the river.⁴⁹² [2.2.2]

⁴⁸⁹ Liv. 2.10.3

⁴⁹⁰ Liv. 2.10.11; cf. Forsythe 1999:48.

⁴⁹¹ Cicero *N.D.* 3.2.1; 5.52.

⁴⁹² Polyb. 6.55.1; Liv. 2.10.2-11; Dion. Hal. 5.24.1-3. The river Tiber in the works of Roman writers is either specifically or by implication a god. “*Pater Tiberinus*” served to identify the god, as the original worship of the river itself was overlaid at least by the 2nd century B.C. by developed Greek anthropomorphic concepts of the river-god, through which people worshiped a god dwelling in the river rather than the river. So, Martial refers to ‘sacred Tiber’. The *lectio* ‘*Pater Tiberinus*’ (Cf. Enn. *Ann.* 1; Virg. *Aen.* 8.31, 72) instead was the personification or river-god, which was introduced by the Roman poets, probably in the Augustean circle. The Tiber, with its status as an object of religious homage, was also linked to the foundation myth of Rome. The Tiber turned into a subtle personification as the river began to assume characteristics as an agent of prosperity and a wise and strong mentor and guardian of the Roman state, in which role it could be represented in human form. He appears as a ready-made national symbol in human form on imperial coins and represented on important temples such as *Mars Ultor*, where he emerges as a strong mentor and guardian of the Roman state and a symbol and guarantor of Rome’s prosperity and success (cf. Le Gall 1953b:24, pl. VII. The hypothetical pediment design is based on the identification of a relief on the facade of the Villa Medici; cf. Zanker 1988:113-4, 194-6; Rich 1998:91-7). Of course, a river with these powerful qualities, which flowed through a mighty city, could be seen as demonstrating the superiority of the dominant imperial power. Even a simple poetic phrase, as when Statius speaks of the “*Thybris doctor aquarum*” (lord of rivers), could contain the idea of Rome’s imperial domination with implications of cultural and environmental imperialism. Campbell 2012:77 ns. 176-8.

Once Porsenna's invasion was checked, the reconquest or recapture of the Janiculum seemed once again to be Rome's primary objective. While the *Urbs* was still under siege by the Etruscans of Clusium (modern Chiusi), Gaius Mucius – later Scaevola – encapsulated his purpose in two words pronounced before the Senate.⁴⁹³ He wanted to enter the enemy camp (*intrare, si possim, castra hostium uolo*) and assassinate King Porsenna, after having crossed the Tiber (“*patres, ...transire Tiberim ...*”).⁴⁹⁴ Juvenal's mythical account still considers the Tiber as the *finis* of Rome's *imperium*, although it renders the Livian account more explicit – albeit in a context that seems more epic and legendary (see e.g. the name *Tiberinus* for Tiber):

*prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exulibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit.*⁴⁹⁵

Conspired to betray the barrier of the gates
to banished tyrants, the sons of the consul himself
instead to attempt some deed for the doubtful liberty,
as those we can admire of Mutius, with Cocles and
the virgin who swam the Tiber, the *finis* of our Empire.

The terms *porta* and *claustra* recall the Livian description of Sutrium and Nepes,⁴⁹⁶ [2.2.5] the deeds of ‘Republican heroes’ like Mucius and Cocles and Cloelia (virgo) are the same as in Livy, and the name of the Tiber (= *Tiberinus*) recalls Cocles' prayer to the river. Livy's imperial view here is traceable in Juvenal's poem, where the terminology of the two authors is the same, confirming the key role of Livy as ‘bridge’ between the Republic and the Empire.

⁴⁹³ Liv. 2.12.1-13.5; Dion. Hal. 5.27-30.

⁴⁹⁴ Liv. 2.12.5. When he failed to kill Porsenna, he voluntarily set his right hand on fire. Two more passages provide connections with similar border stories. After having impressed Porsenna with his steadfastness, Mucius was released and informed the Etruscan king that 300 young men were ready to perform this same action, in trying to kill Porsenna. The number of 300 seems to be a topos in mythography and history. The most famous Spartan army (s. Hdt. 7.205.1-2) has a precedent in the ‘Battle of Champions’ between Sparta and Argo. The same number is cited by Mucius Scaevola facing Porsenna, when he says that 300 young Romans were ready to imitate his act against the Etruscan king. After his return to the city, Mucius got the surname of *Scaevola* and was rewarded with a plot of land North of the river, the *Mucia Prata* (Mucian Meadows). Cf. Liv. 2.13 with Dion. Hal. 5.35 and Paul. Fest. 144L; Aur. Vict. *Vir. Ill.* 12.

⁴⁹⁵ Juvenal *Sat.* 3.8.261-5.

⁴⁹⁶ Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007.

By considering the data at face-value, scholars might still conclude that “the Tiber marked the boundary between Etruria (the Etruscan heartland) to the North, and Latium, a region dominated by Rome”,⁴⁹⁷ however, since from that moment onward the Janiculum remained in Rome’s hands and the adjoining part on the right bank was finally exploited like the right side on the insediamental point of view.⁴⁹⁸ Forsythe seems to have grasped correctly the sense of the *finis*: “The Romans were thus the northernmost inhabitants of Latium and... encompassing the northern bank of the Tiber, became also the southernmost settlers of Etruria”.⁴⁹⁹ Richardson has commented on the episode from an Imperial perspective: he deems the Tiber as ‘boundary of *imperium*’ and considers it the ‘limit of Rome’s territory’. He compares the period in which the Tiber was the boundary of Rome with the time of Juvenal, when Rhine, Danube and Euphrates marked the boundaries of Rome.⁵⁰⁰ This tradition remained unaltered through the eyes of the Romans until the Middle/Late Empire, when it was considered also an ‘*opus inexsuperabile*’,⁵⁰¹ in a moment of the Empire when the rivers assumed a particular connotation of serving a practical, defensive function. During the time of the Roman Empire, the district of *Transtiberim* (modern Trastevere, Rome) where, according to newspaper reports,⁵⁰² the port facilities of ancient Rome along the Tiber have recently been discovered, was intensively occupied. Procopius states that the Romans constructed so many houses in Trastevere that the Tiber appeared to be in the middle of the city, instead of marking the boundary with hostile Etruscan territory as it had done in the earliest stages of Roman history.⁵⁰³

Rome revolutionised the bordering practices on a practical level, by crossing the river and occupying the opposite side. For the Romans, the river – and therefore the *finis* – represented more than just a simple ‘dividing line’, marking two potential territories. The Tiber was not even merely a ‘demarcation line’, which may be equated to any of the bordering concepts, and during Rome’s early days her river

⁴⁹⁷ Gates 2003:329.

⁴⁹⁸ Carafa 2004:56.

⁴⁹⁹ Forsythe 2005:80.

⁵⁰⁰ Richardson 2008:176.

⁵⁰¹ Fronto *Ep. M. Ant.* 11.1.

⁵⁰² So already in Augustan period: Catalli, Fabiani, Mazzoni & Pacchiarotti 2009.

⁵⁰³ Procop. *B.G.* 1.9.10: οἰκίας συχνὰς ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἀντιπέρας δειμᾶμενοι μέσον τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πεπιοῖνται ρεῦμα. Dionysus of Halicarnassus (4.13.3-5) described the great extent of the suburbs of Rome. Cf. Sallares 2002:216-7; Witcher 2013:205.

was more important as a barrier than as a means of communication.⁵⁰⁴ The dividing power of the river is apparent not only from geographical probability, but from the evidence of archaeology.⁵⁰⁵ The Romans contextualised their position and possibly modified the previous view of it, overturning the Latin and Etruscan trend of considering the river a dividing line. In this sense, the apparently weak position of Rome in the centre of that context forced the Romans to exploit the river in the other ways I have described.

2.3 The River Cremera

In 477 B.C., Rome faced a disaster in which 300 members of the most powerful gens of Rome, the Fabii, perished when they were ambushed by the Veientes. Indirectly, Livy states that the river Cremera, an tributary of the Tiber, was the *finem* between Etruscans and Romans. In this section, I will report the case of the Cremera as *finis* in order to confirm and emphasise some of the features of the Tiber already detected. Even the smallest streams had a focal role in relationships, subdivisions and strategies amongst the different ethnic groups, and the River Cremera as a natural feature was used to mark the zone of the *finis* between Etruscans (Veientes) and Romans. Although Livy does not explicitly state that the River Cremera was the *finis* between Etruscans and Romans, his definition of *finis* extends to this northern tributary of the Tiber: the stream Cremera.⁵⁰⁶

In this context, it is my aim to consider the Cremera as a key case showing how the concepts of *finis* – applied to the Tiber and the Cremera – are superimposable. The Roman notion of *finis* was applied not just to the most significant features, such as large rivers or mountain ranges, but to any other feature that could perform that role. The Veientine Wars – also defined as ‘border ballads’⁵⁰⁷ – were a series of

⁵⁰⁴ Holland 1949:287.

⁵⁰⁵ De Angelis d'Ossat 1944:87; Giglioli 1930. On rivers as ‘barriers’, see Holland 1919:1-17. For the river as guide through the wilderness, cf. Virgil *Aen.* 8.57 and Serv. *Ad. Aen. ad loc.*

⁵⁰⁶ Liv. 2.49.9-10. Cornell (1995:310) confirms that the Cremera was the border of the *ager Veientinus*. I slightly agree with the fact that the river was the boundary, but probably not of the *ager Veientinus*. It was most probably the boundary of the strip of land which bordered the river and which I call *finis*.

⁵⁰⁷ Holland 1949:317.

skirmishes or battles for the salt fields (*Salinae*) and the *Septem Pagi*, for Antemnae and Fidenae and against those Latin towns that gave aid or shelter to the enemy. After the Regal Period, the chronology of the wars between Veii and Rome – which “...shared an uneasy border along the Tiber”⁵⁰⁸ – has been historically subdivided into three main conflicts: a) a ten-year war (485-476 B.C.) where the Fabii carried out their cross-border raids and which, after the family’s annihilation, led to a forty-year truce in 474 B.C.; b) the second war, focussing mainly on the left line of the Tiber, during which Rome seized the strategic Veientine stronghold of Fidenae on the Latin side of the Tiber, leading to a twenty-year truce (438-426 B.C.); c) a lengthy ten-year siege (405 to 396 B.C.) launched by the Romans to capture Veii.⁵⁰⁹

2.3.1 Fidenae and Veii

In this area – though it was no less *ager peregrinus* than Etruria from the viewpoint of infant Rome[4.2.3] – so many cities survive, at least in name, that it is hard to find room for all of them on the map.⁵¹⁰ Romulus had already obtained some advantages after the first fight against the Veientes,⁵¹¹ an initial expansion that seems to have encompassed the area of the *Septem Pagi*.⁵¹² Their names suggest a group of villages in good Italic fashion, along with the ‘district’ of *Silva Maesia*,⁵¹³ northwest of the Tiber and oriented toward the sea, as the territories won were associated with the salt works.⁵¹⁴ But he gave these same territories back to the Veientes in exchange for a century-long truce.⁵¹⁵ Besides the *Septem Pagi* on the right bank of the Tiber, there was also a list of cities, which overlooked the Tiber from the left bank. Caenina, Antemnae, Fidenae, Eretum, Crustumerium and Nomentum are all crowded into a space about one quarter the size of the Etruscan

⁵⁰⁸ Dunstan 2011:56.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Dunstan 2011:56; Kohn 2013:180.

⁵¹⁰ Nissen 1902:2.560, 563.

⁵¹¹ Dion. Hal. 2.55.5; 5.31.4, 36.4, 65.3; Plut. *Rom.* 25.

⁵¹² Within the limits of Tyrrhenian Sea, Tiber and Janiculum, we know the names of few of them: the unallocated (not located) Artena, which is of dubious connection and is mentioned only by Livy (4.61.11) to clear up confusion with a Volscian town (he says it was destroyed by Roman kings and was in the territory of Caere; s. also Ashby 1927:228); Fregenae, which has no history before the Roman colony, and Careiae and Lorium, which are known only from imperial sources. Cf. Holland 1949:297.

⁵¹³ Livy (1.33.9) mentions this place as one of the conquests of Ancus Martius.

⁵¹⁴ Eutr. *Brev. Urbe Con.* 1.2. Cf. Carandini 2007:99.

⁵¹⁵ Plut. *Rom.* 25.5; Liv. 1.15. This pact was carved on a stone, cf. Dion. Hal. 2.55.6.

territory under discussion and appear in Livy's account often as allies and used sometimes as bridgeheads by the Veientes.

The key point was Fidenae – Veii's *tête du pont*⁵¹⁶ – and the area surrounding it, lying between the tributaries of Tiber: Anio and Cremera. The network of roads between Veii and Rome put Fidenae in a very desirable position, emphasised by its relationship with both rivers. At the river crossing nearby Fidenae, the Via Flaminia, Tiberina and Salaria from the South intersected the Etruscan road coming from the North.⁵¹⁷ In this process and the episode of the Fabii, roads had a crucial function.⁵¹⁸ The first road from Etruria to the South used the Cremera approach to the Tiber, which it crossed at Fidenae, not at Rome.⁵¹⁹ Unlike Fidenae and Rome, Veii had no view of the approaches to the crossing by those roads, leading to the Tiber.⁵²⁰ For this reason, the position of Fidenae has been considered a sort of extension of Veii south of the Tiber. [FIG 15]The isolated height of the ancient citadel of Fidenae could forewarn the Veientes by signal if people were approaching by water or by land from any direction.⁵²¹ The height of Fidenae, directly opposite the opening of the Cremera valley (which flows in the Tiber), was essential to Veii's communications. High, wooded ridges flanked both sides of the Cremera, which flows in a deep furrow. Nevertheless, in summer the Cremera flowed healthily from its generous springs, making its banks still steeper. Fidenae, despite its colonisation, had soon discovered, either through inclination or *force majeure*, that its interests lay not so much with the inhabitants of Latium⁵²² as with the southern Etruscans: probably, Fidenae was a rival of Rome when it came to

⁵¹⁶ Mommsen 1873:1.131.

⁵¹⁷ Ogilvie 1965:140 connects appropriately the *salinae* – held by Veii – with the Via Salaria. Rome aspired to keep the control of the salt-beds and the commerce of it: Cf. Meiggs 1960:16 ff. and Alfoeldi 1962. Excavations in the last four years are confirming that the earliest colony of Ostia – founded by Ancus – extended on both banks of the Tiber, as already speculated by Coarelli 1988:127-29.

⁵¹⁸ Val. Max. 2.4.5. As Richter (1882:425) argues in connection with the legend of the Fabii that the topographical background of such stories reflects actual conditions, even when the events are far from historical. The fierce and almost unbroken enmity between Rome and Veii in the legends supports the hypothesis that Veii was the patron of a rival trade route. Far from frequenting Rome' marketplace, Veii spared no effort to thwart the competition which reduced her own profits. The road between them was better barred against hostile visits than opened for convenient access.

⁵¹⁹ Holland 1949:299.

⁵²⁰ Dunstan 2011:56.

⁵²¹ Holland 1949:306.

⁵²² For the large number of graves, see Sundwall 1932:81; Giglioli 1930:67-8. The objects in the earliest graves reflect a simple scale of living in the peasant style of the Italic. Cf. Pareti 1947:13.

crossing the river.⁵²³ The Livian narrative points to this peculiar topographical spot from a military/strategic point of view. The position of Fidenae is based on the fact that it is a fortress that would be extremely hard to overcome; it prominently dominates the left bank of the Tiber, thus covering the 'right' ("...*inde ad laevam versi quia dextra Tiberis arcebat*")⁵²⁴ from the top of a steep hill, which would have come under the Etruscan sphere of control.

Together with the Veientes on the other side of the Tiber, the Fidenates had predominant control both of the ferry and the traffic along the valley, by water or by land.⁵²⁵ Toward Rome, the view from Fidenae was entirely open for only about two miles, where it was interrupted by the hill of Antemnae. Thus Fidenae, for its connection with Veii and its proximity, represented a constant cause of concern for Rome. Not unnaturally, drawn once again thus into the sphere of Etruscan influence, Fidenae renewed its hostility towards Rome,⁵²⁶ and not without success if we are to attach any credence to the story of the Fabian *gens* being massacred at the Cremera.⁵²⁷ Livy puts the wars with Veii – where Fidenae was also involved – in several different periods, but situated in the same location and with the same military tactics. Wars between Rome against Fidenae and Veii were fought, in first instance, with Romulus,⁵²⁸ Tullus Hostilius,⁵²⁹ and in the Early Republic by the dictator Mamercus Aemilius with the support of L. Quintus Cincinnatus.⁵³⁰ Richter affirms that an 'undeveloped' Rome became a more important hub soon after the fall of Veii, which was already possible as soon as Fidenae fell (435 B.C.).⁵³¹

2.3.2 The Episode of the Fabii

There are several reasons to consider this Livian episode as crucial in the process of identification of the Livian term *finis*. Mainly, I consider it extremely important to

⁵²³ Holland 1949:303-19.

⁵²⁴ Liv. 1.14.5.

⁵²⁵ Holland 1949:307.

⁵²⁶ Cf. Liv. 4. 33-34.

⁵²⁷ Liv. 2.48-49; Dion. Hal. 9. 15-16 (475 B.C.); cf. Salmon 1953:126.

⁵²⁸ Liv. 1.14-5; Dion. Hal. 2.53; Plut. *Rom.* 23.25.

⁵²⁹ Liv. 1.27.11. Dion. Hal. 2.72, 3.6.

⁵³⁰ Liv. 4.17.12.

⁵³¹ Richter 1882:433-438; *contra* Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1986:391, who support the tradition of Dion. Hal. 5.59-60, after whom Rome conquered Fidenae in 498 B.C.

understand the construction and structuralisation of the *fines* on the Etruscan frontline between the 5th and 4th century B.C. This section has several main aims: a) highlighting some features related to *finis* in Livy's account; b) understanding the relationship between the word *finis*, the river Cremera and the toponym Saxa Rubra; c) the reason why this small stream had such importance as *finis* between the territories of Rome and Veii; d) the claims of the Fabii over a *finis*; and most importantly, e) the link between the definitive occupation of the Janiculum and Rome's expansion to the North. As we saw in the previous section, the conception of Tiber as *finis* had been already rendered obsolete by the Romans when they occupied the Janiculum. Rome needed to find another *finis*, pushed very close to the city of Veii: the Cremera.

Some scholars speculate that the reason for the campaign of the Fabii against Veii was a personal, rather than a public one.⁵³² The prologue to the whole episode is when Q. Fabius was killed during a battle against the Veintines in 480 B.C. The strongest blood ties amongst the family's members⁵³³ and the chance to extend their possession to the North made Q. Fabius' death "...an event that could reasonably have given cause for familial involvement".⁵³⁴ In this raid, the Etruscans once again came close to Rome and possibly reoccupied the Janiculum, as Meiklejohn hypothesises.⁵³⁵ Thus, Rome was directly entangled in the frontline war against Veii. When the threat materialised, the Fabian *gens* planned a counterstrike. The mighty family of the Fabii volunteered its service in order to continue the Veientine war single-handedly, as the *Urbs* was occupied with other surrounding enemies, such as Volsci and Aequi in the South and in the East.⁵³⁶

Diverse hypotheses have been published about the interests of the Fabii in that territory. Kubitschek suggested that the land of the Fabii and their clients was located near Veii, south of the Cremera.⁵³⁷ I found an interesting comparison with Mucius' tale. After Porsenna's repulsion from its siege of Rome, as Mucius was

⁵³² Smith 2006:290-1.

⁵³³ Liv. 2.46.5 shows the mourning of M. Fabius on Q. Fabius' corpse in the battlefield.

⁵³⁴ Liv. 2.46.4-5. Cf. Becker & Terrenato 2006:65; Frezza 1946.

⁵³⁵ Meiklejohn 1938:172, although his chronology looks inaccurate, dating this attack to 478 B.C. and not cumulating it with the Roman victory of 480 B.C.

⁵³⁶ Liv. 2.49.2.

⁵³⁷ Kubitschek 1882.

being rewarded with territories in the *Transtiberim*, the Fabii wanted a prominent role in the war, aiming for similar territorial rewards. Lily Ross Taylor further explains that “Veientane (sic) attacks on the property of the *gens* would explain the special interest of the Fabii in prosecuting the war”.⁵³⁸ Cornell’s emphatic statement referring to “the fact that the Fabia tribe was situated on the borders of the *Ager Veientanus*”⁵³⁹ has, on the other hand, been deemed too strong.⁵⁴⁰ This theory does not imply that all of the Fabian clan lived in this area, but simply that some of them or the whole family had their personal and financial commitment in that area with the intention of expanding.⁵⁴¹ From a mythic point of view, the involvement of the Fabii might be comparable with personal connections.⁵⁴² For example, the Horatii brothers, who famously fought the Curiati,⁵⁴³ might have lived near Alba.⁵⁴⁴ [4.3.2] Despite Becker’s theory,⁵⁴⁵ we can find more appropriate examples to help define the involvement of rich Roman families in ‘border’ or frontier wars’. In the 6th and the 5th centuries B.C., the patricians used to improve their standing through the military help they gave to the Republic, claiming back the bordering areas in which they had fought.⁵⁴⁶ The Fabii, as one of the main aristocratic groups, and with its gentilicial structure and clients,⁵⁴⁷ would have been at the front of the line.⁵⁴⁸

⁵³⁸ Ross Taylor 1960:40-1. See also Ruggiero 1984:277; Nissen 1902:564. Alföldi (1965:312) however, does not believe that the Romans were not settled on the right bank of the Tiber by this date.

⁵³⁹ Cornell 1995:311.

⁵⁴⁰ Becker & Terrenato 2006:64.

⁵⁴¹ Becker & Terrenato 2006:65.

⁵⁴² Smith 2006:292.

⁵⁴³ Liv. 1.24; Dion. Hal. 3.13.28.

⁵⁴⁴ Taylor 1960:43; Ruggiero 1984:278-9; Kubntschek 1882:12. This is the theory from Becker & Terrenato 2006:65.

⁵⁴⁵ Becker & Terrenato 2006:65, n. 242.

⁵⁴⁶ Rome enacted a policy of territorial inclusion, admitting to the citizenship the old Claudian family and granting land lying beyond the Anio, even though it was a non-pacified territory; see Liv. 2.16.2. Capogrossi Colognesi (1980:31-7) has speculated on the combination between *gentes* and private possession of land, assuming that the land possessed by the *gentes* was assigned by the leaders of the *gentes* to the heads of individual families; cf. Roselaar 2010:23.

⁵⁴⁷ The number of *clientes* who supported the *gens* Fabia is recorded as 4,000 (Dion. Hal. 9.15.3) or 5,000 (Paul. Fest. 450-1L, s. ‘*Scelerata porta*’); cf. Smith 2006:292.

⁵⁴⁸ The Claudii, as we noted, set themselves in the occupied land of Sabine along the Anio by their *clients* (Suet. *Tib.* 1), while the Valerii *gens* was involved, and this has also been recorded in an inscription recalling a Publius Valerius and his *s(u)odales*: see Stibbe, Colonna, De Simone & Versnel 1980; also Ampolo 1988:209.

Thus, the Senate accepted the offer and the Fabii, 306 in all (excepting one half-grown boy left at home) left the *Urbs*, passing through a city gate:

*infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.*⁵⁴⁹

setting out by the Unlucky Way, the right arch of the Porta Carmentalis, they came to the river Cremera, a position which seemed favourable for the erection of a fort.

The tradition on this point is quite puzzling. The *Porta Carmentalis* was south of the Capitol;⁵⁵⁰ one passed through it from the *Forum Boarium* to the *Forum Holitorium*.⁵⁵¹ Close by was the *fanum*⁵⁵² and an altar of the goddess Carmenta.⁵⁵³ According to Livy, as a consequence of the total defeat of the Fabii at Cremera, the *Porta* was cursed and named *Scelerata* and the day entered history as a *dies ater*.⁵⁵⁴ This explanation for the cursing of the gate was already being challenged in antiquity.⁵⁵⁵ However, Festus instead suggests that it was the Senate's acceptance of the offer of the Fabii in the temple of Janus, just outside the gate, that was the ill-omened event from which the *Scelerata* took its name.⁵⁵⁶ Although Ogilvie may be right in believing that it was simply an invention of later times and the 'gate' did play its role in the elimination-rite as disentangled from the story.⁵⁵⁷ Livy is also reflected in at least three of Ovid's lines, which seem to be almost the same.⁵⁵⁸

*Carmentis portae dextra est uia proxima iano:
ire per hanc noli, quisquis es: omen habet.
illa fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos.*

⁵⁴⁹ Liv. 2.49.8; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.201: "*Carmentis portae dextro est uia proxima iano*".

⁵⁵⁰ *CARMENTALIS / CARMENAE PORTA*. Double gate in the Servian Wall named for a nearby shrine of Carmenta (Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.337) at the foot of the Capitoline where the Vicus Iugarius departed the city (Livy 27.37.11-14, 35.21.6). The Porta is identified with the remains of a city gate dating to the 4th c. B.C. found just northwest of the temples of Fortuna et Mater Matuta (Coarelli 1988:394; Ruggiero 1984:25 fig. 4).

⁵⁵¹ The Fabii are passing through Pons Sublicius, therefore. The position of Porta Carmentalis, at the southwest corner of the Capitoline Hill, opens up the possibility that they did not make for the Sublician Bridge, but a primitive bridge over the Insula Tiberina. Cf. Dion. Hal. 10.14.2; see Holland 1961:242 ff. Festus (285L) speaks not of an unlucky gate or path but of an ill-starred meeting of the senate in '*aede Iani*'. There are many instances of superstitions connected with passing through doorways. Cf. Ogilvie 1965:364; Holleman 1976:210.

⁵⁵² Solin. 1.13.

⁵⁵³ Dion. Hal. 1.32; cf. Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.337.

⁵⁵⁴ Paul. Fest. 335L.

⁵⁵⁵ Holleman 1976:210.

⁵⁵⁶ Paul. Fest. 285L: "*religioni est quibusdam porta Carmentali egredi; et in aede Iani, quae est extra eam, senatum haberi; quod ea egressi sex et trecenti Fabii apud Cremeram omnes interfecti sunt, cum in aede Iani senatus consultum factum esset, uti proficiscerentur*".

⁵⁵⁷ Ogilvie 1965:364.

⁵⁵⁸ They are quoted by Frazer 1929:322, n. 2.

*porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet,
ut celeri passu Cremeram tetigere rapacem
(turbidus hibernis ille fluebat aquis),
castra loco ponunt, destrictis ensibus ipsi
Tyrrhenum valido Marte per agmen eunt.*⁵⁵⁹

The nearest way is the right arch of Carmentis Gate
Let no one go that way: it is unlucky.
Tradition says that the three hundred Fabii went out:
The gate is free of blame, but is still unlucky.
When they had quickly reached the rushing Cremera,
(It was flowing darkly with winter rain)
They pitched their camp there, and with naked swords
Broke the Etruscan ranks with their valour.

For centuries, editors have recognised that Ovid's narrative corresponds very closely with Livy and is filled with so many of the same details that it seems nothing more than Livy in verse.⁵⁶⁰ Livy's narrative, by contrast, offers easily the best background for assessing Ovid's.⁵⁶¹ "*Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima iano*" might seem a very strange sentence with no comparison in Ovid, who did not write these words. It means "the nearest way is through the right arch of the Gate of Carmentis". But nearest to what? At first glance, the answer is 'to the Cremera'. However, topographers have shown that considering the Carmentalis Gate as the nearest to the Cremera is absurd.⁵⁶² Although Ovid does not adopt Livy's preferred date for those circumstances,⁵⁶³ his close reading suggests that it is not so much

⁵⁵⁹ Ovid *Fasti* 2.200-5.

⁵⁶⁰ Liv. 2.48-50 = Ovid. *Fast.* 2.195-242. On Ovid's debt to Livy, see Schenkl 1860:401-2, Sofer 1906. But the writers have gone too far; Ovid obtained material from Livy, but there are many others to whom he was indebted, especially Verrius; cf. Winther 1885. Winther's view that Verrius is the only source of Ovid's information is, of course, quite untenable, as Ehwald (1886:172) and Wissowa (1904:271) show, whose remarks on the Porta Carmentalis are probably preserved by Paul. *Fest.* (285L).

⁵⁶¹ A full list of testimonials given in Richard 1988b:217, n. 1.

⁵⁶² "*Hoc dicimus, Livii Ovidiique consensu standum esse,*" says Vahlen (1893:2), and he proceeds to instruct the ordinary reader in the correct translation – "If you (i.e. Ovid's reader) find that your shortest way (when your destination, whatever it is, lies outside the city) is through the right arch of the Gate of Carmentis, avoid that route; it is unlucky". See Alton 1918:14.

⁵⁶³ A way out of the difficulty is suggested by Ogilvie's (1965:17) demonstration that Livy's account of the battles at the Cremera draws on two sources which date the ambushing of the Fabii to different parts of the year 477 BC. What Ogilvie showed was that while Livy (6.1.11) explicitly dates the Cremera to 18 July and his actual narrative of the battle (2.49-50) is substantially as consistent with that date as with a winter one, he must nevertheless have used in 51.1-3 another source in which the preferred date of the battle will have been in about February. And the Etruscan advance into Latium after the Cremera "precipitates a corn shortage" (51.2) "because the Romans were prevented from harvesting their crops. [which] would have been harvested well before 18 July". If Ovid draws so many of his details of the Cremera from Livy, why does he not adopt Livy's preferred date? The debt to Livy is obvious enough and has been often documented, see: Sofer 1906; Richard 1988a:531 and more recently Frascchetti 1998 and Smith 2006:293.

the Carmentalis as the Janus through which the Fabii passed. Ogilvie⁵⁶⁴ rightly spends more than a page on the topographical and textual oddities implied in this tradition. On the contrary, I prefer to focus on the following piece:

*Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni
hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.
haec fuit illa dies in qua Veientibus armis
ter centum Fabii ter cecidere duo.*⁵⁶⁵

The altars of rustic Faunus smoke, on the Ides.
There, where the island breaks Tiber's waters.
This was the day when three hundred and six
Of the Fabii fell to Veientine weapons.

Etruscans, Latins and Romans seem to have had a privileged relationship with the rivers as delimitative feature between their territories.⁵⁶⁶ Rome, however, had no intention of stopping short of the 'natural feature', as the Etruscans or the Latins had previously agreed. It was not the *finis* itself that changed, e.g. the use of a river or a promontory rather than a wall or a road; instead, as previously argued, it was the conception of the *finis* itself that was changed. The 'protruding' extension over the river up to the Janiculum Hill (*praesidio in Janiculum locatum*)⁵⁶⁷ is confirmation of the Roman attitude, and this trend is confirmed by the Fabii's sureness in facing the

⁵⁶⁴ Ogilvie 1965:363-4.

⁵⁶⁵ Ovid *Fasti* 2.193-6.

⁵⁶⁶ The river Anio may have played the role of *finis* – although Livy does not explicitly assign such a definition to the river – and later claimed by the Romans in the territorial subdivision with the Sabines (see Plin. *N.H.* 3.54). Repeated skirmishes occurred along the Anio between Sabines and Romans and in many cases the core of the battle is localised upon its banks (Liv. 1.36.1; 1.37.1.; 2.26.1, 2.64.2; cf. Sall. *Jug.* 90.2; Tac. *Ann.* 3.39.1; Ogilvie 1965:302). Livy (1.37.1) narrates a key episode about the bridge over the Anio, when it was used in for the same strategic purposes as the Tiber: "*hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem, ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna et pleraque ratibus incompacta sublicisque cum haerent, pontem incendunt*". (When this arm of the service had been enlarged, a second battle was fought with the Sabines. And in this, besides being increased in strength, the Roman army was further helped by a stratagem, for men were secretly dispatched to light a great quantity of firewood lying on the bank of the Anio, and throw it into the river. A favouring wind set the wood in a blaze, and the greater part of it lodged against the boats and piles, where it stuck fast and set the bridge on fire). Traditionally a pile bridge carried the Via Salaria over the Anio in the days of the kings, and the network of streams and ponds among which the Sabines are said to have lived before their descent upon the valley, provided ample opportunity for practice in such construction; cf. Ashby 1906:3.4, n.1.

⁵⁶⁷ Liv. 2.11.1.

enemy, although with a specific strategy in mind.⁵⁶⁸ Once the family set up their fortified camp, the Fabii commenced with their plan of action:

et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem fecere. intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra—ibi castra habebant—pacem supplices petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.⁵⁶⁹

And so long as nothing more than plundering was afoot the Fabii were not only an adequate garrison for the fort, but in all that region where the Tuscan territory marches with the Roman they afforded universal security to their own countrymen and vexation to the enemy, by ranging along the *finis* on both sides. Then came a brief interruption to these depredations, while the men of Veii, having called in an army from Etruria, attacked the post on the Cremera, and the Roman legions, led thither by Lucius Aemilius the consul, engaged them in a pitched battle; though in truth the Veientes had scarcely time to draw up a battle-line, for at the first alarm, while the ranks were falling in behind the standards and the reserves were being posted, a division of Roman cavalry made a sudden charge on their flank and deprived them of the power not only of attacking first, but even of standing their ground. And so they were driven back upon Saxa Rubra, where they had their camp, and sued for peace. It was granted, but their instinctive fickleness caused them to weary of the pact before the Roman garrison was withdrawn from the Cremera.

The Fabian strategy was working well: they established a stronghold, after assessing the best place (*opportunos visus locus*) to set up their base or assembly point (*praesidio*) on the river Cremera. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is even more precise about the nature of the camp, which is described as a real fortress, the strongest of ‘bulwarks’ due to its position.⁵⁷⁰ From that stronghold, they could attack and weaken the Veientes and easily return to their refuge. There, they remained well-protected from the Etruscan attacks, to the extent that the Veientes were compelled to call an army in to aid them. Livy provides us with enough elements to add more features to the concept of *finis*. It begins to configure itself as a ‘system’ of features apt to define or choose that specific natural feature as *finis*. Nominally, the *finis* crosses strategic routes; when coupled with a ford or a bridge (used by the Fabii to pass to and fro easily), it connects two territories divided by a river. Both

⁵⁶⁸ Livy narrates it from 2.48 to 2.50.

⁵⁶⁹ Liv. 2.49.9-12.

⁵⁷⁰ Dion. Hal. 9.15.6. On this stronghold or keep see: Richard 1989a:67-68; Richard 1989b; Fraschetti 1980.

sides of the *finis* belong to none, but the Fabii claim the control of the farthest bank – in terms of a linear division, this would be considered the side belonging to the enemy. The natural strategic features of that area (Saxa Rubra) are even reinforced by the Fabii through the construction of a fort. And even though the *finis* can be crossed, the danger comes from breaking the ‘sacredness’ which the *finis* is believed to have.

The Fabii held out for nearly two years, plundering the hinterland of the Etruscan territory. Well away from the line of the Cremera, they were lured into an ambush and the campaign ended in a tragic annihilation, following their presumptuous attempt.⁵⁷¹ The consensus of ancient evidence is that this ambush took place on 18 July, a date which nearly a century later would also become the cursed *dies Alliensis*.⁵⁷² This ‘strange’ coincidence, which sees the defeats at rivers Cremera and Allia, leads one to look for similarities between the two events. Bellen refers to the fact that the Romans remembered the day of the defeat at the Allia, known as the *dies Alliensis*. The *fasti Amiternini* also refer to 18 July as the *DIES ALLIENSIS*. In the *fasti Antiaties* we also find the same day, referred to here as the *DIES ALLIA[E ET] FAB(IORVM)*.⁵⁷³ The Allia River is the stream at which the Romans faced defeat at the hands of the Gauls in 390 B.C. The suggestion, then, is that these two defeats from the distant past took place on the same day of the month.⁵⁷⁴ It is a calendric analogy that connects the two worst defeats of the early Republic, and is a form of analogy that was not uncommon in antiquity.⁵⁷⁵ Certainly, the degree of factual reminiscence is remarkable considering the brevity of the passage, including the fatal omen attached to the right arch of the gate through which the Fabii marched out of Rome. The general consensus of scholars that such legends are pure invention and were probably imitating Greek literature can

⁵⁷¹ The hazardous move along this line was dearly paid for with the extermination of almost the entire family, but for the survival of the one male child, who ensured the continuation of the family line. Cf. Holleman 1976:210. The familiar parallels are respectively: Livy *AUC* : Ovid *Fasti* = 2.49.8 : 2.201-4; 2.49.4 : 2.199-200 (reading *exercitus* with Bentley); 2.50.11 : 2.239-42. In the first of these parallels Ovid and Livy are making the same point and the objections of Elter 1910 are unfounded.

⁵⁷² Meiklejohn 1938:172 Smith 2006:293.

⁵⁷³ CIL 1.1: 244 and 248 = Inscr. It. XIII 2:188-89 and 208. Cf. Fraschetti 1998.

⁵⁷⁴ Liv. 6.1.11; Tac. *Hist.* 2.91. Cic. *Att.* 9.5.2.

⁵⁷⁵ According to Herodotus (7.166), the battles of Himera and Salamis (480 B.C.) were fought on the same day; according to Aelianus (2.25), Alexander was born, won the battle at Issos, and died on a Thargelion 6; Ov. *Fasti* 6.563-568 mentions two defeats on June 11; see also Grafton & Swerdlow 1988:14-42; Ungern-Sternberg 2000:210.

scarcely be questioned.⁵⁷⁶ However, if this perspective is given credence, we would have confirmation that the Tiber was considered finally as an utterly Roman river and, on the contrary, its tributaries might have worked as '*fines*' of the Roman territory.

In the light of these facts, the early Livian passages highlight two main points and also even more conclusions about the functionality of *finis*:

A) From the theoretical point of view, the *finis* would be a magical boundary which it is forbidden to cross. In this historical period, the importance of the *fines*, as Livy defines them, is related to and made clear to be for strategic purposes. Livy characterises rivers with a political, warlike, enchanted sense of boundary, as seen through the episodes of Tiberinus and the Fabii. Then, the more Roman authority was extended through continuous warfare, as well as the bordering practices developed. In the mythical era, this conception was still blended into a sort of sacral mysticism with flashes of inductive geo-topographical elements but, in times closer to the author, they lose a consistent part of their legendary aura as we shall see.[3.5.3; 4.2.3; 6.2.3; 7.1.4] The function of the fetials might have been decisive as 'boundary breakers' and in Livy there is no clue of their intervention before their expedition.

B) From a practical aspect, the Tiber should have been the main spine of a systemic developed 'idea of regional topography', which at the same time joined and split the better-watered hill landscape of the western Mediterranean. The Tiber was a sort of ideal line for Etruscans and Latins; for the Romans, this segment had become wider and even broader until assuming the shape of a 'zonal' and not 'linear' element, on which some points became crucial (fords, bridges, islands). In this system, the minor rivers (e.g. Anio, Cremera and Allia) might have worked as advancing *fines*, as shown in the analogies between them. Rome modified the

⁵⁷⁶ Gell. *NA* 1721.12 says that the Cremera was three years after Salamis and does not mention the Thermopylae as synchronised to Cremera; see Ogilvie 1965:365 and esp. Forsythe 2005:196-7. However, Livy (7.15.19) reports the story of 307 prisoners massacred by the Etruscans in 353 B.C. Cf. Plut. *Par. Min.* 4 = *Mor.* 306E. Cf. Oakley 1998:173 and Smith 2006:293.

conception of Tiber as '*fluvius dirimens*',⁵⁷⁷ as it had probably been considered since the protohistoric period, by turning its basin into the most aggregative zone within the peninsular Italy. Rome created one of the most important Mediterranean 'micro-regions'⁵⁷⁸ situated between two mighty macro-regions which in fact split, as the Tiber did, peninsular Italy into two trunks.⁵⁷⁹

C) The *finis* provides an easy crossing to a different area and involves an important hub, which can be a roadway intersection and a river crossing.⁵⁸⁰ Despite the tactical failure of the Fabii, strategically the plan was to break the enemy's communication with a small but vital outpost, and it left the way open for an attack on the outpost thus isolated. It is also probable that this was intended to be the prelude to an assault on Fidenae itself, as Meiklejohn rightly argues. Holland, instead, has broadened this view.⁵⁸¹ He gives major import to the Cremera basin, considering it a dividing valley capable of creating devious ways by which journeys could be accomplished through the difficult country, isolating the most southern city of Etruria.⁵⁸² Although contact with Caere, Vulci, and especially Tarquinii had been operating since the earliest times, such regional difficulties would likely have played an important role in their relationships.⁵⁸³

D) The association between Tiber and Cremera as *fines* can possibly also be seen in Ovid. He compares both the turbulence of the Tiber ("*hibernis fortetumebat aquis*"⁵⁸⁴) and that of the Cremera ("*turbidus hibernis ille fluebat aquis*"⁵⁸⁵), using almost the same words, which already anticipate the dreadful events that would turn the potential for greatness into tragedy.⁵⁸⁶ The use of almost exactly the same

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 3.53: "*non procul Tiferno Perusiaque et Ocriculo Etruriam ab Umbris ac Sabinis, mox citra XVI p. urbis Veientem agrum a Crustumino, dein Fidenatem Latinumque a Vaticano dirimens*".

⁵⁷⁸ Patterson & Millett 1998; Cascino 2008.

⁵⁷⁹ Horden & Purcell 2000:420-1.

⁵⁸⁰ See the archeological presence of a bridge on the Cremera: Messineo 1991:155.

⁵⁸¹ Meiklejohn 1938:172.

⁵⁸² Anziani (1913:231) makes a good case for Caere's connection with the Tiber above Rome on the road which passed through Veii and along the Cremera (234). From Tarquinii he traces an old road through Blera, north of Bracciano. The best connections with Caere are in Frascetti 1980.

⁵⁸³ Giglioli 1930:340; Sundwall 1932:84-5; Pallottino 1939:120 (important material in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome is still unpublished); Holland 1949:291.

⁵⁸⁴ Ovid *Fasti* 390.

⁵⁸⁵ Ovid *Fasti* 206.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Ovid *Fasti* cf. 235-6, 402-3; Harries 1991:166.

phrasing would seem to indicate a similar ‘competence’ of the rivers. Both of them had the same dangerous ‘structure’ based on their waters, which did not allow an easy crossing, and in Livy they share the same definition of *finis*.⁵⁸⁷

E) The ‘double face’ of a *finis*. This is possibly the most important point, which needs to be stressed. The members of the family were able to patrol both sides (*per utrumque*) of the *finem*, which was overrun by enemies.⁵⁸⁸ This idea is reinforced by the term *utrumque*, although this choice of word is strange, as it suggests that there were two borders instead of one. Practically speaking, any water stream would of course limit a city’s area of control, but the impression is that they had two faces mirroring the same line, almost not touching each other, in the same way that Janus is depicted.

F) On the Veientine side, emphasis has been placed on the importance of the left bank of the Cremera. This side was a tiny strip between the Cremera and the tufa hills, along which ran a road, and which could be converted when necessary into a fortified pass.⁵⁸⁹ Referred to in Livy’s time as Saxa Rubra, the adjectival use of the colour red opens up to several comparisons in *AUC*. The place was important to the Late Republic / Early Empire authors,⁵⁹⁰ even more for the presence of Livia’s villa.⁵⁹¹ Both modern and ancient authors agree that Saxa Rubra was a fortified place which presented strategic advantages.⁵⁹²

G) As was well understood by Harries,⁵⁹³ a major point in the Cremera narrative was the way the gods can intervene to avert the worst consequences of human

⁵⁸⁷ There is the emphatic *rapacem* (Ovid *Fasti* 205) associating the river with the Fabii in two ways. In the sense of “swiftly dashing along with destructive potential”, it matches the speed of the Fabii’s advance *celeri passu* (in the same line) and prepares for the simile of the destructive torrens in 219-22; while in the grim sense which associates *rapax* with death, the adjective anticipates the appalling slaughter of a whole gens on the river-bank; Harries 1991:154-5.

⁵⁸⁸ Liv. 2.49.9-10.

⁵⁸⁹ Holland 1949:305.

⁵⁹⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 2.31; Tac. *Hist.* 50.3.79.

⁵⁹¹ Forte 2007.

⁵⁹² The fact that Veii had a camp there means that it was a fortified place and in connection with Fidenae: cf. Ogilvie 1965:364; Ashby & Fell 145-7; Phillip 1921:3.307-8; Messineo & Agneni 2007.

⁵⁹³ Harries 1991:155, 160 and esp. 166.

recklessness and folly.⁵⁹⁴ The episode of the Fabii teaches us that the *fines* – once established as such – are limits, which have to be respected. In this sense, this episode might recall, and in some way be linked, both with the passage of Tiberinus in crossing the Albula and with Rome's insatiable desire to occupy the opposite bank.⁵⁹⁵

2.4 Conclusions

Detected common features between Tiber and Cremera reveal them to be very similar in the way they were conceived as *fines*. This similitude is comprehensible particularly in the action of crossing the rivers: the Fabian family's crossing of the Cremera led them to fall victim to the same destiny as Tiberinus. In this way, Rome's use of the *fetials* priests might assume an interesting perspective: their function might be related to the way they break this sort of curse or neutralise the negative effect of entering into an enemy's *finis*.^[4.2.3] In this way, Rome would have felt herself free to cross any established *finis*. What do the rivers Tiber and Cremera have in common, then? The impression is that their identification as *finis* gave them the same features, as applied to any water stream.

By stressing the importance of the name of the river, I have attempted to show an earlier vision attributable to the Iron Age, when a *finis* might be disputed and possessed. Some Etruscan and Latin influence on this reminiscence can be recognised in Rome's attitude toward the *fines*. Her continuing willingness to expand beyond the conventional lines paid continuous dividends, allowing her to: a) occupy the area opposite to Rome's occupation; b) hold a bulwark in this area; and

⁵⁹⁴ Ovid stress that the gods saved the Fabii from total extinction (237-8), so there is confidence they would do the same for the twins (399-400), whose eventual rescue by the she-wolf is quasimiraculous (414).

⁵⁹⁵ Smith (1895:204) stresses that most of the names themselves are considered strangers to their surroundings; cf. Schwegler 1873:1.343,n.2. Historical details are, in fact, limited to brief notices attached to the names of three kings. Aventinus was buried on the Mons Aventinus: hence its name. As a contemporary of Livy, Ovid connects in his *Fasti* the future significance of Romulus (cf. 386) confirmed by the precedent established in 389-90: as the drowning of the hero Tiberinus in the Albula gave a new name to the river, so Amulius' servants attempt to drown Romulus in the very part of the Tiber where the city named after him will rise (391-4). Here again it is Livy's version (1.4) which is the obvious source of virtually all Ovid's narrative detail from the overflowing of the Tiber to the Ruminal fig-tree, where Romulean etymologies are naturally in evidence.

c) make the *finis* work as connector instead of divider. The presence of *utrumque* related to *finem* in the 'Episode of the Fabii' seems to recall the features of a *finis*: the Roman sources established the presence of two strips of land running along the *finis*.^[1.4.1] Livy seems to show how the general idea of *finis* evolved with time and population, from its beginnings as a simple dividing line, to a joining area between two different zones. This mirrors precisely the situation faced by Rome, as she was not content to stop at her own bank, but tried instead to occupy and politically merge with the population on the opposite bank.

In the next chapter, we will observe the way the Romans – in their earliest tradition – would have defined the *fines* in the surrounding space and what function was served by the highest position of the Capitoline Hill and Rome's ancient templum of Jupiter Feretrius. On the other hand, Chapter 4 will clarify the sacrality of the *fines* and how the Romans dealt with the legitimacy of their crossing through the use of the fetial priests.

Chapter 3. The foundation of the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius

3.1 Introduction and aims

The foundation of the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius is the final act, the apex of a crucial episode of Rome's earliest history.⁵⁹⁶ The historical background for the foundation of the temple contains some elements which might be linked with the re-organisation of Rome's first conquered territory. The first step in the process leading to the foundation of the *templum* is characterised by Romulus' victory over Caeninae, while the second step of the process is the triumphal procession up to the Capitoline Hill. In order to understand the signs related to the bordering practices and the meaningful place of the *arx* as focal point of the triumphal procession, we will focus on the following narrative:

*inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricate ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis finis cognomenque addidit deo.*⁵⁹⁷

He then led his victorious army back, and being not more splendid in his deeds than willing to display them, he arranged the spoils of the enemy's dead commander upon frame, suitably fashioned for the purpose, and, carrying it himself, mounted the Capitol. Having there deposited his burden, by an oak which the shepherds held sacred, at the same time as he made his offering he marked out the *finis* of a temple to Jupiter, and bestowed a title upon him.

A first step will be to extrapolate the semantic episodes and all possible indications related to bordering procedure. Contextualising the Livian account, it is my aim to demonstrate how his description of the foundation of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is relevant to further understanding his idea of *finis*, as subdivisional element for the surrounding space.⁵⁹⁸ The practices detected in this episode represent one of the oldest and more interesting attestations in

⁵⁹⁶ Liv. 1.9 and 1.10 (cf. Livy 3.2). Ogilvie (1965:71) also put it on top of the climax of the following process: the story of the Sabine women, the battle against the Caeninenses, the dedication, the trophy procession and the construction of the temple.

⁵⁹⁷ Liv. 1.10.5.

⁵⁹⁸ Liv. 1.10.1 ff.

reference to early Roman history. The multiple connections to the bordering practices related to Rome's first war, victory and conquest identified across the entire episode show a distinctive connection between the new conquered territory and the 'visual control' exerted from the Capitoline Hill.⁵⁹⁹ Bordering procedures, both explicit and implicit, will be investigated: on the one hand, I will examine the most evident cases in the Livian account, where specific terms clearly related to bordering (*finēs*, *regiones*) are used; on the other hand, when faced with less evident examples (e.g. objects related to the *finēs*, such as stones, trees or items), ancient parallel sources and secondary literature will offer constructive comparison for detecting the *finēs* and their connective structure.

Concepts such as *finēs*, *regiones* and/or signs – like stones or trees – would confirm the presence of detectable bordering practice and can be related to a symbolic celebration of the victory. Besides confirming Romulus' victorious zenith, they represent the reorganisation and the subdivision of the expanded Roman territory, from its early stages as a small town, to her first conquest. Following the chronological order established by Livy, I shall briefly emphasise the presence of Jupiter as already having existed on the top of the Capitoline Hill symbolically. For instance, the presence of the oak tree might link the cult of Jupiter with the place where it was initially held sacred by the local shepherds, and where it was used as a significant landmark after the victory of the triumphal procession. Furthermore, an overall description of the Romulean triumph will be given, in order to highlight the importance of this gesture. In the core of this chapter, I analyse the importance of the temple's foundation formula, which Livy ascribes to Romulus. Livy's sacred invocation and description contains precise terminology, which appears to recall the primordial process of expansion and subsequently the new territorial redefinition.

The 'etymological note', which begins the next section, is a short assessment of the meanings attributed by the ancient authors and some modern scholars to the epithet 'Feretrius'. Several clues will be useful to trace the different

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. Beard, North & Price 1998:1.

connections between the god and the implicit bordering practices, and I then analyse the historical background, which led to the foundation of the temple. For example, Rome's first conquest involves an indirect bordering procedure; the territorial incorporation is equivalent to the foundation of the temple and the celebration of victory. The second section of this chapter is dedicated to the objects contained in the temple and to the peculiar relationship with the fetial priests.[4.3.1] Paragraph five will consider the *arx* as the main location of the temple; indirectly this venue will be linked with the sacred herb used by the fetials and with the presence of the *auguraculum* (observation point) on top of the Capitoline Hill.⁶⁰⁰ Identification between the Romulean temple and the *auguraculum* will be proposed, as both these elements enabled an augur to create dividing lines in space. We will then assess the problem of the *lapis silex*, preserved in the temple. Through the secondary literature, I will investigate the relationship between the *templum* and the surrounding space and then the symbolic value of the sacred objects, focussing the attention on the stone(s) preserved in the temple. I will also try to compare the special relationship between the sky and the larger stone, reflecting the link between the belief of the *templum caelestis* and *terrestris*, [3.4; 3.5] and the possibility that such a stone could have been used as a marker-stone, perhaps as starting fulcrum for the *teminatio*. The final section will provide an overview of the phases of rebuilding: the first by Ancus Marcius and the second by Augustus. In addition to the evidence of bordering elements present in the *templum* and the political magnitude of the temple itself, we will consider the special link between Livy and Augustus.

⁶⁰⁰ AUGURACULUM. Spot located on the Arx (*in arce*) from which the augurs observed the flight of birds. An anecdote concerning the destruction of a house on the Caelian that interfered with the augurs' lines of sight indicates that the Auguraculum stood above the Sacra Via, overlooking the Forum Romanum. Cic. *Off.* 3.66; Liv. 1.18.6; Val. Max. 8.2.1; Varro *L.L.* 7.8. Coarelli (1981:181; 1983:106), using Plutarch (*Num.* 7.2-3), which states that the Auguraculum was visible from the Comitium, convincingly identifies the Auguraculum with the remains of walls from various periods in the SE corner of the Aracoeli garden. These walls were part of a terrace wall and thus formed a rectangular platform which functioned as an observation point.

3.2 Etymological note

The epithet Feretrius was already debated amongst the ancient authors, with the result that various and confusing explanations were given.⁶⁰¹ Jupiter Feretrius has been considered a case of ‘assimilation’ between the names of the god (Jupiter) and Feretrius,⁶⁰² and the festival in honour of Jupiter Feretrius was held on the 15th of October, when the Capitoline games were celebrated.⁶⁰³ Despite Ogilvie’s argument against Livian etymological negationism,⁶⁰⁴ Livy makes his chosen etymology for Feretrius clear, believing it to derive from *feretrum*, a type of litter or bier for carrying the trophies in the procession to the Capitoline Hill.⁶⁰⁵ This etymology can be confirmed through an extensive use of different parts of (i.e. the conjugation of) the verb *fero* (to carry, to bring): e.g. *ferculo*, *Feretri*, *ferent*, *laturos*.⁶⁰⁶ However, Plutarch⁶⁰⁷ lists three possible meanings, deriving from: a) *pheretron*, a support on which the trophy dedicated to the god was carried, in line with Dionysius’ and Livy’s explanation; b) *ferire* (to strike, to smite), in the sense of striking a victim or in making or concluding a treaty (*foedus ferire*);⁶⁰⁸ c) *feri*, the command to strike an enemy in battle. Propertius favours the last definition when he says, “*causa Feretri / omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem*”.⁶⁰⁹ Festus provides us with a similar interpretation of the name. He connects the name with the verb *ferire* (to smite), “which is said

⁶⁰¹ Walde & Hofmann 1954:1.481; Ernout & Meillet 1951:403; Radke 1979:123-4.

⁶⁰² Lipka (2009:26) compared the surname of *Feretrius* with *Summanus*. Cfr. Wissowa 2003:339.

⁶⁰³ Degrassi 1963:522; Bernstein 1998:103-106; Lipka 2009:36, 134.

⁶⁰⁴ Ogilvie 1965:70 follows Ernout & Meillet 1951:402 and Walde & Hofmann 1954:1.481, after whom the title would derive from the Greek loan-word φέρειτρον.

⁶⁰⁵ Sil. 5.168: *quis opima volenti Dona Jovi portet feretro suspense cruento*; Sil. 17.630: *jamque rogam quassasque faces feretrumque parabant*. Also Ov. *Met.* 3.508, 14.747 (*feretro*); Virg. *Aen.* 6.222, 11.64; Val. Fl. 5.11; Sil. 10.567; Grat. *Cyneg.* 488; Inscr. Orell. 4370 al.; Varr. *L.L.* 5.

⁶⁰⁶ Hirst 1926:352. Another ‘forgotten’ theory comes from Pascal (1896:156-9), who assumes the connection with the goddess Feronia and the underworld divinities with the term *feralis*. Cf. Wissowa 1909:6.2210; Ogilvie 1965:72.

⁶⁰⁷ Plut. *Marc.* 8. Wissowa 1909:6.2209.

⁶⁰⁸ Liv. 1.10.5; Prop. 4.10.46; Paul. Fest. 92L; Dion. Hal. 2.34; Plut. *Marc.* 8, *Rom.* 16; Bettenworth 2002:122, n. 3.

⁶⁰⁹ In his elegy Propertius (4.10.45-6) is an aetiological elegy ‘explaining’ the name of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius: *Nunc Iovis incipiam causas aperire Feretri armaque de ducibus trina recepta tribus*. The circular pattern once again manifests itself: *nunc spolia in templo tria condita: causa Feretri, omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem; seu quia vieta suis umeris haec arma ferebant, hinc Feretri dieta est ara superba Iovis*. Cf. Domaszewski 1895:120; Wissowa 1909:6.2209; Robson 1973:235; Welch 2005:134.

to bring peace” (“*quod pacem ferre putaretur*”) and also the flint stone, which is struck at the conclusion of the pact (*qui foedus ferirent*).⁶¹⁰ The connection with *ferire* results from *foedus ferire*, the technical phrase used by the Romans for entering into a treaty, since a sacrifice was offered as confirmation of the pact.⁶¹¹ The last two definitions include Jupiter’s function as wielder of the thunderbolt.⁶¹² It will be useful to keep in mind that the etymological root of the term ‘feretrius’ is embodied within the verb *fero* – the definition of which is bringing or carrying something from one point to another. The verb *fero* might consequently reflect both the literal cult trophy procession in which spoils were brought to the temple, and a metaphorical emphasis on the conduct of an external political entity into another one through the conquest. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy’s contemporary, confirmed the acceptation of the term, regarding it as equivalent to ὑπερφερέτης⁶¹³ and equating Feretrius with τροπαιοῦχος, σκυλοφόρος, and, therefore, connected with *feretrum*, the frame on which the *spolia* (spoils) *opima* were fixed.⁶¹⁴ Any doubt seems to dissolve if we look at the Greek translation of the *Res Gestae* (*AEDES IN CAPITOLIO IOVIS FERETRI = ΝΑΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΙΩΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΥ*).⁶¹⁵ Feretrius would confirm its translation as *Triumphator* or ‘Trophy Carrier’ (Τροπαιοφόρος).⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁰ Paul. Fest. 81L, s. ‘*Feretrius*’; Liv. 30.43.9. For a short discussion about all the meanings listed above s. Wissowa 1909:6.2210.

⁶¹¹ Liv. 1.24.8-9: “. *Diespiter, populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam*”.

⁶¹² Cf. the further discussion on Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.206.

⁶¹³ Dion. Hal. 2.34.: Ἐτι πάντων ὑπερέχει. Cf. Cook 1904:364.

⁶¹⁴ Ogilive (1965:70) well notes that the Romans did not set up any trophy on the battlefield until 121 B.C. (c.f. Florus 1.37.6: ‘*mos inusitatus*’) and that was a Greek habit. The *spolia* were clearly analogous to τροπαῖα, which were dedicated to Ζεὺς Τροπαῖος (Gorgias, *Epitaphios* fr. 6 Diels) and were collocated on a wooden stump (trunk) so that they should not last for ever (cf. Diod. 13.24.5).

⁶¹⁵ RG 19.5.

⁶¹⁶ The statement of Cassius Dio (54.8.3) that Augustus dedicated in 20 B.C. on the Capitol a temple of *Mars Ultor* ‘opposite’ to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Φερετρίου ζήλωμα), refers only to the use of the new temple, not to its shape, for it was round. However, even though Augustus rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the unique position of this cult was weakened by the temple of *Mars Ultor*: the translation of Cassius Dio’s passage could also be ‘as rival’ (ζήλωμα) of Jupiter Feretrius. In Parker’s (1879:1.12) opinion, the temple of *Mars Ultor* would have been built imitating that of Jupiter Feretrius, being built next to it. However, the coincidences of connections between the two temples are not limited to a structural similarity: the visual evidence that *Mars Ultor* was to

3.4 The story behind the temple

[FIG 13] Livy narrates the revenge sought by three Sabine cities, Caeninae,⁶¹⁷ Antemnae and Crustumium, following the abduction of some Sabine women, an act that had caused the greatest offence.⁶¹⁸

*Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt: ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur: regem in proelio obruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit.*⁶¹⁹

The men of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae, were those who had had a share in the wrong. It seemed to them that Tatius and the Sabines were procrastinating, and without waiting for them these three tribes arranged for a joint campaign. But even the Crustuminians and Antemnates moved too slowly to satisfy the burning anger of the Caeninenses, and accordingly that nation invaded alone the Roman territory. But while they were dispersed and engaged in pillage, Romulus appeared with his troops and taught them, by an easy victory, how ineffectual is anger without strength. Their army he broke and routed, and pursued it as it fled; their king he killed in battle and despoiled; their city, once their leader was slain, he captured at the first assault.

Only the inhabitants of Caenina (*Caeninaenses*) took action, with impatience and anger (*pro ardore iraque*), invading Roman territory (*in agrum Romanum impetum facit*). The subsequent battle saw the Romans emerge victorious, and Romulus did not limit himself to victory on the field. He chased the fleeing enemy's army and, having caught the opposing king, slew him (*exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur: regem in proelio obruncat*). Livy does not give as much detail in his account as is found in Plutarch's narration above, but

assume the position of Jupiter Feretrius is indicated by the fact that Augustus had the scene of Romulus dedicating *spolia opima* engraved on the door of the temple of *Mars Ultor* (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.559-66). In 1913 a painting of Romulus shouldering the spoils of Acron was found on the Via dell'Abbondanza in Pompeii. (Edwards, Gadd & Hammond, *et al.* 1989:177, fig. 2). Also, in the forum of Pompeii was found an *elogium* to Romulus (CIL 1:283). In the temple of *Mars Ultor* were deposited the Roman standards which Crassus had lost to the Parthians and which Augustus had recovered through peaceful negotiations. See Springer 1954:27-28, 31-32.

⁶¹⁷ Plin. *N.H.* 3.68: *In prima regione praeterea fuere in Latio clara oppida Satrictum Pometia Scaptia Politorium Tellenae Tifata Caenina Ficana Crustumium Ameriola Maedullium Corniculum, Saturnia ubi nunc Roma est, Antipolis quod nunc Ianiculum in parte Romae, Antemnae Camerium Collatia Amitinum Norbe Sulmo.*

⁶¹⁸ McPherson 2010:21.

⁶¹⁹ Liv. 1.10.1-4.

otherwise the distinction between the two authors' accounts may not appear to be extremely marked. On the one hand, Livy seems to focus on a sort of symbolism, choosing to condense his account and centre the attention of the audience on specific keywords. On the other hand, Plutarch gives many more exhaustive details when telling the story, which leads to the setting up of the first temple of Rome.⁶²⁰ But a closer analysis reveals deeper differences. In Plutarch's version, the Romulean victory invokes substantially different details. The two kings, Acron from Caeninae and Romulus, had agreed on a pact before the fight: they would challenge and fight each other, while their armies would remain quiet under arms (ἀλλήλους προῦκαλοῦπτο μάχεσθαι, τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀτρεμούντων).⁶²¹ Initially, this procedure recalls not just the duel between Horatii and Curiatii, but chiefly the pact struck by the fetials before the combat between Rome and Alba.^[4.3.2] Plutarch's passage provides both diverse information and a political/territorial message, hardly detectable in Livy. Livy seems to take for granted or disregard the importance of Plutarch's sources, which is most evident in the last of Romulus' semiotic invocations to Jupiter. More importantly, in Livy and Plutarch the single parts of the fights are inverted. In Livy, Romulus triumphs over the Caeninaenses and *then* he slays their king (*exercitum fundit fugatque, [...] regem in proelio obtruncat*), while in Plutarch's narrative, first he kills the king in one-to-one combat, and then he chases the opposing army (αὐτόν τε καταβάλλει κρατήσας, καὶ τρέπεται τὸ στρατεύμα μάχης γενομένης αἰρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν).⁶²² This is not a simple victory; we are facing a different concept of conquest, with the population being moved from their previous residence to Rome. This is made clear in Plutarch's later lines: after defeating Acron, Romulus captured the Caeninenses, not harming them, but on the contrary, ordering them to tear down their dwellings and accompany him to Rome, where, he promised that they would be citizens with equal rights (οὐ

⁶²⁰ Florus 1.1.11: *Spolia insuper opima de rege Agrone Feretrio Iovi manibus suis rex reportavit.*

⁶²¹ Plut. *Rom.* 16.4.

⁶²² Plut. *Rom.* 17.1.

μὴν ἠδίκησε τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἀλλήτᾳς οἰκίας ἐκέλευσε καθελόντας ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Ρώμην, ὡς πολίτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐσομένους).⁶²³

The occupation of the enemy territories and cities is confirmed by a third version of the story, given by Dionysius. Here Romulus defeats two allied cities together, Caeninae and Antemnae. Then, in celebrating his triumph, he summoned the inhabitants of the two cities to Rome, promising a merciful solution: Roman colonists would have to be sent to the two cities and their inhabitants invited to migrate to Rome (which 3000 of them immediately did).⁶²⁴ Livy is keen to make clear that a political distinctiveness existed between the cities of Caeninae and Rome. They both had an inhabited centre and their territories were distinct from one another, as Livy states: on their own account, men of Caeninae (*ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum*) made an attack (*impetum facit*) upon Roman territory (*in agrum Romanum*).⁶²⁵ Yet this distinction between territories was undoubtedly removed when Romulus decided to grant Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of the defeated cities (according to Plutarch and Dionysius).

Clearer and more evident elements relevant to the existence of ‘*finēs*’ between Caeninae and Rome have been provided by Propertius’ elegy, probably one of the most important passages on the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.⁶²⁶

Now I begin to reveal the origins of Feretrian Jupiter and the triple trophies won from three chieftains. I climb a steep path, but the glory of it gives me strength: I never delight in wreathes plucked on easy slopes.

Nunc Iovis incipiam causas aperire Feretri
armaeque de ducibus trina recepta tribus.
magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires:
non iuvat e facili lecta corona iugo.
imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae
huius, et exuvio plenus ab hoste redis,
tempore quo portas Caeninum Acrona petentem
victor in eversum cuspide fundis equum.
Acron Herculeus Caenina ductor ab arce,

Romulus, you set the pattern first for this
prize, and returned burdened with enemy
spoils, victorious at the time when Caeninian
Acron was attempting the gates of Rome,
whom you spilled with your spear from his
fallen mount. Acron the chieftain from
Caenina's citadel, descendant of Hercules,
was once the scourge of your country,
Rome. He dared to hope for spoils from

⁶²³ Plut. *Rom.* 17.2.

⁶²⁴ Dion. Hal. 2.35; Liv. 1.11.2.

⁶²⁵ Liv. 1.1.3.

⁶²⁶ Prop. 4.10:1-48 *Templum Jovi Feretri*.

Roma, tuis quondam finibus horror erat.
 hic spolia ex umeris ausus sperare Quirini
 ipse dedit, sed non sanguine sicca suo.
 hunc videt ante cavas librantem spicula turres
 Romulus et votis occupat ante ratis:
 "Iuppiter, haec hodie tibi victima corruet Acron".
 voverat, et spoliū corruit ille Iovi.⁶²⁷

Quirinus's shoulders, but gave his own, not un-moistened by his blood. Romulus saw him, testing his spear against the hollow towers, and anticipated him with a pre-destined vow: "Jupiter this Acron falls as a victim today to you". He vowed it and Acron fell as Jupiter's spoil.

In Propertius, different elements recalling the existence of bordering practices have also been emphasised by Welch. In his article, the scholar primarily points out the importance of the '*spolia optima*' preserved in the temple of Jupiter.⁶²⁸ In his analysis he also briefly deconstructs Propertius' passage, emphasising different scenarios, which are both part of the narration and serve also as distinctive delimitation of reciprocal sovereignty.⁶²⁹ In Propertius' poetry, Acron, descendant of Hercules, the chieftain from Caenina, when leaving his Citadel (*Acron Herculeus Caenina dux ab arce*), was once a cause of fear along Rome's borders (*Roma, tuis quondam finibus horror erat*).⁶³⁰ The latter passage is reminiscent of the Livian *in agrum Romanum impetum facit* but with an explicit reference to the borders (*finibus*) rather than to territory (*agrum*): Caeninae and its king Acron were responsible for the limiting, curbing, and inducing of fear on the Roman borders. Acron represents a real danger for the integrity of Rome as he was attempting to assault the gates of Rome (*tempore quo portas ...petentem*).⁶³¹ Romulus fought within sight of his own *arx*, in defence of his own hollowed towers (*cauae turres*), which Acron boldly attacked, leaving the *arx* of Caenina (*hunc uidet ante cauas librantem spicula turres Romulus et uotis occupat tante rates*).⁶³² The gates and towers are elementally linked with the city's wall, the last bulwark against the conquest of

⁶²⁷ Prop. 4.10:1-16.

⁶²⁸ Welch 2005.

⁶²⁹ Cf. the poetic fragment in Terent. *Maur.* 2632-3: *opima adposui senex Amori arma Feretrio*.

⁶³⁰ Prop. 4.10.9-10. Three more references seems to refer to boundary lines in Propertius. At 4.10.31: At Veii the situation is the reverse of that at Caeninae; Tolumnius is on the defensive in sight of his own *arx*, above the gateway to which Cossus advances for the parley (*forte super portae dux Veiens astitit arcem*). Cf. Richmond 1916:112. Propertius (4.10.23-4) attests that before the war against Veii there was no sound of war over the Tiber, the furthest conquered city was Nomentum and three iugers from Cora (*necdum ultra Tiberim belli sonus, ultima praeda Nomentum et captae iugera terna Corae*). While at Prop. 4.10.23-40, Claudius threw Viridomarus and his army back when they crossed the Rhine (*Claudius a Rheno traiectos arcuit hostis*). Cf. also Bettenworth 2002:125, n.18.

⁶³¹ Prop. 4.10.7.

⁶³² Prop. 4.10.13. Richmond 1916:111-2.

the city. But they are also the element of distinction between the city and the surrounding territory (*ager*), forming a structural boundary, a type of ring around the city, of a similar shape to the *ager* around the city walls. Thus we may affirm through the comparison of the Livian and Propertian passages that the *arx* is considered the last rampart in defence of the City. The *arx* was positioned inside the city and possibly surrounded by walls; beyond the walls we find the *ager* and over the *ager*, the *fines*.^[3.3.3; 4.2.3] Once Rome conquered her first territory, may we consider the fact that, in joining the two (or three) political and territorial entities, the *fines* of Rome were also modified?

3.5 Romulus' triumph and the foundation of the temple

The Livian passage concerning the victory over Caenina and its king Acron reaches, almost visually, the highest point of the narration through two main distinctive parts: the triumphal procession and, more importantly, the words that Romulus addresses to Jupiter, which I will examine below.

3.5.1 Dedicatio

In this section, my main aim is to show how the reference to Romulus setting up the *templum* is not just related to an augural practice, but could also refer to a real, effective subdivision of the surrounding territory just conquered by Rome. For our purposes, the apex of the Livian narrative is reached in Romulus' concise words, spoken at the moment of the *dedicatio*. Once Romulus marked off the limits of a sacred precinct and bestowed the epithet of Feretrius to Jupiter (*designavit templo Iovis fines cognomenque addidit deo*), in a sacral language⁶³³ he announced:

⁶³³ Ogilvie 1965:72.

*“Iuppiter Feretri” inquit, “haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteris ferent”.*⁶³⁴

“Jupiter Feretrius, he said, to thee, I, the victorious Romulus king bring (*fero* these royal weapons, and I dedicate this *templum*, whose boundaries I have just measured off with my mind’s intention, as the seat of these supreme spoils (*spolia opima*), which coming descendants will bring from the slayed enemy leaders and kings following my example”.⁶³⁵

They represent the meaningful characteristics of the *templum*, which Romulus was about to set up as the direct outcome of a vow he made before the battle with Acron. In case of victory, he vowed to dedicate a *templum*⁶³⁶ to Jupiter.⁶³⁷ Livy follows this origin story of the building, which was the first *templum* to be consecrated in Rome (*Haec templi est origo quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est*).⁶³⁸ Thus the earliest Roman Jupiter had his oldest cult in the most ancient temple in Rome on the northern/north-western summit of the Capitoline Hill.⁶³⁹ However, despite his ancestral worship and its connection with the ancient priesthood of the *fetiales*, *Feretrius* never rose to the greatest heights.⁶⁴⁰ His cult and his temple were quite distinct from his more famous ‘Etruscan’ successor, *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, who supplanted the *Feretrius* and shared with *Iuno* and *Minerva* the great temple on the southern peak, destined to become supreme.⁶⁴¹ The *arx* was already sacred – before Romulus set up the *templum* – as Livy establishes that the oak was already worshipped by shepherds. Thus the delimitation of this sacred enclosure on the sacred ground of the Capitoline Hill may be deemed as the first possible evidence of a boundary practice. Primarily, I shall consider the evidence of the terms used within the Romulean bordering practices (*finis* and *regiones*) and the theoretical concepts connected to them. Secondly, following Livy and Varro, I

⁶³⁴ Liv. 1.10.6.

⁶³⁵ Aicher 2004:1.61.

⁶³⁶ Schnusenberg (2010:188) gives to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius the definition of *templum-theatrum*.

⁶³⁷ More references are present also in: Liv. 1.33; Prop. 4.1.0.15: *Iuppiter, haec hodie tibi uictima corruet Acron*.

⁶³⁸ Cf. Wissowa 1909:6.2210.

⁶³⁹ Paul. Fest. 92.1, 115.4L; August. *Civ. Dei* 2.29.

⁶⁴⁰ Dumézil 1974:147-8, 184, for the nature of this divinity and of a possible pre-Capitoline ‘triad’.

⁶⁴¹ Wissowa 1909:2209-10. Samter 1909:6.2259-65. Bailey 1932:169. The two goddesses fell into the background and *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, the greatest and best not only of all Jupiters, but no doubt of all gods, surveys the life of Rome in a more and more exalted position to Romulus. Cf. Bonfante Warren 1970:54

shall explore which kind of ritual Romulus is undertaking, focussing on the fact that it is related to the *templum*. Finally, I will analyse the Livian semiology; those symbols used in his account and how they relate to bordering practice and the fetial ritual.

Such a cryptic passage is open to different interpretations about the terms *finis* and *regiones*, as they could be ascribed to de-limiting, spatial and structural elements.⁶⁴² According to Livy's narrative,⁶⁴³ Romulus decided (*designavit*)⁶⁴⁴ the boundaries of the *templum* of Jupiter (*templo Iovis finis*) Feretrius while saying: "Jupiter Feretrius, I, the victorious king Romulus, [...] dedicate the *templum* here by these *regiones*, which I am measuring off in my mind".⁶⁴⁵ At first glance, the entire sentence seems to be quite obscure,⁶⁴⁶ as it is not made explicit what kind of regions he is talking about. Was Livy referring to a real subdivision of the newly conquered areas/territory, or was Romulus performing a theoretical subdivision of the sky? Scholars themselves seem confused about the application and relation of both the term *finis* and *regio* to so simple a structure as a *templum*.⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it is also undeniable in Livy's text that the evident use of these terms is related to bordering practices – the question is, what exactly is it bordering? Romulus, then, in his dedication speech, defined the inner boundaries and the outer limit (*finis*) of the *templum*. By drawing these lines, he established and divided the space into those regions he had in his mind's eye (*his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico*),⁶⁴⁸ through the appropriate words and probably also employing the proper gestures. Varro,

⁶⁴² Linderski (1986:2286) found the passage unusual, citing Regell (1878) and Magdelain (1962), showing that Valeton (1889; 1890) interpreted Livy's passage as a reference to the *partes caeli* rather than *pars templi*.

⁶⁴³ Liv. 1.10.5-6

⁶⁴⁴ One meaning of the verb *designare* is "to point out" and this interpretation is strengthened by the use of the demonstrative "these regions". Cf. Gargola 1995:35.

⁶⁴⁵ Operating in conjunction with a colonial pontiff, the magistrate who dedicated the temple at Salona announced publicly before reading out the words of the law: "I will give and dedicate by these rules and by these regimes, which I will say here publicly today". ILS 112: ... *his legibus hisque regionibus dabo dedicaboque, quas his hodie palam dixero* See also CIL III.1933: ...*ollis legib(us) ollisque regionibus dabo dedicaboque, qua hic hodie palam dixero* ...; CIL IX.3513 (58 B.C.): ... *olleis legibus illeis regionibus* Gargola 1995:36.

⁶⁴⁶ Linderski (1986:2287) considers the formula 'tralatician'. Cf. the *leges vici Furfensis, area Narbonensis* and *Sanotinae*, ILS 4906.112.4907.

⁶⁴⁷ In the translations there is a dichotomy between *finis* and *regiones*. Cf. Linderski (1986:2287) does not make a distinction, stating that the augurs "delimit and separate different *loca* by drawing the *finis* or *regiones*".

⁶⁴⁸ Liv. 4.20.5.

as Frothingham points out, provides perhaps a more convincing explanation of what *modo animo metatus* means.⁶⁴⁹ The boundaries were determined not merely by sight (*conspicione*), but also by memory or mental vision (*cortumione*), determining the regions of the *templum* itself which, temporary and immaterial, was not marked out.⁶⁵⁰ *Fines* are related to the foundation of the same *templum*, where, in this case, they represent the ‘limits’ of the physical *templum* (*terrestris*).[3.4; 3.5]

Regiones, on the other hand, is a word used by Romulus when he actually applies a sub-division to the temple. The term *regiones* does not refer to the lines of the foundation of the temple; otherwise Livy would have once again used the term *fines*. In the context of augury, it should be noted that the word *regiones* means, primarily, the lines that both subdivide a space and separate it from the external world and, secondarily, the parts of a space that these dividing lines create.⁶⁵¹ Acting as an augur, Romulus seems to perform the ritual of creating a *templum*, not in the sense of a structure (*aedes*), but instead following some ancestral augural procedure.⁶⁵² Successively, magistrates seeking to use a *templum* to create within it an *aedes* or altar also identified the lines that were to define the place in their mind, by words and by gestures, as Romulus did.⁶⁵³

Livy and Cicero’s narratives can be compared, where the latter provides a more definitive explanation of this question. It represents the best comparison with the Livian passage, displaying the use of similar related bordering terms. Cicero compares himself to Pompey,⁶⁵⁴ possibly reporting the same words as found in Livy and adding some more. Cicero is even more explicit, both in terminology and in connecting concepts, explaining that:

⁶⁴⁹ Frothingham (1917:195) considers *metatus* used in the same context of Varro (*L.L.* 7.8): cf. Norden 1939:88, n.1; Ogilvie 1965:72.

⁶⁵⁰ Varro *L.L.* 7.8-9: *Contempla et conspicare idem esse apparet, ideo dicere tum, cum templum facit, augurem conspicione, qua oculorum conspectum finiat. Quod cum dicunt conspicionem, addunt cortumionem, dicitur a cordis visu: cor enim cortumionis origo.* Cf. Torelli 1966; Gargola 1995:38.

⁶⁵¹ Gargola 2004:130.

⁶⁵² Beard, North & Price 1998:22.

⁶⁵³ Gargola 1995:36.

⁶⁵⁴ See Dyck 2008:204. Cicero refers to himself probably to his consulship in 63 B.C.

*...unoque tempore in hac re publica duos civis exstitisse quorum alter finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter huius imperi domicilium sedisque servaret.*⁶⁵⁵

...in Rome there were, at the same time, two citizens (Pompey and Cicero himself), one of whom limited the *finis* of your (Roman) empire only by the regions of heaven, not by those of the earth, while the other preserved the abode and home of that same empire.

Cicero uses different terms in the same sentence – terms which can be found in Livy as well. By comparing the two authors' sentences, considerations can be drawn: some from the terminological richness of Cicero's passage and some others by mutual integration with Livy's passage. Cicero explains that there are two kinds of bordering practice related to the subdivision of the 'empire': the boundary (*finis*) of the Empire (*vestri imperi*), which can be on the earth (*terra*) and in the sky (*caelus*), and which, in both instances, can be bordered (*terminaret*) by the regions (*regionibus*). Considering Cicero, the Livian *regiones* might fit with the regions of the sky, which reflect the regions on the earth. It becomes evident that Cicero used augural terminology in order to compare the special relationship between heaven and earth: the augural interpretation of signs is strictly linked to the demarcation of religious space through boundaries. This 'operating mode' has been considered as a way to categorise space both within the city and between Rome itself and the outside world.⁶⁵⁶ Through comparison of the two passages above, it is possible to surmise that Livy also considered the fact that Romulus applied this process of subdivision to regions of the conquered territories.⁶⁵⁷ In this way, the Livian account might be considered a manifesto of Rome's future foreign policy toward conquered cities and states.⁶⁵⁸ Those might be the areas in which, in his mind, Romulus had already divided his planned Empire. In this sense, might Romulus' acting as an

⁶⁵⁵ Cic. *In Cat.* 3.26.6-7. See Dyck 2008:204. To be bounded by heaven has been a hyperbolic description of human achievement since Odysseus claimed that his fame went up to heaven (*Od.* 9.20, imitated by Virg. *Aen.* 1.379). *Regio* alone or *regio caeli* is often used a regions of the sky; Cf. similarly Cic. *In Cat.* 4.21.8-9: "*Pompeius, cuius res gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur*".

⁶⁵⁶ Beard, North & Price 1998:23.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Att. Nav. *Div.* 1.17.31: *Multis annis post Romulum Prisco regnante Tarquinio quis veterum scriptorum non loquitur quae sit ab Atto Navio per lituum regionum [i.e. urbis Romae] facta descriptio*.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Liv. 1.18.7: *Inde ubi, prospectu in urbem agrosque capto, deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit (dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit), signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit*.

augur assume a meaningful significance, in dividing probably not just the sky, but also the territory? The temple of Jupiter Feretrius without doubt gives credence to interpretations of its final meaning; might it be a sort of symbolic act in order to bring or carry the conquered city into Rome herself?

3.5.2 The ritual of the *templum*

Romulus' ritual in creating the temple resembles another ritual, which involved magistrates, priests, and private citizens creating new spaces in and around the City or changing the status of old ones. The ritual delimitation of the *finēs* and the designation of the *regiones*, which set the external boundaries and the internal divisions of a *templum*, was only part of a larger process.⁶⁵⁹ Livy must have considered the *templum*, a place marked off by the augurs, as a sacred enclosure or a sanctuary.⁶⁶⁰ In the course of its constitution, the ausplicants acted in a formal procedure in order to set up a temporary or definitive field of vision, which was called *templum*.⁶⁶¹ The definition of its limits with appropriate phrases and gestures involved three basic actions: a) the indication of the limits through a defining gesture (for example, in 'blessing' a *locus inauguratus*); b) the establishment of permanent markers, which organised the internal spaces and whose materiality was sacralised through the special character of a *lex* or the performance of further rites; c) the verbal identification of the space at the moment of creation, by reciting the rules that would govern its use and set its purpose, through a formulaic *legum dictio*. Following these three main steps in creating the *templum*, we can detect two main sources about the procedure for creating *templa*. Livy himself provides specific elements, related to the procedure, while Varro focuses mostly on the formula. Through the joining of

⁶⁵⁹ Catalano (1978:463-70 and 1960:305-6) stresses that *centuriae* were not temples, as the creation of orthogonal axes was, of itself, not sufficient to create a *templum*, and that some spaces organised by orthogonal axes were, in fact, never *templa*. Gargola 2004:132.

⁶⁶⁰ Springer 1954:28-9.

⁶⁶¹ Canon (1905) in his note to Liv. 1.18: "In taking auspices, the augur or magistrate marked out a rectangular space by noting certain objects, trees or what not, within which the desired signs were to appear, and tracing a corresponding area mentally in the sky. The spot where he took his station, the '*auguraculum*', was also a small rectangular space; each of these was called a '*templum*.' All important magisterial acts were preceded by auspices, and the word '*templum*' was extended to denote the position occupied by the magistrate, such as the senate-house, the platform from which the Assembly was addressed.

elements present in both their accounts, we will also be able to seek and detect those ‘permanent markers’ established in the procedure. By reporting both of them, I intend to clarify and highlight some evident aspects linked with bordering practices which can be applied to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

3.5.3 Livy and the creation of the *templum*

Livy⁶⁶² seems to repeat the Romulean experience in setting up the temple of Jupiter Feretrius when he renders more precisely the inauguration of Numa Pompilius. The account specifies that the future second king of Rome sat on the *arx*, ‘on the stone’, facing South (*in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit*). In this case, the augur, standing to the King’s left (*augur ad laevam eius*), commenced the procedure:

A) He looked out over the city and the fields (*inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque*), and, taking his curved staff or *lituus* in his right hand (*...dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt...*), established and marked (*determinavit*) the regions (*regiones*), thus separating the areas to be searched for signs.⁶⁶³ Livy seems to describe only a single division of the *templum* into a left and a right (vertical subdivision), even though we know that the *pomerium* itself crossed the *templum*, dividing it into an upper and a lower sky register (horizontal subdivision).⁶⁶⁴

B) The augur fixed upon an object opposite him as a corresponding landmark (*signum contra*), as far into the distance as he could see (*quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant*), and delimited it according to the plan in his mind’s eye (*animo finivit*).⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶² Liv. 1.18.6-10.

⁶⁶³ The quadrants are mostly four, a line from East to West, calling ‘right’ the part to the South and ‘left’ the part to the North: “...*capto deos precatus regions ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem...*”. Gargola 1995:35.

⁶⁶⁴ Thus Linderski 1986:2279. Gargola 2004:131.

⁶⁶⁵ Liv. 1.13.6-10, esp. 7-8. Gargola 2004:130. The following “*tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita*” recalls the Etruscan tomb of Tarquinii.

C) The third step, called the *lex dicta*, governed the use of the imaginary and temporary *templum*, analogous to the way in which, in earlier times, the *dedicatio* governed a temple.⁶⁶⁶

In Livy's view, the creation of the *templum* presents features clearly relating the presence of Jupiter to the boundaries. Borders are connected with the cult of Jupiter, when the augur asks the god to send definite signs (*signa certa*) within the field of vision and "within these *fines* which I have made" ("*Iuppiter pater, ... inter eos fines, quos feci*"). The ideological connection between *templa* and the areas of a political community has already been identified by Scheid, whereas three different plans of the social-religious-political living are so identified and banded together: the ancient territory of Rome (*ager Romanus antiquus*), the city itself (*urbs*) and the temple (*templum*).⁶⁶⁷

3.5.4 Varro and the creation of the *templum*

Comparing Livy with Varro, I shall demonstrate that the *templa* were not just created as immaterial within the field of vision, but also as a real, material 'framework' on the ground. Norden⁶⁶⁸ undertook the difficult task of rebuilding the entire corrupted text of the augural verbal formula preserved by Varro:

In terris dictum templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis finitus. Concipitur verbis non isdem usque quaque; in Arce sic:

On the earth, templum is the name given to a place set aside and limited by certain words for the auguries or the auspices. The words of the ceremony are not the same everywhere; on the Citadel, they are:

Templa tescaque me ita sunt, quoad ego ea rite lingua nuncupavero

Temples and wild lands be mine in this manner, up to where I have named them with my tongue in proper fashion.

Olla vera arbor quiquir est, quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque me esto in sinistrum.

⁶⁶⁶ Gargola 1995:35. Cf. Reid 1912:46: "Festus (146L), by explaining the temporary enclosure known as a *templum minus* and probably following the Augustan antiquarian Verrius Flaccus, noted that it was "defined by fixed words".

⁶⁶⁷ Scheid 2003:61.

⁶⁶⁸ Norden 1939:3-106, 281-286. See also Weinstock 1932; Blumenthal 1934; Giordànich 1934:579-587; Ribezzo 1934:201, n. 1; Pighi 1941; Latte 1948; Pisani 1955; Pisani 1956; Peruzzi 1976.

Of whatever kind that truthful tree is, which I consider that I have mentioned, temple and wild land be mine to that point on the left.

Olla vera arbor quirquir est, quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque me esto in dextrum.

Of whatever kind that truthful tree is, which I consider that I have mentioned, temple and wild land be mine to that point on the right.

Inter ea conregione conspicione cortumione, utique ea rite dixisse me sensi.

Between these points, temples and wild lands be mine for direction, for viewing, and for interpreting, and just as I have felt assured that I have mentioned them in proper fashion.

*In hoc templo faciundo arbores constitui fines apparet et intra eas regiones qua oculi conspiciant, id est tueamur, a quo templum dictum...*⁶⁶⁹

In making this temple, it is evident that the trees are set as boundaries, and that within them the regions are set where the eyes are to view, it is to be fenced, from which is called templum...

Varro provides the most complete overview, but his terminology is uncertain; moreover, he lists three categories of *templa*, which varied greatly in form and function. Varro characterised the *templum in caelo* as *ab natura* (by nature) a field of vision, defined against the sky, in which the auspiciant searched for divine signs, such as lightning. Such *templa* were temporary spaces defined in the imagination for the purposes of *auspicatio*. However, the same word *templum* also signifies a permanent enclosure on the ground, corresponding to what is called *templum inauguratum* or *templum terrestre*.⁶⁷⁰ Varro's *templum in terra* was probably defined on the land by an auspiciant looking down over the surrounding countryside from a high place when searching for signs. Structures established on the ground to serve as places from which observers would create these *templa* may have shared the category of *templum in terra* with the visual fields that were created from them.⁶⁷¹ This distinction between a terrestrial and aerial *templum* confirms what Varro says: the *templum* was limited and bounded by augury. Some scholars, such as Frothingham,⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁹ Varro *L.L.* 7.8-9.

⁶⁷⁰ The main text follows Goetz & Schoell 1910 with Norden's (1939:97) *addenda*. For different approaches to Varro's text see: Brause 1875:1.30-8.; Thulin 1906:66-7; Weinstock 1932; Blumenthal 1934; Goidanich 1934; Latte 1948; Pighi 1958:86; Cenderelli 1973:54, 101; Chanut 1980; Linderski 1986:2267 ff. Catalano 1978:467 ff.; Cipriano 1983.

⁶⁷¹ See Varro *L.L.* 7.6: *templum tribus modis dicitur: ab natura, ab auspicando, a similitudine; <ab> natura in caelo, ab auspiciis in terra, a similitudine sub terra*. Cf. ILS 4907. On *templa* in general, see Catalano 1960:248-319; Catalano 1978:467-79; Linderski 1986:2256-96; Gargola 2004:129.

⁶⁷² Frothingham 1917:189.

consider *templa* as bounded spaces, separated from the external world for some public or augural end.⁶⁷³

In Livy's and Varro's passages, I considered those terms and sentences that demonstrate that the *templum* was not just an immaterial object, such as an augural 'frame', but also a real, concrete structure, which reflects the celestial subdivision.⁶⁷⁴ As Ogilvie points out, the directions given by Livy in the construction of the *templum* are incompatible with those usually specified for the *templum in caelo*,⁶⁷⁵ which might mean a different use of the *templum* and a practical use in dividing land regions. On the contrary, other scholars show that the temple in the heavens is a rectangle, where "the sign depended on its spatial relationship to these defined points. These celestial rectangles had a series of equivalents – they continue – on earth to which the same term was applied".⁶⁷⁶ However, Varro himself makes clear that the *templum in terra* is distinct and was not a mere mirror-image of the *templum in caelo*.⁶⁷⁷ For example, centuriated spaces possessed an analogous organisation and were created by the surveyors, or the officials, following this augural procedure.⁶⁷⁸ Livy himself states that the whole city of Rome⁶⁷⁹ and some of her monuments were dedicated as *templa*.⁶⁸⁰ [FIG 24] The *templum* was, therefore, real and the best example which has survived is the augural late-republican *templum* at

⁶⁷³ Many, and probably most, *templa* were clearly and firmly bounded by the actions of the person who created them, even privately. Cicero, for example, depicted Attus Navius as only setting the internal divisions of his *templum*, where the vineyard itself provided the boundaries, not the augur (Cic. *Div.* 1.17.31). For the all above points, see Linderski 1986:2266, 2287, n. 561. Gargola 2004:131.

⁶⁷⁴ According to Paul. *Fest.* 146L, the *templum* was "defined and closed in such a way that it was open on a side only, with its corners solidly fixed on the ground": cf. Scheid 2003:60.

⁶⁷⁵ Ogilvie 1965:92.

⁶⁷⁶ Beard, North & Price 1998:22-3.

⁶⁷⁷ Varro *LL* 7.7.; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.92, 6.191, 7.187. Cf. Regell 1881:618-20, still did not know the augural stones from Bantia.

⁶⁷⁸ Gargola 2004:132.

⁶⁷⁹ Liv. 1.18.8: *Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit.* The legend of the famous Etruscan diviner, Olenus Calenus, as related by Dion. Hal. 4.69-71. He also shows the eastern orientation in the laying out of the city of Rome, and, in general, in the orientation of the terrestrial *templum*, because when the diviner traces on the ground the image of the *templum* of Rome with a circular outline which two lines at right angles bisect into four equal parts, he starts tracing these lines at the East end toward which he faces. Frothingham 1917:200.

⁶⁸⁰ Varro *L.L.* 8.6-13: "*quaquia intuiti erant oculi, a tuendo primo templum dictum quocirca caelum qua attuimur dictum templum;*" the rostra, some basilicas, the curia, were all *templa*. Frothingham 1917:195 has shown that for this class of *templa* almost any form could be used, and that they can be roughly classified under circles, triangles, and rectangles.

Bantia (modern Banzi).⁶⁸¹ At the present time, it is the best-known replication of the *templum* and the divisions created from it for the auspices: a clearly defined rectangular space divided into four quarters by East/West and North/South lines using stone markers to aid in the construction of an auspiciant's field of vision and to assist in the interpretation of the signs observed there.⁶⁸² These orthogonal axes were traced on a stone providing the fixed directions (*finis* and *regiones*)⁶⁸³ on a quadrangular frame and were found in a type of *loci inaugurati*: a *stella*, or *decussis*, the sign of two crossing lines, which was placed on the entrances to all inaugurated places or in the middle of *templa*, acting as an internal division with the words *antica* and *postica* inscribed on it.⁶⁸⁴ Through comparison of Livy's and Varro's passages, we obtain some data: a) the *locus*, the place where the ritual was undertaken: the *arx* and specifically the *auguraculum*; b) the importance of trees in setting up the *templum terrestris*: the connection with the sacred oak, mentioned by Livy; c) the presence of a stone inside the temple of Jupiter Feretrius: the Livian reference to a stone on the *arx*; d) the relationship between the objects contained in the temple on the *arx*: their relation with fetial priests; e) the relationship between the *arx*, the tree (oak), the stone, the *templum*, the fetials and the cult of Jupiter Feretrius, which are in turn connected with bordering practices.[3.5] Linderski may have

⁶⁸¹ The dimensions of this platform on the Capitoline Hill compare favorably with the small size of the terrestrial *templa* at Cosa and Bantia. Using Varro's description (L.L. 7.8) of the *auguraculum* as a consecrated space marked on the ground: *templum in terris*) and comparative evidence from Cosa and Bantia, it is thought that the *Auguraculum* was a square or rectangular area marked by boundary stones, or cippi. Torelli 1966; Linderski 1986; Beck 1994:100-10; Carandini 2000b:256.

⁶⁸² See Torelli 1966; Gargola 2004:129.

⁶⁸³ Thus Catalano 1960:289. Gargola 2004:131.

⁶⁸⁴ For the *stella*, which bore the description *augustus* on itself, see Paul. Fest. 470L and 476L: "*stellam significare ait Ateius Capito laetum et prosperum. auctoritatem secutus P. Servili auguris [stellam], quae ex lamella aerea adsimilis stellae locis inauguratis infigatur*"; Dolabella p. 224.1-3 C: "*quare per aedes publicas in ingressus antike fecerunt crucem, ANTICA. et POSTICA? quia aruspices secundum anispicium in duabus partibus orbem terrarum diuiserunt: una parte ab oriente in occidentem, alia a meridiano in septentrionem*". For the parts of a temple, see Paul. Fest. 244-245L: "*posticum ostium dicitur in posterictre parte aedium, ceterum antiqui etiam vicinum habitantem ad posteriorem partem aedium sic appellarunt. denique et quae ante nos sunt antica, et quae post nos sunt postica dicuntur, et dexteram anticam, sinistram posticam dicimus. sic etiam ea caeli pars, quae sole inlustratur ad meridiem, antica nominatur, quae ad septentrionem. postica; rursurnque dividuntur in duas partes. orientem atque occidentem*". Linderski 1986:2289, n. 568. Prosdocimi 1991:37-43. argues that there was no similarity between the surveyors' *stella* and the *stella* placed on inaugurated places, since the former had the shape of a cross, while the latter, he suggests, was rectangular, with the corners forming points that were star-like. But see Dolabella above. Cf. Scheid 2003:60; Gargola 2004:131.

identified the solution to the issues surrounding Livy's passage: "The mention of *finis*, within which Jupiter was asked to exhibit unmistakable signs, points back to the operation of the establishment of the field of vision, and the tense of *feci* indicates that it had already been concluded. It is interesting to note that in the preceding narrative Livy did not use the term *finis*.⁶⁸⁵ (...) We have to look for another word that would correspond to *finis* and connote the concept of boundaries. It is not difficult to find it: *regiones*. When the augur *regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit*, he drew the boundary lines or *fines*."⁶⁸⁶

3.6 The *auguraculum* and the *arx*

The *templum terrestris* was a clearly defined rectangular enclosure on the ground, a *locus inauguratus*. It served as a place where the public officiant would perform important functions⁶⁸⁷ and also as a location for altars, temples (*aedes*) and shrines.⁶⁸⁸ This *locus inauguratus*, also known as *auguraculum*,⁶⁸⁹ was an 'open space' (*templum*), where the public auspices were taken. In the centre of this open space was the thatched hut of the observer, which was preserved in its primitive form at least as late as the time of Augustus. The *auguraculum* was laid out on the highest point of the *arx*, which was the highest area of the *Capitolium* as well, suitable for the augurs, because their view of the surrounding territory was not interrupted by other elements, such as buildings or higher hills.⁶⁹⁰ The Janiculum was the only 'mountain', which impeded the view to the North[2.2.8] and no tall monuments could be built around or on the top of

⁶⁸⁵ Which is not true as he used the first time in relation with the Tiber: Liv. 1.3.5.

⁶⁸⁶ Linderski 1986:2293, cf. 2287.

⁶⁸⁷ See Liv. 1.18 and the 'creation' of Numa as king of Rome.

⁶⁸⁸ The setting up of the *aedes* of Jupiter Feretrius by Romulus. Gargola 2004:129.

⁶⁸⁹ Vitruv. 2.1.5; Varro *L.L.* 7.7; Cic. *Off.* 3.66; Paul. *Fest.* 18L; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 22.5; Liv. 1.24. The *auguraculum* was on the northeast corner of the *arx*, above the *clivus Argentarius*, probably near the apse of the present church of S. Maria in Aracoeli Cf. Jord. 1.2.102-106; Hülsen 1912:199; dap 2.12.149-153; 148.

⁶⁹⁰ E.g. Paul. *Fest.* 466-8L: *Summisiorem aliis aedem Honoris et Virtutis C. Marius fecit, ne, si forte officeret auspiciis publicis, augures eam demoliri cogarent.* (Marius' temple of Honos and Virtus was lower than other temples so that it would not be an obstruction to the taking of the public auspices, and so that the augurs might not order its demolition"). For other example of augurs keeping free from obstructions the prospectus from the temple, see Cic. *Off.* 3.66; cf. Val. Max. 8.2.1. Cf. Carney 1962; Linderski 1986:2158; McDonnell 2006:275.

the Capitoline Hill.⁶⁹¹ Politically, the *arx* was therefore a unique point of control both through a ‘visual domination’ and as a religious hub.

From this vantage point, the augurs, standing on the *arx* (*in arce sic*),⁶⁹² looked around over the city and the territories (*agri*), as Livy’s description confirms.⁶⁹³ The *arx* and the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius were both associated with the fetial priests, because they took their instruments from there: the *lapis sillex* and the *verbena*.^[3.7.2; 4.3.1] With this statement and a convincing argument, Coirier has shown that the *sagmina* was taken not from the *Capitolium* in general but from the *auguraculum*,⁶⁹⁴ which Festus says to be so called by the ancients, which we now call an *arx*, the place from where the public augurs take the auspices (*appellabant antiqui, quam nos arcem dicimus, quod ibi augures publice auspicarentur*).⁶⁹⁵ Having seen the connection between the fetial priests, the *sagmina* and the *arx*, could it be that the same *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius⁶⁹⁶ was considered as the earliest *auguraculum*, and used by Romulus

⁶⁹¹ Paul. Fest. 466-8L on Marius’ buildings.

⁶⁹² Varro *L.L.* 7.8.

⁶⁹³ Norden 1939:3-106, clarified the obscurities of this formula. Gargola 2004:131.

⁶⁹⁴ Coirier 1992:366.

⁶⁹⁵ Paul. Fest.17L.

⁶⁹⁶ As confirmed by Liv. 1.10.5 the temple was on the Capitoline Hill (Jordan 1907:1.2.47-8). Parker (1879:249-50) tried to demonstrate that the construction of the walls of all the earliest buildings of Rome, recorded by Livy, is the same, “as this bears the truth of his history. In connection with the fortification on the Palatine hill there is the foundation of a temple of the same early character which was excavated by the Italian government in 1871-2 at the west end of the *arx* of Romulus (Roma Quadrata). There is a long flight of steps up to this temple from the direction of the Circus Maximus, and the whole of the wall is of the same early construction as the walls of the fortifications, and as the *aerarium* and the *tabularium* on the Capitoline Hill. This temple can hardly be any other than that of Jupiter Feretrius. The walls are of tufa, of the same rude early character of construction as the other walls, known as walls of Romulus, and the stones are of the same size. A grand staircase or a flight of steps, descended from it in the direction of the Circus Maximus; the line from it would now pass just in front of the church of S. Anastasia and straight to the Carceres of the Circus. This temple is stated to have been built in the Capitoline Hill, that is, in the Capitoline Hill of Romulus, before the union with the Sabines. The hill of Saturn, now called the Capitoline Hill, was added to the Roman city at a subsequent period, as stated by Livy; at that now stands the point at which the Aqua Argentina, the only drinking water on the palatine hill, fell into the stream that ran between the two fortresses, and had formed the *Lacus Curtius*. We have also the notice of another wall: the one which enclosed the hill of Saturn and the Palatine” (Dion. Hal. 2.66). Differently, Carandini (2011:79-81) defines the temple as a dwelling. In his eminent opinion, opposite to its entrance would have been set up a shrine and a holy oak. The Italian archaeologist placed the sacred area within the modern Promoteca Capitolina, where have been discovered votive finds from the first half of the 8th century B.C.

– as perhaps suggested in Livy’s narrative – to subdivide into *regiones* the city and the surrounding countryside⁶⁹⁷

3.7 Trees and stones

Natural features were part of the process of creating the *templum*. For instance, as Varro notes, the boundaries of the *templum* were determined by large trees.⁶⁹⁸ This leads both to the Livian reference to the oak tree⁶⁹⁹ and to the second step in determining the favourable and unfavourable quarters of the field. In the *templum*, the purpose of *auspicatio* was to use the trees or the *cippi* (stones) to guide the creation of the defining regions.⁷⁰⁰ Varro himself clearly explained that the augur firstly established the outer limits or *finis* of the *templum* using trees, and through them ausplicants went on to set the lines or regions (*conregiones* in the formula itself) via a glance and the ritual, which subdivided the field.⁷⁰¹ On the contrary, Livy explicitly mentions the presence of a stone, upon which Numa sat during the creation of the ‘open *templum*’.⁷⁰² The *templum* of Romulus was not a majestic one, such as those later created by the Etruscan kings. At the end of the procedure, the *templa terrestria* or *minora* were finally fenced either with planks and linen cloth or with stakes and spears.⁷⁰³ In other spaces, sturdier elements would have been required.⁷⁰⁴ Burn describes this first *templum-theatrum* of the founder of Rome as a ‘diminutive

⁶⁹⁷ As Gargola (1995:35) assumes.

⁶⁹⁸ Frothingham 1917:195.

⁶⁹⁹ Liv. 1.18.7, 1.18.9, 1.10.6: *finis animo metari, finire*. Cf. Ogilvie 1965:92.

⁷⁰⁰ Gargola 1995:38.

⁷⁰¹ When Bantia became a *municipium* after the Social War, an *auguraculum* was built to take the auspices in the Roman manner, and stone markers or *cippi* were installed to assist in the construction of the *templum*.? See Gargola 1995:36.

⁷⁰² Liv. 1.18.6: ... *deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit*.

⁷⁰³ Paul. Fest. 146L.; Servius (*Ad Aen.* 4.200) reports that the same or similar enclosure was marked by *hastae*. The purpose of such precincts is uncertain: cf. Valeton 1892:374. Although the *templum minus* served to mark a place after the performance of the *liberatio* and the *effatio* (liberation and pronouncing designated; cf. Scheid 2003:60), but before a permanent enclosure or the walls of an *aedes* could be built. Linderski (1986:2274-79) suggests that one use for those *templa* was for taking auspices in military encampments. Gargola 1995:38.

⁷⁰⁴ The legates noted in their verbal description places where the parties were to erect boundary markers; since those legates were not magistrates and the points in question were on foreign soil, they probably could not have performed the operation themselves. Cf. Gargola 1995:36.

chapel',⁷⁰⁵ which seems to have been a simple wooden structure, along with other public buildings, perhaps with a demarcation of stones of tufa.⁷⁰⁶ This hypothetical reconstruction is similar to the wooden frame hut built by the augurs in the setting up of any early *templum*, which encompasses the original meaning of the name.⁷⁰⁷ To be considered sacred, the *templum* had to be consecrated. As many temples (*aedes*) were built within *templa*, gradually over time this term was applied directly to them and eventually acquired the current meaning of a religious building.⁷⁰⁸

3.7.1 The sacred oak

Livy points out the symbolic presence on the Capitoline Hill of an ancient oak, which was sacred to the shepherds (*quercum pastoribus sacram*). The recognition of a divine spirit in an individual tree can be traced to the cult of Jupiter on the Capitol, which may originally have been the spirit of that sacred oak.⁷⁰⁹ In other words, this tree identified the immanent *numen* and a probable cult of Jupiter.⁷¹⁰ The oak was thought to be sacred because it was the tree most often struck by lightning, the sign of Jupiter.⁷¹¹ After his victory, Romulus used the sacred oak, modelling it into the shape of a log, on which the weapons and armours of Acron (*spolia opima*) were hung. In this way, he built the first trophy and dedicated it to the father of the gods.⁷¹² The sacred oak is not just an isolated, standing sign, containing the intrinsic meaning or metaphor of bringing or merging one city into Rome with the protection of Jupiter. This tree might also represent a key element in the subdivision of the space: could its

⁷⁰⁵ Burn 1871:24.

⁷⁰⁶ Schnusenberg 2010:188; Springer 1954:28.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. cf. Paul. Fest. 505L.; Vitruvius 4.2.5, 7.5. See Weinstock 1932 who couples Lat. *temno*, Gr. τέμνω. Cf. Ogilvie 1965:92.

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. Scheid 2003:61: "A *templum* in the ancient Roman sense of the term was neither a building nor a sacred place".

⁷⁰⁹ Bailey 1932:44.

⁷¹⁰ Its contextualisation recalls the sacro-idyllic scenes of the roman fresco from the same period as Livy. See Cook 1904:364; Springer 1954:28; Schnusenberg 2010:188.

⁷¹¹ Eliade 1958:79.

⁷¹² Romulus' action itself in dedicating the *spolia opima* was repeated by C. Marcellus, who 'froze' the moment of the dedication on one of his coins; CIL X 809. Cf. Aust 1890:673; Cook 1904:364 ff.; Wissowa 1909:6.2210.

modification into a trophy symbolise the possibility that Romulus,⁷¹³ and the Romans, could modify the structural, environmental, natural positioning of the boundaries?

3.7.2 The *silex*

In this section, I shall try to show that the stone (*lapis silex*) preserved in the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius was a stone of bigger dimensions than previously thought.[4.3.1-2] Moreover, it is my intention to try to indicate that this stone was the starting point for the creation of the earliest bordering practice in Rome. Both Livy and Varro stress that the augurs sought to determine Jupiter's will through the observation of signs, and although there is no evidence for his statement, Wissowa⁷¹⁴ assumed that the *arx* was a '*Kultstätte*' of Jupiter. In the *sacellum* of the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius, unlike other cults, there is no mention of any cult statue of the god, but there is the sign of Jupiter, a stone preserved in it.⁷¹⁵

The oak and the *sagmina* / *verbena*, through the use of the fetials, were not the only items which might have been indirectly related to some bordering practice or with Jupiter Feretrius.⁷¹⁶ Early Roman religion seems to connect the material world with the power manifested in the sky/universe, which was thought to be in the form of impersonal spirits (*numina*), dwelling in springs, rivers, mountains, groves, trees or stones.⁷¹⁷ Consequently, the early Romans thought of Jupiter, not as a personal deity living in the sky like Zeus, but rather as the heaven itself, so they could think of him as immanent in some natural element (e.g. eagle, oak, thunder).⁷¹⁸ The pervasive immanence of the deity himself was

⁷¹³ Cf. Plut. *Rom.* 16: "Romulus, that he might pay his vow in a manner well-pleasing to Jupiter, cut down an enormous oak which was growing in the camp, trimmed it to the shape of a trophy, and fastened about it all the weapons of Acron in order due". Cook 1904:364.

⁷¹⁴ Wissowa 1912:104.

⁷¹⁵ Paul. Fest. 81L, s. '*Feretrius*'.

⁷¹⁶ The strong relationship between fetials and Jupiter Feretrius has been emphasised by Wissowa 1909:6.2210.

⁷¹⁷ Scullard 1935:391.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. Cook 1904:371. Fowler 1932:30.

represented in stones, such as the *lapis silex*⁷¹⁹ in the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius or, as it happened, the *lapis manalis*. The *silex*, which would have been a hard stone capable of being struck to produce sparks, is also associated with the god in Virgil,⁷²⁰ being an object of cult in an earlier stage. This special association is also clear in Jupiter's punishment of those guilty of perjury, by striking them down with a thunderbolt.⁷²¹ For example, a line of Virgil states that Jupiter *Fulgur*⁷²² o *Fulgurator*⁷²³ was summoned to ratify the treaties (*qui foedera fulmine sancit*).⁷²⁴ Despite Reid's scepticism, Tyrrel believed the stone to be an immanent thunderbolt on the earth, a symbol of Jupiter.⁷²⁵ Jupiter was summoned in the fetial and augural ceremony and regarded as witness of oaths and treaties, or sender of signs. One particular representation of Jupiter joined together the two ceremonies. The connection between *Iuppiter Fulgur*⁷²⁶ or *Flagius* and *Iuppiter Feretrius* was represented by the *lapis silex* (flint stone), both because that stone was preserved in his *templum* and because it was able to produce sparks, which reminded people of the thunderbolt.⁷²⁷ As Frothingham notes,⁷²⁸ in the ancient Italian universe, the augural divination happened in two ways, observing the birds, as in the Italic and Roman custom, or the observation of thunder and lightning, which is Etruscan.⁷²⁹ Both these

⁷¹⁹ Bailey 1932:7.

⁷²⁰ Virg. *Georg.* 1.135: *Ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem.*

⁷²¹ Eliade 1958:79.

⁷²² See Schilling 1974.

⁷²³ Epigraphically, the Italic context presents a wide range of documents about the cult of *Iuppiter Flazzus* o *Flagius*.

⁷²⁴ Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.200: "*audiat haec genitor, qui foedera fulmine sancit*" *confirmat. Iuppiter confirmat, sancta esse facit, quia cum fiunt foedera, si coruscatio fuerit, confirmantur.* Cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.117: εἴ πέρ μοι καὶ μοῖρα Διὸς πληγέντι κεραυνῷ κείσθαι ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσι μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κονίησιν (even though it be my fate to be smited with the bolt of Zeus, and to lie low in blood and dust amid the dead).

⁷²⁵ Arnob. *ad v. Gent.* 4.25. Grimm (1844:163-4) tells of the flint of the German god Donar, and the Miölnir, or hammer, of Thor. 'Hammer' is connected philologically with ἄκμων (Curt. *G.E.* No. 3), which itself means a thunderbolt (Hesiod *Theog.* 722: χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανόθεν κατιών). Compare generally on *Iuppiter Lapis*: Preller & Jordan 1883:220, and Mommsen, Marquardt & Mau 1885:408-9, who agree with the above. Tyrrell & Purser 1918:214. Tyrrell 1903:194.

⁷²⁶ The cult is similar to *Iuppiter Flazzus* o *Flagius* present in some Italic inscriptions: Vetter 1953:nr. 92 (Capua); nr. 108 (Cuma) [= Poccetti 1979:nr. 132] e CIL X 1571 (Pozzuoli).

⁷²⁷ Alföldi 1959; cf. Cappelletti 1999:92; Ogilvie 1965:70.

⁷²⁸ Frothingham 1917:187.

⁷²⁹ Cf. Pliny (2.142) explains the belief in the lucky left by this southern orientation: *Laeva prospera existumantur quoniam laeva parte mundi ortus est. In sexdecim partes caelum in eo spectu divisere Tusci. Prima est a septentrionibus ad aequinoctialem exortum, secunda ad meridiem, tertia ad aequinoctialem occasum, quarta optinet quod reliquom est ab occasu ad*

cases must be studied in connection with a consecrated and determined area called *templum*, within which the phenomena are noted.⁷³⁰

Like the invocation in war-declarations, this ritual also considered Jupiter, not as a personal deity living in the sky like Zeus, but rather as immanent in the flint stone, indeed *Iuppiter Lapis*.⁷³¹ Jupiter Feretrius' worship and representation remained aniconic⁷³² and appeared to be the only hypostasis of an otherwise anthropomorphic Roman god that was simultaneously worshipped in non-human form. In other words, not having a proper cult statue,⁷³³ Jupiter Feretrius' *numen* (divinity) was represented by his cultural symbol: a stone of immense sacredness encompassed in his temple. Festus informs us that the fetials held only a sceptre and a stone, which were 'used' in the *templum* (*ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum per quod iurarent et lapidem silicem*).⁷³⁴ The superimposition of the *lapis silix* and the *sceptrum* has caused some scholars to consider the *lapis silix* as a superstitious relic from the Stone Age, like a small stone axe (celt)⁷³⁵ or a sacrificial knife of immemorial past, which was proper to use on the occasion, but was not otherwise sacrosanct.⁷³⁶ Both the stone and the sceptre were symbolically the peculiar marks of Jupiter and were used by the fetials for their solemn ceremonies.⁷³⁷ Reid attempted to show that

septentriones. Has iterum in quaternas divisere partes, ex quibus octo ab exortu sinis-tras, totidem e contrario appellavere dextras. Ex his maxume dirae quae septentrionem ab occasu attingunt optimum est in exortivas redire partes. Idem cum a prima caeli parte venerunt et in eandem concesserunt, summa felicitas partenditur ..." A similar statement had already been made in brief by Cicero (*Div.* 2.42): "*Caelum in sedecim partis dividerunt Etrusci. Facile id quidem fuit quattuor, quas nos habemus duplicare, post idem iterum facere, ut ex eo dicerent, fulmen qua ex parte venisset*". Servius, also, says (*ad Aen.* 8. 427): "*dicunt physici de sedecim partibus caeli iaci fulmina*". On the king's 'signs' taken from the Etruscans, see: Ogilvie 1965:61-2.

⁷³⁰ Cf. Sibley 2009:120-1.

⁷³¹ Fowler 1911:129-30; Bailey 1932:15. On similarities about the oath on a stone or on multiple stones: see Campbell 1953:13.

⁷³² Wissowa 1912:103. Cf. Liv. 1.24; Paul. Fest. 81L. Cf. Carandini 2000a:327; Latte 1960:126; Calore 2000:45, 55, 90.

⁷³³ Scullard (1935:391) considers both stones as boundary stones.

⁷³⁴ Paul. Fest. 81L, s. '*Feretrius*'. Wissowa 1909:6.2210. For the link *ferio-Feretrius*: Prop. 4.10.5-46; Plut. *Marc.* 8.4; *Rom.* 16.6. Cappelletti 1999:90.

⁷³⁵ Carandini 2011:94.

⁷³⁶ In this context, Cook (1904:365) concludes that the *lapis silix* of Jupiter Feretrius was the symbol of the sky-god, just as the stone axe in the palace of Minos was the weapon and symbol of Zeus. Cf. Springer 1954:27.

⁷³⁷ Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.206: *Axidiat haec genitor qvii foedera fulmine sancit*, where he says: *Ut autem sceptrum adhibeatur ad foedera haec ratio est quia maiores semper simulacrum Iovis adhibebant: quod cum taediosum esset — inventum est ut sceptrum tenentes quasi imaginem*

the *silex* had the same significance as the *sagmina*.⁷³⁸ Like the *verbena*, it represented the native land, brought from abroad.⁷³⁹ The ritualistic and sacred procedure of carrying instruments from the Capitoline Hill reinforced their diplomatic immunities, by granting them a sort of protective aura (*per quod iuvarent*).⁷⁴⁰ In this way, the fetials, when carrying the *verbena* with them, in some way transposed the spreading *imperium* to the real word. The act of moving toward the enemy's bordering areas and then crossing them with the spear-ritual might mean that they "took possession of the hostile land", breaching the boundary of the enemy's *finis*. In his opinion, Reid stated that the function of *sagmina* and *lapis* was to keep the fetials in touch with their own country, when they made their demands or concluded their treaties.⁷⁴¹

3.7.3 *Juppiter Lapis* (Jupiter Stone)

In the section to follow I will attempt to demonstrate that: a) the cult of 'Jupiter Stone' and the stone which personified him (*lapis silex*) was not just present in the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius; b) the stone '*lapis silex*', adopted for striking oaths, pacts or treaties was conflated with the stone representing '*Juppiter Lapis*'. In other words, I will show that the two stones have been confused in the procedure of swearing oaths and consider the hypothesis that inside the *templum* was preserved an original stone of larger dimensions than the one used to swear on.

simulacri redderent lovis. Sceptrum enim ipsius est proprium. (The reason why the sceptre is used when a treaty has to be made is this. Our forefathers on all such occasions were wont to produce an image of Jupiter. This was difficult, especially when the treaty was made with a distant tribe. A way out of the difficulty was for them to hold a sceptre and so copy as it were the image of Jupiter; for the sceptre is peculiar to himself). Cf. Cook 1904:365; Ogilvie 1965:70.

⁷³⁸ Reid 1912:48. The notion of the sceptre, which also appears in Paul. Fest. 92L, is apparently a distortion of the idea that the *verbena* was a *caduceus*.

⁷³⁹ Even if the phrase '*lapis Capitolinus*', which Augustine (*C.D.* 2.29) places side by side with *Vestalis focus*, does refer to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which is doubtful, the writer is no real authority on such a matter. Reid 1912:50.

⁷⁴⁰ Liv. 1.10.7

⁷⁴¹ Parallels are easy to find. We may, for instance, compare the consecration of a piece of foreign ground as Roman soil when a consul wanted to nominate a dictator. Also it was once a custom at Rome, in a dispute about land, that a clod from the estate should be produced in court, so that the dispute was in theory conducted in *re praesenti*. Reid 1912:50-1.

From this stone, the father of the gods also took his special title of *Juppiter Lapis*⁷⁴² and – as in Aust's opinion – he was immanent in the stone itself.⁷⁴³ As we have seen, Festus considered that the cognomen 'Feretrius' would derive from *ferendo*, of which the *silex* in the *templum* is evidence, and, therefore, Jupiter Feretrius would be equivalent to *Juppiter Lapis*. It is said that the fetials took the *lapis silex* with them during their official journeys and used it to ratify their treaties.⁷⁴⁴ In his comment to Virgil, Servius presents a further development of the mythical *rapport* between the stone and the god, when he says that the victim sacrificed by the fetials in concluding peace was struck with a *lapis silex*, because they believed it to be *antiqui Iovis signum*.⁷⁴⁵ After all, we know that the fetials had the task of declaring war or ratifying peace.[4.2; 4.4]

On this stone, the Romans would have taken their most solemn oaths, using the expression '*Per Jovem Lapidem jurare*'.⁷⁴⁶ Indeed, the *templum* was built after a vow had been sworn. Unfortunately, a passage of Polybius⁷⁴⁷ seems to have created a misunderstanding about this theme. In his famous account about the fetials' treaties between Rome and Carthage, Polybius affirms that the Romans swore an oath in their earliest agreement by the name of 'Jupiter Stone' and the ancient custom (Δία λίθον κατὰ τι παλαιὸν ἔθος). However, in the case of the third treaty, made at the time of the war with Pyrrhus, they swore by Zeus, Ares and Enyalios (probably Quirinus).⁷⁴⁸ This passage is confusing and is hard to interpret. But it specifically links Jupiter (Feretrius), Mars and (Janus) Quirinus and suggests that, in the earliest period of the city's history, these three gods may have been the recipients of the victory spoils, later to be monopolised by

⁷⁴² Gell. 1.21.4, cf. Polyb. 3.25.6-7. Bailey 1932:7-8; Fowler 1932:129-30; Cook 1904:365.

⁷⁴³ Aust 1890:674; for similar and chronologically closest views see Roscher 1937:1.676; Springer 1954:31.

⁷⁴⁴ Fowler 1932:130.

⁷⁴⁵ Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.641: *nam cum ante gladiis configeretur, a fetialibus inventum ut silice feriretur ea causa, quod antiqui Iovis signum lapidem silicem putaverunt esse.*

⁷⁴⁶ E.g. Liv. 1.24.8; 9.5.3; 30.43.9; Paul. Fest. 81L, s. 'Feretrius'; Cic. *Fam.* 7.12; Gell. 1.21; Polyb. 3.26, for more sources: s. Paribeni 1922:173. On the idiomatic expression: *foedus ferire* = "ein Bündnis/Opfer schlachten" and the importance of slaying the porker as moment of joining between different groups of human beings, politically organised, from the time of the most ancestral hunting communities" ("*Bünde*") cf. Merkelbach 1978:761-4.

⁷⁴⁷ Polyb. 3.25.6.

⁷⁴⁸ That Quirinus was at any rate in some aspects a war-god is clear from Macrob. 1.9.16; Plut. *Rom.* 29; Dion. Hal. 2.48 (=Ἐνυάλιος). Cf. Cook 1904:371; Butler 1919:62-3.

the Jupiter of the Capitol.⁷⁴⁹ The problems arise when Polybius goes on to explain ‘Δία λίθον’ he who swears the oaths takes a stone in his hand and prays: “If I abide by this oath may he bless me; but if I do otherwise in thought or act, may all others be kept safe each in his own country, under his own laws, in enjoyment of his own goods, household gods, and tombs – may I alone be cast out, even as this stone is now”.⁷⁵⁰ This passage has been related to another passage in Livy, on the grounds of the similarity of the transaction. At the end of the Second Punic War (200 B.C.), the fetials were ordered to proceed to Africa to make peace, but the precise duties of their office had so fallen into obscurity that they were obliged to ask the Senate for information.⁷⁵¹ The Senate gave them the order to carry a *silex* with them.⁷⁵² Yet, as Reid correctly notes, it seems rather ludicrous that the fetials carried with them the representation of the divinity and left the *templum* empty of his visible presence.⁷⁵³ The casting of the stone, therefore, was the final act of the oath, which was taken not only by representatives of the state, the fetials, to solemnise a treaty, but also by ordinary people to make an oath binding. Polybius recorded words of the oath in connection with treaties, which coincide with the oath⁷⁵⁴ taken when Sulla forced Cinna to pledge his allegiance.⁷⁵⁵ Cinna went up to the Capitol, took a stone in his hand, and invoked curses on his own head if he did not preserve his loyalty to Sulla, praying, in that case, that he would be ejected from the city (ἐκπεσεῖω τῆς πόλεως), even as the stone passed from his hand, and so he cast it on the ground. Livy depicts Hannibal, just before the battle of the Ticinus,[6.2.4] as sacrificing a lamb with a *silex*,[4.3.2] and calling on “*Iuppiter* and the other gods” to punish him if he

⁷⁴⁹ Ogilvie 1965:71. The *spolia opima* or *prima* were dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, *spolia secunda* to Mars and *tertia* to Janus Quirinus. But see: Holland 1961:110,n.8. Cf. Beard, North & Price 1998:6.

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. Paul. Fest. 115L: The procedure for those who wished to swear, in later times, was to hold a stone in hand, saying: “If I knowingly swear false, then may *Dispiter* cast me from my possessions without harm to city and citadel, even as I cast this stone from my hand”. (“*Lapidem tenebant iuraturi per Iovem, haec verba dicentes: “si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter (i.e. Diespiter) salva urbe arceque bonis eiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem”.*”

⁷⁵¹ Liv. 30.43.9: “*Senatus consultum factum est in haec verba: ut privos lapides silices privasque verbenas secum ferrent: ut, ubi praetor Romanus eis imperaret ut foedus ferirent, illi praetorem sagmina poscerent*”.

⁷⁵² Which Reid (1912:48) considers as a senatorial blunder.

⁷⁵³ Reid 1912:49.

⁷⁵⁴ Paul. Fest. 102L s. ‘*lapidem silicem*’.

⁷⁵⁵ Plut. *Sulla* 10.

breaks his promise to his allies.⁷⁵⁶ Livy cannot have thought that this use of the *silex* was peculiarly Roman. As Strachan Davidson (*Passages from Polybius*) remarks, Polybius has certainly confused two quite different formalities in which the *silex* played a part: the fetial and the oath ceremonial, in which the phrase *lovem lapidem iurare* was employed,⁷⁵⁷ but for which there is otherwise no evidence of a connection. Polybius wrote *ὁ μὲν δὲ ... Δία λίθον*” as a rendering of *lovem lapidem iurare*, because he believed the Romans possessed a divinity with such a name. This shadowy god has usually been identified with Jupiter Feretrius. But this identification depends on the story, shown above to be very insecurely founded, that the *silex*, used by the fetials, was taken from his *templum*.⁷⁵⁸ In conclusion, the *lapis silex* might have three different connotations: a) as the *signum Iovis*: the aniconic image or sign of Jupiter; b) as an execration tool: the stone thrown after the oath; or c) as a sacrificial tool: the object by which the victims were killed.⁷⁵⁹

In the following section, I intend to demonstrate that the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius already contained a stone, which had the symbolic power of determining the boundaries. This seems to be in contrast with the *lapis silex*, which was carried by the fetials, was therefore moveable and which might also be identified with the *sceptrum*. I am also assuming, from Festus’ statement, that the fetials took the sceptre from the *templum* in which they used to swear oaths (*ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum per quod iurarent*). Following the interpretation given by Rudorff⁷⁶⁰ and the proof given in the previous paragraph about the presence of a stone on the *arx* on which the *templum* was built, we can understand the *lapis silex* or Jupiter Lapis as being the god who watches

⁷⁵⁶ Liv. 21.45. Commentators have generally connected the expression with what precedes and have supposed that *lovem lapidem iurare* was an ordinary legal expression like *communi dividundo*, but in that case we should find it somewhere in legal literature, where it does not occur.

⁷⁵⁷ The phrases *vetustissimo ritu* in Apul. *Deo Socr.* 5, and *sanctissimum ius iurandum* in Gell. 1.21.4, point the same way. Even in Cic. *Fam.* 7.12.2, the form may not be connected with ordinary life. The letter is a jesting one addressed to Trebatius the lawyer who has become an Epicurean. Cicero asks how he can use certain legal phrases, which he interprets as conflicting with Epicurean principles. “*Quo modo autem tibi placebit lovem lapidem iurare, cum scias lovem iratum esse nemini posse? Quid fiet porro populo Ulubrano, si tu statueris πολιτεύεσθαι non oportere?*”

⁷⁵⁸ Reid 1912:52.

⁷⁵⁹ Sordi 1992:123,n.40.

⁷⁶⁰ Blume, Lachmann & Rudolf 1852:2.242.

over boundary stones (*termini siliceī*), a type of double *Terminus*. Its representation was not only aniconic, but also immovable as shown in the oldest Jupiter. According to the s.c. ‘Vegoia Prophecy’, Jupiter is the guardian that pours down many and varied woes on those who remove their neighbour’s landmarks.⁷⁶¹ *Terminus* and the *termini* were exempted from *exauguratio* – the shifting of the boundary stones – and worshipped under the open sky, as the *Terminus* needed a direct contact with the sky. The reference to the damaged roof in Atticus could be misleading due to the fact that the *aedes* of Jupiter Feretrius also had a hole in the ceiling for this special relationship with the sky.⁷⁶² The flint (*silex*) was probably a meteoric stone, which Pliny describes as much in demand for the practice of magic.⁷⁶³ “In the beginning”, continues Springer,⁷⁶⁴ “there was probably only one such stone,⁷⁶⁵ but as Roman aggression expanded, the number of flint stones increased”.⁷⁶⁶ “The sacred stone would have formed the centre of the cult here, and would have been placed in the new temple”.⁷⁶⁷ In this divine form, he was thus truly indistinguishable from the thousands of actual boundary stones inside and

⁷⁶¹ “*Scias mare ex aethera remotum. Cum autem Iuppiter terram Aetruviae sibi undicauit, constituit iussitque metiri campos signarique agros. Sciens hominum auaritiam vel terrenum cupidinem, terminis omnia scita esse uoluit. Quos quandoque quis ob auaritiam prope nouissimi octauī saeculi data sibi homines malo dolo uiolabunt contingentque atque mouebunt. Sed qui contigerit atque moueritque, possessionem promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, ob hoc scelus damnabitur a diis. Si serui faciant, dominio mutabuntur in deterius. Sed si conscientia dominica fiet, caelerius domus extirpabitur, gensque eius omnis interiet...*”. (You should know that the sea is separated from the earth. When Jupiter claimed the land of Etruria for himself, he decided and commanded the fields to be surveyed and the lands marked out. Knowing the covetousness of man and his worldly greed, he wanted the boundaries of everything to be marked by boundary stones. Those which at any time anyone has placed because of the greed of this eighth – almost the latest – saeculum, arrogating to themselves licence, men with wrongful deceit will violate, touch and move. But if anyone touches or moves a boundary stone, extending his own possessions or diminishing those of someone else, for this crime he will be condemned by the gods. If slaves shall do this, they shall be moved to a lower status by their owner. But if this is done with the knowledge of the master, the household will be immediately uprooted, and the whole of his family will perish. The people responsible will be afflicted by the worst diseases and wounds and their limbs will be weakened. Then even the land will be shaken by storms or whirlwinds and many landslips. The crops will be frequently laid low and cut down by rain and hail, they will perish in the heat of the summer, they will be killed off by blight. There will be civil strife amongst the people. Know that these things happen, when such crimes are committed. Therefore do not be either a deceitful or treacherous. Place restraint in your heart). Cf. Blume, Lachmann & Rudolf 1852:350-1.

⁷⁶² Nep. Att. 20.3.

⁷⁶³ Plin. *N.H.* 37.135.

⁷⁶⁴ Springer 1954:30.

⁷⁶⁵ Paul. Fest. 81L, s. ‘*Feretrius*’; Polyb. 3.25.6-9.

⁷⁶⁶ Liv. 30.43.9 uses the plural, *lapides silices*.

⁷⁶⁷ Kirsopp Lake 1936:73.

outside the city. It was this indistinctiveness which gave every boundary stone in the landscape a strongly divine aura as a potential ‘cult statue’ of the god.⁷⁶⁸ Since the *termini* were the commonest sacred stones, they would be the first analogy suggested by an unidentified stone, so that this explanation would come readily to the Roman mind.⁷⁶⁹ For this reason, it has also been thought that, instead of a small flint stone, a big rock might have been the symbol within the *templum*, perhaps with the function of an altar (*hinc Feretri dictast ara superba Iovis*).⁷⁷⁰ The stone, considered as the first boundary marker to be laid out with the *pomerium*, was worked as an instrument of division and organisation of the conquered territory when Romulus dedicated to Jupiter the “*templum* within those regions which I have now marked out in my mind, as a receptacle for the grand spoils”. In other words, the aniconic appearance of Jupiter Stone served very practical ends.

3.8 Rebuilding the *templum*

Jupiter Feretrius, the ‘political Jupiter’⁷⁷¹ who preceded the cult of the greater Optimus Maximus, already had his oldest cult at Rome on the Capitoline. The *templum*⁷⁷² of Jupiter Feretrius might also have been the first temple (*aedes*) to be dedicated and built on the most important hill of the city, in order to commemorate the conquest of the *spolia opima* and to serve as a repository for them.⁷⁷³ These spoils were said to have been won and placed in this temple twice afterwards⁷⁷⁴ — in 437⁷⁷⁵ or 422⁷⁷⁶ B.C. when A. Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius, the King of Veii,⁷⁷⁷ and in 221 B.C. when Claudius Marcellus

⁷⁶⁸ Lipka 2009:89.

⁷⁶⁹ Kirsopp Lake 1936:73.

⁷⁷⁰ Propert. 4.10.48.

⁷⁷¹ Carter 1908:181.

⁷⁷² *Templum*: Liv. 1.10; Paul. Fest. 92; νεώς; Dion. Hal. 2.34; Cass. Dio. 54.8.3.

⁷⁷³ Liv. 10.5.6; 4.20.3; Plut. *Rom.* 16; Dion. Hal. 2.34; Val. Max. 3.2.3; Flor. 1.1.11; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.859; CIL I 2283, Elog. 22 = 10.809.

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. McPherson 2010:21.

⁷⁷⁵ Liv. 4.20.5-11. About the question of the date of Cossus’ victory see: Springer 1954:29.

⁷⁷⁶ Liv. 4.32.4.

⁷⁷⁷ Liv. 4.20.3; Cf. Dion. Hal. 12.5.3; Val. Max. 3.2.4; Prop. 4.10.23; Ampel. 21; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.855; Aur. Vict. *Vir. Ill.* 25. Springer 1954:29.

killed Viridomarus, the Insubrian king.⁷⁷⁸ A denarius⁷⁷⁹ struck by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus⁷⁸⁰ in 45/44 B.C., represents Marcellus, the conqueror of Viridomarus and Syracuse, standing on the high stylobate of a rectangular temple with the *spolia opima* in his hand.⁷⁸¹ [FIG. 22] In this late republican depiction, the columns support an entablature with plain pediment and it appears to be tiny in structure, reflecting the small fifteen feet length (ἐλάττοντας ἢ πέντε ποδῶν καὶ δέκατὰς μείζους πλευρὰς ἔχον).⁷⁸²

Livy's mention of *fines* as limits, foundations or boundaries of the temple implies an extraordinary importance if compared with Dionysius' description, who probably visited the temple in person, providing an additional element related with bordering. Dionysius writes, almost certainly after Augustus' restoration, dated in 42 (or 31) B.C.,⁷⁸³ that at that time "indeed it is possible to observe the ancient trace of it" ("ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ σφάζεται τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἵχνοσ"). This phrase opens to different interpretations: a) that the dimensions of the restored temple were the same as those of the original,⁷⁸⁴ b) that the second was larger and enclosed the earlier,⁷⁸⁵ or c) that the lines of the earlier were simply marked on the floor of the latter. However, it is also possible that the traces of the oldest 'templum' could be still identified at the time Dionysius was writing. The meaning of ἵχνοσ is specifically 'footprint', 'track' or 'trace',⁷⁸⁶ something

⁷⁷⁸ Liv. *Ep.* 20; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.859; Prop. 4.10.45; Plut. *Marc.* 8, *Rom.* 16; Liv. *Per.* 20; Prop. 4.10.39-40; Plut. *Marc.* 8.3; Ampel. 21. Springer 1954:30; Versnel 1970:307; Welch 2005:134.

⁷⁷⁹ Babelon 1885:1.351-2, Claudia 11; Grueber 1970:1.567, 4206-8; Cohen 1995:t. XII Claudia 4 (= Mommsen M.W.S. 648 N. 303).

⁷⁸⁰ Münzer 1900:7.1390-1.

⁷⁸¹ Virgil (*Aen.* 6.859) asserts that Marcellus "*tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino*". It looks strange that he dedicated the armours to Quirinus as we know that, according to Plutarch (*Marc.* 8) and Propertius (4.10), he dedicated the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius. The commentary of Servius explains the matter: "*Numae hunc locum accipere, qui praecepit prima spolia opima Iovi Feretrio debere suspendi, quod iam Romulus fecerat; secunda Marti, quod Cossus fecit; tertia Quirino, quod fecit Marcellus*". The triad Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus suits the context in the *lex Numae* admirably well: Serv. *ad Aen.* 8. 663, "*salios qui sunt in tutela Iouis Martis Quirini*"; Liv. 8.9, "*Iane, Jupiter, Mars, pater Quirine*"; Liv. 5.52: "*Mars Gradiue, tuque Quirine pater*". Cf. Versnel 1970:308; Butler 1919:61. Cf. Jordan 1873:206, n. 1. For the relationship between Livy and Augustus see Dessau 1906: *passim*.

⁷⁸² Dion. Hal. 2.34. Springer 1954:31.

⁷⁸³ Augustus' restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is dated in 42 B.C. by Atticus' death. However, Platner & Ashby (1929:293) seems to have convincingly dated forward the restoration of the temple to around 31 B.C.

⁷⁸⁴ Gilbert 1885:3.399

⁷⁸⁵ Jordan 1907:1.2.47.

⁷⁸⁶ Liddell & Scott 1883:717.

imprinted on the soil, which is clearly a reminder of the *finis* traced by Romulus at the moment of its foundation. The ‘signs’ of the old temple were considered sacred if they were still present and well visible within the structure. The first Roman *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius underwent many changes throughout the ages⁷⁸⁷ and the two main restorations were both reported by Livy. The larger, newer temple, visible in the Augustan period, might have been built by Ancus Marcius, who enlarged the temple (*aedis Iovis Feretri amplifcata*) in recognition of his success against Politorium, one of the Latin cities.⁷⁸⁸ The use of the words *aedis* and *amplifcata* indicates Livy’s belief that an actual temple structure had been built sometime before the second half of the 7th century B.C. Probably, the development of the cult of Jupiter Feretrius followed the usual pattern of other Roman cults: a) the assigning of an area sacred to the *numen*, b) the building of a *sacellum*, which Festus defines vaguely as “a place sacred to the gods without a roof”,⁷⁸⁹ and c) the building of an *aedes*.⁷⁹⁰

Although there is no direct quotation that could be used to link an expansion of the *finis* with the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, some authors⁷⁹¹ have hypothesised that this enlargement is directly connected with Rome’s great territorial expansion, conducted (*egregieque rebus bello gestis*)⁷⁹² by Ancus, and that this increase would be connected with the renewal and expansion of the temple. [FIG 22]Springer is convinced that Ancus Marcius’ ‘temple’ was undoubtedly a *sacellum* or an area walled in with stone,⁷⁹³ and Marcellinus’ coin of 44 B.C. undoubtedly represents the structure before Augustus’ renewal, the second restoration of the temple. On Atticus’ suggestion (*ut Attici admonitu*), the *aedes* had fallen into disrepair (*ex quo accidit... constituta vetustate*⁷⁹⁴ *atque incuria detecta prolaberetur*) and had even lost its roof, before Augustus restored it (*Caesar eam reficiendam curaret*), probably in 32 B.C.⁷⁹⁵ Augustus

⁷⁸⁷ Schnusenberg 2010:188.

⁷⁸⁸ Liv. 1.33.8-9. Cf. Ogilvie 1965:71.

⁷⁸⁹ Paul. Fest. 422L. Cf. Aul. Gell. 6.12.5.

⁷⁹⁰ Springer 1954:29.

⁷⁹¹ Ogilvie 1965:126.

⁷⁹² Liv. 1.33.8.

⁷⁹³ Springer 1954:29.

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. Liv. 4.20.7 on this passage: ‘*quam vetustate dilapsam*’.

⁷⁹⁵ Although the date is uncertain, it happened before the death of Atticus, which occurred in this year. Nep. Att. 20.3. Cf. Mon. Anc. 4.5. Wissowa 1909:6.2210. Cf. McPherson 2010:23 agreed

was probably more concerned about his deeds as founder or restorer of all temples⁷⁹⁶ (*templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem*); either that or he replaced the temple because the right of depositing spoils, regarded as *spolia opima*, was then granted.⁷⁹⁷ Augustan restoration was not just a simple and formal act; it was the demonstration both of his intention to be likened to Romulus⁷⁹⁸ and most probably also of the relationship between (his) *imperium* and the *finis*.

Livy shows us another crucial point, which is apparently not so important. He witnesses that Augustus himself read (*se ipsum*) the writings (*scriptum*) on the linen cuirass (*in thorace linteo*). This cuirass was the object of an argument between Livy and Augustus because of an inscription held on the cuirass of King Tolumnius of Veii,⁷⁹⁹ of which Virgil was probably aware.⁸⁰⁰ This passage becomes more important if we think of the image on the cuirass as being of Augustus' statue of *Prima Porta*, where Augustus is depicted as *triumphator* and *restitutor* of Roman standards lost at Carrahe.⁸⁰¹ In fact, Drusus was the

for a date slightly different: "Octavian rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in 31 or 30 B.C., much earlier than the rest of his monumental building program". Shipley 1931:48; Welch 2005:134-5.

⁷⁹⁶ Nepos in his biography of Atticus (Nep. *Att.* 20.3.) gives the reason for the temple of Jupiter Feretrius being among the first to be rebuilt. The temple was among the first twelve to be rebuilt by Augustus (*RG* 19) Altogether Augustus restored eighty-two temples, and he adds that not one which needed repair was neglected (*RG* 20). Springer 1954:31.

⁷⁹⁷ Cass. Dio. 44.4.3. Cf. Versnel 1970:307.

⁷⁹⁸ So Flower 2000:48: "the renaissance of Romulus' image was a marked phenomenon of the late republic that was part of the family propaganda of the Julii". Cf. McPherson 2010:23. The *elogium* (CIL 1.12:189) was inscribed on a plaque attached to the base of Romulus' statue, placed in the central niche of the exedra built against the southern wall of the forum of Augustus. It reads as follows: "ROMULUS MARTIS / FILIUS URBEM ROMAM / CONDIDIT ET REGNAVIT ANNOS / DUODEQUADRAGINTA ISQUE / PRIMUS DUX DUCE HOSTIUM / ACRONE REGE CAENINENSIIUM / INTERFECTO SPOLIA OPIMA / IOVI FERETRIO CONSECRAVIT / RECEPUSQUE IN DEORUM / NUMERUM QUIRINUS / APPELLATUS EST". Cf. Degrassi 1937:70, nr. 86. Ogilvie 1965:70 ff. (on Liv. 1.10); Platner & Ashby 1929:293, s. '*Iuppiter Feretrius*'. Propertius 4.10 is witness that the subject of Romulus and the *spolia opima* was in the air in the decade after Virgil's death. At line 17, the elegist styles "*Romulus Urbis virtutis que parens*". That Augustus is to be seen as the renewer of both the city and her *virtus* Virgil makes clear in the lines that follow in *Aeneid* 6. Cf. Putnam 1985:238-9.

⁷⁹⁹ About the problem on the authority held by Cossus, see: McPherson 2010:23; Harrison 1989:410-1; Springer 1954:29-30; Sailor 1974:329-335.

⁸⁰⁰ Liv. 4.20.3 ff. Cf. DeWitt 1928. On the honour deserved by L. Crassus to have slain the Bastarnae's chief, Deldo see: Tarpin 2003.

⁸⁰¹ For the *Prima Porta* Augustus, see Zanker 1988:188-92, Kuttner 1995: fig. 64 with 84, 93, 126, 142, 203, and Galinsky 1996:107, 155-64. For a related cuirassed statue from Cherchel: s. Kuttner 1995:29-31; Flower 2000:56-7.

last Roman to have the ambition of depositing the *trophaeum* in the temple,⁸⁰² but, upon Drusus' death, Augustus returned to Rome and on the Capitol⁸⁰³ "carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius".⁸⁰⁴ De Magistris considers a renewed interest for the Romulean *templum* as an erudite reconstruction in the Augustan Age, when the theoretical studies of the gromatics found a practical application, not just in the planning of cities, colonies and fields for the cultivations, but also for the new imperial reorganisation. This reconstruction would have been a rediscovery of the most ancient rituals, rather than an invention or falsification of the tradition *ex nihilo*.⁸⁰⁵

3.9 Conclusions

The presence of the terms *finis* and *regiones* in Livy's text confirms their importance in connection with the highest peak of the archaic Rome, as ways to determine the subdivision of the territory. This is demonstrated in the conquest of neighbouring cities, which led to the annexation both of the territory and the population. The triumphal procession to the top of the Capitoline Hill might have had the significance of a ritualistic act by "carrying the conquered territory to the head of Rome: the *Caput-oleum*". From here it was possible to overlook the surrounding areas, even the newly conquered ones. By establishing the *templum*, Romulus made that place more sacred than it was before. The subdivision – or reorganisation – of the conquered areas is a reflection of the *templum caelestis* in the sky, which was set up on a stone. As demonstrated in *Bantia* and *Misa* (modern Marzabotto), this stone provided the main alignment for the guidelines on which the *regiones* were defined. The role of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius became key to the future political relationships of Rome with abutting States. Indeed, the link between the temple and the *fines* look difficult

⁸⁰² For Drusus' *spolia opima*, see now Rich and 1999, who independently reached some of the same conclusions proposed by Flower 2000:58.

⁸⁰³ RG 4. Springer 1954:30.

⁸⁰⁴ Cass. Dio. 55.5. Cf. McPherson 2010:31.

⁸⁰⁵ De Magistris 2007:179-194.

to comprehend but undeniable. 'Romulus' ritual' was accomplished by the fetials priests through carrying pieces of Rome's most sacred point into enemy territory. This ritual would have allowed for the encompassment of the neighbouring territories following the rules of the *fas*, without breaking any divine law. This chapter therefore has been propaedeutic for comprehending the future role of the fetials and the importance of highest points as visual and practical control of the territory as we will see in the next chapter. And as a final note, Augustus gave particular emphasis to this temple, which would appear to confirm the propagandistic directives absorbed by Livy, who seems to support a direct connection between the temple and the *fines imperii*.

Chapter 4. The fetial priests

By declaring war through their Fetiales and legally doing injustices and by always taking and seizing the property of others they have gained possession of the entire world for themselves.⁸⁰⁶

4.1 Aims and challenges

Livy shows us a plethora of different bordering practices in his account and the fetials are linked to some of these practices. Modern authors have primarily focused on fetials' religion, warfare and law and only a few researchers have offered a partial investigation of the significance of their rituals⁸⁰⁷ related to the aspect of bordering practices. This chapter attempts to reflect an alternative perspective by trying to bring to light the privileged relationship the fetials had with *fines*. I shall investigate and analyse, throughout the Livian text, what sort of bordering practices are associated with the fetials' ritual. In some cases it will be an easy matter, when passages or the context of the text show a direct correspondence between the words *fetiales* and *fines*. In other cases, it will be more difficult to show this association, because of the absence of clear and connective facts to combine the strands of the two elements of study. My aim will be to highlight the importance of the fetials' function when directly involved in Rome's expansive process, where potential bordering practices can be detected. In order to undertake a complete study of the diverse aspects regarding borders and fetials, I shall investigate those features which comprise the framework of the fetials' practice, in order to draw from them ideas and conclusions about bordering practices. The following chapter has been divided into three main sections.[4.1, 4.2, 4.3] The first introductory section provides a background and its objective is to set out and identify the fetials and the bordering practices linked with their name, origin and chiefly their main institution: the *ius fetiale*. In the second section, which covers the Regal Period and the Early Republic, my aim will be to collect Livy's clues about bordering

⁸⁰⁶ Lact., *Inst.* 6.9.3-4 = Rep. 3.20 Z.

⁸⁰⁷ For an overall clarification of the word *ritus*: Roloff 1954.

practices, which, while less explicit and not so evident, seem to be linked with Rome's early expansionism. The third section considers the period from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., when changes in the nature of the fetial procedure limited their practice to fictional formalities and conclusions of treaties. A short note is also provided about their diminishing presence from the sources and their brief but incisive reappearance under Augustus. My hypothesis hinges on the notion that Roman expansionism might be linked with an extension of *finēs*, and that the fetials may have made this expansion possible by having a direct, religious influence on the *finēs*.

4.1.1 Livy and the fetials: raw data

In Livy's account, the fetials are mentioned 40 times in 24 different contexts. To these 40 extant instances of the name *fetialis*, we also need to add the implied references to the *rerum repetitio*, which almost certainly involved the fetials.⁸⁰⁸ Although they are not explicitly declared when proclaiming the *res repetenda*, their presence is to be considered in at least another six cases, related to six different contexts.⁸⁰⁹ Aside from the explicit or implicit mention of fetials, in Livy's account there is no reference or mention of them between the 10th and 30th book. From the 4th to the 10th book, Rome encompassed, acquired and assimilated several territories through the intervention of the fetials, as Livy reports: Alba,⁸¹⁰ the *Prisci Latini* (Ancient Latin Communities),⁸¹¹ Veii,⁸¹² the Hernici,⁸¹³ *Tibur* (modern Tivoli),⁸¹⁴ the Faliscans,⁸¹⁵ *Palaeopolis* (modern Naples) and the Samnites.⁸¹⁶ The last reference to the fetials in Livy's first ten books is at the beginning of the war against the Faliscans in 293 B.C.⁸¹⁷ However, the most striking difference is in the overall use of the fetials during

⁸⁰⁸ Liv. 1.23.7; 3.25.6-8; 4.58.7-8; 6.10.6; 7.12.6; 8.19.2-3.

⁸⁰⁹ Oakley 2008:312.

⁸¹⁰ Liv. 1.24.3-6

⁸¹¹ Liv. 1.32.5-14

⁸¹² Liv. 4.30.13 -14; 4.58.1

⁸¹³ Liv. 7.6.7

⁸¹⁴ Liv. 7.9.2

⁸¹⁵ Liv. 7.16.2 and 10.45.7

⁸¹⁶ Liv. 7.32.1; 8.39.13-4; 9.5.1-4; 9.8.6; 9.9.3; 9.10.2; 9.10.7-10; 9.11.8-11; 9.45.5-8; 10.12.2

⁸¹⁷ Liv. 10.45.7.

the Samnite Wars and in books 8, 9 and 10, and their total disappearance from the 21st to the 30th book. Taking into consideration the loss of books 11 to 20, Livy seems to neglect any reference to them from the 21st until the 30th book. In the 30th book, Livy⁸¹⁸ again briefly mentions the fetial ritual of striking treaties, when the fetials were summoned to conclude the peace with Carthage in 201 B.C. at the end of the Second Punic War.⁸¹⁹ The most obvious justification given for this fetial absence might be that, during this time span, the fetials were not utilised by Rome, until the Second Punic War. However, the fetials' disappearance from Livy's account may also be linked to the massive rediscovery of the fetial procedure, which from the 3rd century became largely an advisory capacity.

4.2 Fetials and *fines*

4.2.1 Composition and function of the fetials' college

We are informed by Livy that the college of the fetials⁸²⁰ in the Augustan period consisted of 20 members.⁸²¹ As was the case with other priestly colleges,⁸²² they were possibly patricians, chosen by co-optation⁸²³ from the best families in Rome and their service lasted a lifetime.⁸²⁴ The primary function of the fetials was to safeguard the public faith (*fides publica*)⁸²⁵ of the Roman people.⁸²⁶ This

⁸¹⁸ Liv. 30.43.9

⁸¹⁹ Liv. 30.43.9.

⁸²⁰ Liv. 36.3.7.

⁸²¹ Varro *Ap. Non.* 529.21

⁸²² With the *pontefices, augures, XVviri s.f., septemviri epulones*, the *fetiales* was one of the greatest Roman institutions (Cic. *Leg.* 2.21). The desirability of this method is suggested by Varro's discussion of the names of Roman priests: *sacerdotes omnes a sacris dicti* (L.L. 5.83-86). Varro also lists as examples the *Pontifices, Curiones, Flamines, Salii, Luperci, Fratres Arvales, Sodales Titii*, and *Fetiales*. See Kirsopp Michels 1953:56.

⁸²³ Wissowa 1912:417.

⁸²⁴ Dion. Hal. 2.72.

⁸²⁵ On *fides*, see Bayet 1976:141-42. On the relationship between *fides*, *foedus*, and *fetiales*, see Boyancé 1962:332-33; on the connections between Jupiter with Roma and Fides, see Mellor 1978:329. See also Culham 1989:110, n.47.

⁸²⁶ Varro L.L. 5.15: '*Fidei publicae inter populas preaeerant*', links to this sentence the etymology of the word *fetial* with *fides*. Ancient grammarians connected it with *foedus*, (Paul. Fest. 84L and especially Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.62: *quod hostia foede necaretur*, see also: 4.242, 10.14.) or *fides*, or *ferire* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.641, Paul. Fest. 81L; Plut., *Q.R.* 27); cf. Rose

meant that, at least during the Regal Period and the Early Republic, their main prerogative was to indicate when, and if, an enemy had given any sort of offence against Rome. On the other hand, they had to enquire into complaints against individual Romans by States with which the Romans had a treaty and to hand them over if they found them guilty. They also had to judge offences against ambassadors, ensure that treaties were observed, and eventually confirm, or not, the validity of any treaties instigated by commanders.⁸²⁷ The fetials were empowered through the *ius fetiale* to oversee with special responsibility Rome's foreign affairs. More specifically, they were charged with overseeing the declaration of war through the *ius belli* (war law). The long procedure to wage a just war (*bellum iustum*), drifting between religious beliefs and legal terms, should have secured the victory for Rome.⁸²⁸ The fetials were responsible for ensuring that the Romans did not begin an unjust war, and a war could not begin without their authorisation. Fetials' tasks also included: framing terms for the establishment of peace,⁸²⁹ administering oaths that bound the Roman state, and serving on diplomatic missions.⁸³⁰ Amongst the latter assignments, the most crucial one was the demand for reparations (*rerum repetitio*) from foreign states.⁸³¹ Livy records that in early Rome there were only two fetials. One of these was assigned the role of the *pater patratus*, who was the official spokesman (also called *orator*), and the only one authorised to take action.⁸³² In the Mid-Late Republic their number was increased to four, with the

1913:237-9. Modern scholars favour a derivation from the root **dhe* (cf. *fas*, *fari*, *θεμιστήρ*), while Lange (1876:1.323) makes it derive from the ancient substantive *fetis*, which with *fateri*, *fari* and *fas*, belongs to the same family of the Oscan *fatium*.

⁸²⁷ Rich 2011b:190.

⁸²⁸ The questions related to war should be sacralised, making it hard to discern a legal institution from these aspects of Roman religion and (almost) magical belief. See generally: Dumézil 1974; Fowler 1911; Rose 1948; Watson 1992. C. Phillipson (1911:115-6) seems the first to have broken this thin line which separated the religious sphere from the legal jurisdiction, affirming that: "The imputation that the fetials belonged entirely to a religious sphere is not really valid. In the first place... a religious connection does not necessarily militate against... juridical significance, and in the second place, the college officials were not exclusively a religious body. After all, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the seventh part of the Sacred Laws of Rome was devoted to the college of fetials, while Cicero (*Off.* 1.11.36) was not being erroneous when he referred to the fetial procedure as being a part of the "human laws. drawn up in the fetial code".

⁸²⁹ Rehak & Younger 2006:118

⁸³⁰ Liv. 9.5.4.

⁸³¹ Harris 1979:169-71; Matthaëi 1908; Bederman 2001:57-8; Warrior 2006:43.

⁸³² The name of *pater patratus*, perhaps the same as the *pater familias*, is the only one who was able to contract within the family. Universalising the principle beyond the domain of the family,

same functions (*fetiales legatos res repetitum mittebant quattuor, quos oratores vocabant*).⁸³³ In 22 B.C., Augustus vainly attempted to integrate them into the college of the *Augustales*.⁸³⁴

4.2.2 Origins⁸³⁵

Ancient writers agree that the fetial priests and their rites were instituted by Rome's early kings, but they make contradictory claims about the details. Numa, for instance, is the first who was said to have instituted the fetial tradition. To him are ascribed two important religious acts located in the Campus Martius: a sacrifice to Mars to confirm the *concordia* between the Romans and Sabines,⁸³⁶ and his establishment of the fetial law.⁸³⁷ However, it is common opinion amongst scholars that the college or at least the ritual existed in some communities in central Italy.⁸³⁸ Livy tells us that the Alban people also had some sort of sacerdotal college, probably fetial, led also by a *pater patratus*.⁸³⁹ This has led many scholars to conclude that the fetial institution was, therefore, a wider Latin phenomenon.⁸⁴⁰ Livy's passage on the

the Romans created an artificial '*pater*' who was to act for and in the name of the state as a whole. See Samter 1909:6.2261. The meanings given to *pater patratus* might be several. It should be meant 'one who is made a father'; (Latte 1934:66 ff.; but see Plutarch *Q.R.* 62.) 'father of the fatherhood' might be another possible. See Ogilvie 1965:111.

⁸³³ Varro *Ap. Non.* 848 L.; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 22.5. This has been presumed on the basis of the information given by Livy (1.24.5.) saying: "*ut privos (= singulos) lapides silices privasque verbenas secum ferrent* (any of them brings with them...)." Wissowa 1912:417; Ogilvie 1965:132.

⁸³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 3.64.

⁸³⁵ The most complete ancient account of the evolution of this ceremony can be found in Serv. 9.52; cf. Liv. 1.32.5-14 with Ogilvie's note (1965:127-29); Gel. 16.4.1 (quoting L. Cincius); Ov. *Fast.* 6.205-8; Paul. Fest. 30L. On the Fetial college in general, Marquardt 1885:3,41; Wissowa 1912:550-54; Samter 1909:6.2259-65; Beard, North, and Price 1998:1.26-7, 111-2, 132-4. Rawson 1973 expresses some doubts about the story as Servius tells it.

⁸³⁶ Paul. Fest. 510L.

⁸³⁷ Dion. Hal. 2.72.1-9; Cic. *Off.* 1.36, 3.108, *Leg.* 3.9; Varro *L.L.* 5.86; Plut. *Num.* 12.3-7, *Cam.* 18; Liv. 1.20.3, 1.24.7-9, 1.32.9; Samter 1909:6.2259-65; Frank 1912; Wissowa 1912:550-54; Bayet 1935; Latte 1960:121-24; Magdelain 1984; Broughton 1987; Penella 1987; Rüpke 1990:97-117; Watson 1993; cf. Saulnier 1980. Cn. Gellius: Dion. Hal. 2.72.4-5, 9; Plut. *Numa* 12.5.8 Cf. Fowler 1911:129. Ogilvie (1965:126) affirms, instead, that the descent from Numa through the female line is a late invention to satisfy the principles of hereditary succession: cf. Plut. *Numa* 21; Seneca, *Epist.* 108.30.

⁸³⁸ Bederman 2001:195-6.

⁸³⁹ See Mendenhall 1954:27, n. 6.

⁸⁴⁰ Bederman 2001:195-6. Frey & Frey (1999:42) have speculated on the fact that the fetial law might date back to a period when the Latin communities were still separate, and concerned with maintaining peace amongst their own autonomous city-states.

presence of fetials amongst the Latins⁸⁴¹ might also confirm their provenance from Alba⁸⁴² or Ardea.⁸⁴³ An inscription further indicates that they might have had their roots in Laurentum.⁸⁴⁴ This hypothesis may be further supported by a later inscription from Pompeii at the time of Emperor Claudius, which was carved by the Roman Sp. Turranius “*praefectus jure dicundo*” who acted “as *pater patratus populi Laurentis foederis ex libris Sibyll percutiendi cum populus Romanus*” for Lavinium.⁸⁴⁵ [cf. 7.1.4] Laurentum and Lavinium⁸⁴⁶ were blended into one entity, uniting into a single city, and their history demonstrates elements of early bordering practices, resulting in the accounts of the demi-mythological history of early Rome. Livy narrates that some Sabine kinsmen settled in Rome with their co-ruler Titus Tatius, mistreated the ambassadors sent by the Latins of Laurentum and then, when the Laurentians sought reparation under the law of nations, Titus drew down their punishment upon himself. He was killed by a mob from the population of Laurentum while sacrificing.⁸⁴⁷ The tradition set the site of Titus’ death at the sixth milestone on the road to Laurentum (Via Laurentina) and originally between the territories of the Romans and Lavinians. Livy⁸⁴⁸ also records that the treaty with Lavinium was renewed annually⁸⁴⁹ and that it became the site where the Terminalia was celebrated.⁸⁵⁰ The festival was held annually on the 23rd of February (the end of the old Roman year) in the old calendar of the ‘Religion of Numa’, as the Romans called it, and was dedicated to the their tutelary divinity: *Terminus*.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴¹ Liv. 1.32.11.

⁸⁴² Liv. 1.24.4.

⁸⁴³ Dion. Hal. 2.72; Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.14.

⁸⁴⁴ CIL X 797, ILS 5004. Cf. Samter 1909:6.2259.

⁸⁴⁵ Sp. Turranius L. f. Sp. n. L. pron. Fab. | Proculus Gellianus I praef. fabrum II, praef. curatorum al/ei* | Tiberis^ praef. pro pr. i. d. in urbe Latinio, | pater patratus populi Laurentis' foederis | ex libris Sibullinis percutiendi cum p. B.; | sacrorum principiorum p. R. Quirit. nominis[que Latini, quai apud Laurentis^ coluntur, flam. | Dialis, flam. Martial., salius praisul, augur, pont.; | praef. cob. Gaitul., tr. mil. leg. X. | Loc. d. d. d.; cf. Dessau CIL XIV:187 and Art. *Laurentes Lavinates*.

⁸⁴⁶ The citizens of Lavinium were known under the empire as *Laurentes Lavinates*, and the place itself at a late period as ‘*Laurolavinium*’. The ‘*laurolavinates*’ were a sacerdotal college in the Imperial period. Cf. Derks 1998.

⁸⁴⁷ Liv. 1.14; Paul. Fest. 496L; Dion. Hal. 2.52; Plut. *Quest. Rom.* 24; Ovid. *Fast.* 2.682.

⁸⁴⁸ Liv. 8.11.15, cf. Rich 2011b:192.

⁸⁴⁹ ILS 5004 - CIL 10.797.

⁸⁵⁰ Wissowa 1912:136; Fowler 1899:324.

⁸⁵¹ Varr. *L.L.* 6.3.

The presence of the fetials, and perhaps their provenance, seems to be attested in central-southern Italy amongst the Faliscans,⁸⁵² the Samnites⁸⁵³ or more specifically the Aequicolis. Ascribing the institution of the *fetiales* to Ancus Marcius, Livy⁸⁵⁴ claims that the ritual would have been undertaken by the *Aequicoli*,⁸⁵⁵ probably a sub-tribe of the *Aequi*, although the former outlived the *Aequi* after the group itself had disappeared.⁸⁵⁶ Perhaps they were a branch of the Oscans, but they were to have been the source of such widespread *latine rite* as the *ius fetiale*.⁸⁵⁷ The attribution to the *Aequicoli*, as Ogilvie rightly points out, is no more than a late aetiological invention inspired by the false etymology *aequum colere*, superseding the older traditions.⁸⁵⁸ However, a Julio-Claudian inscription records that Ferter Resius was the first Roman to introduce the fetial cult, confirming the origin of the cult from the *Aequicoli*.⁸⁵⁹

[FIG 13] Another tradition concerning the fetials, recorded by Livy and Cicero, suggests that the law on such procedure might have been promulgated in the time of Tullus Hostilius.⁸⁶⁰ According to Cicero, Numa's successor Tullus Hostilius "established the rule by which wars should be declared, and, having

⁸⁵² Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.695; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.21.1.

⁸⁵³ The institution seems not, however, to have extended as far as the Samnites: Livy's report of Samnite fetials sent on an abortive peace mission in 322 occurs in a late annalistic fiction presenting the Caudine Forks disaster as divine punishment for Roman intransigence. See Liv. 8.39.14; Oakley 1997-2005:2, 757-760. The parallel narratives of A *Sam.* 4.1 and Cass. Dio fr. 36.8 in Zonar. 7.26.10 do not mention Samnite fetials.

⁸⁵⁴ Liv. 1.32.5.

⁸⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. 2.72.

⁸⁵⁶ Plin. *N.H.* 3.106; *Liber coloniarum* 225.

⁸⁵⁷ Ogilvie 1965:139.

⁸⁵⁸ Ogilvie 1965:129-30; Aur. Vict., *Vir. Ill.* 5.4; Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.695; *fragmentum de prenomibus* I (see Briscoe 1998:795); *Inscr. It.* 13.3.66 = *H.I.R.P.* 447. Livy (1.32.5) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.72.2) report the attribution to the *Acquicoli* without mentioning Ferter Resius. See Hülsen 1909:597-8. Ampolo 1972 argues that Ferter Resius' name may derive from an official title. On the name *Acquiroli/Acquiculi* see Oakley 1997-2005:4.177-178. On these Servian passages and their relation to Livy see also Zack 2001:39-41.

⁸⁵⁹ CIL I² p. 202 XLI = VI 1302; cf. Val. Max. *Epit. de Praen.* 1. In the western corner of the Palatine Hill, next to the Church of S. Anastasia were discovered an altar (so called *Ara Calvini*) or *ARA DEI IGNOTI* (shrine of unknown gods) and four inscribed columns were found dating to the period. Column A: (now missing): "*Marspiter*," or "Father Mars" in Archaic Latin. Column B: "*Remureine*" which possibly means "In Memory of Remus". Column C: "*anabestas*" possibly a goddess named Anabesta, or else related to the Greek *anabasio* ("to go up") and interpreted as a reference to Remus' scaling of the Roman walls. Column D: *Ferter Resius / rex Aequeicolus / is preimus / ius fetiale paravit / inde p(opulus) R(omanus) disciplineinam excepit.* (Fertter Resius, / Aequicolean (= Aequean) king, / he first / introduced the *ius fetiale*, / from him the Roman people / learned the discipline [of making treaties]).

⁸⁶⁰ Liv. 1.24. Cicero (*de Rep.* 2.17) said that Tullus Hostilius actually decreed a law on the fetial procedure.

devised it most justly, gave it fetial religious sanction".⁸⁶¹ The ancient sources also refer to Ancus Marcius⁸⁶² as another king who would have taken the tradition from Ardea.⁸⁶³ The authors of the Augustan period, in their old-fashioned reconstructions, emphasise the descendants of M. Marcius, the first plebeian *rex sacrorum*.⁸⁶⁴ Ogilvie compares the gens Marcia, starting with the first consul in the *fasti* of 357 B.C., C. Marcius Rutilus. This family name is strongly linked with Ancus Marcius, who is associated in a demi-mythological phase with the foundation of Ostia.⁸⁶⁵ In this case we would have a king who was responsible for the most important extension of Rome's domain, which included the occupation of *Politorium*, *Tellenae*, *Ficana* and *Medullia*.⁸⁶⁶ And in this way, the addition of the Aventine to the City and the settlement *ad Murciae*⁸⁶⁷ can be associated with the accompanying *fossa Quiritum* – a significant and manmade construction that could possibly have functioned as a landscape marker, which, from Ogilvie's point of view, is still an 'etymological speculation'.⁸⁶⁸ The incorporation of the *Janiculum* followed the construction of the *Pons Sublicius*, which represents a link between Rome and her expansive process on the opposite bank.⁸⁶⁹ [2.2.8] The connection would have been purely 'nominal' and linked to his name: Ancus Marcius would have been the father of the fetial formula for declaring war, playing on the analogy of the name *Marcus* = *Martius*. Might we, then, equate Ancus Marcius' expansive process and the enlargement of Roman territory with an augmentation of Rome's *finis*, as Ogilvie presumes?⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶¹ Cic. *de Rep.* 2.31-3; cf. Bederman 2001:234; Rich 2011b:187.

⁸⁶² Liv. 1.32; Aur. Vict. *Vir. Ill.* 5.4; Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.14.

⁸⁶³ Dion. Hal. 2.72.2 (= Cn. Gellius fr. 16, Peter, Chassignet).

⁸⁶⁴ Liv. 27.6.16.

⁸⁶⁵ Liv. 1.33.9; Ogilvie 1965:126.

⁸⁶⁶ Liv. 1.33.1, 2, 4.

⁸⁶⁷ Liv. 1.33.5.

⁸⁶⁸ Ogilvie 1965:126.

⁸⁶⁹ Liv. 1.33.6.

⁸⁷⁰ Ogilvie 1965:126.

4.2.3 The *ius fetiale*

Originally, when Rome was at war with neighbouring peoples, the fetial priests performed both the ritual and diplomacy in the steps leading up to the actual declaration of war, seeking reparation and calling upon the gods to witness that the Roman cause was just.⁸⁷¹ And Livy provides the most complete account of the fetial procedure (formula⁸⁷² and practice) for declaring war. This process, known as *ius fetiale*, was an institution with legal or quasi-legal institutions and, as suggested earlier, a common ritual procedure for all the primitive communities of Latium.⁸⁷³ Livy uses the name of Prisci Latini to relate both the fact that they initiated the fetial procedure of declaring war (*ius fetiale*) and that the phenomenon originated with Ancus Marcius, who was at war with them (*populi Priscorum Latinorum homines Prisci Latini*).⁸⁷⁴

The *ius fetiale* developed as an institution to provide legitimacy for Roman declarations of war. In such a case, the original procedure contained three stages and involved three journeys: the *denunciatio*, the *testatio*, and the *indictio*.⁸⁷⁵ With the last step of the *ius fetiale*, the final journey – the *indictio* – hostilities commenced. The Roman State's conduct and legitimacy in international affairs, however, meant that the fetial procedures had to change.⁸⁷⁶ For our purposes, the *ius fetiale* is probably the most important act, because it relates the fetials' actions most directly with bordering practices, as the *fines* are twice explicitly called upon and singled out in their ritual. Through the procedure of the *ius fetiale*, I shall indicate this privileged relationship.

⁸⁷¹ Warrior 2006:58.

⁸⁷² Signs of anachronism in Livy's account of the fetial formulae have been detected. These elements have led to the conclusion that the formulae might be archaising reconstructions. See the section 4.4.1 on the change of formula and or procedure.

⁸⁷³ Ogilvie 1965:127.

⁸⁷⁴ Liv. 1.32.13. See Rich 2011b:201.

⁸⁷⁵ Liv. 1.24.6; Oakley 2008:313.

⁸⁷⁶ Bederman 2001:234.

4.2.3.1 Denunciatio (*rerum repetitio*)

Livy explains the whole procedure in a relatively clear manner, despite some chronological problems between the phases of the process.⁸⁷⁷ When Rome had a grievance against a foreign state, nation, or people,⁸⁷⁸ the first step was to make a demand for satisfaction, called *rerum repetitio* or *denunciatio*.⁸⁷⁹ Following a decision of the Senate, the head of the college of fetials (*pater patratus*) and the other three members of the delegation (*fetiales pro praetores*)⁸⁸⁰ were sent out to the borders of the offending nation (*ad fines eorum venit*).⁸⁸¹ Through the pronouncement of the formula,⁸⁸² the *pater patratus* demanded restitution (*ad res repetundas*) for the wrongs done to Rome.⁸⁸³ The fetials acted as official ambassadors (*legatos*) in a foreign territory and seem to have actually ventured into the enemy's territory to deliver their concerns. Livy clearly states that the fetials pronounce the formula just before they reach the *fines*, which is called out to Jupiter ("*audi, Iuppiter*"... "*audite, fines*"... "*audiat fas*").⁸⁸⁴

The name of Jupiter is sacredly evoked and his presence is required as witness (*testem*).⁸⁸⁵ In my opinion, the evocation of Jupiter here is important, as it placed a divine value on the *fines*. Watson's thesis is that the fetial asked the gods to be the judges ("*ego vos testor*"), not the witnesses, of the *fides publicae*

⁸⁷⁷ Livy seems to have confused the temporal gap between the second (*testatio*) and the third step (*indictio belli*) or rather his main source for Fetiales, Licinius Macer (or the 2nd century authority who grafted the newly phrased formula). Cf. Sumi 2005:210.

⁸⁷⁸ It is important to indicate that the fetial procedure for declaring war was not used "against a body of people not regularly organised as a State, in the proper sense of the term", so Phillipson 1911:344. Justinian's Digest specifically noted that a declaration of war need not be made against pirates or brigands. *Digest of Justinian* 892 (Mommsen, Krueger & Watson 1985) = [49.15.24; Ulp. *Instit.* 1].

⁸⁷⁹ For the use of this phrase in the classical sources, see Liv. 3.25, 4.30, 7.6, 8.22, 9.45, 38.45; Val. Max. 2.2; Macrobius *Sat.* 1.16. In later periods, the term *clarigatio* was also used for such a demand for reparation. See Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.53 and 10.14. For more usages and distinctions between *rerum repetitio* and *clarigatio*, see Phillipson 1911:329-30. See Wissowa 1912:553. On the declaration of war cf. Beseler 1932:292.

⁸⁸⁰ Varro *Ap. Non.* 850L.

⁸⁸¹ Liv. 1.32.6.

⁸⁸² The phrase is old and technical, occurring first in Enn. Ann. 273 V; see Mommsen 1899, 3.1047 n.2; Ogilvie 1965:131.

⁸⁸³ Liv. 1.32.6-14; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52. See Rich 1976. In early times the chief source of complaint would have been e.g. the theft of cattle or property stolen by another political/social entity. Bederman 2001:77, 231-2

⁸⁸⁴ Liv. 1.32.6.

⁸⁸⁵ Liv. 1.32.7.

of Rome.⁸⁸⁶ What the *pater patratus* says, in this specific formula is: “I call you (the gods, Jupiter and Janus Quirinus) to witness that this nation (naming it) is unjust, and does not act according to the law”:

*“audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iane Quirine, diique omnes caelestes vosque, terrestres, vosque, inferni, audite: ego vos testor populum illum” — quicumque est, nominat—
“iniustum esse neque ius persolvere”.*⁸⁸⁷

“Hear, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quirinus, and hear all heavenly gods, and ye, gods of earth, and ye of the lower world; I call you to witness that this people” —naming whatever people it is —“is unjust, and does not make just reparation”.

For Watson,⁸⁸⁸ the distinction is important, as the gods never served as sureties that Rome would be successful in wars. For my objective, instead, the *fines* are an active, ‘living’ part of the process: firstly, they are identified with Jupiter, hence they take on divine features, becoming personified; secondly, they are present, real or immanent, in space; and finally, the borders might not have been witnesses but judges of wrong actions – if improperly crossed, they would have created troubles for the Romans. It is also important to note that the close association between Jupiter and *fines* is also present in the so-called Vegoia prophecy.⁸⁸⁹ [3.5.3]

The physicality of the fetials’ journey – and perhaps of the borders? – is confirmed in later passages. Livy offers different ‘layers’ of interaction between the fetials and the enemy’s territory, offering different topographical circles surrounding the core of the structure of any political identity. Although Livy admits that there are few changes in the form, wording and the oath (*paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit*), he marks the landscape and the political structure of the city as lying in the centre of a concentric pattern of rings. [FIG 19]The fetials repeat this (*haec*) ritual sentence

⁸⁸⁶ See Bederman 2001:240, n. 207.

⁸⁸⁷ Liv. 1.32.9: not to be confused with the oath formula. The prayer of the fetials, indeed, changes the order to “*Iuppiter et tu Iane Quirine, diique omnes*”. Ryberg 1931:150, n.20.

⁸⁸⁸ Cited by Bederman 2001:240.

⁸⁸⁹ In the prophecy the Etruscan Nymph warns his people that the boundaries should not be moved, as their shifting would bring about the destruction of the Etruscan nation. The Latin fragment of an Etruscan prophecy which is supposed to have been delivered by Vegoia to Arruns Veltumnus. Vegoia was an Etruscan ‘nymph’ to whom a part of the Etruscan revelation was attributed. Cf. Blume, Lachmann & Rudolf 1852:350-1; Heurgon 1959.

five times⁸⁹⁰ in key positions, which represent the passageways between these circles: a) before the *finēs* (*ad finēs eorum venit*); b) in crossing the *finēs* (*cum finis superscandit*); c) the first stranger met (*quicumque ei primus vir obuius*); d) passing through the city gate (*portam ingrediens*); and finally, e) entering the marketplace (*forum ingressus*).⁸⁹¹ In some way, the five different levels of territorial diversity, and the consequent five repetitions of the formula, recall the five kinds of territory described by Varro.⁸⁹² In one of his sources, Varro directly links the fetials' ritual of the spear throwing with '*hostile agrum*' (enemy's territory), as we shall see in the section dedicated to the spear-hurling ceremony.⁸⁹³ [FIG 20]The distinction between Roman and hostile territory formed part of a sacred topography determined by augural law and developed, like the ritual of the *fetiales*, in an early stage of Rome's expansion:

*Ut nostii augures publici disserunt, agrorum sunt genera quinque: Romanus, Gabinus, peregrinus, hostieus, incertus.*⁸⁹⁴

According to our *augures publici*, wrote Varro, there are five kinds of land: Roman, Sabine, peregrine, hostile, and indeterminate.

This mapping within augural law was paralleled in pontifical law by a distinction between Roman and provincial *solum* (soil).⁸⁹⁵ Varro neglects any distinctive mark or sign amongst the different *agri*. Livy, on the other hand, provides five geo-political distinctions, within three enclosed and determined spaces: a) the area before the *finēs*, where the fetials used to stop before crossing them, b) the area in between the *finēs* and the city wall, c) the *forum* – and two distinctive passageways, crossing points or linear marks, d) the *finēs* and e) the city gate, which seems to visually and perhaps materially separate the five concentric areas. If the fetials used to invoke the *finēs* before and during their crossing, to

⁸⁹⁰ Widemann (1986:479) is wrong in affirming that they repeated the sentence only four times: "This consisted of (a) an embassy in which a legatus invokes Jupiter as a witness that the Romans' demands are justified; this oath is recited four times, at the enemy community's *finēs*, to the first man the envoy meets, at the city gate, and in the forum".

⁸⁹¹ Liv. 1.32.8.

⁸⁹² Varro *L.L.* 5.3.3.

⁸⁹³ Calenus in Varro = *Logistorici* fr. 2 Semi. For clarifications of the words *ritus* and *cerimonia*: see Wagenvoort 1937.

⁸⁹⁴ Varro *L.L.* 5.3.3.

⁸⁹⁵ Ando 2003:236.

what extent can we consequentially consider real and material the term *finēs*, comparing it mainly with the evident physicality of the city walls?

[FIG 23] A solution to the question might be linked to the frescos found in some graves in the cemetery of Esquiline, which feature representations of the Q. FABIVS (Maximus Rullianus).⁸⁹⁶ For their style and precision in details, the scenes divided by registers have been attributed to Fabius Pictor, a member of the same family. Although the frescos do not depict a map of Rullianus' campaigns, they report the narration in four detectable bands, where defining elements like city walls recall both the visual Livian framework and the definition of narrative space.[1.5.1]

4.2.3.2 *Testatio*

After 30 days,⁸⁹⁷ the fetials returned to the enemy's *finēs*. Here, the *pater patratus* remonstrated with the defaulting nation, delivering a solemn *testatio deorum* (second step), calling the gods (Jupiter and Janus Quirinus) to bear witness or act as judges for the injustice that had been done, and legitimating their cause.⁸⁹⁸ If satisfaction was not obtained, meaning that the demands were rejected and no restitution (*rerum repetitio*) was forthcoming, the fetials convened.⁸⁹⁹ Then the officiant asked each senator in turn whether he favoured war, until a majority was reached.⁹⁰⁰ In this span of time, the Senate then met and decided upon war, and its decision was ratified by the People.⁹⁰¹ The

⁸⁹⁶ DeRose Evans 1992:10. Q. Fabius Rullianus presented as fetial? See Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli 1976: n. 27; Rosenstein & Morstein-Marx 2010:511.

⁸⁹⁷ The 30 days are the time interval prescribed, which finds a strict parallel in the civil procedure *legis actio per condicionem*. (Dion. Hal. 2.72.) In this procedure, a plaintiff gave 30 days' notice before going to a magistrate *ad iudicem capiendum*, having their common roots far back in Roman legal history. See Ogilvie 1965:127; Briscoe 1973:77.

⁸⁹⁸ Saulnier 1980; Bederman 2001:77.

⁸⁹⁹ Harris 1979:167; Bellamy 2006:19.

⁹⁰⁰ Whether a quorum of senators was required for the vote to be valid is not known. Cf. Sumi 2005:210.

⁹⁰¹ However, according to Livy (6.22.4 and 8.22.8) the war seems to have been declared before the Senate referred the matter to the People, therefore leaving the people to choose the provinces of the consuls. On the contrary, the evidence draws the conclusion that war could be declared only by a vote of the People (S. e.g. Liv. 6.30.15; 31.6.3-8; Polyb. 6.14.10) and there was a lack of carelessness in Livy or his sources. Oakley 2008:314. As for the provinces of the consuls, these would be chosen by the senate, and the people would again ratify the decision; cf. Liv. 31.5.7.

priests, therefore, declared the other party, nation or population as *iniustus* in the eyes of the gods and announced that measures would be taken by Rome.⁹⁰²

4.2.3.3 *Indictio Belli* (The Ritual of spear throwing)

The third stage was called *indictio belli*. The rite had to be performed at the enemy's *finis*, when on the 33rd day⁹⁰³ an officiant was sent to hurl an iron-shod⁹⁰⁴ or fire-hardened spear (*hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam*)⁹⁰⁵ into or toward the enemy's territory (*ad finis eorum ferret*). The spear stuck in their *finis* signalled that war had begun (*hasta in eorum finis missa indicabatur iam pugnae principium*)⁹⁰⁶ and that the land was hostile, witnessed by no less than three men of military age (*non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus*).⁹⁰⁷ Ogilve considers the spear to have 'magical' significance.⁹⁰⁸ The ritual act and symbolism of the throwing would be useful to nullify the enemy's power and to

⁹⁰² Now, the ritual of declaring war (the incantations and spear-throwing) lent itself to a literal Roman vision of *iustum*. For *bellum iustum*: Nonius' main citation (850L) may be translated as follows: 'Varro in *De uita populi Romani* book 2: Thus they undertook wars both late and with great care, because they thought that they should wage no war unless it was righteous; before they declared war on those by whom they knew that injuries had been committed, they used to send four fetial ambassadors to seek restitution, whom they called orators. The same in book 3: 'If any State's ambassadors were violated, they decided that those who had done this, if were noble, should be handed over, and that about these matters twenty fetials should enquiry, judge, decide and determine'. The fragments cited in this passage are 75, 93 Riposati = 386, 419 Salvatore. Another fragment from book 2 deals with the fetials' use of grasses (n. 10, above). See Oakley 2008:313; Rich 2011b:191.

⁹⁰³ Liv. 1.32.9. Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52.

⁹⁰⁴ Iron because of its magnetic properties, was from the earliest times regarded as a mighty source of magic. At Rome, it was taboo for the *fratres arvales*, while the vestals used it for cutting up salt. Cf. Varro *ap. Non.* 330L.

⁹⁰⁵ On the terms 'sanguinea' and 'praeusta' and this particular passage of Livy see: J.B.M. 1889. Its use in the ceremony is to attract all the hostile potency of the enemy and so immobilise it. *Sanguineam* is *recondite*. As early as Dio Cassius (71.33.3) it was being glossed as αἱματώδες and though the correct solution was propounded in 1599 by Turnebus (*Adversaria* 8.23.), Dio's interpretation was generally accepted. *Sanguineus* is the adjective derived from the name of a species of cornel, familiar in romance languages (fr. Cornouiller sanguine). *Sanguinem* is listed by Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.20.3) among *arbores infelices* (infertile), and Pliny (*N.H.* 16.74, 176) speaks of *sanguinei frutices* and *virgae sanguineae*. Cornel is frequently used as a wood for spears (*Virg. Aen.* 3.23 *et saep.*) but for a magical spear the infertile species was employed because its effect was to render infertile and barren the enemies schemes. See Ogilve 1965:135.

⁹⁰⁶ Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52. Cf. Nap 1927:86.

⁹⁰⁷ Liv. 1.32.13. Cf. Ando 2011:43. Rich (2011b:209) assumes that the three people appear to be Roman, and no enemy presence is required or mentioned. So rightly Rüpke 1990:109; Ferrary 1995:421.

⁹⁰⁸ Ogilve 1965:127.

establish that the war was ‘just’ before the gods. Bederman, on the contrary, links the fetials’ gesture to a sense of legal restraint, a purely symbolic action in advising, formally, the Senate and People of Republican Rome on whether a conflict would be *iustum piumque*.⁹⁰⁹ Varro, in his lost treatise *Calenus*, also speaks of the ritual of spear throwing, but he does so in the context of military commanders who performed this rite when preparing an area to pitch camp.⁹¹⁰ This ritual had an essential correlative in the Romans’ symbolic seizure of some piece of an enemy’s land on which to place their camp and take the auspices:

*Varro in Caleno ita ait duces cum primum hostilem agrum introituri errant, omnis causa prius hastam in eum agrum mittebant, ut castris locum caperent.*⁹¹¹

Varro in his *Calenus* says that generals, when about to enter an enemy’s territory, out of religious scruple (for the taking of auspices) would first have thrown a spear into that land, in order to seize a place for a camp.

This passage is important because, as shown by Rawson, the spear-casting is either ritual or symbolic, but it took place ‘on the frontier’ and “symbolised choosing a camp-site”.⁹¹² In both cases, *fetiales* and *duces* share the fact that this ritual has been perceived as a fictional act.⁹¹³ The conveyed message is one for seizure of the land (*castris locum caperent*) into which the spear had been cast. Servius defines this land as ‘disputed’ (*terram hostium contestabatur*), and perhaps this is the reason why the fetials use invocation before crossing the *fines*.⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁹ Bederman 2001:235.

⁹¹⁰ Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52. Wiedemann 1986:483; Sumi 2005:212.

⁹¹¹ Varro *Calenus*: Logistorici fr. 2 Semi = Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52. Ando 2011:52.

⁹¹² Rawson 1973:167; cf. Turelli 2008:529.

⁹¹³ Turelli (2008:527) assigns a legal term to this fictional act: *fictio iuris*. Cf. Bianchi 1997:111-127; Demelius 1858:22 ff.; Latte 1960:122 with the critic of Brelich 1961; Catalano 1978.

⁹¹⁴ The action of the *dux* would be made *ominis causa*, to have positive influxes: Ernout & Meillet 1979:461, s. ‘omen’; Benveniste 1969:477 ff.; Zack 2001:48 ff. However, Dumézil 1956:74-5, n.1, considers the *emittere hastam* as a taking possession of, as “fondation” mystique du champ où l’armée romaine s’avancera ensuite, protégée par les dieux”, where the gesture of the *dux* and *fetialis* would be the slightly the same. Bayet 1935:25, n.3 and n.7 connects this practice to the magical sphere and the *castra* would be “*image religieuse de la ville*”, set up “*au milieu des forces invisibles qui la gardent*”. Cf. also Blaive 1993. Romulus also hurled a spear from the Aventine Hill to the Cermalus, which rooted and bloomed there: cf. Ovid. *Met.* 15.560-564; Plut. *Rom.* 20.6; Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.46. Cf. Carandini 2006:418 ff.; Turelli 2008:534.

4.3 Rome's earliest wars and the fetials

[FIG 17, 18] Livy's narrative may sometimes be considered incomprehensible. However, a close reading of the whole context may offer a model to untangle such complexity. In the following section, I aim to demonstrate how Rome's acquisition of foreign entities, specifically cities in the earlier period, was possible through the fetial procedure. In three different episodes, elements of the fetial ritual are present in Rome's mechanisms of territorial acquisition: a) the victory and the conquest of the city of Caenina by Romulus, b) the incorporation of Alba into Rome's territory and c) the conquest of Veii. Although in the first one (a) the fetials are not materially present, I shall show that their embryonic idea is extant and linked with Rome's first temple of Jupiter Feretrius. That will be possible due to an analysis of the formula of fetials' nomination, described as part of the duel of the Horatii and Curiatii. In the second episode (b), which took place in the same military context between Rome and Alba, I shall stress the fact that Rome gained the enemy's territory, embodying and probably marking its *finis*, through a pact struck by the fetials. The third episode (c) is the war against Veii, when Livy explicitly cites the fetials and their approach to the Veientine *finis*. The story of the war against Veii also bears similarities to the ends of the previous two (a and b), with the annexation of the Etruscan city to Rome's territory⁹¹⁵.

4.3.1 Creation of the fetials and Jupiter Feretrius

Livy⁹¹⁶ describes the process leading to the ritual treaty between Alba and Rome. The fetials are commissioned to bind the two cities to honour the outcome of the duel between Horatii and Curiatii, and the process is composed of two distinct parts: a) the procedure, which charges the fetials with their responsibilities and instruments; b) the spoken formula of the standard oath,

⁹¹⁵ Dunstan 2011:56.

⁹¹⁶ Liv. 1.24.3-6.

pact or treaty (*foedus*), struck by the fetial between Alba and Rome and successively sealed through a sacrifice.⁹¹⁷

The first parts of the ceremony emphasise the hierarchical transfer of authority from the king, Tullus Hostilius, to his individual executor, one of the *fetiales*. The ceremony begins with an elaborate dialogue, in which one fetial priest first asks the king for authority to strike the treaty. Once granted, the fetial, known as *verbenarius*,⁹¹⁸ asks the king (later a magistrate): “Do you ask me, with the *pater patratus*, to make a treaty with the Alban people?” (“*iubesne me cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus facere?*”).⁹¹⁹ This is followed by a demand for the king to pick up a clump of grass, considered sacred in that area and used in the ritual of creating the *pater patratus*. Then, the king gives permission to tear off the grass⁹²⁰ with the formula “have it (the grass) pure” (“*puram [sc. herbam] tollito*”).⁹²¹

The herb – *sagmina* or *verbena* – mentioned in conducting the fetial's procedure, is specifically said to have been taken from the *arx* or Citadel, not from the Capitoline Hill in general (*Herbae id genus ex arce sumptum fetialibus dari solet*).⁹²² *Verbena* or *sagmina*⁹²³ is the name of the plant or grass, which should have been plucked from the ground of *Capitolium* with earth attached to its roots, as other ancient authors report.⁹²⁴ Pliny's use of the word *verbena*

⁹¹⁷ For a fuller description of the *fetiales*, with testimonia, see Wissowa 1902:475 ff., and Latte 1960:121 ff.;

⁹¹⁸ Plin. *N.H.* 22.5, Varro *Ap. Non.* 528.18.

⁹¹⁹ Liv. 1.24.4 ff.

⁹²⁰ “*Sagmina te posco*”, cf. Liv. 30.43.9

⁹²¹ *Herba pura, verbenae, sagmina*; Liv. 1.24.5, 30.43.9, Plin. *N.H.* 22.5, Paul. Fest. 424-6L.

⁹²² Liv. 30.43.9.

⁹²³ Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.120: *verbena tempora vincti verbena proprie est herba sacra, ros marinus, ut multi volunt, id est λιβανωρίς ἴσicutagonis, sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, qua coronabantur fetiales et pater patratus, foedera facturi vel bella indicturi. abusive tamen iam verbenas vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus: Terentius “ex ara hinc verbenas sume”: nam myrtum fuisse Menander testatur, de quo Terentius transtulit. quidam sane veris proximi herbas verbenas dicunt. alii certa ligamenta verbenas volunt vocari.* Cf. Saunders 1911:99, n.1.

⁹²⁴ Wissowa 1912:472, n. 2 gives an interpretation of the Livian passage from ‘*ex loco sancto arcebantur*’ amended in ‘*ex loco sancto arcis carpebantur*’. Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 25.105: ‘*de loco sacro Capitolii*’. Rich 2011b:188. Fay (1910:26-7) proposes an interesting theory about the etymology of the fetials, linked with the plants that “makes it possible to regard fetialis as a derivation of fetus ‘plant’, or even, as an archaic religious word, to look upon it as a compound of *fet-* ‘plant’ + **yak-s-lis* ‘iaciens’: Av. *yax-š-tiš* ‘twig’ [cf. for the idea ‘*vitem ex se eicere*’ in Varro, and French: *jeter*, Spanish: *echar*, Italian: *gettare* [Latin: (*e*)*iectare*] ‘to send out shoots’].

shows that it had become a general term for a herb of lustral value. The most convincing view (represented rather rarely in the modern literature of this subject) is that these herbs stood for the soil of Rome, which the fetials symbolically carried with them. This seems to be clearly indicated by the importance attached to the taking up of the earth at the root along with the plant (*Certe utroque nomine idem significatur, hoc est gramen ex arce cum sua terra evolsum*).⁹²⁵ The meaning given to the *sagmina* has been related to the verb *sancire* (to strike, to conclude), which makes the herb “*inviolable en la mettant sous la protection des dieux, en appelant sur le violenteur éventuel le châtement divin*”.⁹²⁶ Wagenvoort, in his study on the *verbena*, concludes that the soil of the *Arx* protected the fetials against harm from foreign influences when outside their native land, carrying a piece of their own country with them wherever they went.⁹²⁷

Afterward, the *verbenarius* asked to become himself envoy and the personification of his people, saying:

“*Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium*”⁹²⁸

“King, make me royal messenger of the Roman Quirite people”⁹²⁹

The king approves and the *verbenarius* appoints the *pater patratus*, touching the head and hair of another fetial (in this case his name is *Sp. Fusius*) with the

⁹²⁵ Plin. *N.H.* 22.5. Cf. Reid 1912:47.

⁹²⁶ Benveniste 1969:190; Ernout & Meillet 1951:587,589. *Sagmina* is a “*vieux terme rituel*” (...) *sans doute apparenté à sacer, sancto; ‘rendre sacré ou inviolable’*. The passage of Pliny (*N.H.* 22.5) is the most complete and the most coherent: “*auctores imperii Romani conditoresque immensum quiddam et hinc sumpsere, quoniam non aliunde sagmina in remediis publicis fuere et in sacris legationibusque uerbenae*”. See Paul. Fest. 424-6L: *SAGMINA vocantur verbenae, id est herbae purae, quia ex loco sancto arcebantur a consule praetoreve, legatis proficiscentibus ad foedus faciendum bellumque indicendum*.

⁹²⁶ On the rapport between *sagmina* and *arx* cf. Fest: *herbae purae (...) ex loco sancto*; Liv. 1.24.5 (cf. 30.43.9): *ex arce graminis herbam puram; herbae id genus ex arce sumptum*; Plin. *N.H.* 22.5: *gramen ex arce cum sua terra euulsum*; Serv. ad Aen. 12.120: *proprie est herba sacra (...) sumpta de loco sacro Capitola*. Guillaume-Coirier 1992:366: gives an interesting and fitting definition of the *locus sacrus Capitoli*: “*Arx ne doit pas être compris ici dans le sens de «citadelle», lieu de garnison et de refuge; de l'ensemble ce nom désigne vraisemblablement une partie res treinte, plus précisément «un petit quadrilatère, peut-être un carré» limité par des arbres où agissent les argures, sens attesté tout au long du 1er siècle av. J.-C.: in arce augurium augures acturi (Cic. Off. 3.66)*”.

⁹²⁷ Wagenvoort 1947:19-21.

⁹²⁸ Liv. 1.24.5.

⁹²⁹ Wiedemann 1987:480, 487.

sacred *sagmina*.⁹³⁰ Correspondingly, the gesture of touching the *pater patratus* with the *sagmina* literally places him in contact with a piece of living earth that has been ritually transferred from the highest, most sacred, and militarily most powerful point in the city.⁹³¹ The *pater patratus* is the fetial who actually performed the sacrifice, proclaimed the treaties and was also enabled to act and speak, taking responsibilities without deception before the Roman People (*quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio*).⁹³² Afterwards, the *verbenarius* appointed three more fellows (*comitesque meos*) and was thus ready for the last step of the process: the agreement of the treaty (*foedus*). The officiating fetials visited the foreign territory, where the *pater patratus*, in the presence of the general and part of his army, swore a pact through an oath.⁹³³ The fetials took with them on their official journeys a set of instruments. Along with the *sagmina*, the *verbenarius* brought also a flint stone (*lapis silex*) to perform the final sacrifice,⁹³⁴ a rod or sceptre⁹³⁵ to swear the oath, and vessels (*vasa*), in which the plant and the *silex* were contained.⁹³⁶ The *lapis silex*⁹³⁷ and the rod (sceptre), symbolising their diplomatic power and inviolability,⁹³⁸ were

⁹³⁰ Before starting on their mission, by touching a member of their group, to designate him as *pater patratus* (Liv. 1.24.6). However it is also reported (Marcian. *Dig.* I.1.8.1) that wearing the *sagmina* was a sign of their ambassadorial character. Cf. Fay 1910:27. A foreigner provenience from some eastern influx could be considered for the plants. They are vaguely reminiscent of the objects used in Syrian treaty rituals a millennium before. The suggestion is that the fetials believed that their life-giving force protected them as they traversed enemy territory. See Mendenhall 1954:33; Held 1970. This is actually implied in Justinian's Digest: Marcian *Digest.* 1.8.8.1, Rules 1: "*Sunt autem sagmina quaedam herbae, quas legati populi Romani ferre soleunt. ne quis eos violaret, sicut legati Graecorum forum ea quae vocantur kerykia*". Ogilvie (1965:111) states that this explanation would be a dangerous assimilation of Roman to Greek ritual. See also Latte 1960:121. For an alternative theory on the *verbena*, see Wiedemann:485-86; Reid 1912:47-9; Bederman 2001 235.

⁹³¹ See n. 113.

⁹³² Liv. 1.24.5. Dion. Hal. 2.72.6.

⁹³³ Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.206, Paul. Fest. 92.1. Ogilvie 1965:110.

⁹³⁴ Fowler (1911:129) considers that this 'magic' stone was probably what Celts believed to have been a thunderbolt. Bederman (2001:234), more concretely, credits that the flint stone was probably a vestige of a pre-Iron Age form of animal sacrifice (cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.448). See also Paul. Fest. 81L; cf. Varro *Rust.* 2.4.9; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.62, 8.641, 12.206; cf. Polyb. 3.25.6-9. cf. Wissowa 1912:30, 477 n. 7, 478 n. 1; Fowler 1911:130; De Francisci 1952:55 n. 144 et 145; 102; 318-320; Braun 1959:94, n.176. Rich (2011b:193) affirms that the use of flint cannot be a Stone Age throwback, as scholars have often supposed. Rose (1922:127 = 1913:237) is convinced, that it was a flint knife, and whatever it was, the *lapis silex* of the Fetiales and the proverb *inter sacrum et saxum* prove as much.

⁹³⁵ On the 'magic' staff see: De Waele 1927.

⁹³⁶ Liv. 1.24-5. See also Mendenhall 1954:26-27; Watson 1993; Ogilvie 1965:111.

⁹³⁷ Cf. On the *lapis silex*, Reid 1912:49-51.

⁹³⁸ Livy refers to the rod as the sceptre of Jupiter Feretrius, guarantor of treaties and oaths. See Liv. 1.2.1 and Liv. 30.13. Bederman 2001:195.

held in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius and both used to ratify treaties.⁹³⁹ As we have seen, the practical procedure in charging the fetials and the instruments they used is directly linked with the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the first *templum* of Rome.⁹⁴⁰ [3.7.2] At the moment, for our purposes, there are two elements of note: a) the strong link between the *templum* and the *fetiales*; and b) the context for and the reason why the temple was set up. As we saw, three of the sacred tools used by the *fetiales* (*verbenia*, flintstone and rod) originate from the Capitolium, in the case of the former, and directly from the *templum*, in the case of the latter two.⁹⁴¹

The association with fetials is also etymologically strengthened, although it remains still conjectural.⁹⁴² Despite Reid's excessive criticism,⁹⁴³ Weiss considered the possibility that their name might be associated with Jupiter Feretrius.⁹⁴⁴ The most acceptable meaning of Feretrius is linked with *ferire* ('*foedus ferire*' or '*icere*') because, in striking the piglet with the flint (*silex iungebant foedera porca foede, hoc est lapidibus occisa or foede et crudeliter occisa*),⁹⁴⁵ the fetials invoked and imagined an intimate connection between Jupiter Feretrius and the stone.⁹⁴⁶ The *ovatio* at the end of the triumphal procession was also used to swear oaths through the slaying of a small pig with the same stone.⁹⁴⁷ In my opinion, the fetials might be linked to the expansive process of Rome as a sort of 'guardian of the *fines*', who personally ensured that the expansion was properly undertaken. Were they perhaps also enabled to enact and manipulate, legally and religiously, the *fines*? Could a connection

⁹³⁹ Paul. Fest. 81. Cf. Ryberg 1931:152.

⁹⁴⁰ Liv. 1.10.7

⁹⁴¹ Rich 2011b:189.

⁹⁴² See Ogilvie 1965:110; Rüpke 1990:103; Sgarbi 1992.

⁹⁴³ Reid 1912:49.

⁹⁴⁴ Liv. 1.10.6; Weiss 1883:5.

⁹⁴⁵ Explanations in Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.62: *foedus autem dictum vel a fetialibus, id est sacerdotibus per quos fiunt foedera, vel a porca foede, hoc est lapidibus occisa*. Cfr. anche Paul. Fest. 74L, s. '*foedus*'. However, this etymology has been challenged already in ancient times after which *foedus* would derive from *fides*: Cic. *apud Serv. ad Aen.* 8.641: *Cicero foedera a fide putat dicta*. Cf. also Liv. 5.51.10; Varro *L.L.* 5.86 = *Enn.* 32, p. 7 Vahlen; cf. Boyancé 1962. The etymology seems to be confirmed by the Indo-European stem **bheidh-/*bhoides-* of the two terms: s. Benveniste 1969:85-88.

⁹⁴⁶ Aust 1890:674; Fowler 1899:230; Kirsopp Lake 1936:72.

⁹⁴⁷ On such rites, see Weiss 1896:1100-1; Prayon 1998, cols. 496-497; Stoclet 718-9, n. 146.

then have existed between the expansion of the *fines* of the temple and the *fines* of Rome's territory?

4.3.2 The duel between Horatii and Curiatii and the treaty with Alba

[FIG 13]The second episode linked with the expansion of Rome – one of the most important territorial augmentations in the early period – is connected with the fetial procedure of concluding treaties. A different tradition concerning the inception of Roman procedure for demanding restitution can be traced in a number of writers. In this version,⁹⁴⁸ the procedure is associated with Tullus Hostilius' upcoming war against Alba.⁹⁴⁹ Livy refers to the skirmish between the two cities on their *fines*. This Livian passage is crucial for two reasons: firstly, because Livy records the presence of the procedure for declaring war, which is reminiscent, as we shall see, of the Late Republican procedure followed by the *legati*;^[4.3] secondly, because he mentions neither the involvement of the fetials in such a procedure,⁹⁵⁰ nor the word *fines*, as in the case of raids in enemy territory. Livy states that Roman and Alban country folk were raiding each other's lands (*ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas in vicem agerent*) at the time that Gaius Cluilius was ruling Alba. Ambassadors from each side were sent at the same time to seek restitution (*imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albae. utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi*).⁹⁵¹ Both Alba and Rome were ready for a fratricide war and the former

⁹⁴⁸ Liv. 1.22.3.

⁹⁴⁹ Diodorus (8.25), Livy (1.22.3), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.2-3) all give similar accounts of the origin of the war.

⁹⁵⁰ Described later in Livy 1.32.

⁹⁵¹ The passage continues (Liv. 1.22.4-7): Tullus had instructed his to do nothing before carrying out their instructions; he was well aware that the Alban ruler would refuse; in this way, Tullus held, war could be declared righteously. The Albans conducted their business in a more leisurely fashion. Received by Tullus with warm and charming hospitality, they took part agreeably in the king's banquet. Meanwhile, the Romans had both sought restitution first and, when the Alban ruler refused, declared war for the thirtieth day. They reported this to Tullus. Then Tullus gave the ambassadors the opportunity to state what they had come to ask for. Ignorant of everything, they first spent time apologising: they were, they said, reluctant to say anything which would displease Tullus, but were constrained by their orders: they had come to seek restitution; if it was not granted, their instructions were to declare war. At this Tullus replied: 'Report to your king that the Roman king calls on the gods as witnesses, so that,

made the first move, invading the Roman territory (*agro*). At this point, Livy inserts in his account one of the distinctive elements which characterises his narrative landscape, affirming that the Albans set up their camp only five miles from the City and surrounded it with a moat; this was called for several centuries the 'Cluilian Dyke' from the name of the Alban general (*castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passuum locant; fossa circumdant; fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est*).⁹⁵² Now, the Latins and the Romans decided, after several invasions of each other's territories, to come to an agreement. Wisely, Alba and Rome came to an agreement by way of a treaty or pact, so that the Etruscans could not take advantage of a war between them (*etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit*).⁹⁵³ Livy reports the presence of the fetials only in conjunction with the conclusion of the treaty with Alba in the reign of Tullus.⁹⁵⁴ In this piece of Livian narrative, the fetials and their procedure may be considered catalysts of the pre-agreement pact between Alba and Rome. In this agreement, each city would have chosen a set of triplets to challenge the opposite ones and the outcome of the fight would have had to have been accepted by both parties. The entire formula would have been sealed through a final sacrifice performed by the fetials.

In line with the findings of Feldherr,⁹⁵⁵ the *fetiales* were involved in Rome's process of expansion, ending with Rome's assimilation of Alba's territory. Livy describes two very separate accounts, which both feature descriptions of the fight itself approaching its decisive and bloodiest moment, and which both culminate in a fetial animal sacrifice.⁹⁵⁶ It was a military event, but in Livy's explicit statement it was 'not a battle', as it resembled a sacrifice,⁹⁵⁷ and the

whichever people first spumed and dismissed ambassadors seeking restitution, on them they may visit all the misfortunes of this war.' In Rich 2011b:210-1.

⁹⁵² Liv. 1.23.2-3.

⁹⁵³ Liv. 1.23.8.

⁹⁵⁴ Liv. 1.24.4-9.

⁹⁵⁵ Feldherr 1998.

⁹⁵⁶ In the depiction of the scene the executor of the sacrifice, the *pater patratus*, and the victim were differentiated by their costume and adornments, but joined in the red colour frequently worn by priests, providing a visual link with the blood of the victim. Thus Fowler 1911:176-7, notes that religious officials who took no part in sacrifice, such as the Vestal Virgins, did not wear red. Beard (2007:72-5) emphasise both the red colour in Romulus for his triumph over Caeninenses and the one of *Iuppiter Capitolinus*.

⁹⁵⁷ Liv. 1.25.11: *nec illud proelium fuit*.

triplets also possessed the characteristics of the sacrificial victims.⁹⁵⁸ Although Feldherr focuses on the spectacular nature of the sacrifice, identifying and juxtaposing it with the fight between the triplets, he reaches the interesting conclusion that the enlargement of Rome's territory was strictly linked with the fetial practice, which would allow this expansive process.

We have now analysed the first part of the procedure of creating the fetials. As outlined by Livy, the treaty rite involved three main steps: a gathering of herbs, the sacrifice of a small pig with the *lapis silex* and the uttering of a sacred oath.⁹⁵⁹ Once this was done, the Roman fetials proceeded to meet the Alban counterpart ("*iubesne me rex / cum patre patrato / populi Albani / foedus ferire*")⁹⁶⁰ and, after the recitation of the terms of the treaty, they announced that the people of Rome would not be the first to break these terms. Between the speech of the Alban dictator, Mettius Fufetius, and the beginning of the duel, there is a detailed description of the sacrifice, which confirms the treaty between Romans and Albans.⁹⁶¹ The materialisation of the oath was achieved through the slaying of a piglet with the holy *silex*. At the same time, the *pater patratus* recited the terms, appealing to *Iuppiter*, *Quirinus* (and in Polybius also Mars as witnesses)⁹⁶² to punish the Romans if they should ever breach their promise (*si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo*): "...and strike the Roman People, Godfather, (*tum tu ille Diespiter populum Romanum sic ferito*) the more in that thou hast greater power and might (*tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes*

⁹⁵⁸ And when Horatius speaks of "giving" (*dedi, dabo*) the Albans either to the souls of his brothers or for the victory of the Romans, he is using the language of a sacrificial offering. Like that of the *pater patratus*, their designation of the Horatii as champions takes place through the intervention of the king (Liv. 1.24.2: *cum trigeminis reges agunt ut pro sua quisque patria ferro dimicent*).

⁹⁵⁹ Liv. 1.24.3-6; see Wissowa 1912:550-51.

⁹⁶⁰ The language of request and command (repeated archaic imperatives, *posco, iubeo*) punctuates the king's empowerment of the *pater patratus*. The sentence has a marked alliteration which suggests the rhythm of ancient *carmina* (Ogilvie 1965:111.) Feldherr (1998:136) states clearly that the Livian formula is far from being a mere antiquarian version; the account of the Fetial sacrifice sketches a set of relationships among its various participants that anticipates the tensions that will arise later in the episode.

⁹⁶¹ Liv. 1.24.3-9.

⁹⁶² Polybius (3.25) continues by quoting only the oath by *Iuppiter Lapis*, and leaves us to assume that those by Mars and Quirinus were made separately. No other references to the right of the fetials include the three deities. Livy (1.24.7) mentions Jupiter only; in 1.32.10 he prescribes the prayer, "*Iuppiter, et tu Jane Quirine,*" continuing with "*dii caelestes omnes*". Cf. Ryberg 1931:152 and Samter 1909:6.2261-2.

pollesque), as I this pig strike” (*ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam*).⁹⁶³ At this point the *foedus* was struck,⁹⁶⁴ or *feritus* (from *ferire*),⁹⁶⁵ or *percussus* (from *percutere*).⁹⁶⁶ In another version, the oath ended with a different formula, “*si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter salva urbe arceque bonis eiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem*”, dropping the stone at the final words.⁹⁶⁷ The oath by *Iuppiter Lapis* was the most solemn possible.⁹⁶⁸ In this version, the *fetiales* used a flint stone to sacrifice the oath-victim, again invoking a curse, this time on the Roman people if they were false to the oath.⁹⁶⁹ [FIG 21] In Wissowa’s opinion this tradition would have been specifically Roman or Latin,⁹⁷⁰ but it seems likely to be a more widespread Italic ritual, (?Aequicoli) as the striking oath scene is also depicted on some Oscan coins.⁹⁷¹ In the case of this oath, the stone reappears again both as god (*Iuppiter Lapis*) and as an instrument (*lapis silex*). The Roman aureus of 16 B.C. depicts two fetials striking the piglet and concluding the pact. From Livy’s account,⁹⁷² we would expect that only one of the fetials would strike the piglet, beating it from the top to the bottom. However, the depiction shows clearly the flint stone positioned in the top middle of the altar and the two *fetiales* (?*pater patratus* and *verbenarius*) standing and holding the piglet on opposite sides of the altar;⁹⁷³ the flint stone is fixed in the shrine and

⁹⁶³ Varro *Res Rust.* 2.4.9; Paul. Fest. 234a 31L; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.641; Suet. *Claud.* 25; cf. also Liv. 21.45.8 where the treaty with Carthage is described. Livy does not choose to describe the recitation of the oath itself, on the grounds of its length (1.24.8). This is somewhat surprising if his motive for including the ritual is purely antiquarian. Rather, the omission suggests that the significance of the ritual for Livy lies in the processes of authorisation and sacrifice that he does describe. Cf. Samter 1909:2262; Bailey 1932:15; Feldherr 1998:137.

⁹⁶⁴ Tullus’s language does not just describe his intention but accomplishes it even as the Romans and Albans are literally being brought together; just as in the Fetial ritual, his statement is a manifestation of his imperium. When Tullus speaks of “trustworthiness and treaties” (*fides ac foedera* [1.28.9]), beyond the alliteration there is also a reference to one of the common etymologies of the word *foedus*, as a cognate to *fides*. Others thought that a *foedus* was so named because of the disgusting (*foedus*) ritual by which treaties were confirmed, and Livy (1.28.11) makes that connection as well when he refers to the *foeditas* of Mettius’s end.

⁹⁶⁵ Paul. Fest. 92L.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. CIL X 797.

⁹⁶⁷ Paul. Fest. 115.4; Polyb. 1.25.8-9, cf. Polyb. 3.25.

⁹⁶⁸ Gell. 1.21.4.

⁹⁶⁹ Liv. 1.24.8-9.

⁹⁷⁰ Wissowa 1912:477.

⁹⁷¹ Friedländer 1850:81 ff. nr. 9-12; 86-7,ns. 18-9; 11,nr. 9; 16 n.2.

⁹⁷² Liv. 1.24.9

⁹⁷³ This coin commemorates the archaic treaty between Gabii and Rome, sealed as treaty of peace. Grueber 1970:55-56, pl. 71, II; Mattingly & Sydenham 1923:cvi; Babelon 1885:2.535. Cf. Ryberg 1955:39, n.10. Rehak 2001:196 (Fig. 6), n.68.

they split the pig in two halves. Might this practice have significance and bear a similarity to the dividing / bordering practice in the way it was performed?

Through the victory of Horatius, Rome conquered the Alban territory, expanding her *imperium*. As Feldherr has shown, in a magnificent piece of his work, the sacrifice of the pig represents the culmination of the unification of the power of the Roman with the Alban people,⁹⁷⁴ as Livy states: “Both sides turned their attention to burying their dead champions, but with very different feelings, the one rejoicing in wider dominion, the other deprived of their liberty and under alien rule”.⁹⁷⁵ The connection made by Livy concerning the extension of the *imperium* is clear for all to see (*quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti*). Thus, although there is no explicit reference to *imperium*, only to *fines*,⁹⁷⁶ in the fetial ritual, the ceremony enacts the transmission of *imperium*, and it is precisely the *imperium* of the Roman king over the Albans that the ceremony of the execution is designed to establish.[2.2.8; 3.5.1; 3.6; 3.7; 4.4.4; 5.3; 5.6; 6.3.4; 7.5.1] But like the victim’s at the fetial sacrifice, Mettius’s death serves as a warning of what might happen to any other potential traitor.⁹⁷⁷

Feldherr establishes a sacrificial paradigm behind the narrative,⁹⁷⁸ and also anchors Livy’s text to a central socio-religious institution that became a particular focus of interest in the Augustan era precisely for its intrinsic, practical connections to the issues of unification and alienation.⁹⁷⁹ He uses the same

The type is a revival from coins of the Social War, but its appearance on Augustan coins undoubtedly reflects Augustus’ emphasis on old Roman rites; see Hardy 1923:51-52; Newby 1938:36-40.

⁹⁷⁴ Feldherr 1998:155-161.

⁹⁷⁵ Liv. 1.25.13.

⁹⁷⁶ The relationship between *imperium* and ‘borders’ is present in the 1st century AD writers: *Termini imperii*: Seneca *Dial.* 10.4.5; Q *nat.* 1.pr.9; Plin. *N.H.* 6.120;7.117; Tac. *Germ.* 29.3, *Ann.* 1.11. *Fines imperii*: Seneca *Dial.* 12.10.3; Plin. *N.H.*; Plin. *Pan.* 54.4, *Ep.* 8.6.6; Tac. *Hist.* 4.48; Juv. 8.265.

⁹⁷⁷ This episode shares a number of elements with the description of Mettius’s execution, as well as with the scene of the Samnite initiation. Again the spectators, like the Albans in book 1, are secretly surrounded by loyal troops, into which group they must be reincorporated, during their commander’s speech (Liv. 28.29.10). The imagery of health and healing, which provides the link between Tullus’s description of Mettius as *insanabilis* and the historian’s references to the *salubre* effect of his text, there appears even more prominently. For the Augustan resonances of this episode, see Syme 1959:107-8.

⁹⁷⁸ Feldherr 1998:155-161.

⁹⁷⁹ The link between *imperium* and sacrifice emerges again in Appian’s (*B.C.* 5.46) account of the reconciliation of Octavian and the mutineers at Perusia. The situation is strikingly similar to

terminology as Livy, linking the fetials to Rome's expansive process. The sacrifice equates to the spear-throwing ritual and both sanction a potential augmentation of territory with a sort of assimilation of the 'other' (*alteri*). Thus, becoming all Roman territory, the former already owned and the brand new 'gained', the *fines* between the two territories disappeared. Livy, however, ends his narration with the visualisation of new, artificial landmarks: the tombs of the dead fighters. He pictures the placing of the monuments on the site of the battle: "The tombs stand on the spots where each fell; those of the Romans close together, in the direction of Alba; the three Alban tombs, at intervals, in the direction of Rome". (*sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est*).⁹⁸⁰ Solodow suggests that there are likely no reasons for believing that the tombs would be closer to Alba or Rome.⁹⁸¹ The following questions might therefore be posed: a) Through an enlargement or extension of the Roman territory, were the *fines* also modified when the two city-states were joined? b) Could the fetials, through their special nature and connection with the *fines*, be involved in Rome's process of conquest, related to the alteration of *fines*? c) Although Livy neglects to mention the exact position of the five tombs and never cites the word *fines*, might we consider those landscape marks as a manifestation of the ancient bordering practice?⁹⁸²

4.3.3 The war against Veii

The *ius fetiale* was deployed in most, if not all, of Rome's wars in the 5th, 4th and early 3rd centuries, as it could be observed in renditions almost identical to her

the one Livy describes; again, the two armies are brought together by watching a sacrifice. Octavian has kept his veterans apart, and after the sacrifice they draw near the rebels as though to punish them; suddenly, however, they embrace one another and the end result is that "it became impossible to distinguish between them" (οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδ' εὐκρίτων).

⁹⁸⁰ Liv. 1.25.14.

⁹⁸¹ Solodow 1979:263, n. 31.

⁹⁸² As presented by Livy, this brief tale includes aetiologies for four topographic names, two legal institutions, and (probably) one law, all presumably known to the Romans of the day. These are: the tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii, the two Roman together, the three Alban closer to Rome and separated from one another; the *pila Horatia*, whether a column or a set of spears; the *tigillum sororium*, under which Horatius passed in expiation; the sepulchre of Horatia outside the Porta Capena; Cf. Solodow 1979:251-68 and Jaeger 1997:45.

wars against Veii and the Samnites. The Republic is said to have fought three wars with Veii,⁹⁸³ and these conflicts, particularly the Third Veientine War, represent the most concrete connection between *finis*, *fetiales* and Rome's expansionism. Communities reported by Livy as receiving missions to seek restitution in the early Republic include Veii, which was bound to Rome only by an armistice that, in any case, is said to have expired.⁹⁸⁴ The first and second wars are similar, and Livy's narration evidently places them as the final two episodes (437-435 and 427-425 B.C.) culminating in the capture of Fidenae. In these instances, Roman foreign policy seems to adhere to the fetial law.

The war against the Fidenates broke out because of the murder of four Roman ambassadors (*legati*) at Fidenae (dated by Livy to 438 B.C.). They are said to have been sent to protest at its defiance of Rome and to have been killed on the orders of the Veientine king,⁹⁸⁵ and his refusal to give the satisfaction demanded by the fetials led ultimately to the outbreak of war.⁹⁸⁶ The war with Veii presents the fetial procedure in connection with diplomatic practices and war in a way that is no longer symbolic (as e.g. for the *Prisci Latini*). To begin with, it will be useful to remember the 'episode of the Fabii'.⁹⁸⁷ [2.3.2] This time, the Romans required the presence of the fetials for the war. Their crossing of the River Cremera, demonstrating a reckless lack of respect for international law and, more specifically, the *finis* marked by the river, would seem to have been fatal. From that moment, Rome was more careful in its war procedure, independent actions were no longer allowed, and the fetial process was always conducted initially and repeated when necessary. Rome sent her *fetiales* for the first time in 427 B.C. in order to seek reparation (*res repetendas*), but they were ignored by the Veientes.⁹⁸⁸ In a successive passage the fetials were finally considered and met by Veii's ambassadors, who wished to speak with the Roman Senate.⁹⁸⁹ In 407 B.C., Livy tells us, on the expiry of the truce agreed after the previous war (but without any offence by Veii having been stated),

⁹⁸³ See Cornell 1995:310-1, part. 311.

⁹⁸⁴ Veii: Liv. 4.58.1-7. Cf. Oakley 1997-2005:2.6&4; Rich 2011b:217.

⁹⁸⁵ Rich 2011b:218.

⁹⁸⁶ Dion. Hal. 2.53.2; cf., e.g., Liv. 8.22.7; 9. 45. 6; Bickerman 1945:146.

⁹⁸⁷ Livy narrates it from 2.48 to 2.50.

⁹⁸⁸ Liv. 4.30.13-14

⁹⁸⁹ Liv. 4.58.1.

“restitution began to be sought through *legati and fetiales*”. The move was postponed at the Veientes’ request because of their internal discord, but the following year, when they replied arrogantly to *legati* seeking restitution, the assembly carried a ruling for war to be declared.⁹⁹⁰ The data so drawn are: a) a confirmation of a real physical process, which conducted the fetials to the enemy’s borders; b) the procedure described by Livy concerning the entrance of the fetials in different areas is well defined by natural (river) or human features (gate, marketplace); c) the *finis* (interpreted in this case as a definitive bordering concept) is a place where two delegations meet each other, similar to the point where Rome and Alba’s fighters duelled. These meeting points may have been within the *fines*, where the fetials had a kind of ‘special’ access; d) from a wider perspective, is the fact that, at the end of the war with Veii – which started in 407 B.C. with this episode of the fetials – Rome had not just won a war, but extended to the Veientine territory, which became *ager Romanus*, a permanent part of the Roman land in 396 B.C.⁹⁹¹ This was the end of a long process, which was started by Romulus with Caenina, followed by the ‘peaceful’ acquisition of Alba and culminated in the depopulation and envelopment of Veii into the Roman domain.

4.4 Evolution of the fetial ritual

This section aims to investigate the substantial change in fetial procedure which occurred in the 3rd century B.C. I will explain in depth the modifications to the procedure, which will be briefly analysed throughout, to locate the main connections between fetials and *fines*. The most important focus of research will be on the analysis of the spear-throwing ceremony, related to questions of the continuous territory as the sea seems to have been a problem for the Roman attitude. Comparisons between the two previous sections and the one following will also be crucial for this purpose.

⁹⁹⁰ Liv. 4.58.1-8, 60.9. Livy also gives bare reports of war declarations against Labici in 411 B.C. (4.45.7) and the Volsinienses and Sapinates in 392 B.C. (5.31.5). Rich 2011b:219.

⁹⁹¹ Cornell 1995:310.

4.4.1 Change of procedure⁹⁹²

Scholars have struggled to understand the difference between the ritual of *ius fetiale* and that of striking oaths: two different procedures, which Livy distinguishes clearly.⁹⁹³ While the procedure for concluding treaties seems to have been affected in a minor way by this change,⁹⁹⁴ three main innovations seem to have occurred in performing declarations of war: the spear-throwing ceremony, the change or substitution of the *fetiales* with *legati* and a general revision of the written formula. Harris states that there was no practical reason to preserve the old formulae after 281 B.C., the date at which they probably went out of use, affirming, moreover, that “the Livian version is betrayed by certain anachronisms”.⁹⁹⁵ This is clear proof that the two elements, practical ritual and oral formula, have been conflated. Because of this, the argument appears to be quite confused regarding when these changes happened. In Freys’ opinion, for example, this ‘new’ procedure was introduced at the start of the Second Punic War, yet by this time the old *ius fetiale* was considered obsolete.⁹⁹⁶

Different reasons have been provided to justify such a change in procedure. One suggestion is that, as Rome’s domain expanded in the regal period, the fetial ritual for demanding restitution may have been employed only in respect of Latin communities and any other of Rome’s neighbours who possessed

⁹⁹² For a general discussion about the changes in the Fetial ritual procedure, Rich 1976:56-60, 104-7.

⁹⁹³ D. Musti (1970:76) does not consider the Livian distinction so clear. Instead he notes a rather bad attempt at blending the two rituals.

⁹⁹⁴ Cf. Liv. 30.43.9 and the treaty with Carthage.

⁹⁹⁵ Harris 1979:168. The problem of transmission is often evaded (e.g. Catalano 1965:1, 37 n. 76). Latte argued (1960:5, n. 1; 37-8, 121, n. 2) that ‘modernisation’ of language might be not a matter, and there has been mistaken criticism that ‘*audiat fas*’ is an impossible phrase for the early period, since *fas* is always a predicate until Livy and Fraenkel (1957:289 n. 1) accepted this argument; cf. Fraenkel (1960:426), for a severe judgement on the authenticity of the fetial formulae; but it rests in large part on the arbitrary exclusion of Accius *Trag.* 585R (*‘ibi fas, ibi cunctam antiquam castitudinem’*). However the phrase *‘puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consentio consciscoque’* (Liv. 1.32.12) is highly suspect. The question of the authenticity of the foedus-making formula in Liv. 1.24 is separate, as is the question of the secular prayer, since in those cases there were reasons to preserve the old wording. There was every reason to refurbish the war-declaring procedure at Livy’s time (Cass. Dio 1.4.4-5). Ogilvie (1965:129), however, argues that it was put into its present form in the second century.

⁹⁹⁶ Frey & Frey 1999:42.

fetials.⁹⁹⁷ Some scholars are not convinced,⁹⁹⁸ however, that the enlargement of Rome's domain could have been responsible for such a sudden diminishing of the fetials' significance. And if this were the case, her 'non-Italic' enemies⁹⁹⁹ would no longer have been able to share in the fetial institution. In fact, the *ius fetiale* was used in diplomatic relationships with Palaepolis,¹⁰⁰⁰ showing that the fetials were also sent to a Greek community that, as far as we know, did not share the same ritual. The suggestion that Rome's growth made their procedure unintelligible just because they had dominion over culturally distant peoples seems incomprehensible.¹⁰⁰¹

It is generally held, however, that the overall procedure of fetials' declaration of war was modified when Rome became involved in overseas hostilities,¹⁰⁰² an idea which seems more plausible. It is also possible that the whole procedure became increasingly difficult to apply, and no longer practical, as Rome's *imperium* continued to extend outside the narrow circle of surrounding cities, communities and states. Under fetial law, the Senate was obliged to send emissaries with Rome's demands to enemy states and wait 33 days for a response.¹⁰⁰³ Yet, because of the distances involved in travel between Rome and the potential enemy, the journey for the *fetiales* often took longer than 30 days.¹⁰⁰⁴ So perhaps we should ask whether the question of an eventual inapplicability of the ritual was due to the issue of distance, or the fact that expanding *finis* no longer abutted enemies' territories. Probably to the Romans' eye, the 'immanent' idea of *imperium* clashed with the physical presence within the territory.

⁹⁹⁷ Rich 2011b:217.

⁹⁹⁸ Frey & Frey 1999:42; Ando 2003:235.

⁹⁹⁹ Matthaei 1907:182, 201.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Liv. 8.22.8. in 327 AD.

¹⁰⁰¹ Warrior 2006:59.

¹⁰⁰² See Besta 1946:9, 15; Ogilvie 1965:110-12, 127-36. This theory can properly be attributed to F. W. Walbank (1949); see also Walbank 1937:192; 1941:87; Bederman 2001:237.

¹⁰⁰³ Bellamy 2006:19.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Warrior 2006:59.

4.4.1.1 The ritual of spear throwing

Aside from changes to the formulae and the fetials' new status of *legati*, another significant development concerns the spear-casting ceremony. The most evident aspect of this changing practice, for my investigation, is the drastic revolution in the spear-throwing ceremony, which originally took place into the enemy's *finis*. As Livy overlooks and ignores an episode which is key to our investigation, I require the use of a different source – Servius.¹⁰⁰⁵ As soon as the Romans subjugated the Samnites, the experience of their first transmarine war forced Rome to adapt the ritual, since it was impossible “to find a place where they could perform through the fetials this ritual of declaring war” (“*nec invenirent locum, ubi hanc sollemnitatem per fetiales indicendi belli celebrarent*”).¹⁰⁰⁶ In 281 B.C., during the war against Pyrrhus, the ritual was modified, most likely because his domains were across the Adriatic. Having captured a Pyrrhic mercenary, the Romans forced the prisoner of war to buy a plot of land adjacent to the temple of Bellona near the Circus Flaminius.¹⁰⁰⁷ The purchased area, lying on the southern Campus Martius and outside the *pomerium*, was marked off as “*quasi in hostili loco*” (“as if in hostile or enemy territory”). The ritual stretched to ‘foreign soil’ into which the spear was cast, satisfying the *ius fetiale* as a means of declaring war.¹⁰⁰⁸ From this point on, that

¹⁰⁰⁵ Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52: *PRINCIPIUM PUGNAE hoc de Romana sollemnitate tractum est. Cum enim volebant bellum indicere, pater patratus, hoc est princeps fetialium, proficiscebatur ad hostium fines, et praefatus quaedam sollemnia, clara oce dicebat se bellum indicere propter certas causas, aut quia socios laeserant, aut quia nec abrepta animalia, ec obnoxios redderent. Et haec clarigatio dicebatur a claritate vocis. Post quam clarigationem hasta in eorum iness missa indicabatur iam pugnae principium. [Schol. Dan.] Post tertium autem et tricesimum diem quam res repetissent ab hostibus, fetiales hastam mittebant. Denique cum Pyrrhi temporibus adversum transmarinum ostem bellum Romani gesturi essent nec invenirent locum, ubi hanc sollemnitatem per fetiales indicendi belli celebrarent, dederunt operam, ut unus de Pyrrhi militibus caperetur, quem fecerunt in circo Flaminio locum mere, ut quasi in hostili loco ius belli indicendi impleant. Denique in eo loco ante aedem Bellonae consecrata st columna. Varro in Caleno ita ait duces cum primum hostilem agrum introituri erant, ominis causa prius astam in eum agrum mittebant, ut castris locum caperent. Ergo bene hoc poeta de more Romano tractum urno utpote duci dedit. Sed in hac consuetudine fetialis, qui bellum indicebat, antequam hastam iaceret, tiam terram hostium contestabatur: unde quidam volunt Aenean scientem quod bellum gesturus esset, sicut a sibylla cognoverat, ubi ad Italiae partem debitam venit, primum adorasse terram, ut geniumque loci rimamque deorum Tellurem.*

¹⁰⁰⁶ Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.53.

¹⁰⁰⁷ For Ando (2003:236) the piece of land purchased would have been *in* the Circus Flaminius and not next to it.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.203-8; Suet. *Claud.* 25. 5; Paul. Fest. 30L, s. *Vellona*; Plac. P. 14.2.

plot, which belonged to the Epirote mercenary, became the definitive area where the later altered ritual would be executed. From 281 B.C., the fetials would stand by the temple of Bellona and hurl the spear into the consecrated soil around a small column (*columna bellica*)¹⁰⁰⁹ intended to represent, from that time forward, the enemy territory.¹⁰¹⁰ Bederman assumes that the Romans performed this clever legal fiction, as if they symbolically threw the spear across the sea, because they wished to begin offensive operations immediately against the Epirote king.¹⁰¹¹ It was a practical, legalistic solution to avoid the fetials having to leave Rome and to declare war in the shortest time possible. The Romans, after all, were able to accommodate their ‘metaphysical geography’ and legal/religious pressure through legalised ‘diversions’, as Ando effectively identifies.¹⁰¹²

This conceptual procedural revolution described by Servius affects our inquiry if we compare his account with the Livian one. In fact, as we have seen, Livy says that the spear had to be hurled into enemy territory, within their borders (*hastam in fines eorum*).¹⁰¹³ Rome figuratively moved the enemy’s territory within the city herself and marked the *fines* of the plot.¹⁰¹⁴ By forcing a captured soldier to purchase a piece of land, thus turning it into ‘hostile land’, Rome abstracts “the category ‘enemy territory’ from multiple particulars”.¹⁰¹⁵ But, as Wiedemann has pungently noted, there are three things about Servius’ story that make it fictitious, an “aetiological myth intended to explain a particular ritual”.¹⁰¹⁶ The first is that the story implies war had already broken out; otherwise it would have been impossible for Rome to capture an enemy soldier. The second problem was that Roman law prohibited a non-citizen, much less an enemy, from owning real property.¹⁰¹⁷ To have allowed the Epirote prisoner to have made this

¹⁰⁰⁹ Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52. The story of the forced sale of land at the Circus Flaminius was repeated in Ovid *Fasti* 333-35. A briefer version of the story is given in the glossary at Placidus (Lindsay, *Glars. Lan* 4.55). Samter 1909:6.2264; Bailey 1932:156-7; Fowler 1911:434. See also Latte 1960:122, n.3. De Francisci 1952.

¹⁰¹⁰ Rehak 2001:196, n.67; Sumi 2005:210; Warrior 2006:59.

¹⁰¹¹ Bederman 2001:237-8.

¹⁰¹² Ando 2003:235.

¹⁰¹³ Liv. 1.32.24.

¹⁰¹⁴ Wiedemann 1986:481.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ando 2011:61-2.

¹⁰¹⁶ Wiedemann 1986:481.

¹⁰¹⁷ Wiedemann 1986:481, n.13.

transaction, he would have had to have been manumitted, and then given Roman citizenship. All of this would have meant that the property he bought would not have been invested with enemy character. The third problem with Servius' account is that, technically speaking, Rome did not declare war against Pyrrhus. The Romans opened hostilities against Tarentum, for whom Pyrrhus was hired as a mercenary commander with his troops. Why did the Romans, therefore, need to perform the spear-throwing ritual and proceed with a formal declaration if they had been already attacked by Pyrrhus? The easiest answer is that they had not previously performed the ritual against Tarentum.¹⁰¹⁸ Throwing a spear into the Tarentine territory should, therefore, have been a straightforward choice.¹⁰¹⁹

4.4.1.2 The formula

It has also been assumed that the formula for the fetials ritual outlined by Livy may have undergone a period of disuse at the end of the Republic although, in any event, it was current again from the time of Augustus.¹⁰²⁰ Ando argues that in his (hypothetical) antiquarian reconstruction, the fetials' ritual originated in a period when Rome fought wars of purely local significance.¹⁰²¹ Since the nature of the *rerum repetitio* had changed in the early 3rd century, the ceremony cannot have been invented along the lines of later practice.¹⁰²² The fetial college was probably subjected to a revival of antiquarian tradition, to which Livy's formula belongs.¹⁰²³ At that time, the Romans were looking to preserve the purity of

¹⁰¹⁸ In 191 B.C. the Romans were attacked by Antiochus of Macedonia and his Aetolian confederates (who were supposed to be in alliance with Rome). The College of Fetials Fetials advised that there was no need for a declaration under such circumstances. See Liv. 36.3.7. See also Oost 1954 (on whether war was properly declared against Jugurtha). See Digest (49.15.7.1: Proclus *Letters* 8): Digest at 891 (49.15.21.1; Ulpian. *Opinions* 5). W.V. Harris (1979:166-7) has read Cicero (*De Off.* 1.11.36) as implying that the fetial procedure need not be used "if the enemy was not especially daunting".

¹⁰¹⁹ Bederman 2001:238.

¹⁰²⁰ Koch 2003:296.

¹⁰²¹ Ando 2003:235.

¹⁰²² Ogilvie 1965:128.

¹⁰²³ Liv. 1.32.5. Ogilvie (1965:126) insists on the fact that this rediscovered interest in the ritual might be located in the second half of the 2nd century (Oakley 2008:312.) more probably in the 130s B.C. and not later than 120 B.C. The date of 130 B.C. is accepted by Rüpke (1992:71, n. 65). Probably, the fetial procedure for making treaties was, in this way, preserved among the more scholarly writers of the late Republic. The treaty ceremony of the fetials certainly stems

their ancestral religion in the face of the contamination of foreign cults.¹⁰²⁴ However, the presence of the ritual in early poets' and playwrights' fragments of Early Latin period might bring the date back to the second half of the 3rd century B.C., and similarities between these texts and the Livian narrative could confirm this hypothesis.¹⁰²⁵ A slightly different, more modern form of the formula, has been provided by Cincius, a younger contemporary of Varro and Cicero. L. Cincius¹⁰²⁶ applies the formula to the people of the Hermonduri,¹⁰²⁷ a formidable German tribe who in the last decades of 1st century B.C. migrated from Suebia to Elbe.¹⁰²⁸

4.4.1.3 The *legati*

In this process of ceremonial 'secularisation' at the time of the Mid-Republic, the fetials were still consulted on ritual matters, but their diplomatic tasks on war-making were assigned to senatorial *legati*. These ambassadors, who were empowered directly by the Senate or magistrates, conducted negotiations with

from Valerius Antias as shown by Rüpke 1992:70, n. 64. Although the source cannot be sure how far, Ogilvie (1965:129) would have proved that Valerius Antias and Livy (1.32.13) followed Licinius Macer, who would have unified these scattered pieces. He is mentioned in Cicero (*Verr.* 5.49) and discussed in detail by Varro and L. Cincius.

¹⁰²⁴ Rawson 1973.

¹⁰²⁵ Plautus *Amph.* 204-17 seems to have adapted the Roman form of declaring war. Originally the Fetiales attended to this function, but it was taken over fairly early by *legati*. The men for this purpose were chosen from the senators (*viros primorum principes*, 204; *eos legat*, 205; *legati*, 215), and made the demand for restitution (206-10). Only after this had been refused (213, 214) did they declare war. A comparison shows further similarities in what are evidently set formulae: cf. 213 '*superbe increpant*' (Plaut. *Amph.* 213) with '*superbe responsum reddunt*' (Liv. 1.32.3). Riess 1941:155.

¹⁰²⁶ *Libro tertio de re military* quoted by Aulus Gellius 16.4.1.

¹⁰²⁷ Hermunduri (or 'Hermunduli') is a German people with whom the Romans first had dealings in the later years of Augustus (Cass. Dio 55.10.2; Vell. Pat. 2.106.2), but were not hostile to Rome until the mid-2nd century A.D. Even if Cincius wrote as late as Augustus' reign, he is unlikely to have used the Hermunduri as his sample enemy. For other views see Rüpke 1990:1051.

¹⁰²⁸ In his account, Cincius omitted Quiritum, used *fecere* instead of *fecerunt* and added – *que* to *populus* as the normal asyndeton *s.p.q.r.* More important is the omission of the clauses (*quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque 14 Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret*; Liv. 1.32.13) either on political grounds (the legality of the senate declaring war without consulting the people and vice versa had been a source of dispute since the Jugurtine Wars or because he suspected its Latinity, as well attested (*Priscii Latini*) in the same passage. Ogilvie 1965:135-6. 5; Widermann 1986:479.

foreign powers.¹⁰²⁹ Livy records the presence of the *pater patratus*, but he contextualises the fetials, referring to them (or to any other fetials) with the diplomatic term *legatus*.¹⁰³⁰ The presence of just one *legatus* is explicable through Varro, whose usage could be considered less anachronistic than Livy's. Varro in the *De vita populi Romani* uses all three terms (*fetials*, *legati*, *oratores*) of the emissaries sent to seek restitution, although he is explicit that fetials were (in the past) sent out for this purpose.¹⁰³¹ Varro would not be influenced by the subsequent developments in the 3rd and 2nd centuries concerning declarations of war, where the ultimatum was delivered not by a *fetialis* but by a senatorial *legatus*.¹⁰³² Even in the Mid-Late Republic, the fetial procedure was only applied in special cases, and the *legati* were empowered to proceed under the same circumstances without further consultation. Harris again identifies 281/0 B.C. as the most likely date within which both the war declarations were simplified and the fetials' tasks were transferred to senatorial *legati*.¹⁰³³ In this later case, the reason for giving the fetials' diplomatic skills to the *legati* might be explained in the same way as the modification of the practical procedure: distances to overseas enemies or, more simply, the increasing remoteness of Rome's enemies.¹⁰³⁴ This might be a simplification, but it is useful to draw our attention to the fact that the territories no longer abutted each other. Over time, the war-declarations were delegated to the *legati*,¹⁰³⁵ leaving less control over war-decisions available to the Senate and People. The relevant *legatus* '*res repetivit*' also allowed that a state of war became immediate if satisfaction was not given. Yet it seems that the option of striking treaties remained with the fetials.¹⁰³⁶

¹⁰²⁹ Ogilvie 1965:128; Warrior 2006:59.

¹⁰³⁰ So in Liv. 1.32.6; 4.58.1; 9.5.4; 9.10.10; 9.11.11; 36.3.7 -10; 38.42.7.

¹⁰³¹ Varro *L.L.* 5.86. Rich 2011b:213.

¹⁰³² Ogilvie 1965:130.

¹⁰³³ Harris 1979:166.

¹⁰³⁴ McDonald & Walbank 1937:194, n. 41; Ogilvie 1965:127, 131; Harris 1979:167.

¹⁰³⁵ Cf. Mommsen 1899:2:689.

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. Varro *L.L.* 5.86.

4.4.2 Octavian as fetial

The link between Augustus, Livy and the fetials has been theoretically demonstrated by Syme.¹⁰³⁷ In associating the spear ceremony with Livy, it is now my intention to report the Livian tendencies which appear in the Augustean period.¹⁰³⁸ Through the use of secondary sources and a comparison with the previous section, [04.02] I will examine the link between the spear-hurling and the notion of transmarine war, *imperium* and *fines*, remarking on the fetial's role as covered by Octavian. Varro¹⁰³⁹ explicitly states that “through them even now a treaty is made”, implying that fetials still made treaties when he was writing, namely around 45 B.C. Livy was a contemporary of Varro's and the confirmation of a still-living fetial presence might be seen in three alliance treaties struck between Rome and Greek cities between 46 and 39 B.C. While the treaties with the Lycian League (46 B.C.) and with Cnidus (45 B.C.) do not expressly mention the fetials,¹⁰⁴⁰ their presence seems unquestionable in the senatorial decree concerning a treaty with Aphrodisias (39 B.C.).¹⁰⁴¹ If the translation and the date are correct, Octavian was involved in this treaty, by exhibiting at that time an interest in the ceremonial activities of the fetial college. The spear-throwing ceremony seemed to have disappeared from the sources after 281 B.C., until Octavian chose to resurrect it in a celebrative and more theoretical incarnation. Reynolds' arguments lend some support to the hypothesis of Wiedemann (1986) and Rüpke (1990) that the fetial ceremony for declaring war, or at least elements of it, was an invented archaising tendency by

¹⁰³⁷ Syme 1959:56.

¹⁰³⁸ Wiedemann (1986), who argues that the original function of the priesthood was to maintain and enforce treaties, and that the more flamboyant ceremony in which they declared war by hurling a spear into foreign territory (see Liv. 1.32.5-14) was very much an Augustan construct.

¹⁰³⁹ Varro *L.L.* 5.86.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The documents seem to follow a specific almost identical procedure. In each of them two Romans and two ambassadors from the other party are named. Mitchell 2005:lines 74-80; Blümel 1992:no. 33. The Romans included might have been fetials (? *pater patratus* and *verbenanus*) as they performed the swearing of the treaty by sacrifice. Rawson 1973:168,n.70 (= 1991:92, n.71); Broughton 1987:61,n. 38; Mitchell 2005:240-1, As Mitchell notes, the Roman officiants of the Lycia treaty, L. Billienus and L. Fabricius Licinus, were undistinguished.

¹⁰⁴¹ Reynolds (1982:39, 89-90, no. 8, line 85) has argued that the *themisthres* mentioned in a decree of the senate concerning the people of Aphrodisias (probably dating to 39 B.C.) must be a Greek rendering of fetials. She further suggests that the consuls mentioned in the document were exhorted by the fetials to perform a ceremony that ritually validated the treaty between Rome and Aphrodisias. The ceremony in question is the one described by Livy (1.24.4-9). Rich 2011b:194-5.

Octavian, for the purposes of declaring war in his final confrontation against Cleopatra and Mark Anthony. Regardless, he used three ways to ensure the Romans of a victorious war: firstly he publicised Antonius' will,¹⁰⁴² secondly he swore an oath of allegiance with the Italian *municipia*, the Senate and the People of Rome, and most importantly, he revived the fetial procedure, performing the outdated ritual of spear-casting.¹⁰⁴³ In October 32 B.C., Octavian involved members of the senate, outfitted for war in military cloaks, meeting them at the Temple of Bellona. Here, he set himself in fetial character and staged the ceremony in the Campus Martius, perhaps even throwing the traditional spear to the *columna bellica* himself.¹⁰⁴⁴ The historian Dio, our only source at this juncture, does not actually state whether Octavian hurled a spear or not. But Sumi rightly identifies this ceremony as a revival as part of a larger religious project, which continued into the Principate of Augustus.¹⁰⁴⁵ In my opinion, Octavian's ceremony was not just a symbolic gesture to impress the people of Rome, as Rehak and Younger suggest.¹⁰⁴⁶ The ceremony as a whole contained other purposes, deserving its importance, as Sumi states, since it could serve, for example, to mask the reality of the already ongoing civil wars that Octavian claimed to have concluded in 36 B.C.¹⁰⁴⁷ However, we cannot agree with the same scholar when he affirms that Octavian was not another member of the fetial college,¹⁰⁴⁸ since it is expressly attested in the *Res Gestae*.¹⁰⁴⁹ Neither can we limit the ritual of spear throwing to merely sanctioning Octavian's status as eventual leader and supreme general in leading his troops into battle, as Rüpke remarks. Octavian seems rather to repeat that 'act of possession' which was performed by Alexander the Great in

¹⁰⁴² The will was unlawfully taken from the Temple of Vesta, damning contents at a meeting of the senate and then in an oath before the Roman people (Cass. Dio 50.3.4).

¹⁰⁴³ *RE* 25; Cass. Dio 50.4.4-5. Bailey 1932:156-7; Fowler 1911:434; Lott 1996:268-9; Ogilvie 1965:128-9; Ando 2003:235; Frey & Frey 1999:44.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cf. Liv. 1.32.5-14; Ovid *Fasti* 6.205-7; RG 4.7. Rehak 2001:196; Rich 2011b:205.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Sumi 2005:211; Millar 1973:61, cf. Wiedemann 1986:479 ff.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Rehak & Younger 2006:119.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Sumi 2005:211; Cass. Dio 50.4.5. See also Volkmann 1958:169-70; Kearsley 1999:57; cf. Reynolds (1982:82) who discusses the propaganda campaign against Cleopatra.

¹⁰⁴⁸ We know very little about the activity of the fetial college in the imperial period; see Hoffman-Lewis 1955:138-39; Scheid 1978:640.

¹⁰⁴⁹ RG 7: "FETIALIS FUI..."

throwing a spear into Asian soil, claiming its conquest at the beginning of his campaign.¹⁰⁵⁰

Octavian was not interested in some sort of treaty or agreement, as he overlooked and neglected the previous passages of the *ius fetiale* ritual on purpose. The declaration of war was straightforwardly against Cleopatra.¹⁰⁵¹ After all, we do not have evidence that any member of the college was actually sent to Alexandria to claim *rerum repetitio*, as tradition demanded. Performing this ritual, he represented the coming campaign against Antonius and Cleopatra as against a foreign state, the last unconquered or uncontrolled state of the Mediterranean basin. Octavian claimed, amongst other purposes and defending the interest of Rome and the whole of Italy, the possession of Egypt for himself.¹⁰⁵² The presence of this fetial ceremony, the spear-throwing rite, might therefore have put Octavian into a different and extra-legal status at this time. If so, it could have provided a public and ritual-based legitimation of his position¹⁰⁵³ and also of something that he desired almost as a personal

¹⁰⁵⁰ The ritual of spear throwing was also associated with Alexander, who performed a similar ritual upon his arrival in Asia (Wiedemann 1986:483). Justin 11.5.10; cf. Diod. 17.17.2; Zahrnt 1996: Alexander proclaimed the Asian soil as 'spear-won land'. Cf. Rehak & Younger 2006:119. This was an appropriate evocation for Octavian since he was also embarking on a campaign in the East. It further removed the present campaign from the sphere of civil war and placed it firmly in that of foreign war and especially world conquest—another confrontation between the forces of the West against the East. In other words, the spear throwing simply confirmed the basic meaning and purpose of the ceremony as a whole. This procedure was already known in the epic poems: Protesilaus or Achilles would have been the example for Alexander at the commencement of the War of Troy, while in the Aeneid, Turnus starts the battle, throwing one single javelin to the enemies. Virg., *Aen.* 9.52s.: (...) *et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras,/ principium pugnae*. Turelli 2008:526. The same procedure is also present in the Nordic sagas as Eyrbyggja Saga during the feud between Snorre gode and Steinthor about the end of the 10th century in Iceland: see York Powell 1890.

¹⁰⁵¹ Rüpke (1990:105-7) makes this claim, following the words of Wiedemann 1986, who has argued that the rite of spear throwing in particular was the element of the ceremony that Octavian reinvented.

¹⁰⁵² See e.g. Kleiner 2005:133.

¹⁰⁵³ One other point of interest in this ceremony, which has been neglected in other discussions, deserves our attention. The columns: *bellica*, a small column located in front of the Temple of Bellona, was an important feature of the city's topography and figured in the Fetial ceremony (Ov. *Fast.* 6.205-S). Platner & Ashby 1929:131. According to Festus (30L: *Columella quae bellieca vocabatur, super quam hastam iacebant, cum bellum indicebatur*), the spear was hurled over this column before landing in the area of the Circus Flaminius, which had been designated enemy territory. If the column was already in existence when Octavian performed the Fetial ceremony in 32 B.C., it is hard to believe that the history surrounding this ceremony, as Servius relates it, would have been unknown. In other words, the existence of the *columna bellica* in 32 B.C. would be evidence for the existence of the tradition surrounding the Fetial ceremony, including the rite of throwing a spear into enemy territory. Thus, this rite could not have been a wholly invented archaism on the part of Octavian.

possession.¹⁰⁵⁴ In some way, the statement given by Augustus in his *Res Gestae* confirms the conception of a new conquest, when a new state was conquered or encompassed in Rome's domains. Augustus himself states that he:

*OMNIUM PROV[INCIARUM POPULI ROMANI], QUIBUS FINITIMAE FUERUNT GENTES QUAE NON P[ARERENT IMPERIO NOS]TRO, FINES AUXI.*¹⁰⁵⁵

Extended the *finēs* of all the provinces which were bordered by races not yet subject to our empire.

The paradox is that Augustus did not include Egypt in this sort of extension of provincial borders; he actually initiated a brand new conquest, as confirmed in the next paragraphs of his *Res Gestae*:¹⁰⁵⁶ "I added Egypt to the 'Empire' of the Roman people" (*AEGYPTUM IMPERIO POPULI ROMANI ADIECI*). Following the newest tradition looking to Augustus, the spear-hurling ceremony was once more a formal/symbolic act, performed in Rome and not on the real *finēs* after the ancient tradition.¹⁰⁵⁷

4.4.3 Function through history: war declarers or treaty makers

This following short digression aims to clarify the features of the fetials' treaty activity from the second half of the 3rd century B.C. and the overseas territorial acquisitions for Rome. This section shows the interaction of the fetials with Rome's enemies and demonstrates the evolution of their role. As shown in the next three chapters, from this point in Roman history, the function of the fetials was exclusively related to treaties and agreements. Often, the clauses of such

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sumi 2005:211-2.

¹⁰⁵⁵ RG 26.

¹⁰⁵⁶ RG 27.

¹⁰⁵⁷ There are only two attested instances of the Fetial ceremony from the Imperial period: the one under Claudius and that of Marcus Aurelius in 178 AD, prior to his campaign on the northern frontier. Under the Principate, the emperor Claudius, a scrupulous observer of the Roman religious traditions, concluded some important treaties with foreign kings. In the role of *pater patratus*, the antiquarian emperor Claudius sacrificed a sow in the Roman Forum following the ancient discipline (Suet. Claud. 25.5.). It seems that the fact that he also enclosed the Aventine within the pomerium could be linked with an overall control of the Emperor over the borders (*finēs*) (Aul. Gell. 13.14.7; Suet. Claud. 25.12) Ando 2003:237; Rehak & Younger 2006:119. Then, probably the last attestation of a use of the fetiales as war declarers came in 178 AD, when Marcus Aurelius used them in the war against the Scythians (Cass. Dio 71.33.3.). Samter 1909:6.2264.

treaties included the bordering practices from a figurative, real and material point of view.[7.3] Since this procedural reinvention, however, the functions of the fetials seem to have changed or, more specifically, became more limited. The tasks and main features of *ius fetiale*,¹⁰⁵⁸ particularly those regarding the declaration of war, were curbed and, as we have seen, restricted to a ceremonial fiction. Such new procedures are only known to have been applied on a few highly important occasions – to declare war against Carthage (probably in 264 B.C.) certainly in 238 and 218 B.C.,¹⁰⁵⁹ against Philip V, and in the attack on Perseus.¹⁰⁶⁰ The procedure was also used against Antiochus III in 191 B.C. and war-declaration carried out against the Aetolians.¹⁰⁶¹ After 171 B.C., the fetial procedure for declaring war seems not to have been recorded, disappearing entirely from historical sources until its reappearance with Augustus.¹⁰⁶²

This situation was noted by Polybius, who records only an ephemeral trace of the original procedure that survived in his days (βραχύ τι ἵχνης),¹⁰⁶³ implying that the fetials played little or no role in declaring war in the mid-second century.¹⁰⁶⁴ On the contrary, the new Roman process of transmarine expansion put her in contact with new international laws and the fetials likely maintained

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cic. *Off.* 1.36; Liv. 9.9.3; Arnob. 2.67; CIL I²:202, XLI. Dion. Hal. 2.73, Cic. *Leg.* 2.21.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The five treaties that Polybius claims are authentic were signed in 509, 348, 279 or 278, 241, and 226 B.C., while the one he states to have been false was allegedly signed in 306 B.C. The treaties of 509 and 348 B.C. are virtually identical. Carthage was negotiating with Rome as a stronger power and therefore dictated most of the terms. Cf. Serrati 2011.

¹⁰⁶⁰ On the fetials in the war declaration to Perseus, see: Walbank 1941:85-7 and spec. 91; Rich 2011b:225.

¹⁰⁶¹ Liv. 36.3.7-12.

¹⁰⁶² Matters came to a head in early 172 B.C., when the Senate was addressed by a Macedonian representative and by king Eumenes of Pergamum, who attacked Perseus. Late in 172 B.C. a Roman embassy led by Q. Marcius Philippus toured Greece in order to strengthen the Roman position there. During their stay the embassy held a meeting with Perseus at his request, at which it was agreed that Perseus should send a further embassy to Rome. It was at that point that the Senate decided to declare war, but the implementation of the decision was postponed until the consuls of 171 B.C. entered office. This Macedonian embassy was received by the Senate during the consular year 171 B.C., but achieved nothing and the war then went ahead. The assembly had already voted for war before this final embassy was given audience. As reported by Livy, the motion put to the assembly listed Roman grievances and provided for war to begin against Perseus 'unless he should have given satisfaction about those matters' (*nisi de eis re us satisfecisset*). S.I. Oost (1954:147-9) failed, in spite of some good observations, to show that fetial procedure was used against Jugurtha. Harris 1979:167; Bellamy 2006:19; Bederman 2001:195-6.

¹⁰⁶³ Polyb. 13.3.7.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Cf. Ando 2003:235.

only their key role as treaty-makers. After all, by this time Rome probably understood that she was able to obtain evident benefits by actually averting wars and concluding advantageous treaties.¹⁰⁶⁵ The treaties struck by fetials certainly might have brought potential benefits, but those treaties seem to have been struck not in a 'regime of equity', where both parties had the same rights, but rather in Rome's position of military supremacy over the enemy: it would have occurred either after the victory over an enemy or through a formal procedure of war declaration. In this case, the demands of *rerum repetitio* were normally made in the expectation that the requests would be refused. Rome requested either the surrender of key territory, or the payment of a huge amount, or a sort of protectorate (*deditio*).¹⁰⁶⁶ Two instances of its use are known with certainty to have occurred in the latter half of the third century. A fragment from Naevius' epic on the First Punic War, which reports the ritual of taking the *sagmina*, should be viewed with reference to the peace treaty of 241 B.C.¹⁰⁶⁷ At the end of this war, Rome obtained material advantages by imposing her rules on Carthage, commanding the abandonment and the Roman annexation of Sicily and the islands between Sicily and Italy. In the latter case, Rome shortly after put forward an official *res repetendum* to Carthage. Learning of the Roman intentions, the Carthaginians, now free of their difficulties in Africa, resisted these claims on the grounds that Sardinia was theirs and

¹⁰⁶⁵ Rüpke's view that the fetials only gained responsibility for treaties at that point is unfounded. See Rüpke 1990:111-6. Sceptical is Rawson (1973:167-171 = Rawson 1991:91-2) who finds that the fetials played no role in treaty-making or other ritual activities before the revival in the late 2nd century B.C.

¹⁰⁶⁶ According to Livy (10.12. 1-3), the Samnites were demanded to leave Lucania, Rome having just made an alliance with the Lucanians in order to provoke war; but the source cannot be relied on to have reported the *rerum repetitio* correctly or in full. The demands made to Tarentum in 281 B.C. are given in App. *Samn.* 7.2 (cf. 7.3); Zonar. 8.2 included the surrender of political leaders. This latter kind of demand may have been common (cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 207). The demand of 218 B.C. (Polyb. 3.20.6-10, which is to be preferred to Liv. 21.18.2) was to surrender Hannibal. In 200 Rome demanded that Philip V should not make war on any Greek state or intervene in the Ptolemaic possessions, and that he should submit to arbitration against Attalus and Rhodes (Polyb. 16.34.3). Rome had decided on war and had not the slightest expectation that these demands would be met.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Naevius (*Bell. Poen.* 4. fr. 35B): '*Scopas atque verbenas sagmina sumpserunt*' ('To make the tufts of holy herbs, they took twigs and sacred branches'). There can have been no fetial involvement in the outbreak of the war: Rich 1976:117-27. The Naevius' fragment must refer to fetials (*contra* Rüpke 1990:102,n.24), since only they used *sagmina* (cf. Ferrary 1995:418). Cf. Eckstein 1980:175-7; Skutsch 1985:386-7. More important is the contribution from Schwarte 1972. Rich 2011b:195.

prepared an expedition against the island.¹⁰⁶⁸ However, in 238 or 237 B.C.,¹⁰⁶⁹ severe internal economic difficulties compelled Carthage to avert war with Rome by accepting her demands. Perhaps unexpectedly, Carthage agreed to surrender, transferring Sardinia and Corsica to the Roman orbit of influence and paying in reparation 1,200 extra talents.¹⁰⁷⁰ [5.4.1] So far, we have seen only one instance in which a State has conceded to the *res repetitae*. For this reason, the jurisdiction of the fetial priests in terms of the striking of treaties was probably extended and improved for the purposes of reducing the amount of time taken.¹⁰⁷¹

The treaties cited above might represent evidence of an extension of Roman dominion applied to non-abutting territories, facilitated by the presence of the fetials.¹⁰⁷² The treaties, after all, did not need to be stipulated in a brief span of time and the procedure could take longer. The fetials who presided over the ratification ceremony would convey the written text back to Rome, after which the Senate and People of Rome would ratify it again.¹⁰⁷³ Although I agree with the point made by Meyer that the creation of Roman treaties was a complex procedure established in the Republic, I cannot agree with his subsequent claim that treaties “differ in their *leges*, but all are made the same way”.¹⁰⁷⁴ Livy, for instance, records the earliest treaty between Rome and Alba Longa, which does not resemble any later treaty. The fact that early treaties contained the original idea of *foedus*, a perpetual peace and union, made sense when supervised by a fetial institution. They were guarantors of peace at the outset and also served

¹⁰⁶⁸ Polyb. 1.88.9.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The exact date is controversial and does not concern us here. One tradition, represented by Dio Cassius (Zonar. 8.18) and Sinius Capito (*ap. Paul. Fest.* 322L, s. “*Sardi uenales*”), attributed it to Ti. Gracchus, the consul of 238 B.C. But there may be some confusion between this Gracchus and his grandson who operated in Sardinia in 177 B.C. (cf. Täubler 1921:20, 32-4) and the Livian tradition (Eutrop. 3.2) puts the annexation under the consuls for 237 B.C. Polybius (3.10.1) dates the affair after the conclusion of the Mercenary War, which lasted three years and four months (1.88.9); but whether this should be calculated from autumn, 241 B.C., to the end of 238 B.C. (De Sanctis 1907:3.1396, n. 30) or from the beginning of 240 B.C. to the early summer of 237 B.C. (Meyer 1902:383,n.2) is uncertain. Polybius may therefore have dated the Sardinian incident late in 238 (Meltzer 1879:2.387) or early in 237 B.C.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See Harris 1979:167-68; Bederman 2001:239-40; Walbank 1949:15-6.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ando 2011:41.

¹⁰⁷² C. Saulnier (1980:186-191) and Wiedemann (1986:486-488) have also maintained that the fetial preliminaries of war were used only for States with which Rome had treaties.

¹⁰⁷³ See Liv. 9.5. See also Saulnier 1980:181-83; Bederman 2001:195.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Meyer 2004:95.

as a neutral arbitrator in cases of dispute over whether one party had breached its duties as in the later cases of the Ebro and Apamea.¹⁰⁷⁵ [5.2; 7.1.3] Livy has attested that the fetials were despatched to Africa in 201 B.C. to conclude the peace with Carthage through a treaty which ended the Second Punic War,¹⁰⁷⁶ [FIG 21] a ceremony that is often depicted on golden coins of the late 2nd century B.C.¹⁰⁷⁷ The Polybian version of the same treaty seems to present particular problems, however, because he was misled into comparing the last treaty with the previous two.¹⁰⁷⁸ In Polybius' mind, the first treaty was sworn by 'Jupiter Stone', according to an ancient custom, and the later treaties by Mars and Quirinus.¹⁰⁷⁹ However, he confuses the fetial sacrifice of the piglet hit by a flint (*silex*) with an entirely separate oath to *Jovem Lapidem*.¹⁰⁸⁰ It may be, therefore, that in the middle of the 2nd century the exact formulae were not common knowledge and they had to be resurrected by a later generation.¹⁰⁸¹ The existence of two different formulae in Livy, one for the oaths/treaties (1.24) and the other for war declaration (1.32), may point to an overlapping of the two formulae. However, the fetials' new function would not have changed substantially. They might have been the instruments of Roman territorial acquisitions made through the new ritual formula of the spear-hurling or the striking of treaties.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Wiedemann 1987:488.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Liv. 30.43.9. Livy's wording implies that multiple flints were taken rather than the single stone from the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, perhaps a procedural change for the overseas journey. See for the connective link between fetials and the treaties with Carthage in Livy: Schwarte 1972; Rich 2011b:195.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Sydenham 1952:nos. 69, 527, 619.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Polyb. 3.25.6-9 cf. Liv. 3.25.6 with Walbank's (1937) note: 279 B.C.

¹⁰⁷⁹ A single instance has been cited of the association of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus in the rite of the fetiales. Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.663. Cf. Ryberg 1931:152; Gjerstad 1967:264.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Paul. Fest. 102L. 'Jupiter Stone' prayed that if he perjured himself he might be cast out like the stone and then threw the stone away. Polybius, then, shows no knowledge of the fetials and reports treaty rituals quite different from theirs. However, at least in respect of the 'Jupiter Stone' oath, he appears to be in error: this is well attested elsewhere as an especially solemn oath, but always as taken by individual Romans, and it seems inappropriate for a treaty, since it binds only the swearer, not the Roman people. So Reid 1912:50-2; Ogilvie 1965:110; Vaahtera 2000:256-7; Rich 2011b:194. See Cic. *Pam.* 7.12.2; Plut. *Suil.* 10.7; Oell. *NA* 1.21.4; Paul. Fest. 102L; Apul. *Deo Soc.* 5. See also now Richardson 2010.

¹⁰⁸¹ Another set of scholars have adopted a different viewpoint as to the role of the fetials in Roman treaty-making in the period between 250 and 100 B.C. They concede that, while the political influence of the college of fetials may have been on the wane, they have observed the extraordinary resilience of private law contract forms in the ratification ceremony presided over by the fetials; cf. Watson 1993:31-3. Their conclusion was that, while an enforcement mechanism based on the sacerdotal power of the fetials was in desuetude, a new form of obligation [based on contract] was being developed. Cf. Bederman 2001:195-6.

4.4.4 Wars in the Balkans

As we have seen, the fetials¹⁰⁸² carried out a form of their war-declaring procedure on a number of occasions during the wars of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries. However, the *rerum repetitio* evolved into an exchange between embassies of proposals and counterproposals.¹⁰⁸³ We have very little evidence on treaty formalities in the 2nd century, but we may assume that the fetials continued to be used to solemnise treaties authorised by the Senate and People, either at Rome or overseas as required.¹⁰⁸⁴ Livy's notices, however, may be incomplete, both for the Regal Period / Early Republic¹⁰⁸⁵ and in the Mid-Late Republic, as indeed the procedure was probably used more often than Livy tells us.¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁸² On the *fetiales* in general see most recently Dahlheim 1968:71-80. For parallels in primitive societies cf. Davie 1929:292-3.

¹⁰⁸³ Cf., e.g., the protracted negotiations and exchange of numerous missions between Rome and Antiochus III, from the summer of 196 to the late summer of 193 B.C., examined by Holleaux (1913:1) and Bickerman (1932:47). The last Roman embassy left Antiochus' court without delivering any ultimatum (as in Liv. 35.22.2).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Dahlheim (1968:177) places undue weight on our sources' silence. There is no reason to suppose the arrangements made in 201 B.C. to enable the fetials to travel overseas were not repeated. Similar provision for taking *sagmina* was presumably made in 136 B.C. to enable the surrender of Mancinus to be enacted in Spain.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Known cases: Liv. 8.22.8 (Palaeopolis in 327 B.C.), 9.45.5-8 (the Aequi in 304 B.C.), 10.12.1-3 (the Samnites in 298 B.C.), 10.45.6-8 (the Faliscans in 293 B.C.); on all these occasions, but as far as we know never again, the fetials were sent *ad res repetendas* before the formal war-decision. Cf. also Dion. Hal. 15.7-10 with Liv. 8.23.3-10.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The case of Tarentum in 282/1 B.C. was probably a crucial one. L. Postumius Megellus may possibly have been sent in 282 B.C. *ad res repetendas* (cf. Val. Max. 2.2.5, Zonar. 8.2), but he seems not to have been empowered to declare war. On the other hand the consul of 281 B.C. who began the war, L. Aemilius Barbula, was provided with a conditional declaration of war (A Samn. 7.3, Zonar. 8.2). It looks as if the essential changes in the procedure had now been made, and given the remoteness of Tarentum from Rome, it may have been precisely in 281 B.C. that the change occurred. This hypothesis accords remarkably well with the information of Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.52, according to which it was during, or probably at the start of, the war against Pyrrhus that the fetials began the custom of casting their spear not into the actual territory of the enemy, but into a piece of quasi-hostile territory in the Circus Flaminius district (Ovid *Fast.* 6.205-9). Latte (1960:122 n. 3), followed by Dahlheim (1968:175), objected that this story lacks legal logic. The complaint is that the commentator supposes that the Romans made a prisoner-of-war from Pyrrhus' army purchase a piece of land in Rome so that they could use it to declare war against Pyrrhus. The quibble is irrelevant, since religious Romans may well have continued to feel the need for a magical spear-throwing against Pyrrhus even after the war had begun. E. Rawson's (1973:167) arguments against the authenticity of the fetials' spear-throwing in Rome are scarcely relevant. Thus the first two parts of the fetial war-declaring procedure, as it is described by Livy, were replaced for practical reasons by the delivery of a conditional war-declaration by means of a legatus. The third part, the spear-throwing, would naturally be cherished by the *fetiales* and others as the most dramatic piece of magic in the whole programme; therefore it was not abolished, but adapted to the new circumstances, and this was

The decision to begin a conflict with, and the consequent declaration of war on Philip of Macedon, is one instance where the change in procedure is most evident. One of the main arguments in the discussion surrounding this is the possibility that Rome's primary concern was to begin the war when it suited her. Livy stresses the fact that Aurelius Cotta, in his defence of allies, did not cross their *finēs* (*finibus sociorum non excessisse*), in strict conformity with fetial rules.¹⁰⁸⁷ Livy's passage¹⁰⁸⁸ on the consular decision of starting the war, in my opinion, broadens the horizons of a limited and restricted focus on the fetials, who were also deeply involved in the commencement of the procedure for waging war. In 200 B.C., before the motion to declare war on Philip, the consuls were charged to address prayers to the Roman people and their Latin allies.¹⁰⁸⁹ The consuls consulted the senate as to the policy to be pursued and the allocation of provinces (*secundum rem divinam precationemque ut de re publica deque provinciis senatum consulerent*). Moreover – and more importantly – the Senate ordered the consuls to sacrifice and offer prayers to the gods, so that

done almost as soon as possible, in 280 B.C. How long the *fetiales* kept up this tradition we cannot know. Their attested later function in war-declarations is limited to giving procedural advice to magistrates (Liv. 31.8.3, 36.3.7-12). It is fairly clear that in 264 B.C. the new procedure of conditional war-declaration was used against Hiero and Carthage: see Diod. 23.1.4. C. Cichorius (1922:26-7) suggested that Naevius' line '*scopas atque verbenas sagmina sumpserunt*' (Pun. 2* [31] Strzelecki = 27 Warmimzton) referred to the declaration of war in 264 B.C., but much more probably it refers to treaty-making, either with Hiero or indeed with Carthage (cf. Schwarte 1972:206-23). A mistaken notion has spread that the change did not take place until after the end of the First Punic War (cf. Dahlheim 1968:175). This seems to have resulted from Walbank's (1949:16) convincing demonstration that the 'new' procedure was used against Carthage in 238 B.C. (see Polyb. 1.88.10-12, 3.10.3), as it was on some later occasions (see below). But though he discussed the change in procedure, Walbank for some reason neglected the earlier evidence. However, when he later came to comment on Polyb. 1.11.11, he granted that 'probably the revised procedure was employed'. Later uses of the revised fetial procedure are as follows: 218 B.C.: Polyb. 3.20.6, 21.8, 33.1-4, Liv. 21.18.1-14 (without the phrase '*ad res repetendas*'). 200 B.C.: Polyb. 16.34.3-7, Liv. 31.18.1-4; 172-1 B.C.: Liv. 42.25.1.2 reports on the embassy sent to Perseus '*ad res repetendas. renuntiandamque amicitiam*': since Nissen (1863:246-7) has sometimes been regarded as a spurious notice (1949:18). Cf. Bredehorn 1968:196-200: it is significant that after the war-decision at Rome there remained a final, though merely nominal, possibility that Perseus would meet Rome's demands (Liv. 42.30.11-31, 36.6). There seems to be no good evidence that the neo-fetial procedure was used to declare war against Queen Teuta in 230 B.C.: cf. Polyb. 2.8.8. Harris 1979:166.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Liv. 30.42.5. The invention may be modeled after the actions of Roman envoys in Greece in 172 B.C. (Liv. 42.37.1). See Bickerman 1945:143.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Liv. 31.5.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Liv. 31.5.4. "May the will and purpose of the senate and people of Rome as regards the commonwealth and the entrance upon a new war have a prosperous and happy issue both for the Roman people and for the Latin allies!" ("*quod senatus populusque Romanus de re publica deque ineundo novo bello in animo haberet, ea res uti populo Romano sociisque ac nomini Latino bene ac feliciter eveniret*").

they, through the haruspices, could give their approval through the victim's entrails, portending an extension of *finium*, victory and a triumph (*prolationem finium victoriamque et triumphum portendi*).¹⁰⁹⁰ The last passage is key for our purposes. The favour of the gods manifested in the sacrifice would bring three benefits, which are connected to each other in a way that I have already explained previously:[4.2.2] triumph, victory and *prolationem finium*. The latter is the most important aspect, as it takes priority in the Livian account. After all, the importance of the first position is stressed by the fact that Livy does not use a logically connective argument, otherwise the chronological sequence would have been: victory, *prolationem finium* and triumph. My choice not to translate the Latin is due to the fact that, while '*prolationem*' presents no difficulty, meaning extension, augmentation, expansion or enlargement, *finium*, on the other hand, has no definitive translation. While Warrior and Sage¹⁰⁹¹ have translated it as 'territory', Rev. Canon preferred the 'dominion of Rome'.¹⁰⁹² The term *fines* is used in the same context just a few lines before by Livy,¹⁰⁹³ when he clearly states that the Athenians were alarmed, and warned Rome that Phillip was approaching their borders or territory (*quae regem appropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret*). A further passage, while on the one hand confirming that the fetials were relegated simply to the role of consultant, on the other hand helps us to comprehend the relationship between fetials, declaration of war and borders/territory.¹⁰⁹⁴ In this passage, Consul Sulpicius requires suggestions or 'orders' from the fetials, as he seems undecided about the act of *belli indictio*, which now is regarded as purely formal. Philip had ignored the earlier unofficial ultimatum delivered to Nicanor at Athens¹⁰⁹⁵ and the full procedure would only

¹⁰⁹⁰ Liv. 31.5.7. Warrior 2006:58.

¹⁰⁹¹ Sage 1953.

¹⁰⁹² Canon 1905, *ad loc.*.

¹⁰⁹³ Liv. 31.5.6.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Liv. 31.8.3. The fetials were consulted by the consul on whether they would direct that the declaration of war against King Philip be delivered to him in person, or whether it was sufficient to announce it at the first fortified post in his 'territory'. The fetials replied that in whichever way he acted he would act correctly (*consultique fetiales ab consule Sulpicio, bellum quod indiceretur regi Philippo, utrum ipsi utique nuntiari iuberent, an satis esset in finibus regni quod proximum praesidium esset, eo nuntiari. fetiales decreverunt, utrum eorum fecisset, recte facturum*).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Polyb. 16.27.

serve to give him time to prepare for the war.¹⁰⁹⁶ After the People assembly had voted for war in 200 B.C.,¹⁰⁹⁷ Sulpicius consulted the fetials, who seem to have had a simpler role here as consultants. The appointed consul asked them whether the war declaration should be delivered to Philip in person or whether it was sufficient to be handed over at the first fortified site within his '*finibus regni*'. The fetials replied that either way would be correct.¹⁰⁹⁸ Consultation with the fetials about the delivery of the actual declaration of war left the consul in a position to choose freely. Livy knew that, because diplomatic *démarches* before the break with Philip had already filed a protest with him in 203 B.C., then a warning had been given to his envoys by the senate in 201 B.C., if the king was looking for war, he could have it whenever he wished.¹⁰⁹⁹ Sulpicius tried to exploit the situation by failing to convey in his question a formal declaration of war to Philip himself, and by not giving him a chance to satisfy the conditions. The impression is that the Romans started to understand that the overseas fetials' procedure would have taken too long to be accomplished, giving the enemy the chance to ready itself for war.

In 191 B.C., two more questions were addressed to the fetials. The first one is exactly the same as had already been put in 200 B.C. about the War with Philip, but this time in respect of Antiochus.¹¹⁰⁰ [7.1.2] The second was whether a separate war declaration had to be delivered to the Aetolians as well. The fetials themselves confessed their irrelevance in the procedure to international affairs, giving the consul the same response given in 191 B.C. with regard to Antiochus III and remarking as they had nine years previously:¹¹⁰¹ that it made no difference whether the declaration was delivered to him (Antiochus) in person or

¹⁰⁹⁶ The fetials did not commit themselves, perhaps because they did not either to sanction or to condemn the senate's action in sending out ambassadors without the authority of the people or maybe they were split on the issue. Briscoe 1973:77.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Liv. 31.8.3.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Meadows 1993:46, 58; Warrior 2006:58-9.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Liv. 30.26.4 and 42.10. The envoys sent to Philip *ad res repetendas* in 203 B.C. (ibid. 26.3) are those of Greek cities attacked by the king. Bickerman 1945:138.

¹¹⁰⁰ Liv. 31.8.3; 36.3.7, 9. Errington 1989:257-61; Ferrary 1995:423, n. 46. Warrior (2006:50-1) unnecessarily supposes that a separate embassy was sent direct to Macedonia to present a *rerum repetitio*. See also Rich 1976:82-7, 107-9, 226; Rich 2011b:189.

¹¹⁰¹ Liv. 31.8.3-4, 36.36.7-8.

to a military post.¹¹⁰² [7.1.2] Might we then assume that that this implies the war-declaration had to be delivered over the enemy's borders? Perhaps we can try to understand the process of declaring war and the fact that the borders could have played a crucial role in the procedure. Rich draws an interesting hypothesis: the embassy's meetings with Nicanor and Philip should be explained in terms not of the supposed fetial requirements for *rerum repetitio* and *indictio belli*, as many scholars have sought to do, but of the particular circumstances of their Aegean journey.¹¹⁰³ We can go even further with this affirmation, considering the necessity of delivering the war declaration within the enemy's borders.¹¹⁰⁴ The Senate's consultation with the fetials in 200 and 191 B.C. concerns the delivery of announcements to the enemy, rather than the spear rite. Thus the war declaration seems to maintain a link to the ancestral formula, as it shares the same function as the ancient spear-throwing act. In shifting the ritual of war from the enemy bordering areas to Rome – a ritual that may even have continued to be practised at Rome before some wars in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.¹¹⁰⁵ – the important thing was that the act of crossing the bordering areas to declare war would have been more understandable to an enemy.¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰² Liv. 36.10.7-10: *Consul deinde M'. Acilius ex senatus consulto ad collegium fetialium rettulit, ipsine utique regi Antiocho indiceretur bellum, an satis esset ad praesidium aliquod eius nuntiari, et num Aetolis quoque separatim indici iuberent bellum, et num prius societas et amicitia eis renuntianda esset quam bellum indicendum. fetiales responderunt iam ante sese, cum de Philippo consulerentur, decrevisse nihil referre, ipsi coram and ad praesidium nuntiaretur; amicitiam renuntiatam videri, cum legatis totiens repetentibus res nec reddi nec satisfieri aequum censuissent* (The consul Acilius, in compliance with a resolution of the senate, submitted two questions to the College of Fetials. One was whether the declaration of war had to be made to Antiochus personally, or whether it would be sufficient to announce it at one of his frontier garrisons. The other was whether a separate declaration of war must be made to the Aetolians and whether in that case the league of amity and alliance must first be denounced. The Fetials replied that they had already on a previous occasion, when they were consulted in the case of Philip, decided that it was a matter of indifference whether the declaration were made personally or in one of his garrison towns. As to the league of amity, they held that it was obviously denounced, seeing that after the frequent demands put forward by our ambassadors the king had neither surrendered the towns nor given any satisfaction).

¹¹⁰³ Rich 2011b:227.

¹¹⁰⁴ McDonald & Walbank (1937:195-7) are not so explicit but highlight a mistake in the procedure.

¹¹⁰⁵ Rich 2011b:207.

¹¹⁰⁶ The term *bellum indicere* was used with such flexibility that it is conceivable that some wars were 'declared' both by an announcement to the enemy and by the performance of the spear rite at Rome: cf. Rich 1976:105-7.

Chapter 5. The *finis* of Ebro (*Hiberus*)

5.1 Introduction to the Treaties of the Ebro and Apamea

The *Hiberus* (modern Ebro) is a river flowing through the Iberian Peninsula that was chosen by the Carthaginians and Romans as a natural feature to define a basic agreement between them. A treaty was struck in the second half of the 3rd century B.C., known as the ‘Treaty of Ebro’ or ‘Hasdrubal’s treaty’, after the Carthaginian general who signed it. The main clause states that the river Ebro was chosen as *finis* – and should not be crossed with ‘a view to making war’ (ἐπὶ πολέμῳ).¹¹⁰⁷ Yet the key controversy within the treaty comes from the apparent alliance between Rome and Saguntum, which lay well beyond the line of the River Ebro from the Roman perspective. Hannibal’s attack on Saguntum would be considered by the Romans as *casus belli*, although most non-Roman perspectives (ancient and modern) find it hard to understand the reasoning behind this.

Reading through Livy’s stories, one comes across numerous references to rivers and mountains, and although in a few cases Livy refers to them as *fines*, they are also cited when they are used in bordering practices and especially in interstate treaties. Two of them in particular – the Treaties of Ebro and Apamea, which are considered the closest parallel¹¹⁰⁸ – represent respectively the *casus belli* and a treaty concluding a war.¹¹⁰⁹ More specifically, in his detailed depiction of events, Livy emphasises the political value of reporting the key role the natural features played in Rome’s conflicts both with the Carthaginian and the Seleucid Empire. I will demonstrate by comparing the two treaties that

¹¹⁰⁷ Polyb. 2.13; 2.22; 3.15; 3.21; 3.27; 3.29; 3.30. Cf. Reid 1913:177.

¹¹⁰⁸ Rich 2011a:23.

¹¹⁰⁹ The comparisons between the two treaties must be taken with caution, because they were struck in two different contexts, as remarked on in the main text. Indeed, cf. the two passages of Livy in which he describes negotiations between Flamininus and Antiochus (34.58.2-3) and which contrast with the conditions imposed after Antiochus’s defeat (38.38.2-4).

Rome created a political system – a sort of ‘geo-political grid’ (my definition) – based on a series of territorial strips around herself in volatile areas.[7.5] Indeed, the Romans’ negotiations have features in common even if they refer to two different moments before and after a conflict. The phenomenon of exerting a sort of command over the allies (Marseille and Pergamum) has been described using the modern expression ‘sphere of influence’.¹¹¹⁰ Livy uses the term *imperium*, which is specifically intended to refer to a sort of extension of Rome’s power toward the Carthaginian possession in Spain and the Seleucid Empire in Asia, which radiated through the allotment of those territories to Massilia and Pergamum, respectively.¹¹¹¹

5.1.1 Aims and basis

The significance of the connection between the treaty and the river comes from their relationship with the concept of ‘*finis*’. The main aim of this chapter is the analysis of the concept of *finis* as ‘geopolitical feature’, as his account seems to provide new elements or features that could be appended to the definition of *finis*. The chapter is mainly based on two perspectives outside that of the Roman: the Greek and the Carthaginian. Polybius’ and Hannibal’s views of the ‘geopolitical features’ represent two prominent, similar conceptions; they roughly contrast Livy, helping to highlight the differences. The stages of my argument are based on diverse areas of investigation, which include: a) a basic background to the treaty; b) the reasons why the treaty was struck and the River Ebro was chosen; c) terms and clauses of the treaty; d) the involvement of other nations; e) an analysis of the Livian text and comparison with Polybius; f) the diplomatic connections between the treaty and the Second Punic War; g) the question of Saguntum; and h) the geographical issues linked with the positioning of the Ebro and Saguntum.

¹¹¹⁰ On this concept: Badian 1958:76-9.; Brunt 1990:300 (170).

¹¹¹¹ Polyb. 18.47.2, 50.8-9; Liv. 33.34.4, 39.7. In each case the Romans took the view that if the other party advanced beyond a certain point it would constitute a direct threat to themselves. However, while Hasdrubal was prepared to undertake not to cross the Ebro, Antiochus was not willing to keep out of Europe. Rich 2011a:23.

5.1.2 Premises

Livy outlines the terms of the Ebro treaty in two main passages: A) just before and B) just after the Second Punic War:

A) In the first instance, Livy tells us of the events leading up to the Second Punic War. As background to the war, Livy states the conditions of the treaty, contextualising and highlighting the figure of Hasdrubal:

*... quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperio que suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinis que mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.*¹¹¹²

...who showed marvellous skills in tempting the native tribes to join his empire, the Roman People had renewed their covenant, with the stipulation that neither side should extend its dominion beyond the Ebro, while the Saguntines, situated between the empires of the two peoples, should be preserved in independence.

B) Livy also records the same treaty in the context of the Spanish campaigns to pacify the Iberian Peninsula after the Second Punic War (197-85 B.C.). Iberians and Romans had alternating fortunes in the war: the proconsul Sempronius Tuditanus was killed and the praetor Minucius Thermus took revenge on the Hispanic chieftain Budar. In 185 B.C., the Senate sent Marcus Porcius Cato as consul with a significantly larger force to take command of the situation. The theatre of events was the Phocian colony of Emporion (modern Ampurias), where both the enemy and Cato set up their camps. The area chosen for the fort was a flat, plain 'key zone' between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. Cato's camp was under siege due to overwhelming, continuous attacks by the Iberians. So Cato started a march against the enemy camp, after reassuring his remaining Celtiberian allies of their protection. Before the attack, the consul's speech to his troops pointed out the key role of the river Ebro, highlighting its importance and the treaty which included it:

*"...patres nostri, cum in Hispania Carthaginiensium et imperatores et exercitus essent, ipsi nullum in ea militem haberent, tamen addi hoc in foedere voluerunt, ut imperii sui Hiberus fluvius esset finis; nunc cum duo praetores, cum consul, cum tres exercitus Romani Hispaniam obtineant, Carthaginiensium decem iam prope annis nemo in his provinciis sit, imperium nobis citra Hiberum amissum est".*¹¹¹³

¹¹¹² Liv. 21.2.7.

¹¹¹³ Liv. 34.13.7-08.

“Our fathers, at a time when the Carthaginians had in Spain both commanders and armies, and had themselves neither commander nor soldiers there, nevertheless insisted on its being an article of treaty, that the river Ebro should be the boundary of their empire. Now, when two praetors of the Romans, when a consul, and three armies are employed in Spain, and, for near ten years past, no Carthaginian has been in either of its provinces, yet we have lost that empire on the hither side of the Ebro”.

[FIG 25]The main points to be drawn from both passages are: a1) Livy points out the Carthaginian expansion in the Iberian Peninsula, when Hasdrubal invited the Hiberian peoples to join the Carthaginian Empire (*imperio que suo iungendis*); a2) Livy specifies that the treaty was renewed (*foedus renovaverat populus Romanus*) – which shows that there was an older treaty before the famous Ebro treaty; a3) Livy provides the basic terms of the treaty in which “neither side should extend its dominion beyond the Ebro” (“*ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus*”); and a4) “the Saguntines, situated between the Carthaginian and Roman *imperia*, should be preserved in independence” (“*Saguntinis que mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur*”); b1) Livy one more time links the River with the notion of *imperium*¹¹¹⁴ – which is crucial for our discussion – and this concept is even stronger in the second passage (B), when Livy admits that his kinsmen “had not a single soldier” (“*ipsi nullum in ea militem haberent*”), a detail that emphasises one of the features of *imperium*; b2) the concept of the Ebro having two sides (*citra*) is again stated by Livy as a main feature of the *finis*;^[2.7; 2.3.E] b3) once again Livy draws attention to the main clause of the treaty (*tamen addi hoc in foedere voluerunt*), that the River Ebro was the bordering area for both their dominions (“*imperii sui Hiberus fluvius esset finis*”).

5.2 The Ebro treaty

[FIG 27]The importance of analysing the Ebro as superimposed to a bordering concept is linked with investigations in three main areas. a) The question of Saguntum: a1) the position and the value of Saguntum from the Roman’s warlike perspective; a2) the Carthaginian and Polybian perspective on

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. Liv. 24.6.7, where the river Himera is the divider between Carthaginians’ and Syracuse’s *imperia*.

Saguntum. b) The specification of *finis*, real or nominal (Carthaginian occupation vs. Roman '*imperium*'): b1) the practical value of the river as a material barrier; b2) the theoretical value of the river Ebro as an element which also shapes the concept of *imperium*. c) The choice of limits, especially in treaties, and how they work: c1) their specific position (just after the Pyrenees from the Roman point of view or just before the Pyrenees from Hiberian/Punic point of view); c2) why the Romans gave preference to the river Ebro rather than the mountain belt of the Pyrenees as *finis*. The answers to these questions will not follow this order, but rather will be answered throughout the whole chapter.

5.2.1 Polybius and Livy

Several scholars have tried to address the controversies surrounding the Ebro treaty, using Polybius rather than Livy as a starting point.¹¹¹⁵ If we were to consider only Livy's angle, the treaty would appear linear, logical and easy to understand. Moreover, Livy provides complete and detailed explanations, which scholars consider to have been taken from Polybius and are expressed by Roman speakers in the rhetorical debates. Thus, Polybius is necessarily considered to be the first and most complete source. He purports to be an expert in international treaties, given the importance that he places on them (despite the fact that he is careless in reporting details) and, moreover, he is closer to the events and is thus assumed to be more reliable than Livy. Unfortunately, Polybius makes some statements which are problematic. His evidence does not match with that of Livy and – in several instances – he is even imprecise or inaccurate: for instance, he neglects or ignores the contextual place and date in which the treaty was concluded.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁵ See e.g. Carcopino (1953a; 1960); Scullard 1935:194; Oertel 1932:225.

¹¹¹⁶ Reid 1913:177.

5.2.2 When and why did Rome strike the treaty

One example of the problems with Polybius' narrative comes very early in his account when he stresses that, before the agreement was made, the Roman government had neglected affairs in Spain. In the same passage, he states that Rome awoke after it had 'gone to sleep' and so it began to "run on an opposite tack".¹¹¹⁷ A passage of Cassius Dio seems to contradict Polybius' statement, however. According to the imperial author, in 231 B.C. a commission was sent from Rome to Spain to inquire into the situation in the peninsula,¹¹¹⁸ although, due to the lateness of Cassius Dio and its uniqueness, this passage has been considered improbable by Reid.¹¹¹⁹ At that time, the Carthaginian domain apparently did not extend so far: the real extension of the Punic provinces in Spain did not go beyond the old *de facto* boundary of Mastia / Sexi (modern Almuñécar).¹¹²⁰ In 229 B.C., Hamilcar Barca died and his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, took his place, following a Punic "...peaceful expansion rather than conquest".¹¹²¹ Hasdrubal's successes were due more to a brilliant talent for diplomacy than to feats of arms and this 'silent' policy was probably not a cause for concern to the Romans, who paid little attention to this 'silent' expansion.¹¹²² Polybius and Livy agree on the Carthaginian chief's expertise; Livy stresses Hasdrubal's incredible skills (*mirae artis*) in convincing (*sollicitandis*) the Hiberian people to join the Carthaginian Empire (*imperio que suo iungendis*).¹¹²³ This point in fact underlines a possible admiration toward him, presenting him as an excellent man and reliable in striking the treaty. If we attempt to reconstruct Polybius' version of the events, Rome's envoys dealt directly with Hasdrubal and not with Carthage herself, presumably entering the treaty – or at least an arrangement – and meeting him at his new capital, Carthago Nova in

¹¹¹⁷ Polyb. 2.13. Cf. Reid 1913:177.

¹¹¹⁸ Cass. Dio fragm. 48a; Dio's version seems to have followed the annalists too; but his epitomiser Zonaras 8.21 preserves only the clause about Saguntum. Cf. also Liv. *Per.* 20; Oros. 4.12.

¹¹¹⁹ Reid 1913:177.

¹¹²⁰ Sumner 1968:220.

¹¹²¹ Diod. Sic. 21.1; cf. Liv. 21.2.

¹¹²² Polyb. 2.36.

¹¹²³ Liv. 21.2.7.

226/5 B.C.¹¹²⁴ Historians tend to assign the date of 226 B.C. or early 225 B.C. to the treaty merely because Polybius relates it to the Gallic threat,¹¹²⁵ and not because he clearly states a date. The outcome of this situation, as Polybius reports it, was a treaty between the Romans and Hasdrubal, which affected the relations of the Romans and Carthaginians in Spain.

Polybius states a crucial clause for understanding the nature of the treaty: the Carthaginians should not undertake to cross the Ebro 'with arms'.¹¹²⁶ Apparently this was the only clause that forbade the Carthaginians to cross the river in arms and thus limited their military position to the region south of the Ebro.¹¹²⁷ On the other hand, the treaty might have excluded the Carthaginians from commercial activity to the same extent as it did military and political activity in Italy.¹¹²⁸ After all, 'with a view to making war' presumes that the Carthaginians could have access to their mercantile interests on the north side of the river.¹¹²⁹ The principle of moving armed forces with warlike intentions was probably applied to both parties – as reported also by Appian, who probably followed Polybius.¹¹³⁰ Despite the fact that it is clear none of the contracting

¹¹²⁴ Reid 1913:177; Sumner 1968:228.

¹¹²⁵ Errington 1970:34; Richardson 1986:21; Rich 1996a:23.

¹¹²⁶ Polyb. 2.13; 2.22; 3.15; 3.21; 3.27; 3.29; 3.30. Cf. Kramer 1948:17.

¹¹²⁷ Badian (1988:162-4) argues that the treaty may have contained clauses not dealing with Spain, the content of which is unknown; cf. Rich 1996a:20-1. One clause: Errington 1970:34-6; Richardson 1986:24-8; Bringmann 2001:369. Erdkamp 2009:505.

¹¹²⁸ Polyb. 11.30.3. Cary 1919:74.

¹¹²⁹ The unilateral character of the agreement is clearly explained by Bickerman 1952:18-9; cf. Hoffmann 1957:12-3 (citing Bender 1956), Hoffmann 1957:32-3; Badian 1958:500 n. 2, 293. Others were misled by the concept of a treaty and argue that the Romans must have undertaken a corresponding obligation, thus following the annalistic tradition against Polybius: most recently Heichelheim 1955:213-5; Walbank 1979:169 and comm. on 2.13.7; Dorey 1960:3-5; Cassola 1968:247-8. See Sumner 1968:219-20, n. 41.

¹¹³⁰ In Appian (*App. Hisp.* 6-7; cf. *Hann.* 2), the small coastal towns of Spain (led by Saguntum) explicitly warn the Roman Senate of the growth of Punic power, and this is the origin of the Ebro treaty. The problem is that in these passages Appian also has the Ebro River flowing through central Spain into the Atlantic (whereas the real Ebro flows through northern Spain into the Mediterranean); he has Hasdrubal having pushed his domains as far as the Ebro (when he had just gotten to the New Carthage region hundreds of km to the South); he has Saguntum located north of the Ebro, and specifically near Emporium (when it is far south of the river and 300 km/200 mi south of Emporium); he has Saguntum as a Greek city, when it was not; he has Saguntum as the leader in this Greek effort to protect themselves, when the subsequent treaty did not formally protect Saguntum; he has the Ebro treaty sworn sometimes with Hasdrubal (*Hisp.* 7) but sometimes with his predecessor Hamilcar (*Hann.* 2: untrue); he has the Ebro treaty ratified by the Carthaginian Senate (when, as Polyb. 2.21 and Liv. 21.2 show, one of the issues in 218 was that the Carthaginian Senate had never ratified it); later he has Hannibal crossing the Ebro to attack Saguntum; and finally, he has Hannibal, having destroyed Saguntum, founding New Carthage on the site (*Hisp.* 12; *Hann.* 3). When so much here is so wrong, it is

parties were permitted to interfere in the governmental area of the other,¹¹³¹ some scholars are still convinced about the one-sidedness of the Carthaginian obligations.¹¹³² Erdkamp claims that the result was a half-hearted understanding (not a real treaty) between two disinterested parties.¹¹³³ Reid rejected Mommsen's hypothesis that Rome 'interdicted' Hasdrubal to cross the Ebro.¹¹³⁴ The key point for this study is Polybius' indifference to the implicit abandonment by the Romans of all Spain to the south of the Ebro as they had no interest there.¹¹³⁵

This treaty allowed Carthage to obtain the freedom to extend, without offence, her dominance over a very wide territory in which she had not yet acquired influence. Hasdrubal did not mind since, after all, his troops were still far from this river and he was now free to deal with the recently subdued Spanish tribes. Once again, Polybius' knowledge about the circumstances surrounding the agreement is imprecise. While he presents surprising and puzzling aspects of the Hasdrubal agreement, mostly when compared to Livy's text, he neglects another key aspect which is crucial.¹¹³⁶ Livy¹¹³⁷ presents the agreement with Hasdrubal as a formal renewal (*foedus renouauerat*) of an unspecified treaty before 241 B.C. with the clause regarding Saguntum.¹¹³⁸ On the Roman side, the decisive factors were to limit both the Punic expansion and Rome's interests

dangerous method to pick out one bit of information from the middle of everything that is false—namely, the Greek pleas — and then claim it is the key to Roman-Carthaginian relations. Cf. Bender 1997:94-5, n. 17: "*Besonders aufschlussreich*"; Eckstein 2012a:224.

¹¹³¹ Polyb. 3.27.3.

¹¹³² Bringmann 2001:370 with n.7.

¹¹³³ Erdkamp 2009:505

¹¹³⁴ Reid 1913:177.

¹¹³⁵ Salmon 1960:134.

¹¹³⁶ Reid 1913:178.

¹¹³⁷ Liv. 21.2.7.

¹¹³⁸ Liv. 11.2; cf. 34.3. The hypothesis that the treaty is not the same of Lutatius of 241 B.C. had been expressed already by Cary 1919. However, Sumner (1968:219-20, n. 41) considers spurious the statement that the agreement was a renewal of the treaty, grounding his theory on Täubler's phrase (1935:95) "*erneuert konnte dieser Vertrag nicht mit Hasdrubal, sondern nur mit dem karthagischen Senate werden*". It is indeed refuted by Livy himself (21.19.3): "*in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset ita id ratum fore si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit*", where he follows Polyb. 3.29.2-3: "πρώτον μὲν ὅτι τὰς πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν γενομένας ὁμολογίας οὐκ ἀθετητέον, καθάπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι λέγειν ἐθάρρουν: οὐ γὰρ προσέκειτο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυτατίου, "κυρίας εἶναι ταύτας, ἐὰν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξη τῶν Ῥωμαίων;" ἀλλ' αὐτοτελῶς ἐποιήσατο τὰς ὁμολογίας Ἀσδρούβας, ἐν αἷς ἦν, "τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μὴ δια" However, the statement could not be made in this form if the Hasdrubal agreement contained a provision for ratification by the *Populus Romanus*. Since Rome was undertaking nothing, there was no reason for the Roman people to ratify it.

along with that of her allies. The relationship with the allies is a key point in the treaty: both parties had to leave unmolested each other's allies and they could not forbid any contact with allies old or new.¹¹³⁹ The Romans underestimated and delayed their intervention in Spain because of Hasdrubal's cautious and peaceful policy of expansion and the prospect of a great Gallic war in North Italy, two factors which can be considered as the main reasons Rome struck the treaty.

The first assumption made by many scholars regarding the reason for the Ebro treaty is that Rome concluded the treaty in order to prevent Carthaginian troops from joining the Gallic attack on Italy.¹¹⁴⁰ In his chapters on the Gallic invasion of 225 B.C., Polybius broadens his vision toward a global history. He connects the treaty with the affairs of Italy, Spain and Greece and amazingly foreshadows the interdependence of Mediterranean matters. Polybius imposed this linkage as part of a conceptual framework that stressed the growing interconnectedness, starting either in 225 B.C. or 217 B.C., between previously separate Mediterranean regions. Polybius terms this particular historical situation as *symplokê*.¹¹⁴¹ He asserts that it constitutes, along with the growth of Roman power, the major development of his age. Rome's anxieties about a looming Gallic invasion led to Rome's policy toward the Carthaginians in Spain,

¹¹³⁹ Reid 1913:183.

¹¹⁴⁰ Gelzer 1963:3.84; Walbank 1979:170; Eckstein 1984:61; Bellen 1985:16; Richardson 1986:27; Mantel 1991:71; Bringmann 2001:370-1.

¹¹⁴¹ Some scholars argue that the *symplokê*-concept is what leads Polybius to depict the Gallic threat as having a dramatic impact not only on Italy (Polyb. 2.24), but as a crucial factor that allows Punic expansion in Spain without Roman interference (Polyb. 2.13); and Roman distraction with the Gauls also convinces Demetrius of Pharos to challenge Rome in Illyria (Polyb. 3.16). It is then claimed that Polybius, in his eagerness for the *symplokê*, forges links between these events in separate regions (especially between the Gallic threat and the Ebro treaty) when no connections ever actually existed (So Rich 1996a:23; Bender 1997:87-8 and 106; Erdkamp 2009:495). The concept of the *symplokê* is concerned with developments on a grander scale than Italian relations with Spain: it has also to do with how major events in the eastern Mediterranean basin, previously a separate world without impact in the West, began after 220 to have an impact especially on the actions of Rome, while developments in the western Mediterranean basin (especially the rise of Roman power), previously without impact in the East, now began to have an increasing impact there (see Walbank 1985:160-200, *passim*). So it is not surprising that Polybius does not use the term *symplokê*, or any language related to *symplokê*, with regard to the Ebro treaty. This is probably because the geographical arena in question is too small, and interactions between Italy and Spain too natural (as admitted by Erdkamp 2009:495).

probably pushing Rome herself to conclude a treaty with Hasdrubal.¹¹⁴² He makes this connection between the treaty and the imminent Gallic invasion twice: the first mention appears in Polybius' section on the Gauls and their invasion of 225 B.C.,¹¹⁴³ while the second reference is made forcefully earlier in the same book, confirming that 'Romans' hands were tied because of the Gauls. Polybius implies that, once the treaty was concluded, the invasion took place in 225 B.C.; thus the treaty has usually been dated to 226 or early 225 B.C.¹¹⁴⁴

A second theory states that the final aim of their negotiation would have been the determination of a certain river-line as the boundary for Punic military advance. Against the contention of Unger¹¹⁴⁵ – that the Roman conquest of the whole of Italy would need to have been completed before Rome could presume to put Italy out of bounds – Rome cited the treaty as an attempt to confine Carthaginian dominion to the south of the Ebro. After having recounted the Illyrian War, Polybius explains the Spanish context for the treaty. In 231 B.C., Rome had already sent an embassy to Hamilcar, the commander of the Carthaginian territories in Spain, demanding that he avow his intentions.¹¹⁴⁶ In winter 229/8 B.C., Hasdrubal succeeded Hamilcar in his position, making great progress in strengthening the Carthaginian position, not least by founding

¹¹⁴² See Polyb. 2.13.3-7 (cf. with 2.22): "The Romans, seeing that Hasdrubal was in a fair way to create a larger and more formidable empire than Carthage formerly possessed, resolved to begin to occupy themselves with Spanish affairs. Finding that they had hitherto been asleep and had allowed Carthage to build up a powerful dominion, they tried, as far as possible, to make up for lost time. For the present they did not venture to impose orders on Carthage, or to go to war with her, because the threat of a Celtic invasion was hanging over them, the attack being indeed expected from day to day. They decided, then, to mollify and conciliate Hasdrubal in the first place, and then to attack the Celts and decide the issue by arms, for they thought that as long as they had these Celts threatening their frontier, not only would they never be master of Italy, but they would not even be safe in Rome itself. Accordingly, after having sent envoys to Hasdrubal and made a treaty, in which no mention was made of the rest of Spain, but the Carthaginians engaged not to cross the Ebro in arms, they at once entered on the struggle against the Italian Celts". Cf. Erdkamp 2009:495-6; 503-4.

¹¹⁴³ Polyb. 2.22.

¹¹⁴⁴ Polyb. 2.13. Other sources for the treaty: Schmitt 1969: no. 503; Scardigli 1911:249-53. The treaty was negotiated and sworn sometime between 228 and the spring of 225 B.C.; the date is uncertain, although Polybius indicates it was before the Transalpine Gauls crossed the Alps in 225 B.C. to join the Po Valley tribes (Polyb. 2.22-3). For Walbank (1957:168, 196), the treaty was concluded in summer 226/spring 225 B.C., but we simply conjecture on it: see e.g. Rich (1996a:23), who suggests instead the date of 228 B.C.). Cf. Rich 2011a:2

¹¹⁴⁵ Unger 1878:203.

¹¹⁴⁶ Cass. Dio Cassius (Zonar. 8.18-21).

Carthago Nova. Polybius confirms that Rome dealt directly with him, and her involvement in Spain's affairs came when they became fully aware of the emerging Punic threat in Spain.¹¹⁴⁷ For the purpose of my work, I agree with Frank, who believed that at this time Rome was needlessly afraid, that the real danger came later, in Hannibal's strategy.¹¹⁴⁸ Were the Romans in 226 B.C. already able to assume that the Carthaginians would not make common cause with the Gauls? In limiting Carthage's power to the Ebro, they were reacting to what they rightly conceived to be a genuine threat.¹¹⁴⁹

Although some authors have readily dismissed this theory, since this is not what Polybius says, there is a reasonable plausibility in the assumption that the Romans were already considering the possibility of a Carthaginian invasion of Italy by the northern route.¹¹⁵⁰ We have to bear in mind the clauses of the agreement, which was established as the northern limit to Punic military activity in Spain at the Ebro River, with the Carthaginians forbidden to cross the river Ebro for war.¹¹⁵¹ Mainly, the 'line' of the River Ebro accomplished her primary purpose of preventing Carthaginian aid to the Gauls.¹¹⁵² However, recently Erdkamp has argued against this last statement, as "the Ebro treaty does not make sense, if it was merely intended to avoid hostilities with the Barcids while the Gallic invasion hung over their heads".¹¹⁵³ In some way, the Roman strategy achieved its proper aim. Fixing an agreed demarcation line would have disappointed the Barcids, as Bender remarks.¹¹⁵⁴ Hoyos also notices that the Ebro treaty solved little,¹¹⁵⁵ but if Hasdrubal had been left alone and free to act

¹¹⁴⁷ Polybius (2.2-12 and 2.13.2-3) shows the lack of Roman attention to the Carthaginians' previous expansion in Spain that seems to Polybius to be surprising. Nor does Polybius attribute the Ebro treaty solely to events in Italy; Hasdrubal's successes in Spain itself, and especially the founding of New Carthage as a permanent capital, are crucial events that lead the Senate to act (Liv. 2.13.1-2.). Thus we need not accept that Polybius, in eager pursuit of *symplokê*, imposed a simplistic connection between events in Italy and the Ebro treaty.

¹¹⁴⁸ Frank 1928.

¹¹⁴⁹ Altheim (1935:50-51) and Nap (1935:54-5) seem to be correct in assuming that the Romans believed that the time was ripe for checking the Carthaginian advance. Kramer 1948:15-6 n. 54

¹¹⁵⁰ Thus, Rich 1996a:22 and Bender 1997:89.

¹¹⁵¹ Polyb. 2.13 and 2.22.9-11.

¹¹⁵² Kramer 1948:18.

¹¹⁵³ Erdkamp 2009:504

¹¹⁵⁴ Bender 1997:89.

¹¹⁵⁵ Bender 1997:89: The Romans "*besanftigen den karthagischen Feldherrn nicht, wie Polybius sich ausdrückt, sondern bedrangten ihn*"; similar, Hoyos 2003:81.

in the Iberian Peninsula, the Romans would not have had any control over the developing improvements made by the Carthaginians.¹¹⁵⁶

Whether Polybius' information is a personal assumption or a statement of fact is impossible to confirm. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that, as soon as the pacification of Northern Italy and particularly the stabilisation of the Po region were assured, the Romans intervened again in Spain. Another plausible explanation comes from Errington, who argued instead that the Romans were not interested at all in the Barcids or in Spain and that Polybius surely meant that Rome wanted to avoid any sort of confrontation on two fronts, with Carthage and Gauls at the same time.¹¹⁵⁷

5.3 Finis and imperium

The true novelty in this agreement is shown in the shift from sea to land rivalry. The previous document between Carthage and Rome of 348 B.C. put limits on navigation, while the second regulated the advance by land in terms that sound suspiciously like appeasement.¹¹⁵⁸ Van Nostrand considers the relationships between Rome and Carthage to have produced massive changes in Rome's military history and chiefly affected her foreign policy.¹¹⁵⁹ The main problems with the treaty are linked to Rome's non-occupation of a single area in Spain and to her alliance with Saguntum – as Livy remarks. Livy has been almost ignored by scholars, however, because there is no answer to the following question: How is it possible that Rome claimed the possession or control of the left bank of the Ebro if her empire did not even reach the North of Italy at that time?

¹¹⁵⁶ The Romans no doubt knew about Hamilcar's expansion. Not only did they keep trading with Spanish ports as well as north African, they were allied with Massilia, which had its own wide-ranging trading network. Even if their embassy to Hamilcar had taken place, it would have been the only recorded official contact between the two powers after 237 and before 225 B.C. Cf. Hoyos 2003:61.

¹¹⁵⁷ Errington 1970:39-41; cf. Vishnia 1996:19; Serrati 2011:130-1.

¹¹⁵⁸ DeWitt 1940:612.

¹¹⁵⁹ Van Nostrand 1918:4.

The treaty was made with reference to land which was non-Roman. Rome was negotiating a treaty intended to define the northern limit of Carthaginian expansion, yet this was long before a single one of her soldier's occupied a square inch of Spanish territory, as Livy has Cato say.¹¹⁶⁰ The Ebro River was not near Roman territory; not even near the territory of her ally Massilia. The treaty, therefore, was an extension of Rome's authority beyond any limit of authority she had achieved before that time. A possible answer might lie in the conception of '*imperium*', which translators and scholars keep translating as 'empire'. Modern authors have avoided using the original term *imperium*¹¹⁶¹ and prefer instead to forge a more modern expression, 'sphere of influence',¹¹⁶² which involves all the sides of the relationships amongst Carthaginians, Iberians, Romans and Massiliotes. [FIG 26] To simplify, the fact that the treaty set up three 'spheres of influence' north of the Ebro is beside the point to be made here – namely, that the treaty did insist upon the right of Rome to interfere with the plans of a foreign state when those plans were displeasing to her.¹¹⁶³ The '*imperium*', instead, is a sort of propagation of her political power, possibly without any direct material control of the area.[1.5.3]

The algebraic equation¹¹⁶⁴ of the final geo-political agreement is as follows: on the one hand, the Romans agreed to recognise all Spain south of the River Ebro as a Carthaginian 'sphere of influence' and, on the other hand, they conveyed the impression of having effectively put a limit on Carthaginian expansion.¹¹⁶⁵ The treaty left the Carthaginians free to consolidate or extend their power in Spain, leaving the Romans sufficiently assured of preventing the

¹¹⁶⁰ Cary 1919:75.

¹¹⁶¹ Looking at the fanciful notion about the 'two empires', Reid (1913:187) connected this conception with the bold development of the idea of "*Poeni foedifragi*" (Cic. *Off.* 1, 38). He speculated on the fact that Livy here followed a very late writer, probably Cato's Origines, where the Carthaginians were regarded as inveterate treaty-breakers. He noted that they violated treaty obligations for the sixth time when they brought on the Second Punic war (Nonius:100).

¹¹⁶² On this concept: See *infra* Kramer (1948:3, n.9) and Frank's (1917:125, n.38) and Badian (1958:76-9) for the previous positions. For a more recent approach: Barceló 1988; Wagner 1989; Brunt 1990:300 (170).

¹¹⁶³ Van Nostrand 1918:4.

¹¹⁶⁴ Based on the classical example of equation; $x : y = w : z \sim \text{Carthage} : [\text{Africa} + \text{Spain}] = \text{Rome} : [\text{Gaul (Massilia)} + \text{Spain}]$.

¹¹⁶⁵ Täubler 1921:68.

Barcids from completing the conquest of Spain north of the Ebro.¹¹⁶⁶ Rome seemed to be aware of the danger she could face, as she was guarding against not just a short-term risk of Carthaginian participation in the imminent Gallic invasion, but the longer-term dangers which might arise if Carthaginian expansion were allowed to continue northwards without being checked¹¹⁶⁷ – which is what happened. Contrary to Täubner,¹¹⁶⁸ it was also a way for the Romans to curb the Carthaginian ‘sphere of influence’ without getting involved directly in war operations far from them. It might almost be said that the Romans were seeking to appease the Carthaginians: Polybius confirms this theory: that the Romans ‘stroked and soothed’ Hasdrubal.¹¹⁶⁹ As they were not eager to back up their diplomacy with arms, the most they could achieve was this treaty, which in effect granted the Carthaginians an absolutely free hand in virtually all the Iberian peninsula. In return, the Carthaginians gave nothing except a promise – which could be repudiated whenever it suited their interests to do so – not to go still further North.¹¹⁷⁰ In this way, the Ebro River would have been intended to define Carthaginian and Roman ‘spheres of influence’ or, as I would say, ‘*imperia*’.¹¹⁷¹

5.3.1 Massilia

In the signature of the treaty, the silent involvement of Massilia – the long-standing and loyal ally of Rome – seems evident.¹¹⁷² The connection of the Phocean colony with the Ebro treaty is important when considering: a) the clause within Polybius’ account “not to cross the Ebro for war”; and b) Massilia as an extension of the Roman influence. A formal alliance between Massilia and Rome could have been concluded in the years before the Second Punic War,

¹¹⁶⁶ Rich 1996a:23-4. Erdkamp 2009:506

¹¹⁶⁷ Rich 2011a:23

¹¹⁶⁸ Täubner 1921.

¹¹⁶⁹ Polyb. 2.13; contra Reid 1913:178

¹¹⁷⁰ Täubler 1921:69-70.

¹¹⁷¹ Frank (1914:135, n. 28) lists several proponents of this point of view. Cf. Kramer 1948:3 n. 9

¹¹⁷² For Massilia, see Clerc 1929; Wackernagel 1930:14.2130-2151. For friendship Rome-Massilia: Justin 43.5.3, 8-10; Strabo 4.1.5; Val. Max. 2.6.7; Amm. 15.14; Cic. *Pro Font.* 13.5, 14.6, 34.14, 45.30, *Off.* 2.8.28, *Phil.* 2.37.94, 8.6.18; Polyb. 3.95.6-7; Caes. *B.C.* 2.22.6.

as some scholars suppose, but – in view of the silence of our sources on such a development – it is perhaps more likely that it was concluded even earlier.¹¹⁷³

[FIG 28] Between 226 and 221 B.C., Hasdrubal advanced his influence toward the banks of the Ebro, but revealed no interest in military expansion over the river – a theory put forward by Bender,¹¹⁷⁴ who launches a strong attack on the Polybian connection between the treaty and the Gallic invasion and who also regards the looting Gauls as prompting an attack.¹¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that in 231 B.C. Hamilcar Barca consolidated his territorial conquests, founding the outpost-cities of Carthago Nova (modern Cartagena) and *Arka Leuke* (? modern Alicante) at strategic locations.¹¹⁷⁶ Those Punic developments would possibly have taken over the area of the Phocian /Massilian colonies near the mouth of the River Sucro (modern Júcar). Although no ancient source mentions their involvements in the treaty and in the preliminaries of the war, modern scholars have speculated that Massilia – alarmed by the Carthaginian expansion towards her ‘sphere of influence’¹¹⁷⁷ –

¹¹⁷³ For the early contacts: Justin 43.5; Diodorus Siculus 14.93.4; Appian *Ital.* 8. Massilian naval assistance in 217 B.C.: Polyb. 3.95.6-7; Liv. 22.19.5; Sosylus, *FGH* 176 F 1. The formal alliance (in existence by 196: *Syll.* 591 = *Inschr. v. Lamprakos* 4.

¹¹⁷⁴ Bender 1997:96-7.

¹¹⁷⁵ In several recent articles, scholars have taken to arguing that the account of Roman relations with the Gallic peoples of the Po Valley in the 230s and 220s B.C. given by Polybius in Book 2 of his *Histories* is fundamentally false (Rich 1996a:23; Bender 1997:91-4; Twyman 1997; Rosenberger 2003; Erdkamp 2008:139; Erdkamp 2009:507-8 and chiefly: Eckstein 2012b:206). Polybius was essentially a conduit for false Roman propaganda deriving from the Roman writer Fabius Pictor. In this new vision, therefore, the Romans did not spend the late 230s and early 220s paralysed by great anxiety about a Gallic invasion of central Italy, but instead pursued an active policy toward the outside world; if they engaged in preparations for war, it was war against Carthage; when a Gallic invasion of central Italy actually came, in 225, it came as a surprise. The Ebro treaty between Rome and Hasdrubal in Spain, which Polybius says was concluded by Rome because of the looming Gallic threat and which set a northern limit to Carthaginian military operations at the Ebro River, was in fact not struck in the context of a prolonged Gallic crisis, and perhaps the treaty had nothing to do with the Gauls at all.

¹¹⁷⁶ Diod. 25.10.3; Liv. 24.41.3-4. Livy reports the place of *Castrum Album* which recalls *Akra Leuke* (the site described by Diodorus). It would have had the function of guarding from its top the Punic holdings. It does not suggest that a Greek colony or trading-station already stood there. Cf. Hoyos 2003:64.

¹¹⁷⁷ True, Massilia in Gaul had founded three very small colonies on Spain's east coast, but Strabo the geographer, who tells us so, also implies that they lay between Cape de la Nao and the river Sucro, today's Júcar. That zone lay well North of any district Hamilcar can have reached. Strabo (3.4.6) mentions the three Massiliot ‘little towns’ (πολιχνία) in the present tense (ἔστιν), which itself rules out *Acra Leuce*, a ‘very large city’ and a Punic one from Hamilcar's day, being one of them. He cites them ‘not far from’ the Sucro river (modern Júcar) and names one: *Hemeroscopeion*, the Roman *Dianium*, which apparently was at modern Denia by Cape de la Nao, 36 miles/60 kilometres south of the Sucro (Rouillard 1982:427). Stephanus lists an

expressed her concern, pushing the Romans to send an embassy for an agreement.¹¹⁷⁸ In Polybius' picture, Massilia would have prodded Rome's interest, 'wakening the Senate' from its apathy by exploiting the impending Gallic invasion and pointing to the danger of a coalition with Hasdrubal.¹¹⁷⁹ In the Ebro treaty, Rome's signature counted, although it was undoubtedly a multi-lateral document like that of 509-8 B.C.¹¹⁸⁰ The grounds of a strong tri-lateral agreement and the fact that Massilia was undoubtedly a signatory of the treaty¹¹⁸¹ seem evident from the following: a) the treaty of 348 B.C. shows Carthaginian control extending only as far as Cape Palos;¹¹⁸² b) the Ebro treaty saved Massilia at least two of her trading posts in Spain, Emporia and Rhode;¹¹⁸³ c) Massilia offered material assistance lent by the Phocian colony to Saguntum during the siege and her navy drove the Carthaginians out of the sea, thus forcing Hannibal to rely on the uncertain land route across the Alps.¹¹⁸⁴

This diplomatic move allowed the Massiliots to protect the strip along the coast as far as Cape de la Nao, which included the routes to Spain and a 'chain' of small colonies.¹¹⁸⁵ The involvement of Massilia and her colonies might conceivably have served for Rome as a *cordon sanitaire* against the Punic

Alonis (s.) as a 'Massiliot city', and other evidence places this near Alicante (Mela 2.93; Itin. Rav. 304), but it does not count very obviously as one of Strabo's three. If all three were near to or south of Cape de la Nao, Strabo's phrase loses all meaning; why not describe them instead as 'not far from' the cape? cf. Hoyos 2003:226, n.12.

¹¹⁷⁸ Frank 1917:70. On Massilian relations with Rome see e.g. Kramer 1948; Badian 1958:47-48; Dahlheim 1968:138-41; Ebel 1976:5-25.

¹¹⁷⁹ Polyb. 3.22-24.

¹¹⁸⁰ DeWitt 1940:608.

¹¹⁸¹ Frank 1917:70.

¹¹⁸² DeWitt 1940:612.

¹¹⁸³ From the regions to the north of the Ebro, we have similarly significant contemporary silver coins of the Greek polis Emporiae (Hill 1931:18-9, pl. I, 23, 24). The style of these issues of Emporiae points, in my opinion, clearly to a later date than Hill suggested, as they have the well-known standing horse of Carthage on their rev. This political symbol, of the standing horse in a region which is not very suitable for horsebreeding, makes it evident that Emporiae to the north of the Ebro had a treaty with Carthage comparable to that between Saguntum and Rome. The Romans were obviously in full agreement with the general provisions of the Ebro treaty when they concluded their alliance with Saguntum after 226 B.C. See Heichelheim 1955:214-5.

¹¹⁸⁴ Wilcken 1906. However, cf. Liv. 22.19-20; Polyb. 3.95.

¹¹⁸⁵ Besides Emporion and Rhodes, backward she saved also: Agathe Tyche (Agde), Rhodanousia (Espeyran?) and Heracleia at the mouth of Rhone (Plin. *N.H.* 3.5.3). Cf. Tréziny 2002; Garcia-Verdin 2002:420.

menace from Spain, as indeed Strabo specifically remarks.¹¹⁸⁶ Rome did not really care about losing sight of developments in Spain. By signing the treaty, Hasdrubal had recognised Rome as a power able to arbitrate in Spain¹¹⁸⁷ and Massilia was satisfied. The agreement fully gratified Roman and Massilian intentions: the area south of the Cape de la Nao remained free of Carthaginian military penetration and the Ebro was the point beyond which no vengeful Barcid could go with an army without serving a long-term notice for advancing upon Rome.

5.4 Threat to Saguntum and the Roman embassies

This framework would also explain why Rome's alliance with Saguntum south of the Ebro was not considered by any of the ancients as an infringement of the Ebro treaty, as it is sometimes held today. The Saguntian alliance seems apparently to be part of the Massilians' general policy.¹¹⁸⁸ Frank's interpretation – that Massilia was involved in the treaty – also considers the fact that the definition of 'spheres of influence' between Rome and Carthage makes no sense, because Massilia was in direct contact with the Punic dominions in Spain.¹¹⁸⁹ For the Romans, the treaty did not serve simply to draw a line which should not be crossed. Rather, it served to monitor the Carthaginian intentions. The last assumption became a reality when Hannibal opened his vigorous campaigns in 221 B.C. The Massilian colonies grew apprehensive and the Saguntines appealed repeatedly to Rome.¹¹⁹⁰ Massilia was Rome's partner in her Spanish policy and her link, to some extent, with Saguntum is provided by coin types chosen for the first Saguntine issue, which imitated a contemporary coin type of Massilia.¹¹⁹¹ The Carthaginian question became a live issue on the

¹¹⁸⁶ Strabo 4.1.5.

¹¹⁸⁷ Oertel 1932:222, who quotes Otto (1932:509): "*die in Spanien neben den Karthagern entscheiden könne*". Cf. Kramer 1948:17.

¹¹⁸⁸ Frank 1917:70.

¹¹⁸⁹ Frank 1917:71 ff.

¹¹⁹⁰ Polyb. 3.15.1.

¹¹⁹¹ The head of a young river god on the contemporary Massiliote silver obols is imitated and modified on the obv., the wheel of the same issues of this city on the rev. of the earliest Saguntine coin (Hill 1931:112, 116, pl. XXI, 7 on a still unique coin. For examples of related

agenda of the consuls of 220 B.C., before Hannibal's attack on the Spanish city,¹¹⁹² and the Romans dispatched an embassy to meet Hannibal in his winter quarters at New Carthage. According to Polybius, Rome warned him to refrain from attacking Saguntum, which was under Roman protection, and he was also asked to respect Hasdrubal's obligation that the Carthaginians would not cross the Ebro in arms.¹¹⁹³ After receiving a noncommittal answer from Hannibal, the embassy went on to Carthage.¹¹⁹⁴

According to Polybius, when the Roman embassy presented the Senate's ultimatum at Carthage in March 218 B.C.,¹¹⁹⁵ the Carthaginians declined to discuss the agreement made with Hasdrubal and repeatedly defended their refusal.¹¹⁹⁶ The position adopted by the Carthaginians undoubtedly implies that the Roman embassy had brought the agreement into the dispute. For Livy, the Carthaginian defence of their position is based on the fact that the Carthaginian Senate had not ratified that treaty. They brought as an example Lutatius' treaty of 241 B.C., which Rome had claimed invalid at the time as it had not been ratified by the Roman Senate.¹¹⁹⁷ After their response, Rome's envoys effectively declared war on Carthage, meaning that the Romans claimed Hannibal had violated the agreement. But, since at that time Hannibal had not yet crossed the Ebro, the "clear breach of the treaty" would have just been Hannibal's attack on Saguntum.¹¹⁹⁸ In Polybius' account of the proceedings, the ambassadors would have hinged the case upon Hannibal's treatment of Saguntum and its indication of his generally aggressive behaviour.¹¹⁹⁹ Polybius then records what later Romans conceived would have been the ambassadors'

Massiliote coins: SNG 4.1, plate I, 7-I). A Saguntine series showing a helmeted female head (Roma?) on the obverse and a standing bull with a human head, a river god, on the reverse, follows after the first coin issue of this town. This second (Cf. Hill 1931:113, 116, 118, pl. XXI, 8-10; Hallward 1930:28). Saguntine coinage is of such an inferior style that it is most probably the siege currency of Saguntum when Hannibal attacked this Roman ally in 220/19 B.C., after Roman influence had caused a much disputed change of government during the regional troubles of 221/20 B.C. Heichelheim 1955:212.

¹¹⁹² Kramer 1948:20.

¹¹⁹³ The treaty, we are told, "passed over the rest of Spain in silence, but the Carthaginians engaged not to cross the river called the Iber to make war" (Polyb. 2.13.7). Reid 1913:182.

¹¹⁹⁴ Rich 2011a:2.

¹¹⁹⁵ About the discussion on the chronology of the outbreak of war, see Sumner 1966.

¹¹⁹⁶ Polyb. 3.21.1-2. Cf. Walbank 1979: comm. on 3.21.1. Cf. Liv. 40.

¹¹⁹⁷ Liv. 21.18.

¹¹⁹⁸ Rich 2011a:5.

¹¹⁹⁹ Polyb. 3.29.

reply if they had not preferred silent indignation.¹²⁰⁰ First of all, they would have insisted on the validity of the Ebro treaty, drawing attention to the clause that “the Carthaginians shall not cross the Ebro in arms”, and secondly they would have rejected the Carthaginian interpretation of the free status of Saguntum under the treaty of 241 B.C.¹²⁰¹ It is possible that the reference to Hannibal’s crossing of the Ebro¹²⁰² should be dismissed as a last reflection of a certain type of Roman apologia about the opening of the war, a possibility to which Polybius was open.¹²⁰³ That Polybius himself seems a little uncomfortable with this chronology¹²⁰⁴ might be suggested by his remark that the news of Hannibal’s crossing of the Ebro arrived at Rome “more quickly than expected” (θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκων).¹²⁰⁵ However, from both Polybius’ and Livy’s narrative, it appears that Hannibal did not cross the Ebro until June 218 B.C., well after the Roman ultimatum had been presented and rejected.¹²⁰⁶ Hannibal would not have departed from New Carthage until he learnt what had transpired on the embassy’s visit to Carthage in early spring: the unsatisfactory course of the final negotiations with Rome.¹²⁰⁷ Yet this starkly contrasts with the Livian emphasis on the speed of Roman reaction to the fall of Saguntum.¹²⁰⁸ This difficulty has spawned much scholarly controversy¹²⁰⁹ and even Hannibal’s crossing of the

¹²⁰⁰ The Romans were demanding some proof of Carthaginian good intentions, some demonstration that they did not harbour the ultimate aim of going beyond the Ebro and heading for Italy. All that the Carthaginians had to do to prove that Roman qualms were groundless was to keep their hands off Saguntum. For if the Carthaginians were to leave this capital of the Edetani, strategically placed along their lines of communication, independent, then their ulterior peaceful good intentions could be taken for granted. Cf. Salmon 1960:136.

¹²⁰¹ The reference to crossing the Ebro would obviously receive greater prominence in later views of what might have been said. But the fact that during the actual meeting at Carthage the Saguntine question bulked so large was not altogether to Rome’s disadvantage, since, whatever precisely was said at the time, later Roman annalists could claim with some justice that war had been declared by Rome for the sake of her wronged ally. See: Scullard 1952:212.

¹²⁰² Polyb. 3.40.2.

¹²⁰³ Sumner 1966:14-15; cf. Pol. 3.15.5; 30.3; 4.28.1, where he places Saguntum north of the Ebro, a fact he knew to be incorrect, cf. Polyb. 3.14.9; 3.97.6; 3.98.6-7.

¹²⁰⁴ Polyb. 3.40.2.

¹²⁰⁵ His remark at 3.40.1 that these events happened while Hannibal was crossing the Pyrenees may be safely assumed to refer to the events recounted in 3.40, including the Gallic revolt. Cf. Sumner 1966:13-14. Eckstein 1983:265-6 and n. 30.

¹²⁰⁶ Polyb. 3.34.6-35.2.

¹²⁰⁷ An event equivalent to the arrival of the envoys back in Rome and placed by Polybius in late winter/early spring 218 B.C. Cf. Polyb. 3.34.6-7; 3.35.1.

¹²⁰⁸ Liv. 3.20.6.

¹²⁰⁹ For older views see De Sanctis 1907:3.1.429-30. Kolbe (1934:11-16) argued that the Ebro treaty included a clause guaranteeing safety to each side’s allies and so extended protection to Saguntum, whose connection with Rome he dates before the treaty. However, if there had been

Ebro has been put in doubt as grounds for the Roman ultimatum, as all reference to it should have been eliminated from Polybius' account, which instead turns upon the question of Saguntum.¹²¹⁰ Another suggestion is that "the bare fact that the Carthaginians did not mention the treaty with Hasdrubal" is all that can be accepted as reliable in Polybius' account.¹²¹¹

A solution to this difficulty has been sought in the hypothesis that the embassy should be dated to June 218 B.C., allowing Hannibal to have actually crossed the Ebro at the time of the ultimatum;¹²¹² for some scholars, this chronology is impossible, however.¹²¹³ The declaration of war is usually placed in late March or April (i.e. at the earliest date after the entry of the new consuls into office and the beginning of the campaigning season) because, according to Polybius, Rome was committed to war on behalf of Saguntum. The Roman embassy, which was doubtless sent off to Carthage without delay, could not denounce any fresh breach of the Ebro treaty, since this, although in their belief imminent, had not yet in fact occurred. However, it may indeed have been happening about this very time. Sixty years ago, this ancient tradition was strongly challenged, first by Hoffmann¹²¹⁴ and then by Scullard,¹²¹⁵ partly on chronological grounds. Hoffmann¹²¹⁶ argued that it could not have been the fall of Saguntum (news of which had already arrived in Rome during the winter of 219/218 B.C.) which provoked the Roman 'war embassy' to Carthage. The

a provision in the treaty so much to Rome's advantage, we would surely have heard of it, and in any case Polybius' language implies that it was the ban on crossing the Ebro which was contravened; see further Bickerman 1936; Walbank 1979: comm. on 1.171.

¹²¹⁰ The view that his attack on Saguntum was the crucial factor in the development of Roman policy was only advanced later by writers who sought to justify Rome's conduct and her neglect of her ally Saguntum during 219 B.C. Hoffmann (1951:76-77) uses Polybius' chronological coordination at 3.40.2 – the return of the 'war embassy' from Carthage, the news that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, and the Roman preparations for immediate war – as evidence that war was, in fact, only declared in Julian June).

¹²¹¹ Dorey 1960:5. Cf. Sumner 1968:220-1.

¹²¹² Hoffmann (1951:69-71 = 1957:15, n. 15) accepted by Walbank (1957 comm. on 3.20.6; cf. Liv. 21.1) and Heuss (1964:83, 549). Scullard (1952:209-11), proposes a modification: at the time of the ultimatum Hannibal had left New Carthage with his army, but had not yet crossed the Ebro; the Romans were concerned about a foreseeable imminent breach of the Ebro agreement. Vallejo (1952) discusses the two views critically but without definite conclusion.

¹²¹³ Apart from the difficulty of constructing a reasonable chronology on this basis, the views of Hoffmann (1957) and Scullard (1952) founded on the fact that Hannibal knew of the Roman ultimatum before he departed from New Carthage (Polyb. 3.34.7-9).

¹²¹⁴ Hoffmann 1951.

¹²¹⁵ Scullard 1952.

¹²¹⁶ Hoffmann 1951; Rich 2011a:11.

Romans continued to do nothing until they heard that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro.¹²¹⁷ Rome decided on war (June, 218 B.C.) after Hannibal's subsequent violation of the Ebro treaty by his crossing with a large army (end of May, 218 B.C.).¹²¹⁸ In this way, the Roman ultimatum was delivered only after Hannibal had violated the treaty by actually crossing the Ebro (news of which arrived in Rome in June), causing the diplomatic crisis.¹²¹⁹ Denouncing Hannibal, Rome would refer to his past crimes (Saguntum) as well as his latest one (the Ebro crossing). Thus his attack on Saguntum first gained importance when linked with the Ebro incident, i.e. when Roman politicians saw in it his first step against Rome.¹²²⁰

If the return from Carthage and the news of Hannibal's crossing tally, we might therefore think that the news came with the ambassadors themselves. The siege of Saguntum would have been just the forewarning; indeed, when the envoys came back they found Rome in a state of active concern "*invenerunt satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos tramisisse*" ("as they discovered by persistent rumour that the Phoenicians had already crossed the Ebro").¹²²¹ However, the synchronism of the return of the 'war embassy' to Rome with the arrival there of news that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro has been deemed as suspect.¹²²² Indeed, in order to accept such synchronism, Scullard – following Livy – points out the apparent senatorial indifference, both to the plight of Saguntum throughout 219 B.C., and also to the apparently very late departure of the consuls to their *provinciae* in 218 B.C.¹²²³ In that spring, the question of the consular *provinciae* and even of the raising of troops¹²²⁴ was simply left in abeyance for two or three months after the entry of the consuls into office.¹²²⁵ Polybius' tradition – in which the senatorial 'war embassy' returns to Rome about the time the news arrives that Hannibal has crossed the Ebro – records that the consuls had already departed and is clearly not the same tradition as

¹²¹⁷ Rich 2011a:29.

¹²¹⁸ Hoffmann 1951:77.

¹²¹⁹ Hoffmann 1951:77-78.

¹²²⁰ Scullard 1952:213.

¹²²¹ Liv. 21.20.9.

¹²²² Sumner 1966:13

¹²²³ Scullard 1952:210-212; Eckstein 1983:255.

¹²²⁴ Cf. Liv. 3.40.3

¹²²⁵ Sumner 1966:13, n. 40

that of Livy.¹²²⁶ Livy's account of the peregrinations of the senatorial 'war embassy', in which the ambassadors travel through northern Spain and Transalpine Gaul after leaving Carthage¹²²⁷ before returning to Rome when it is rumoured that Hannibal has crossed the Ebro,¹²²⁸ appears to be more linear and understandable. It seems remarkably close to Polybius' synchronism¹²²⁹ – except that in Livy's account, the consuls for 218 B.C. have already finished levying their troops, and have departed from Rome for their provinces, before the return of the envoys.¹²³⁰ The siege of Saguntum was just a warning of his true objective; the crossing of the Ebro would have infringed on Hasdrubal's agreement.¹²³¹ It was surely this threat of treaty-breaking that united the Senate and led to the despatch of an ultimatum to Carthage: some of them might have hesitated after the attack on Saguntum, but they hesitated no longer at the river crossing.¹²³² Rome used the sector between Saguntum and the Ebro to detect and foreshadow Hannibal's real intentions, which appear clear in the striking discordance between Polybius and Livy. The Greek author confirms a crucial piece of information: the Senate decided to push to completion the establishment of the colonies on the Middle Po, Cremona and *Placentia* (modern Piacenza),¹²³³ following: a) the return of the senatorial 'war embassy' from Carthage with the unsatisfactory Punic response to the Roman ultimatum, and b) the arrival at Rome of the news that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro sooner than expected.¹²³⁴ Hannibal might or might not have crossed the Ebro; the Carthaginian Senate gave this final indifferent answer: "*Proinde omittite*

¹²²⁶ Liv. 21.26.1-3; cf. 21.20.9 Cf. Weissenborn & Müller 1888:67, on Liv. 26.3; Eckstein 1983:269 and n. 40.

¹²²⁷ Liv. 21.19.6-20.9; cf. De Sanctis 1907:3.2, 182.

¹²²⁸ Liv. 20.9

¹²²⁹ Polyb. 3.40.2.

¹²³⁰ That, in turn – as is noted by Weissenborn & Müller 1888:67 (on Liv. 21.26.3) – seems quite similar to the Polybian tradition that both consuls for 218 departed few months later; cf. Pol. 3.41.2; 5.1.3-4. In fact, the appearance of both these traditions together at Liv. 21.20.9 may indicate that the synchronism at Polyb. 3.40.2, and the picture at Polyb. 3.41.2 of the departure of both consuls early in the spring, both came from the same source, a source which Polybius either has misinterpreted at Polyb. 3.40.2, or, more probably, has conflated with another – more likely – tradition, in which the Roman war preparations follow the return of the senatorial envoys with apprehension.

¹²³¹ Polybius (3.40.2) implies that early in 218 B.C. the Romans were expecting Hannibal to cross the Ebro.

¹²³² Scullard 1952:211.

¹²³³ Eckstein 1987:327; Frank 1928:815; Toynbee 1965:2.265-66; Errington 1971:45; McDonald 1979:46.

¹²³⁴ Liv. 3.40.2-3.

Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere et quod diu parturit animus vester aliquando pariat!” (“Drop all allusions to Saguntum and the Ebro, and speak out plainly what has long been secretly hatching in your minds!”).¹²³⁵ The question is linked with Hannibal’s real intentions and his monitoring by Rome, which had the time to prepare for the invasion. Scullard seems to insist on the same focal point: it was not the fall of Saguntum which caused trouble between Rome and Carthage, nor the crossing of the Ebro, but rather something a further step back: Hannibal’s departure from New Carthage for the North in command of a huge army (May 218 B.C.).¹²³⁶ To what other end could this immense force be directed? The siege of Saguntum would not have appeared a direct threat to Rome or Italy, but it surely could only mean that Hannibal, having conquered Spain south of the Ebro, now intended to conquer the whole peninsula up to the Pyrenees. It was clear to the Romans that, in crossing the Ebro with such an immense army, marching eastward, he was heading to Italy. The connection Saguntum-Hiberum raises questions related to space and time – such as Hannibal’s timing in crossing the Ebro and the role of the Roman embassy – in order to solve the problem of Hannibal’s act of war as breach of the treaty.

5.4.1 The question of Saguntum

The position on Saguntum within the treaty is crucial: comprehension of the treaty and any controversies surrounding it require an understanding of the topographical and chronological position of the Iberian *oppidum*. Despite Livy’s statement that Saguntum had to be in the middle of the two empires, the fact of the matter is that Saguntum and Hiberum do not match this topographical statement. Indeed, not only do they not lie in the same area, they are actually very far apart from each other. The main problem is the fact that, at some point, the Romans claimed that the Iberian city-state of Saguntum – on the coast nearly 150 km (100 mi) south of the Ebro – was not to be attacked either because of an assumed alliance with Rome or because it should be preserved as independent. The original agreement between Carthaginians and Romans is

¹²³⁵ Liv. 21.18.12.

¹²³⁶ Scullard 1952:210-212; Eckstein 1983:255.

obscure, in terms of how it relates to the dispute and subsequent siege of Saguntum in the context of the outbreak of war. Everything depends on the superficial evidence provided by Polybius, who seems not to realise how nebulous his account of the alliance is. Polybius seems to be correct that it was Rome's ally in 220 B.C. and, in my opinion, deliberately vague about its status in 226 B.C. In this instance, surely, the '*argumentum e silentio*' is cogent: had Saguntum been specifically mentioned in the treaty of 226 B.C. or formally allied with Rome already in that year? One should expect explicit mention of this to be found in the extant sources, all of which are pro-Roman and anxious to prove Rome's correctness. Although some of the ancient writers try to justify Rome's behaviour by brazenly asserting that Saguntum is north of the Ebro, none of them state concretely and unequivocally that Rome and Saguntum were already allies at the time that Rome in effect agreed to keep her hands off Spain. Painstaking investigations of all the available evidence fail to show that the treaty of 226 B.C. specifically did not exclude Saguntum from the Carthaginian sphere, nor could Täubler prove that Saguntum was already an ally of Rome at the time of the treaty.¹²³⁷ He merely declares that the treaty bound the Carthaginians not to invade the country to the north of the Ebro.¹²³⁸ Everything else about it has been assumed.¹²³⁹ Hannibal attacked Saguntum in autumn 219 B.C. and the Romans chose to regard his attack as a *casus belli*; the final conquest of the Iberian *oppidum* has been deemed the beginning of the Second Punic War.¹²⁴⁰

There are two main questions concerning both Polybius and Livy, proposing the same issue but in different lights: temporal (or chronological) and topographical. Both Polybius and Livy seem to imply that attacking Saguntum involved 'consequentially' the crossing of the Ebro. Polybius expressly states that, "if one takes the destruction of Saguntum to be the cause of the war",¹²⁴¹ the Carthaginians breached both the 'Lutatius' treaty' (241 B.C.) and 'Hasdrubal's treaty' (226/5 B.C.). It means that someone regarded the attack on Saguntum

¹²³⁷ Täubler 1921:42-6, 55.

¹²³⁸ Reid 1913:183-4.

¹²³⁹ Reid 1913:178.

¹²⁴⁰ Rich 2011a:2.

¹²⁴¹ Polyb. 3.30.3

as a violation of the engagement entered into with Hasdrubal – but how can this have happened? If Saguntum’s relationship with Rome began before the Ebro treaty was struck, then it contradicts it, because the pact seemed to give Carthage a free hand south of the Ebro. If the Saguntum relationship started after the Ebro treaty was struck, then the Iberian city was outside of the treaty itself.¹²⁴² The reference might be evidence of the erroneous view of the causes of the war held by the ancient authors.¹²⁴³ However, by reading Polybius more carefully, it is clear that the author identifies two separate events as causes. He considers the siege of Saguntum and the passage of the Ebro as antecedents (ἀρχαί) and not causes (αἰτίαι) of the war.¹²⁴⁴ However, Polybius seems to mention only the destruction of Saguntum, without adding to the account the subsequent crossing of the Ebro, a point that Rich argues as being merely a consequence of Polybius’ elliptical style of expression.¹²⁴⁵ By touching on the crossing of the Ebro, he himself proves that it was not even a ἀρχή of the war, since it took place after the Romans had declared war.¹²⁴⁶

Scholars prefer to focus their attention on the chronological aspect of the Roman ultimatum to Carthage, based on Saguntum and the Ebro River.[5.4] However, I have reported the cases related to the chronology of the events to: a) understand the problem(s); b) define the spatial context of the Ebro as *finis*; c) highlight that questions of time should be strictly related to the question of space. The last point is probably the most important and it will be considered in this section. I will show that there is a connection between the two landmarks, the Ebro and Saguntum – a fact that Polybius’ obscure account does not consider, but Livy’s does.

Polybius and almost the entire ancient tradition were never in any doubt that the pact was broken when Hannibal began his siege of Saguntum (219 B.C.), rather

¹²⁴² See, e.g., Hoyos 1998:162-3. Eckstein 2012a:222. Both authors have put under attack the thesis of Carcopino (1961; see discussion below) that there must have been a ‘second Ebro’, much nearer New Carthage and south of Saguntum, as no river fits the bill.

¹²⁴³ Those ancient and modern authors who refers to at Pol. 3.6.1-2.

¹²⁴⁴ Polyb. 3.6.

¹²⁴⁵ Polyb. 3.30.3. So rightly Gelzer 1963:2.32, 3.85; Gauthier 1968:98-9; Cuff 1973; Richardson 1986:23-4. Rich 2011a:11.

¹²⁴⁶ Salmon 1960:134.

than when he crossed the Ebro. That looks clear from: a) the consequentiality of the events, as Hannibal crossed the Ebro after the presentation of the Roman ultimatum; b) it was the fate of Saguntum which prompted the Roman declaration of war.¹²⁴⁷ Why, therefore, did Polybius write as though Hannibal had already broken the treaty by the time of the Roman ultimatum, if he had not yet crossed the Ebro? Rich offers an alternative to Hoffman and Scullard, not focussing on the Roman embassy but literary ‘splitting’ the question in two parts.¹²⁴⁸ He provides two alternatives to the problem, without a resolution, namely: a) that the treaty was not binding on the Carthaginian state, as it was struck with Hasdrubal; b) that the embassy actually transposed the argument and its warning twice, when the envoys visited Hannibal (winter 220-219 B.C.) and in Carthage (June 218), admonishing Hannibal not to attack Saguntum or cross the Ebro.¹²⁴⁹ Despite the strong Polybian reference to the Ebro treaty, Rich assumes that “Saguntum was protected by the treaty of 241 B.C., and in any case the main point that he (Polybius) wanted to make was that... they (the Romans) could be seen to be in the wrong once the Sardinian affair was identified as the true cause of the war”.¹²⁵⁰ This would explain the Carthaginians motivation for not discussing it.¹²⁵¹ Scholars have insisted that, from the standpoint of international law, the Romans had no legitimate complaint against Hannibal’s attack on Saguntum. So, by choosing to make an issue of Saguntum, if the Romans did not have the strict letter of the law on their side, it is highly probable that when they decided to regard the Carthaginian attack on the city as a *casus belli* – although they believed it gave them an excuse to attack without being the aggressors – it made them appear to behave with remarkable inconsistency.¹²⁵²

¹²⁴⁷ The only passage which appears to give any support to Hoffmann (1951) is Zonaras 8.22.1. See Rich 2011a:11.

¹²⁴⁸ Rich 2011a:12

¹²⁴⁹ So Täubler 1921:57-9; Gelzer 1963:2.33; Rich 2011a:11-2.

¹²⁵⁰ This view implies that the Ebro treaty in fact played no part in the Carthaginians’ discussions with the Roman embassy in 218 B.C. It seems to me an open question whether Polyb. 3.21.1 means that in their reply to the embassy the Carthaginians merely passed over the treaty without mention. See Gelzer 1963:2.30.

¹²⁵¹ Walbank 1979: comm. on 1.335.

¹²⁵² Salmon 1960:135

The solution to the problem can be found by reorganising the temporal order of things, matching the different stages of Hannibal's march (siege, ultimatum, crossing the river) with the Roman embassy steps (Rome – Carthago Nova – Carthage – Rome). However, the spatial issue concerning the topographical positioning of Saguntum and the Ebro remains unsolved. Saguntum is 100 miles south of the Ebro, well within the area which the Romans had agreed to recognise as the Carthaginian 'sphere of influence' seven years earlier. Topographically speaking, no scholar has connected Saguntum and the Ebro. In order to make Hannibal a breaker of the treaty and for the quietening of the Roman conscience,¹²⁵³ further developments were needed. Ancient writers adopted several solutions to the problem: a) supposing Saguntum to be situated north of the Ebro; b) presuming a full alliance of some standing between Rome and Saguntum before or after the treaty; c) introducing a clause which specially safeguarded Saguntum or all 'Greek cities' in Spain.¹²⁵⁴ The sophisticated hypothesis above has offered to modern authors different solutions to escape this kind of intellectual embarrassment: a) Scullard suggested that the Romans might have fixed the theoretical limits of Hasdrubal's aggression at the Pyrenees;¹²⁵⁵ b) Oertel saw the treaty as a compromise, where Rome sought to confine Carthage to a line south of Saguntum;¹²⁵⁶ and c) Schulten's view is that the limit set was "a very considerable concession by Rome".¹²⁵⁷

5.4.2 The clause

The annalistic tradition of the time of the late Roman Republic,¹²⁵⁸ and many modern scholars, have found it necessary, under these circumstances, to insert a special protective clause about the district of Saguntum into the Ebro treaty,

¹²⁵³ Reid 1913:186-7

¹²⁵⁴ Saguntum as Greek city (Strabo 3.4.6; Liv. 21.7.2) was included within those. Reid 1913:190.

¹²⁵⁵ Scullard 1935:194, 404, n.13.

¹²⁵⁶ Oertel 1932:225.

¹²⁵⁷ Schulten 1937:7.788; cf. Kramer 1948:18.

¹²⁵⁸ Cf. Liv. 21.2.7; Appian. *Iber.* 6.7.

against the clear statement of Polybius,¹²⁵⁹ who does not mention this clause. According to them, either Saguntum alone or all Greek cities of Spain were declared to be autonomous and free. The remainder of the peninsula was acknowledged to be subject to either Rome or Carthage and their allies, as Livy shows.¹²⁶⁰ Dorey quite convincingly proposed a different clause present in the Hasdrubal treaty.¹²⁶¹ As Livy states that there was a previous treaty, Dorey assumes that the Romans struck a private *foedus* with the Saguntines,¹²⁶² who gave themselves to Rome (*dedicij*).¹²⁶³ The Romans, therefore, were forced to base their claim to protect Saguntum on the treaty of Lutatius, signed in 241 B.C. at the conclusion of the First Punic War, which contained a clause that “neither side should attack the allies of the other”.¹²⁶⁴ The fact is that the treaty of 241 B.C. is unlikely to be the one Livy refers to, because Carthage seems not to recognise it at the Roman presentation of the ultimatum in June 218 B.C. Such a clause has not only to be considered as unhistorical from the point of view of cautious source criticism because it is found only in the inferior and late sources about the antecedents of the Second Punic War. As well as this, despite the fact that Hannibal accused the Romans of acting as judges, on the invitation of an autonomous state to the south of the Ebro, no express provision against such diplomatic moves can be found in any version of the Ebro treaty.¹²⁶⁵ It is possible that Livy has been inserted into the list of the authors who would have had the clause as stated at the beginning of this chapter: that Saguntum was in the middle of the two empires and had to be independent and

¹²⁵⁹ Polyb. 2.13.7: διόπερ ἅμα τῷ διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ποιήσασθαι συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν παρεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ καλούμενον Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν οὐκ ἔδει Καρχηδονίου ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβαίνειν.

¹²⁶⁰ Sumner (1968:219-20, n. 41) considers with no basis that the annalistic tradition is manifestly mendacious. In his opinion, the inclusion of the spurious clause exempting Saguntum shows that Livy is not a faithful record; it is in fact an interpretation of the agreement.

¹²⁶¹ Dorey 1960:5.

¹²⁶² In Liv. 21.18.7-11, the author uses the term *foedus* (and the verb to it related) 7 times.

¹²⁶³ Polybius (3.15.8) confirms that the Saguntines, who are said to have “given themselves into the fides (‘good faith’, in Greek *pistis*) of Rome”; cf. Beck 2011:231-4.

¹²⁶⁴ Dorey 1960:5. Cf. Polyb. 3.27.3: “κειμένων Ἰταλίας μεταξύ καὶ Σικελίας. τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπάρχειν παρ’ ἐκατέρων τοῖς ἐκατέρων συμμάχοις”.

¹²⁶⁵ Heichelheim 1955:217; Dorey 1960:3: “It is more likely that what Hannibal really accused the Romans of doing was putting to death the leaders of the anti-Roman faction at Saguntum, a thing they may well have done as soon as they had accepted the *deditio*”.

autonomous.¹²⁶⁶ After all, Livy does not dodge the problem. On the contrary he faces it, clearly stating:

*Ciuitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari.*¹²⁶⁷

That city (Saguntum) was by far the wealthiest of all beyond the Ebro; it was situated about a mile from the sea.

The main doubt or question from Livy's account is this: How is it possible that Saguntum was in the middle of the two Empires if it is 100 miles (150 km) south of the Ebro? It seems clear enough that the solution has to be found somewhere else.

5.5 Where was the Ebro?

5.5.1 Polybius and the collocation of the Ebro and Saguntum

In his references to the regions of the Mediterranean coast, Polybius is also careless in his expression about the topographical position of Saguntum. Did Polybius assume that Saguntum lay to the north of the Ebro, instead of a hundred miles to the South? This raises the question of Ebro and Saguntum's identification and positioning, when compared with Livy's account. In some passages, Polybius makes quite clear that Saguntum lay south of the Ebro and in others he seems to be unclear and mistakenly thinks that it lies north of the river, so that Hannibal had to cross the river in order to attack it.¹²⁶⁸ Polybius appears to be yet more puzzled, when he inconveniently uses the phrase 'within the Ebro' (ἐντόχος Ἰβηρος: the Latin equivalent of '*cis Hiberum*') referring to Saguntum.¹²⁶⁹ Polybius is thought to have used the Roman perspective, which would be restricted to the land lying north of the Ebro, but limited just to the

¹²⁶⁶ Liv. 21.2.7.

¹²⁶⁷ Liv. 21.7.2.

¹²⁶⁸ Polybius clearly locates Saguntum south of the Ebro at 3.14.9, 97.6, 98.5. Passages which have been suspected of implying that it lay north of the Ebro are 3.15.5, 30.3, 61.8; 4.28.1. Appian (*Hisp.* 7) locates it north of the Ebro.

¹²⁶⁹ Polyb. 3.14.

river. However, an examination of the passages reporting the same phrase¹²⁷⁰ seems to show that the words loosely indicate '*Hispania Citerior*', which was not limited by the river. It can also mean the districts to the south of the river, subdued by Hannibal, from the Carthaginian perspective.¹²⁷¹ In this way, we might claim that the point of view is different, whether from Roman side or from Carthaginian.¹²⁷² There is no escape from the supposition that Polybius must have inserted elements drawn from different writers, who adopted one or other of these views. The geographical error was doubtless the earliest and more likely to have been adopted by writers, whom Polybius would then have drawn on. He took the Roman view that Hannibal was a violator of the agreement between Hasdrubal and Rome, not assessing the foundation of the issue and not realising the contradiction he had created.¹²⁷³ Moreover, he did not link any territorial reference to the limitations of the sea (capes, promontories). Previous Romano-Punic treaties had been agreed on the basis of coastal and maritime features, which stated the presence of the parties beyond a certain 'fixed line', such as the much discussed Peace of Callias between Periclean Athens and the Persian Kingdom,¹²⁷⁴ and in well-known Roman treaties of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. with Tarentum and with Carthage,¹²⁷⁵ which are connected to subdivisions or delimitations of *imperia* by the sea.¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁷⁰ Polyb. 3.76; 10.7; 10.35.

¹²⁷¹ Polyb. 3.4.

¹²⁷² Some scholars have justified Polybius' expression with a lack of knowledge, because at the time of the treaty, Spain was such a *terra incognita* (unknown land) to most Romans. Cf. Bekker-Nielsen 1988.

¹²⁷³ Reid 1913:186-7

¹²⁷⁴ For the problems connected with the Peace of Callias: Meritt, Wade-Gery & McGregor 1950:275-6, 281; Wade-Gery 1940:121-2; Bury & Meiggs 1951:3.359-60, 842, 878; Bengtson 1950:196; Accame 1952. For the Roman treaties Appian, *Samn.* 3.10; Schachermeyr 1930; Frank 1940:1.6-7, 34-5; Rupprecht 1939; Beaumont 1939; Cary & Scullard 1975:60, 93, 100-105.

¹²⁷⁵ Heichelheim 1955:216.

¹²⁷⁶ In the earlier treaties between Carthage and Rome, the Carthaginians had made a practice of specifying certain geographical points beyond which the Romans and their allies might not proceed. In the first treaty "the Romans and their allies are not to sail beyond the *Kalon Akroterion* unless compelled by tempest or enemies" (Polyb. 3.22.5). Walbank (1957: comm. on 3.22.5) has identified the point referred as *Promunturium Pulchri* (Cap Farina). In the second treaty, "the Romans are not to raid, trade, or colonise beyond *Kalon Akroterion*, Mastia of Tarsis" (Polyb. 3.24-4). It is notable that here a natural geographical feature on the Spanish coast is not named. One might have expected the equivalent of Cape Palos to be specified, even though it may be that no name of this cape was sufficiently well known to be used. Schouten (1955:233) states, rather loosely, that "*Kap Palos bildete im 2. karthagisch-römischen*

5.5.2 Hiberum: Ebro or Júcar

One potential solution is enclosed in the following question: Was the river that Hasdrubal agreed not to cross a different one from the Ebro? This doubt has been raised by Carcopino, who advocated a ‘radical’ solution to the problem based on the topographical point of view. In his opinion, all the problems and contradictions linked to the treaty originate in the erroneous identification of the river ‘*Iber*’ with the modern Ebro. Supposedly, the river was actually another one well closer to the limit of Carthaginian control and south of Saguntum.¹²⁷⁷ Carcopino begins his argument by claiming that the river was the ancient Sucro (modern Júcar), which he believes was at one time called *Iber*.¹²⁷⁸ He asserts that Polybius “*est renseignée avec exactitude sur ces deux Iberes*”,¹²⁷⁹ ignoring or taking for granted the existence of two different rivers – both named Hiberus – which he never bothers to identify or explain. His argument is based on two passages: a) where *Iber* is undoubtedly the Ebro, because the Saguntines were included within the Ebro, as “after the defeat of this host, no one south of the *Iber* rashly ventured to face him except the people of Saguntum” (“ὤν ἡπτηθέντων οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ ῥαδίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντοφθαλμῆν ἐτόλμα πλὴν Ζακανθαίων”: from Hannibal’s viewpoint);¹²⁸⁰ b) when the Roman envoys warn Hannibal to leave Saguntum alone (Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν διεμαρτύροντο Ζακανθαίων ἀπέχεσθαι κείσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ πίστει καὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπ’ Ἀσδρούβου γενομένας

Vertrag von 348 v.C. die Nordgrenze des karthagischen Gebiets und die Südgrenze des römischen Schiffahrt. Berthelot (1934:99) considers the *Iugum Trete* or *Traete* (Avienus *Or. mar.* 452) rather “*la hauteur littorale tres accentuée (444 m.) qui se termine au cap de Palos*”. Cape Palos is apparently the *Promunturium (quod vocatur) Saturni* in Pliny (*N.H.* 3.19); Ptolemy (2.6.14) may rather be Punta Aguillones, as suggested by the nearby place names Escomberas and l. de Escombrera. Cf. Sumner 1968:229.

¹²⁷⁷ Carcopino 1953b; Carcopino 1953a; Carcopino 1961:19-21. His thesis was approved by E. Hohl (cf. Carcopino 1961:20, n. 3); Wickert 1968; Pedech 1958:442; 1964:184; Farnoux 1960:2.70. It has been briefly dismissed by Piganiol 1958:108; 1939:548; Walbank 1979:171; Walbank 1961:228-9; Cassola 1968:250.

¹²⁷⁸ The Jucar: Carcopino 1953a and Carcopino 1961; followed by, e.g., Pedech 1964:184, n. 15, and Picard 1966. An unidentified river south of the Jucar: Sumner 1968:220-32. The Segura: Barceló 1989:178-82; Vollmer 1990:123-9. Cf. Rich 2011a:10.

¹²⁷⁹ Carcopino 1961:35.

¹²⁸⁰ Polyb. 3.14.9.

ὁμολογίας),¹²⁸¹ Polybius gives no sign of awareness that he is actually talking about two different rivers in these adjacent passages.

Carcopino's theory is based on evidence that the *Iber/Hiberus* seems to have been the name of more than one river in the Iberian Peninsula. Avienus¹²⁸² – probably drawing indirectly on a Periplus of the 6th century B.C.¹²⁸³ – designates as *Hiberus* a river West of Cadiz and Tartessos, namely the Rio Tinto.¹²⁸⁴ Although there is no clear evidence of whether or not the Rio Tinto continued to be called *Hiberus*,¹²⁸⁵ we know that in the 4th century Scylax had already named the Ebro as *Iber*.¹²⁸⁶ In order to identify the *Iber/Hiberus* as a name for the Júcar, Carcopino adduces arguments which have been considered quite weak.¹²⁸⁷ Firstly, the French scholar¹²⁸⁸ considers the restored passage of Livy's in which Hannibal makes a speech before the battle of Ticinus, reading:

¹²⁸¹ Polyb. 3.15.5.

¹²⁸² Avien. *Or. mar.* 479-80, “Attollit inde se Sicana civitas propinquo ab amni sic vocata Hibericis”.

¹²⁸³ Cf. Schulten 1953:44; Carpenter 1925:49-50; Berthelot (1934:139) criticises the Periplus theory, but concludes that “dans l'ensemble le tableau brossé par Avienus figure l'Espagne telle qu'elle apparaissait du sixième au quatrième siècle avant Jésus-Christ”; Almagro Bash 1952:242-5; Garcia y Bellido 1952:540-2 (an excellent survey of the controversy).

¹²⁸⁴ Avien. *Or. mar.* 248-9; Berthelot 1934:77 (modern Odiel or Rio Tinto).

¹²⁸⁵ Plin. *N.H.* 3.7 names the Rio Tinto and the Odiel as the Luxia and Urius (or Urium); cf. Schulten 1953:336-7, who sees in Strabo 3.5.9 (from Posidonius) a reference to the Iber/Rio Tinto and also in Strabo 3.4.19 (based on Asclepiades of Myrlea); his interpretations are reasonable.

¹²⁸⁶ Avien. *Or. mar.* 503 refers to the Ebro as Hiberus; according to Schulten (1953:337), this is interpolation, and the original name of the Ebro is indicated in Avien. *Or. mar.* 505, “*Oleum flumen*”; this he regards as a translation of “Elatog, which would be in turn a corruption of Iberic Elaisos. That is possibly rather strained. Berthelot (1934:106-7) regards the *Oleum flumen* as “*un torrent côtier*,” possibly with an original Iberic name Elaisus, which he would connect with the Laietes/Laetani. Schulten (1953:309) overlooks the Scylax (Ps.-Scylax) text when he states that Hiberus and Ilp as the name of the Ebro first appear in Cato and Polybius.

¹²⁸⁷ Citing Avienus, Carcopino (1961:57-8) avows himself baffled by “*Hibericis*”. A. Berthelot (1934) has given the translation “*proche du fleuve auquel les Hiberes donnent ce nom*”. He has therefore understood Hibericis as an ablative (says Carcopino) equivalent to Hiberis and depending on vocata. Carcopino's condemnation of this “*du point de vue grammatical*” is evidently vitiated by his failure to recognise the dative of the agent. His second condemnation is that Avienus never calls the Iberians Hiberici elsewhere, always Hiberi (actually there are four examples of Hiberi: Avien. *Or. Mar.* 250, 472, 552, 613). The third condemnation is that it ought not to be said that the Iberians called the Jucar by the name (Sicanus) which it bore before their arrival on its banks. If there is perhaps a point here (which is doubtful since it postulates a rather vigilant attention to logic on the poetaster's part), it could be met by conceding that Hibericis is meant as a general designation for the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula. Cf. Sumner 1968:222-3.

¹²⁸⁸ Carcopino 1961:58-9.

*“Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis. Ad Hiberum est Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio moveris”.*¹²⁸⁹

“Do not cross the Ebro, see that you have nothing to do with the Saguntines. But Saguntum is not on the Ebro. You must not move a step anywhere”.

His explanation sees Hannibal claiming not to have infringed the ‘Ebro frontier’, because the Ebro – evidently the Júcar here – was near Saguntum. But since Hannibal would have had to cross the Júcar to get at Saguntum, “the explanation explains nothing”.¹²⁹⁰ On the inspiration of P. Pédech,¹²⁹¹ Carcopino introduces two further pieces of Livy’s text into the discussion:¹²⁹²

*civilis alius furor in castris ad Sucronem ortus; octo ibi milia militum erant, praesidium gentibus quae cis Hiberum incolunt impositum*¹²⁹³

From citizens sprang a different outbreak in the camp near Sucro. Eight thousand soldiers were there, posted as a garrison for the tribes dwelling on this side of the Ebro.

Since the garrison was *ad Sucronem* – “whether one sees in Sucro the name of the river Júcar or that of the town which derived its name from it”¹²⁹⁴ – its task was to guard the tribes *cis* (behind) the *Hiberus*, which cannot be the Ebro. Therefore, Sucro equates to Hiberum and, in turn, to Júcar. This implies that Livy uses two different names, Sucro and *Hiberus*, for the same river in the same sentence; consequently, one would contend that the passage proves that the Júcar is not also called *Hiberus*. It is correct that the garrison *ad Sucronem* was placed in surveillance over the *gentes ‘cis Hiberum’* (north of the Ebro), but the expression does not allow for the fact that it was also to watch over the *gentes* between the Ebro and the Júcar. Carcopino strangely does not refer to

¹²⁸⁹ Liv. 21.44.6.

¹²⁹⁰ An acceptable sense is given by the punctuation adopted by Walters and Conway: *Ad Hiberum est Saguntum?* (But, as the editors recognise, the sentence could well be a gloss). Sumner 1968:224.

¹²⁹¹ Pédech 1958:442.

¹²⁹² Carcopino 1960:341-44.

¹²⁹³ Liv. 28.24.5-6.

¹²⁹⁴ Carcopino 1960:342. The town of the same name on the river (now the Júcar). Cf. later sources: Plut. *Sert.* 19; *Pomp.* 19; App. *B.C.* 1.110; cf. App. *Hisp.* 34-6.

the parallel account of Livy,¹²⁹⁵ which removes any doubt that the river in question was the Ebro.¹²⁹⁶

Carcopino also raises the question of why Livy mentioned so unimportant a place as Onussa:¹²⁹⁷

a) *ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum per maritimam oram ducit.*

From Cádiz Hannibal returned to New Carthage, to the winter quarters of his army; setting out from thence, he marched along the coast, past the city of Onusa, to the Ebro.

b) *itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripiissent, Carthaginem.*¹²⁹⁸

So they spread their sails for Onusa, where they disembarked and stormed and sacked the city, and thence laid a course for Carthage.

Livy's mention of the town of Onussa does not seem random, suggesting that he knew it was important for some reason. He situates Onussa south of the Ebro, which would appear to identify it with Peniscola, situated some 30 miles south of the Ebro.¹²⁹⁹ However, new studies have precisely confirmed its identification with the settlement of Puig de la Misericordia en Vinaròs (Province of Castellón).¹³⁰⁰ He must surely have found the name in Silenus (via Coelius), who wrote from the Carthaginian side and was "*cum eo (sc. Hannibale) in castris. quamdiu fortuna passa est*" ("with him in the camp, and lived with him as long as fortune allowed").¹³⁰¹

The second reference to Onussa (b) concerns the sequel of the naval battle in 217 B.C. between Cn. Scipio and Hasdrubal, which, according to Polybius¹³⁰² and Livy,¹³⁰³ was fought off the Ebro, where the Massiliots notably took part. Carcopino holds that it could not have been fought at the Ebro, because: a) Hasdrubal could not have been so imprudent as to plan a combined land and

¹²⁹⁵ Liv. 26.41-42.

¹²⁹⁶ Livy in particular 26.41.1,6,23; 42.1; 42.6, "*septimo die ab Hiberis Carthaginem ventum est simul terra marique*". See Sumner 1968:226.

¹²⁹⁷ Also in Polyæn.8.16.6.

¹²⁹⁸ Liv. 22.20.4.

¹²⁹⁹ Cf. Schulten 1935:66-7.

¹³⁰⁰ Pérez Vilatela 1994.

¹³⁰¹ Nepos *Hann.* 13

¹³⁰² Polyb. 3.95.4-5

¹³⁰³ Liv. 22.19-5.

sea advance over a distance so great as that between New Carthage and the Ebro; and b) Cn. Scipio, starting from Tarraco, arrived near the mouth of the Iber¹³⁰⁴ and in a day and a night's sailing he must have travelled, not the 60 kilometres from Tarraco to the Ebro, but the 250 km from Tarraco to the Júcar. Therefore the battle was fought off the Júcar.¹³⁰⁵ Scullard proposed that Hannibal might have received the critical message that Rome declared war when he was at Carthage. If so, Onussa would have been the place where he made his final decision to advance and cross his Rubicon, the river Ebro.¹³⁰⁶

5.5.3 Building the concept of *finis*: Livy's evidences

This section will be used to show the Livian perspective on the 'question of the Ebro' through his evidence. Livy delineates a very clear picture of the interested areas of Spain at the time of events. He makes clear that the extension of Carthaginian dominion did not reach either the Ebro or Saguntum before Hannibal's campaign. [FIG 28 (left)] In *AUC*, Hannibal started his Iberian campaign of 220 B.C. by conquering the territory of the Olcades, a population in the southeast coast of Spain. This passage is also crucial as it has been interpreted as a first step in the march to Rome.

*quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginiensium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset.*¹³⁰⁷

But since an attack on them must certainly provoke the Romans to hostile action, he marched first into the territory of the Olcades — a tribe living south of the Ebro, within the limits of the Carthaginians but not under their dominion — that he might appear not to have aimed at the Saguntines but to have been drawn into that war by a chain of events, as he conquered the neighbouring nations and annexed their territories.

Livy emphasises this event and mainly the relationship between the Carthaginian territories and the Natives twice, saying that: a) Hannibal broke through their borders (*Olcadum prius fines*) and consequently invaded their

¹³⁰⁴ Polyb. 3.95.5.

¹³⁰⁵ Sumner 1968:225

¹³⁰⁶ Scullard 1952:214-5.

¹³⁰⁷ Liv. 21.5.3.

territory (*induxit exercitum*); and b) the Olcades were under the protection (or jurisdiction) of the Carthaginians (*gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginiensium erat*). Even though this invasion had not been considered a direct threat to Saguntum (*ut non petisse Saguntinos*), the Romans were already concerned about his movements (*Romana arma movebantur*), as they foreshadowed Hannibal's future plans. His strategy is quite interesting, as he began conquering the neighbouring populations (*sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus*) in order to annex them to his empire (*iungendo que tractus ad id*).¹³⁰⁸ Livy also provides crucial information from the Roman point of view: *Olcadum – ultra Hiberum ea gens...erat* (Olcades were a population beyond Ebro). On this generic information, the territory of the Olcades has been positioned on three pieces of evidence: a) In 219 B.C., the year after Hannibal's attack, exiles of the Olcades incited the Carpetani and neighbouring tribes to attack Hannibal near the Tagus on his return South;¹³⁰⁹ b) the topographic resemblance between the ancient ethnos Olcades and the modern town of Alcoy¹³¹⁰ (Alcoy has produced archaeological evidence indicating that it was a significant Iberian centre¹³¹¹); and c) in a list of troops Hannibal sent to Africa in the winter 219/218¹³¹² we find the mercenaries taken from Thersitai,¹³¹³ Mastianoi, Oretes Iberes and Olkades. This official order¹³¹⁴ might suggest either a topographical or a temporal order of conquest of the Olcades, as they lay beyond the Oretes (Oretani).¹³¹⁵ In both cases, the main point of Livy's account is that he supports the whole line adopted in the text, since he regards

¹³⁰⁸ Liv. 21.5.3

¹³⁰⁹ Polyb. 3.14.3; Liv. 21.5.7.

¹³¹⁰ Forbiger 1877:3.66 n. 71; Menendez Pidal 1952:32.

¹³¹¹ Cf. Garcia y Bellido 1952:1.2.464-466, 473, 491 n. 4

¹³¹² Polyb. 3.33-9

¹³¹³ E.g. *Tarshish, Tartessii*: cf. Walbank 1979: comm. on 3.33-9.

¹³¹⁴ Hannibal's own inscribed record, Polyb. 3.39.18-9

¹³¹⁵ De Sanctis 1907:3.1.416, places the Olcades on the Upper Guadiana; so also Walbank 1979: comm. on 3.13.5, "in what is now called La Mancha"; i.e. south to southeast of the Carpetani. Schulten (1937:7.789,n.1) took this view, but in (1935:24) placed them between the Oretani and Salamanca, between the Tagus and the Guadiana, regarding this campaign as a preliminary to that of the following year (so also Almagro Basch 1952:372).

the attack on the Olcades as a move in the direction of Saguntum.¹³¹⁶ Livy finalises the antecedents to Hannibal's expedition to Italy, stating that:

*et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium errant.*¹³¹⁷

And already the whole country beyond the Ebro belonged to the Carthaginians, except the territory of the Saguntines.

The quality of Livy's geographical knowledge of Roman and Carthaginian Spain is evident from his account, as well as the positioning of, and the relationship between, Saguntum and the Ebro. In three different contexts, he emphasises both the crucial role played by the Ebro and its vicinity to Saguntum a few years after the controversy around the treaty. The 'line of the Ebro' is considered a strong strategic checkpoint or means of defence: a) as shown at the beginning of this chapter, with the position kept by Cato at Ampurias in 185 B.C.; b) in 206 B.C., after the disastrous attempt to conquer Cadiz and Cnæus, and Publius Scipios' fall, when Lucius Marcius saved Roman power in Spain by settling behind the Ebro;¹³¹⁸ and 3) during Scipio's consulship, in 211 B.C.

This last point provides perhaps the best information, which emerges by comparing Livy's previous accounts, where again we see the 'line' of the Ebro as a defensive and tutelary segment behind which the Romans felt themselves to be safe. In 211 B.C., Romans and Carthaginians confronted each other in the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in Italy. Livy knows precisely the Carthaginian authorities' subdivisions at that time and the positions assigned to the Roman generals in Spain, showing a good command of Iberian geography. During the war against Hannibal's brothers, the consul Publius Cornelius Scipio:

profectus ab Tarracone et civitates sociorum et hiberna exercitus adiit, conlaudavitque milites quod duabus tantis deinceps cladibus icti provinciam

¹³¹⁶ If the Olcades are correctly located here, the non-reappearance of their name will be explained by its being submerged under the later, general designation of Contestani. Cf. J. Malaquer de Motes 1954:1.3.313-4; Sumner 1968:216-7 n. 36.

¹³¹⁷ Liv. 21.5.17.

¹³¹⁸ Liv. 25.37, 28.17.11 and 26.37.8-9; cf. Cic. *Pro Balbo* 17.2. This Roman *equus* collected the scattered remnants of the two armies (his and Gaius Laelius'), entrenched himself in safe quarters on the north of the Ebro, and even inflicted a defeat upon Hasdrubal son of Gisco. Cf. Shuckburgh 1892:382

*obtinuissent, nec fructum secundarum rerum sentire hostis passi omni cis Hiberum agro eos arcuissent, sociosque cum fide tutati essent.*¹³¹⁹

...was sent to Tarraco. From there he paid visits to the friendly tribes, and also inspected the winter quarters of the army. He praised them warmly for having maintained their hold on the province after sustaining two such terrible blows, and also for keeping the enemy to the south of the Ebro, thereby depriving them of any advantages from their victories, and also affording protection to their own friends.

The consul was able to hold the line of Ebro against three Carthaginian armies. The Livian account clearly shows the purpose of the river as both a demarcation line – which possibly included the newest ‘*provinciam*’ – and mainly as a means of defence. It appears quite clear that the great military success is due to keeping the enemy south of the Ebro or “to hold (*arcuissent*) the territories (*agros*) behind the Ebro (*cis Hiberum*)”. Moreover, in the same context Livy also writes from the Carthaginian perspective. By withdrawing into their respective winter-quarters, the Punic generals were assigned to three different sectors of the Iberian Peninsula, which roughly reflect the future subdivision of Roman Spain into the provinces of Lusitania, Baetica¹³²⁰ and Terraconensis:

*In hiberna diversi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum et Gadis, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem saltum; Hasdrubal Hamilcaris filius proximus Hiberno circa Saguntum hibernavit.*¹³²¹

Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, to Cádiz on the coast, Mago into the interior above the forest of Castulo, Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, near the Ebro in the neighbourhood of Saguntum.

Once more Saguntum and Ebro are very close to each other in Livy’s account. But how close? Livy is mindful not to use the prepositions *trans-* or *cis-*, but Hasdrubal’s command might cover the region from Saguntum to the Ebro. If the topographical positioning of the Ebro and Saguntum are correct, Hasdrubal did not cross the Ebro, remaining in a safe area quite far from the river, which once again works as demarcation line. On the Roman side, the winter-camp was at Tarraco, which does not lie on the Ebro. However, Tarraco’s position was equidistant from the Ebro, like Saguntum, albeit on the opposite side; and was considered to be ‘close’ to the river.

¹³¹⁹ Liv. 26.20.1-2.

¹³²⁰ For the earliest reference of the senatorial province see Liv. 28.2.15.

¹³²¹ Liv. 26.20.6.

We can draw two main conclusions from Livy's historical evidence and perspective: a) Ebro and Saguntum are part of the same context; the way they are presented suggests that they are close to, and in some way linked to, each other; b) the Romans chose the Ebro as a strategic and tactical means of checking the Carthaginians and fending them off from Northern Spain.

5.6 Conclusions

My investigation has shown Rome's reasons for concluding a treaty in Spain and has analysed Polybius' version of events, supported by modern scholars. They hold that the Romans exacted the undertaking not to cross the Ebro from Hasdrubal, because they were afraid that he might join forces with the imminent Gallic invasion.¹³²² Therefore, political motives led to the decision to agree on a natural feature as a *finis*, which reflected also the interests of Massilia, as Errington has argued.¹³²³ Finally, I have considered the geophysical and geopolitical arguments and events. It has been shown that the choice of the Ebro line as limit has been regarded as puzzling both in ancient and modern times. As I have already noted, this was one of the factors which led Carcopino and others to adopt the extreme view that the Ebro was not the river referred to in the treaty.¹³²⁴

[FIG 28]The background work done so far has just helped to visualise issues and the idea of *finis*, the concept of which goes far beyond the simple idea of geographical line. The main question – and possibly the most important one – still remains: What considerations would be expected to have governed the selection of the *finis*? From Rome's point of view, the further South the 'line' was drawn, the better.¹³²⁵ Probably, the 'practical line' of Ebro was not really a boundary in the way we would conceive of it. As already noted in the first chapter, the application of modern categories to ancient standards and the

¹³²² Rich 2011a:20-1.

¹³²³ Errington 1970:37-41.

¹³²⁴ A summary of his positions in: Carcopino 1960.

¹³²⁵ Sumner 1968:228.

unconsidered Roman perspective may have created problems regarding the interpretation of the treaty. It means that – whether the Ebro was considered as a border, even in a treaty – it is not to be considered as a ‘defined line’.¹³²⁶ It represents a line in the exact moment in which it is crossed, for example working as a sort of checkpoint. That is clear from Livy, when he numerically defines Hannibal’s army. He specifically gives the number of the soldiers present in the Carthaginian expedition:

*nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit.*¹³²⁷

He had ninety thousand foot soldiers and twelve thousand horses when he crossed the Ebro.

Now, if we do not consider Livy’s information as vague, then we have to think that some sentinel counted them, at least approximately.

It is more than understandable that scholars considered Rome’s procedure of declaring war quite paradoxical.¹³²⁸ Even without bringing Saguntum into it, the Roman policy would be hard to comprehend. Did the final agreement allow the Carthaginians to push their dominions as far as the Ebro, leaving Saguntum at their back? In ‘Polybius’ treaty’ there is no trace of the ‘Saguntine clause’; in Livy, it is more than evident. Rich himself seems to have misunderstood the terms of the agreement, fluctuating between Livy and Polybius. According to him, “both sides undertook to refrain from crossing the Ebro and to guarantee the freedom of Saguntum”, when Polybius says that only the Carthaginians were forbidden to do this.¹³²⁹ Polybius’ account may perhaps be taken to indicate that a request from the Saguntines for assistance was conveniently interpreted by the chroniclers on the Roman side as equivalent to a total surrender of their interests into Roman hands ($\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma = \textit{deditio in fidem}$).¹³³⁰ We have already discussed the fact that this would not justify war, and that the view of Polybius’ existing agreements could not reasonably be

¹³²⁶ For a sceptical position regarding the concept of the border in the debates leading up to the Second Punic War, see Brunt 1990:300; Ando 2008:505, n. 36.

¹³²⁷ Liv. 21.23.2

¹³²⁸ Cf. Carcopino 1961:44.

¹³²⁹ Rich 2011a:5

¹³³⁰ Polyb. 3.15.8.

maintained.^[5.5.1] Rich still insists – showing the modern limits in understanding the Roman and mainly the Livian perspective – that “if the treaty with Hasdrubal imposed reciprocal obligations on the Romans in respect of Spain south of the Ebro, the connection with Saguntum will have been in conflict with the treaty”.¹³³¹ Rich’s vision recalls the common attitude that other cultures had about the idea of border, as an impassable line. Polybius is Greek, not Roman. Specific Roman political terms might have been quite obscure to Greeks.¹³³² Those are concepts which were probably hard to understand or even to translate for non-Romans, let alone the weight and the acceptations of the words used.¹³³³ Only Livy believed in a complete treaty before the beginning of the siege, stating clearly the position of Saguntum ‘in the middle’ (*in medio*) of two *imperia*. Yet there has been inexplicable criticism of Livy. For instance, Reid’s opinion that Livy’s account of the *foedus* would not have included the Saguntines, who were supposed to dwell between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, has no basis.¹³³⁴ This is due to the fact that Polybius mentions as the only provision of the treaty that the Carthaginians were not to cross the Ebro for war, and in his first reference to the treaty he also states that “they said nothing about the rest of Spain”.¹³³⁵ Many scholars have supposed that the Romans also gave a reciprocal undertaking not to cross the Ebro themselves. Neither of these Mediterranean powers were restricted from crossing the Ebro peacefully, for example for commerce; nothing was said about their position in Spain south

¹³³¹ Rich 2011a:28

¹³³² Polybius can hardly grasp the meaning of ‘*deditio in fidem*’ or ‘*civitas foederata, immunes or libera*’. The problem and its interpretations has been faced by Flurl 1969. See also Nicolet 1980:118.

¹³³³ See Livy’s specification in clarifying the comparison made between the two treaties – Hasdrubal’s and Lutatius’ by the Carthaginian Senate (21.18.10-11): “You told us that you refused to be bound by the treaty which your consul, C. Lutatius, concluded with us, because it did not receive the authorisation of either the senate or the Assembly. A fresh treaty was accordingly made by your government. Now, if no treaties have any binding force for you unless they have been made with the authority of your senate or by order of your Assembly, we, on our side, cannot possibly be bound by Hasdrubal’s treaty, which he made without our knowledge”. Livy’s explanation (21.19.2-4): “For had it been a matter for argument, what ground was there for comparing Hasdrubal’s treaty with the earlier one of Lutatius? In the latter it was expressly stated that it would only be of force if the people approved it, whereas in Hasdrubal’s treaty there was no such saving clause. Besides, his treaty had been silently observed for many years during his lifetime, and was so generally approved that, even after its author’s death, none of its articles were altered”.

¹³³⁴ See the discussion in Liv. 21.18 and cf. 19: *Hasdrubalis foedere*. See Reid 1913:187

¹³³⁵ Polyb. 2.13.7. Other references to the prohibition on the Carthaginians crossing the Ebro: Polyb. 3.6.2, 15.5, 27.9.29, 3.30.3.

of the Ebro; and no restriction was placed on the Romans in respect to Spain. After all – as Rich rightly affirms – a Roman undertaking not to cross the river would have been nonsense, as Rome’s occupation of the soil did not even reach Northern Italy.¹³³⁶ Scholars understood there was a duality in the treaty: ‘Polybius’ linearity’ is incompatible with ‘Livy’s spatiality’. The geometrical patterns (triangles) – which Polybius applies to geographical features – reveal a criss-crossing series of lines forming a triangular-shape, which clearly contrasts with Livy’s spatial view of geo-political features.¹³³⁷ [6.2.3] This point has led to the need to interpret the treaty as an establisher of ‘spheres of influence’, which the scholars have not yet been able to detect as *imperia*.

The Polybian ‘linear vision’ of the boundary of the Ebro is much more explicit in Hannibal’s speech to his troops after crossing the Alps and just before the first battle.¹³³⁸ Surprisingly enough in Livy’s version, Hannibal turns the tables; he accuses and explicitly blames the Romans for having broken the terms of the treaty first, on two occasions,¹³³⁹ and for not respecting those lines that they themselves had drawn.¹³⁴⁰

circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque quos non excedamus; neque eos quos statuit terminos observat. “Ne transieris Hiberum! ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! ad Hiberum est Saguntum?”¹³⁴¹ Nusquam te vestigio moveris! parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademisti? adimis etiam Hispanias? et inde si decessero, in Africam transcendes? transcendes dico?”¹³⁴²

They confine and enclose us within mountains and rivers as boundaries, but they do not observe the limits which they themselves have fixed. “Do not cross the Ebro, see that you have nothing to do with the Saguntines. But Saguntum is not on the Ebro. You must not move a step anywhere. Is it a small matter, your taking from me my oldest provinces, Sicily and Sardinia? Will you cross over into Spain as well, and if I withdraw from there, will you cross over into Africa? Do I say, will cross over? You have crossed over.

¹³³⁶ Rich 2011a:6.

¹³³⁷ Clarke 1999:103.

¹³³⁸ Steele 1907:436.

¹³³⁹ Cp. Appian. *Iber.* 7.3. Polybius’ passage (3.15.8) has to be interpreted with the help of the preceding passage Polyb. 3.15.7. Cf. also the same motives which appear in a more novelistic setting in Liv. 21.18 (esp.10).

¹³⁴⁰ Liv. 21.44.5-6.

¹³⁴¹ “*At liberum est Saguntum!*” Krauss (1994:chap. ii. §7): “*ad Hiberum est Saguntum*”.

¹³⁴² Liv. 21.44.5-7.

Of course, Hannibal's reference to the broken treaty mentions some sort of broken clause, because no armed Roman invasion of Saguntine, or any other, territory to the south of the Ebro, had ever taken place.¹³⁴³ Livy twice has Hannibal use the word *terminus*, choosing his terminology carefully in order to distinguish the words *terminus* and *finis*. Rome might be accused of imperialistic behaviour, imposing her *termini* which can or cannot be crossed. However, provisions forbade her from crossing specified 'natural features' in previous treaties, where normally the dominant – or most powerful entity – imposed her own rules in not crossing such lines. Rome had to accept such restrictions in its first two treaties with Carthage and in an early treaty with Tarentum, as well as imposing them in their peace treaties with the Illyrians in 228 and Antiochus in 188 B.C.¹³⁴⁴ The idea of boundaries resembling imaginary lines seems to belong to the Greeks (Polybius),[5.4.1; 5.5.1] Carthaginians (Hannibal through Livy),[5.6] Latins and Etruscans,[7.5.2] to which Rome adapted, imposing the 'lines' which could or could not be crossed and being accused of imperialistic behaviour.

The actual solution to the problem comes from Rich. The Carthaginians were bound by Hasdrubal's undertaking not to cross the Ebro for war, and the protection accorded to each side's allies under the treaty of 241 B.C. did extend to those, like Saguntum, who had only become allies after the treaty was concluded.¹³⁴⁵ A huge apparatus of later sources gives a version of the treaty in which the ban on crossing the Ebro applies to both sides, but, as we have seen, this version also includes a guarantee for Saguntum, which clearly betrays it as unhistorical.¹³⁴⁶ My final question is, in the Roman view, did then the Carthaginians have permission to expand up to the Ebro?

¹³⁴³ Heichelheim 1955:216.

¹³⁴⁴ Carthage: Polyb. 3.22.4-7, 24.4, 11. Tarentum: Appian *Samn.* 7. Illyrians: Polyb. 2.12.3; Appian *Ill.* 7. Antiochus: Polyb. 21.43.14; Liv. 38.38.9. Cf. Täubler 1921:60-2; Dahlheim 1968, 156-7; Rich 2011a:20-1.

¹³⁴⁵ Rich 2011a:8

¹³⁴⁶ Saguntum protected by the Ebro treaty: Liv. 21.2.7, 18.9; Appian *Hisp.* 7, 11; Florus *Epic.* 1.22.4; Zon. 8.21.4; Silius Italicus 1.294-5. The embassy to Hannibal: Cic. *Phil.* 5.27; Liv. 21.6.8, 9.3; Appian *Hisp.* 11; Zon. 8.21.7-8. Both of these distorted versions may have originated with Coelius. Cf. De Sanctis 1907:3.1.428-30; Schwarte 1983. The attempt of Twyman (1987) to defend the authenticity of this version of the embassy to Hannibal is wholly implausible.

In my opinion, to understand the Livian perspective we should expand this vision, on the basis of the Roman experience. From the Saguntine incident, it is perhaps possible to draw conclusions about the function that the Iberian city served for the Romans. As Salmon has already suggested, Rome did not move at all to send military aid to her ally beyond the Ebro (Saguntum) during Hannibal's attack. The Romans were simply using the town as 'look-out post' to check Hannibal's policy and movements. With his exceptional intuition, Salmon stated: "The plain fact is, of course, that, legal niceties aside, Saguntum was the acid test of Carthaginian intentions".¹³⁴⁷ This idea is confirmed by the events that followed Saguntum's fall. Rome did not intervene to save the Iberian city and instead chose the best checkpoint in order to save Massilia. Romans, on their way to and from Spain, made the Phocian colony their regular port of call.¹³⁴⁸ Scipio's soldiers disembarked at the mouth of the *Rhodanus* (modern Rhone) to check Hannibal's march, but they arrived three days later.¹³⁴⁹ Probably for this reason, Hannibal had carefully avoided passing by Massilia and crossing the Rhone at its mouth, preferring to engage skirmishes with Gallic allies of Massilia.¹³⁵⁰

We should embrace a different view in order to understand the Ebro treaty. Salmon's last sentence, therefore, detects a new vision of 'bordering line', as expressed in the Roman conception. His exceptional intuition helps to identify the *finis* as not just a line but an expanded sector, which encompassed key points or areas behind and beyond the natural feature named as *finis*. First of all we should reconsider the Livian term *finis* and then expand the definition of the concept to include other features previously discussed.[1.4.1] Secondly, we should focus on the function that Saguntum served for the Romans and the

Twyman's reconstruction of events postulates Roman embassies to Hannibal both before and after his attack on Saguntum (attested by no source) and Roman demands to Carthage for the surrender of Hannibal both during the siege and after the city's fall (so Livy, but an obvious doublet). Twyman fails to recognise that Livy's account is the product of his attempt to reconcile his conflicting sources. Siege of Saguntum by the Carthaginians and as its second their crossing, contrary to the treaty, of the river Ebro. Polyb. 3.6.1-2. Cf. Rich 2011a:5, n.14.

¹³⁴⁷ Salmon 1960:135.

¹³⁴⁸ In 218 B.C. Roman envoys returning from Carthage were first greeted hospitably at Massilia; so Liv. 21.20.7-9.

¹³⁴⁹ Liv. 21.26.3-6; cf. Liv. 37.57.1-2, 42.4.1. DeWitt 1940:613-4.

¹³⁵⁰ Liv. 21.29.2-4

value of *finis*. Thirdly, we must consider and apply the definition of *finis* to the concept of *imperium*.¹³⁵¹ We should expand this vision of an imaginary line superimposed on the River Ebro, based on the Roman point of view. *Finis* might be, not just ‘a line’, but an expanded sector, encompassing key points or areas.

Livy believed that a treaty had been signed before the beginning of the siege, stating clearly the position of Saguntum ‘in the middle’ (*in medio*) of two *imperia*. To his eyes, there was no difference between the siege of Saguntum and the crossing of the Ebro: both would have infringed Hasdrubal’s agreement as Hannibal would already have entered its opponent’s *imperium*.¹³⁵² Rome used Saguntum as ‘look-out post’ to monitor the sector between the Iberian *oppidum* and the Ebro and determine Hannibal’s real intentions.

For the Romans, the treaty did not serve simply to draw a line which should not be crossed. Probably, this is a common imperialistic view, but Rome was not used to being restrained behind any line – as in the case of the treaty with Tarentum – and as it appears in Scipio’s words on Spain:

*non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant, nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu hostes, sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque bellum.*¹³⁵³

We must not remain stationary here, defending the bank of the Ebro against the enemy’s passage of the river; we must cross over ourselves and shift the seat of war.

It is also possible to contextualise the connection between the idea of the line and the Livian phrase ‘*transire Hiberum*’,¹³⁵⁴ when at the end of the 1st century B.C. the argument of crossing rivers was seen as an ‘act of war’.¹³⁵⁵ In the following chapters, I will show how Rome tended to be very precise in

¹³⁵¹ “*Imperium sine fine*”: Cf. Brund 1990:300-2.

¹³⁵² Polybius (3.40.2) implies that early in 218 B.C. the Romans were expecting Hannibal to cross the Ebro.

¹³⁵³ Liv. 26.41.6. Cf. Canter 1917:148.

¹³⁵⁴ Cf. Liv. 21.16.6.

¹³⁵⁵ Silius’ Hannibal appears purposefully equated with Lucan’s Caesar (451-52): “*Hannibal, abrupto transgressus foedere ripas, / Poenorum populos Romana in bella vocabat*”. The phrase ‘*abrupto foedere*’ echoes Caesar’s (B.C. 1.4) ‘*rupto foedere regni*’, while *transgressus ripas* recalls Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon, which, no less than Hannibal’s crossing of the Ebro, unleashed upon Rome the shadow of war. Cf. Albrecht 1964:54-5, on the parallel between Hannibal and Caesar; for Lucan’s use of the same equation, cf. Ahl 1972:1007-8; Vessey 1974:29.

composing her treaties or agreements, thwarting any notions of invasion that her enemies may have.

Chapter 6. Alps: Italy's wall?

6.1 Introduction and aims

This chapter aims to analyse the Alps as *finis* focusing primarily on its use within Livy's work, and using it as a starting point for discussion. The term *finis* appears in the same context as the Alps in only two cases. Livy states the Alps is a *finis*: a) indirectly, during the Hannibalic War or Second Punic War, when Hannibal was about to leave Italy:¹³⁵⁶

*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.*¹³⁵⁷

Their provinces were not contiguous, as in former years, but widely separated, at the extreme *finis* of Italy. One was to act against Hannibal in Bruttium and Lucania, the other in Gaul against Hasdrubal, who was reported to be now nearing the Alps. Whichever of them should receive Gaul in the allotment was to choose the army he preferred out of the two that were in Gaul and in Etruria and the one at the city.

and b) directly, twenty years (186-183 B.C.) after the end of the Hannibalic War, when a group of wandering people crossed the Alps to settle in the Venetian plain:

*Alpes prope inexsuperabilem finem in medio esse: non utique iis melius fore quam qui eas primi pervias fecissent*¹³⁵⁸

That the Alps, an almost impassable barrier, lay between the two countries, and whoever should pass in future, should meet no better fate than those who first proved them to be passable.

The following chapter will be divided into two sections. The first will consider Hannibal's campaign and his journey through the Alps (including several aspects of the crossing, with an appendix at the end of his journey). The second

¹³⁵⁶ Livy explicitly mentions the Alps 50 times in addition to the two passages listed above. Therefore, Alps are cited 52 times in AUC, with the following scansion: 2 times in book 1; 4 times in book 5; 21 times in book 21; 5 times in book 27; 1 in book 22; 3 in book 23; 3 in book 26; 4 in book 27; 2 in book 28; 1 in book 29; 2 in book 30; 3 in book 39; 2 in book 40; 1 in book 41; 2 in book 43.

¹³⁵⁷ Liv. 27.35.10.

¹³⁵⁸ Liv. 39.54.12.

will examine the invasion of the Eastern Alps by the Gallic tribes and the foundation of Aquileia, where the Livian connection – Alps / *finis* – is more concrete. Each section will evaluate different topics, highlighting the features of the Alps and the attributes that it begins to acquire as a *finis*: a) as prominent, impassable natural feature;[6.1; 6.2] b) as a delimiter (*extremis*) of a territory or area (in this case of Italy);[6.2] c) by their function, view and structure in relation to their crossing (alpine passes: *iuga or saltus*) and the advantages and disadvantages of holding that passage;[6.1] d) as sacred,[6.1] juridical or legal barrier;[6.2] and e) the view or vision¹³⁵⁹ from the top of the mountains, which guarantees a sort of visual control.[6.1; 6.2] This discussion regarding these topics will not necessarily follow this rigid order.

Although Livy straightforwardly applies the 'label' of *finis* to the Alps only in the passage on Aquileia, both the above passages provide more elements and features linkable with the *finis* – some of which are common to both. The data drawn from both passages allow us to enrich our knowledge of the term *finis* and, even better, the Livian understanding of the relationship between a delimiting feature and the territory that it is delimiting. Besides showing different features that become associated with, or are characteristic of a *finis*, the final objective for this investigation is to provide further evidence of the *finis* as a zonal feature rather than a linear one.

6.1.1 Livian premise to Alps

This section examines Livy's use of the Alps at a functional level. In two very early cases both narratively and chronologically,¹³⁶⁰ the mountain belt is used as a feature of enclosure to define an area associated with ethnically defined groups, which extends from the Alps to the sea. Livy compares delimitative terms of the first passage, when defining the territory inhabited by the

¹³⁵⁹ So Edel (1995:154): "Aristotle reckoned the physic of vision must involve an emanation from the eye to the object, and I his apparent acceptance of the idea that in the act of vision the eye takes on the colour of the object. [...] He opposes the view that an emanation from the eye can reach as far as the stars or coalescence somewhere on the way with the object".

¹³⁶⁰ Liv. 1.1.3 and 1.2.5.

Euganeans¹³⁶¹ between the sea and the Alps (*Euganeisque qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant*)¹³⁶² and that of the Etruscans.¹³⁶³ In the former case, the Alps served to delimit the area where the Venetian population of Euganeii lived,¹³⁶⁴ whilst in the latter case, Livy set the latitudinal limits of Etruscan *fama*,¹³⁶⁵ as stretching from the Alps to the Strait.¹³⁶⁶ [2.2] Livy recalls two geographical settings, displaying practically two limits on the Italian soil: the Mountains and the Sea. Indeed, the geographical collocation of the Euganeans is described by Livy¹³⁶⁷ in the same way he defines the extent of Etruscan *fama*. The distinction between the two Livian passages is mainly based on Euganeans' real presence (*incolere*) in that territory¹³⁶⁸ and Etruscans' "renown of her people's name" (*fama nominis*), but the delimitation is given by two similar natural features: the mountain range of the Alps and the sea or a strait (*fretum*).¹³⁶⁹ Mussi, following Semple's school of thinking, points out: "The Italian peninsula is situated in an interesting geographical position, severed as it is from the rest of Europe by a major natural barrier, the Alps, while the sea comprises the rest of its natural frontiers".¹³⁷⁰ These two elements delimited the territoriality of Italy, as well as the population which had settled in or had an influence on that specific area.

By underlining this point, my aim is to show that Livy delimited an area of genuine occupation, as well as an area of 'renown', through the use of two natural limits at the extremities of the territory. Therefore, the Alps in Livy work as a delimitative, geographical element, which encloses (or creates) the peninsula and its population in the North. About's poetic words recall this last concept: "Nature, which has done everything for the Italians, has taken care to

¹³⁶¹ Smith 1870:873, s. 'Euganeii'; Pulgram 1958:166; Kronasser 1957:104; Cornell 2001:110, F59.

¹³⁶² Liv. 1.1.3; cf. Menis (1988:19) identifies them with the palaeo-veneti; Atchity & McKenna 1998:139; Knox & McKeown 2013:294.

¹³⁶³ Liv. 1.2.5.

¹³⁶⁴ Liv. 1.1.3; Bačić 1995:236; Mellor 2004:173.

¹³⁶⁵ On the concept of *fama* in Livy: Hardie 2012:226-272; on the same topic in Virgil: Syson 2013.

¹³⁶⁶ Kennedy, Sydnor Roy & Goldman 2013:24-5.

¹³⁶⁷ The importance of Livy's origins is stressed in: Macadam *et al.* 1971:267.

¹³⁶⁸ Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 3.19.23, 20.24, where the Euganeans are said to have Latin rights, whose towns listed by Cato in number of 34; Rackham 1958:99; Beneš 2011:45.

¹³⁶⁹ On this point, see Bonfante 1999.

¹³⁷⁰ Mussi 2001:xi.

surround their country with magnificent barriers. The Alps and the sea protect it on all sides, isolate it, bind it together as a distinct body, and seem to design it for an individual existence".¹³⁷¹ In *AUC*, Livy depicts the extension of Italy, from the Alps to the southern regions, repeating this concept in different ways and contexts. Livy is undoubtedly affected by the Augustan policy for a whole, unified Italy, depicting its completeness. This concept of the unity of the 'geographical' Italy is quite important as Livy provides conceptual, real and intratextual *finis* when telling us of Hannibal's campaign.

6.1.2 Geographical premise

[FIG 29, 31, 32]The grounds for this section are embryonically present in the study undertaken by Semple, who writes about the 'barrier boundary' of the Mediterranean, which "occupies the subsidence areas in the broad belt of young, folded mountains which cross Southern Europe and the neighbouring parts of Africa and Asia".¹³⁷² As Horden and Purcell's early forerunner,¹³⁷³ Semple defines the Mediterranean's geographical location as immensely important, due to the fact that it lies on the northern margin of the trade-wind tract. Those two factors give it the isolating boundaries of mountains and deserts, making it in a peculiar sense an enclosed sea. It is enclosed, not only by the land, but by barrier forms of the land.¹³⁷⁴ These barrier boundaries exercised a dominant influence upon Mediterranean history and, moreover, usually form part of a wider system.¹³⁷⁵ In this context, mountain ranges and rivers – but also seas and deserts – working as filters, have passage spots, which Semple defines as 'breaches'. The breaches in these wide barriers were varied in their geographical character and are often referred to as the

¹³⁷¹ About 2008:17.

¹³⁷² Semple 1915.

¹³⁷³ Horden & Purcell 2000.

¹³⁷⁴ Braudel 1949:1.205; Bergier 1963:17.

¹³⁷⁵ Semple 1915:27. The Alps are not just a barrier created by man, they also affect the whole European climate, "preventing air from Continental Europe and from the Mediterranean sea, and are responsible for its climatology. Only in few cases when a strong pressure gradient is present between the two sides of the Alps, the orographic barrier can be overpassed". (from Sandroni & Cerruti 1989:14). Cf. George (2009:387): "The Alps also form a barrier to the mass movement of air and are responsible for the sharp climatic divide between Atlantic, Continental and Mediterranean influences".

Mediterranean Basin, considered an enclosed 'entity' or system. I would rather define them as 'osmotic areas': extended areas often next to some natural feature, where an exchange of any type was possible. They have crowded into their narrow channels streams of trade, migration, colonisation and conquest. The Alps have drawn peoples from remote sources and directed them to equally remote destinations and the following statement highlights the difference between barrier and passageway: "Other ranges have proved to be less of a barrier, imposing restrictions on movement rather closing it off altogether".¹³⁷⁶ In her definition of breaches of the Mediterranean Basin, Semple deems the Sea as enclosed in a contiguous straight line of mountain ramparts from the folded ranges behind Gibraltar to the massive Taurus System.¹³⁷⁷ In this arch, Semple considered four main 'breaches': a) the Bosphorus-Hellespont; b) the Balkan barriers and the Morava-Vardar furrow; c) the Rhone Valley and d) passes of the Julian Alps and the Karst.¹³⁷⁸ More recently, King has stressed that the European landscape presents startling diversity through the presence of mountain ranges: "In physical terms it varies from the barrier of the high Alps, through rich agricultural plains, to marshy shifting swamps at river mouths".¹³⁷⁹ I shall use the last two examples to highlight the importance of these 'osmotic areas' in relation to Livy. In order to have a clearer picture of the Alps during the Hannibalic invasion, I shall also cursorily consider the whole of Hannibal's journey in connection with the crossing of natural features, excluding the questions related to the Ebro, handled in the previous chapter.[5.2; 5.4; 5.5]

6.2 Hannibal's journey

For about two thousand years, since Hannibal crossed the Alps, historians have argued as to which pass he walked through and several scholars have tried to

¹³⁷⁶ Ostergren & Le Boss 2011:63.

¹³⁷⁷ Semple 1915:27.

¹³⁷⁸ Semple 1915:29-30; Pyrenees, Alps and Balkans also sounders the Mediterranean from the Temperate zone, cf. Gordon Childe 1958:15.

¹³⁷⁹ King 1990:7.

follow the routes through the Alps.¹³⁸⁰ However, I consider this argument a purely theoretical exercise, reserved only for those who love detecting precision in history.¹³⁸¹ For the purposes of my enquiries, the relation of the passage to the link between mountain ranges and other natural features is of far greater importance than exactly which pass was used by the Carthaginian. However, *fines* are likely considered as obstacles, by possessing on or around them key passage points, where their crossing used to take place.¹³⁸² Brown indicates the main arguments in this area¹³⁸³ – raised by de Beer¹³⁸⁴ and which I am partially following – that Hannibal's journey can be helpful for illustrating the importance of specific areas which granted passage through the Alpine range.¹³⁸⁵

6.2.1 Natural sets, barriers and challenges

Fines, as rivers and mountain ranges, can be considered 'barriers' in terms of the difficulties one faces in crossing them.¹³⁸⁶ They can be traversed only in specific crossing places or areas,¹³⁸⁷ as von Humboldt remarked: "It is only in the writings of the great historians, C. Julius Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus that we meet some examples [...], where they are compelled to describe battlefields, the crossing of rivers or difficult mountain passes, in their narrations of the struggle of man against natural obstacles".¹³⁸⁸ Hannibal had to bear in mind the fact that, along his journey once he left Spain, he would have to cross three wide rivers and three broad mountain ranges, the sets Hiberum / Rhone / Po,

¹³⁸⁰ Cf. i.e. Whitaker 1794:1.*passim*; Walbank 1985:107-19; Prevas 1998; Terrell 1922; Hutchinson 2013:166; as last work, which sums up the previous researches: Mahaney 2008:39-54.

¹³⁸¹ On this point see e.g. the very pertinent remarks of Walbank 1956 *ad loc.*; Salmon 1960:137.

¹³⁸² On the position of the so-called Island, at the junction between the river Isaras/Skaras and Rhone; the pass used by Hannibal's army: the entranceway on the western slope, and the eastern way out to Italy; the attack in the gorge by the Allobroges on his approach to the main pass, cf. Brown 1963:38.

¹³⁸³ Brown 1963:38.

¹³⁸⁴ Beer 1955.

¹³⁸⁵ Beattie 2006:26.

¹³⁸⁶ On the Alps and human limits: see Šubr 1991; Hutchinson 1993:72.

¹³⁸⁷ Specifically on Livy's crossing: Terrell 1922.

¹³⁸⁸ Humboldt 1849:388; cf. Kruckeberg 2004:23.

and Pyrenees / Alps / Apennines.¹³⁸⁹ Hannibal also knew that it would have been foolish for a big army to cross the Alpine barrier, even free of heavy siege equipment.¹³⁹⁰ The interminable march over the Alps (*magis iter immensum Alpesque*)¹³⁹¹ was staggeringly costly in men and in the even more important pack animals.¹³⁹² As Salmon remarked, in the long run Hannibal did not fail in any strategic field: logistics, strategy and still less in tactics, but he was unable to solve the problem of how to bring a siege-train with him into Italy, which represented his weakest link.¹³⁹³ When we think of the concept of *finis* as barrier from here onward, it must be made clear that, while 'barriers' are not impassable to human beings, they present two main problems: a) they require a passageway to be crossed, which can be a bridge (or boats), [2.2.8] a mountain pass [6.1.2; 6.2.1; 6.2.7] or a gate; [2.2.5; 2.3.2; 4.2.3.1] b) men alone may be more likely to cross them, but the transport of heavy gear/equipment, such as siege machines, animals or wagons, heavily restrained and sometimes made it impossible for them cross. Salmon – by giving his eminent opinion on the difference between rivers and mountains – pinpointed that “it would have been difficult but presumably not impossible to get it across rivers like the Rhone and Po: all history proves that rivers are obstacles, but by no means insuperable barriers, to an attacking force. Mountains, on the other hand, are a very different proposition. They have always proved to be much more than mere temporary hindrances to military operations.”¹³⁹⁴

Of the three mountain barriers, the Alps were without a doubt the most difficult obstacle to cross.¹³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, even the smaller barrier of the Apennines was also disastrous for Hannibal's army, in spite of the lighter nature of the

¹³⁸⁹ For a contemporary understanding of the connective tissue formed by mountain ranges and rivers: see Ertl 2008:5.

¹³⁹⁰ Probably these connections are also unwillingly reported by Roberts 2006:69.

¹³⁹¹ Liv. 21.29.7.

¹³⁹² Liv. 22.3.1. Once Hannibal finally descended the Alps into the plains of northern Italy: he had lost at least one-third of the 40,000 men with whom he had started out from Spain and all his elephants except one.

¹³⁹³ Salmon 1960:137.

¹³⁹⁴ Salmon 1960:37. Cf. Liv. 21.43.4: “*circa Padus amnis — maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano*” (round you is the river Po — the Po, a greater and more turbulent river than the Rhone).

¹³⁹⁵ Cf. Planhol & Claval 1994:3.

journey which did not involve transporting any heavy gear.¹³⁹⁶ The Romans decided to try to halt him at 'river barriers' such as *Trebia* (modern Trebbia) and *Ticinus* (modern Ticino)¹³⁹⁷ and 'land crossing' (Lake *Trasumennus*, modern Trasimene),¹³⁹⁸ showing that strategically, at the end of the 3rd century, water barriers were still favoured over the highest mountain ranges. However, Livy makes three broad distinctions between Ebro-, Rhone-, and Po- regions, to be translated Ebro, Rhone and Po basins.¹³⁹⁹ As well as this, he associates, explicitly or indirectly, the three rivers with the mountain ranges Hannibal had to cross. Livy repeats a general scheme of Hannibal's journey based on the three natural sets in consequential/chronological order: Ebro-Pyrenees / Rhone-Alps / Po-Appennines. In Livy's account,¹⁴⁰⁰ these three sets of features seem remarkably well defined, as he knows exactly the stepping stones of Hannibal's journey, showing that all these points had had a crucial importance in Rome's expansion to the West, before becoming key points in Hannibal's campaign.

In order to understand Livy's concept of *finis*, we have to bear in mind that the Alps form a belt of mountains sometimes broader than 200 km, increasing in height from the Rhone Valley to the main watershed.¹⁴⁰¹ The Rhone – like the Ebro – represents a landmark. In Livy's account, it is quite clear that some natural features are more prominent than others but they are not still a *finis* (at least in the remnant books). That is clear after Hannibal's crossing of the Rhone: he spoke to his men, saying that for armed soldiers nothing is impassable or insurmountable (*quid invium aut inexcuperabile esse?*)¹⁴⁰² and that they could look to end their march in the field that lay between the Tiber

¹³⁹⁶ Mainly Liv. 21.58.3 and 22.2.5-10. This decision helped in carrying a quicker journey, but was fatal when he had to siege Rome.

¹³⁹⁷ Blits 2014:24.

¹³⁹⁸ Blits 2014:25.

¹³⁹⁹ Freshfield 1886:640.

¹⁴⁰⁰ In Liv. 21.30.5, Pyrenees, Rhone and Alpes are listed as milestones: "*nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit*" (But now, when they could see that they had measured off the greater part of it; when they had made their way, through the fiercest tribes, over the Pyrenees; when they had crossed the Rhone —that mighty river —in the teeth of so many thousand Gauls, overcoming, too, the violence of the stream itself; when the Alps, the other side of which was in Italy, were in full sight).

¹⁴⁰¹ Beer 1969:146.

¹⁴⁰² Liv. 21.30.9.

and the walls of Rome (*itineris finem sperent campum inter iacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis*).¹⁴⁰³ The same Livian 'topics' can possibly be identified elsewhere in almost-contemporaneous authors: 'imperial' directions of conduit are probably part of the propaganda within the Augustan circle, which Silius Italicus takes up from Livy:¹⁴⁰⁴

*nunc, o nunc, socii, dominantis moenia Romae
credite uos summumque Iouis conscendere culmen.
hic labor Ausoniam et dabit hic in uincula Thybrim.*¹⁴⁰⁵

Now, comrades, now—believe that you are even now
scaling the walls of imperial Rome and the lofty hill
of Jupiter.** Our present toil shall make Italy and
the Tiber our prisoners.

Present in Silius' passage is the entire pattern which Livy had bound to *finis*: Rome, her walls, Italy (*Ausonia*) and the Tiber (*Thybris*).¹⁴⁰⁶ Hutchinson reports the presence of Jupiter as "an element of poetic sublimity and metaphysics",¹⁴⁰⁷ which instead might be considered an element preserving those *finis* which protect Rome. [4.3.1; 3.5.3]

From the Livian passage above and its comparison with Silius, we face three interesting points, reflecting the other Livian topics tackled in this study: a) Hannibal's vision, in which there are no barriers, in comparison with Livy, who considered the Alps (almost) impassable; b) the different acceptance of *finis*, [*Finis A*] related to the end of his journey (*itineris finem*), which ends at that *campus* (field);¹⁴⁰⁸ c) the associative connection between Tiber and the walls of Rome (*Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis*).¹⁴⁰⁹ Once again Livy associates – although in a different way – the Tiber with the Roman Walls and, in turn, with

¹⁴⁰³ Liv. 21.30.11; cf. 21.16.5-6; cf. also Lucan unmakes the Aeneid's 'walls of sublime Rome' (1.7, *altae moenia Romae*). Henderson 1998; cf. also Ahl 1976, 202.

¹⁴⁰⁴ On the common points, the use of same words and semantic see Hutchinson 2013:170.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Sil. It. 5. 500-11.

¹⁴⁰⁶ On the walls of Rome in Silius (cf. 24-46): Albrecht 1964:18-9, 42; Gärtner 1975:165-7; cf. Hutchinson 2013:166-7, n.4.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Hutchinson 2013:167.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Here, it is highly possible that Livy meant the *Campus Martius*.

¹⁴⁰⁹ See Jaeger 1997:9-10, 26-7, 101-2.

the term *finis*.¹⁴¹⁰ [2.2.8; 6.3.4] The connection between Rome and the Alps is certainly not casual, as it is already present in Silius Italicus:

*...iamque aut nocturno penetrat Capitolia visu aut rapidis fertur per summas passibus Alpes.*¹⁴¹¹

...and sometimes he penetrates the Capitol with his gaze at night or at another time he marches at speed over the peaks of the Alps.¹⁴¹²

The Alps are thus introduced as a barrier whose crossing would enable Hannibal to enter Rome victoriously. In conclusion, Livy constructs a kind of ordered pattern, repeating in sequence a well-defined scheme. The associations between rivers and mountain ranges – Hiberum-Pyrenees, Rhone-Alps, Po-Appennines – are accompanied by a fourth set, through Livy's association of the Tiber with the City Walls. These sets represented three main trials, leading Hannibal toward the conquest of Rome, where he faced the final set: the Tiber and the Servian Walls. But it is not the case that Hannibal's chance of winning against Rome stopped right at the foot of her walls.¹⁴¹³

6.2.2 Material and sacred breaking of the *finis*

Hannibal's passage over the Alps – within his long journey from Carthago Nova to South Italy – is considered a deed comparable to those of Hercules.¹⁴¹⁴ And during the tough crossing of the mountains, Hannibal used a particular stratagem in order to make sure that his army passed over the Alps. Although they might not seem to have any connection to each other, some scholars have connected these two passages of Livy. In this section, I underline the importance of Hannibal's deed related to the crossing of a *finis*. And I show that it was Hannibal's action of crossing the Alps – and therefore the *finis* – that might have, in theory, led the Carthaginian to fail in his mission.

¹⁴¹⁰ See Fields 2008:4.

¹⁴¹¹ Sil. It. 1.64-65

¹⁴¹² Augoustakis 2003:240; cf. Strauss 2012:169.

Hannibal would have hurled a spear over Rome's wall: "*iidem postea fabricium donavere statua liberati obsidione, passimque gentes in clientelas ita receptae, et adeo discrimen omne sublatum, ut Hannibalis etiam statucae tribus locis visantur in ea urbe, cuius intra muros solus hostium emisit hastam*". (Plin. N.H. 34.14). Cf. Edwards 2003:63.

¹⁴¹⁴ DeWitt 1941.

6.2.2.1 Hannibal's *pietas*

The first of Livy's references to the Alps is related to a mention of Hercules, using the term *inexuperabilis* (the same term which we will find applied to *finis* in the second part of this chapter) for the Alps. Livy reports that at the end of the 6th century B.C. the Gauls wanted to cross the Alps to settle into the Po Valley, but the mountains looked too high to be crossed:

*Alpes inde oppositae erant quas inexsuperabiles uisas haud equidem miror, nulladum uia, quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.*¹⁴¹⁵

There the Alps stood over against them (the Gauls); and I for one do not wonder that they seemed insuperable, for as yet no road had led across them —as far back at all events as tradition reaches —unless one chooses to believe the stories about Hercules.

Livy himself – referring to Hercules' drawing away Geryon's oxen – states that Hercules' labours are fantasies, questioning the reader if he is ready to believe them.¹⁴¹⁶ Yet when Livy's account was written, 200 years after Hannibal's labours are supposed to have taken place; Hannibal's memory among the Romans was generally surrounded by Herculean fables.¹⁴¹⁷ And it is also the case that Livy's utilisation of Herculean analogy dovetails with his predilection for using material belonging to the realm of propaganda¹⁴¹⁸ – something which fits neatly with the realm of mythology. The general impression is that Hannibal was plainly re-enacting the tenth canonical labour of Hercules,¹⁴¹⁹ encouraging a belief in his heroic dimensions and accomplishment¹⁴²⁰ that would continue to resonate in historical artifacts from later periods.¹⁴²¹ Furthermore, one tradition – as preserved in Cornelius Nepos – states that Hannibal used the same pass as Hercules in crossing those Alps:

¹⁴¹⁵ Liv. 5.34.6.

¹⁴¹⁶ Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.543; 5.649; Augoustakis 2014:260; Stepper 2001:76; Keith Engendering Rome: Keith 2000:56; Hoyos 2011; Stafford 2012; Dufallo 2013:227.

¹⁴¹⁷ Spaeth 1929:99.

¹⁴¹⁸ Syme (1939:459-75) has treated Augustus's use of public display with a similar skepticism; triumphs and religious festivals are primarily instruments of propaganda, treated together with literature and the arts as a medium for "organising public opinion". Cf. Feldherr 1998:14.

¹⁴¹⁹ DeWitt 1941; DeWitt 1943:29.

¹⁴²⁰ DeWitt 1943:29.

¹⁴²¹ Liv. 21.22.5. A series of coins issued in Spain by Hannibal's ancestors (237-207 B.C.) depicting themselves (or Hannibal himself) as Herakles-Melqart. Cf. Stafford 2012.

*quae Italiam ab Gallia seiungunt, quas nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur.*¹⁴²²

which separate Italy from Gaul and which nobody ever crossed before with an army except the Greek Hercules, for which reason this pass is called Graius.¹⁴²³

We might speculate that Nepos limited his comment to the Graian Alps, since it is impossible to say whether Nepos means that Hannibal crossed in the same place as Hercules. It is not worth pursuing this enquiry, however, for his whole statement is confused.¹⁴²⁴ Hercules's army consisted of cows, and Polybius tells us that whole Gallic groups, before Hannibal's coming, had 'often' crossed the Alps, carrying their valuables: gold and cattle.¹⁴²⁵ Hannibal made a formal commencement of his march into Italy by visiting the shrine of Hercules at Cádiz, invoking the hero as his patron.¹⁴²⁶ This region was the ultimate West, well beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar); there was even a tradition that the true Pillars were at Cádiz.¹⁴²⁷ Moreover, Hannibal followed the 'Road of Hercules' from Spain across the Pyrenees, through southern Gaul, and the Alps,¹⁴²⁸ the same Domitian's Way that was tracked by D. Ahenobarbus in 118 B.C.¹⁴²⁹ In crossing the Alps he performed labours in the heroic manner; one of these, perhaps not quite understood by later writers, was the famous fracturing of the side of the cliff with 'vinegar'.¹⁴³⁰ [6.2.4] This was obviously a Herculean exploit and therefore to be treated with some caution, yet Livy accepted it uncritically, to the consequent embarrassment of commentators.¹⁴³¹

¹⁴²² Nep. *Hann.* 3.4.

¹⁴²³ Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.13.

¹⁴²⁴ Ruch 1968:43; cf. Spaltenstein 1990:1.188.

¹⁴²⁵ Polyb. 2.17. Marindin 1899:240; Benoît 1965:95; Keith 2000:56; Moncrieff & Travers 1940:333; Barrool 1969:64; Arbois de Jubainville 1878:7; Hofeneder 2011:2.146.

¹⁴²⁶ Liv. 21.21.9: "*Gadibus profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se obligat votis si cetera prospera evenissent*" (Hannibal left for Cádiz, where he discharged his vows to Hercules, and bound himself by fresh obligations to that deity in case his enterprise should succeed). Cf. Sil. It., *Punica* 3.14-16. Stafford 2012; Stepper 2002:76.

¹⁴²⁷ Strabo 3.5.5; Liebeschuetz 1979:172.

¹⁴²⁸ Cf. Berthelot 1935.

¹⁴²⁹ Polyb. 3.39.8; Strabo 4.1.3; the Romans had used this *road* to reach Spain and had called it *Domitian's Way*. But the earliest name we have for it is "the *road of Hercules* of Tyre": Paris 1939:119; Thomas 1964:101; Trümpler 2005:114; Robb 2013:x; Sulimani 2011:216.

¹⁴³⁰ Liv. 21.37.2. DeWitt 1941:60.

¹⁴³¹ DeWitt 1943:30.

6.2.3 Polybius and Livy: the Alpine view and the *iuga*

The previous section leads us to the main point – the importance of the *iuga* (passes) in the Livian narrative concerning the Alps – and has illustrated the almost total impassibility of the Alps, which were often considered by Livy to serve as an effective barrier-wall. In this section, I face two main challenges: a) the detection of more features of *finis* through the Gauls' crossing of the Alps, and b) the difference(s) between Polybius and Livy on this point. The previous section is also significant here because it connects the Herculean passage with the Gallic transit through the Alps, providing us with two more clues about the value of the *iuga* or *saltus* and the sacred value of the Alps in Livy's eyes. Livy explains that, even before Hannibal's time, the Western Alps had been frequently crossed and re-crossed by Gallic hordes,¹⁴³² which had passed through Gaul until they came to lands already occupied and ill-suited for pasture:¹⁴³³

*ibi cum velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos circumspectarentque quam per iuncta caelo iuga in alium orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit quod allatum est advenas quaerentes agrum ab Saluum gente oppugnari. massilienses erant ii, navibus a Phocaea profecti. id Galli fortunae suae omen rati adiuvare ut quem primum in terram egressi occupaverant locum patientibus Saluis communirent. ipsi per Taurinos saltus saltumque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt;*¹⁴³⁴

While they were there fenced in as it were by the lofty mountains, and were looking about to discover where they might cross, over heights that reached the sky, into another world, superstition also held them back, because it had been reported to them that some strangers seeking lands were beset by the Salui. These were the Massilians, who had come in ships from Phocaea. The Gauls, regarding this as a good omen of their own success, lent them assistance, so that they fortified, without opposition from the Salui, the spot which they had first seized after landing. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria.¹⁴³⁵

[FIG 30]Livy is aware of the constant Gallic crossings, connecting their invasions with places between the Alps and Apennines and supporting the

¹⁴³² Freshfield 1917:5.

¹⁴³³ Liv. 5.33.2-6 (exp. 2): "*eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, novatum voluptate, captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis ante cultos possedissee*" (The story runs that this race, allured by the delicious fruits and especially the wine — then a novel luxury — had crossed the Alps and possessed themselves of lands that had before been tilled by the Etruscans). Cf. Freshfield 1917:7.

¹⁴³⁴ Liv. 5.34.7-9.

¹⁴³⁵ *Gauls crossed the Alps and settle in the regions previously cultivated by the Etruscans; cf. Putnam 2008:9.*

tradition which stresses the importance of the passes by reporting again the same pass used by Hannibal (*per Taurinos saltus*).¹⁴³⁶ He criticises Coelius Antipater in favour of Valerius Antias¹⁴³⁷ for the view that Hannibal crossed the Alps via '*Cremonis iugum*',¹⁴³⁸ (? modern Col du Cramont) because this pass and the Poeninum *eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint* (led him not in the territory of the Taurinii but, passing through the territory of the Salassi, reaching to the Libii Gauls).¹⁴³⁹ Nor did Polybius believe that Hannibal's passage was a novel feat: like Livy, he also insists on the regularity of Celtic local tribes crossing to and fro.¹⁴⁴⁰

Livy's first-hand knowledge of *saltus* (passes) is also present in another passage, which is comparable to the one above. Livy tracks the paths of different invasions, which he seems to know intimately. The connective link with Massalia emerges again in Livy,[5.3.1] when at the moment of its foundation (about 540 B.C.) the Gauls ... *per Taurinos saltus saltumque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt*¹⁴⁴¹ (crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria). The kind of reverence for the Alps attributed to the Gauls here is probably a Livian transposition of Roman beliefs concerning the crossing of a *finis*. The Gauls fulfilled a sort of ritual in order to engender a good omen for their Alps crossing, and this is because, from the Livian perspective, *fines* are embedded with a 'sacred aura' and the Romans were not used to crossing them without a fetial ritual.[2.2.8; 3.5.3; 4.2.3] Once again Livy underlines the key role of Massilia, linking the arrival of the new Phocian colonists with the Gauls' crossing of the Alps, and once again he insists on the sacred role of the *finis*. The 'ritual' of helping the Greek colonists worked, as the Gauls succeeded in

¹⁴³⁶ Liv. 21.38.6.

¹⁴³⁷ "As emerges most clearly from A.H. Macdonald's brilliant analysis of 21.31, where Livy switches from Antipater to Antias, suspecting that they are incompatible, and, rightly, that Antipater was wrong, but failing to realise that he had not correctly matched the geographical points that Hannibal had reached in his two authorities": in Horsfall 1987:198-9.

¹⁴³⁷ Beer (1967) believes it to be the *Cremonis iugum*, which Coelius gave as Hannibal's pass (Livy 21.38.6); cf. Walbank 1956:37-8; cf. also Lazenby 1998:43; Cornell 2013:392; Packard 1968:1.352.

¹⁴³⁸ Beer (1967) believes it to be the *Cremonis iugum*, which Coelius gave as Hannibal's pass (Liv. 21.38.6); cf. Walbank 1956:37-8; cf. also Lazenby 1998:43; Cornell 2001:392; Packard 1968:1.352.

¹⁴³⁹ Walbank 1956:42.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Brown 1963:39.

¹⁴⁴¹ Liv. 5.34.9.

passing over the Alps and – according to Scullard – “...waves of other peoples surmounted the icebound barrier of the Alps and poured down into the rich plains of Lombardy [...]”,¹⁴⁴² setting up the city of Mediolanum (modern Milan).¹⁴⁴³ Although Livy’s knowledge and beliefs are not explicit in the above passage (on the Gallic tribes’ disposal in Northern Italy), it serves to underline a few key connections: a) the sacred value and impassibility attributed to the Alps as *finis*; b) the importance of the passes from which the Gallic hordes invaded Italy; c) the occupied area, between the Alps and Apennines; and d) the cities or places which were focal points and would be key access points (or passage spots) in the Augustan period.

On the contrary, no similar indications are to be found in Polybius. Yet it is worth comparing his writing with that of Livy in order to elucidate, through such disparities, some of the main features of the Alps as *finis*, which appear in the Late Republic. As in the case of the Ebro treaty, this comparison is useful to illustrate the very different perceptions of some key places.[5.2.1] Livy’s account of Hannibal’s crossing of the Alps is to be found in 21.31.1 ff. If we leave aside the passage 21.31.9-12, and the first words of 32.6, his version corresponds to that in Polybius, 3.49.5-56, sufficiently closely to suggest that both go back ultimately to the same source.¹⁴⁴⁴ However, it does not mean that their point of view matched: indeed Brown already sensed some sort of mismatching between the two authors, confirming that “...it is impossible to reconcile Livy and Polybius, despite claims to the contrary”.¹⁴⁴⁵ As ‘direct’ witness of the places through which Hannibal passed, Polybius was questioned several times, but as early as the end of the 19th century there were already reactions against the depreciation of Livy’s narrative of the Second Punic War and the exaggerated estimate of Polybius’s claims as a geographer.¹⁴⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴² Scullard 1935:3.

¹⁴⁴³ Liv. 5.34.10. Cf. Calderini 1938.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Walbank 1956:37; cf. Hoyos & Yardley 2009. However, the best comparison has been undertaken by Lazenby 1998. A very good comparison of the author’s passages is present in the footnotes of Blits 2014:31-4.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Brown 1963:38; see also Hutchinson 2013:166. For more discrepancies between the authors: Walbank 1985:108.

¹⁴⁴⁶ “I have been working at Hannibal’s passage of the Alps. How bad a geographer is Polybius, and how strange that he should be thought a good one. Polybius is so very bad a writer” (Dr.

Polybius was careful to avoid and condemn the field of rhetoric, but he was sometimes as guilty as Livy in this respect. Furthermore, Polybius treated Alpine geography somewhat casually, making, for instance, no mention of the first pass as distinct from the second, but instead treating them as if they were one,¹⁴⁴⁷ his method explicitly designed to avoid boring and confusing his readers with an excess of meaningless names.¹⁴⁴⁸ To what extent can Polybius' demonstrable lack of interest in orientation, his lack of research into the pass through which Hannibal broke into Italy, and his assertion that Hannibal advanced towards the highest passes of the Alps, while ruling out the lower and easier passes,¹⁴⁴⁹ be considered reliable? These are the main reasons why Polybius can often be seen to be inaccurate and simply mistaken about certain places, why his basic ideas and conceptions can be seen to be wrong,¹⁴⁵⁰ and why he does not provide even generic geographical details. Yet Livy is not entirely free of blame in this regard. For instance, he gives very little detail of the later stages of the approach,¹⁴⁵¹ as remarked by Reid: "No one of course would dispute that his aptitude for historic writing was far superior to that of Livy, but the difference between the two is not immeasurable, as some critics would have us believe".¹⁴⁵² Through this comparative analysis of the two authors, I aim to show the following: a) that Livy displays a good knowledge of the Alps, based on the importance he assigns to the *iuga* and *saltus* (passes) as connectors and gateways implanted between the two sides of the Alpine range; and consequently b) the difference between Polybian 'linearity' and Livian 'spatiality', based on the zonal Livian extension of the Alpine range.¹⁴⁵³

The first point to stress is that – even though Polybius' and Livy's accounts overlap – the latter seems to have a greater awareness of the gateways which

Arnolds previously unpublished notes). Neumann, the author of "the most recent, full, and competent discussion of the whole period that has appeared in Germany, raises his conviction of Polybius' incapacity and untrustworthiness as a geographer almost to the level of an axiom". Both citations quoted by Freshfield 1886:638-9.

¹⁴⁴⁷ DeWitt 1943:30.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Polyb. 3.36.3.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Brown 1963:41.

¹⁴⁵⁰ See. i.e. on Polybius errors: Dunbabin 1931:53.

¹⁴⁵¹ Brown 1963:38.

¹⁴⁵² Reid 1913:176.

¹⁴⁵³ On this concept, it is very interesting to consider the idea of three-dimensionality belonging to the Alps: cf. Braudel 1949:1.206.

open on the *finis Alpium*. When Livy refers to the Alps, he draws the audience's attention to the Alpine gorges and passageways (*iuga*). Livy roots his origins in a Alpine subregion, displaying in his text – in Walsh and Sommella's opinion – a “consoling evidences of the Paduan's knowledge of the Alpine passes”.¹⁴⁵⁴ It is not difficult then to imagine Livy's personal understanding (“*una conoscenza liviana diretta*”) of the Western Alps.¹⁴⁵⁵ In his descriptions of the Alps, Livy bestows upon the passes a crucial role; likewise when he mentions the Pyrenees¹⁴⁵⁶ and the fact that Caesar would later follow in these footsteps.¹⁴⁵⁷ It is evident from the way he shows to the reader the connection between the two slopes of the Alpine range – as we will see from this chapter in the case of Aquileia – and the importance of the *iuga*.¹⁴⁵⁸ The general understanding is that Livy is much more concise than Polybius, but he in fact seems to spend more time highlighting features which explain the nature of the Alps. By stressing an apparently unimportant point, he shows the difference between the two sides of the Alps, affirming in Hannibal's journey:

*ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilior fuit*¹⁴⁵⁹

the way was much more difficult than the ascent had been, as indeed the slope of the Alps on the Italian side is in general more precipitous in proportion as it is shorter.

This information shows us a more “comprehensive and detailed view” from Livy, who displays a more complete understanding of the material environment by offering an interesting detail about the mountain range.¹⁴⁶⁰ Horsfall's opinion is clearly mistaken, then, in affirming that Livy would have “no clear mental image

¹⁴⁵⁴ Cf. i.e. Liv. 21.38; Walsh (2007:195) and Sommella (1967:45).

¹⁴⁵⁵ Maiuri 1954:216-7; Horsfall 1987:198.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Liv. 21.30.5.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Caes. *B.G.* 1.37.1; *B.C.* 3.19.2. See Asso 2010:132.

¹⁴⁵⁸ The Alps resembled much more the features of an hourglass than a barrier, as suggested by their height, and of the 23 main passes, 17 were already in regular use under the Romans. And it is no coincidence that, just after the Hannibalic experience, the Roman magistrates engaged in transalpine discussions and began to consider the mountain passages as key routes. It is likely that the terrestrial route opened by Hannibal connecting Spain to Italy allowed the Romans to create the new province of Gallia Narbonensis, formalised in 118 B.C. through the colony and capital of *Narbo Martius* (modern Narbonne). Both Polybius and Livy confirm the Roman interest in that route, the former walking the route and the latter using the sources of the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Cf. Duggan 1994:9; Pregill & Volkman 1993:145.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Liv. 21.35.11.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Maiuri 1954:216-7; Walsh 2007:195; Sommella 1967:45. Horsfall 1987:198.

of Alpine topography, at least on the French side".¹⁴⁶¹ Moreover, it shows how Livy is very careful to consider both sides of the Alpine range as a whole. As we have seen, Polybius resolved not to list the names of the passes, meaning that, paradoxically, Livy actually preserved more information on Hannibal's route. These facts once again expose Horsfall's inaccuracy when making claims such as: "Savoy, therefore, whether to Polybius or to Livy, was not much more familiar than Hyrcania, and no clear and generally accepted nomenclature for the Alpine passes existed".¹⁴⁶² Livy gives so much detailed information about which people crossed the Alps, from which passes they came down to Italy and in which places they settled. Livy's usage of a common terminology for the places that opened to the *iuga* is typical within his narration:

*in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines?*¹⁴⁶³

...were they halting now, as though exhausted, at the very gates of their enemies?
What else did they think that the Alps were but high mountains?

Livy's *finis* have *gates* in the same way as city walls, and some areas have access points, which serve the double function of checking enemies or allowing passage. Likewise, for Sutrium and Nepes in Etruria the 'entranceways' to the Alps are compared to *portae* (gates).^[2.2.5] Although in some cases Livy appears to be implicit, cities take the place and function of checkpoints, opening and closing their access on the Italian slopes, since already the Gauls "*cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt locos tenuere*".¹⁴⁶⁴ ([The Gauls] crossed the Alps by the same pass, established themselves where the cities of Brescia and Verona are now).¹⁴⁶⁵ Therefore, the Alpine passes

¹⁴⁶¹ Horsfall 1987:199.

¹⁴⁶² Horsfall 1987:198.

¹⁴⁶³ Liv. 21.30.5.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Livy 05.35.1-2. Cf. Liv. 21.30.8: "*eos ipsos quos cernant legatos non pinnis sublimem elatos Alpes transgressos. ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo transmisisse*". (Those very ambassadors whom they beheld had not crossed the Alps in the air on wings. Even the ancestors of these men had not been natives of Italy, but had lived there as foreign settlers, and had often crossed these very Alps in great companies, with their children and their wives, in the manner of emigrants).

¹⁴⁶⁵ Verona is described as a Rhaetic and *Euganean* city (*Raetorum et Euganeorum Verona*). Plin. *N.H.* 3.19.23; cf. Wilson 1993:207.

served as the neck of an hour-glass, controlling human movements through them easily either way.¹⁴⁶⁶

The second point to stress in the comparison Polybius-Livy is the linear view of the former author. The Megapolitan follows Eratosthenes' and Hipparchus' geometrical patterns, where triangles have major importance.¹⁴⁶⁷ Sicily is clearly a triangle,¹⁴⁶⁸ but also Italy is depicted with a triangular shape. Yet, the most important comparison for our aims is Polybius' view of Northern Italy:

τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τὴν παρά τε τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὴν μεσόγειαν παρατείνουσιν ὀρίζει κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἢ τῶν Ἑλλείνων παρῶρεια, λαμβάνουσα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ Σαρδῶνον πέλαγος τόπων, παρήκουσα δὲ συνεχῶς μέχρι πρὸς τὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ἀδρίου μυχόν, πλὴν βραχέος, ὃ προκαταλήγουσα λείπει τοῦ μὴ συνάπτειν αὐτῷ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὅλον εἶδος καὶ τῆς ταῦτα τὰ πεδία περιγραφούσης γραμμῆς τριγωνοειδές. τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τὴν μὲν κορυφὴν ἢ τε τῶν Ἀπεννίνων καλουμένων ὄρων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλείνων σύμπτωσις οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαρδῶνου πελάγους ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας ἀποτελεῖ.¹⁴⁶⁹

The third side, or base of this triangle, is on the North, and is formed by the chain of the Alps stretching right across the country, beginning at Marseilles and the coast of the Sardinian Sea, and with no break in its continuity until within a short distance of the head of the Adriatic. To the south of this range, which I said we must regard as the base of the triangle, are the most northerly plains of Italy, the largest and most fertile of any with which I am acquainted in all Europe. This is the district with which we are at present concerned. Taken as a whole, it too forms a triangle, the apex of which is the point where the Apennines and Alps converge, above Marseilles, and not far from the coast of the Sardinian Sea.

Polybius shows a “wider sense of geographical space” as the regions he describes are ‘spatial patterns’. However, he put emphasis on linear elements such as river courses, mountain ranges and roads, not as singular elements capable of creating a spatial pattern, but as linear features, which in conjunction with others form a geometrical shape.¹⁴⁷⁰ [5.2.1] Clarke underlines that “Polybius totally confounds generalisation about ancient concepts of space”.¹⁴⁷¹ She sensed that there is something wrong with the Polybian concept of the Roman world, but she does not justify such affirmation. Probably Rawson is not far from the truth when she asserts that “the people in antiquity thought in

¹⁴⁶⁶ Freshfield 1917:4-5.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Dicks (1960) shows that the shape of India was conceived as a rhombus; cf. Strabo 2.1.34. The use of triangles is also functional to measurement of distances.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Polyb. 1.42.3.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Polyb. 1.14.7-8.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Clarke 1999:103, 107.

¹⁴⁷¹ Clarke 1999:103,n. 59.

predominantly linear terms, through itineraries and periplous journey”, but evidently the scholar does not consider the Livian view.¹⁴⁷²

6.2.4 Breaking the *finēs*

The Alps represent a forbidden place, whose shrouded sacredness Hannibal violates by penetrating it,¹⁴⁷³ in the same way that we saw earlier, [4.2.3] where boundaries could be broken metaphorically by passing through them. However, in Livy's narration Hannibal literally disintegrates the obstacle of the Alps, and while Livy does not state clearly that Hannibal is performing a forbidden action by crossing over the Alps, it is his silence on one particular episode which implies that Hannibal is guilty of *impietas*. Polybius reports that Hannibal – after crossing the Rhone and speaking to his troops – offered ‘a prayer to the gods’ before crossing the Alps.

τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐπισημαινομένου καὶ μεγάλην ὀρμὴν καὶ προθυμίαν ἐμφαίνοντος, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων εὐξάμενος διαφήκε, παραγγείλας θεραπεύειν σφᾶς καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀναζυγῆς ἐσομένης.¹⁴⁷⁴

When the men applauded him, exhibiting great enthusiasm and ardour, he commended them and, after offering a prayer to the gods on behalf of all, dismissed them, bidding them get everything ready expeditiously as they would start on their march next day.

Yet Livy does not mention this episode at all. This is an act – a standard example of *virtus romana* (*pietas*) – deliberately omitted by Livy. For a start, Polybius uses his name as theophoric, which you would have thought is a hefty clue. And examples of Hannibal's *pietas* creeps even into Livy – before he crossed the Ebro, Livy tells us “he went to Cádiz and discharged his vows to Hercules, binding himself with fresh ones”.¹⁴⁷⁵ So why did Livy ignore this later

¹⁴⁷² Rawson 1985:259. Cf. Nicolet (1991:70) also points out that these geometrical exemplifications – very useful in terms of practical exploitation of distances – “produced also a grossly distorted universe as seen in the Peutinger Table”. *Contra* Grafton, Most & Settis 2010:392, who affirm that Pythagora's followers, Philolaous and later Aristotle (*Met.* 354b) established the notion of a spherical earth.

¹⁴⁷³ *Sil. Pun.* 15.509, where the Alps are named *moenia* (sc. *Italiae*). For the parallel in Liv. 21.35.9, see Wezel 1873:10.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Polyb. 3.44.13.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Liv. 21.21.9; Hoyos 2003:87.

ritual? When two historians provide different accounts of the same event, it may be because they used different, independent sources. However, when an event is present in one account and not in another, it is more likely that one of the historians deliberately omitted the event for other reasons. In this instance, therefore, it would seem that Livy is deliberately trying to deprive Hannibal of the 'pietas romana'. In Livy's view, this would have shown Hannibal's total disrespect for the sacred value of the *finis* and left him condemned by his own guilt. In Silius' *Punica* 3, Hercules is clearly identified as a paradigm for boundary-breaking primacy. Even before Hannibal ventures off the track beaten by Hercules, we are told that the height of the Alps goes beyond the giants' combination of Pelion and Ossa,¹⁴⁷⁶ while the Carthaginian soldiers see traversing the Alps as itself an act of transgression.¹⁴⁷⁷

*At miles dubio tardat uestigia gressu,
impia ceu sacros in finis arma per orbem,
Natura prohibente, ferant diuisque repugnent.
contra quae ductor+++non Alpibus ille nec ullo
turbatus terrore loci, sed languida maestis
corda uirum fouet hortando reuocatque uigorem:*¹⁴⁷⁸

The soldiers moved slow with lagging steps,
bearing arms in the forbidden across the world up to *finis*,
in defiance of Nature and in opposition
to Heaven. But their general would have none of it
—he was not terrified by the Alps or all the horror of
the place; and his words raised the courage of his
men and revived their energy when they were faint
with fear.

Silius' motives here mirror those of Livy; but within these two, so to speak, Alpine viewpoints, it is also emphatically made clear that Hercules himself was the first to surmount the natural barrier: "Hercules was the first to approach the untried heights" ("*primus inexpertas adiit Tiryntius arces*").¹⁴⁷⁹ As Šubrť has remarked, Hercules is the hero who overcame the Alps, thus establishing a precedent for transgressing the magic frontier.¹⁴⁸⁰ Šubrť considers the episode as the breaking of boundaries and of *fas*, but he does not discuss how the

¹⁴⁷⁶ Sil. It. 3.494-5.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Sil. It. 3.500-2.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Sil. It. 5.500-5.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Sil. It. 3.496; Tipping 2010:20.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See Šubrť 1991:229; Augoustakis 2003:248.

impassability of the Alps is finally broken and what the relationship is with the crossings of other mountains such as the Pyrenees.¹⁴⁸¹

In Livy, the theoretical action of breaking the boundaries (*finēs*) is also followed by Hannibal's material fracture of the rocks in order to allow his army to pass through the Alps. Livy reports an interesting allusion to Hannibal's alleged use of fire and vinegar (the ancient substitute for dynamite) as an aid to clearing natural obstacles from his path in his passage over the Alps:

*inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent.*¹⁴⁸²

They set fire to it (the timber) when a wind had arisen suitable to excite the fire, then when the rock was hot it was crumbled by pouring on vinegar (*infuso aceto*). In this manner the cliff heated by the fire was broken by iron tools, and the declivities eased by turnings, so that not only the beasts of burden but also the elephants could be led down.

This 'myth' about breaking rocks with fire and vinegar is of more than usual interest,¹⁴⁸³ and its origin seems to lie in the legend that Hercules also broke through the Alps in this fashion. Livy seems to be the first to reproduce this myth in writing; and, in any event, by Pliny's time it had become an established trope in literature.¹⁴⁸⁴ We are clearly facing a breaking of *finēs* in Livy's view, although it is not clearly stated by the author. This theory has been confirmed in Lucan's work / poem, which uses imagery and allusion to identify impious boundary violators. Lucan compares Caesar's approach of the Rubicon, whereby he reveals himself as a foreign enemy, even anti-Roman, by crossing it.¹⁴⁸⁵

¹⁴⁸¹ The erotic story of Pyrene is adapted to the Pyrenees, see Lopez-Melero 1991; Augoustakis 2003:248.

¹⁴⁸² Liv. 21.37. 2-3; Spaeth 1929:98.

¹⁴⁸³ Some scholars considered Livy's information as a 'false myth' due to Polybius' lack of the same report about fracturing the cliff with vinegar; cf. DeWitt 1943:30.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Spaeth 1929:99.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Ahl (1976:107-112) observes that Lucan uses powerful imagery to designate Caesar as an enemy of the state and, in the process, connects his character to other historical enemies, like Hannibal. The first image occurs just before Caesar arrives at the Rubicon, when in Lucan (1.183) he crosses the Alps (Alpes): "*iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes*". Masters

6.2.5 Vision from the Top

The Alps also have another feature, which is quite different from other kinds of *finēs*. Contrary to the *finēs* linked with water – i.e. seas, oceans, rivers, lakes are characterised by being flat or at a low altitudinal level –, mountains, promontories, hills and peaks in general provided a favourable position of control, surmounting the surrounding landscape. The concept of the control of space from a high spot has already been emphasised by Livy concerning the dominant position of the Capitoline Hill and specifically on the positioning of the *templum*.^[3.3] This argument is quite marginal as it is only tangentially linked to the topic of *finēs*, but it may be useful for understanding the importance of mountain ranges as *finēs* and the (visual) control which may be exerted from them.¹⁴⁸⁶

Scholars and ‘path-finders’ have remarked that Hannibal crossed the Alps through a pass and at its exit he commanded a view over the Po Valley,¹⁴⁸⁷ leading him down into the territory of the Taurini.¹⁴⁸⁸ Both Polybius and Livy record that Hannibal showed his troops the prospects of the ‘whole of Italy’ from a convenient point or a plateau.¹⁴⁸⁹ Both historians claim that, after nine days of travel, Hannibal came to a vantage point from which he could look down on Italy, and encouraged his troops by showing them the close proximity to their goal. Polybius provides a definition of the Alps that conveys precisely the idea he wants to transmit to his readers: “The Alps seem to have the role of acropolis

(1992:3) remarks that Caesar’s actual crossing “has been passed over”. It appears that Caesar did not think crossing the Rubicon was a significant land mark. He only addresses the crossing of the Alps as relevant (Caes. B.C. 1.8-9). Ahl (1976:107-108) points out that this last example provides the climax to Caesar’s transformation into a Hannibal-like figure, citing Caesar’s own observation. Lucan (1.303-305) has been building the characterisation of Caesar as a foreigner, much like Hannibal, who leads an attack against Rome: “*non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu concutitur, quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes Hannibal*”. Here, Lucan gives no room for misunderstanding: Caesar is Hannibal’s counterpart.

¹⁴⁸⁶ For Hannibal’s exploitation of landscape cf. Aeschin. 3.118-9; Hutchinson 2013:167.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Polyb. 3. 54.2-3; Liv. 21.35.8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Polyb. 3. 60.2, 8; Liv. 21.38.5-6. Professor Wilkinson has proved conclusively that this pass was the Col du Clapier, that Hannibal reached it by following first the Isère and then the Arc, and that the ascent of the Alps began at St. Quentin on the Isère below Grenoble. No other route corresponds to the data given by Polybius and Livy. According to Polybius, Hannibal marched from the crossing-place to the ascent of the Alps in fourteen days, and crossed the Alps in fifteen more days marching. Dunbabin 1931:53.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Berthelot 1935; DeWitt 1943:30.

for the whole of Italy".¹⁴⁹⁰ By deploying a visual landscape to his troops, Hannibal metaphorically equates a territory (Italy) with a city: in much the same way that Livy compares territory to city.[2.2.5]

In Livy's book 21, Hannibal encourages his army by stopping on a promontory on the Alps and displaying Italy spread below.¹⁴⁹¹ From this hilltop, once the Alps had been crossed and the Romans and the Carthaginians were preparing for the first battle, Hannibal lectures his troops on the issues of the contest from this imaginary pinnacle. From here Hannibal presages the devastation of Italy, making from this cliff a thoroughfare for his troops.¹⁴⁹²

*per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium voltu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros.*¹⁴⁹³

Then Hannibal, who had gone ahead of the standards, made the army halt on a certain promontory which commanded an extensive prospect, and pointing out Italy to them, and just under the Alps the plains about the Po, he told them that they were now scaling the ramparts not only of Italy, but of Rome itself; the rest of the way would be level or downhill; and after one, or, at the most, two battles, they would have in their hands and in their power the citadel and capital of Italy.

Hannibal advancing in front of the standards onto a certain promontory from which there was a view far and wide (*praegressus signa Hannibali in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat*), commanded the soldiers to halt and showed them Italy, and the plains around the Po lying beneath the Alps (*Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos*); they were then crossing over the walls not of Italy alone (*non Italiae modo*), but of the city of Rome itself; after this all would be

¹⁴⁹⁰ Polyb. 3.54.2; Polybius (5.8.7) also uses again the metaphor in another context by considering 'all Aetolia' as an acropolis; Clarke 1999:101; cf. Hutchinson 2013:167.

¹⁴⁹¹ Liv. 21.35.7-10.

¹⁴⁹² However, in Steele's (1907:444) opinion it was "...not (just) fictitious, for there is deepest pathos in the scenes of joy and woe at Rome as they heard good or bad tidings from the field of battle; and beside that famous scene of Xerxes".

¹⁴⁹³ Liv. 21.35.7-10. Cf. Polyb. 54.2: "So he called them all together and tried to boost their morale. He had only one source of encouragement, and that was the sight of Italy, clearly spread out below. It lies so close up under these mountains that anyone gazing on both together would imagine that the Alps towered above Italy like an acropolis above its city".

effortless.¹⁴⁹⁴ By intensifying the text, Livy makes Rome the *arx* of Italy – that citadel which Hannibal will never take, regardless of how easy to cross the terrain would be from then onwards (*cetera plana, proclivia fore*).¹⁴⁹⁵

Despite Polybius and Livy's claims to the contrary, it is, in fact, geographically impossible for Hannibal to have seen such a view from this position; either he could see the view because he was not in the position they claimed, or they were simply adding drama to the event. Indeed, I would agree with Reid's conclusion that Hannibal was appealing "to his soldier imaginations, not to their eyes".¹⁴⁹⁶ Livy reports these passages as a redundant *topos*: again he compares the Alps to the Walls of Rome, calling them *moenia*. By repeating the same scene after having crossed the Rhone, he reminds them that they have to fight or die where they first meet the enemy, as they are now enclosed by the limits of mountains and streams which they should not pass, and wilfully ignoring those limits which they themselves had a hand in establishing.¹⁴⁹⁷ [5.6] Every barrier they crossed was of course another victory along the path to the final goal of their campaign – a sort of 'partition':

*nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint praesidia. hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus.*¹⁴⁹⁸

There is no second army at our back to stop the enemy, in case we fail to beat him, nor are there other Alps to obstruct his advance while we make ready new defences. Here, soldiers, is the spot where we must make our stand, as though we were fighting before the walls of Rome.

In Polybius, the speech delivered by Hannibal on the summit of the Alps, and those addressed to the soldiers before the battle of the Ticinus by Scipio and Hannibal, are very much in the Livian style.¹⁴⁹⁹ Livy amazingly provides a clear view of Italy, describing the Alps as "a citadel for the whole of Italy" ("*arcem et caput Italiae*"),¹⁵⁰⁰ which the soldiers could have held in the palm of their hand

¹⁴⁹⁴ Jaeger 2006:402-3.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Cf. Hutchinson 2013:167.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Reid 1913:196.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Steele 1907:436.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Liv. 21.41.15.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Brown 1963:40.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Liv. 21.35.9. Cf. Liv. 1.55.6.

within just one, or at most two, battles.¹⁵⁰¹ Once again, scholars have tried to find the exact point on some route from which a good view of the plains could be discovered, with rivers of ink wasted on this topic.¹⁵⁰² I prefer to focus on the symbolic importance of the passage. It is not impossible that some plateau within the Alps provided a vivid, broad and paramount view of the Po Valley. However, the disputants rarely refer to the next item in Hannibal's oration, when he points out to his soldiers the spot where Rome itself lay! Although this pinnacle from which he looked at the 'whole of Italy' was probably an embellished forecast "depicted by fictitious scenes",¹⁵⁰³ I contend that the mountain altitude gave a certain tangible sense of control over the surrounding landscape and over the enemy. This topic will be tackled by Livy again when considering the advance of Phillip V on Mount Aemous (Balkans), during which he tried to reach Italy from the Balkan Peninsula rather than by sea. His elevated position on that mount would have allowed him to control three main areas and conquer the Romans, emulating Hannibal's journey as he did so.

6.2.6 *Fines Italiae*: from Alps to Bruttium

From *AUC*, it is evident how the two *fines* or two natural features are connected to the notion of territory. As well as this, we have seen in the early description of territorial areas that the Alps were a clear marker both of the material presence of a population (the Euganeii) and of the 'immanence' (Etruscans' *fama*) spread by a population itself¹⁵⁰⁴. [2.2] The purpose of this section is to show another feature of *fines*: their delimitative nature. As shown previously about the demarcation of territories inhabited by populations, Livy bestows upon certain *fines* the ability to define Italy as a whole. [2.2] In a different way to other

¹⁵⁰¹ Jaeger 2006:402-3.

¹⁵⁰² Modern investigators have taken this literally and have searched for and found a place of suitable dimensions and location in the neighbourhood of the Col Clapier hard by Mt. Cenis. Berthelot 1935; DeWitt 1943:30.

¹⁵⁰³ Steele 1907:444

¹⁵⁰⁴ Liv. 1.2.5: "...*quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset*" (... so great was Etruria's richness/wealth that the renown of her people had been not only the inland parts of Italy but also the coastal districts along the whole length of the land from the Alps to the Straits of Messina).

instances (...), Livy identifies a territory (*Italia*) and not as the area of influence of a population or ethnic group as had been done previously.

Livy describes to us Hannibal's departure from the southernmost shore of Italy: the Bruttium. In the temple of Juno, the Carthaginians set up a bronze inscription with his *res gestae*, an event Livy relates near the end of Hannibal's campaign in Italy and at the end of a book, so that it concludes Hannibal's war in Italy.¹⁵⁰⁵ Jaeger has already provided a wealth of detail about the end of Hannibal's campaign, and in particular the place from where the Carthaginians set sail to Africa, which is important here for understanding those 'limits' of Italy which Livy had already emphasised.¹⁵⁰⁶ We need to consider the temple and the promontory as a whole and the end of the Livian narration as a clear reference to the end of the war in Italy, as opposed to the beginning of Hannibal's journey in Italy, after his crossing over the Alps. As Jaeger has shown, the position of the temple is linked to its intratextual position. Livy's first elaborate reference to, and only extended description of, the temple of Juno appears as a digression within the description of Croton.¹⁵⁰⁷ This geographical context makes the temple of Juno a logical place to consider the passage from an intratextual point of view, for the following reasons: a) the description comes at the end of the book 30; b) at this point, Hannibal put a definitive end to his adventure in Italy, departing to Africa; c) the topography of the promontory of Croton and the temple of Juno collocates them to a liminal space; d) Bruttium lies in direct opposition to the Alps.¹⁵⁰⁸ Cape Lacinium and the temple of Juno also appear as prominent features in several episodes from Books 21-45, two of which (from Books 24 and 30) provide bookends, as it were, for Hannibal's inscription.¹⁵⁰⁹ Hannibal's departure had a mirror-image effect, when he left his enemies' country despondent. He looked back often on the Italian shores (*respexisse saepe Italiae litora*), aimed invective at gods and men, and called

¹⁵⁰⁵ Jaeger 2006:395.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Liv. 27.35.10.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Liv. 24.2.10-3.9. Jaeger 2006:396-7.

¹⁵⁰⁸ On Cape Lacinium, see RE '*Lacinium promuntorium*', vol. 12.345-6. For other books ending at the meeting point of land and sea, see the end of Aeneid 6 and beginning of 7, with Jeff Willis comment to Hinds 1998 ("Aen. 6.901 *litore*, 7.1 *litoribus*; the structural shores of Vergil's poem?" See Vasaly 2002.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Cf. in Polybius (FGrHist. 175 F.2), Juno's warning to Hannibal to not remove the golden column in her temple: cf. Baronowski 2011:48.

down curses on himself and his own head as well (*suum ipsius caput exsecratum*), that he had not led his army, still bloody, from the victory at Cannae straight to Rome. Making these accusations, he lost his long hold on Italy (*ex diutina possessio Italiae*). This passage harks back to Hannibal's first view of Italy in Livy, allowing him to cast his own retrospective gaze back to Book 21 from Book 30 and repeat the name of *Italia* in each passage of the last section.¹⁵¹⁰ From North to South, from his prospectus at one promontory, to his gaze back at another (*respexisse*), Hannibal surveys Italy.¹⁵¹¹

The temple stands on a promontory, Cape Lacinium,¹⁵¹² which appears first in the extant text when Philip's envoys land near the temple, avoiding carefully the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum and secretly making contact with Hannibal.¹⁵¹³ Livy identifies precisely where they disembark: "*ad Laciniae lunonis templum in terram egressi sunt*". After making their way to Hannibal and forming an alliance with Carthage, the envoys return to their ships. Livy is once again very precise about the place: "*eodem ad lunonis Laciniae, ubi navis occulta in statione erat, perveniunt*". In Livy's picture of Italy, Bruttium is its furthestmost corner (*extremum Italiae angulum*).¹⁵¹⁴ The value as political boundary of the Brettian promontory is only identifiable in Appian, however, as the surviving books of Livy do not refer to it. Appian tells us that a treaty was struck between Rome and Tarentum around 303 B.C.[4.4.1] The promontory or the temple marked the point beyond which the Romans were not allowed to sail. In 282 B.C., when the Romans crossed this invisible line in the sea and this point on the land, the Tarentines sank part of the Roman fleet and then insulted

¹⁵¹⁰ Liv. 30.20.7-9.

¹⁵¹¹ Hannibal metaphorically flies rapidly to Italy and has to be (metaphorically) dragged away, in Liv. 30.30.14: "*ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus*". He looks back to this scene himself, when he says to Scipio: "*me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti*".

¹⁵¹² Just one surviving column of the temple, and examples, see Spadea 1996. On the history and importance of the temple for South Italy, see Lomas 1993:32; De Sensi Sestito 1984.

¹⁵¹³ Liv. 23.33.4.

¹⁵¹⁴ Liv. 27.51.13.

the Roman envoys who came to complain. Subsequently, the Romans attacked the Tarentines, who called upon Pyrrhus for aid.¹⁵¹⁵

The manner in which Livy places the passage within a wider context gives us different data to consider: a) If for Livy the Alps are Italy's metaphorical walls,¹⁵¹⁶ as we shall see, Cape Lacinium is its postern gate, where people come and go, sometimes covertly. b) Hannibal replaces the foundation and dedication of an altar, as he did at Cadis, as an act which ratifies through an inscription the definitive account of his achievements.¹⁵¹⁷ Thus Hannibal's version of his *res gestae* recedes behind Livy's vivid and memorable scene while Hannibal recedes from the Italian shore.¹⁵¹⁸ c) The vision of Italy as a unique entity is given by the completion of Italy from the Alps to Cape Lacinium; c1) *finis* seem not to represent an end of something, but an area of passage; c2) *finis* delimit an area, a region or a zone and consequentially, c3) they reinforce the idea of a unified Italy.¹⁵¹⁹

6.2.7 Defending the Alps at their passes?

This section introduces the second part of this chapter, which explores how the Romans began to consider the foundation of colonies/checkpoints along the Alpine passes and therefore along the *finis*. Despite difficulties, Hannibal's army managed to reach Italy with a sufficient number of soldiers to engage in battles with Rome's legions. We might therefore question why the Romans did not block him at the Alpine passes. After all, the Western Alps boast the highest mountains in Europe outside the Caucasus, and accordingly they are difficult to cross but comparatively easy to defend.¹⁵²⁰ In the same context of the Hannibalic War, but in the region of the Pyrenees, Livy had already expressed how Scipio had seized the opportunity to block the mountain passes as an easy

¹⁵¹⁵ App. *Samn.* 7.1. See also Dion. Hal. 19.5, 39.4, and Polyb. 1.6.5-7, with Walbank 1979 *ad loc.* See also Lomas 1993:39-58, esp. 50.

¹⁵¹⁶ Liv. 21.41.15.

¹⁵¹⁷ For other ways in which Hannibal's words and actions shape the past, see Rossi 2004:359-360.

¹⁵¹⁸ Jaeger 2006:402-3.

¹⁵¹⁹ Liv. 27.35.10.

¹⁵²⁰ Hooker & Sewter 1961:139.

way to check the enemy (Hasdrubal).¹⁵²¹ Therefore one might have thought it a fairly simple matter for the Romans, once they knew Hannibal's general plan, to check the passes in the Western Alps and deny him entrance into Italy. As stressed by Salmon, they could not do so because: a) Rome's authority did not extend as far as the Alps, and b) the number of the unknown Alpine passes (at least 6 of them, as we shall see) would not have given them the chance to block the right pass.¹⁵²² Salmon's thought about the control of the mountain range addresses the problem of the 'extension of power', which means extensions of *imperium*: an indirect control over an area not militarily subjected. The Romans' material power extended neither to the mountains themselves nor even up to their territorial approaches like the passes (*iuga*). These areas in the North remained in non-Roman, and often hostile, hands right down to the time of Augustus. Of course it was nevertheless theoretically possible, as Stalin once put it, that Rome could have found people "willing to 'lend' her a frontier"¹⁵²³ and send a field force to block the passes; but in practice, such a field force would have quickly found its position untenable. The second reason why the Romans, with their Italian allies, did not block any passes, was that they did not have enough troops to man all the passes simultaneously.

We have seen that the Romans must have realised long before the war began that the Carthaginian attack would take the form of an invasion by land across the Western Alps.[5.2.2] They also had a very clear strategy in their mind, as in 218 B.C. Rome rushed in planting the colonies of Cremona and Placentia on the midstream of the Po River with the intention of checking Hannibal's advance.¹⁵²⁴ They had decided to set up their outposts along the main Italian river as bases for their attacks, in an attempt to stop Hannibal advancing again

¹⁵²¹ By mentioning Scipio's victory over Asdrubal at Baecula (Liv. 27.18.19), Livy tells of Asdrubal's advance toward Pyrenees, and that Scipio was warned that it was sufficient just to block the mountain passes (Liv. 27.20). Cf. Heeren 1832:1.279-80.

¹⁵²² Salmon 1960:139.

¹⁵²³ Stalin 1978.

¹⁵²⁴ They were founded early in 218 B.C. and then re-founded after twenty years. Polyb. 3.40.3; Liv. 21.25; Laurence, Esmonde-Cleary & Sears 2011:39-40; Eckstein 1987:26; Scullard 1935:293; Pina Polo 2011:180; cf. Hinrichs 1967; 1974:15; Salmon 1969:66-9; Bandelli 1988:6-11; Gargola 1995:57; Koch 2006:1028; Keppie 1983:190; Rosenstein & Morstein-Marx 2010:150; Patterson 1993:100; Fields 2008:27.

on Trebbia and Ticinus (218 B.C.), two minor tributaries of the Po.¹⁵²⁵ However, their 'river-strategy' was ultimately unsuccessful. From the Hannibalic invasion onwards, Rome was concerned about the southern sector of Alps, because the traditional invasion route into Italy was not the Western Alps, but the opposite wing of the Alps, which was much lower and ridged.

6.3 Aquileia: eastern Alps as infringing area

6.3.1 Introduction

The most important passage in the AUC regarding the Alps is the one in which Livy clearly defines them as '*finis*':

*Alpes prope inexcuperabilem finem in medio esse: non utique iis melius fore quam qui eas primi pervias fecissent.*¹⁵²⁶

That the Alps, an almost impassable *finis*, lay between the two countries, and whoever should pass in future, should meet no better fate than those who first proved them to be passable.

Although the passage is more complex than it first appears, Livy clearly connects and matches the term '*finis*' with the adjective '*inexcuperabilis*' and he contextualises the same passage within the foundation of the Latin colony of Aquileia.¹⁵²⁷

6.3.2 Background

[FIG 31, 32] There are at least three main factors which made the western sector of the Alps crucial to the Romans: a) geographical, b) historical and c) economical.

A) The Oriental (West) – formed by the Julian Alps/ Venetian Plain (South) and the Carnic Alps (North) – Alps are a slender southeastern offshoot of the

¹⁵²⁵ Rossi 2004:369.

¹⁵²⁶ Liv. 39.54.12.

¹⁵²⁷ Favero & Fossati 2000:22.

main system,¹⁵²⁸ which present several natural features. In Hamzet's words, these Alps formed a 'naturally-made boundary', including the Gulf of Trieste, the Karst Plateau, the Istrian Peninsula and the double Gulfs of Trieste and Fiume, making them part of a whole patched system.¹⁵²⁹ As Livy underlined, the West slope of the Julian Alps presents steep and inapproachable escarpments, whereas rivers carved deep valleys and compelled accesses. The lowest point and the most dominant environmental element – where the barrier sinks to a level of 2,897 feet (= 883 m) – is a limestone plateau known to the ancients as the *Mons Ocra*,¹⁵³⁰ where on its summit was the *mansio ad Pirum* (from which comes the modern name Peartree / Birnbaumerwald / Hrušica).¹⁵³¹ The *Labacum* or *Emona Flumen* (River Ljubljana) flowed on the eastern side of Mons Ocra, leading to the navigation of the Sava-Drava-Danube system; while on the western slope, the river *Sontius* (modern Isonzo/Soča) led up to the deep ridged valley of river *Frigidus* (modern Vipava/Vipacco) and to the fertile plan of Aquileia.¹⁵³² By far it was the easiest land passage into and out of Italy between Aquileia and *Emona* (modern Ljubljana) via the valley of the Vipava, the 'Icy River' (*Fluvius Frigidus*).¹⁵³³

B) This sector was crucial for the control of the whole area – and this must also have been clear to Livy when he reported the speech of Philippos V of Macedonia on reaching Italy from the Balkans – and for its connective net of roads. From Aquileia, important roads diverged in three directions. The first ran northwest through the Carnic Alps and Noricum to Veldidena (modern Wilden), where it merged in the Via Claudia Augusta.¹⁵³⁴ To the Northeast, the old amber trade-route led over the Julian Alps into Pannonia past Lublijana, Poetovio and Savaria, to Carnuntum and Danube.¹⁵³⁵ By commencing from Aquileia, the main

¹⁵²⁸ Semple 1915:31.

¹⁵²⁹ Hametz 2005:85; cf. Albrecht-Carrie 1950:91-4.

¹⁵³⁰ Ptol. 4.202; 207.5; 211.7; 314; Todorović 1964:70.

¹⁵³¹ This name survives in the Peartree Pass and the *Birnbaumer Wald*, the German name of the old Mons Ocra plateau. Dimitz 2013:19.

¹⁵³² On the connection between Aquileia and the Drava: Putnam 2008:31; VV.AA. 1979; Bavčer 1991.

¹⁵³³ *It. Ant.* 128.-129.2; on the battle of *Fluvius Frigidus*: Curran 1997:109; Wilkes 2005:237.

¹⁵³⁴ *It. Ant.* 256; 258; 259; 275; 279; 280.

¹⁵³⁵ Skeel 2014:39.

road crossed the Julian Alps to *Nauportus* (modern Vrhnika),¹⁵³⁶ forming the first segment and the easiest route to Carnuntum.¹⁵³⁷ These paths followed the river valleys, meeting at the core of this area the Mons Ocra.¹⁵³⁸ Two roads intersected each other by *ad Pirum*.¹⁵³⁹ From the summit, one road dropped through the Ljubljana River valley,¹⁵⁴⁰ while another path connected Santicum (modern Villach) – in a broad and lake-strewn basin at the head of navigation on the Drava – to *Tergeste* (modern Trieste) and to *Lacus Lugeum* (modern Lake Cerknica). Both paths led to Nauportus / Emona (modern Ljubljana / Ljubljana).¹⁵⁴¹ The first path crossed a tributary of the River *Sontium* (modern Isonzo / Soča): the River *Frigidus* (modern Vipava/Vipacco).¹⁵⁴² From here, along these river valleys in the imperial period, the Romans started their massive conquests into Central-Eastern Europe.¹⁵⁴³ In the days of the Empire, a Roman military road ran along the other route from the Col di Tarvis over the Alps, connecting Aquileia with the navigable course of the Drava through the River *Tiliaventus* (modern Tagliamento) Valley.¹⁵⁴⁴

C) According to Pliny, amber was brought by the Germans to Pannonia (Carinthia and Carniola), and purchased from them by the Veneti living on the north Adriatic coast.¹⁵⁴⁵ “There was also, of course, the long-established amber route running eastwards from Aquileia to the Danube at Carnuntum and then up

¹⁵³⁶ Strabo 4.6.10; 4.7.5.

¹⁵³⁷ Rodewald 1976:36, 104.

¹⁵³⁸ Ocra Mons (ἡ Ὀκρά), is the name given by Strabo to the lowest part of the Julian or Carnic Alps, over which was the pass leading from Aquileia to Emona, and from thence into Pannonia and the countries on the Danube. The mountain in question is evidently that between Adelsberg and Laybach, which must in all ages have been the principal line of communication from the Danube and the valley of the River Sava with Italy. Cf. Strabo 4.6.10; 7.5.2. Singleton 1985:2; Wilkes 2005:237; Horvat & Bavdek 2009:14-5; Strobel 2011:206; Toškan & Dirjec 2011:304; Valussi 1972:320.

¹⁵³⁹ *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*, (1977) Beograd, Societas Archaeologica Iugoslaviae. Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Volumes 18-23:134-5.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Strabo (4.6.10; 7.5.2) states that the distance between Aquileia and Nauportus was variously estimated from 350 to 500 stadia, or 40 to 57 miles. Semple 1915:33.

¹⁵⁴¹ Mommsen 1873:3.215. For the modern road in detail, see Krohn 1911, 61-62; Canstein 1837:235-58. Semple 1915:33. Dimitz 2013:19; Mesarović 1964:112.

¹⁵⁴² Shaw 2008:21; Helmedach 2002:65; Javornik, Voglar, & Dermastia 1995:344.

¹⁵⁴³ See i.e. Blodgett 2007.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Shepherd 1911:map p. 27. Semple 1915:34; Šašel Kos 1986:428.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Pliny (*N.H.* 36.2.11) mentions the amber necklaces worn by the women of this region, not only as an ornament, but as a protection against sore throats. Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 45-6; Semple 1915:35; Charlesworth 1926:176; Rodewald 1976:104.

the March".¹⁵⁴⁶ At the end of this process, in Aquileia, the amber was reworked and articles (mainly amber beads) were being manufactured for distribution across the whole Empire.¹⁵⁴⁷ This route used to connect Aquileia directly to the city of *Noreia* (modern Magdalensberg),¹⁵⁴⁸ even though Strabo supposed the traffic could use the rivers the whole way.¹⁵⁴⁹ From this area, the ancient amber route to the Baltic began,¹⁵⁵⁰ one of the earliest trade routes of Europe, connecting the Mediterranean with Northern Europe.¹⁵⁵¹ The route led down the River Moravia (modern Morava) to the Danube, across the spreading spurs of the eastern Alps to the Sava Valley, the shrunken barrier of the Julian Alps, and the Mons Odra Pass.¹⁵⁵² Strabo emphasises the value of the Mons Odra route for transporting military supplies to the Roman armies engaged in war with the Dacians on the lower Danube.¹⁵⁵³ Merchandise in large quantities was carried by wagon from Aquileia to Nauportus, and then by boat to *Segestica* (modern Sisek), an important distribution point at the confluence of the *Savus* (modern Sava) and *Colapis* (modern Kolpa) Rivers.¹⁵⁵⁴ The flourishing emporium for all this trade was the fortified town of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic.¹⁵⁵⁵ However, the location of Aquileia was not a fortunate one, as this area was continuously overrun, being as it was the first target of sieges by any invaders.¹⁵⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴⁶ Rodewald 1976:36-8; Scullard 1959:329; Kenneth 1996:294.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Calvi 1977; Urbaczykin 2011:19, 513.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Egger (1961) has led the campaign of investigations in Magdalensberg, confirming the site of Noreia even by Glaser (2006); see Rodewald 1976:36, 104.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Strabo 5.1.8. Calvi 2005; cf. Maggi & Zaccaria 1994; Liu 2009:153.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Kulakov 2005:46-51.

¹⁵⁵¹ Sidebotham 2011:206-7.

¹⁵⁵² Mommsen 1873:1, 177, 196, 266. Semple 1915:35; McCormick 2001:373-5; Grabowska 1983:12; Pasquinucci 1982.

¹⁵⁵³ Parker 2010:168.

Strabo 4.6.9-12; 5.1.8; 7.5.2. Semple 1915:36.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Strabo (5.1.8) speaks of the bartering of goods at Aquileia by natives from the hinterland, who brought slaves, cattle and hides, to exchange for wine, oil and product of the sea. Rodewald 1976:37.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Semple 1915:33-4. The connections of Aquileia with the northern Europe were well known, as it worked as a trading and distribution centre between northern and southern Europe: see Campbell 2012:294.

6.3.3 The context

In 186 B.C. a group of Gauls – from the lands beyond the Alps (*Transalpinæ gentes*) – crossed the Alps by a hitherto unknown route into Northeast Italy, invading the Venetian region.¹⁵⁵⁷ They were not a raiding party, but a migratory group seeking a new home.¹⁵⁵⁸ Causing no damage to the territory through which they passed, they eventually settled peacefully in an unpopulated area at the very eastern corner of modern Italy, carrying “all their property which they had brought with them or driven before them” (“*quæque alia aut populantes agros rapuerant aut secum attulerant*”).¹⁵⁵⁹ This ‘corner’, as Livy defines it,¹⁵⁶⁰ is likewise comparable to the other two recesses of Italy: the opposite corner to the Venetian one in Ligurian territory¹⁵⁶¹ and the one in Bruttium.¹⁵⁶² They probably followed a well-known road through the Alpine valleys, which connected the very head of the Adriatic.¹⁵⁶³ Livy’s vague reference to the population who settled there (*Galli Transalpini*) makes it impossible, however, to understand what sort of tribe they were. He recalls Cicero’s *Transalpinæ gentes*¹⁵⁶⁴ – where no more precise designation was ever known.¹⁵⁶⁵ By referring to the area around Massilia, Cicero’s passage is about the prohibition

¹⁵⁵⁷ Liv. 39.22.6, 45.6. Paterson 1978:454; Grant 1986:52; Buora 2002:41.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Liv. 39.54.5. Later in the Roman Senate they protested “*se superante in Gallia multitudine inopia coactos agri et egestate ad quaerendam sedem Alpes transgressos*”. Paterson 1978:455.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Liv. 39.54.4.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Liv. 5.33.9: “*excepto Venetorum angulo qui sinum circumcolunt maris*”. Cf. D’Ercole 2011:445, n.30.

¹⁵⁶¹ Livy seems to consider Savo as a corner city, comparing 28.46.10: “*igitur Poenus Savone, oppido Alpino*” with 29.5.9 “*si Poenus sub angulo Alpium quietus se contineat*”.

¹⁵⁶² Liv. 27.35.10.

¹⁵⁶³ We can agree with Mommsen (1873:2.232-33) about this point as Livy in a further passage confirms that another group tried to come down to Italy from the same place. Semple 1915:37.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Cic. *Off.* 2.8.28; *Phil.* 8.6.18. Roman and Roman 1997:n. 146.

¹⁵⁶⁵ On all matters concerning these Gauls see Sartori 1960. The question of the identity of these people is dealt with by Marchetti 1959. The territory round Aquileia was first known as the land of the Veneti (Liv. 1.1.3; Strabo 5.1.4; Polyb. 2.17.5), but later as the land of the Carni (Strabo 4.6.9, 7.1.5; Plin. *N.H.* 3.126). So Ihm (1899:3.1598) identifies Livy’s *Galli Transalpini* as Carni. But the Carni are clearly an earlier and larger-scale settlement. Sartori (1960) ingeniously identifies Livy’s invaders as Taurisci. Polybius (24.10.1) and Strabo (4.6.9) mention Norici and Taurisci near Aquileia; the Norici are definitely located later beyond the Julian Alps. Pliny (*N.H.* 3.131) records among towns in the area which had disappeared by his own day Tauriscis Noreia. But it is very unlikely that the *Galli Transalpini* in their brief stay would have had any effect on the nomenclature of the area. Paterson 1978:455; Buora 2002:96.

of planting grapes and olives by the “peoples on the other side of the Alps”.¹⁵⁶⁶ The discussion has opened with Patterson’s identification of Cicero’s *Transalpinae Gentes* with the ethnic group settled at Aquileia. However, Goudinou has shown that Patterson’s attribution to the ‘episode of Aquileia’ is without basis, as olive trees cannot be grown in this region.¹⁵⁶⁷ The common identification in both Cicero and Livy is important, for their use of the denomination ‘Transalpine’ creates a link with the opposite slope of the Alps.¹⁵⁶⁸

Despite the Gauls’ peaceful intentions, Livy reports the Romans’ concerns, stressing that the Gauls started to build an *oppidum*, which could muster 12,000 fighting men.¹⁵⁶⁹ As a first action, the Romans sent envoys beyond the Alps to protest to the chieftains of the tribes, who disclaimed any responsibility for the group in Italy, claiming no ties with them.¹⁵⁷⁰ This means that the Romans (and Livy) considered the Gauls on the opposite slope to be responsible, and not those who lived across the Alps. No actions were undertaken by Rome until 183 B.C., when the Senate sent the consuls M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Fabius Labeo, who probably had *imperium* over the whole Cisalpine Gaul.¹⁵⁷¹ As the consuls were commanded to continue the war against Ligurian tribes in the Northwest of Italy, the Senate gave the task of quickly dealing with the new Gallic settlers to the praetor L. Julius Caesar.¹⁵⁷² He was asked to put an end to the settlement without a war (*sine bello*), and would only be permitted to call upon the consuls and their legions in the event that a diplomatic solution failed. It is significant that we hear no more of this mission.

The next move was made by the consul, Claudius Marcellus, who sent word to the legions, whose command he was taking over, to march against the

¹⁵⁶⁶ Harris 1979:86; Alexander 2003:64; It is quite understandable that the prohibition is useful to keep up the value of Italian products: Wilson 1966:67; Gruen 1986:1.313, n. 127.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Goudinou 1983:198, n. 43.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Bassetti 2011:68, identifies precisely the transalpine Gauls with the Taurisci, who occupied the territory as far as the River Livenza.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Liv. 39.22.45. Semple 1915:37; Santoro Bianchi 1992:1.76. 12,000 armed men in Liv. 39.54. Paterson 1978:456. On the episode cf. Sartori 1960; Dobesch 1993:14-80.; Dyson 1985:61-4; Grilli 1987.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Liv. 39.55.

¹⁵⁷¹ On Liv. 40.1, cf. Cooley 2012:452; Yardley 2009:*ad loc.*; Venning 2011:142; Mellor 2004:117.

¹⁵⁷² Liv. 39.45. Paterson 1978:456.

Gauls.¹⁵⁷³ So, it can be assumed likely that Caesar's mission failed.¹⁵⁷⁴ After almost three years of uninterrupted occupation of the land, the Gallic settlers must have been surprised at the sudden renewed protests of Rome, and even more at the approach of the legions. If Livy is to be believed, they could have put a considerable force into the field. Instead, faced with the legions, they gave up without a fight in the belief that they could still get a reasonable agreement with Marcellus (*certam, etsi non speciosam, pacem quam incerta belli praeoptantes*). They could hardly have expected the consul's harsh and uncompromising response. Not only were they disarmed and ordered to leave that area, they were also deprived of their property, crops, and animals. Their *oppidum* was destroyed.¹⁵⁷⁵ At this, the Gauls sent envoys to protest. Introduced into the Senate by the *praetor peregrinus*, C. Valerius Flaccus,¹⁵⁷⁶ they stressed that they had entered Italy peacefully, had settled in an uncultivated area, and had harmed no one.¹⁵⁷⁷ They also protested that when they had surrendered to the consul they had not expected to be deprived of all they had. The Senate's reply was that their settlement would not be allowed, but that, since the Gauls had surrendered, there was no justification for seizing their property. A commission was appointed, consisting of all the men with an interest in North Italy.¹⁵⁷⁸ They supervised the return of property to the Gauls as they left Italy. After this, the envoys crossed the Alps to warn the tribes against any further incursions.¹⁵⁷⁹

¹⁵⁷³ Liv. 39.54. cf. Zon. 9.21. Paterson 1978:456.

¹⁵⁷⁴ See Sasel 1987.

¹⁵⁷⁵ L. Piso fr.35 (Peter). Paterson 1978:456.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Gargola 1995:210, n.45.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Corey Brennan 2000:1.115; Pina Polo 2011:131.

¹⁵⁷⁸ L. Furius Purpurio, as praetor in Cisalpine Gaul in 200 B.C., had defeated a serious rising of Gauls and Ligurians for which he may have got a triumph (Liv. 31.10.21-2). As consul in 196 B.C. he again fought in the area (Liv. 33.37). Q. Minucius Rufus, as consul in 197 B.C., fought against the same tribes (Liv. 32.28-9, 33.22 ff.). L. Manlius Acidinus (Fulvianus), later to be consul 179 B.C., was one of the *Illviri* in charge of the foundation of Aquileia (Liv. 39.5 5). These men were chosen for their interest and experience in northern Italy. Those who consider it useful and significant to assign senators to family groups should consult Scullard 1951:64 ff.; Briscoe 1973:158; Bandelli 1988:71-3; Paterson 1978:456.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Paterson 1978:456.

6.3.4 Alps: the (almost) impassable *finis*?

The previous digression on legal questions is due to the role of the 'incident' in the creation of the Latin colony at Aquileia. After analysing the background, we can grasp why Livy stressed the importance of the site on which Aquileia was built, giving the question extensive space in his account: the strategic placement of the colony needs to be linked with the *finis*. Cicero, referring to the Cisalpine Gaul, gave her three comparative features:

*Est enim ille flos Italiae, illud firmamentum imperii populi Romani, illud ornamentum dignitatis.*¹⁵⁸⁰

For that is the flower of Italy; that is the bulwark of the empire of the Roman people; that is the chief ornament of our dignity.

The word *firmamentum* reminds us why the colony was built in that exact point: its relationship with the *finis* as passageway on this side of the Alps and – if we embrace some scholars' and Cicero's suggestions – even to defend that *finis*.¹⁵⁸¹ Although quite an old comment, Bourguignon d'Anville and Horsley stated that Aquileia was the most "considerable in this territory [...] It was a colony founded to serve as a barrier to Cisalpine Gaul, while the more remote provinces were not yet subjected".¹⁵⁸²

Rome's self-interested act against the Gauls seems to have been difficult to justify. The Celts, on the other hand, were seen as intruders, displacing Italians (Etruscans), and themselves being displaced by the Romans (as with Cato, it is Roman success in managing the landscape which comes across most strongly in Polybius).¹⁵⁸³ Related to this preoccupation were attitudes to the Gauls on the Italian side of the Alps, and what might or could replace them: Cato also clearly employs a historical dynamic in which Romans (and all their moral and social

¹⁵⁸⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 3.13.44.

¹⁵⁸¹ Placida 2005:25; Marchetti 1959.

¹⁵⁸² Bourguignon d'Anville 1791:1.158.

¹⁵⁸³ As Williams (2001:60-2) remarks, the Etruscans themselves probably merited the loss of their land in Polybius' view, unable to retain it after its bounty caused a slide into *truphē* (luxuriousness; despite Williams 2001:132 and n. 92, it remains unclear whether Cato knew of an Etruscan hegemony in N. Italy, probable as that may be). For Polybius' othering of the Celts, apparently based on a perceived lack of rationality, see Williams 2001:82-7; this may set them apart culturally from the Romans and Italians, but note *ibid.* 87 on Celts and Greeks. Bispham 2007:59-60.

baggage) have, in the cases of the Boii and the Senones, replaced Gauls.¹⁵⁸⁴ Considering Livy's phrase on the 'impassability' of the Alps, the question is: Did Rome have the right to interfere with the Gallic settlement? Why did she refer to the Gauls beyond the Alps? Rome was probably at a point where she was reorganising the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul after the Second Punic War.¹⁵⁸⁵ Although some scholars confirm that Italy was seen already as reaching to the Alps,¹⁵⁸⁶ we should wonder if Rome had already extended her dominion over the whole Cisalpine region,¹⁵⁸⁷ despite the fact that Hannibal's invasion would have slowed down the organisation of the whole area.¹⁵⁸⁸ I have shown that, 40 years earlier, the Roman *imperium* extended up to the Ebro on the West front and it is utterly possible that in 183 B.C. the *imperium* already reached the Alps.¹⁵⁸⁹ It is the same concept expressed by Heitland, who makes no reference to the *imperium*, preferring to use the expression 'sphere of influence'.¹⁵⁹⁰

The break of the Second Punic War in the process of the conquest of Gallia Cisalpina triggered two effects: on the one hand, a general confusion of the Roman actions and, on the other, a change in status and policy in the same province. Furthermore, North Italy was the province of a Roman magistrate¹⁵⁹¹ and a checkpoint, so a strong colony in this region had probably already been considered. However, confirmation of some incomplete conquest or occupation of the whole area south of the Alps seems to be evident, as in 186 B.C. Rome protested with the Gauls but took no straightforward or military actions. The Senate took three years (183 B.C.) to find an agreement through diplomacy, creating an exceptional situation, which the Gauls believed had led to an understanding with the Romans. Marcellus' behaviour probably did not reflect the Senate's thinking, provoking his disapproval, as L. Piso's fragment clearly

¹⁵⁸⁴ See Williams 2001:52-3. Also Williams 2001:60-2 on the historical dynamic in Polybius. Bispham 2007:59.

¹⁵⁸⁵ De Sanctis 1907:3.1.291 ff., part. 319-20; Calderini 1930:4-8; Paterson 1978:457.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Klingner 1956:13-6; Paterson 1978:457.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Archaeology has documented the gradual expansion in Cisalpine Gaul: Horvat 1997.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Boatwright 2012:44.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Purcell 1990; Ramage 2003.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Heitland 1909:140.

¹⁵⁹¹ Liv. 39.54.10: "*nullius Romani magistratus, qui ei provinciae praeesset, permissu...*" Paterson 1978:457.

shows.¹⁵⁹² The main question remains similar to that put on the question of Ebro: To what extent would the Romans have thought of that area as theirs?

The senatorial envoys ordered the Gauls, who had invaded Northern Italy in 183 B.C. to return to where they had come from, since the Alps were “almost an impassable barrier in between” (“*prope inexsuperabilem finem in medio*”). Probably, the Gauls were seen as outsiders who had no business residing in Italy, for they had penetrated the natural barrier of the Alps: the ‘wall of Italy’.¹⁵⁹³ This last definition has been drawn from Cato the Elder (and Livy)¹⁵⁹⁴ through Servius:

*Alpes quae secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam.*¹⁵⁹⁵

According to Cato and Livy, Alps protected Italy as they work as a wall.

Potentially, we are able to backdate this definition to at least Cato the Elder's time (234-149 B.C.). Scholars have contextualised the last phrase as belonging to Cato the Elder's *Origines*, where the Alps are considered like a wall (*murus*) protecting Italy.¹⁵⁹⁶ The fragment from the *Origines*¹⁵⁹⁷ is probably taken from book 2, which begins with the far North of the geographical part of Italy, including Liguria, Gaul south of the Alps, and the Venetian regions.¹⁵⁹⁸

Even though the idea and the concept of the Alps expressed by Cato in Servius is quite different from that of Livy, Williams¹⁵⁹⁹ and Lampinen¹⁶⁰⁰ both insist that Servius is making reference to Livy, and possibly to the Livian passage cited at

¹⁵⁹² L. Piso fr. 35 (Peter), “*et ab Aquileia ad XII lapidem deletum oppidum etiam invito senatu a M. Claudio Marcello*”. De Sanctis 1907:4.1.428 claims that *invito senatu* is a misunderstanding. But it is clearly supported by Livy's narrative. It was Marcellus' brutality that shocked senators. The Senate's opposition may have continued when Marcellus asked to march against the Istri (Liv. 39.55,4, reading ‘*id senatui non placuit*’). Paterson 1978:457.

¹⁵⁹³ Lampinen 2009:31, n.20.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Cato *Orig.* 85 (Peter) ap. Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.13; Chassignet 1986: Fr. 10.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.13.

¹⁵⁹⁶ F85P = iv. 10C = iv. 10B-W, from what is commonly agreed to be the narrative portion of the work, whereas northern Italy was treated in book 2. Amongst the long mountain barriers, the Italian range is still called the ‘Alpine wall’: cf. Dionelis and Ganouzi 2008:121.

¹⁵⁹⁷ For the *Origines*, see Astin 1978 for a solid treatment; Cornell 1972 is a provocative and interesting attempt to uncover from the work alternative perspectives to a Romanocentric account of ancient Italy; Chassignet 1986 is an extremely useful edition.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Dench 2005:169.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Williams 2001:55-8, 77-8, 103-4, 175-82.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Lampinen 2008:31.

the beginning of this section.¹⁶⁰¹ However, in reality Servius seems to be speaking about an entirely different passage, as they – *murum vice* and *prope inexuperabile* – do not match at all. As in *AUC*, it is not possible to find the precise reference to the Alps as '*muri vice*'. Thus we face three possibilities. Servius' reference is to: a) the Livian "*Alpes prope inexcuperabilem*", explained with different words; b) a passage in *AUC* stating literally "*(Alpes) muri vice tuebantur Italiam*" that was present in one of Livy's lost books or; c) the passage when Livy compares the walls of Rome with the Alps themselves.¹⁶⁰² My first aim is to work on data which are real and reliable in the *AUC*. The next step will be to contextualise the Livian statement at the beginning of this section.¹⁶⁰³

Meanwhile in 181 B.C., by finding the Alps in this region not the 'almost impassable barrier' which they had supposed them to be, the Senate ordered the foundation of Aquileia as a Latin colony. The new settlement was a peculiarly remote outpost of the military frontier to protect the *finis* on that slope. This is confirmed in another passage of Livy, and also by the development of the colonies in Cisalpine Gaul.¹⁶⁰⁴ In 171 B.C. Aquileia was already complaining about a substantial lack of colonists in the settlement and for being the only bulwark against her neighbours:

*Ingressum hoc iter consulem senatus ex Aquileiensi legatis cognovit, qui querentes coloniam suam novam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse, cum peterent, ut senatus curae haberet, quomodo ea colonia muniretur.*¹⁶⁰⁵

The senate heard of his proposed expedition through a deputation sent from Aquileia. They explained that theirs was a new colony and not yet in a satisfactory state of defence, lying as it did between two hostile nations, the Istri and the Illyrians. They asked the senate to consider how the colony could be protected.

Santoro Bianchi has pinpointed that the questions between the *Galli Transalpinii* and Rome about that Alpine sector must have been resolved, as in their complaint the Aquileians mentioned just the Istrians and Illyrians (*inter infestas*

¹⁶⁰¹ Liv. 39.54.12.

¹⁶⁰² Liv. 21.35.7-10; hypothesis taken from Hutchinson 2013:167.

¹⁶⁰³ Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.13.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Chilver 1941.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Liv. 45.1.3-4.

nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum).¹⁶⁰⁶ Moreover, the strategic place of the foundation is confirmed because at that time the nearest Roman colonies, Bononia (modern Bologna), Mutina (modern Modena), Parma, Placentia and Cremona, formed a series of continuous settlements marking a line of points along the Via Emilia. The civil government in the young province of Cisalpine Gaul was reassured by such a line.¹⁶⁰⁷ All these settlements were located at the northern foot of the Apennines along the new Via Aemilia, and all had been built within the four previous decades. Despite no apparent bordering area garrison in the vicinity, the foundation of Aquileia was a sudden materialisation of the frontier in this direction, meaning that the planting of this colony was either necessitated by danger or suggested by opportunity.¹⁶⁰⁸ That bulwark-city, on the scale of Aquileia, was clearly built so that the colony could work against possible Celt incursions, which might threaten the most vulnerable access to Italy. The Romans were – through the foundation of Aquileia – protecting one of the passageways which opened through the Alpine *finis*. Rome's apprehension was confirmed in 179 B.C., when a different Gallic band of 3,000 arrived, pushing across the Alps and asking for land.

It is Philip of Macedonia's project one year later (178 B.C.) that was of greater concern to Livy, [4.4.3] when he reports that the King would have led a horde of his mountain barbarians into Italy by this convenient northeast Italian frontier.¹⁶⁰⁹ In this passage, Livy once again stresses the importance of a key point overlooking and controlling the whole area surrounding the access to

¹⁶⁰⁶ Otherwise, they would have mentioned also the Galli Transalpini to put more pressure on the roman Senate: Santoro Bianchi 1992:1.76.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Bononia: Cadastres 2009:82; Dilke 1971:179-82; Gruen 1996:67; Conventi 2004:69-71; Keppie 2000:259. Cremona (Conventi 2004:54-8) and Aquileia (Conventi 2004:78-81) were the only two colonies *transpadanae* (beyond the River Po): Heitland 1909:2.446; Hardy 1924:128. Mutina (Conventi 2004:72-75; Bunson 1991:286) and Parma (Conventi 2004:75-77) founded in 183 B.C.: Venning 2011:142.

¹⁶⁰⁸ This was eight or ten times the usual allowance. The situation evidently required peculiar inducements, for the 3,000 militia colonists who were assigned to Aquileia received extraordinary allotments of land, 50 *jugera*, or 32 acres, to every foot soldier and 150 *jugera*, or 96 acres, to every horseman a Liv. 34.34. Semple 1915:37.

¹⁶⁰⁹ M'Crindle (1940:194) backs the date to 181 B.C. instead.

Italy.¹⁶¹⁰ The view from the top of the Mont Haemus (Balkans) is comparable to Hannibal's dominant vision from the last promontory of the Alps.¹⁶¹¹

*cupido eum ceperat in verticem Haemi montis ascendendi, quia volgatae opinioni crediderat Ponticum simul et Hadriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes conspici posse: subiecta oculis ea haud parvi sibi momenti futura ad cogitationem Romani belli.*¹⁶¹²

He (Philip V of Macedonia) had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Haemus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic Seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that having a view of all those places would be of no small consequence to forming his plans of a war with Rome.

The Romans also saw Macedonian involvement with the Dardanians and Bastarnae as an attempt to distract them with troubles on the bordering areas of Italy.¹⁶¹³ In answer to that, the Romans were preparing for Philip and other menaces, conquering the peninsula of *Histria* (modern Istria) in 177 B.C. to extend their 'scientific frontier'[1.3.4.1] across the mountain range, to secure their sea communication with Aquileia and to suppress Illyrian piracy in the upper Adriatic.¹⁶¹⁴

6.3.5 Aftermath of founding the colony of Aquileia: developments in the area

The policy of the Romans on this northeast frontier was quiescent and defensive, as though they were defenceless on this side. Founded as a *colonia latina* in 181 B.C., Aquileia played a key role in the economic and political development of the northern provinces. As the political and administrative centre of the *Regio X (Venetia et Histria)*, it formed the starting (or end-) point of the amber route, and its river ports were a trading hub for the export of

¹⁶¹⁰ Gruen 1973.

¹⁶¹¹ Followed by Cary & Warmington (1929:116) and Scullard (1951:289), he identifies Haemus with Mt Veien (2200 m.) or Mt Yumruksal (2375 m.) in the Balkan range, north of Plovdiv; see also De Sanctis 1909:3.1.255; M'Crindle 1940:249.

¹⁶¹² Liv. 40.21.2. Cf. Liv. 24.13; 25.23 in 212 AD.

¹⁶¹³ Liv. 41.19.4-11; cf. Polyb. 22.14.12; Trog. *Prol.* 32; Papazoglou (1978:161-4) argues in favour of Phillip's plan to invade Italy. Although Livy pays significant attention to this, the alleged Dardanian threat to Italy remains obscure and difficult to credit. Geoffrey and Hammond 1988:470.

¹⁶¹⁴ Heitland 1909:2.141-42. Semple 1915:37.

Mediterranean goods to the North.¹⁶¹⁵ However, their strategy led to impressive outcomes, when in 113 B.C. the migrating Cimbri approached the Eastern Alps. The Romans summoned an army to the heights near Aquileia in order to protect the passes, with the result that the barbarians withdrew to find their way by the upper Danube and the Burgundian Gate to the Rhone Valley approach to the Mediterranean.¹⁶¹⁶ Depredations of the mountain tribes behind Istria upon Tergeste and Aquileia in 35 B.C. made the Romans reflect on new plans for the regions, and in the time of Augustus an armed and effective expansion beyond the Eastern Alps. After all, in terms of expansion, Freeman points out that “it was resilient people (Gauls to the Romans) rather than the Alps who were to provide the main barrier to the Romans [...]”.¹⁶¹⁷

The conquest of all the highland hinterland was accomplished just after 10 B.C., when the tribes of the Julian Alps again did not respect properties. The control exerted by these tribes over the Peartree Pass (*ad Pirum*) route for merchandise in particular, and armies bound for the new Danubian provinces, were still considered dangerous.¹⁶¹⁸ Besides, Aquileia also served as a central logistic base for the military campaigns in Illyria, Pannonia and Dalmatia under the reign of Octavian and Tiberius in the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D., as well as in all main military campaigns into North Europe.¹⁶¹⁹ After having taken command of the whole area, the Romans began to reorganise it, building roads to the East and securing the path Aquileia-Emona from which it was possible to reach the Danubian *limes*. [FIG 32, 33]A key example of this 1st century reorganisation is a boundary stone¹⁶²⁰ recently discovered *in situ* near Bevke

¹⁶¹⁵ Groh 2012.

¹⁶¹⁶ Mommsen 1873:3, 215-16, 221. Semple 1915:38.

¹⁶¹⁷ Freeman 1996:164.

¹⁶¹⁸ Bury 1909:95-98. Semple 1915:38.

¹⁶¹⁹ Groh 2012.

¹⁶²⁰ The boundary stone is made of Aurisina/Nabrežina limestone and has the shape of a cippus, most of which was roughly worked, as it was intended to be fixed relatively deep in the earth. Only its upper part is smoothly polished. It is wholly preserved, although the surface is badly damaged by erosion. Its dimensions are 130 x 50 x 16 cm; smoothly worked upper part:32 x 43 cm. The narrow upper panel:11 x 36 cm; height of the letters:8 cm. It was brought to the National Museum of Slovenia, where it is presently kept in the *lapidarium* (inv. no. L 204; fig. 2). Inscription on the narrow upper panel: *Finis* Inscription on one of the sides: AQUILEIEN/SIUM Inscription on the other side: EMONEN/SIUM. The letters are regular, elegant and carefully cut, the Emona side is damaged in its upper right corner, therefore the letter N is badly damaged. Q has a stiff tail, which may indicate an early date. An early date is

(12 km / 8 mi SW of Ljubljana).¹⁶²¹ Šašel Kos pinpoints that “somewhere in the near vicinity a bridge or a ferry must have existed at least in the late Republican period, if not earlier – in addition to the inevitable road or path connecting the nearby settlements”.¹⁶²² [2.2.8] The place where the boundary stone was found provides the most crucial information for my purposes, indicating that Nauportus belonged to the territory of Aquileia.¹⁶²³ It means that – if the Alps were *finis*, as stressed by Livy – the “line delimiting the surface of a given area”¹⁶²⁴ did not overlap with the top of the mountain range and conversely Aquileia’s territory extended well beyond the Alpine range.¹⁶²⁵ In this way, the situation seems to embrace the Livian view of *finis* as zonal limit rather than a simple line. Therefore, Rome’s eastern flank along the Alps could easily be exploited by invaders approaching from the east side, and crossing the Carnic or Julian Alps to the lowlands at the head of the Adriatic.¹⁶²⁶

also suggested by the use of Aurisina limestone, which in the Emona Basin was used for the stone monuments of the late Republican and (early) Augustan periods.

¹⁶²¹ In the early summer of 2001, in the bed of the Ljubljanica River below (some 13 km to the southwest of Ljubljana), at the mouth of a supposed drainage ditch, some three hundred metres east of the confluence of the Ljubljanica River and the Borovniščica Stream. The point of discovery of the boundary stone is merely 1 km east of a farmhouse called Kamin, which is situated between the Zrnica and Borovniščica Streams. Near the mentioned farmhouse there is a relatively important find-spot from the early Roman period (coins, a bronze statuette of Apollo, a medallion with a Prima Porta Type portrait of Augustus, fragments of weapons: Istenič 2001; Istenič 2003). Šašel Kos 2002:373.

¹⁶²² Šašel Kos 2002:374.

¹⁶²³ Luthar 2013:47; cf. Šašel 2005:481-2. Zaccaria’s (1992:163) hypothesis that the areas of Duino/Devin and Aurisina/Nabrežina did not belong to the *ager* of Tergeste, as had been supposed by Degraffi 1951, but rather to Aquileia.

¹⁶²⁴ Šašel Kos’ definition (2002:373).

¹⁶²⁵ The problem about the belonging of Nauportus to Aquileia’s territory is cogent: “It may be hypothesized that *de iure* Nauportus may have remained within the territory of Aquileia, while *de facto* it belonged to Emona”: in Šašel Kos 2002:379.

¹⁶²⁶ In 166-7 AD, the siege of Aquileia by the Quadii and Marcomanni (Eggenberger 1985:23) pushed the Romans to set up in-depth fortifications across this area: the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* (“Barrier of the Julian Alps”) was a fortification system running along the mountains, which began at *Castra ad fluvium Frigidum* (modern Ajdovščina) and ended at the hub of Nauportus (modern Vrhnika). Cf. Baedeker 1888:441-2; Krebs 1913:401, 409; Whittaker 1997:197. This fortification was a defensive inner system, set up between the imperial provinces of Italia and Pannonia, which controlled the most convenient passage along the Frigidus valley, a steep valley of the Isonzo and the Predil Pass, known as “Thermopylae of Carinthia”. In 388 AD and again in 394 AD, the emperor Theodosius advanced from Constantinople up the Danube to interfere in the turbulent affairs of decadent Rome. Again, he crossed the Peartree Pass (ad Pirum), settling on the banks of the River Sontius. The battle of the Frigidus River determined the conquest of the Roman Empire of the West by the Roman Empire of the East. Even in the Medieval period, Paulus Diaconus (720-800 AD), the official Lombard historian, underlined that the Alpine barrier “had an easy and broad entranceway” (*largius patentem et planissimum habet ingressum*). The Predil Pass was indeed the route of the invading Lombards

6.3.6 The '*inexuperabile*' boundary?

Why then have the Alps been considered as *inexuperabiles* if, in practical terms, they were not? Hannibal's journey has shown that the issues were different: snow, lack of food, and difficulty of descent. These are circumstantial details, which are not likely to be imagined, and should therefore be accepted.¹⁶²⁷ However, that '*prope*' makes the difference when considering the Alps as an 'almost' impassable boundary. The western Alps have never been a real barrier, either to Livy (*prope*) or to Jordan-Bychkov and Jordan: "So many low passes exist through which invaders can move that Italians, who live south of the mountains and look to them as a natural border, refer to the range as the 'magnificent traitor'.¹⁶²⁸ We have to consider the broadness of this particular *finis*. In Livy's vision, the Po valley and the foothills of the Alps were part of Italy.¹⁶²⁹ He seems unaffected by the ideological implications of such definitions, seeing the North as Roman '*Italia*'.¹⁶³⁰ Cato's view (and therefore also Livy's) apparently would contrast with Polybius' Italy extending up to the Alps, yet it was, as Williams has argued, part of the construction of new ideological boundaries of Italy during the 2nd century B.C., one consequence of which was a growing perception on Rome's part that such *fines* could and should be 'policed'.¹⁶³¹ The boundary stone found between Aquileia and Emona seems to confirm the nature of the *fines*. The impression, following Livy, is that Rome wanted to give limits to the conquered area. In the case of the first two provinces, *Sicilia* and *Sardinia et Corsica*, as islands they had their proper limits

in 568 A.D. And so it has gone on through the centuries: Goths and Huns, Lombards and Franks, Holy Roman Emperors, French Kings, Napoleonic and Austrian armies have swarmed over their ridges. Freshfield 1917:4-5; Hodgkin 1880: 1.1.159-69; 5.6.160; Semple 1915:32-4, 38-9.

¹⁶²⁷ Brown 1963:41.

¹⁶²⁸ Jordan-Bychkov & Jordan 2002:33.

¹⁶²⁹ Liv. 2. 14. 6-7.

¹⁶³⁰ Liv. 1.6.6, 2.14.7.

¹⁶³¹ See Williams 2001:55-7, 132. That Cato (F39P = ii. 9C = ii. 9B-W) considered Gallia Cisalpina as outside Italy (probably in his own day, note the tense of *uehere*, convey), which would be more clearly shown if the (surely correct) reading *aduehere* proposed by Cornell 1988 were adopted, describing thus the import of Gallic hams into Italy from Insubrian territory. See also Williams 2001:51 n. 109; Dench 1995:18-19, with earlier literature. Williams 2001:93, also draws attention to how Graeco-Roman depictions of Gauls as mercenary conditioned their perception of Gallic reasons for being in Italy, and distanced them further. Bispham 2007:59.

marked by the Mediterranean; North Italy was still in need of such markers.¹⁶³² The assimilation of such concepts is a process on which the Romans had still to work and the Hannibalic experience had already shown the limitations of the Alps as a 'passable' barrier. For instance, *Iulia Concordia* (Concordia Sagittaria), next to Padua, may have been the first of a series of towns given the franchise or founded by the triumvirs and by Augustus on the northeast borders of Italy.¹⁶³³ Later sources stress military reasons for a comparable reorganisation of Verona, as a second guardian of the safety of the Cisalpine plain against attacks from the Alps.¹⁶³⁴ Foundations in this region reflect the growing importance of the Alpine passes through which communications with the new Danubian provinces were maintained.¹⁶³⁵

¹⁶³² Wilkes 2005.

¹⁶³³ On the Alps as a boundary, see Williams 2001:48-58.

¹⁶³⁴ Panegyricus IX Constantino Augusto 8 reads: "*Verona máximo hostium exercitu tenebatur. scilicet ut, quam coloniam Cn. Pompeius aliquando deduxerat, Pompeianus everteret*". It may be, however, that this is only a reference to the granting of Latin rights to the area as a whole by the *lex Pompeia*. Ewins 1955:76.

¹⁶³⁵ Ewins 1955:88.

Chapter 7. The treaty of Apamea

7.1 Introductory guidelines

This chapter is devoted to understanding the treaty of Apamea in relation to *finis* and the territorial organisation contained within it. The first step in this digression is an analysis of the major questions related to the ‘territorial clauses’, followed by an assessment of the ‘territoriality’ and ‘spatiality’ of the land assigned to the conquering states.¹⁶³⁶ Here, I attempt to show how this assessment can demonstrate a clear relationship between *finis*, geographical features and the surrounding space, and territory, breaking definitively the linear concept of *finis* itself – which so far the scholars have not reconsidered.¹⁶³⁷ By commencing with the premises and the conclusions drawn from the chapters on the Ebro treaty and the Alps about the ‘spatiality’ of the concept of *finis*,[\[5.5.3; 6.3.5\]](#) I will argue that the treaty of Apamea leads to two main outcomes for this study: a) the planned Roman political organisation in Anatolia and b) the geographical framework on which this Roman political organisation is plotted. Both sets of evidence go back to such a precise and planned reorganisation of Anatolia on the part of the Romans that I define it as ‘geo-political grid’ (my definition). The clauses of limitation imposed on Antiochus by Rome would appear to resemble a curbing or bordering delineated by two main natural features: a mountain range (Taurus) and an unidentified river. In reality the situation looks more complex, as these natural features formed the basis of a systematic subdivision of the new controlled territory. In other words, the *finis* is the axis, on which Rome built her overall geopolitical order around herself. In order to better understand this last concept, it is useful to draw a comparison

¹⁶³⁶ Mainly the reference is to those ‘territorial clauses’ which concern the natural features linked with ‘non-synonymous concepts’, although there is no clear explanation on them in: McDonald 1967:1; McDonald & Walbank 1969:30. Probably McDonald was influenced by the drafts of the Vienna Convention (1969) about ‘territorial clauses’: Dörr and Schmalenbach 2011:492.

¹⁶³⁷ An international boundary has been defined by Chukwurah (1981) as “a line of demarcation that excluded one nation-state from another “as “the limit of the legal, political and administrative powers of a nation-state over a given community on the one hand, and the beginning of the legal political and administrative powers of another nation-state over another given community”. Cf. Oyom Bassey & Oshita 2010:92; on the changing of perspective: Newman 2001:esp. 151.

with the Ebro treaty, bearing in mind two points: a) the difference between an occupational physical presence and/or *imperium*, and b) the concept of *finis* in Livy as a 'spatial' notion rather than just a 'simple' line.

7.1.1 Aims, structures and challenges

The treaty of Apamea is probably one of the most complete Republican treaties to have survived from the ancient sources, as it is extremely detailed in all its parts.¹⁶³⁸ [FIG 34] It reveals a clear and precise idea of Rome's relationships developed in the 2nd century B.C. onwards and her methods of dealing with foreign powers. Unlike the Ebro treaty, it is not as analytically problematic, meaning that I have been able to focus my research on three main points concerning the *fines*, which will help to build a complete picture: a) the complexity of the treaty due to an enhanced precision within its terms and clauses; b) the analysis of the natural features considered (*fines*) – a difficult task considering the scarcity of the main sources (Polybius and Livy) and the corrupted nature of those that are available; c) the reinvention of political and territorial structure in Anatolia by the Romans. The chapter structure will be as follows: a) a general historical introduction to help us understand the dynamics of the treaty; [7.1.3; 7.2] b) a closer analysis of the treaty to give a clearer understanding of its clauses; [7.3-5] c) the investigation and identification of the *fines* mentioned in the treaty; [7.4.1-2] d) a focussed study on the M. Taurus in Livy, the importance of which is confirmed by an extensive series of references in *AUC*;¹⁶³⁹ [7.6.1-.2; 7.6.6-.7] e) the relationship between the crucial *finis* of M. Taurus and the other 'limits' mentioned in the treaty; [7.4.2 esp. (B) and (C), 7.7.2] f) the relationships between Rome and the states involved in the treaty, and their agreements on the political geography in Anatolia; [7.6] g) the sacred value and sacredness attributed to the *fines* (M. Taurus) by Livy; [7.4.2 (B)] h) the differences and the relationships between real occupation, 'sphere of influence', *imperium* and *finis*. [7.7.2] The ultimate aim of the chapter is to

¹⁶³⁸ Polyb. 21.16-7, 24.45; Liv. 37.38.45; App. Syr. 38.44. Cf. McDonald 1967:1 and throughout: Austin 2013:58; Scullard 1935:454, n.12; Habicht 1989:339.

¹⁶³⁹ Livy uses the Taurus mountain range 24 times, of which 8 times are in connection with the term *finis* or its derivate (*finitimus*, *finitimarum*).

confirm the broad view of the *finis* made by Livy – that it is not a ‘simple line’ – and to highlight that the treaty of Apamea led Rome to set up a political system based on the *finis* as main axis and her allied states.^[7.7] This treaty reflects the last detectable stage of the Livian concept of *finis*, whereas the political situation in Anatolia looks now as an evolution of the ‘*finis*-system’.

7.1.2 Historical premises (background) to the treaty

This overview aims to introduce and explain the context in which the treaty of Apamea was struck, whilst also providing a clear idea of the prospective zones of Roman control in Anatolia and detailing the geo-political organisation in central-west Anatolia. The treaty of *Apamea* (modern Dinar)¹⁶⁴⁰ has its roots in the expansionistic policy toward Greece that was being pursued simultaneously by the Seleucid Empire and by Rome:¹⁶⁴¹ the war in Greece constituted Rome’s first military excursion into Asia, bringing her face to face with the Seleucid Empire, the largest in the Hellenistic world at that time.¹⁶⁴²

[FIG 35] In 223 B.C., Antiochus III ‘The Great’ ascended to the throne of the Seleucid Empire.¹⁶⁴³ After several campaigns in Asia, he turned toward Anatolia, managing to expel the Egyptian outposts of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and marching into Cilicia (Fifth Syrian War 202-200 B.C.).¹⁶⁴⁴ In the early stages of his campaign he conquered the cities of *Korakesion* (modern Alanya), *Zephyrion* (modern Mersin), *Soloi* (modern Mezitli), *Aphrodisias* (near to modern Yeşilovacık), *Korykos/Corycus* (modern Kızkalesi), and *Selinus* (modern Gazipaşa) using his considerable naval advantage.¹⁶⁴⁵ Then, in 197 B.C., following the Battle of *Cynoscephalae* (modern Mavrovouni) between Macedonians and Romans, Antiochus started a new expansive phase for his

¹⁶⁴⁰ Apamea (Phrygia), formerly Kibotos, commercial centre of Phrygia, near Celaenae, now in Afyonkarahisar Province, Turkey.

¹⁶⁴¹ Dmitriev 2011:219-220; Mackay 2005:81-2.; Eckstein 2008:375-6?.

¹⁶⁴² Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1993:45.

¹⁶⁴³ Cf. i.e. Kohn 2013:480; Friedman 2006:58.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Austin 2006:193-215.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Bringmann 2007:91; Guy 2006:58.

kingdom in Anatolia and Europe.¹⁶⁴⁶ Cynoscephalae, meanwhile, had practically concluded the Second Macedonian War with a definitive victory for Rome, and T. Quinctus Flaminius declared the independence of Greece at the Isthmian games of 196 B.C. in Corinth (modern Korinthos), appealing to the idea of freedom.¹⁶⁴⁷ Probably due to his philhellenism, Flaminius lay the groundwork for, and took the lead in, all future negotiations between Roman and Seleucid armies.¹⁶⁴⁸ In summer 197 B.C., Flaminius was already greatly concerned about Antiochus' aspirations towards Europe, even before Antiochus crossed the Hellespont one year later,¹⁶⁴⁹ so in 196 B.C. the two 'generals' met at *Lysimachia* (modern Bakla Burnu) in Thrace.¹⁶⁵⁰ Flaminius was probably the man who warned the Senate of the Seleucid menace,¹⁶⁵¹ including references to and concerns about the Greeks of Asia,¹⁶⁵² and his anxieties were confirmed two years later (195 B.C.) when Antiochus landed in Thrace with large forces.¹⁶⁵³ But, despite the fact that Antiochus' move generated great concern among the Senate, he was still considered more of a long-term problem than an immediate threat.¹⁶⁵⁴ In 194 B.C., Flaminius was given the proconsular command in order to conclude his tasks: a) to keep the promise to evacuate the Roman garrisons from all Greek cities¹⁶⁵⁵ and b) to conclude the agreements with Antiochus.¹⁶⁵⁶ When they met, the consul listed his conditions to establish a 'friendship' between the Romans and the Seleucids:

unam, si nos nihil, quod ad urbes Asiae attinet, curare velit, ut et ipse omni Europa abstineat; alteram, si se ille Asiae finibus non contineat et in Europam transcendat,

¹⁶⁴⁶ Dunstan 2011:82; Dillon and Garland 2013:232; Eckstein 2006:95-6.

¹⁶⁴⁷ On the conclusion of the Second Macedonian War: Polyb. 18.44.2-7; Liv. 33.28.12, Liv. 33.30; 34.48.2-34.52.12; App. *Mac.* 9.2-3 and Zon. 9.16. Eckstein 1987:290-2. See also Walbank 1967:609; Briscoe 1981:304-8; Deutschmann 2012: esp. 3.

¹⁶⁴⁸ On Rome's behaviour toward Greece and her 'craving' of freedom for the Greek States and cities: Astin 1989; Dmitriev 2011:143-224; Eckstein 1987:268-318; Errington 1989; Gruen 1984:132-157, 382-398, 437-456; Hammond & Walbank 1988:443-7; Pfeilschifter 2005:278-342; Schleussner 1978:50-59; Will 1982:2.161-174; Deutschmann 2012:1.

¹⁶⁴⁹ October 196 B.C.; cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988:443-7.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Polyb. 18.39.3-5; Liv. 32.13.5; Plut. *Flam.* 9.5-8; Cass. Dio 18.60.

¹⁶⁵¹ On Lysimachia conference and its impact see Badian 1959:112-39; Eckstein 1987:303.

¹⁶⁵² Cf. Walbank 1967:609; Schlag 1968:87-8 (critical about Flaminius' reasons); Eckstein 1987:295.

¹⁶⁵³ Liv. 33.34.12. Eckstein 1987:309.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Liv. 33.45.2. Eckstein 1987:295.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Liv. 34.51.1-4. Eckstein 1987:303.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Liv. 33.24.5, 34.42.1. cf. Pelikan Pittenger 2008:300.

*ut et Romanis ius sit Asiae civitatum amicitias et tueri, quas habeant, et novas complecti.*¹⁶⁵⁷

first, that if he wishes us to have no interest in what concerns the cities of Asia, he too must himself keep entirely out of Europe; second, that if he will not keep himself within the *finis* of Asia, but crosses into Europe, the Romans too shall have the right both to defend the existing friendships with the cities of Asia and to add new treaties of alliance.

Brunt has noted how this passage already makes clear Rome's desire to draw a line between their and Antiochus' reciprocal 'spheres of authority'.¹⁶⁵⁸ In my opinion, the passage says something different: that Rome was trying to intimidate Antiochus into staying in Asia and out of Europe, by abandoning the European Bosphorus (*Europeae/Asiae fines?*). Rome was keen to relegate Antiochus to Asia, as further confirmed by Livy. Either way, Flamininus' advice was ignored by Antiochus, who intervened soon after in Greek affairs when the Aetolians called him against Rome as commander-in-chief (*strategos autokrator*) of their League.¹⁶⁵⁹ At Thermopylae, he was defeated by the Scipios in 191 B.C., losing all his gains in Greece. Livy provides a second draft of the guidelines, which Antiochus had to follow to ensure 'peace and harmony':

*finirent Europa imperium, id quoque immensum esse; et parari singula acquirendo facilius potuisse quam uniuersa teneri posse; quod si Asiae quoque partem aliquam abstrahere uelint, dummodo non dubiis regionibus finiant uinci suam temperantiam Romana cupiditate pacis et concordiae causa regem passurum.*¹⁶⁶⁰

Limit the *imperium* to Europe, that even this was very large; that it was possible to conquer and gain it part by part more easily than to hold the whole; but if they wished to take some part of Asia too, provided they limited it by easily recognisable natural features, the king would permit his own self-restraint to be overcome by Roman greed for the sake of peace and harmony.

While Livy does not recount where the limits of the continents were, the impression is that Flamininus knew exactly what he meant (*non dubiis regionibus finiant*).¹⁶⁶¹ [3.3.1-4] Flamininus' apparent philhellenism was intended to protect the independence of Greece from the Seleucids with an eye on Asiatic soil. Antiochus' defeat made the Romans include in the new draft the

¹⁶⁵⁷ Liv. 34.58.2-3; cf. Polyb. 18.47.1-2.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Brunt (1990:300[170]) uses explicitly this expression, which should be different from 'spheres of influence'. Cf. Badian 1958:76-9, who expressed already this concept.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Bringmann 2007:91; Guy 2006:58.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Liv. 37.35.5-7.

¹⁶⁶¹ Limits of Europe and Asia? There is for the first time in history(?) the clear statement of two continental blocks.

freedom of some Greek cities of Asia,¹⁶⁶² which the Romans would have defended in case of Seleucid attack. But the war against Antiochus was only the beginning: the Roman Senate soon ordered their generals (L. and P. Cornelius Scipio)¹⁶⁶³ to land in Asia.¹⁶⁶⁴ Their main task was to lead their army safely across Asiatic soil, in order to start realising their plans, the groundwork for which had doubtless been laid in consultation with Eumenes, King of *Pergamum* (modern Bergama).¹⁶⁶⁵ Polybius and Livy agree on the nature of Scipios' territorial demands made to Antiochus on the Dardanelles, when Rome proposed a first draft of her conditions for peace, which had probably been agreed with Eumenes:

τῶν δὲ πόλεων μὴ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν μόνον ἐλευθεροῦν, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τᾷδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυναστείας ἐκχωρεῖν.¹⁶⁶⁶

*et non Ionia modo atque Aeolide deduci debere regia praesidia, sed sicut Graecia omnis liberata esset, ita quae in Asia sint omnes liberari urbes: id aliter fieri non posse quam ut cis Taurum montem possessione Asiae Antiochus cedat.*¹⁶⁶⁷

the King's garrisons should be withdrawn not only from Ionia and Aeolis, but, just as all Greece had been liberated, so all the cities which were in Asia should be set free; this could not be accomplished otherwise than by the retirement of Antiochus from the occupation of Asia on this side of the Taurus mountains.

The demands – that he must evacuate all Asia Minor North and West of the Taurus Mountains and pay the whole cost of the war – were considered too overbearing for Antiochus, who refused the proposal again. As a consequence, the joint navies of Rome and Rhodes delivered a crushing blow to the Seleucid fleet at Myonnesus.¹⁶⁶⁸ At this point, Antiochus made decisive steps towards the peace process: he offered to pay half of the expenses of the war and he withdrew his garrison from Lysimachia, thus effectively surrendering his claims to Thrace and therefore retreating from Europe.¹⁶⁶⁹ However, the Scipios remained firm on their demands, and once again they were refused by the

¹⁶⁶² Liv. 37.35.2. “*Zmyrnam enim et Lampsacum et Alexandriam Troadem*”

¹⁶⁶³ Tucker 2010:423-4.

¹⁶⁶⁴ The Senate had not much confidence in his abilities (Cic. *Phil.* 11.7), and it was only through the offer of his brother Africanus to accompany him as a legate that he obtained the province of Greece and the conduct of the war against Antiochus. Liv. 28.3.4, 17, 34.54.55, 36.45, 37.1.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Eckstein 2006:300,n.193.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Polyb. 21.14.8.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Liv. 37.35.9-10.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Liv. 37.26-30; Appian *Syr.* 27; Gruen 1986:638.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Liv. 37.31.1-3; App. *Syr.* 28; Diod. 29.5. Mommsen 1871:2.319; Gruen 1986:638.

Seleucid king, who broke off all negotiations.¹⁶⁷⁰ In 190 B.C., a decisive battle took place near *Magnesia ad Sipylum* (modern Manisa) between the Pergamenes, Rhodians and Romans, who joined forces against Antiochus. Antiochus was routed, even though his forces outnumbered the Romans and their allies – Pergamum and Rhodes with volunteers from the Achaean League and Macedonia – by at least two to one.¹⁶⁷¹ Consequently, the cities of Anatolia rushed to surrender themselves to Roman *fides* and the Scipios occupied *Sardis* (modern Sart).¹⁶⁷² And soon after, a first draft of the agreement was immediately signed by the parties, an act which became known as the Peace of Apamea.

7.1.3 The Peace and the treaty of Apamea

The international and multilateral accord, ratified soon after the Battle of Magnesia, was the draft form of a more extensive and precise agreement. By its very nature this treaty was not a common agreement between two equal parties, but a consequential statement of the peace conditions, which Antiochus III was obliged to accept after the defeat at Magnesia. Thus, Antiochus became a ‘compelled’ signatory of the Peace, which was followed by the treaty of Apamea in 188 B.C.¹⁶⁷³ At this very early stage, the Scipios offered Antiochus the terms of peace made previously (*easdem nunc uictores uictis ferimus*)¹⁶⁷⁴ with the same territorial demands, as reported by the parallel accounts from Polybius and Livy:

δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔκ τε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐκχωρεῖν καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ταύρου πάσης.¹⁶⁷⁵

*Europa abstinete; Asia omni, quae cis Taurum montem est, decedite.*¹⁶⁷⁶

¹⁶⁷⁰ Polyb. 21.13-15; Liv. 37.34-36; App. Syr. 29; Diod. 29.7-8; Justin 31.7.4-9. Gruen 1986:639. Errington 1989:286.

¹⁶⁷¹ Errington 1989:286.

¹⁶⁷² Liv. 37.38.1, 37.45.3; App. Syr. 30-36. Gruen 1986:639.

¹⁶⁷³ The difference between Peace and treaty has been stressed by Livy in 37.55.3. Moreover the ‘*foedus*’ has been struck on the Capitol.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Liv. 37.45.12; cf. Polyb. 21.17.3.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Polyb. 21.17.3.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Beside the territorial clauses in Liv. 37.45.14, see the other clauses in Liv. 37.45.15-18.

keep your hands off Europe; withdraw from all Asia on this side of the Taurus mountains.

[FIG 36]Antiochus had to accept these immediate terms of the peace, which demarcated territories, guaranteed the security of useful allies to Rome and preserved the autonomous rights of the independent cities.¹⁶⁷⁷ But the peace concluded at Apamea in 190 B.C. was more deeply damaging to Antiochus III because of the other impositions stated in the final text of the treaty: a) first and foremost of Antiochus' obligations was to surrender and leave all lands, cities and holdings beyond or north of the Taurus mountain range, the so-called Cis-Tauric Asia, to the Romans;¹⁶⁷⁸ b) he was permitted to repel aggression from western Asia Minor but not to regain territory or re-establish alliances there, and Rome reserved the right to arbitrate in such cases; c) the treaty also prohibited Antiochus and his offspring from undertaking military operations to reassert hereditary Seleucid claims in the Aegean area or in 'Europe' (i.e. the Thracian region); d) the recruitment of troops or mercenaries north of the Taurus Mountains was forbidden to the Seleucids;¹⁶⁷⁹ e) Antiochus' second son – later to become Antiochus IV Epiphanes – had to go to Rome as a 'hostage'; f) Antiochus had to pay a war indemnity of 15,000 talents;¹⁶⁸⁰ g) moreover – as Gruen has also noted – Rome proclaimed in the treaty, a friendship (*amicitia*) with Antiochus 'for all time'.¹⁶⁸¹

The first stage of the agreement had 'crystallised' into an almost complete draft 'on the field'. Negotiations, definition of clauses and ratification of the peace between Rome and Antiochus III were transferred to Rome.¹⁶⁸² Here, the envoys of Pergamum, Rhodes and other Anatolian states and cities also

¹⁶⁷⁷ Liv. 37.46.4.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Polyb. 21.17.3; Cf. Liv. 37.35.10; 37.45.14; 37.52.4; 37.55.5; 38.27.7; 38.37.1; 38.38.4 Both writers looked on 'hither-Asia' as from Europe *epi tade tou taurou 'cis Taurum montem'* – on this side of the Mt. Taurus. McNicoll 1997:118. Cf. Niese 1893:2.695-770; De Sanctis 1907:4.1.144-228; Will 1982:2.173-93; Gruen 1990:66.

¹⁶⁷⁹ However, Pisidian mercenaries continued to serve in the Ptolemaic army. Cf. Bracke 1993:19-20.

¹⁶⁸⁰ This tribute, unprecedented in ancient history, had to be paid in twelve annual instalments. They were 12.000 talents in addition to the 3.000 already paid and 540.000 *modii* of grain. Polyb. 21.43.19, cf. Polyb. 21.17.5 and 21.41.8; Liv. 38.38.13. Gruen 1986:640; Jagersma 1986:36-7.

¹⁶⁸¹ Polyb. 21.31-32; Polyb. 21.43.1; Liv. 38.10-11. Gruen 1973:126, n.3; Gruen 1990:66.

¹⁶⁸² Polyb. 21.17.1-9; Liv. 37.45.13; App. Syr. 38; Diod. 29.10. Gruen 1986:639.

attended.¹⁶⁸³ The Scipios' treaty terms were agreed upon by the Roman Senate¹⁶⁸⁴ and included in the main draft of the treaty.¹⁶⁸⁵ Livy confirms that the final form was drafted by a commission of ten magistrates (*decemviri*).¹⁶⁸⁶ The commissioners repeated the ceremony of treaty ratification in Greece and again at Apamea in solemnity.¹⁶⁸⁷ Unlike with previous treaties, this time the Romans wanted to have the situation under control when defining exactly which areas required an intervention and constantly monitoring the situation. Rome was both denying Antiochus any point of strategic advantage in the western Taurus range and seeking to ensure there were no misunderstandings.¹⁶⁸⁸ [5.6]

7.1.4 The control and the sacred awe of the *finis*

This section shows that Rome strengthened her political ideas on *fines*, while still preserving a sacred respect toward them. The treaty was recorded and deposited at Rome and a copy sent along with the ten *legati* to the consul of 188 B.C., Cn. Manlius Vulso.¹⁶⁸⁹ The new consul was sent along with officers to Syria, passing through Anatolia to sort out immediate disputes on the spot and

¹⁶⁸³ Polyb. 21.24.3; Liv. 37.55.3.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Polyb. 21.24.6-8; Liv. 37.56.1-6. McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Polyb. 21.43.5-6; Liv. 38.38.4-5. See Errington 1989:286-9; McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Livy's statement (38.38.1) finds no support in Polybius (21.24.10-15) and is confirmed by the otherwise unknown Rhodes' request of Soli (Liv. 37.56.7-10).

¹⁶⁸⁷ App. Syr. 39.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Polyb. 21.35-6; 43-4; Liv. 38.15.37; Magie 1950:2.1134-5, 1156-8; McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Polyb. 21.24.5; Liv. 37.55.4. Gruen 1986:639. A debate has arisen about the fact that the treaty was modified by Manlius and the commissioners. Mommsen (1864:2.525-6) and De Sanctis 1907:4.206 thought it was not; against this was Täubler (1913:1.103-108) who maintained that a change was made in the clause on indemnities. The preliminary treaty required the payment of 2,500 talents when the treaty had been ratified at Rome (Polyb. 21.17.4-5; Liv. 37.45.14; App. Syr. 38), and this sum was actually paid not only before the ratification at Apamea but before the arrival of the commissioners (Polyb. 21.41.8-12; Liv. 38.37.7-9). The treaty as finally ratified does not mention this sum but speaks only of the 12,000 talents still due. Obviously a reference to a sum already paid would have been out of place. A clause of the kind common in treaties to the effect that Antiochus was to pay 2,500 talents immediately would have implied an additional payment. Thus, if the treaty when ratified at Rome contained such a clause, it must have been deleted by Manlius and the commissioners. Such a change would have been little more than a clerical correction bringing the document up to date and would not involve a real modification of the treaty. On the other hand, it is possible that even this clause was drafted at Rome in its final form, that the clause in the preliminary treaty concerning the 2,500 talents was considered sufficient, and that Manlius was ordered to collect the sum before the final ratification of the treaty. Larsen 1936:347,n.9.

to exact the King's personal oath.¹⁶⁹⁰ Vulso started a brief campaign along the main routes and, as pointed out by scholars, even along the line of the new borders stated in the treaty.¹⁶⁹¹ The precise extent of Vulso's campaign can be gauged from the messages sent throughout this action: a) displaying the extent of Rome's influence over Asia Minor; b) intimidating and preventing the return of Antiochus; and c) patrolling and fixing the *finis* as the case might be.

Along the southern coast of Asia Minor, Antiochus remained in control of the territory lying outside the Taurus range, as far as Cilicia Tracheia, and for this reason it was thought necessary to limit any possible movement inland towards western Asia Minor. There was little danger of any effective attack across the Lycaonian frontier through central Anatolia against the new expanded territory of Pergamum and Rome's concerns were alleviated further by Vulso's campaign, which occupied Pamphylia, thereby monitoring Galatia and Cappadocia, and utterly denying them to Antiochus.¹⁶⁹² Despite the fact that Vulso's campaign served such a useful purpose in keeping Antiochus at bay, issues were raised regarding the sacrality of his actions during the campaign. Livy mentions this in two episodes, the first one at the beginning of the campaign against the Galatians and the second – which is more important to this study – at the end of it. The campaign against the Gauls of Asia commenced with the establishment of Vulso's control over his army through a ritual purification.¹⁶⁹³ Manlius – after having met Eumenes' brother Attalos and defeated the Galatians – threatened to march over the Taurus and attack Antiochos in Syria.¹⁶⁹⁴ Here, Livy goes back to the question of the sacredness of the *finis* – in this case the 'Taurus Range'. However, during his campaign throughout the whole of Anatolia, M. Vulso:

¹⁶⁹⁰ Polyb. 21.42-44; Liv. 38.37-39. Larsen 1936:347. The commission found instead Zeuxis and Antipater (Antiochus' satrap and nephew) prepared to exchange oaths on the ratified terms; cf. Polyb. 21.46.8-10. Errington 1998:287.

¹⁶⁹¹ See Grainger 1995.

¹⁶⁹² Polyb. 21.35-6; 43-4; Livy 38.15.37; Magie 1950:2.1134-5, 1156-8. McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁶⁹³ Liv. 38.12.2-8.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Livy (38.45.3) reports the information in a speech given by one of the Roman peace commissioners in the senatorial debate over the question of a triumph for Manlius. See Thonemann 2013:54; Grainger 1995.

*cupientem transire Taurum aegre omnium legatorum precibus, ne carminibus Sibyllae praedictam superantibus terminos fatales cladem experiri vellet.*¹⁶⁹⁵

wanted to cross the Taurus Mountains with difficulty restrained by the entreaties of all the ambassadors who besought him not to brave the curse denounced in the Sibylline verses against such as should pass those fatal limits.

The commissioners, who judged M. Vulso once he came back to Rome, “claimed he had acted purely out of self-interest, far overstepped the bounds of his lawful *imperium*, and set off without the proper fetial procedures on what amounted to a personal, undeclared, and opportunistic war”.¹⁶⁹⁶ It is quite obvious that the sacred nature of the *finis* here is clear to other scholars, as shown by the Pelikan Pittenger’s statement above. The scholar resumes and summarises the elements to be linked with a bordering practice (*fetials*, *imperium*, sacredness of bounds), though without mentioning the word *finis*. As shown already, the *finis* has been already established as ‘dividing’ element between two *imperia*, turning into a *terminus*. It is interesting that Livy adapts Vulso’s story to the time his campaign took place, mentioning the sacredness of the *finis*, but treating it as a marginal aspect. At that time the sacred value of a *finis* was diminishing slightly, but was still present as a kind of reminiscence of the past; the legal, political and diplomatic issues were replacing the ‘sphere of sacredness’, but it had not yet disappeared entirely.

7.2 The treaty and the ‘Taurus line’¹⁶⁹⁷

7.2.1 Questions and problems

The first problem presented by the treaty concerns the territorial clauses, specifically the ‘dividing line(s)’ beyond which Antiochus could not venture.¹⁶⁹⁸

The geographical conditions of the treaty have received formidable attention

¹⁶⁹⁵ Liv. 38.45.3; Pelikan Pittenger 2008:96-7.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Pelikan Pittenger 2008:98.

¹⁶⁹⁷ This terminology has been taken by McDonald 1967:1 and esp. 4 and McDonald & Walbank 1969:30. But also Sherwin-White 1977:65. I will refer often to this as clashing argument to Livy’s view.

¹⁶⁹⁸ On the concept of dividing line, already present in Strabo 2.1.1. See Bechard 2000:208.

since Mommsen's argument.¹⁶⁹⁹ Although the territorial clauses were repeatedly assessed until the post-WWII period by Kahrstedt, Meyer, Holleaux, and Ruge,¹⁷⁰⁰ the questions still remain unresolved. Despite the amount of detail, McDonald brilliantly tackled the question, whilst also raising a number of unanswered questions linked with the treaty: "What kind of treaty was negotiated at Apamea? A Roman treaty, designed to secure Antiochus' evacuation of western Asia Minor? Or a treaty in the Hellenistic style, under which Rome aimed to deny explicitly the entire Seleucid case for hereditary claims in Thrace and Asia Minor, regardless of the extent to which Antiochus had been able to assert these claims by actual occupation?" In considering the nature of borders, McDonald affirmed that "only a continuous river line provides a clear demarcation of territory; a mountainous area or steppe or desert land, often by its nature sparsely populated, may lack the local place-names to give precision to a frontier".¹⁷⁰¹

However, despite such precise questions, McDonald's article on the 'territorial clauses' seems ultimately to shy away from this key topic. The scholar simply states that between the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., the Romans experienced the creation of a 'frontier' in Spain, North Africa and Asia Minor.¹⁷⁰² This affirmation has therefore left unaltered the analysis of the treaty itself. Although there is no doubt that strong references are made both to a mountain range and a river as physical entities 'not to be crossed' by the Seleucids, many controversies – chiefly of a topographical nature – have arisen around the following 'edict' drafted after the Peace of Apamea. My study raises a set of problems related to the 'territorial clause' within the treaty: a) To what extent can Polybius' terminology be considered reliable and comparable with Livy's testimony in order to show the consistent discrepancies between the Greek and Roman view? b) The concept of using geographical and therefore natural features 'to limit' a political entity is not as straightforward¹⁷⁰³ as it appears, which is clear

¹⁶⁹⁹ Mommsen 1864:2.527-32; but see Viereck 1909:372-3; McDonald 1967:4.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Mommsen 1864:2.527-31; Kahrstedt 1924; Meyer 1925:145-6; Holleaux 1952:5.2.208-11, with bibliography; Ruge 1932:2.2169; McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷⁰¹ McDonald 1967:1

¹⁷⁰² McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷⁰³ See McDonald's (1967:1) statement above about rivers.

from the different interpretations placed upon them by Polybius and Livy;^[5.2.1]
 c) The treaty would have appeared as more like an act of submission to Antiochus, by defining the newly-shaped 'spheres of influence' (*imperia?*) in Anatolia, and involving kingdoms such as Pergamum and Rhodes, Rome's allies. ^[7.4; 7.5]

7.2.2 The evidence and the sources question

The treaty outlines the re-definition, re-modelling or re-delimitation of those regions which were subject to Antiochus' Empire (*'qui sub imperio eius erunt'*).¹⁷⁰⁴ **[APPENDIX 4]**Our primary evidence and most reliable information consists of four literary excerpts: two from Polybius and two from Livy. Yet, in much the same way as the Ebro treaty, the comparison between Polybius and Livy only serves to raise new questions, indicated through their interpretation in the light of the preliminary evidence. Unfortunately, Polybius' text has suffered corruption to a greater degree than the Livian excerpt during the course of their manuscript transmission.¹⁷⁰⁵ Hence, I will follow more strictly Livy's account, which is doubtless derived partially from Polybius,¹⁷⁰⁶ when introducing the points at issue. Moreover, Livy faced a more detailed report of the original draft, leading to a better understanding of Rome's international policy at that time. But, despite the constant use of Livy's work, a comparison with Polybius' passages will be used to exemplify the differences in their comprehension of the treaty. After all, Polybius¹⁷⁰⁷ provides only a brief summary of the senatorial decree of 189 B.C.,¹⁷⁰⁸ which contrasts starkly with Livy's more detailed version.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Liv. 38.38.3.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Morkholm 1966:25; Hansen 1971:97; McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁷⁰⁶ On Livy's use of Polybius see Nissen 1863:194; McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Polyb. 21.24.6-8 (on which Liv. 37.55.54 depends); Polyb. 21.46.2-10 (on which Liv. 38.39.7-17 depends).

¹⁷⁰⁸ The wider situation corresponds with what Polybius describes here and elsewhere, and Nissen took the Livian passage as 'Polybian', assuming abbreviation by the Polybian excerptor. Yet Livy's detailed items do not fit the pattern of abbreviation. Mommsen saw the difficulty and concluded that Livy had interpolated them from an Annalistic source. If we think of a Roman Annalist who could have preserved these details, he is 'Claudius (Quadrigrarius) following Acilius' (Liv. 35.14.5), and Livy may have copied the whole section 37.52-56 from his account. As a senatorial historian of the mid-second century B.C. Acilius was able to draw upon the same information about the settlement with Antiochus that was available to Polybius. Polyb. 21.18-24, cf. Liv. 37.52-6. See Nissen 1863:198-200, Mommsen 1864:2.522-4; cf. Meyer 1881:120-6;

Although both of them used the same *senatus consultum* as the basis for their narration,¹⁷⁰⁹ Livy derived his information from a wider use of Roman annalistic sources,¹⁷¹⁰ while the Polybian text here is not continuous but transmitted by an excerptor, who abbreviated it.¹⁷¹¹ Therefore, Polybius shows no evidence for territorial clauses and consequently the Livian text provides more detailed and comprehensible data for the topographical evidence and the conditions of the Roman settlement.¹⁷¹²

[APPENDIX 4] In the Livian text, the term ‘*finēs*’ appears three times just in the first part of the edict (*sententia*), when the geographical limits of the ‘revised’ Seleucid Empire are established by Rome.¹⁷¹³ Also, we have to assume an omission or corruption in Polybius’ text after *χώρας* is supplemented by Livy, who presumably confirmed the topographical coordinates in Polybius:¹⁷¹⁴

ἐκχωρεῖτω δὲ (Ἀντιόχος) πόλεων καὶ χώρας (. †.). μὴ ἐξαγέτω μηδὲν πλὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν ὧν φέρουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται: εἰ δὲ τι τυγχάνουσιν ἀπενηνεγμένοι, καθιστάτωσαν πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς πόλεις.¹⁷¹⁵

excedito (Antiochus) *urbibus agris vicis castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Tanaim amnem, et ea valle Tauri usque ad iuga, qua in Lycaoniam vergit. ne qua praeter arma efferto ex iis oppidis agris castellisque, quibus excedat; si qua extulit, quo quaeque oportebit, recte restituito.*¹⁷¹⁶

He shall withdraw from the cities, lands, villages and strongholds on this side of the Taurus Mountain as far as the Halys River and from the valley as far as the ridges of Taurus where it slopes down into Lycaonia. He shall carry away nothing but his weapons from these towns, lands and fortresses from which he is withdrawing; if he has removed anything, he shall duly restore it to the place in which each item belongs.)

Kümpel 1893:23. On the senatorial historiography of the second century B.C., consult Gelzer 1907:93-110. We should recognise the diplomatic material that was available to the senatorial historians and Polybius in common at that time. McDonald 1967:2.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Liv. 37.56.2-6 (from a Roman annalistic source). Cf. Liv. 38.39.7-8; 38.39.14-16; Diod. 29.11; App. Syr. 44. Gruen 1986:548.

¹⁷¹⁰ Walbank 1979:117-8; Briscoe 1981:384-5; Baronowski 1991:453.

¹⁷¹¹ Nissen 1863:8-11, 14; McDonald 1967:2.

¹⁷¹² On the course of events, consult Niese 1893:2.739-44; on the geography and regional history, Magie 1950; on Roman policy: De Sanctis 1907:4.1.193-5; Holleaux 1952:5.2.413, 420-3 (= CAH, VIII, 222, 229-31); Badian 1964:122-6; on the treaty of Apamea, Täubler 1913:1.75-7, 442-7; on the general settlement, Meyer 1925:146-9; on the Greek cities, Bickerman 1937:217 ff; McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷¹³ Liv. 38.38.[2]: “*rex per fines regni sui eorumve*”; [6]: “*...cum rege Antiocho intraque fines regni eius sunt*”; [11]: “*Rhodiorum sociorumve quaeaedes aedificiaque intra fines regni Antiochi sunt*”.

¹⁷¹⁴ McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁷¹⁵ Polyb. 21.43.5-6.

¹⁷¹⁶ Liv. 38.38. 4-5.

The treaty of Apamea laid down what appear to be specific limitations between Antiochus and the Romans along the Taurus Mountains in southeastern Anatolia. This demarcation zone – which extended from the Taurus range to an unknown river (?Tanais) – mainly separated Cilicia from the rest of Asia Minor and presumably Lycaonia from Cappadocia.¹⁷¹⁷ Chiefly, the Romans expelled the King from Asia Minor north-west of the Taurus Mountains, reshaping the status of the regions hitherto subject to him.¹⁷¹⁸ Antiochus ‘agreed’ to evacuate the territory – or the sites – and to relinquish his claims over Anatolia “*cis Taurum montem usque ad Tanaim amnem et ea valle Tauri usque ad iuga qua in Lycaoniam vergit*” (“on the western Asia Minor side of the Taurus range as far as the river *Tanais* and along that valley of the Taurus as far as the heights where the Taurus faces towards Lycaonia”).

Further and more specific requests were considered by the Romans within the clauses of the treaty, but the bulk of the original agreement – prohibiting the passage beyond the Taurus Range – formed the basis for their final decisions. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the main preoccupation of scholars has been the research and explanation of what they themselves have called the ‘Taurus line’, which had been the core of Roman demands ever since the first discussions in autumn 190 B.C.¹⁷¹⁹ And it is not surprising that the core passages (above) have given rise to an astonishing variety of interpretations and almost every detailed account of the settlement differs – slightly or significantly – from the others.¹⁷²⁰ We can speculate – having seen the two different passages in both Polybius and Livy – that the basic guidelines were drafted on the Asiatic soil just after the Battle of Magnesia, but more precise political conditions – such as territorial demarcation and military details – were arranged in Rome by the Senate in 189 B.C. Although the controversy is linked to the name of the river, the questions surrounding the demarcation of territory,

¹⁷¹⁷ Strabo 12.6.5.

¹⁷¹⁸ Polyb. 21.43.6; Liv. 38.38.4, with Walbank 1979:157-8; Giovannini 1982. A controversial view about the boundary imposed on Antiochus is expressed by Adam 1982:I-lvii. Baronowski 1991:450.

¹⁷¹⁹ Errington 1989:288.

¹⁷²⁰ Mommsen 1856:720-1; Niese 1893:747-9, 759-60; Colin 1905:190-4; Cardinali 1906:72-7; De Sanctis 1907:219-20; Meyer 1925:145-56; Holleaux 1930:230-3 and Holleaux 1957:421-4; Bickerman 1937; Magie 1950:1.108-109; Pareti 1952:727-8; Ceruti 1955; Gruen 1986:547-9; Ferrary 1988:150-8; Errington 1989:287-9.

the nature of the area or the precision in providing the local place-names also need to be distilled from the main information given by the ancient texts. Thus, they show the political situation in western Asia Minor in the territorial terms of a military treaty that defined the Taurus frontier as distinct e.g. from economic clause. The 'Cistauric' region is, however, still undefined with reference to the western end of the same range. In this area, the Taurus frontier has been defined by a river and its valley. Did this valley belong to the Taurus range? Was this valley part of the *finis* reaching to a point where the Taurus overlooked Lycaonia? Or did this specific clause stipulate not to cross an undefined zone?¹⁷²¹ For these reasons, many problems have arisen about the 'territorial clauses' of the treaty,¹⁷²² as argued by McDonald: "There is no more likely factor of dispute in a peace treaty than its definition of an inland frontier, even when the terms of the treaty are directly known: one has not to look far for instances where a topographical reference has proved to be equivocal".¹⁷²³ Starting with the above overview, I will try to answer two main questions: a) why the treaty has been so specific in every single point and clause, and to what extent those aspects are linked with the term *finis*. Mainly, I will analyse the striking comparison between the setting up of a 'hypothetical line' – as set by scholars as McDonald and Walbank – and the Livian focus on elements which have nothing to do with a line – as i.e. '*ea valle*' or '*urbibus agris vicis castellis*' are not lines!; b) what the nature of the relationship between space and 'land marker' – territory and *finis* – is, and in what way Rome is linked with a limit that she imposed, even though she did not occupy that space vacated by Antiochus.

¹⁷²¹ See Schaffer 1903:17, 46-8; for the upper Calycadnus terrain, cf. Sterrett 1888, with two maps.

¹⁷²² The most important contribution to the debate is given by: McDonald 1967. Nevertheless, controversies had developed in all its possible features. Mommsen 1864:2.527-30; Kahrstedt 1924; Meyer 1925:145-6; Holleaux 1952:5.2.208-10; Ruge 1932:2.2169.

¹⁷²³ McDonald 1967:1.

7.3 The territorial clauses of the treaty

7.3.1 First terrestrial clause: The Taurus

[FIG 37, 38] Further and more specific requests were considered by the Romans within the clauses of the treaty, but the bulk of the original agreement is centred on the ‘territorial clauses’, concerning natural features.¹⁷²⁴ By denying Antiochus any point of strategic advantage in the western Taurus range, the Romans were to prevent the return of Seleucid power. Regardless of his present occupation, Rome determined to prevent any such expansion back into Anatolia. One of Rome’s concerns was that some of Antiochus’ descendants might attempt to emulate his expansionistic policy. Seleucus IV (Antiochus’ son) was warned by Rome to stay within the ‘Taurus Range zone’, drawn up in the treaty of Apamea.¹⁷²⁵ In this way, the Taurus Range as well as the Ebro River had the function of curbing Rome’s and Antiochus’ *imperia* through geographical limitations. Polybius in this circumstance is more useful than Livy, who instead takes for granted the concept of *imperium*. Acimociv considers the limitations applied to Antiochus as a problem linked to Rome’s security, stating clearly that the most important feature of the treaty of Apamea was “the forbidding of any (of Antiochus’) activity west of the Taurus [...]; this barrier was the natural limit to Rome’s ‘sphere of influence’, beyond which she had no security interests”.¹⁷²⁶ This equates to Polybius’ statement, which also introduces the first problem: what does the term ἐκχωρεῖν mean and what do we understand by this term?¹⁷²⁷ Seen as a reference to the soldiers, more often the term ἐκχωρεῖν might simply point to the ‘evacuation’ of troops and therefore

¹⁷²⁴ As regards the text, it is read ‘*Mysiae regias silvas*’: *Mysias regias silvas* Bx: *Mysiam regias silvas* Mg. Editors have compared Liv. 38.39.15 (Polyb.) to emend: *Mysiam regiam et Milyas* Madvig, *Mysiam < quam ademerat Prusias > regi, ac Milyada*. But this passage concerns only Antiochus’ part of Mysia, from the Roman angle of policy, and the source may be Roman (Mommsen 1864:2.522-4). On the connection with Prusias of Bithynia, see Chr. Habicht 1956:94-7. In any event the region under attention here does not include Milyas in the South (Magie 1950:2.761-2). For the provisions affecting the Greek cities see the works cited in n. 3, especially Bickerman 1937:218-24 and Magie 1950:2.950-6; McDonald 1967:2.

¹⁷²⁵ Diod. 29.24. For Antiochus’ IV emulation of his father see: Green 1990:438.

¹⁷²⁶ Acimociv 2007:119.

¹⁷²⁷ Polyb. 21.43.5.

may just be linked to military operations.¹⁷²⁸ [5.2.2] The literal translation is ‘to cede’ but this could mean also ‘to evacuate’ from actual occupation.¹⁷²⁹ However, it has been argued that it is an ‘evacuation’ of occupied places with (by implication) the wider ‘ceding’ of the rights of that area as well. Holleaux made the point by arguing generally that, with the term ἐκχωρεῖν, Polybius could be referring both to ‘relinquishing claims’ and to ‘evacuating’ occupied territory,¹⁷³⁰ which the ‘forced’ abandonment of a territory usually involves, alienating an area and passing the right to the winning power.¹⁷³¹ Following this, Polybius appears to assume a wider significance for the verb ἐκχωρεῖν, moving from the Taurus Range into Anatolia and including the *Tanais* River, in view of the hereditary Seleucid claims. Nevertheless, the phrase ‘δυναστείας ἐκχωρεῖν’ considers also future ‘relinquishment claims’, especially concerning the abrogated hereditary Seleucid rights in western Anatolia.

[FIG 39] Now, let us consider another Polybian narrative, which is fully followed by Livy:¹⁷³² What does the phrase ἐπὶ τῷδε τοῦ Ταύρου (‘*cis Taurum montem*’) signify? The ‘Cistauric’ region is still undefined with reference to the western end of the Taurus Range.¹⁷³³ In contrast to the Alps, Livy emphasises only a few times the word *iuga* (passes) in relation to the Taurus Range¹⁷³⁴ and the reason is given indirectly by McDonald, who clarifies that the Taurus Range is traversable only in two points along its extent. The Cilician mountains of the Taurus Range (modern *Ak Dag*, *Geyik Dag*, *Gok Dag*) rise steeply all of a

¹⁷²⁸ Liv. 38.38.10: “*Milites mercede conducendi ex iis gentibus quae sub dicione populi Romani sunt Antiocho regi ius ne esto, ne uoluntarios quidem recipiendi*”. (King Antiochus shall not be authorised to hire soldiers from those peoples which are under the control of the Roman people, nor even to accept [10] volunteers therefrom). Cf. Prag 2011:19. McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁷²⁹ Cf. Liddell & Scott 1940: A. depart, ‘ἐκ χώρας’ SIG 679.53; leave a country, emigrate, Hdt.1.56, Hecat.30J.; withdraw, ‘ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας’ PAmh.2.30.44 (2nd cent. B.C.), etc.: metaph., ‘ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν’ Plb.2.21.2: so abs., Id. 7.2.1.2. slip out of, ‘ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων’ Hdt.3.129. 3. give way, retire, E.IA367, D.41.5; ‘τῶν ὑπαίθρων’ Polyb.1.15.7; ‘τῶν ὑπαρχόντων’ Id.31.28.3; ‘χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει’ S.Aj.671; ἐ. τινί τινος give way to a person in a thing, Hp.Jusj.; ‘τινὶ περὶ τινος’ Polyb. 21.20.1. 4. impers. of a motion of the bowels, Hp.Epid. 5.33. B. give up, cede, ‘τινὶ τι’ IG 12(3).324.15 (Thera), PEleph.15.2 (3rd cent. B.C.), Sammelb.4414.8, etc.; τῷ δαίμονι τι Vett. Val. 156.4:—Pass., CIG 4268 (Xanthus).

¹⁷³⁰ See Holleaux 1952:5.2.213-4. McDonald 1967:2.

¹⁷³¹ Cf. Liv. 38.8.8: “*non paucis urbibus eum, de quarum libertate certatum sit, sed omni Asia cis Taurum montem, opimo regno, excessisse*” (He had ceded, not the few cities whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia on this side Mount Taurus).

¹⁷³² Nissen 1863:20-1, 206; McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁷³³ McDonald 1967:2. Cf. Golan 1989:121, n. 42.

¹⁷³⁴ Cf. Liv. 37.53.25; 37.56.8; 38.8.4; 38.12.4; 38.38.4; 38.45.3.

sudden in a high chain, running Northwest to form an almost impenetrable barrier. This terrain allowed military movement only at two narrow and easily controllable points: in the East, where the Cydnus River led up to the Cilician Gates and then to Cappadocia, and in the West, where the course of *Calycadnus* (modern Göksu) provided access to Lycaonia.¹⁷³⁵ The Taurus Mountain Range could be regarded as turning down to the sea in its mountain spurs either east or west of the Pamphylian plain.¹⁷³⁶ The position of Pamphylia and the control of routes through Cilicia Tracheia probably affected the strategic situation.¹⁷³⁷ The question was: northwards, overlooking Lycaonia, should Antiochus keep the foothills or stay just behind the watershed mountain top? Rome drew upon the legacy from the past in that region, preserving nothing other than the previous conditions. It took from Antiochus' kingdom at least one satrapy,¹⁷³⁸ and Antiochus created at least one more between the Taurus Range and the Aegean Sea, which represented the two limits of this 'province'. We are informed that after 213 B.C., a subsidiary kingdom centred at Sardis in Asia Minor was ruled by Zeuxis.¹⁷³⁹ Unlike his predecessor Achaius, he was not a relative of the King, but held the court rank of 'father' even before that date and therefore belonged to Antiochus' innermost circle. Two inscriptions confirm the importance of Zeuxis as satrap of Lydia before and after Antiochus' conquests, with extended responsibility for all the territories north of the Taurus Mountains.¹⁷⁴⁰ Therefore, the meaning of the so-called 'line of the Taurus' would be merely twofold: strategic and administrative. From Livy's view, the crossing of the Taurus Range is synonymous with imperial expansionism, like casting ambitions of domination on the other side of Asia.¹⁷⁴¹ Livy is aware of

¹⁷³⁵ MacDonald 1967:8.

¹⁷³⁶ Magie 1950:2.757, 761. McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷³⁷ Pekman 1973:81; McNicoll (1997:156) talks about it as 'strategic corridor'.

¹⁷³⁸ The decree of friendship between Antiochus and Ilium shows again the importance given to the crossing of the Taurus in CIC 3595= GCIS 219, l. 12; cf. Jones 1993:75.

¹⁷³⁹ Polyb. 21.16.4.

¹⁷⁴⁰ The first decree (SEG 37:1010), published by Malay in 1987 from modern Balikesir, includes a letter dated to c. 209 from Antiochus III to Zeuxis – where he appears responsible for the cis-Tauric territories, appointing Nikanor as , high-priest of the all of the sanctuaries beyond the Taurus Mountains. The second Euromus decree (August, 197 B.C., lines 3-5) confirms the previous one: Zeuxis is termed ὁ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πραγμάτων ("[the man] left in charge of affairs on this side of the Taurus by King Antiochus"), in Ma 2003, no. 29:338. See Dreyer 2011:52.

¹⁷⁴¹ For a sum up in ancient history s. Thornton 1995.

this point: Cilicia is the main passageway from Asia to Europe, whence Antiochus expanded his empire over the Taurus, reaching the Aegean coast of Anatolia.¹⁷⁴²

7.3.2 Second terrestrial clause: The ‘*Tanais*’

[FIG 39] The readings ‘*ad Tanaim amnen*’ and ‘*ea valle Tauri*’ have been the centre of much dispute.¹⁷⁴³ The river ‘*Tanais*’ is otherwise unknown,¹⁷⁴⁴ and the name has invited emendation.¹⁷⁴⁵ In fact, we do not yet know all the ancient names of the rivers in Asia Minor, especially with reference to their upper reaches or tributaries. Three main solutions have been proposed to sort out the question: (A) the first one has often been taken for granted and represents the ‘standard’ theory of the treaty, while the other two (B) and (C) belong to the same current of thinking.

A) The name *Tanais* was easily turned into *Halys* as a facile guess in the light of general knowledge.¹⁷⁴⁶ Holleaux applied broad historical references to this special treaty while seeking geographical description for his argument,¹⁷⁴⁷ which was objected to by Ruge.¹⁷⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the River *Halys* was thenceforth unanimously recognised as the river included in the Polybian and Livian texts. Outside of the treaty of Apamea, the function of the river *Halys* is linked to some ‘divisory’ aim and in two cases it is connected with the *Taurus* range.¹⁷⁴⁹

¹⁷⁴² Liv. 35.13.4: (Antiochus) “*per Ciliciam Tauro monte superato extremo iam hiemis Ephesum pervenit*” (came through Cilicia, after passing Mount Taurus, to the city of Ephesus).

¹⁷⁴³ On one side: Vierreck, Cardinali, Täubler, De Sanctis and Holleaux. On the other: Mommsen, Kahrsted, Meyer and Ruge. McDonald stands on his own. McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁷⁴⁴ If we don’t want to identify it as the ancient *Tanais*, which flows north of the Black sea and has been identified with the modern Don. Cf. Strabo (11.1) considered it as the boundary between Europe and Asia.

¹⁷⁴⁵ About the emendations, authority and origins of the Livian text, see McDonald 1967:3-4, 7; Baronowski 1991:453.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Täubler 1913:75, n. 1, 76-7; Holleaux 1952:5.2.215-9; cf. Magie 1950:2.757-60.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Holleaux 1952:5.2.216-20. McDonald 1967:7.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Holleaux 1952:5.2.213-4, but Ruge 1932:2.2169. McDonald 1967:7.

¹⁷⁴⁹ HALYS (Ἁλυς, sometimes Ἰαλυς: Kizil Irmak, turk. “red river”), the principal river of Asia Minor rises near Sivas. Its sources lay at the eastern end of the Central Anatolian Plateau, which form the boundary between Pontus and Armenia Minor, that is, at the point where the heights of Scoedis and Antitaurus meet. (Hdt. 1.72; Strab. 12. p.546; Eustath. *ad Dionys. Per.* 786; Ov. *ex Pont.* 4.10. 48) At first its course has a southwestern direction, traversing Pontus and Cappadocia, through which it forms a huge semicircle turning northwards to flow by several

Flowing from the East, the Halys in mid-course turned north toward the Black Sea, and its lower line traditionally divided Anatolia between East and West.¹⁷⁵⁰ After Manlius Vulso's operations in Galatia, the Romans divided Anatolia roughly along the lower Halys line, which extended southwards to the Taurus.¹⁷⁵¹ This line was the demarcation that most conveniently indicated the political position, as demonstrated by the fact that it is quoted three times among later and earlier historians. With reference to the Second Punic War, Appian say that:

A1) συνενεωτέρισαν δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις οἱ θ' Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ἐντὸς Ἄλυος καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου: καὶ τούτους οὖν ἅμα συγκατακτᾶσθαι προήχθησαν, ὧν Ἀντιόχος τε ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεύς.¹⁷⁵²

...the Greeks, the Macedonians, and those peoples in Asia who lived this side of the Halys River and the Taurus Mountains joined the Carthaginians in a revolution, and therefore at the same time the Romans were led on to a conquest of these peoples, whose kings were Antiochus, Philip, and Perseus.

Sulla is shown speaking of Rome's defeat of Antiochus, also using the same phraseology in Appian:

A2) Ἡμεῖς στρατῶ πρῶτον ἐς Ἀσίαν παρήλθομεν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως πορθοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ἐξελάσαντες δ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν Ἄλυν καὶ Ταῦρον αὐτῶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄρον.¹⁷⁵³

We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, King of Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the river Halys and Mount Taurus.

mouths into the Black Sea. According to Strabo (12, pp. 546, 561), the river Halys received its name from the salt-works in its vicinity or by owing a natural bitter-salty taste; even though often its name is written without the aspiration, Alys (Eustath. *ad Dionys. Per.* 784). Pliny (*N.H.* 6.2), making this river come down from Mount Taurus and flow at once from South to North, appears to confound the Halys with one of its tributaries (Ichel Irmak). The importance of the river is attested by the fact that its course has worked frequently as 'territorial splitter' or 'boundary line', dividing Asia in two parts, *cis-* and *trans-*Halyn. (Strab. 12. p. 534, 17. p. 840.) It formed the eastern boundary of Phrygia in the time of king Midas (8th century B.C.) and became the boundary between Lydia and Media according to the peace treaty that followed the "Battle of the Eclipse" (585 B.C.). At the time of the greatness of the Lydian empire the Halys formed the boundary between it and Persia, and on its banks Cyrus gained the decisive victory over Croesus. (Hdt. 1.53, 75. 84; Justin 1.7; Cic. *Div.* 2.5. 6; Lucan 3.272). Already in the first half of the 6th century B.C., the river also formed a border between Media and Cilicia in its first section, while the latter part was the boundary between Paphlagonia in the West, and Galatia and Pontus in the East. (Strab. 12. p. 544; Ptol. 5.4.3; Arr. *Peripl.* 16).

¹⁷⁵⁰ See Herodotus just footnote above.

¹⁷⁵¹ Mahaffy & Gilman 1887:265; and mainly Sherwin-White 1984:42.

¹⁷⁵² Strabo 6.4.2.

¹⁷⁵³ App. *Mith.* 9.62.

This was already a more ancient reference, as Herodotus stresses:

A3) Κροΐσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττει, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξύ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον.¹⁷⁵⁴

Croesus was a Lydian by birth, son of Alyattes, and sovereign of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the South between Syria and Paphlagonia and empties into the sea called Euxine.

It is quite clear that the river cannot be other than the Halys, which is shown as having had a crucial importance in defining a territorial limit in different times and periods. Connecting the ‘Taurus line’ and Halys makes good sense in general terms, after Vulso’s Galatian campaign. However, we have moved a long way from the specific clauses of the treaty of Apamea to argue from a speech by Appian. Thus these parallels only serve to illustrate its broad usage in an earlier (Herodotus) or later (Appian) period. If the Romans did not conceive their treaty in Hellenistic terms, these incidental references are not relevant to our discussion. They do not just define an impassable limit. Although many of them worked also as a sort of barrier to restrain foes from invading, water streams were chosen for their ‘iconic acceptation’ and not just for diplomatic, strategic or defensive purposes, as the example of the Ebro and the Rubicon show.¹⁷⁵⁵

B) Despite the confirmation provided by later sources about the ‘Halys-Taurus line’, Mommsen discounted the Halys as irrelevant to Antiochus’ military evacuation and his stand in Pamphylia. Mommsen seemed to ascribe an extreme importance to Livy’s version: by amending the name ‘*Tartaim*’¹⁷⁵⁶ to ‘*Taurum*’, he twisted it into the upper River *Cestrus* (modern Aksu), which divided Pamphylia down to the sea.¹⁷⁵⁷ He also put into the argument two other physical entities: the promontories *Calycadnum* (?modern Lissan el Kahpe)¹⁷⁵⁸

¹⁷⁵⁴ Hdt. 1.6.1.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Cardinali 1910:249-50; but see Meyer 1925:145-6. McDonald 1967:7.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Liv. 38.15.7.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Mommsen 1864:2.511. The Taurus Cestrus equation stems from Liv. 38.15.7: “*Ex Pamphylia rediens ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen quam vacant Comen posuit castra*”. (Returning from Pamphylia, he encamped the first day on the river Taurus, the next at what they call Xylines Comê). Cf. McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁷⁵⁸ CALYCADNUS (Καλύκαδνος, modern Ghiuk-Su), one of the largest rivers of Cilicia. (Strab. p. 670.) It rises in the range of Taurus, and after a general eastern course between the range of

and Sarpedonium (?modern Taçucu) (*ne navigato citra Calycadnum neu Sarpedonium promunturia*).¹⁷⁵⁹ He provided a logical argument for a clear frontier line, which defined the limits of both the terrestrial and marine access and forbade Antiochus to cross them. At first glance, Mommsen's main argument holds – as it looked east of Pamphylia, it need take us no farther than an inland point corresponding to Cape Sarpedonium on the coast. Furthermore, a military route led across the Taurus range into Lycaonia, opposite Laranda through this area up the Calycadnus River.¹⁷⁶⁰ However, Mommsen's theory is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, this line allowed Antiochus access to an area that led inland to Pisidia, thus threatening Eumenes' communications with Lycaonia. Secondly, it does not correspond to the coastal point of Cape Sarpedonium, which marked the limit of his naval activity. Furthermore, the 'Cestrus line' could hardly have been subject to topographical confusion, as we know that Antiochus' envoys disputed the position of Pamphylia under the treaty.¹⁷⁶¹ They held that Pamphylia lay 'beyond Taurus' and hence was not forfeit under the peace terms, though their military forces were formally

Taurus and the high land which borders this part of the coast of Cilicia, it passes Seleuceia (modern Silifke), entering the Mediterranean northeast of the promontory of Sarpedon. "The most fertile and the only extensive level in (Cilicia) Tracheiotis is the valley of the Calycadnus, a district which was sometimes called Citis": Leake 1884:116. When the Calycadnus passes through Seleuceia it is about 180 feet wide, where there is a bridge of six arches. In the treaty between Antiochus and the Romans (Polyb. 22.26) the Syrian king was not to navigate west of the promontory Calycadnum, except in certain cases. Now if the Sarpedon of Strabo were the lofty promontory of Cape Cavaliere, as Beaufort (1817:235) supposed, the Calycadnum, which we may fairly infer to be near Sarpedon, and near the river, might be the long sandy point of Lissan el Kahpeh, which is between Cape Cavaliere, and the mouth of the river Calycadnus. Beaufort supposes this long sandy point to be the Zephyrium of Strabo. It is correctly described in the Stadiasmus "as a sandy narrow spit, 80 stadia from the Calycadnus", which is about the true distance; but in the Stadiasmus it is called Sarpedonia. According to the Stadiasmus then the cape called Calycadnum must be, as Leake supposes, the projection of the sandy coast at the mouth of the Calycadnus. This identification of Sarpedon with Lissan el Kahpe, and the position of Zephyrium at the mouth of the Calycadnus, agree very well with Strabo's words; and the Zephyrium of Strabo and Calycadnum of Livy and Polybius and Appian, may be the same. Ptolemy going from West to East mentions Sarpedon, the river Calycadnus and Zephyrium; but his Zephyrium may still be at the mouth of the Calycadnus. See Smith 1870. *ad loc.*

¹⁷⁵⁹ Gera 1998:94; cf. App. Syr. 39; Walbank 1979:160; Scullard 1935:243.

¹⁷⁶⁰ McDonald 1967:6.

¹⁷⁶¹ Polyb. 21.46(48).10-11; Liv. 38.37.9-10; 39.17. Livy's statement that part of Pamphylia was *cis Taurum* and *pars ultra* seems based on a misunderstanding of Polybius. Cf. Liebmann-Frankfort 1969:71-2; McDonald (1967) does not discuss the Pamphylian settlement. Strabo (13.4.17) defines Milyas as the highlands between Isinda-Termessus in the South and Sagalassus-Apamea in the North. This fits Polybius and Livy here, and the use of Cicero, *Verr.* 2.1.95 and of Plin. *N.H.* 5.147. For the controversy over Ptolemy 5.3.4 see Magie 1950. Sherwin-White 1976:1-2, n. 2); 2.775, n. 79; 2.1133, n. 4.

withdrawn. In any event, Rome ruled against Antiochus, and so the river Cestrus could hardly have figured in the treaty terms.

περὶ δὲ τῆς Παμφυλίας, Εὐμένους μὲν εἶναι φάσκοντος αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου, τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἀντιόχου πρεσβευτῶν ἐπέκεινα, διαπορήσαντες ἀνέθεντο περὶ τούτων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον.¹⁷⁶²

*de Pamphylia disceptatum inter Eumenem et Antiochi legatos cum esset, quia pars eius citra pars ultra Taurum est, integra < res > ad senatum reicitur.*¹⁷⁶³

Such were the gifts they gave to Eumenes. As for Pamphylia, since Eumenes maintained it was on this side of the Taurus, and the envoys of Antiochus said it was on the other, they were in doubt and referred the matter to the Senate.

Unfortunately Mommsen seems to have ignored Livy's reference to a River Taurus during the campaign of Manlius Vulso,¹⁷⁶⁴ which began through South-central Anatolia when he made the city of Perge (next to modern Aksu) the headquarters for his movements.¹⁷⁶⁵ The river to be amended might have been the Taurus and not the Tanais.

C) The most recent solution equates the 'Tanais amnis' with the upper reaches of the Calycadnus. In stating the impassability of the Taurus range, McDonald himself admits to the presence of a few fluvial valleys and passes which in fact break this barrier, as the river Göksu does in beginning its course, carving into those steep mountains the passage which leads to Pisidia.¹⁷⁶⁶ For this reason, the Calycadnus line might be relevant to the territorial issues at stake in the western part of the Taurus range.¹⁷⁶⁷ It is true that the Göksu first flows North, past the site of *Astra* (next to modern Hadim) towards Isauria, then turns eastwards to pass the site of *Artanada* (next to modern Dürügerler) and bends to the Southeast to descend to the gorge of Mut. In its final course, it reaches the sea at Seleucia (modern Silifke) by Cape Sarpedonium,¹⁷⁶⁸ after merging with another main branch from the West. In his conclusions, McDonald states that "Tanais-Calycadnus identification of the Taurus frontier fits the strategic

¹⁷⁶² Polyb. 21.46.11.

¹⁷⁶³ Liv. 38.39.11.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Liv. 38.15.7.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Grainger 1995.

¹⁷⁶⁶ McDonald 1967:8.

¹⁷⁶⁷ This solution has been accepted by Errington 1998:288.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Pitassi 2009:130.

significance of Cilicia Tracheia inland as well as at Cape Sarpedonium”.¹⁷⁶⁹ McDonald uses the same Mommsen paradigm, connecting the mountain range with the river and with a cape at the end of its mouth, and including them in the military terms of the Roman treaty with Antiochus.¹⁷⁷⁰ He insists exactly on this line, affirming that Livy had misrepresented Polybius, and claiming that “(*de Pamphylia*) *pars eius citra pars ultra Taurum est*” would distort the geography of the region.¹⁷⁷¹ For this reason, he preferred to follow Polybius and, consequently, treated Pamphylia as a whole. However, there is no evidence for such an equation,¹⁷⁷² and we need look no further for an example than the Peace of Callias to disprove McDonald’s contention that the land boundary of a treaty must coincide with the maritime limits. Even if the name ‘*Tanais*’ may have been corrupt, it nevertheless goes back to an early text and should not be entirely removed from the evidence.¹⁷⁷³ If Mommsen identifies the River Cestrus, McDonald simply changes the river (Tanais = Calycadnus = Göksu) in the manufacture of this fictional ‘line’, while leaving the ‘line’ itself unaltered both physically and conceptually. Moreover, he forces the name change from Tanais only onto the first segment of the Calycadnus – which still had its own identity – with no clear evidence for his theory.¹⁷⁷⁴ Fortunately, he goes on to cast doubt upon his own theory, affirming that “at its western end, by the Geyik Dag, this line left the coastal demarcation of Cilicia and Pamphylia sufficiently equivocal to explain, at least, Antiochus’ claim for access to Pamphylia”.¹⁷⁷⁵

¹⁷⁶⁹ McDonald 1967:8.

¹⁷⁷⁰ McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁷⁷¹ McDonald 1967:6.

¹⁷⁷² It is rather as if an international treaty referred to the upper reaches of the Thames as the Isis. Cf. McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁷⁷³ Glareanus thought of a ‘Lalassis’ in Isauria, or the Melas or Catarrhactes in Pamphylia; at least he sought a river line in the western Taurus. Bude first turned to the Halys river, a facile guess too easy in the light of general knowledge. Gronovius followed him in proposing ‘*ad Halyn*’ for ‘*ad Tanaim*’ and cited a Dett. reading: ‘*in scripto inveni ad Accayn amnem*’; one may dismiss the palaeographic appeal. The common sense of Drakenborch (1778:5.230 on Liv. 38.38.4.) kept ‘*ad Tanaim*’ in the text. See McDonald 1967:4.

¹⁷⁷⁴ See the obscure reference Artanadas ths potamias to Sterrett 1888:51.

¹⁷⁷⁵ McDonald 1967:8.

7.3.3 Naval or maritime clauses

[FIG 39]The political conditions in western Asia Minor were arranged in the final draft of the treaty under strict military details of both territorial and naval demarcation, within two clauses.¹⁷⁷⁶ The treaty's 'naval clauses' represent Rome's decision to block any move on the part of Antiochus, preventing him from any operations west of two capes: *Sarpedonium* and *Calycadnum*. The imposition within the treaty of geographical limits on where the craft permitted to him might sail were an effective way of reducing Antiochus' naval might over those capes.¹⁷⁷⁷ But McDonald and Walbank (1969) scarcely consider the significance of these geographical limitations, focussing only on the number of ships Antiochus was limited to through the Polybian and Livian evidence. On the contrary, for my purposes the geographical limitations imposed on Antiochus westward to Cilicia are of greater significance. Antiochus had to surrender his main fleet and agree to restrict his navy to no more than ten larger open ships, each of not more than thirty oars.¹⁷⁷⁸ This strong measure was also bolstered by the limitations on coastal access, denying him any marine activity west of the Calycadnus river mouth and Cape Sarpedonium.¹⁷⁷⁹ Practically, Rome prohibited him from any access into the Aegean through Rhodian waters, which would suggest that it was the Rhodians who demanded that these naval clauses were included, as they had been previously (197 B.C.):

*legatos ad regem miserunt ne Chelidonias — promunturium Ciliciae est, inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus Persarum*¹⁷⁸⁰

they sent ambassadors to the King, ordering him not to pass Chelidoniae — a promontory in Cilicia, made famous by the ancient treaty¹⁷⁸¹ between the Athenians and the Persian kings.

¹⁷⁷⁶ McDonald & Walbank 1969:30.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Polyb. 21.43.13-14; Liv. 38.38.8-9; McDonald & Walbank 1969:30.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Polyb. 21.43.13: ἀποδότην δὲ καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἄρμενα καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ μηκέτι ἔχεται πλὴν δέκα καταφράκτων: μηδὲ λέμβον πλείοσι τριάκοντα κωπῶν ἔχεται ἐλαυνόμενον, μηδὲ μονήρη πολέμου ἔνεκεν; cf. Liv. 38.38.8: '*ne plures quam decem naves actuarias, quarum nulla plus quam triginta remis agatur, habeto, neve minores belli causa.*' (He shall surrender also his warships and their rigging, and he shall have not more than ten decked ships nor more than ten merchant vessels, nor shall any of these be propelled by more than thirty oars, nor shall he have a ship of one bank for a war); cf. McDonald & Walbank 1969.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Polyb. 21.45; Liv. 38.38; cf. Täubler 1913 1.442-4; McDonald 1967:3.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Liv. 33.20.2.

Livy defines two main characteristics of the promontory: it is in Cilicia and it is a *finis* (*si eo fine*).¹⁷⁸² There was little advantage for Rhodes or Pergamum to be involved in Cilicia,¹⁷⁸³ but this is where Antiochus' strength lay in operational terms, and it was from here that he might have been able to apply his naval power along the coast and threaten the South Anatolian Coast and then the Aegean. For this reason, Rome was determined to limit the expansionist kings to their national territory and, especially in the case of Antiochus, block any means of military movement.¹⁷⁸⁴ However, Rome respected Antiochus' rights and did not consider the Rhodian request to move the naval *finis* to Cilicia. 'McDonald's line' would have been set to the Calycadnus Pr. instead, which probably lay at the *finis* areas between Pamphylia and Cilicia.

The Senate's focus, therefore, was merely on preventing Antiochus having a navy powerful enough that he could repeat the outcome of the so called Fifth Syrian War (202-195 B.C.), when in 197 B.C. Antiochus moved westwards by sea along the coast of Cilicia, Lycia and Caria towards the Aegean.¹⁷⁸⁵ Rome's policy, after the Second Punic War, was to be more careful to prevent any possible misunderstanding of the treaty, banning completely the Seleucids from Europe and from the territorial waters of her allies, over which she possibly exerted a 'loose protectorate'.¹⁷⁸⁶ Despite some disagreement on the detection

¹⁷⁸¹ Plut., *Cim.* 13: in 449 B.C., Cimon made a treaty providing that Persian warships should not pass this promontory.

¹⁷⁸² Although nowadays it is identified with the Chelidonium Pr. / Hiera Akra / Tauri Pr. Cf. BAtlas 65 D5; Scylax 100; RE *Taurus*, cols. 42, which is in Lycia.

¹⁷⁸³ McDonald & Walbank 1969:31.

¹⁷⁸⁴ This point reflects exactly the Ebro treaty, cf. McDonald & Walbank 1969:31.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Liv. 33.19.10-11: "*ipse cum classe centum tectarum navium, ad hoc levioribus navigiis cercurisque ac lembis ducentis proficiscitur, simul per omnem oram Ciliciae Lyciaeque et Cariae temptaturus urbes quae in ditione Ptolomaei essent, simul Philippum-necdum enim debellatum erat-exercitu navibusque adiuturus*" ("Ordering them to wait for him at Sardis, he set out in person with one hundred decked ships and besides two hundred lighter vessels, schooners and brigs, with the double purpose of trying to win over the cities which had been under the control of Ptolemy along the whole shore of Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria, and of aiding Philip with his army and navy—for that war had not yet been ended"); cf. Polyb. 20.4-12. See Thiel 1946:255-62, n.6 and 273, against the scepticism of De Sanctis (1907:4.1.121, n. 16) about these numbers. McDonald & Walbank 1969:31.

¹⁷⁸⁶ The First Punic War had been the first to confront Rome with a serious threat by sea, but the destruction of the Punic navy at the Aegates Islands seemed to have removed the danger; at any rate the peace of 241 B.C. shows the Romans satisfied to expel the Carthaginians from Sicily and the islands "lying between Italy and Sicily" (Polyb. 1.62.8-63; cf. 3.27.2), without making any special provisions for the navy. The conflict with the Illyrian pirates also ended with geographical limitations; Teuta agreed not to sail beyond Lissus with more than two lembi and

of the natural features (Tanais ~ Halys), the scholars tended to join the naval clause with the terrestrial terms, creating a continuous, 'imaginary' line between land and sea, including: a) a mountain range (Taurus Range); b) a river (Tanais – Halys, Cestrum or Calycadnus); and c) at least a coastal point (Cape Sarpedon)¹⁷⁸⁷ – although the adjoining of the coastal provision to this imaginary line raises more questions. The treaty of Apamea also prohibited Antiochus from undertaking military operations – to reassert hereditary Seleucid claims – in the Aegean or in 'Europe' (i.e. the Thracian region, see Lysimachia). In order to prevent an evasion of any of the treaty's clauses, the Romans were much more precise than they had been in the Ebro treaty, extending the limitations on Antiochus across both the terrestrial and the naval/maritime front. In broader political terms, the treaty of Apamea blocked any resurgence of Seleucid ambitions in western Asia Minor. However, as was the case with Ebro, it did this mainly and directly through its 'territorial clause' with reference to the western Taurus range, thus the 'naval clause' probably should not be considered as part of a territorial-maritime continuity (as was the case with the Cape de la Nao or Cape Palos in the Ebro treaty). Even in the treaty of Apamea, two promontories are mentioned (while in the Ebro treaty they are not), when, if the Romans wanted merely to mark a single line, they could have simply drawn one from Taurus to 'Tanais'. The presence of two promontories once again indicates a sectorial strip rather than a single line. Therefore, the concept of a wide maritime strip mirrored what the Romans built on a terrestrial basis, affirming their *imperium* indirectly through their alliance with Pergamum and Rhodes.¹⁷⁸⁸

those unarmed, but no limitations were imposed on the size of her navy north of these waters; cf. Hammond 1968:7, n. 24. On Illyrian piracy see Dell 1967. The idea of a geographical sailing limit appears in earlier Carthaginian treaties with Rome (first treaty, Polyb. 3.22.5-6; second treaty, Polyb. 3.24.2); and in the treaty between Rome and Tarentum (App. *Samn.* 7.1). The Romans, having suffered under it, now adapt it to their own purposes. McDonald & Walbank 1969:34. Cf. also Polyb. 2.12. 3 App., *Samn.* 11.7). As early as the report of a Syro-Macedonian pact in 201 B.C. the Senate had taken alarm at the prospect of Antiochus adding his naval power to Philip V's military and naval strength; and it can be no coincidence that Rome established colonies on the coast of Southern Italy on the eve of the Syrian War. Colonies were founded in 194 B.C. at Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, Buxentum, Sipontum, Tempa and Croton (Liv. 34.45.1-5); cf. Salmon 1936; cf. McDonald & Walbank 1969:31.

¹⁷⁸⁷ That the Taurus was the new boundary is stated in the treaty (Liv. 37.38.4); it is discussed by mainly in Macdonald 1967; Sordi 1982; Giovannini 1982; Grainger 2002:350.

¹⁷⁸⁸ McDonald 1967:8.

7.4 Pergamum, Rhodes and other ‘Asiatic’ states

7.4.1 Background and aims

[FIG 40] In this section I will consider the political position and the geographical settings of Pergamum, Rhodes and other Microasiatic states in the redrawing of their geopolitical structure, following the treaty of Apamea. Apparently, they served to link Rome to the Seleucid Empire, filling up this spatial gap through their possessions in Anatolia, before eventually functioning as a bridge, connecting the ideal concept of Roman *imperium* to the *finis* of the Taurus – a situation that bears a strong resemblance to conditions after the Ebro treaty, where Massalia served the same function.[5.3.1] My aim is to clarify this special relationship, underlining the similitudes and divergences to show how this political frame – built by Rome in Anatolia – corresponds to a political pattern, set up on the concept of *finis*. In other words, I aim to show how *finis* and territory are intimately connected, due to the fact that the *finis* has a spatial feature, in opposition to McDonald’s and Walbank’s view of a ‘linear boundary’ on the following other scholars as in the case of Ebro.[5.4]

The terms of the treaty – once it guaranteed the security of the allies – had chiefly to deal with the necessary political considerations and land assignments.¹⁷⁸⁹ Since Antiochus accepted the earlier terms by withdrawing behind the ‘Taurus line’, the Romans recognised their allies, meeting the ambitions of Pergamum and the Rhodians by preserving the autonomous rights of those cities.¹⁷⁹⁰ Rome demonstrated that she wanted no permanent military involvement in Anatolia by imposing peace and evacuating territories handed over to her main allies. Of course, it was not an act of generosity on Rome’s part: it paid to keep her allies on side. For this reason, the policy that the Roman Senate executed in 189 B.C., granting to Pergamum and Rhodes certain

¹⁷⁸⁹ McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷⁹⁰ McShanet 1964:151-2; Bernhardt 1971:52-4; Hansen 1971:93-96; Mastrocinque 1979:194-205; Walbank 1979:164-174; Will 1982:2.22, 224-238; Mastrocinque 1984:142-163; McDonald 1967:2; Baronowski 1991:452.

regions of Asia Minor north and west of the Taurus Mountains,¹⁷⁹¹ has been defined as “a loose protectorate”.¹⁷⁹² Again the modern terminology is unhelpful, as the ‘protectorate’ fails to tally with a completely different conception: the term and the Roman idea of *imperium*. By rewarding Pergamum and Rhodes and expanding their territories, Rome physically and politically pushed her main allies towards abutting the Seleucian Empire.

As a counterpart, when negotiations were transferred to the Roman Senate, the Hellenistic states did not wish to interfere with the terms of the treaty.¹⁷⁹³ This was a Roman matter and the ratification of the preliminary terms created no difficulty, as they met the ambitions of both Pergamens and Rhodians. Later, their main objective was to exert influence on the Roman Senate over what happened to Antiochus’ former territorial possessions, which he was now obliged to evacuate, and which remained vacant of his authority after his withdrawal. They were chiefly ceded to Eumenes II King of Pergamum and to the Rhodians, Rome’s major military allies in the Battle of Magnesia.¹⁷⁹⁴ They also appear in the treaty, denoted as Asian states and the possessions of these two allies. The basic provisions of the treaty, regarding the major allies of Rome, were summed up in an early statement, written for the terms of the Peace:

*summam tamen hanc fore, ut cis Taurum montem, quae intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent, Eumeni attribuerentur praeter Lyciam Cariamque usque ad Maeandrum amnem; ea ut civitatis Rhodiorum essent; ceterae civitates Asiae quae Attali stipendiariae fuissent eaedem vectigal Eumeni penderent; quae vectigales Antiochi fuissent, eae liberae atque immunes essent.*¹⁷⁹⁵

All the territory on this side of the Taurus, which had been included within the *fines* of Antiochus’ kingdom, would be assigned to Eumenes, with the exception of Lycia and Caria, as far as the Maeander; these were to be annexed to the republic of Rhodes. Of the other cities in Asia, those which had been tributary to Attalus were to pay their taxes to Eumenes, those which had paid tax to Antiochus were to be free from all taxation to a foreign power.

¹⁷⁹¹ Cf. Polyb. 21.21.7.

¹⁷⁹² McDonald 1967:1,3.

¹⁷⁹³ McDonald 1967:1.

¹⁷⁹⁴ On the possessions of Antiochus in Asia Minor until Magnesia see Schmitt 1957:158-175, 262-295; Baronowski 1991:450.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Liv. 37.55.5-6.

[FIG 41]By showing the political rewards given by Rome to her main allies and by studying the nations' geopolitical situations – which were directly or indirectly involved in Anatolia – I will demonstrate that the Romans built a precise grid of states useful to their policy, that the concept of *finis* can be considered the key or starting point for the setting up of such a geopolitical system, and that this theory might be confirmed through a comparison with the Ebro treaty.

7.4.2 Pergamum

The Pergamens – as Rome's main ally – specifically asked to be awarded all those regions that had formerly been subject to Antiochus, although this was an implicit request, as can be seen in the indirect speech that Eumenes' delegates gave in front of the Roman Senate:

*quod terra marique res prospere gessissent, quodque regem Antiochum fusum fugatumque et exutum castris prius Europa, post et Asia, quae cis Taurum montem est, expulissent.*¹⁷⁹⁶

He went on to congratulate them upon their successes by sea and land and their expulsion of Antiochus, after he had been routed and driven out of his camp, first from Europe and then from the whole of Asia on this side the Taurus.

The Roman *decemvirii* – by executing the treaty as drafted by the Senate – assigned to Eumenes the greatest rewards, giving him the bulk of Antiochus' lost possessions in Anatolia.¹⁷⁹⁷ In Europe, the Pergamene Kingdom received the Thracian Chersonesus and Lysimachia.¹⁷⁹⁸ In Anatolia, Eumenes' dominions included: Lydia; both the Hellespontine and the Greater Phrygia along with the zone of western Pisidia known as Milyas; all Lycaonia and Caria north of Maeander (Hydrela); and the cities of *Tralles* (modern Aydın), *Ephesus* (modern Selçuk) and *Telmessus* (modern Fethiye).¹⁷⁹⁹ In addition, Eumenes possibly obtained the 'protectorate' of Pamphylia and, at the very least, the

¹⁷⁹⁶ Liv. 37.52.3-4.

¹⁷⁹⁷ The names of them are listed in Liv. 37.55.7.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Kipfer 2000:564.

¹⁷⁹⁹ There is no mention of Chersonesus, Lysimachia and neighbouring areas in Europe. Gruen 1986:548; Errington 1998:289.

future city/harbour of Attaleia (modern Antalya).¹⁸⁰⁰ Now, the Attalids could embrace an immense territory, fattened as it was 'to ten times its previous extent.'¹⁸⁰¹ Pergamum bordered and – as some scholars have stressed – had the main function of guarding and defending Asia north as far as Bithynia; northeast to the Galatian Celts; east to Cappadocian; south to Lycia and Pamphylia; and southeast to the 'Taurus line' as far as Lycaonia. Its natural limits were the Taurus Range, the Meander and the Halys (?*Tanais*) rivers.¹⁸⁰² The idea of a defensive use for Pergamum (and Rhodes) remains, nevertheless, merely the conjecture of a few scholars.¹⁸⁰³

7.4.3 Rhodes

Ally and helpmate of Rome in the war on Antiochus III, Rhodes held an independent position, gaining much profit from the alliance both in prestige and territorial acquisitions. In 189 B.C. – in the immediate aftermath of the Syrian War – a Rhodian embassy was warmly welcomed by the Senate.¹⁸⁰⁴ The embassy got what it came for, requesting that Caria (Hydreia) and Lycia be turned over to their state as reward for their assistance to the Roman cause during the war.¹⁸⁰⁵ The Romans approved the general lines taken by Rhodes but – unlike with Pergamum – disputes arose immediately about: a) the naval limitations to impose on Antiochus and specifically on which maritime cape should be the western limit for his ships (see Chelydonium Pr.); b) the request

¹⁸⁰⁰ Strabo 14.4.1. Probably, the city was founded during the campaign of M'. Vulso, when Attalus (Eumenes' brother) joined him in Perge for the campaign against the Galatians. The notice is quite debated, see Cohen 1995:337-8.

¹⁸⁰¹ Polyb. 21.22.15. Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁰² Cfr. recently Dmitriev 2003 ignores Thornton 1995; Guizzi 2005:100; Musti 1990:235, 257; cf. Freely 2010:68.

¹⁸⁰³ For details see Magie 1950:2.758-64, (Eumenes), 952-3 (Rhodes), 958-9 (the Greek cities); cf. Täubler 1913:1.76.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Polybius – probably following or influenced by a Rhodian source – transmits the speech of their envoy: a noble and modest talk, refuting the insinuations of Eumenes about Rhodian ambitions and placing his state in a most favourable light (For the warm reception see Polyb. 21.18.2-3, 21.23.13, 21.24.10-15; the speech, Polyb. 21.22.5-21.23.12; cf. Bickerman 1937:233-4; Gelzer 1956:22-5. Livy (37.54) somewhat reworked the talk in his version; cf. Nissen 1863:27. On Rhodian gains under the Peace of Apamea, see Berthold 1984:167-8; Schmitt 1957:84-92; Gruen 1975:64.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Polyb. 22.5.2. Eckstein 1988:422.

of assignment of Soli in Cilicia; c) the free cities of Anatolia; and d) the Rhodian occupation of Lycia.¹⁸⁰⁶

On the one hand, the Senate instructed the ten commissioners for the Asian settlement to expand their territory called *Peraea Rhodia*, turning over Lycia – apart from Telmessus – and Caria south of the Meander to Rhodes.¹⁸⁰⁷ In this case, it is worth stressing that it is a river – the Meander – that limits the Rhodian ‘*imperium*’, breaking the region of Caria into two parts.¹⁸⁰⁸ Although Livy does not mention explicitly the Meander as a northern boundary of the newly-acquired possessions, the river delimits the inshore island’s properties.¹⁸⁰⁹ On the other hand, when the Rhodians, after ratification of the treaty at Rome, demanded Soli, the ambassadors of Antiochus were able to refuse and to insist on the terms of the treaty.¹⁸¹⁰ The Rhodians pronounced themselves satisfied, however, as they had publicly demonstrated their patronage of Soli.¹⁸¹¹ Roman favours for Rhodes can also be identified in other instances. The treaty of Apamea specified that property in the *imperium* of Antiochus, which belonged to the Rhodians or their allies, should be restored to them.¹⁸¹² As consequence of such a favour, Rhodes created the Nesiotic League: exercising its leadership in the alliance of Aegean islands, directing a federal organisation, and controlling a federal navy.¹⁸¹³ Polybius provides a noteworthy phrase, (Ροδίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων), which has been recognised as

¹⁸⁰⁶ Liv. 37.56.8.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Polyb. 21.24.7, 21.45.8; Liv. 37.55.5, 37.56.5-6, 38.39.13. Generally Fraser & Bean 1954; Gruen 1975:64.

¹⁸⁰⁸ See mainly Mastrocinque 1979.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Liv. 37.56.6.

¹⁸¹⁰ Polyb. 21. 24. 10-15; Liv. 37. 56. 7-10: “*testante foedera Antipatro, adversus quae ab Rhodiis non Solos, sed Ciliciam peti et iuga Tauri transcendit*” (Antipater appealed to the provisions of the treaty and maintained that it was a violation of those provisions; the Rhodians were trying to secure, not Soli alone, but the whole of Cilicia, and wanted to transcend the limits of the Taurus).

¹⁸¹¹ Polyb. 21.24.10-15; Liv. 37.56.7-10. Gruen 1975:65.

¹⁸¹² Moneys owed them should be collected, and goods imported by them should be duty free. Rhodian commerce flourished; harbour duties alone brought in revenues on a lavish scale. The island’s prestige was never higher. Polyb. 30.31.12; see, in general, Rostovtzeff 1941:676-91; Gruen 1975:66.

¹⁸¹³ On the mainland administration, see the discussion of Fraser & Bean 1954:79-94; on the Nesiotic League: Fraser & Bean 1954:138-72; Gruen 1975:66.

the Roman acknowledgement of the Rhodian ‘sphere of influence’¹⁸¹⁴ or Rhodian *imperium*.

7.4.3.1 The Lycian question

The question of Lycia is important for understanding the dynamics within the Anatolian Peninsula and comprehending Rome’s different attitudes towards Pergamum and Rhodes. Probably, Rome did not want trouble from her allies, in case they clashed with her geopolitical plans in building a sort of ‘geo-political grid’, built upon the imposed *finis*. The question of Rhode’s acquisitions had arisen already when envoys of the ‘free city’¹⁸¹⁵ of *Ilium* (modern hill of Hisarlık) interceded for a diplomatic intervention with Rome on behalf of the Lycians,¹⁸¹⁶ asking Rome “to pardon the offenses of the Lycians” for siding with Antiochus during the war.¹⁸¹⁷ According to Polybius, the commissioners sought an agreement with both sides: they abjured harsh measures against the Lycians to please the Ilians, but met the Rhodians’ expectations by ceding them Lycia as a permanent possession. Each party interpreted the reply to its own advantage: the Ilians announced that Rome had granted Lycia its freedom; the Rhodians refused to grant Lycia anything but subject status, reporting that the region was presented as part of their state.¹⁸¹⁸

This atmosphere led to revolts, turmoil and war in Southwest Anatolia. Rhodes was unable to administer its requests and new possessions, in exerting an authoritarian regime on the Lycians,¹⁸¹⁹ and Rome meanwhile grew progressively more suspicious of Rhodian aspirations as a result of the presumptive nature of the islands’ requests. In 181 B.C., Eumenes joined his forces with Rhodes in quelling the insurrection of the Lycians, who had received

¹⁸¹⁴ Polyb. 21.43.16-17; Liv. 38.38.10-12. Gruen 1975:65.

¹⁸¹⁵ Ilium had already struck a pact of friendship with either Antiochus I or Antiochus III as stated in the decree (CIC 3595; GCIS 219) published or revisited by Jones 1993; Frisch 1975: no. 32

¹⁸¹⁶ They figure between minor Greek delegates engaged at Apamea in Polyb. 22.5.

¹⁸¹⁷ The Ilian diplomats faced a difficult task, since they had to deal not only with the anger of Rome against the Lycians, but also with a rival embassy from Rhodes, claiming that region. Cf. Polyb. 22.5.3, 6; Gruen 1975:64.

¹⁸¹⁸ Polyb. 22.5.1-10. Gruen 1975:64.

¹⁸¹⁹ Baronowski 1991:462.

encouragement from senatorial pronouncements.¹⁸²⁰ However, there is nothing to suggest that Rome endeavoured to curb the activity or to dilute the authority of Rhodes.¹⁸²¹ Rhodes had to subjugate and re-subjugate Lycian insurgents in the 180s and 170s.¹⁸²² In 177 B.C., a Lycian delegation was given a hearing to complain of wrongs inflicted by Rhodes,¹⁸²³ and the Roman response requires attention. The Senate dispatched an embassy to Rhodes to reaffirm the intentions expressed at Apamea: the Lycians had not been given to Rhodes as a gift, but as friends and allies.¹⁸²⁴

What is the meaning of that move? It has been argued, within the Polybian context, that Rome appears to have embroiled Rhodes and Lycia with a view to weakening or exhausting Rhodian resources.¹⁸²⁵ In my opinion, the message was no more than an expression of good faith: a request that Rhodes treat the fallen Lycians with the respect due to allies. When the Senate delivered its pronouncement, Lycia had already been crushed by Rhodian arms.¹⁸²⁶ Thus the misunderstanding continued and more Lycian uprisings followed. Despite

¹⁸²⁰ Polyb. 24.15.13. Gruen 1975:66.

¹⁸²¹ A Rhodian delegation to Rome in 182 B.C. came to complain of the misfortunes suffered by Sinope, which had evidently been captured by Pharnaces of Pontus; Polyb. 23.9.2-3; Livy 40.2.6-8. Schmitt 1957:134, takes the Roman failure to act on this complaint as a sign of the senate's distrust for Rhodes. But the senate did act: an embassy was dispatched to Asia and returned with sharp criticism of Pharnaces; Polyb. 23.9.3, 24.1.2. That Rome refrained from following up her diplomacy with armed force was standard procedure. It certainly does not imply disfavour for Rhodes. Nepos makes reference to an account of Roman campaigns in Asia under Cn. Manlius—an account written by Hannibal and sent off to Rhodes; Nepos, *Hann.* 13. 2. But it is fanciful to take this as evidence for Rhodian alienation from Rome—as Schmitt 1957:133. Gruen 1975:66.

¹⁸²² Gruen 1975:58.

¹⁸²³ A pitiful tale was recounted by the Lycians, details added and exaggerated in the annalistic account followed by Livy. Polyb. 25.4.4; Liv. 41.6.8-10. Livy is not here dependent on Polybius; Nissen 1863:39-40; Gruen 1975:66.

¹⁸²⁴ Polyb. 25.4.5. Livy's formulation is somewhat different, with a Roman flavour and a Roman analogy – but no significant difference in substance; Liv. 41.6.11-12: "*motus his senatus litteras Lyciis ad Rhodios dedit, nec Lycios Rhodiis nec ullos alii cuiquam qui nati liberi sint in servitutem dari placere; Lycios ita sub Rhodiorum simul imperio et tutela esse ut in ditione populi Romani civitates sociae sint*" ("The senate, moved by this appeal, entrusted the Lycians with a letter for the Rhodians, stating that it was not their pleasure that the Lycians should be enslaved by the Rhodians nor any people who had been born in freedom by any other people; the Lycians had been placed under the administrative control and at the same time the protection of the Rhodians on the same conditions as the allied states enjoyed under the guardianship of the Roman people"). Gruen 1975:66.

¹⁸²⁵ The Rhodian leadership did not accuse Rome of double-dealing; rather they were convinced that the senate had been inadvertently misled. Polyb. 25.4.6-7; cf. Polyb. 25.5.5. Polybius' sources here are clearly Rhodian; cf. Ullrich 1898:58. Gruen 1975:67.

¹⁸²⁶ Polyb. 25.4.2: Gruen 1975:67.

this, Rhodes swiftly sent a delegate to Rome to expound her case;¹⁸²⁷ Lycian insurrection still raged (or was renewed) in 174 B.C. Rhodes was unfortunate or incapable enough, not only to have trouble with her subjects, but also in her diplomatic relationship with Rome.¹⁸²⁸ Politically speaking, Rome did not provide support or aid, nor did it show even the smallest hint of concern. Indeed, Rome was not concerned about the Lycian-Rhodian skirmishes, as the main power and ally in Anatolia was Pergamum, which better managed the control of, and profit from, its territories.¹⁸²⁹ However, Livy's comment on this case is particularly apt: wars among foreign states are not suitable material for a historian fully occupied with recording the affairs of Rome. Livy's statement clarifies that Rome was not interested in foreign questions that did not pertain to the *status quo* of Apamea: conflicts within her *imperium* would have weakened her position and exposed her to new threats.¹⁸³⁰

7.4.4 Bythinia

Briefly, I will now consider the case of Bythinia in order to show how Rome's arrangement of the states in Asia Minor was not casual, but the outcome of a planned assignation of the political territories, which formed a 'geo-political grid' of states. This subdivision of the territory in Anatolia was made via an independent on-site assessment, leaving nothing to chance. If Pergamum and Rhodes formed the first range – strip, territorially speaking – of allies, the second belt of states was set between them and the Taurus, incorporating Bythinia, Galatia, Cappadocia and possibly Pamphylia.

As a consequence of his abstention from the Seleucid alliance,¹⁸³¹ Prusias came to Rome seeking reward for his actions during the war (*merita sua in eo*

¹⁸²⁷ Polyb. 25.5.3.5. Gruen 1975:67.

¹⁸²⁸ McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁸²⁹ Polyb. 30.5; 31.7; Liv. 44.15. McNicoll 1997:118.

¹⁸³⁰ Liv. 41.25.8: "*externorum inter se bella, quo quaeque modo gesta sint, persequi non operae est satis superque oneris sustinenti res a populo Romano gestas perscribere*" ("But the wars which foreign nations waged among themselves and the manner in which they were conducted, it is not worthwhile to relate in detail, since I carry enough and too much of a burden in describing in full the achievements of the Roman people"). Gruen 1975:67.

¹⁸³¹ Polyb. 21.11.1-13; Liv. 37.25.4-14; App. Syr. 23.

bello) as friend of the Roman People.¹⁸³² The King of Bythnia had a particular reward in mind: a swathe of land taken from Antiochus III – held now by the Galatians – which Prusias claimed had never been officially assigned by the Roman Senate.¹⁸³³ The Senate agreed to send an embassy to investigate the situation in the lands Prusias claimed. If this territory had not been assigned at Apamea, then it would certainly be given to Prusias; but if it had in fact been assigned to the Galatians, or had never belonged to Antiochus III in the first place, then the *status quo* would be maintained.¹⁸³⁴ It is uncertain whether the Bithynian territorial claims were justified, but Prusias did not receive the territory.¹⁸³⁵ However, the Romans favoured Prusias' interest in the region: in 165 B.C. we find another embassy from Bithynia in Rome, this time complaining of how Eumenes – surely in the course of his Galatian War – had seized certain 'Bithynian places'.¹⁸³⁶ This information notice, from Polybius, suggests that there was indeed a swathe of disputed territory between Bithynia, Galatia and the Attalid kingdom. Currently, it is not possible to assess if the territories claimed in 165 B.C. are part of the same area already requested by Prusias in 188 B.C.¹⁸³⁷ Even though the claimed areas might be the same, it is still interesting to note a kind of confusion prevalent amongst the different states – mainly on their peripheral areas – within the Taurus Range.¹⁸³⁸ It is probably for

¹⁸³² Cf. Liv. 45.44.8.

¹⁸³³ Liv. 45.44.9. Eckstein 1988:438.

¹⁸³⁴ Liv. 45.44.10-12. Schwertheim (1988) argues that the area might belong to Mysia (see Liv. 37.56.2, Polyb. 21.46.10 and Liv. 38.39.15), which is not equivalent to Phrygia Epictetus (another name for Hellespontine Phrygia); after changing hands several times in the period 218-209, Mysia belonged to Antiochus III until 190 B.C. For earlier views on the status of Mysia in this period see Schmitt 1957:2-278; Walbank 1979:171-2; Briscoe 1981:350, 386. Schwertheim (1988) still affirms that Eumenes received only a portion of Mysia depends in part on the extraction of royal forests of Mysia (?) from the corrupt text of Liv. 37.56.2. Prusias (restored) took Mysia from Eumenes, and the traditional interpretation of Liv. 38.39.15, in which King Prusias (Prusia rex) took Mysia from Eumenes (understood) according to the traditional text of Polyb. 21.46.10 Antiochus would have been the abstractor of Mysia in Polyb. 21.46.10 and after Liv. 38.39.15, Antiochus (rex) took Mysia from Prusias (Prusia, dative case). Baronowski 1991:451-2.

¹⁸³⁵ Eckstein 1988:439.

¹⁸³⁶ Polyb. 30.30.1-3; cf. Liv. *Per.* 46. For discussion of the background and issues of this embassy, see Habicht 1957: 23. 1120-4, esp. 1113. Eckstein 1988:438.

¹⁸³⁷ Liv. 45.44.9.

¹⁸³⁸ Note that in this embassy of 165 B.C., involving claims about territory, Prusias' envoys make accusations against Antiochus IV as well as against Eumenes (Polyb. 31.1.3; cf. Liv. *Per.* 46) – and it was former Seleucid land that had been at issue in 167/166 B.C. Eckstein 1988:438.

¹⁸³⁸ Polyb. 21.21.7-11. See Ceruti 1984. An account of the status of individual cities after 188 B.C. may be found in Bickerman 1937:235-9; Magie 1950:2.950 n. 60, 952 n. 61, 958 n. 75; Schmitt 1957:278-285; Bernhardt 1971; Mastrocinque 1979:201-5; Walbank 1979:106, 167;

this reason that the Romans drafted a detailed subdivision of this area in the treaty, as shown in the next section.

7.4.5 Cities, castles and *oppida*

[APPENDIX 4]The objective of this section is to outline: a) the precision in the ‘territorial clauses’ of the treaty in Livy – as opposed to Polybius; b) the role of the *oppida* in the Roman political and territorial setting of Anatolia, linked to the *fines*; and c) the fact that Livy writes from a 2nd century B.C. sources’ perspective. This last point deserves a longer explanation. Herewith, I will compare Strabo to Livy, showing the striking difference in the deployment of territories and arguing that, if Livy had written from what he would have perceived of as a perspective contemporary to himself, he would have used a territorial grid similar to Strabo.¹⁸³⁹ Briefly, I will analyse the role of the ‘cities’ in the treaty of Apamea, as in this list the *oppida* are also included. The treaty did not demarcate national territories, but supported a settlement under which such Roman allies as Pergamum and Rhodes, along with free Greek cities, held an independent place. Pergamum wished to obtain control of, and possibly annex, those Greek cities which had fought for the Seleucids in the recent war.¹⁸⁴⁰ On the contrary, the Rhodians wanted Rome to grant ‘freedom’ to the ‘Greek cities’, effectively making them independent.¹⁸⁴¹ Moreover, they also suggested that the Romans should confine the Pergamene grant to regions that contained no ‘autonomous cities’, i.e. no Greek cities – the object of Rhodian solicitation. Eumenes reacted to the Rhodian proposal with vehemence, referring to those Greek cities which were enemies of Rome, as they had supported Antiochus until the Battle of Magnesia.¹⁸⁴² Moreover, if the Greek cities were declared free, insisted Eumenes, those already subject to him would revolt.¹⁸⁴³

Mastrocinque 1984:148-50; Baronowski 1991:450-1. On this point see over all the rampart theory built by Viereck 1909.

¹⁸³⁹ Strabo 7.1.1.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Polyb. 21.21.7-11.

¹⁸⁴¹ Polyb. 21.19.5-12; 21.22.7-8; 21.23 Cf. Liv. 37.53.2.

¹⁸⁴² Polyb. 21.19.11-12; cf. 21.21.10-11.

¹⁸⁴³ Polyb. 21.19.8-10, cf. Liv. 37.53.3-4.

Polybius states that the Senate decided not to make all the Greek cities effectively independent, electing not to assign them to Eumenes alone, but to share them also with the Rhodian confederation. Accordingly, these cities assigned to the Pergamene and Rhodian jurisdiction were those – formerly Seleucid – which had supported Antiochus.¹⁸⁴⁴ The cities which did not support Antiochus were declared independent and excluded from the grants.¹⁸⁴⁵ [Cf. APPENDIX 4] Once again, Livy is more precise than Polybius, revealing a more detailed version of the senatorial decree made by the ten commissioners on this point:

*his quae praesentis disceptationis essent libera mandata; de summa rerum senatus constituit. Lycaoniam omnem et Phrygiam utramque et Mysiam, regias silvas, et Lydiae Ioniaeque extra ea oppida, quae libera fuissent, quo die cum rege Antiocho pugnatum est, et nominatim Magnesiam ad Sipylum, et Cariam, quae Hydrela appellatur, agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem, et castella vicosque ad Maeandrum amnem et oppida, nisi quae libera ante bellum fuissent, Telmessum item nominatim et castra Telmessium, praeter agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset —: haec omnia, quae supra sunt scripta, regi Eumeni iussa dari. Rhodiis Lycia data extra eundem Telmessum et castra Telmessium et agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset: haec et ab Eumene et Rhodiis excepta. ea quoque his pars Cariae data, quae propior Rhodum insulam trans Maeandrum amnem est, oppida, vici, castella, agri, qui ad Pisidiam vergunt, nisi quae eorum oppida in libertate fuissent pridie, quam cum Antiocho rege in Asia pugnatum est.*¹⁸⁴⁶

In matters pertaining to any discussion to be conducted on the spot, they were given a free hand; as to the chief issue involved, the Senate made the decision. All Lycaonia and both Phrygia and Mysia, which King Prusias had taken from him, were restored to the King, as well as the Milyae and Lydia and Ionia with the exception of those cities which had been free on the day when the battle with King Antiochus had been fought, and, by name, Magnesia near Sipylus and Caria which they call Hydrela and the territory of Hydrela which faces Phrygia, and the forts and villages along the Meander river and the towns, except those which had been free before the war; Telmessus also and the camp of the Telmessii, except the land which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus. All these places which have been written down above were given to King Eumenes. The Rhodians were given Lycia except the same Telmessus and the camp of the Telmessii and the land which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus; this district was made an exception in the case of both Eumenes and the Rhodians. Also that part of Caria which is nearer to the island of Rhodes across the Meander river was given to them, and the towns, villages, forts and lands which face Pisidia except those of the towns which had been free the day before the battle had been fought with King Antiochus in Asia.

The passage reflects the political and territorial situation in western Anatolia, reporting the precise territorial terms of the treaty, defining the *finis* of Taurus (without calling it that explicitly) and agreeing substantially with Polybius on the

¹⁸⁴⁴ Liv. 37.44.4; 37.45.1-3.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Polyb. 21.22.9-15; Baronowski 1991:454.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Liv. 37.56.1-6 = Polyb. 21.46.8-10. Cf. Liv. 38.38.4.5.

question of the regions assigned to Rhodes and Pergamum.¹⁸⁴⁷ However, Livy specifies regions, areas, territories and natural features and even cities, casting light on key bulwarks like Telmessus. The *oppida* thus exempted had been free (*libera, in libertate*) before the Battle of Magnesia.¹⁸⁴⁸ In this context, ‘freedom’ must imply independence from Antiochus and territorial exclusion from his kingdom.¹⁸⁴⁹ Conversely, Livy notes that certain towns were excluded from the grants anyway. Following the Livian statement, we can detect the importance of the *oppida*. They seem to be the ‘sentinel’ of the territories closer to the *finis* of Taurus, probably part of the *finis* itself and justifying its ‘spatial feature’. The resemblance with other Livian passages, where the *finis* is joined to an *oppidum*, cannot be ignored. The free cities – lying along the bordering areas between the allies of Rome and the ‘second strip’ nations – are crucial to our argument. They highlight the different perceptions of Strabo and Livy, stressing that the latter’s writing reflects the perceptions of the 2nd century B.C. Strabo, who wrote at the time of Augustus, reports that the Romans did not pay any attention to the traditional borderlines between the different tribes, as established in the course of past history, when they created the assizes (*conventus*) in Asia.¹⁸⁵⁰ But he struggles when explaining the difficulties in distinguishing the borders of Phrygia, Caria, Lydia and Mysia. The Roman assize-system extinguished the traditional interstate division, drawing functional

¹⁸⁴⁷ On the text of Liv. 37.56.2-6 see Engel 1983 and Engel 1978. Livy (37.56.2) refers to ‘*Lydiae Ioniaeque oppida*’, whereas Polyb. 21.46.10 (cf. Liv. 38.39.16) mentions only Lydia. Livy provides more detail rather than introduces an additional region. In Polyb. 21.46.10 and Liv. 38.39.16, Lydia probably includes the ancient Hellenic foundations of Ionia and Aeolis. From the time of Alexander the Great until probably the early third century B.C., the Ionian and Aeolian Leagues each formed a separate satrapy. After that time, however, they came under the supervision of the Seleucid viceroy based at Sardis, who was also satrap of Lydia. See Bengtson 1964:1.215-223, 2.12-15, 90-115; Robert 1964:1.11-14; Baronowski 1991:453; McDonald 1967:2.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Livy uses three expressions of time: “*quo die cum Antiocho pugnatum est; ante bellum; pridie quam cum Antiocho rege in Asia pugnatum est*”. Briscoe (1981:386-7) believes that the provisions must have been the same in all cases, and that the day before the battle is correct (cf. Walbank 1979:168).

¹⁸⁴⁹ On the constituent parts of the Seleucid kingdom see Kienast 1968:345-347. The practical meaning of subjection to Antiochus is suggested in Polyb. 21.41.1-2; cf. Liv. 36.17.13. See Walbank 1979:153; Baronowski 1991:453.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Strabo 1.3, p. 629, 631; they represented an internal subdivision of the Anatolian territory. In Greek, *diokesis* continues to be the usual word for the assize. Sherk 1969: no. 52, 11. 46-7; OGIS 458, 1.65. Keil 1898:446.26. Keil & Premerstein 1911:2, no. 39. Robert & Robert 1958:437. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 45.6.10. Besides that, dioecesis also continued to be used, as it is in Latin honorific inscriptions of the second and the third centuries, for instance CIL I 2, 3170; YOAI 45 (1960). In general see Habicht 1975:68.

rather than historical boundaries. A variable number of adjacent communities were attributed to the district, which had its principal city.¹⁸⁵¹ This statement resonates strongly with the resubmission of the ‘Halys-Taurus line’, but it coincides with the new Augustan ideology of redrawing boundaries. However, we still face two different cases. Strabo’s in his geography points out that the assizes had been founded to serve the practical needs of the proconsul’s jurisdiction. On the other hand, Livy emphasises the importance of the ‘fortified’ cities, which lay in those areas, which were exposed to foreigner states and functioned as a bulwark in much the same way as Telmessus. Their position, function and denomination (*oppida*) in the administration of the Asiatic soil reminds us of the previous case studies analysed, as they worked as a defensible position.[2.6.8; 5.4.1;6.3.3]

7.4.6 Pamphylia

Scholars have attributed a strong relevance to Pamphylia, justified by the role that this region played on the Anatolian ‘geo-political grid’ after the disposals of the treaty. After all, this region was left in a position which has been considered and defined as equivocal following the agreements of Apamea.¹⁸⁵² My aim is to place this role in the context of a *finis*, considering this state as a ‘natural *arcifinium*’ of the *finis* of the Taurus Range.[1.2] Pamphylia lies isolated between the high massif of Cilicia Aspera (the southern part of the Taurus Mountains) in the East and the lower rocky block of Lycia in the west, with the Pisidian range to the North. This compact plain is enriched by the deltas of the Pisidian rivers, notably the *Cestros* and the *Eurymedon* (modern Köprüçay) and is crossed by three main difficult routes, which connect the coastal harbours with the practicable accesses of the Pisidian mountains. The first road runs northwest from Attaleia – past Termessus – into and through the mountainous Milyas region that lies behind Lycia, leading to *Cibyra* (modern Gölhisar), and thence to *Laodicea* (next to modern Denizli) on the upper Maeander (Lycus) in

¹⁸⁵¹ See OGI 458, 1. 65; cf. Modestinus, *Dig.* 27.1.6.2; Habicht 1975:68.

¹⁸⁵² For details see Magie 1950:2.758-64, (Eumenes), 952-3 (Rhodes), 958-9 (the Greek cities); cf. Täubler 1913:1, 76. McDonald 1967:3.

Carian Asia. The second easier route runs northwards from Attaleia to Sagalassus in the heart of Pisidia, and thence to Apamea on the Phrygian plateau; it has a branch northeast to *Antiochia in Pisidia* (next to modern Yalvaç) and Philomelium (modern Akşehir), which is more difficult to traverse. The third road runs north and northeast from Side through the highest section of the Pisidian Mountains, passing between the great Lake Caralis and the northern end of the Taurus into the elevated plateau of Lycaonia. From the communication centre of *Iconium* (modern Konya), there is easy access to Cappadocia by the central highway that links Apamea, Iconium and *Mazaca* (modern Kayseri). Pamphylia thus formed the southern gateway to the Pergamene Kingdom and to the Rhodian Lycia toward the Taurus range, although it was more exposed to enemy attack by sea and land.¹⁸⁵³ In a single passage, Livy stresses the importance of the connection between Lycia and Pamphylia in relation to the city of *Phaselis* (next to modern Tekirova):

*in confinio Lyciae et Pamphyliae Phaselis est; prominet penitus in altum conspiciturque prima terrarum Rhodum a Cilicia petentibus et procul navium praebet prospectum. eo maxime, ut in obvio classi hostium essent, electus locus est.*¹⁸⁵⁴

Phaselis is on the *confinius* of Lycia and Pamphylia; it projects far into the deep, and is the first land sighted by travellers who are going to Rhodes from Cilicia and it allows ships to be sighted from afar.

Phaselis lies on the *Chelidonias promontorium* (modern Gelidonya Burnu), to which Livy assigns a particular importance: a) he establishes the importance of the city, shared between Lycia and Pamphylia through the use of the term (*confinio*);¹⁸⁵⁵ [1.5] b) he notes that it projects far into the sea (*prominet penitus in altum*); and c) he points to the fact that it is the first land seen by people coming from Cilicia to Rhodes, from where ships could be seen at a great distance. We have enough data to consider Phaselis and the connected regions

¹⁸⁵³ For the geography of Pamphylia and the routes thence through Pisidia see Levick 1967: s.ch. 2; Magie 1950:1.259-66 and 2.1140, n. 18, with Bean & Mitford 1970; Bean 1968; for local topography. Cf. also Jones 1971: ch.5. GHS 1.142-3, fig. 32; 1.95-6, 147-8, illustrate clearly the physical controls limiting communications. Bean & Mitford (1970:23, 71) dismisses other eastward tracks as impassable to wheeled traffic in ancient or mediaeval times, except for the route from Cilician Corocaesium across the Taurus to Iconium. Cf. Sherwin-White 1976:1, map on p. 2, drawn by S. Mitchell. Sherwin-White 1976:1.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Liv. 37.23.1.

¹⁸⁵⁵ *Confinem*: 4.49.3; *in confinio*:23.33.7; 37.23.1; *confinis*:45.29.8.

(Lycia and Pamphylia) as key zones. However, in the context of the treaty, we face two kinds of problem related to Pamphylia: a) whether the region was assigned to Pergamum or remained utterly or partially free (Pergamene 'protectorate?'); and b) whether its territory was set up on purpose as a 'strip' of land to hold back or check Antiochus' intentions ('buffer zone?').¹⁸⁵⁶ When the treaty was ratified, Eumenes also staked a claim to Pamphylia, allegedly grounding his demand in the fact that this region lay on the western side of the Taurus.¹⁸⁵⁷ Although the conclusion is still obscure, it has been proposed that the treaty granted utter freedom to Pamphylia, of which M. Vulso chose Perge as his headquarters for the expedition through the second strip countries (Pamphylia, Cappadocia and Galatia).¹⁸⁵⁸ The possibility that Pamphylia was a 'Pergamene protectorate' has been proposed, as Attalus II – Eumenes' successor – eventually founded the city of Attaleia (modern Antalya) and a settlement at adjacent Corycus.¹⁸⁵⁹ But this then begs the question of how it was possible that an independent country as Pamphylia hosted a Pergamene settlement on its land. The solution which has been proposed concerns a parallel with Pisidia, which separates Lycaonia from Attalid Lydia. Although Pisidia is not listed among the donations of 188 B.C., Attalus II was allowed a free hand on it. Attalus II was influential at Termessus (modern Güllük), he controlled at least Amlada (modern Kızılca) in eastern Pisidia, as a tributary vassal, and he waged war against the Pisidian stronghold of Selge, which is accessible only from Pamphylia.¹⁸⁶⁰ So it seems that much of Pisidia and

¹⁸⁵⁶ Cf. Liv. 37.23.2: This position was selected mainly because it lay on the route of the enemy fleet.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Polyb. 21.46.11; Liv. 38.39.17. Gruen 1986:548, n. 82.

¹⁸⁵⁸ In 169 B.C., an independent mission from Pamphylia formally renewed its friendship with the Roman people. Cf. Liv. 44.14.3.

¹⁸⁵⁹ For Attaleia and another foundation at Pamphylian Corycus by Attalus II Philadelphus see Strabo 14.4.1; Magie 1950:2.774,n.77; 2.775,n.79. Hansen 1971:182, adds nothing. Sherwin-White 1976:1; Cohen 1995:337-8.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Pisidia, omitted in the texts of the donations of 189-8 (above, n. 3) is included in the Rhodian speech (Liv. 37.54.2). For Amlada, OGIS 751. For Termessus, Magie 1950:2.1136, n. 12. For Selge, Strabo 12.7.3; Trogus, *Prol.* 34; Polyb. 31.1(9).3; Magie 1950:2.750-1. The counter-alliance of Termessus and Adada, TAM 3.1.2, suggests that not all Pisidia was Pergamene: cf. the freedom of 'Pisidian' Antioch since 189 B.C., Strabo 12.8.14 (p. 577). For the topography of Selge cf. Bean 1968:1.138-41, supported by Polyb. 5.72-3, where Garsyeris enters Pamphylia from Milyas to attack Selge from the South. Cf. Sherwin-White 1976:2.

Pamphylia were in Attalid hands.¹⁸⁶¹ So what was the purpose of keeping Pamphylia semi-independent? Probably it was part of the second strip of regions abutting the Taurus, which presumably were part of the *finis*, including the width of the Taurus range as a whole. The more straightforward comparison goes back to the Ebro treaty, where two zonal areas were part of the same *finis*-system.

7.5 Conclusions: the theory of *finis* rebuilt

7.5.1 Challenges and structure

In this final section, I will summarise how the term *finis* is used in Livy in the treaty of Apamea. As a starting point, I will exploit the theories of Liebmann-Frankfort (1969) and Sherwin-White (1976), who tackled the aftermath and pioneered new perspectives on the function of the treaty of Apamea. I will demonstrate the validity of the two scholars' theories, which foresaw the potential of the link between *finis* and *imperium*, although they were unable to achieve an outright connection between the two. They did not link them to their hypothesis, or indeed to each other. Moreover, they did not consider the 'geopolitical grid' built around the Taurus as planned strategy, which is the aim of this section. I have shown that in Livy: a) the term *finis* is not limited to a single line ('Taurus line'); b) the *fines* limited the Roman *imperium*; c) Rome's

¹⁸⁶¹ The two regions passed to Rome by the Attalid inheritance of 133 B.C., though it is not certain when they came under direct administration. Their positions were somewhat isolated, at first, from the core of the new province of Asia by the assignment of Phrygia in the North to the King of Pontus, and by the survival of the free states of Caria and Lycia south of the Maeander, which were not part of the Attalid inheritance; cf. Waelkens 2004:455-68. There is no evidence for the current belief that western Caria was included in Asia from the first: see on this Jones 1971:59; Magie 1950:2.1044, n. 30. See the Sullan *senatus consultum* about Tabae and Stratonicea (OGIS 441-2; Sherk 1969: nos. 17-18; Crawford and Reynolds 1974:289) that these cities had always been under proconsular government. But these documents, like the later *Lex Antonia* about Termessus (Sherwin-White 1976:11-14), restore the former freedom of the cities after the turmoil of the Mithridatic war at a time when the rest of Caria was doubtless under Roman rule. Gaertringen (1906: n. 121, 33), implies that Alabanda had free status c. 100 B.C. Le Bas & Waddington 1877:3.n. 409, may indicate provincial status for Mylasa c. 78/77 B.C. Further East, the tetropolis of Cibyra survived as independent to c. 82; cf. (OGIS 762, c. 160-50 B.C.; cf. Strabo 13.4.17). Not much is left for a pre-Sullan *conventus* of Caria: why should the Senate add Caria to the new province when it was abandoning so much of the Attalid inheritance to the kings? Sherwin-White 1976:2.

imperium (referred to by other scholars as ‘sphere of influence’, ‘cordon sanitaire’ or ‘buffer zone’) is not a random entity, but a planned and organised idea, which puts Rome herself at the centre of the world; d) Rome was able to build all around herself a contiguous series of strips, which recalls the Varronian subdivision of the territory;[4.2.3.1] e) *Finis* is a zonal-system, which expands or overlaps over a plane: the territory: the natural features create that line, from which this plane origins.[1.4.2; 5.6;]

7.5.2 The ‘sensing’ of the *finis* as spatial feature

Between the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., Rome fought in Cisalpine Gaul, established the defence of the Alpine frontier, conquered large extensions during the Spanish wars, and annexed Macedonia and Africa with an increasing occupation of Transalpine Gaul. However, Rome still appeared restrained in building a provincial empire, based on the material conquest and organisation of the land.¹⁸⁶² In considering the last sections of this chapter,[7.2-4] the definition given to the treaty of Apamea was that of “a more sophisticated version of Roman policy in Anatolia as a planned protectorate”.¹⁸⁶³ After all, until 133 B.C.,

¹⁸⁶² From 190 to 168 B.C., according to Afzelius’ evaluation of the detailed evidence of Livy (39.30.12; 40.36.8; 41.5.6-7, 21.2), from eight to ten legions, with their allied complement of five to eight thousand men apiece, were regularly deployed in the two Spains, North Italy, and in some years Sardinia, in consular and praetorian commands. The figure rises to twelve legions during the oriental wars, which required armies of four legions in some years, found in part by cutting down the garrison of northern Italy, while two legions remained around Rome as a short-term strategic reserve. Pressure did not abate after 150 B.C., when the African war required five consuls out of six from 149 to 147 B.C., and renewed troubles in Spain took two consular armies each year, under consuls and proconsuls, from 143 to 134. Meanwhile Macedonia became a praetorian commitment from 146 B.C. Between 125 and 120 B.C., the conquest of Transalpine Gaul occupied four consuls, conjointly in some years. These overlapped with two consuls operating in Sardinia (126-2 B.C.) and Nearer Spain (123-c.121 B.C.). Macedonia required consular attention from 114 to 107 B.C., overlapping with the Numidian war from 111 B.C. onwards, and with consular commands in North Italy in at least 113 and 109. The Numidian command in turn overlapped with consular activity in Gallia Transalpina from 107 to 105 B.C., when two armies were on foot in Gaul and a third in reserve in North Italy. Thus the sole intervention in Asia (31-29 B.C.) fell in a rare quiescent period: the annual Roman requirement from 125 onwards could hardly be less than nine legions. See, for the period before 167 B.C.: Afzelius 1944:47-8, 62-3, 78-9. For 146-101 B.C.: Ilari 1974:167 (with Strabo 4.1.1); Brunt 1971:427-8. For the consular commands from 150 B.C. on, see Broughton 1952, under each year. Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁶³ Liebmann-Frankfort (1969) puts her views together. The theme is worked out in chs. 1-2. The kings are turned into ‘satellites’, ‘absorbed’, and even ‘integrated’, as an alternative to annexation or permissive expansion. Cf. Liebmann-Frankfort 1969: Bithynia:101-2; Pergamum:103-4; Cappadocia:108-9. So, e.g., when Attalus II restores Ariarathes, it must be

the Senate was still unwilling to annex provinces even in European Greece and, beyond the Aegean, far from seeing an increase in Roman intervention, the Anatolian states were left free to practise their mutual antipathies.¹⁸⁶⁴ In Polybius' and Livy's accounts, the problem related to Eumenes and the Rhodians, in their role as advisers to Rome, is treated as one of control.¹⁸⁶⁵ Rome did not wish to take over the direct government of any Anatolian territory, as she was not in need of material / physical extension of her dominions.¹⁸⁶⁶ Sherwin-White has stressed that the key function of the allied nations was not primarily to defend Anatolia, but to manage it.¹⁸⁶⁷ This theory would explain the indifference of the Senate to the machinations of the Asiatic kings.¹⁸⁶⁸ Although the Romans are depicted as reluctant imperialists,¹⁸⁶⁹ the Senate did not ignore the situation, but instead supervised and controlled its interests in the East by sending missions, legations and even a military force to control the territory.¹⁸⁷⁰ Polybius and Livy had already noted that, in moments of concern or trouble – i.e. with Macedonia or the Seleucid King – the Senate showed great energy and initiative, sending ultimatums to suit the situation.¹⁸⁷¹ Rome had a 'controlling policy' which was mainly defensive, but became aggressive under foreign attack,¹⁸⁷² and her aim was to create an area or a zone safe enough not to expose herself to a direct threat.

Sherwin-White revealed a new view of the treaty of Apamea, foreseeing these conclusions: "Any solution needs a clear understanding of the strategic geography of the region and its political role within the Kingdom of Pergamum

on the advice of Rome (Liebmann-Frankfort 1969:114-5), despite Polyb. 32.10-12; Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Polyb. 21.18-23, cf. Liv. 37.52 -4. Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Polyb. 21.7-9; 22.13; 23.2-5. Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁶⁸ This view is repeated in the Roman tradition by Sallust's report of Mithridates' gibe that the Romans turned Eumenes into the watchman of their conquests: "*post habitum custodiae agri captivi*" in Sall. *Hist.* 4, fr. 69. 8.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Acimovic 2007:111, 119.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁷¹ Cf. e.g. the frequent missions to Macedonia, Achaëa and the Anatolian kingdoms leading up to the war with Perseus: Liv. 42.17.1; 19.7-8, 26.7-8, 37.45.1-5. Sherwin-White 1977:66.

¹⁸⁷² When the young prince Demetrius escaped dramatically from Rome to Antioch, and dethroned the Roman nominee, all the alarm bells rang. The experienced and authoritative Tiberius Gracchus was sent (Polyb. 31.15.7-11) "to look at things in Greece, to keep an eye on the other kings, and to watch developments in Syria"; Sherwin-White 1977:66.

that became the province of Asia”.¹⁸⁷³ Before this pronouncement, Liebmann-Frankfort (1969) had already proposed the ‘buffer state theory,’ through which he carefully constructs a rampart of states between the lands under Roman control and the Seleucid power. The rampart originally consisted of the Kingdom of Pergamum and the State of Rhodes, both greatly enlarged by the donations of 189 B.C. Soon after, the campaign of M. Vulso, together with the Roman diplomacy, added as vassal states the Galatian confederation, Bithynia and Cappadocia, vastly enlarging the ‘buffer area’. However, a ‘buffer theory’ considers the interposition of an obstacle between two conflictual powers. Theoretically, the ‘buffer zone’ impedes any sort of effective military action between the two main powers, either through its own political strength or through the difficulty of its terrain. Sherwin-White argued that “it was not the situation between the Roman state and the Seleucid Kingdom in the time of its strength”.¹⁸⁷⁴ In his opinion, Rome did not directly control any territory adjacent to Anatolia down to the annexation of Macedonia, and Rome did not need buffers for her own protection after the great victories of Magnesia and *Pydna* (modern Pydna–Kolindros). Furthermore, “the ancient sources that discuss the reorganisation of the Asian kingdoms after Magnesia do not talk about defence, but about management”.¹⁸⁷⁵

Liebmann-Frankfort limits her theory just to the territorial acquisitions – without considering the presence of the *finis* – while Sherwin-White does not examine the concept of *imperium* at all. However, by joining both theories together – the ‘buffer zone’ theory and its subsequent criticism – they become effective and valid for explaining the Roman organisation of Anatolia. Here, the ‘demarcation zone’ – which incorporates the Taurus peaks, the *Tanais* River and the capes *Calycadnus* and *Sarpedonium* – is definitively and legally fixed in every single point. Since the first negotiations, Rome’s major concern was to mark definite, impassable, existing *finis*, considered as lines by the most competent scholars on this topic.¹⁸⁷⁶ These limits had a double significance: they were natural

¹⁸⁷³ Sherwin-White 1977:1; Habicht 1975.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Sherwin-White 1977:65,

¹⁸⁷⁵ Sherwin-White 1977:65.

¹⁸⁷⁶ See McDonald 1967 on the ‘Taurus line’.

features that had been turned into legal features, regulated and recognised by mutual agreements between the parties. This is exactly what Scipio asked of Antiochus – as clearly stated by Livy – after the Battle of Thermopylae (191 B.C.):

*quod si Asiae quoque partem aliquam abstrahere velint, dummodo non dubiis regionibus finiant, vinci suam temperantiam Romana cupiditate pacis et concordiae causa regem passurum.*¹⁸⁷⁷

If, however, they wanted to annex some part of Asia, provided it was defined by clearly defined areas, the King would, for the sake of peace and concord, allow his own sense of moderation and equity to give way before the Roman greed for territory.

Livy's passage is crucial for three main reasons:

A) It shows the true Roman interests: Antiochus could occupy some parts of Asia on condition that the *finis* of those areas he wanted to obtain were commonly decided and marked and that those *finis* could not lead to misleading interpretations (*non dubiis*). In other words, Scipio asked Antiochus to be honest. After the Battle of Magnesia he was instead forced to accept the established clauses in the treaty of Apamea: "Rome had resolved that the imbroglio which had provoked her entrance into Asian conflict would not be repeated".¹⁸⁷⁸ This notion is relevant to Hannibal's escalation, as a result of the unclear or undetailed Ebro treaty. In my opinion, the treaty of Apamea represents a better implementation of the process of drawing up a treaty, particularly in comparison with the Ebro treaty, which was imprecise and therefore open to different interpretations. Through its numerous clauses, the treaty of Apamea avoided any ambiguity in the final draft.

B) Scipio uses the verb *finire*, which contrasts with the verb *terminare*, putting a 'natural' subdivision on the territories.[3.3.1-4; 4.3.1] Scipio already had in mind the evacuation plan and his view was based on previous historical boundaries, which existed before the Romans came to the East. There was still the Taurus Mountain, which was a *finis* but was not a *terminus* chosen due to its

¹⁸⁷⁷ Liv. 37.35.7.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Gruen 1986:640.

history and natural features.¹⁸⁷⁹ The distinction between the two words is clear enough to Livy, even though the view of a foreigner to a Roman might lead to a misunderstanding of the terminology. It looks clear to a Greek's eyes, as demonstrated in the words of Eumenes' envoys:

*"...terminus est nunc imperii vestri mons Taurus; quidquid intra eum cardinem est, nihil longinquum vobis debet videri".*¹⁸⁸⁰

The boundary of your empire, at present, is Mount Taurus. Nothing within that line ought to be thought remote.

[FIG 42] Both passages suggest the existence of a 'geo-political Roman grid', built with specific aims. The first passage reports that the inner subdivision of space was done by the establishment of well delimited regions (*regionibus finiant*), [3.3.1-4] while the second records that the Taurus Range was called axis (*cardo*) as part of the *terminatio* operated by Rome and represented the main line from which the spatial plan and the 'geo-political' grid were generated. [1.4.1] Rome's new tendency in defining the limits of different territories is evident from the Table of Polcevera (Liguria, Italy).¹⁸⁸¹ [APPENDIX 5] The bronze table dated to 117 B.C. – also known as *Sententia Minuciorum* – is a document, which aimed to define the possessions of territory and to delimit it (*agrum possiderent et qua fineis fierent*). It states three main concepts functional to our argument: a) the difference between *finis* and *termini* (*eos fineis facere terminosque statui iuserunt*);¹⁸⁸² b) the precision through which the Romans used to delimit territories¹⁸⁸³ and c) the zonal extension of *finis*,

¹⁸⁷⁹ Cf. Liv. 37.53.25: "*si vos ea mente ultra Tauri iuga emostis Antiochum, ut ipsi teneretis eas terras, nullos accolas nec finitimos habere quam vos malo*" (If, then, your intention in removing Antiochus beyond the Taurus range is that you may hold those lands yourselves, I would rather have you than any others as my neighbours).

¹⁸⁸⁰ Liv. 37.54.23.

¹⁸⁸¹ The table was found in 1506 by Isola, Serrà Riccò, Genoa and now preserved in the Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure di Pegli. Cf. CIL I² 584 = V 7749 = ILS 5946 = ILLRP 517 = FIRA III 163. Bruns 1909:401-403, n. 184; De Ruggiero 1893:339 ff.; Kaser 1942:68 ff.; Mommsen 1913:383 ff.; Mommsen 1899:3.765 ff.; Poggi 1900; Poggi 1904; Krause 1996:255; Cantarella & Guidorizzi 2010:263; Maggiani & Prosdocimi 1976; Bianchi 1996; Proto 1982:11-2; Pastorino, Mannoni & Petracco Siccardi *et al.* 2001; Boccaleri 2002a; Boccaleri 2002b; Neumann, Hettrich & Nahl 2008:397.

¹⁸⁸² The table established the *finis* of the private ("*Langatium fineis agri privati*") and public territory of the *Veituros* ("*Agri poplici, quod Langenses possident, hisce finis videntur esse*"), each followed by a long and precise list of *termini* forming those *finis*.

¹⁸⁸³ Cf. "*ab rivo infimo, qui oritur ab fonte in Mannicelo ad flovium / Edem: ibi terminus stat; inde flovio suso vorsum in flovium Lemurim [...]*". To be noted that the *termini* are made by natural

embodying part of the territory (*Quei intra eos fineis agrum posedet Genuas aut Viturios*). In the structure of the table, the *fines* are formed by a series of *termini* put together, which look much more like points within a plane with the aim of building up the *fines* themselves. The *termini* are very precise and the structure of the Tabula recalls – through its precision – the treaty of Apamea, although the instructions in the table are much more accurate than those in Livy, probably due to the chronological distance between the two documents and to an evolution in the delimitation. In the Polcevera table the *fines* look like very zonal areas (*ager compascuos*), belonging administratively to one party (*Langenses Veituros*) but practically to the other disputant (*Genuates*), who had to pay a tax to the former in case they used that part of land.

In this context, the comparison with Hannibal's speech might be more comprehensible, when he says that the Romans put *termini* around the world, limiting the space of other nations or peoples.¹⁸⁸⁴ [1.5.1; 5.6] And I do not think this is a coincidence. Is the Taurus Range the *terminus* of the Pergamene Kingdom?¹⁸⁸⁵ Or is it the *finis* of the Roman *imperium*? The idea of power for the Romans was a sort of 'open control' and 'accessible command' (*imperium Romanum*), which contrasts starkly with the notion of territorial control, as Livy describes it:

*et hoc quo finem imperii Romani Taurum montem statuistis, quo libertatem, immunitatem civitatibus datis, quo aliis fines adicitis, alias agro multatis, aliis vectigal imponitis, regna augetis minuitis donatis adimitis, curae vestrae censetis esse, ut pacem terra marique habeant.*¹⁸⁸⁶

when you have made Mount Taurus the *finis* of the Roman Empire; when you grant liberty and independence to the states of that country; when you augment the territories of some; amerce others in a part of their lands; impose tribute.

In his view, the *finis* of Taurus would not be just that 'remote line' traced by the Romans, but an immanent geometrical plan which extended *ultra iuga Tauri* (over the passes of Taurus), was "*prope extra orbem terrae*" ("almost out of the

features: cf. *fluvios* (fluvus/river), *rivos* (rivus/stream), *mons* (mount). However, even the a road is considered as element of the *terminatio* ("*termina duo stant circum viam Postumiam*").

¹⁸⁸⁴ Cf. Liv. 21.44.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Liv. 37.54.23.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Liv. 38.48.4.

world”) and where Antiochus had been relegated (*exacto*).¹⁸⁸⁷ The ‘barrier’ of Taurus, in geopolitical terms, had been defined as a more effective boundary than the porous, fringed, rich city coast of Ionia, Aeolis and Caria, which often acted as springboard for the conquest of Europe.¹⁸⁸⁸

Even though the dichotomy between ‘linearity’ and ‘spatiality’ of the *fines* seems to be resolved, it still faced some ambiguity. This misunderstanding is due once again to Polybius who, contrary to Livy, was not able to comprehend the meaning of the areas. The comparison between the Livian passages of the two treaties (Ebro and Apamea) clarifies the Roman definition of *finis* as a term embedded in natural and political meaning. If we agreed on the theoretical existence of a ‘single line’ (Taurus-*Tanais*-Calycadnus), we would accept the simplest solution. But in Livy’s word – and hence in the Republican Roman conception – we have to consider the nature of *finis* again, which has embedded in it the conception of *arcifinium*.^[1.4.1] As in the case of the Ebro, the treaty of Apamea shows that there is an area extending out on both sides of the *finis*.

Nevertheless, while Rome granted an augmentation of the Pergamene and Rhodian territories – with a real occupation – these did not extend as far as the so called ‘Taurus line’. None of them reached the Taurus, or the Halys (or whatever river it was), or less still the Calycadnus. More nations would form a further strip of territories – another ‘buffer zone’ – as far as the Taurus-Tanais (Halys) line. Pamphylia, Galatia and Cappadocia were the regions abutting the Taurus and they represented this sort of ‘buffer zone’, perhaps the *arcifinium* of the *finis* itself. Moreover, between the two areas – the territory of Pergamum and Rhodes and the neutral states east of them – the presence of independent *oppida* is attested. Their features recall those of a stronghold or bulwark positions.¹⁸⁸⁹ Can we imagine a similar disposition of states beyond Cilicia,

¹⁸⁸⁷ Liv. 38.8.4.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Grainger 2002:350.

¹⁸⁸⁹ See Livy (37.56.3-6) pointing out the importance through a repeated attestation of Telmessus, in between the Lycian and Pisidian territory.

mirroring the 'cis-tauric' situation?¹⁸⁹⁰ Certainly Rome defined the northern *arcifinium* of the Taurus *finis* and possibly also claimed its southern slope, when Vulso wanted to cross it to land in Cilicia. Moreover, the Romans claimed “*ea valle Tauri usque ad iuga, qua in Lycaoniam vergit*” (“also that valley of Taurus all the way through the mountain passes, where it slopes down into Lycaonia”).¹⁸⁹¹

7.5.3 *Finis* and *imperium*

In 189/8 B.C. the Romans were so concerned with containing the Seleucids that they established a demilitarised zone in Asia Minor and a 'buffer zone' in Bythina, Cappadocia, Galatia and Pamphylia to prevent the return of their enemy's offspring. Rome assumed the authority, but not the material or military control, to defend this front. For the scholars post-WWII, Rome moved to the 'Taurus line' that margin of security for the defence of Europe, after the Aegean Sea failed in its function of 'buffer area'.¹⁸⁹² This Roman containment policy had its basis in their perception of a threat, whether or not that threat was in actual fact real. Rome at this time was improving her ideas of *finis* as applicable to a more complex reality: strategic areas, built around herself, far enough to be safe but close enough to keep control of events. The *imperium* would be immanent over these areas and limited by established *finis*. The idea of 'cordon sanitaire'¹⁸⁹³ might be real and have been built with specific plans. Scholars have insisted on the existence of the 'line', without considering the involvement of territories, states, areas and zones. They have perceived the importance of 'buffer zones' without linking them to actual bordering concepts or *finis*. A *finis* is a wider concept than a *terminus*: the *terminatio* is a human act, artificial and created by man, conjoining two or more *termini*. The *finis* is natural and already existent:¹⁸⁹⁴ it cannot be changed, modified or disposed by human needs, but

¹⁸⁹⁰ If we consider the passage of Livy (38.38.4) where '*ea valle*' is an area forbidden to be crossed.

¹⁸⁹¹ Liv. 38.38.4.

¹⁸⁹² Liebmann-Frankfort 1969:65.

¹⁸⁹³ Although the context is roughly late, the same area of Pamphylia/Cilicia as considered having the same value. Cf. Hoyland 2011:108,n.235.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Cf. Liv. 38.45.3.

its function can be agreed upon. In Livy, the importance of the Taurus range is an epochal benchmark used by the Romans to impose their conditions in future wars.¹⁸⁹⁵ As with the Ebro treaty, Livy ‘locks’ the term *imperium* with the word *finis* in the treaty of Apamea.¹⁸⁹⁶ Probably, the Romans used the term *finis* not to put a limit on their expansion, but on their *imperium*. The *imperium* is therefore a sort of emanation of the Roman ‘sphere of control’, but it is not a practical and real control based for example on military occupation; it is a sort of ‘emanating’ jurisdiction. The *imperium* is an emanation, augmented through the expansion of the *finis* themselves: in other words, the *imperium* gives decisional power to Rome, the limit of which is marked by *finis*.

7.5.4 Centre of the world?

The Roman notion of territory is structured as a continuous series of land strips, through which the world is subdivided. In other words, if we try to visualise the Livian conceptual *finis*, the Roman world appears based on a series of concentric ‘territories’, which fade to the outskirts of the *imperium*: Rome and Italy (Ager Romanus) – Allied Territory (Gabinus) – Friendly or Allies’ Territory (Peregrinus) / *Finis* / Enemy’s Territory (*hostieus*) and the unknown (*incertus*).^[4.2.3.1] Of these, the first three areas are subject to the Roman *imperium*. Compared to the Ebro treaty, the situation of Apamea looks more complex, but the two in fact mirror each other as confirmed by Livy. In the speech of the Rhodian embassy after the Roman Senate, Rome equates her might (*imperium*) on both sides with the *Urbs* in the middle:

*“adistis Graeciae, adistis Asiae urbes plerique; nisi quod longius a vobis absumus, nulla vincimur alia re. Massilienses, quos, si natura insita velut ingenio terrae vinci posset iam pridem efferassent tot indomitae circumfusae gentes, in eo honore, in ea merito dignitate audimus apud vos esse, ac si medium umbilicum Graeciae incolerent”.*¹⁸⁹⁷

¹⁸⁹⁵ The consul M. Fulvius reminded to the Aetolians, who were still continuing the war to follow Antiochus’ example, Liv. 38.8.8: “*non paucis urbibus eum, de quarum libertate certatum sit, sed omni Asia cis Taurum montem, opimo regno, excessisse*” (He had ceded not only those few cities whose liberty had been the cause of quarrel, but the whole of Asia on this side the Taurus – a rich and fertile realm).

¹⁸⁹⁶ Liv. 38.48.4 (*imperium*); cf. Liv. 37.54.23 (*terminus*).

¹⁸⁹⁷ Liv. 37.54.20-1.

“You have, most of you, visited the cities of Greece and Asia: we are at no disadvantage compared with them, except that we are at a greater distance from you. If the native temperament of the Massilians could have yielded to the influence of their soil they would have been long ago barbarised by the wild untamed tribes all round them, but we are given to understand that they are held in as much honour as though they were living in the heart of Greece”.

The reference to the influence of the soil (*ingenio terrae vinci posset iam pridem efferassent*) clarifies this view: in the Ebro treaty, the Massaliotes' possessions would have mirrored the Pergamene and Rhodian 'sphere of influences'. Besides, the Rhodians as Greeks claimed their superiority over wild untamed tribes (*indomitae circumfusae gentes*); a concept which Rome started shaping and fitting to herself. We are on the way toward Rome's acquisition and claim of her centrality over the Greek world, as Livy at this point still refers several times to the 'umbilicum orbi terrarum' of Delphi.¹⁸⁹⁸ As Jaeger has affirmed after Pydna (168 B.C.), the sense of 'centre of the universe' does not belong to Greece anymore, but to Rome. She asserts that, in the description of Emilius Paullus' journey, Rome is the new cultural centre of the world and particularly the Capitoline, from where the space around her is organised.¹⁸⁹⁹ This treaty might confirm this theory, already hinted at in the Ebro treaty. The treaty of Apamea represents a milestone in Rome's policy, where the new *finis* lays “*prope extra orbem terrae*” (almost out of the world).¹⁹⁰⁰ Rome is becoming conscious of her cosmological immanence. She is about to become the heir of Greece in occupying the central place in the notion of the infinite *oikoumene*, usually translated with *orbis terrarum*.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Cf. Liv. 38.48.3; 41.23.20; 37.54.20; 35.18.20.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Jaeger 1997:3.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Liv. 38.8.4.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This study has centred on demonstrating how Livy's conception – and by extension the Roman conception – of *finis* stands in stark and unexpected contrast to any modern bordering practice. The significance of choosing Livy lies in both his quantitative usage of the term and to his qualitative identification of *fines* with those natural features that are related to territorial demarcations. Furthermore, I have also explained how the figure of Livy is crucial in the process of detecting the *fines* in the Roman word. Firstly in his exhaustive journey through the foundation of the Republic, I detected his use of *finis* in different and relevant circumstances, showing a progressive change in this use through the history of the Republic's expansion. Secondly, Livy used the term more than any other available author, although it is impossible to establish whether by chance or following the 'Augustan guidelines'. Thirdly, Livy's writing clearly reveals an intimate connection between the concept of *finis* and natural features both in an intratextual sense and within the material environment. Fourthly, Livy provides a sort of climax in the concept of *finis*, which starts with the example of the Tiber as *finis*, associated with a *pax* (peace), and terminates with the treaty of Apamea, where it seems to have become intertwined with a political construction built on the concept of *finis*. This entire thesis has been organised around rebuilding the Livian conception of *finis*, following the framework of Livy's own work as he uses the evidence to elucidate the main features of *finis*. My method has been to highlight the contexts in which the term *finis* has been used, revealing that it displays a kaleidoscopic range of facets. This has been achieved by making a basic distinction between the temporal values of *finis* (as 'end' or 'ending' of a temporal action) in Livy, [*Finis A*] before focussing on the spatial value of the term.

[APPENDIX 1; 2] *Fines B* to *fines H* are linked to specific natural features, [1.4.2] which are different – in terms of position, shape and features – from the surrounding material environment. I pointed out that, [1.3] while natural features (rivers, mountain ranges, promontories) have always been exploited as an element of substantial subdivision between two environmental or political areas,

the term *finis* has been scarcely used or studied. The premises for identifying the bordering practices in Livy have been grounded on the analysis of the basic concept of *finis* and its identification with geographical features.

Finis belongs to that category of the bordering concepts.[1.4.1-2] Yet, although studies have sought interpretations of and explanations for the idea of borders, boundaries and frontiers in the Roman world, they have neglected the term *finis*, probably considering it on a simple level as a synonym for ‘border’, ‘boundary’ or ‘frontier’. These correlations with different modern terms are not helpful, however, for clarifying either the meaning or the concept of *finis*. In the past, scholars have chosen to use their own languages to determine the identification of such features, and have therefore limited their understanding of *finis* by translating the Latin according to the terminology available in their own tongue, which do not contain the same nuances of meaning. I have shown that the translation of such Latin terminology into modern vocabulary has confused scholars and actually damaged international dialogue on the subject, crystallising nationalistic positions.

After collecting the data on the usage of *finis* in Livy, it became clear that none of the current bordering concepts used by scholars on the subject could accurately be applied to the term. Therefore, the *finis* cannot be identified with or translated as ‘border’, ‘boundary’, ‘limit’, ‘liminal’ or ‘a barrier’. It might share with these terms some features (i.e. the divisional purpose, the difficulty in crossing or some sacred distinctiveness) but it also has its own features, which differentiate it as a unique object for study. I have demonstrated – by uncovering its main features – that *finis* cannot be compared to any modern bordering concept.

The feature that contrasts most strikingly with modern bordering concepts – as apparent from evidence in the ancient sources – is the ‘spatiality’ of the *finis*. The presumed ‘linearity’, which labels the idea of bordering, does not work if applied to the *finis*. The idea of a single line has just a ‘nominal’ value, whereas the *finis* does not merely identify itself with a single natural feature in a linear way –it encompasses a broader area behind and beyond the natural landmark (river, mountain range, etc.). This ‘spatiality’ of *finis* was clear to Roman

authors of any period: a *finis* presents a ridge between two adjacent areas – called *arcifinium* – which should not be acquired, thus equating the concepts of *finis* and *pomerium*.

8.1 Summary

By reporting the case of the Tiber in chapter 2, I proceeded to examine and explain the first of Livy's statements concerning the concept of *finis*. It represents a sort of manifesto, emphasising the different views regarding *fines* as found at the beginning and at the end of *AUC*. Chapter 2 identified and clarified the main arguments, while also revealing the main features of a *finis*, such as: a) the link between a *finis* and a natural feature; b) the *finis* as the main term of an 'international' of a perceived agreement between Latins and Etruscans; c) the attitude of the Romans to the idea of *finis*, as demonstrated by their aim of gaining control of the farthest stronghold of the *arcifinium*;[2.6.8; 5.4.1;6.3.3] d) the defensive means of a *finis*; and e) the sacred importance of the *finis*, related to the belief that it should not be crossed without a ritual.

In chapters 3 and 4, I considered the connection between sacrality, political expansion and *fines*. Chapter 3 also showed that *fines* are crucial to the process of subdivision and limitation of corresponding space. The connection between Romulus' first expansion and the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius is undeniable. It confirms a subdivision and delimitation of the whole material environment based on the detection and/or establishment of the *fines*. The *templum* might also be considered a microcosmic embodiment of the larger expansion of Rome's *imperium*, following Livy's examples on Romulus, Ancus and Augustus. The temple of Jupiter Feretrius seems also to have been connected with the boundary stone, which recalls the *terminatio* made by Romulus himself once he set up the temple. Chapter 3 chiefly serves to demonstrate the connection between the religious aspects of the *fines* and their political value.

Chapter 4 stressed the key function performed by the fetials during Rome's process of expansion, and her methods for dealing with the sacred aspect of *finēs*. I showed that the fetials' procedure provided the Romans with the means to cross the *finēs* without provoking any adverse supernatural consequences. The intimate connection between the fetials, the *templum* of Jupiter Feretrius and the *finēs* pinpoints that this link is not casual. Politically speaking, I also demonstrate a strong link between *finēs* and territory (*ager*), providing further evidence for the spatial characteristics of the *finēs* and its function of subdividing the surrounding areas. The presence of schematic concentric circles articulated through the *finēs* – which create a blurred division of territory – represents also the schematic subdivision of the world surrounding Rome: a key concept in order to understand the subsequent chapters.

Chapters 5 (Ebro), 6 (Alps) and 7 (Apamea) work as case studies, helping to test the features of the *finis* identified in the previous chapters, and most substantially the chapter concerning the Tiber (Chapter 2). By means of this mechanism, these three chapters provide evidence of the different characteristics that can be attributed to the *finis*. Particularly in Chapter 5 and 7 (the treaties of the Ebro and Apamea), I presented the *finēs* as the primary means for defining both territorial delimitations of treaties and especially the limits of the *imperium*. Nevertheless, the chapters show a particular climax in Livy's narrative, following the chronological evolution of the concept of *finis* within the Roman state mentality. The set of Chapters 5, 6 and 7 – which concern events in close chronological proximity – shows an evolution of the concept of *finis*, which includes a clearer definition of its features. By comparing the three chapters mentioned above with chapter 2, it becomes clear that their definition of *finis* looks slightly different to that of the Tiber as *finis*. My comparison thus demonstrates the Livian trend in considering *finēs* as the main axes of any political agreement, and serves to show how that relationship likewise had a hand in the evolution of the Roman concept of *finis*, especially from the 3rd century onward. This analysis has shown that, as in the political cases of the treaties of Ebro and Apamea, the definition of *finis Italiae* in the western Alps helped to shape solutions to a diverse range of issues. The scholarly background presented in those case studies was exploited to show

that the concept of *finis* cannot be compared with any modern concept of bordering. In these instances, contemporary scholars have been unable to sort out the issues raised by ancient authors, because they applied modern understandings of bordering practices to the Livian (Roman) conception.[FIG 43]

8.2 Deduction

The data, as synthesised in the table above, show that the *fines* have common features, which can be summarised as follows:

- A) *Finis* is linked to a natural feature, such as: a river, a mountain range, a strait, a cape or promontory. However in some cases, Livy seems to give clues to other different natural features, which can be considered a *finis*: *fossae, freta, claustrae, iuga, saltus* or *silvae*.
- B) The *arcifinium* is part of the *finis* and, like the *pomerium*, encompasses two strips of land behind and beyond itself, which conceptually form part of the *finis*.
- C) “The *finis* is an (almost) impassable ‘barrier’”. The natural features superimposed upon and identified with the *finis* are considered difficult to cross, and this point is linked with the movement of people and routes. *Fines* have the ability to check the advance of enemy forces, to create casualties or, at the very least, to slow the enemy down.
- D) Through a *finis*, certain passageways exist as connective links between two areas and differ from the sorts of natural features they allow access through: bridges and fords on rivers, passes on mountains, and straits on seas (‘osmotic points’).
- E) *Fines* work also as dividing element between two kingdoms, from both a practical point of view, delimiting the real extension (material occupation) of a realm, and from a theoretical point of view, delimiting an area which is not materially controlled by a kingdom (*imperium*).

F) On the range of *finis*, we can find settlements with the connotation of bulwark or sentinel. In all four case studies Livy makes reference to such settlements, naming them *oppida*.

G) A *finis* has a sacred value: its impassability is not just physical, but also sacred (religious or magical), necessitating the performance of a specific ritual before its crossing is permitted.

H) *Fines* as natural features are special places from which it is possible to control or check the surrounding landscape. The *finis* themselves, or the places within them chosen as bulwarks or sentinels, have a much broader view of the surrounding area, allowing for better control and subdivision of that area.

I) Two *finis* geographically opposite delimit a territory (*ager*), area and/or a region, which is named by the population who is settled between them. Therefore, the *finis* belongs to that population, who claim the rights over it.

J) The 'Roman' revolution – with an eye to imperialistic policy – lay in claiming the *arcifinium* through the occupation of the opposite side of the *finis*.

I have also provided evidence that assumptions among scholars regarding the perception of different and changing landscapes in both the modern and the ancient world is questionable. The impression given is that, prior to technological advancements, the human being had to deal with different, often inexplicable realities which formed his environment and his will or natural desire to expand or grow his dominion. The present study, on the contrary, has shown that natural features are part of a transformable and distinctive landscape on which different people act as part of a 'living area'. Livy's literary evidence has provided enough elements to identify the structural function of the *finis* in the expansive process of Rome's *imperium*, which are detectable throughout the entire story of the Republic, which contrasts with Whittaker's statement of a lack of evidence of a Roman frontier policy in the period of the Republic.¹⁹⁰¹

¹⁹⁰¹ Whittaker 1997:26: "It is impossible to find any evidence of a Roman frontier policy in the period of the Republic, despite the strong Roman sense of organised social and political space".

8.3 Limitations and further developments

Primarily, the research conducted so far has not only involved reviewing the term *finis* in other authors, but has also encompassed all terminology used in Latin to identify the bordering concepts (i.e. the term *limes*). This study has been ‘naturally’ shaped by the chronological limitations provided by the remnant books of *AUC*. The missing books of *AUC* might have provided more answers to the development of the concept of *finis* up to the Augustan period. However, the last books of *AUC* have clearly shown an evolving process in the detection of bordering practices and natural features, becoming more precise in description and identification.

From the 2nd century B.C., Roman generals began a process which led to a new definition of ‘bordering practices and concepts’ in the Early Empire. The idea of a marked landscape – and its monumentalisation – changed with the rise to power of prominent individuals, when the Romans encountered the Greek culture. Livy highlights the role of the consuls M. Quintus Flaminius and L. Aemilius Paullus: the latter’s monument erected at Delphi can be deemed as evidence of this new rising trend. From then onwards, the Romans began to connect battlefield trophies with landmarks and delimitative areas. This conception represents an evolution (as attested by the treaty of Apamea) in the accepted function of bordering practices; the Romans felt the necessity to materialise this function, highlighting such spots, areas or passages. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus’ and Q. Fabius Maximus’ trophy taken from the Arverni and Allobrogii in Gaul is the first Roman ‘land battle mark’ trophy, which is noted as being unprecedented in Roman history.¹⁹⁰² It was set up on the ‘Island’: a particular area between the rivers Isere and Rhone, which Livy – and not Polybius – had pointed out as being a key place in Hannibal’s advance. The trophy built by Marius or Sulla’s and Caesar’s monuments at Chaironeia and Zela, all confirm a trend, which saw Pompey as a major contributor to this evolving concept. Pompey’s propaganda had been accompanied by trophies

¹⁹⁰² Strabo 4.1.11; Florus 1.37.4-6; Ebel 1975:367; Welch 2006:13.

and statues bearing representations of the *oikoumene*, a global world map.¹⁹⁰³ The most famous was built in late 72 B.C. on the Pyrenees.¹⁹⁰⁴ The marking of places of victory with a specific *sēma* – like a trophy – was designed to have an immediate impact on the surrounding landscape. Romans turned this ephemeral conception of the nature of trophy into a *monumentum*, aspiring, for themselves and their relatives, to the immortality exemplified by these structures. Cicero, erecting a shrine (*fanum*) to his daughter Tullia to secure her immortality, recalled the victory-monument set up after the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. Victory or landmark monuments found a definitive consecration in Augustus and had a connection with the landscape, as well as possibly even acquiring a new distinctive function: trophies, altars and arches. The perception of an evolving bordering concept of *finis* is already present in Cicero who confirms that “once the Alps, but now Oceanus is the limit of Roman *imperium*”.¹⁹⁰⁵

Particularly with Augustus, the space is reorganised, transformed and finally manipulated through new definitions of *imperia* (provincial subdivision), new monumental models and key places, both historical and geographical. The Augustan period reveals a common element across Livy’s writing, probably spread around by the imperial propaganda. While this evidence can be documented throughout Livy’s work, it is still more detectable in Augustus’ *Res Gestae*, where different elements provide us with an intimate connection between Augustan and Livian writing precisely on the issue of *fines*.

- [...] AEDES IN CAPITOLIO IOVIS FERETRI [...] FECI.¹⁹⁰⁶
I built the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol...
- OMNIUM PROV[INCIARUM POPULI ROMANI], QUIBUS FINITIMAE FUERUNT GENTES QUAE NON P[ARERENT IMPERIO NOS]TRO, FINES AUXI. GALLIAS ET HISPANIAS PROVINCIAS, I[TEM] GERMANIAM QUA INCLU]DIT OCEANUS A GADIBUS AD OSTIUM ALBIS FLUMIN]IS PACAVI. ALPES A

¹⁹⁰³ Cass. Dio 37.21.2; Nicolet 1980:38-41; he engraved his personal ring with a depiction of all three trophies derived from his victories and set up in those key places nearby any complete conquest. Deutsch 1924:277-279. Whittaker 1997:31-2.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Ebel 1976:100; Ebel 1975:359. Contra Badian 1966:905-908, Badian 1964:88-97, who argues convincingly that, for the Romans, the Alps and the Pyrenees were not the natural frontiers.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Cic. *Prov. Conis*. 14.34.

¹⁹⁰⁶ RG 19.

RE]GIONE EA, QUAE PROXIMA EST HADRIANO MARI, [AD TUSCUM PACARI FEC]I. NULLI GENTI BELLO PER INIURIAM INLATO. CLA[SSIS M]JEA PER OCEANUM] AB OSTIO RHENI AD SOLIS ORIENTIS REGIONEM USQUE AD F]I]NES CIMBRORU]M NAVIGAVIT [...].¹⁹⁰⁷

I extended the *finis* of all the provinces which were bordered by races not yet subject to our empire. The provinces of the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, bounded by the ocean from Cádiz to the mouth of the Elbe, I reduced to a state of peace. The Alps, from the region which lies nearest to the Adriatic as far as the Tuscan Sea, was brought to a state of peace without waging on any tribe an unjust war. My fleet sailed from the mouth of the Rhine eastward as far as the *finis* of the Cimbri [...].

- *IMPERIO POPULI ROMANI SUBIECI PROTULIQUE F]I]NES ILLYRICI AD RIPAM FLUMINIS DANUI. CITRA QUOD DACORUM TRANSGRESSUS EXERCITUS MEIS AUSPICIS VICTUS PROFLIGA TUSQUE EST, ET POSTEA TRANS DANUVIUM DUCTUS EXERCITUS MEUS DACORUM GENTES IMPERIA POPULI ROMANI PERFERRE COEGIT.*¹⁹⁰⁸

I brought under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and I pushed forward the *finis* of Illyricum as far as the bank of the river Danube. An army of Dacians which crossed to the south of that river was, under my auspices, defeated and crushed, and afterwards my own army was led across the Danube and compelled the tribes of the Dacians to submit to the orders of the Roman people.

Augustus followed the example of Pompey's policy, electing for the monumentalisation of crucial places and thus continuing the trend imported from the early campaigns in Greece. The trophies constructed by Augustus were physical and symbolic reminders of places and events, such as the impressive Augustan monument at La Turbie, which announced the total subjection of the Alpine tribes and mirrored Pompey's monument in the Pyrenees. And this is not the only example: the Trophy at Actium/Nikopolis represented the place where the unity of the empire was safe, marking forever the central divisional point between East and West,¹⁹⁰⁹ while the altar on the River Elbe sealed the *finis* of *imperium*. However, this monumentalisation of the landscape seems deeply embedded in Livy. Here, early religious beliefs played a major role, contributing to the issue of legality with rituals intended to create a differentiation between two environmental areas through the highlighting of such points. These programmes seem to follow the tradition from the Republican Period: by describing scenes from Rome's earliest history, Livy uses monuments to highlight special places and events: the *Columna Horatia*, *Tigillum Sororum* and *Templum of Jupiter Stator*, if not even the *Rostra* and the

¹⁹⁰⁷ RG 26.

¹⁹⁰⁸ RG 30.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Murray & Petsas 1988; 1989; Oliver 1969; Gurval 1995.

several arches erected in Rome. Livian monuments recall Augustus' programme in setting up the basis for a connective net, where relevant places, monuments and natural features become interconnected with the surrounding regions, provinces, roads and Rome herself.

Roman monumentality consisted of a blend of structural form and natural context.¹⁹¹⁰ In this respect, these massive Roman structures had to capture travellers' and citizens' attention from the very first moment. The whole landscape was now ready to be literarily, artistically and materially flagged, as evoked in the following passage from Apuleius:

*"Vt ferme religiosis uiantium moris est, cum aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus sanctus in uia oblatus est, uotum postulare, pomum adponere, paulisper adsidere: ita mihi ingresso sanctissimam istam ciuitatem, quanquam oppido festine<m>, praefanda uenia et habenda oratio et inhibenda properatio est. Neque enim iustius religiosam moram uiatori obiecerit aut ara floribus redimita aut spelunca frondibus inumbrata aut quercus cornibus onerata aut fagus pellibus coronata, uel enim colliculus sepimine consecratus uel truncus dolamine effigiatus uel cespes libamine umigatus uel lapis unguine delibutus. Parua haec quippe et quanquam paucis percontantibus adorata, tamen ignorantibus transcurra."*¹⁹¹¹

"It is a common custom with religious travellers, when they come upon some grove or sacred place, to beseech favour, offer up prayers, and sit down a while; in like manner, now that I have entered this most hallowed city, though I am in great haste, I must entreat favour, make oration, and check my hurry. For the traveller can find no fitter motives for a religious pause in an altar decked with flowers, or a dell shaded with foliage, or an oak loaded with horns, or a beech festooned with skins, or even a consecrated and enclosed hillock, or a trunk chiselled into the form of an image, or a turf redolent of libation, or a stone bedewed with ointment. These are small things indeed, and though adored by the few who scrutinise them, are passed unnoticed by those who are not aware of them."

Although Apuleius' description belongs to the early 2nd century AD, the idea of a 'marked' landscape is well reflected artistically in the bucolic style of wall-painting popular in Roman houses in the Early Empire. This attitude is also reflected in the systematic programme provided by the *Tabula Siarensis*, which shows the consequences of Augustus' bordering practices and the clear development of a new strategy, emerging in Rome through the establishment of monuments along consistent places touched by Germanicus.¹⁹¹² In this way, the impalpable lines of time and space became tangible in these areas, where

¹⁹¹⁰ See i.e. Thomas 2007.

¹⁹¹¹ Apul. *Flor.* 1

¹⁹¹² On the changes of the 1st century AD see Arena 2009:81-3.

monuments loomed over the surrounding landscape while simultaneously being embedded in that same environment. These methods of visualising bordering practices, both natural and human, represent an opportunity to more clearly comprehend those elements as they expand or contract, when they are viewed in the context of Livy's evolutionary process, as discussed earlier. Such visualisation is thus a further step in the comprehension of bordering concepts for this research. I hope to have evidenced that the concept of *finis* can gain a new significance through the redefinition of its use in Livy's work. As such, it suggests that Whittaker's comment on the absence of 'a Roman frontier policy' in the Republican period [Introduction: Issues and problems] needs to be requalified. Livy's writing shows that there was, both quantitatively and qualitatively, a border policy by the end of the Republic, which needs to be revisited and reassessed in order to better comprehend the Imperial frontier policy. In this sense, the Imperial policy takes its 'frontier mentality' from the Republican mindset, which evolved through the Augustan period, making Livy witness and reporter of this change.

FINES

Bordering practices and natural features in Livy

Antonio Montesanti

VOLUME 2 of 2

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Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History

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APPENDIX 1: Figures [FIG]. Maps, charts and images referenced in the main text.



Figure 1 – Map 1. Places mentioned in the main text of section 1.3.

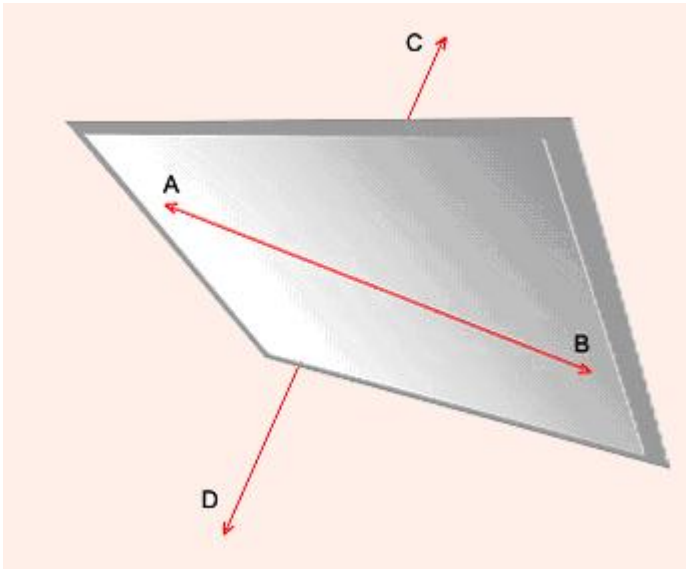
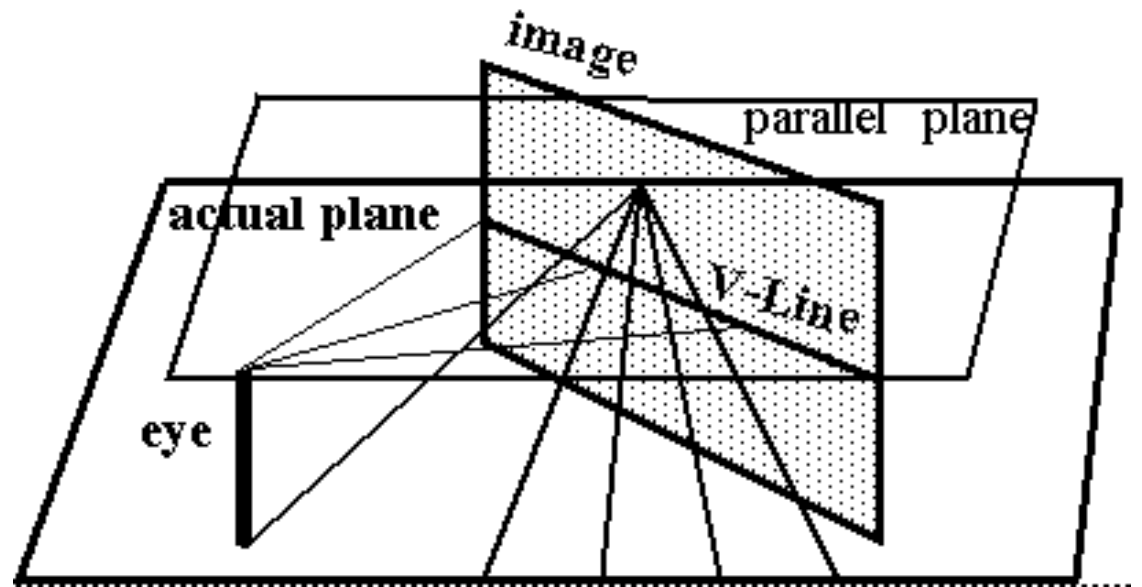


Figure 2 – Image 1. Plane and lines (= AB, CD) (above); Kant's theory: rendering of the visual plane (right).



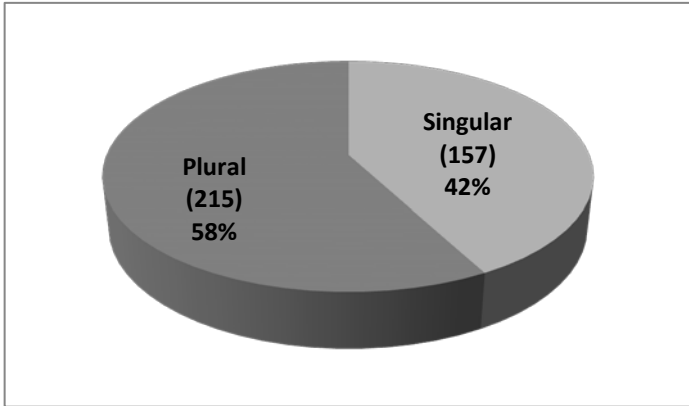


Figure 3 – Chart 1. Finis: singular and plural occurrences in AUC.

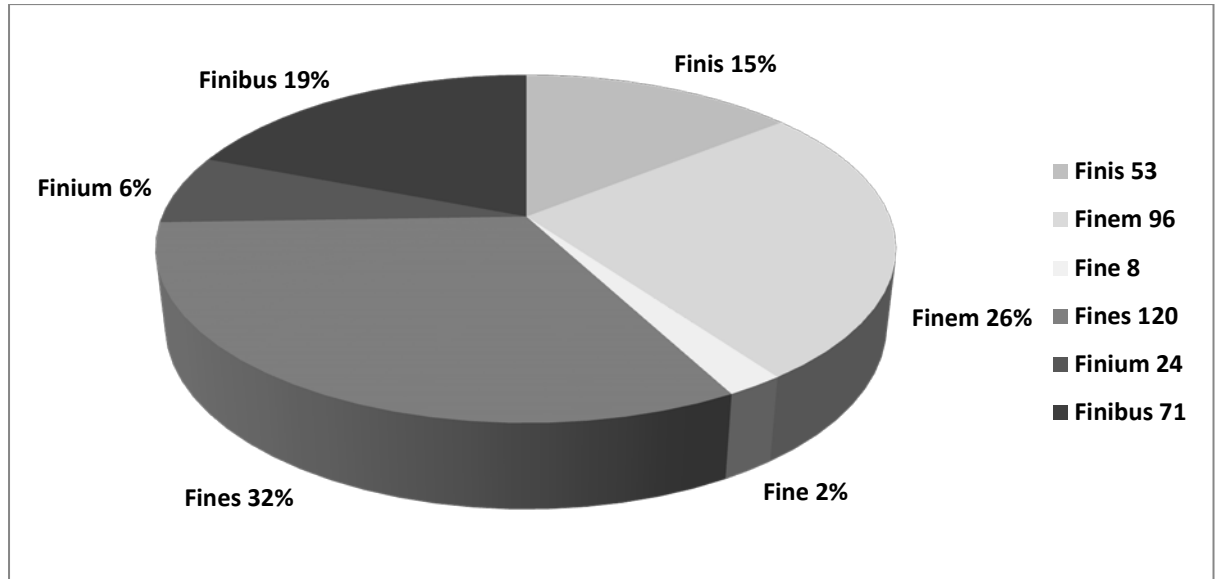


Figure 4 – Chart 2. Finis: declension cases in AUC.

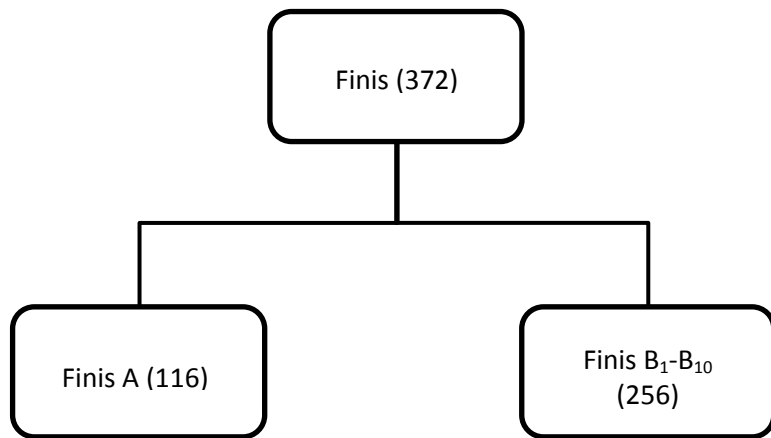


Figure 5 – Diagram 1. Quantitative distinction between *Finis* A and *Finis* B in AUC.

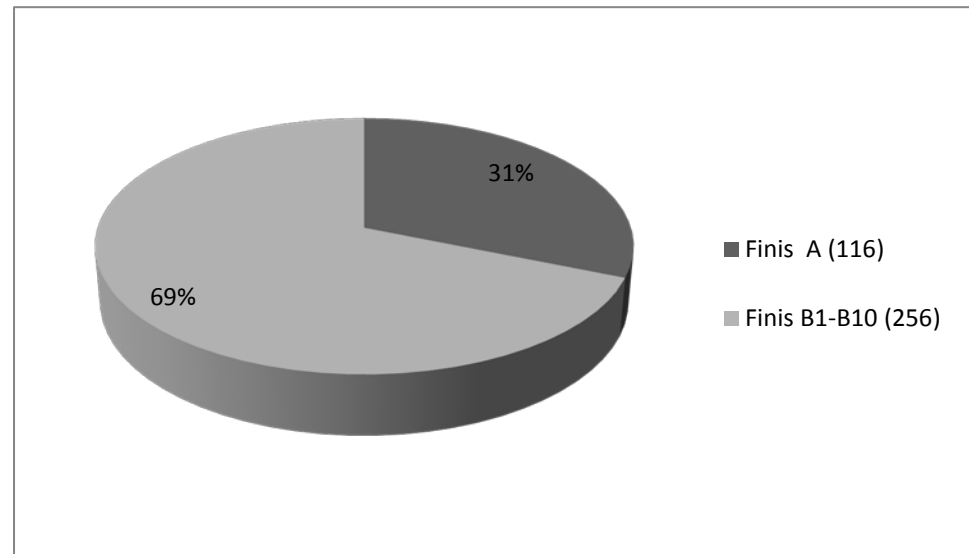


Figure 6 – Chart 3. Finis A – B: percentage distribution in AUC.

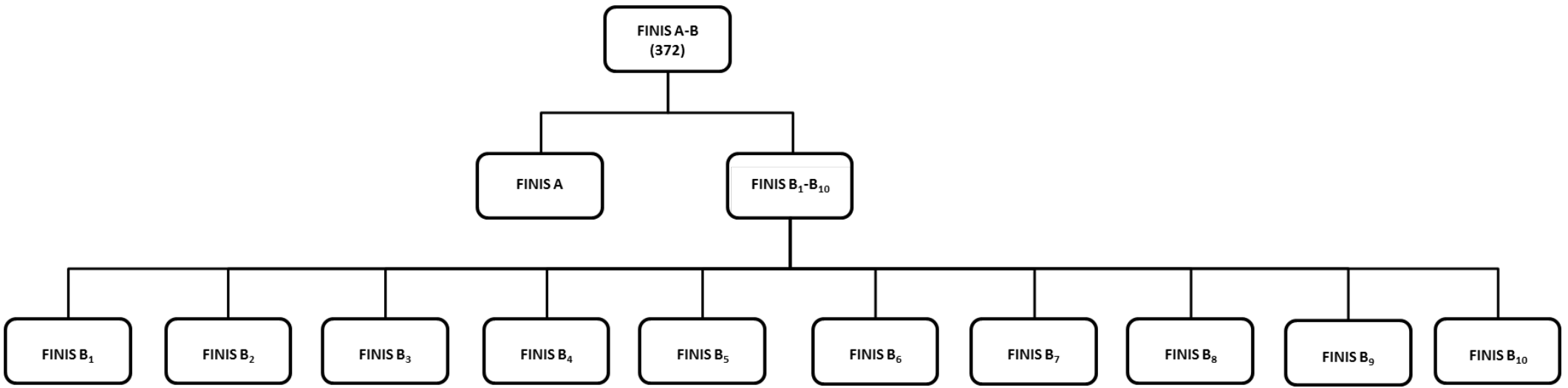


Figure 7 – Diagram 2. Finis B1-B10.

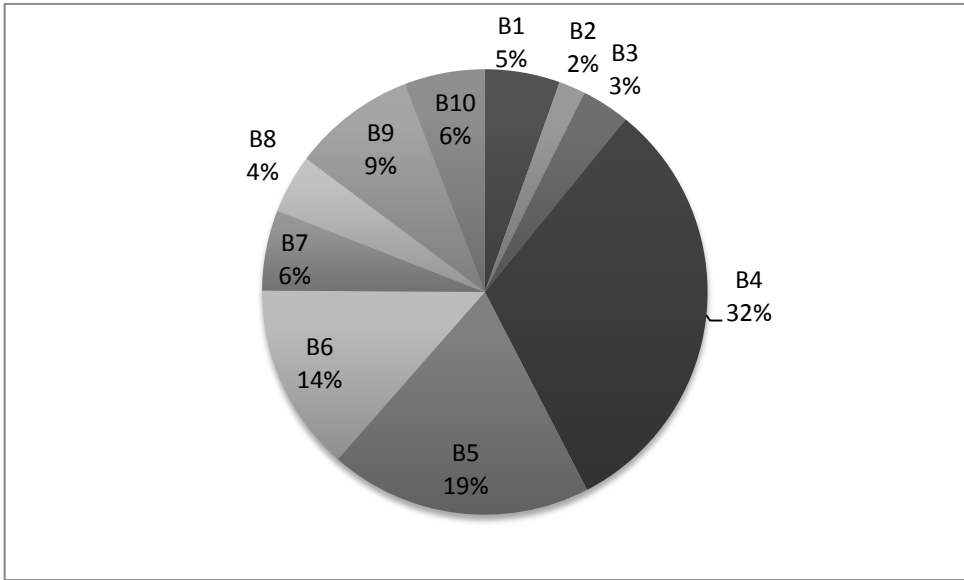


Figure 8 – Chart 4. Fines B1-B10: percentages of use in AUC.

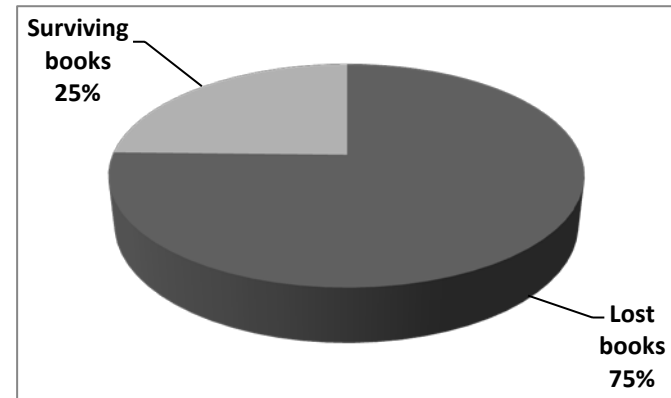


Figure 9 – Chart 5. AUC: surviving and lost Books.

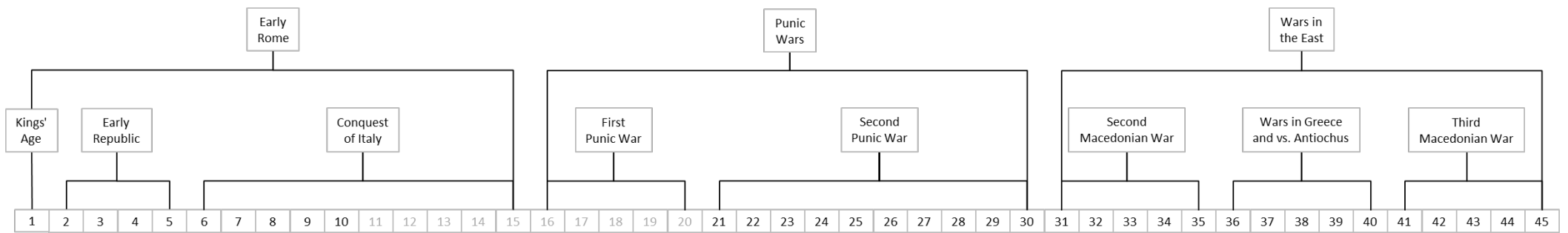


Figure 10 – Diagram 3. AUC: subdivision in decades and pentads (adapted from Luce 1977).

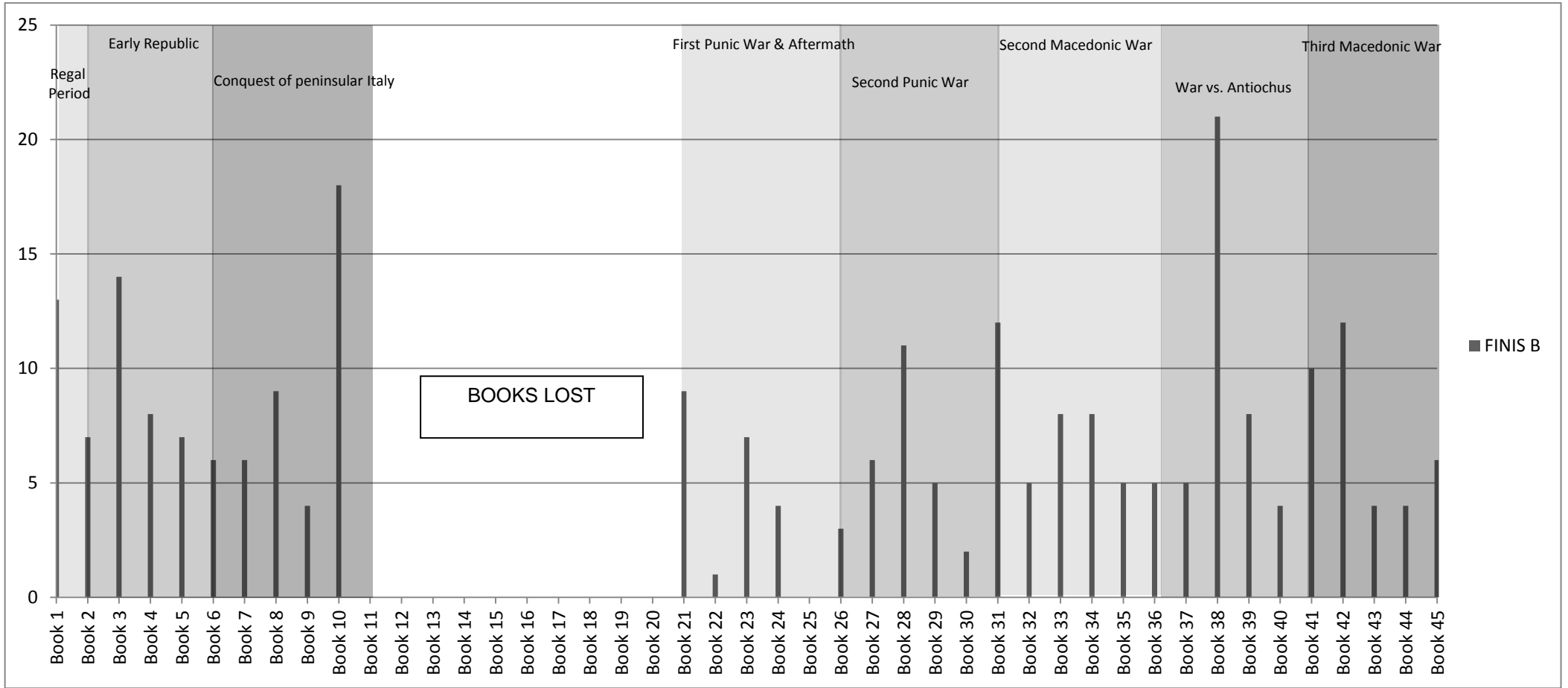


Figure 11 – Chart 6. AUC: internal subdivision and quantitative incidence of *finis*.

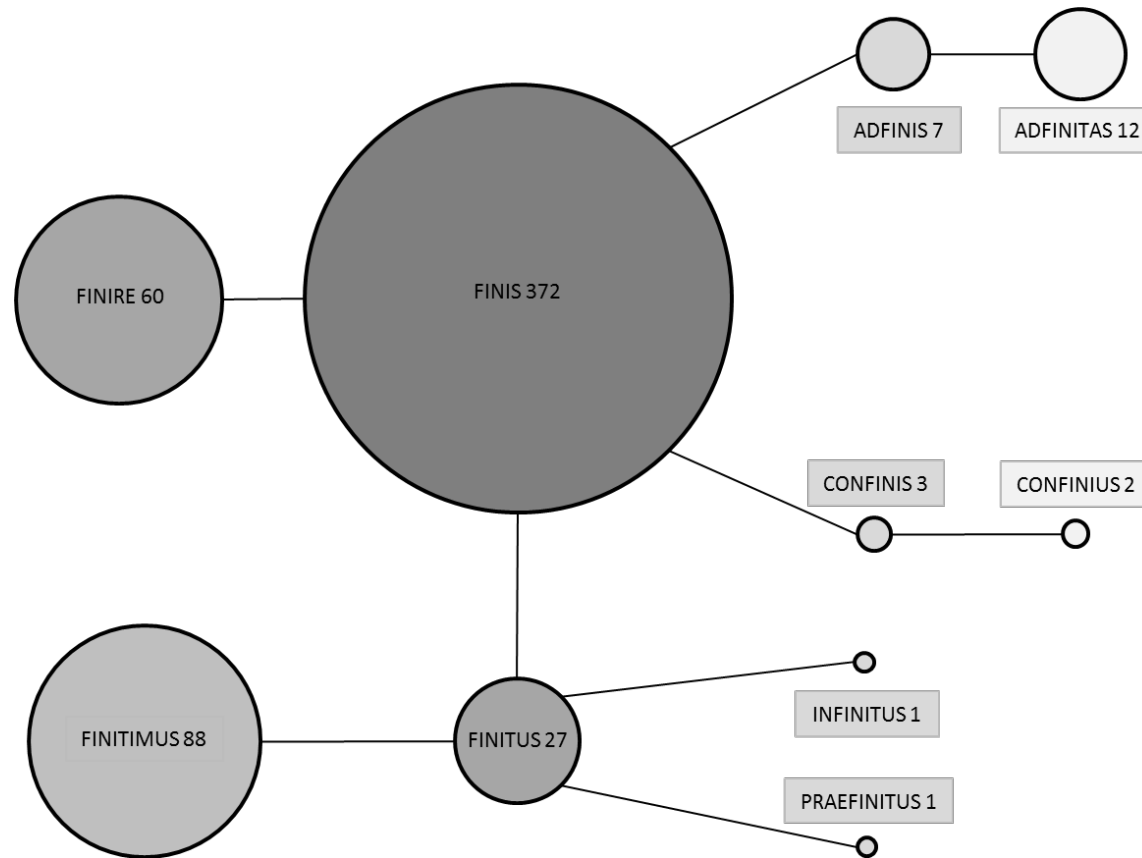


Figure 12 – Chart 7. AUC: magnitude of derivative words from *finis*.

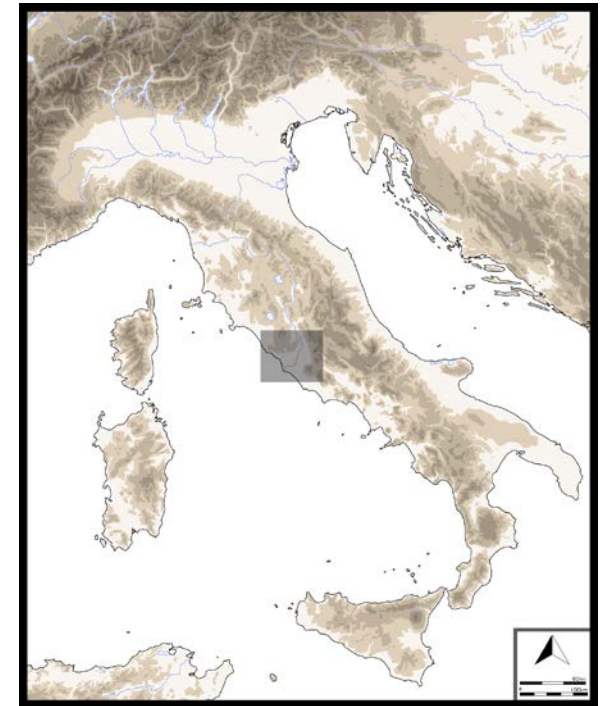


Figure 13 – Map 2. Rome and her surroundings. Places mentioned in the main text of chapters 2 and 3.

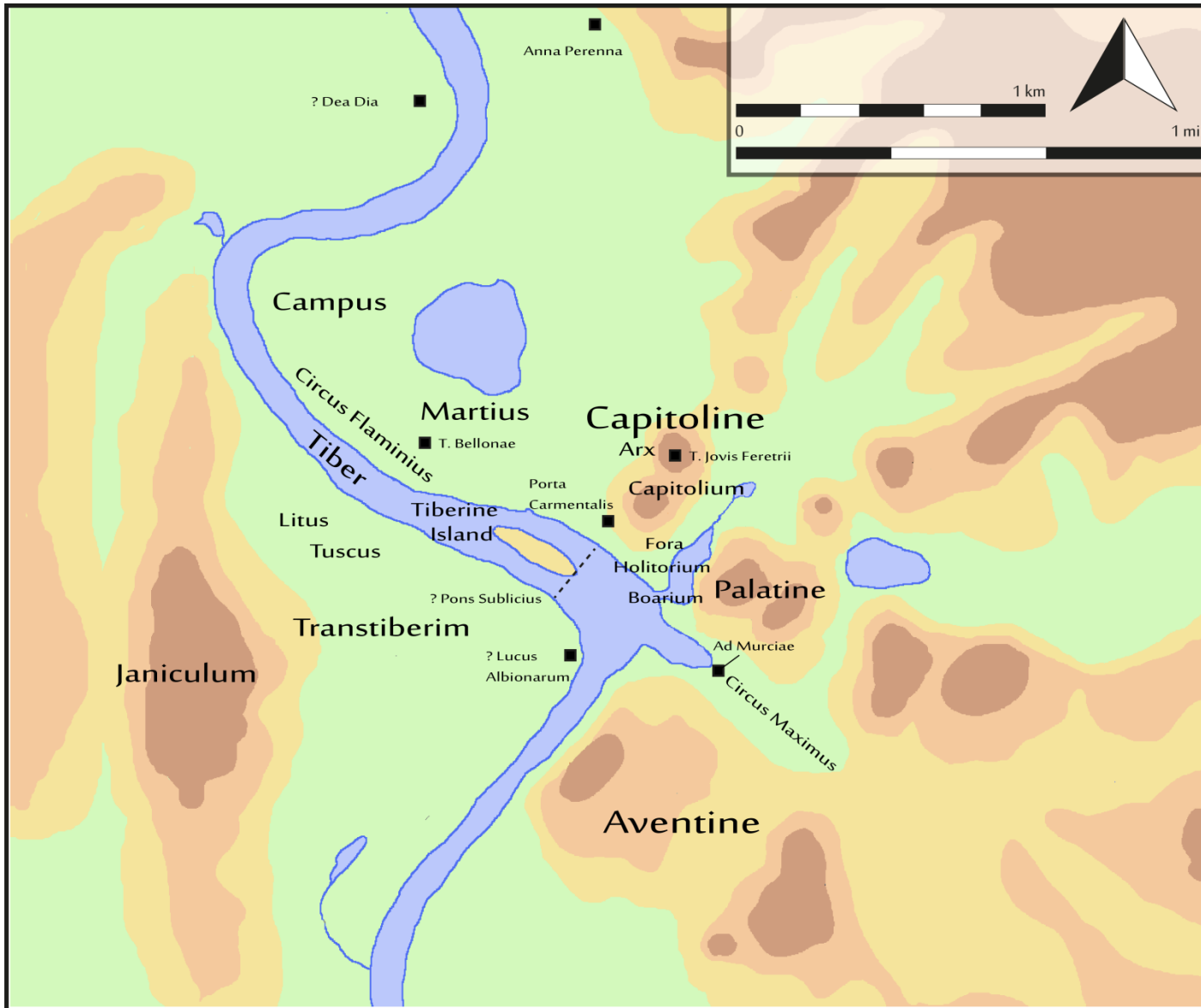


Figure 14 – Map 3. Places of Rome mentioned in the main text of chapters 2 and 3.



Figure 15 – Image 2. Fidenae and the Tiber as seen from Veientine side (Saxa Rubra).



Figure 16 – Image 3. View of Rome from the Janiculum Hill.



Figure 17 – Map 4. Eastern Europe. Places mentioned in the main text of chapter 4. See inset FIG. 15.

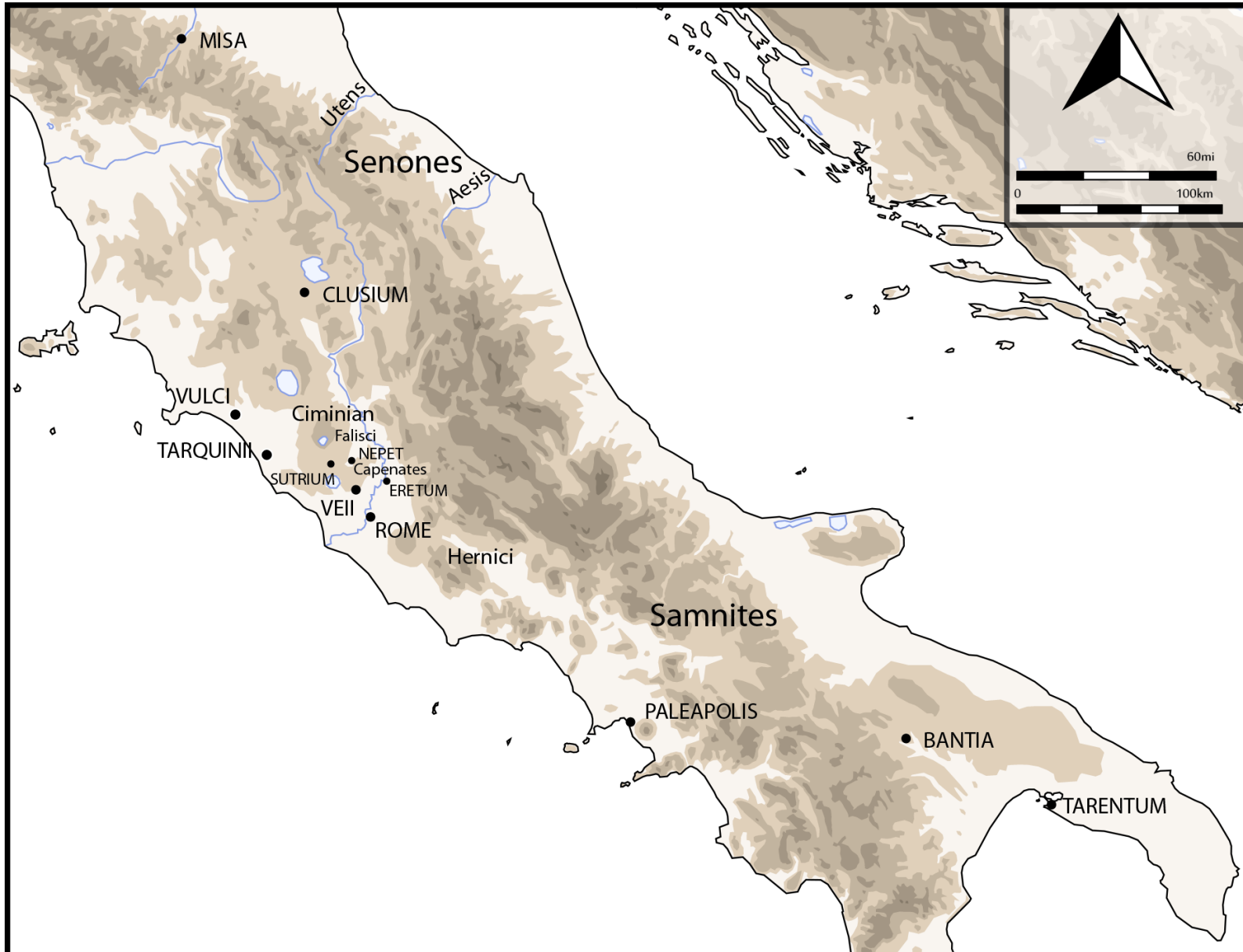


Figure 18 – Map 5. Central Italy. Places mentioned in the main text of chapter 4.

Livy 1.32.8

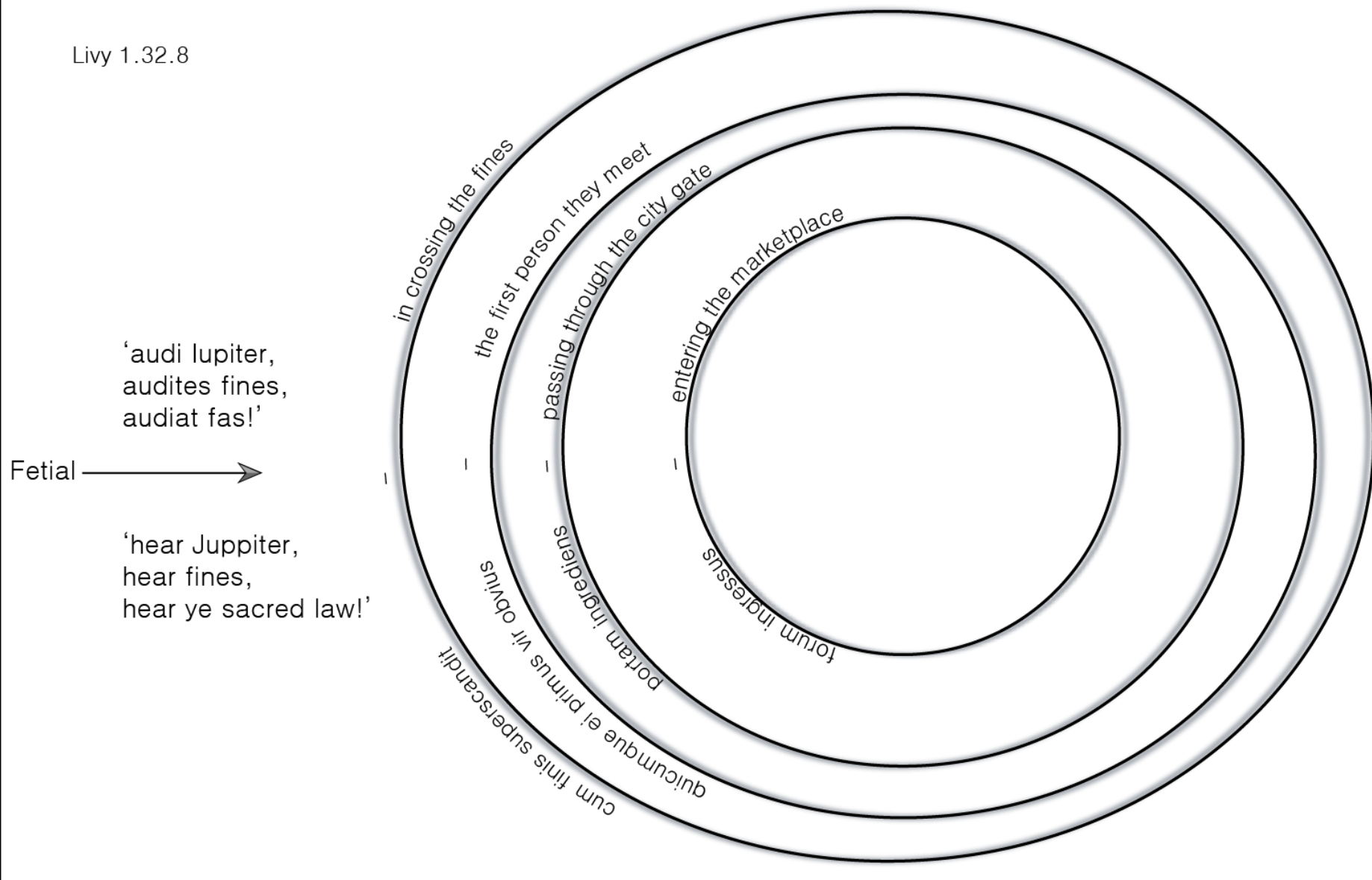


Figure 19 – Diagram 4. Places of pronunciation of the fetal ritual (res repetenda).

Varro L.L. 5.33:
Ut nostii augures publici
disserunt, agrorum sunt
genera quinque:

According to our
augures publici there
are five kinds of land:

incertus

indeterminate

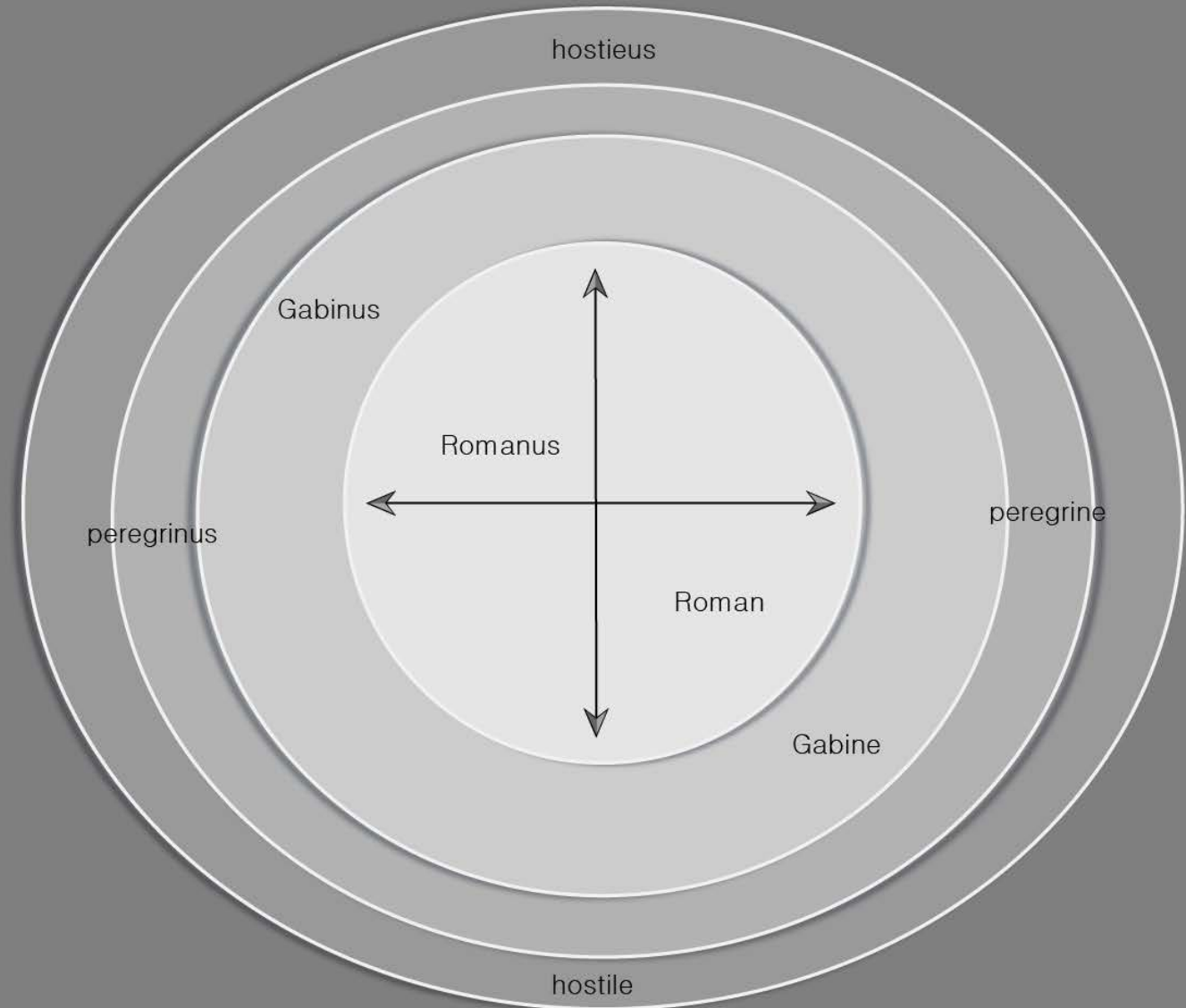


Figure 20 – Diagram 5. Distinction of territories (agrii) in Varro.



Figure 21 – Image 4. Sacrifice of the piglet as oath. Italian (above, left), Oscan (above, right). Roman coin (below).



Figure 22 – Image 5. Three different coins struck by T.Q. Marcellinus.

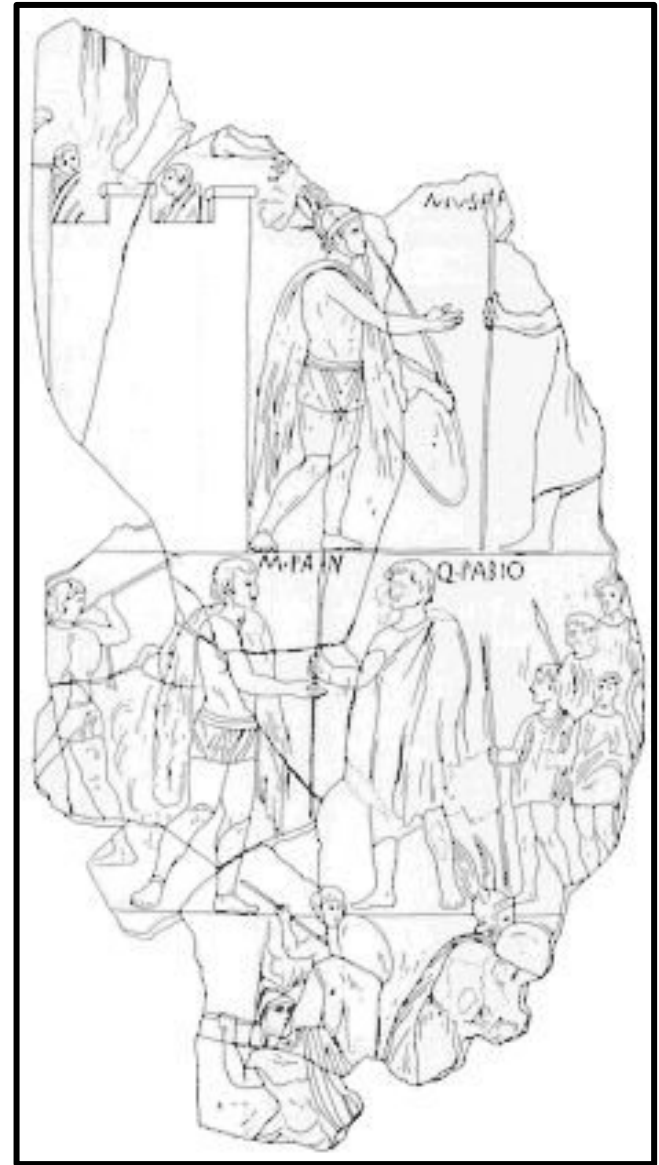


Figure 23 – Image 6. The fresco from Esquiline necropolis, now in the Museum 'Centrale Montemartini', Rome (from Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli 1976).

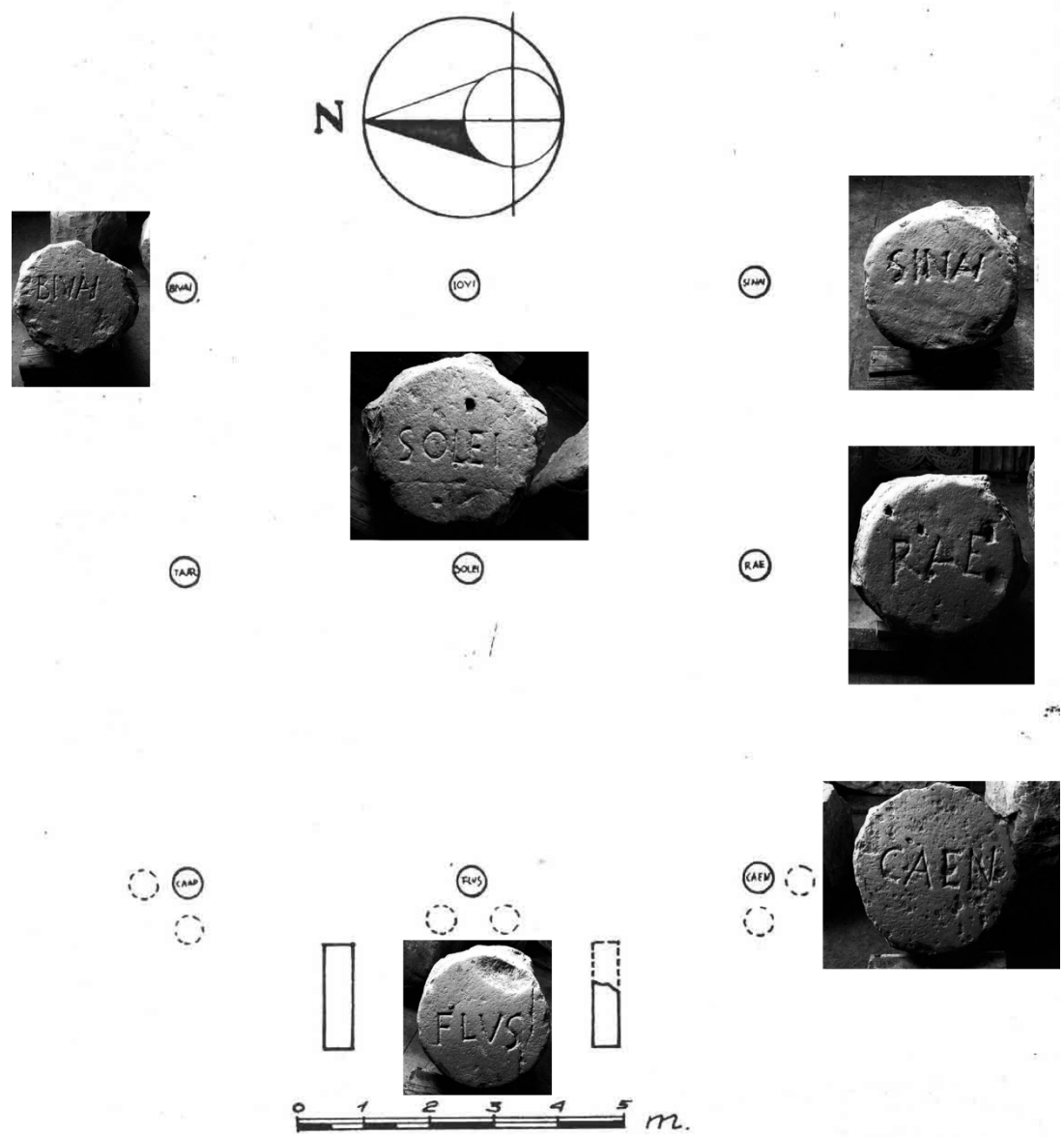


Fig. 1.

Figure 24 – Image 7. The auguraculum from Bantia (from Torelli 1988). with some marking stones.

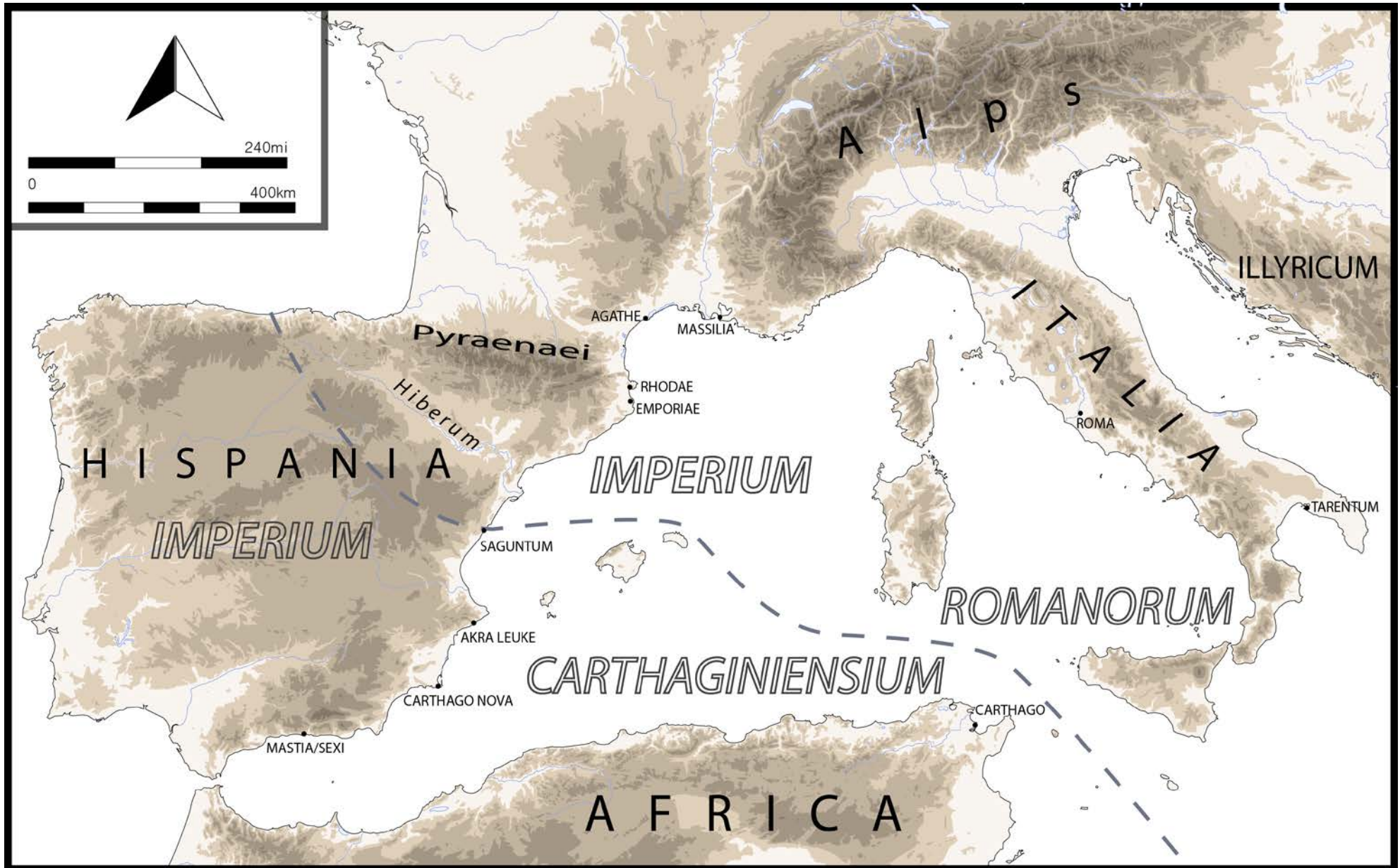


Figure 25 – Map 6. Livy's conception of the Ebro treaty.

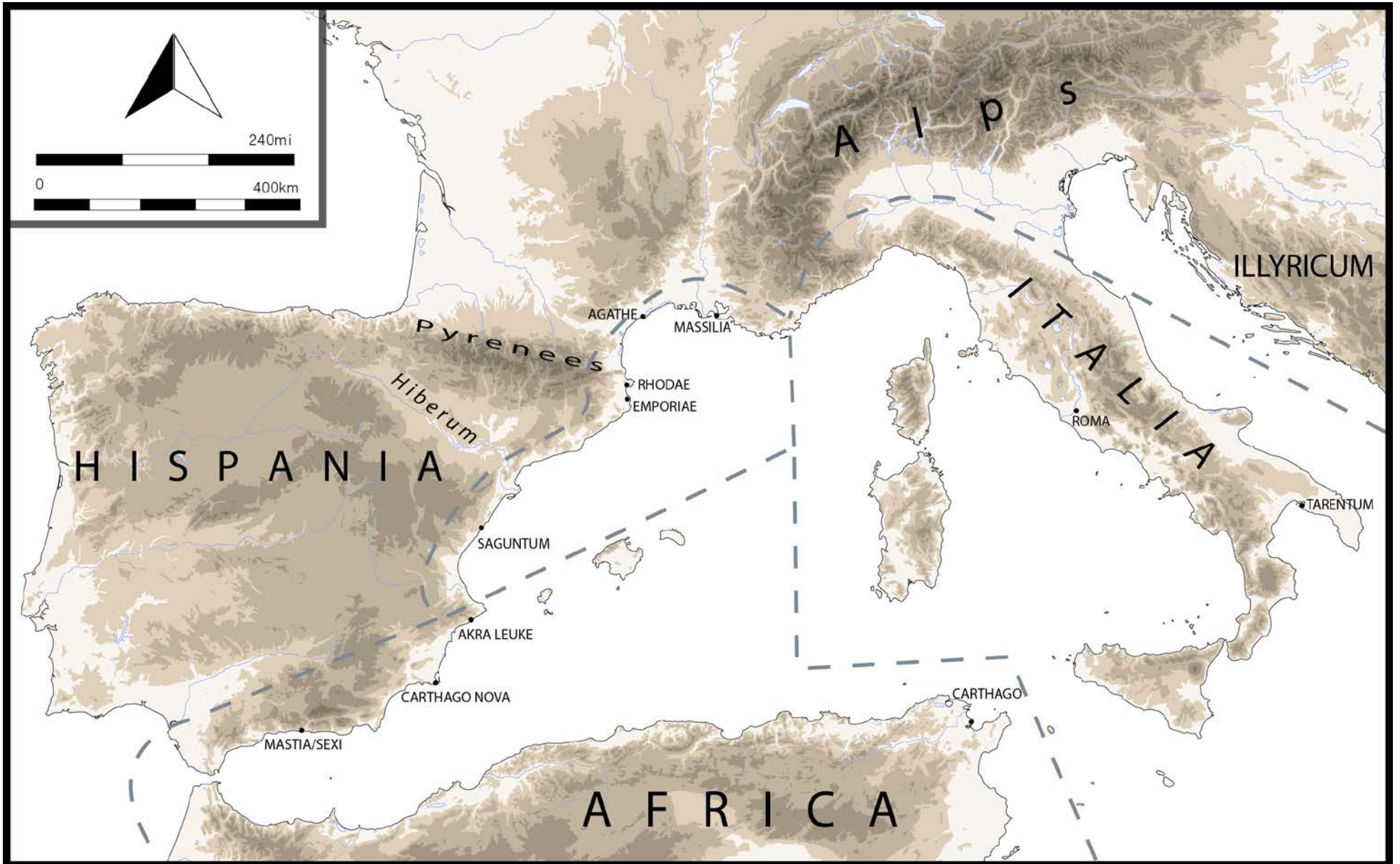


Figure 26 – Map 7. 'Spheres of influence' in the western Mediterranean (Carthage, Marseille, Rome).



Figure 27 – Image 8. The Ebro Valley from the slopes of the Pyrenees.

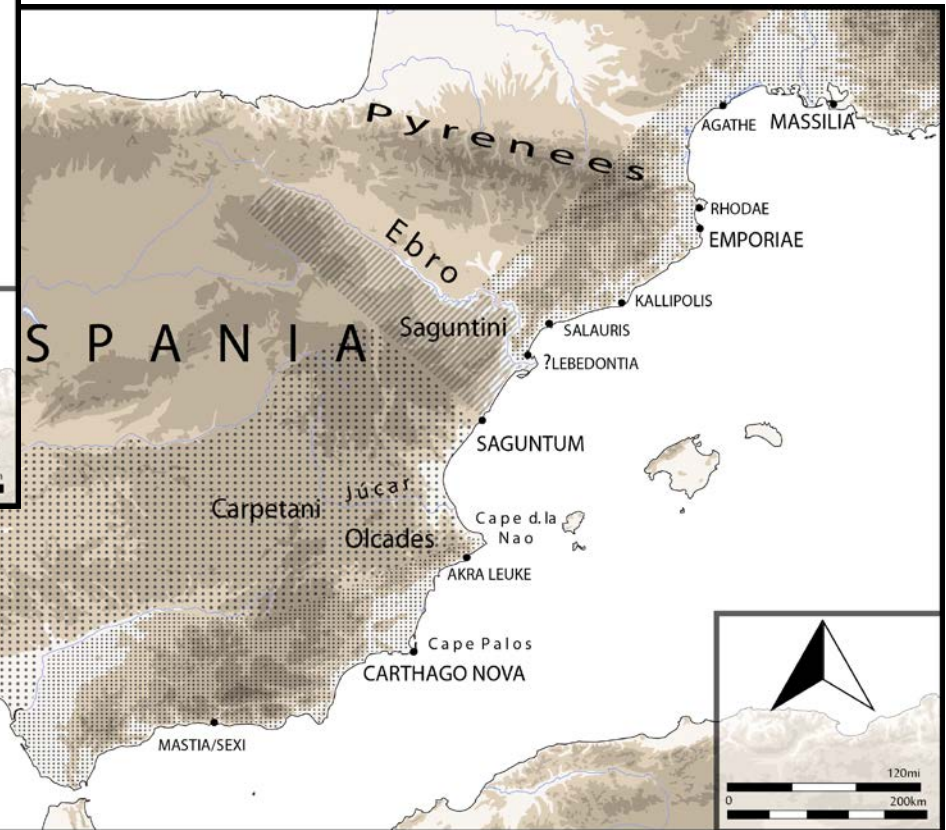


Figure 28 – Map 6. Spain. Situation at the time of the Ebro treaty (ca. 241 BC) (above). Situation at the time of the siege of Saguntum (Autumn 219 BC) (right).

The dotted areas show the real extension of Massilia (North) and Carthage (South). The bigger dotted area shows the Carthaginian expansion in South Spain. Lined area show the extension of the *finis Hiberum* (?).

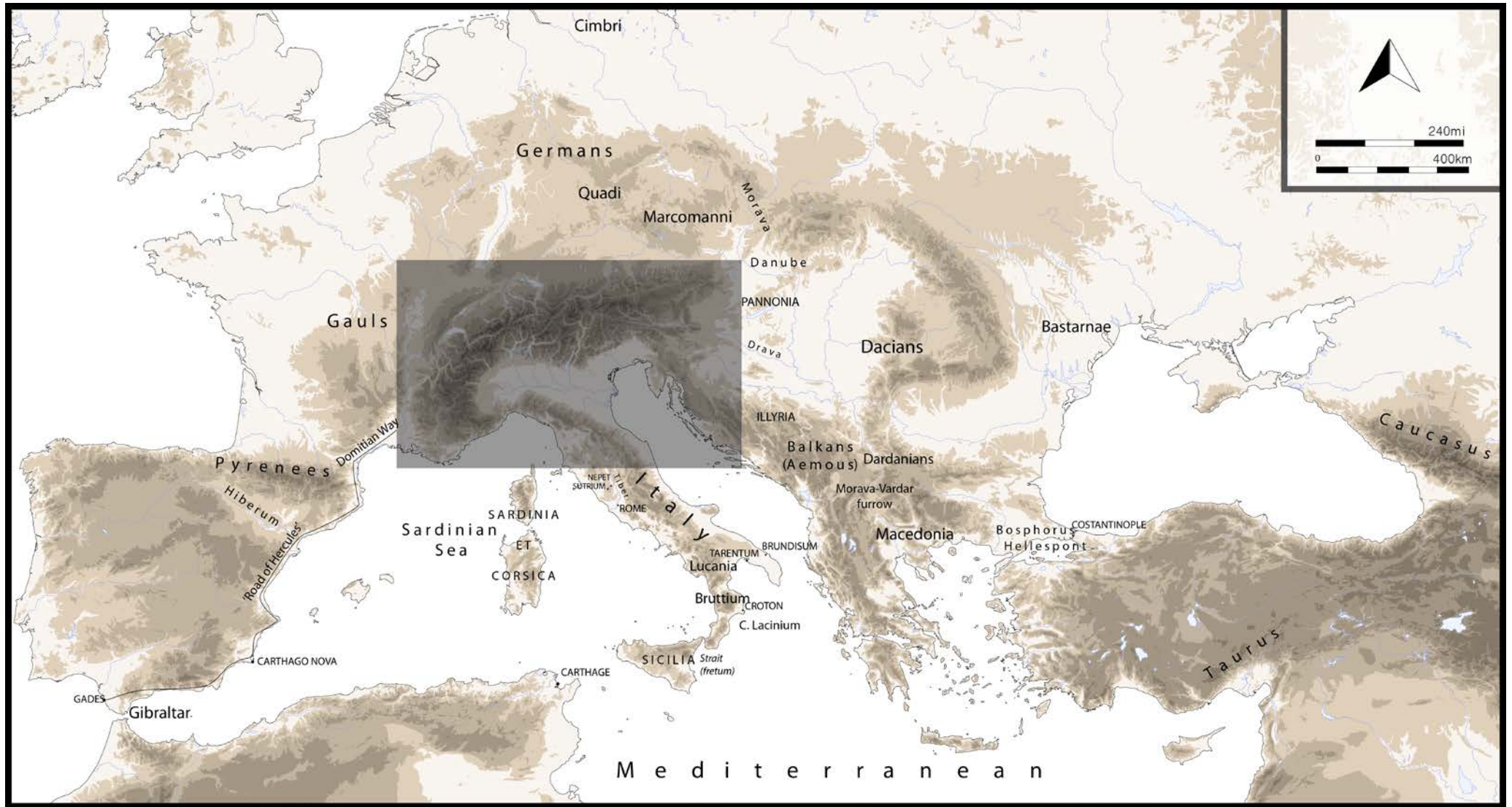


Figure 29 – Map 7. Europe. Places named in Chapter 6. See inset FIG 31.



Figure 30 – Image 9. The Alps from the Taurinii's territory (Augusta Taurinorum).

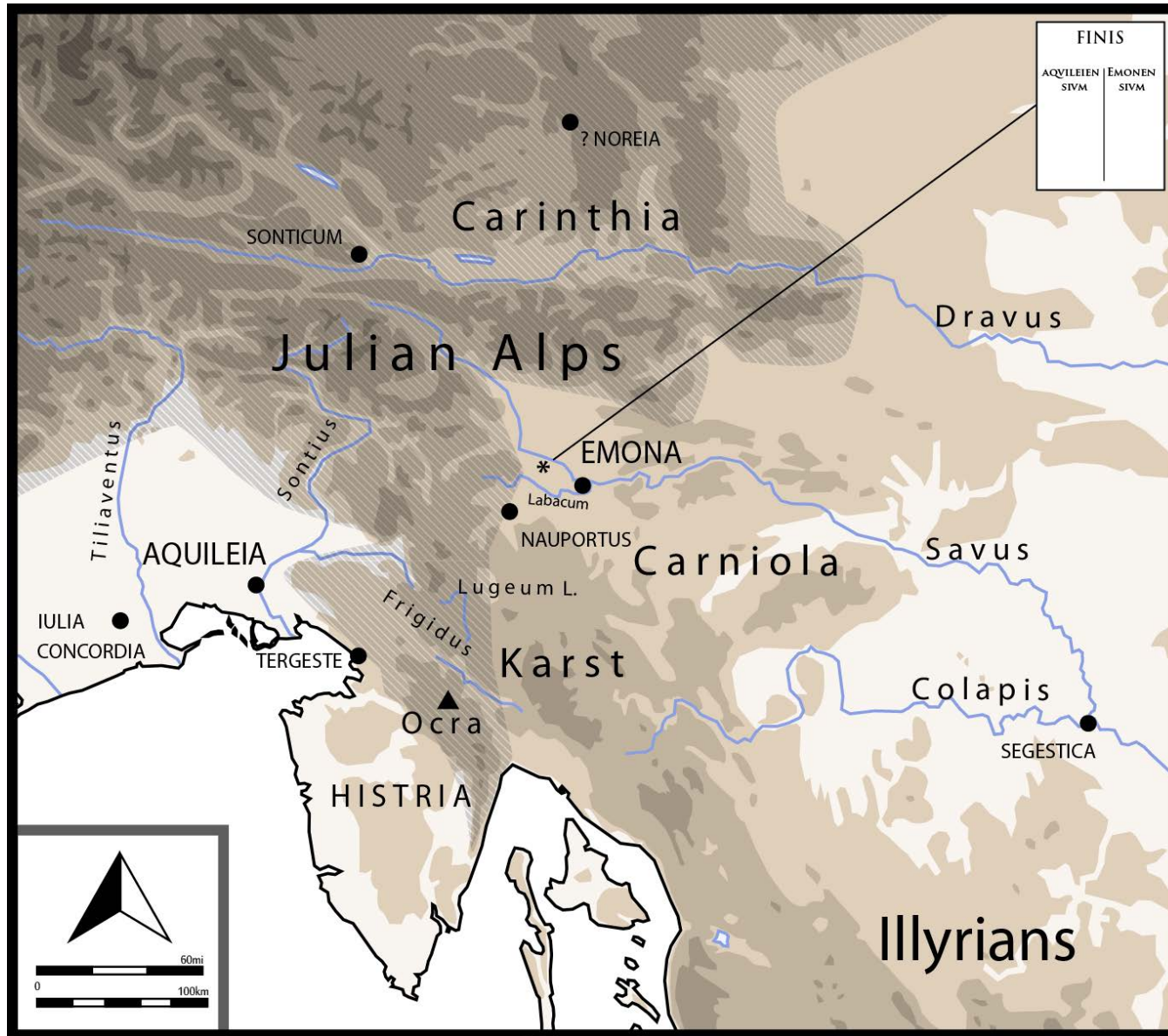


Figure 32 – Map 8. Western Alps (shaded area). Places named in Chapter 6.

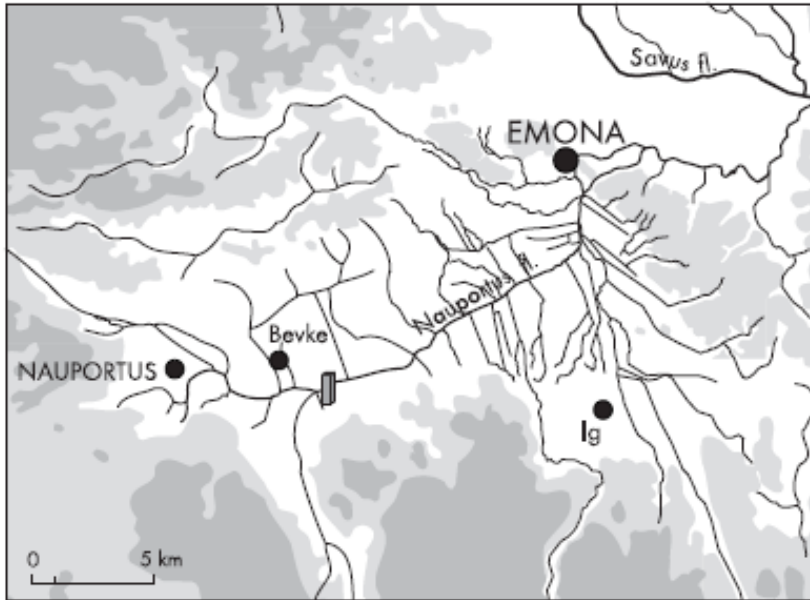


Figure 33 – Image 10. The boundary stone from Bevke (right) and the exact place of discovery (after Šašel Kos 2002).



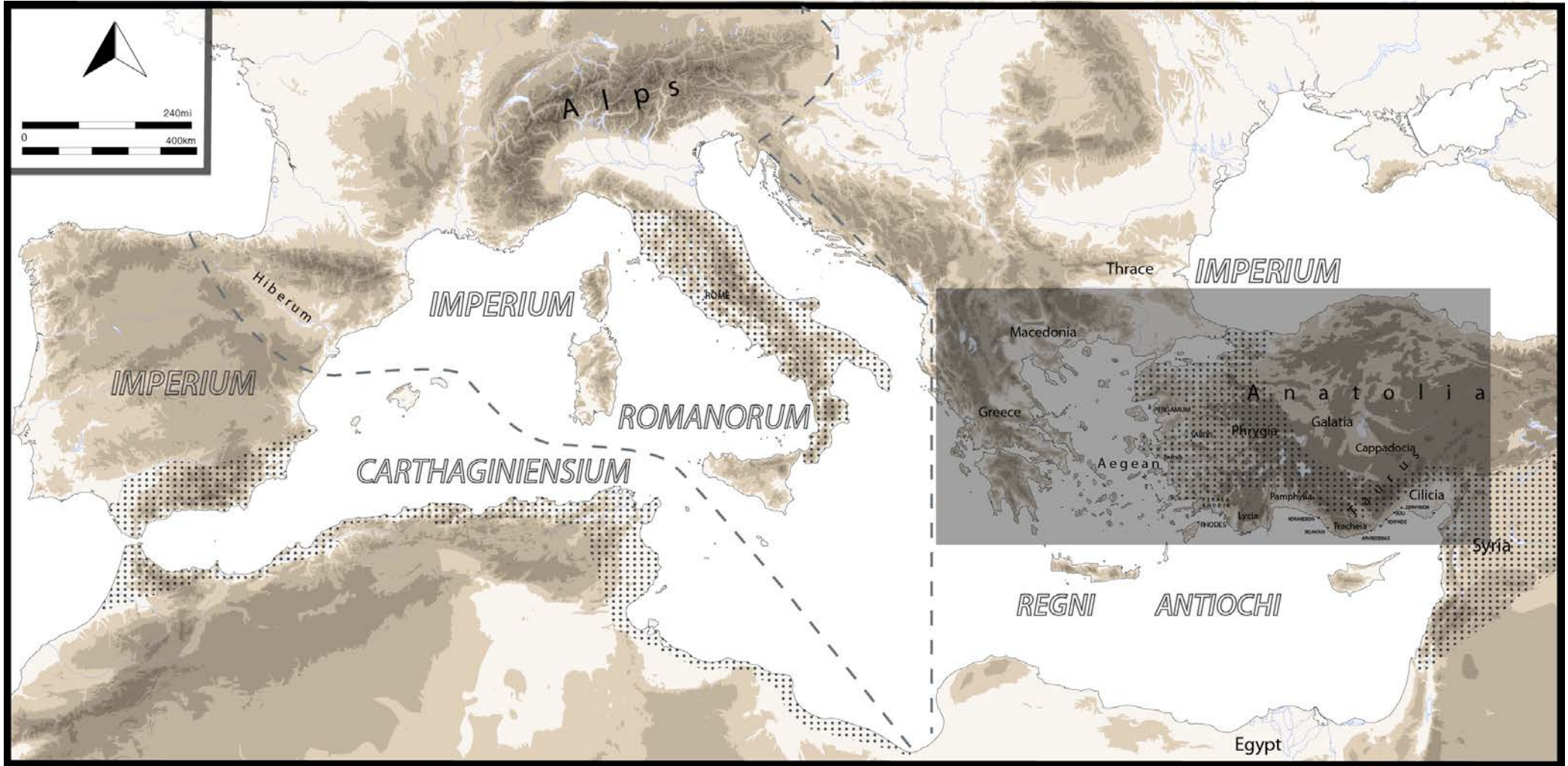


Figure 34 – Map 12. Mediterranean. Hypotetic subdivision of the Imperia (Antiochus, Carthage, Rome) and real occupation (dotted area). See inset at FIG 35.

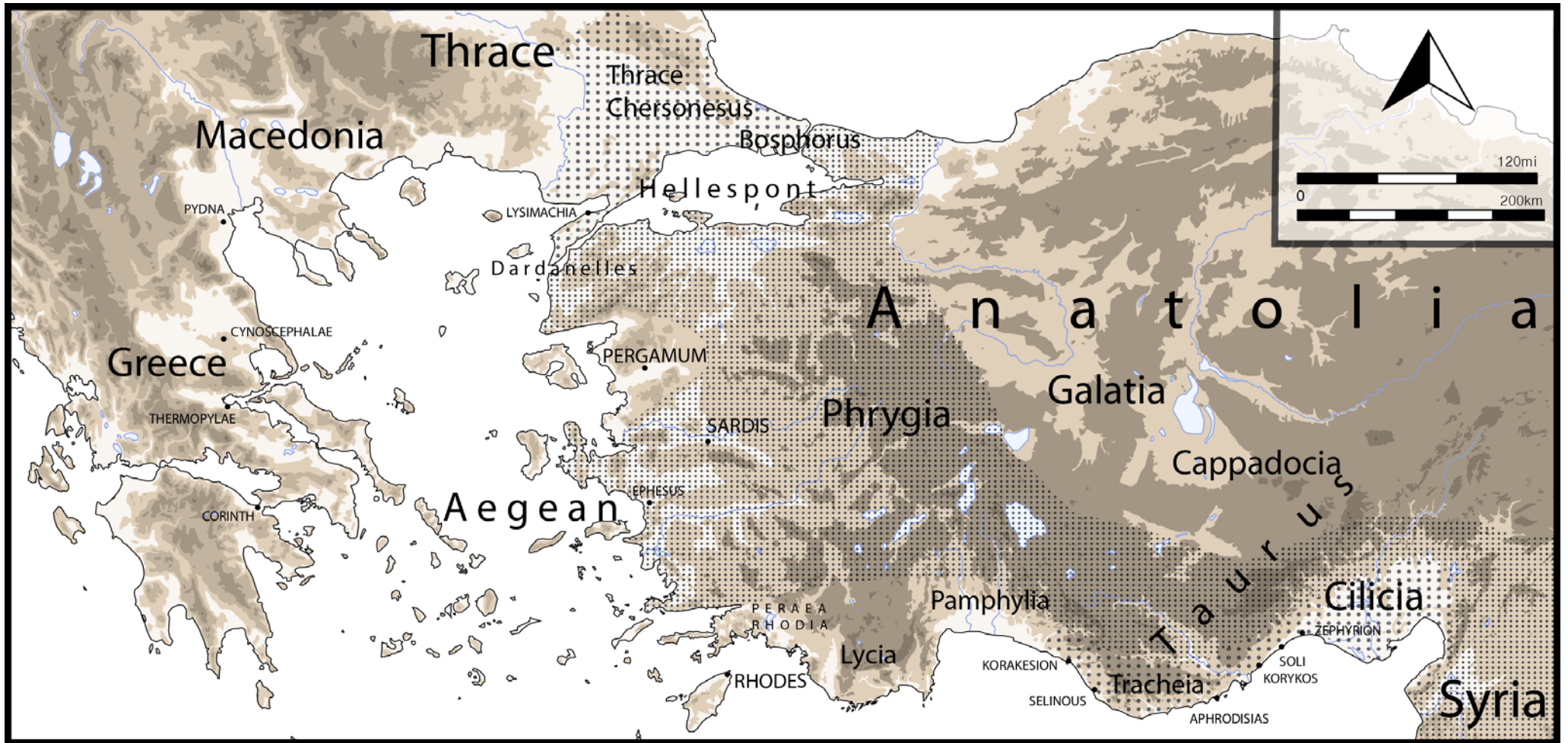


Figure 35 – Map 13. Greece and Anatolia (Asia Minor). Antiochus' real occupation (small dots) and expansion (large dots).

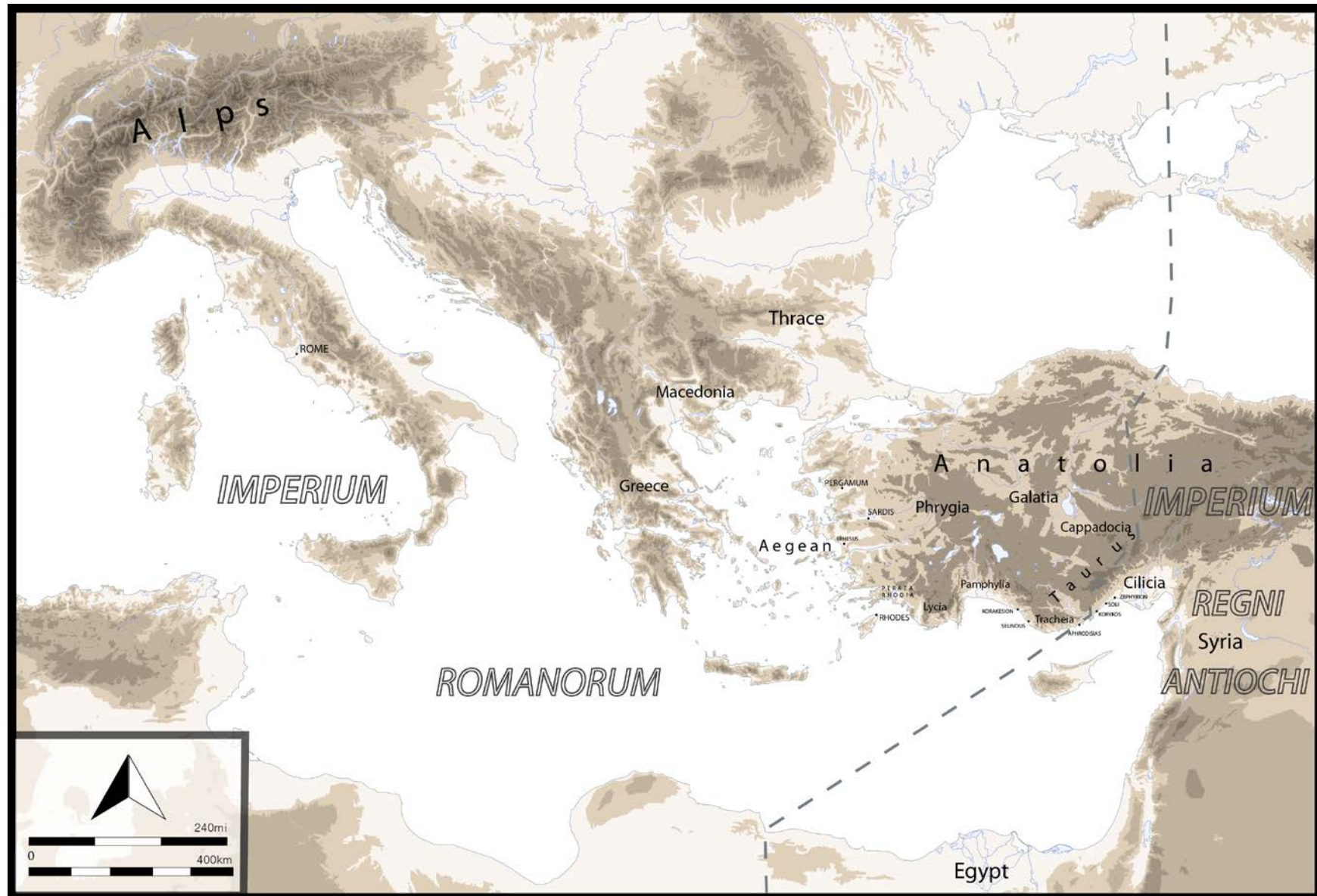


Figure 36 – Map 14. Eastern Mediterranean. Subdivision of Imperia after the treaty of Apamea.



Figure 37 – Image 10. The Mount Taurus. A) From the Cilician coast; B) From Cappadocia.





Figure 38 – Map 15. Anatolia. Places named in chapter 7. See inset FIG 39.



Figure 39 – Map 16. Southwestern Anatolia. Places named in chapter 7.



Figure 40 – Map 17. Anatolia. Visualisation of subdivisinal areas.

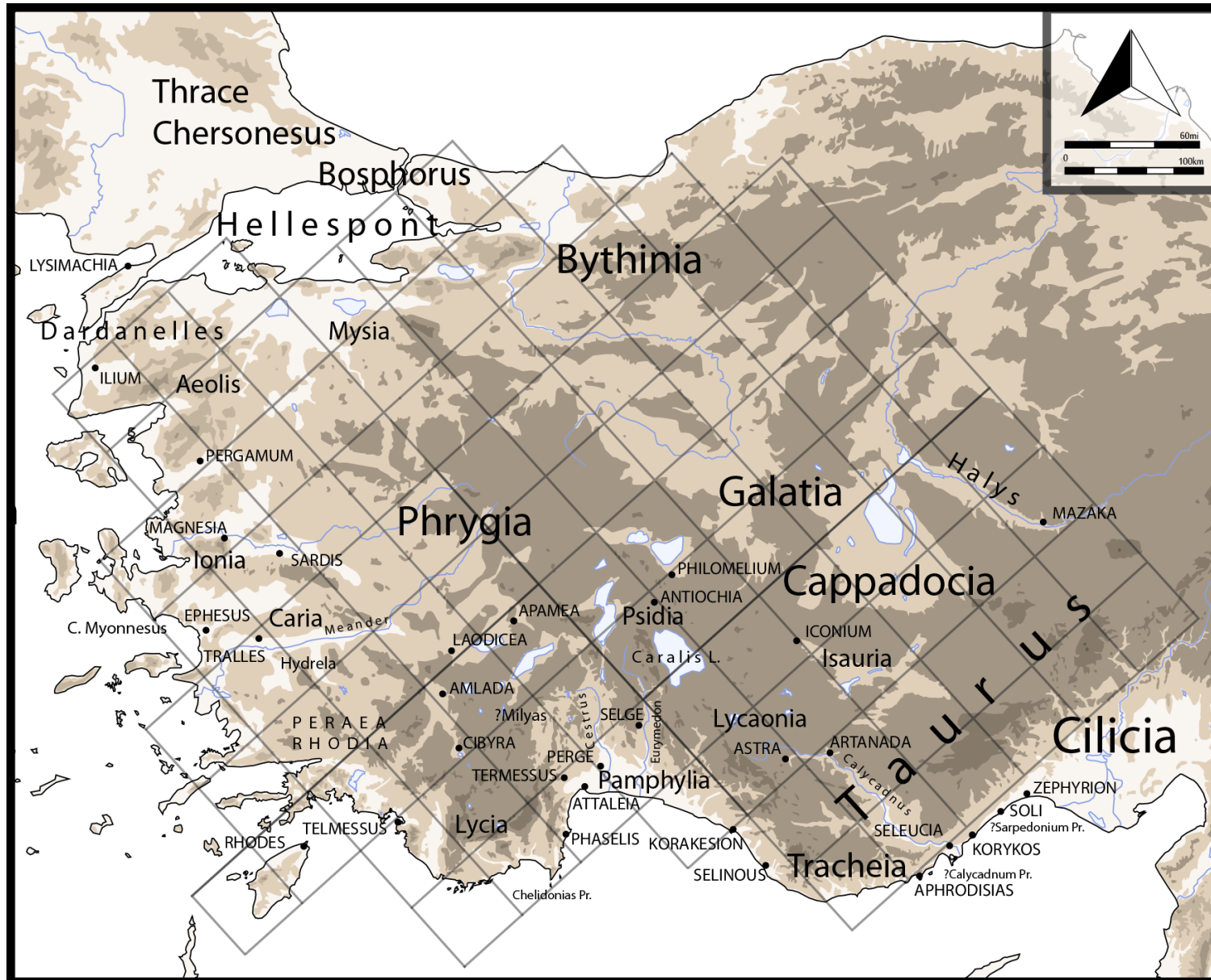


Figure 41 – Map 14. Anatolia. Visualisation of the geo-political grid, as superimposed to the physical map.

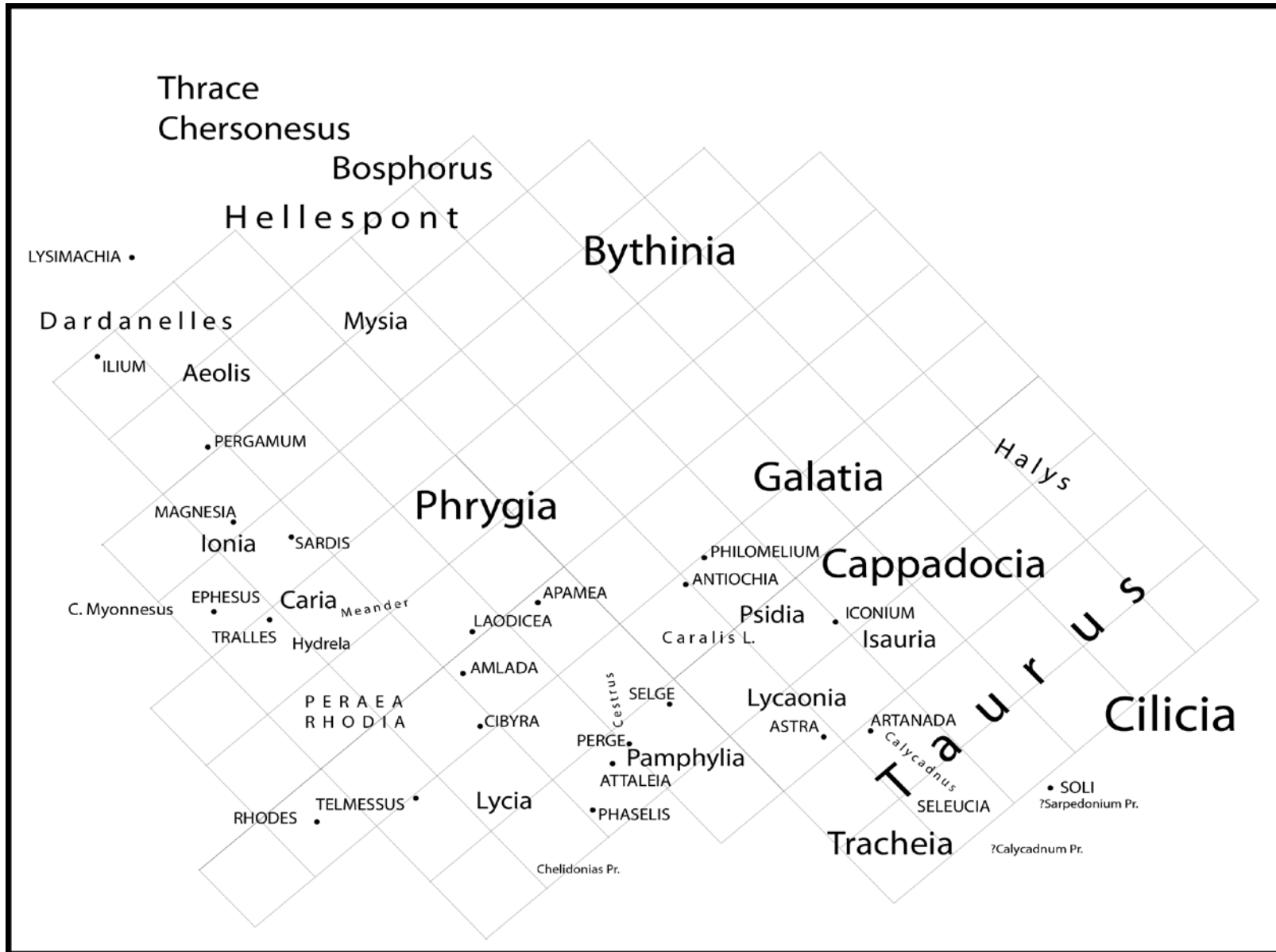


Figure 42 – Diagram 6. Anatolia. Geo-political grid, extrapolated (rendered) from the physical map.

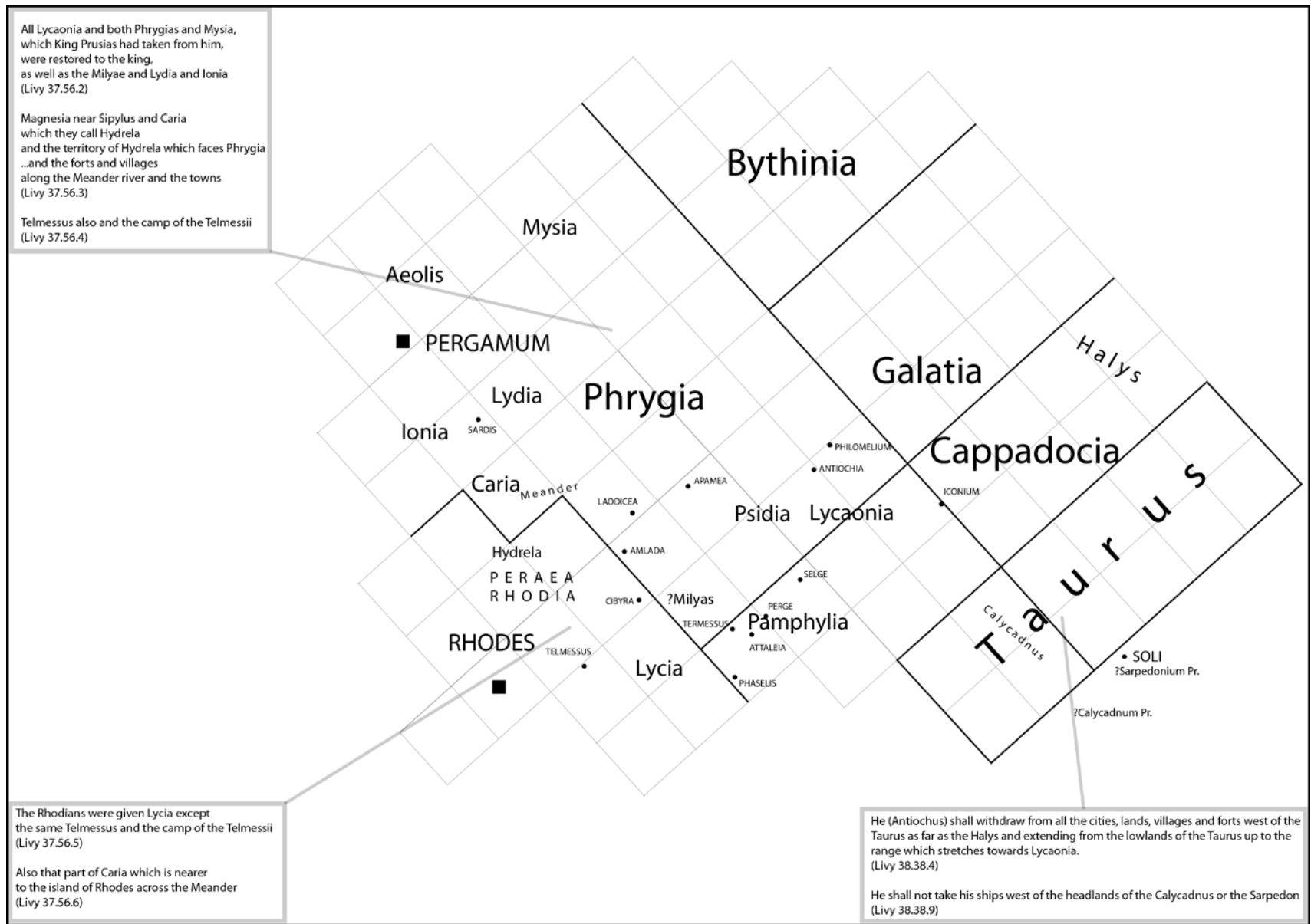


Figure 43 – Diagram 7. Anatolia. Geo-political grid, explained.

APPENDIX 2: List of the passages (*AUC*) mentioning the term *finis* and its classification

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TERM *FINIS*:

- A END OF SOMETHING (CENSO, SPEECH, WAR, DAY, KINGDOM)
- B₁ NATURAL FEATURE
- B₂ DELIMITING SACRED AREAS
- B₃ MENTIONED IN FETIALES' RITUAL
- B₄ GENERAL NON-SYNONYMOUS CONCEPT
- B₅ BELONGING TO A POPULATION
- B₆ BELONGING TO INHABITANTS OF A CITY
- B₇ BELONGING TO A GEOPOLITICAL ENTITY
- B₈ ROMANUS
- B₉ CONNECTED WITH CONCEPTUAL OR EFFECTIVE POWER (IMPERIUM, REGNUM, PROVINCIA, IURIS)
- B₁₀ STRONGHOLD, BULWARK, COLONY OR CAMP WORKING AS BORDER

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
1.11.1	<i>Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit</i>	Whilst the Romans were thus occupied, the army of the Antemnates seized the opportunity of their territory being unoccupied and made a raid into it. Romulus hastily led his legion against this fresh foe and surprised them as they were scattered over the fields.	INCURSIO FACERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	753-717	FINIS ROMANUS	B ₈
1.15.1	<i>Belli Fidenatis contagione inritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate – nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt -, et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam iusti more belli</i>	The contagion of the war-spirit in Fidenae infected the Veientes. This people were connected by ties of blood with the Fidenates, who were also Etruscans, and an additional incentive was supplied by the mere proximity of the place, should the arms of Rome be turned against all her neighbours. They made an incursion into Roman territory, rather for the sake of plunder than as an act of regular war.	EXCURRERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	753-717	FINIS ROMANUS	B ₈
1.32.12	<i>fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret et non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret:</i>	It was customary for the fetial to carry to the bounds of the other nation a cornet-wood spear, iron-pointed or hardened in the fire, and in the presence of not less than three grown men to say:	FERRE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	640-616		B ₃
1.32.13	<i>'quod populi Priscorum Latinorum homines que Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatus que populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populus que Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibus que Priscis Latinis bellum indico facio que' ... id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat</i>	It was customary for the fetial to carry to the bounds of the other nation a cornet-wood spear, iron-pointed or hardened in the fire, and in the presence of not less than three grown men to say: 'Whereas the tribes of the Ancient Latins and men of the Ancient Romans have been guilty of acts and offences against the Roman People of the Quirites; and whereas the Roman People of the Quirites has commanded that war be made on the Ancient Latins, and the Senate of the Roman People has approved, agreed, and voted a war with the Ancient Latins; I therefore and the Roman People declare and make war on the tribes of the Ancient Latins and the men of the Ancient Latins.' Having said this, he would hurl his spear into their territory.	EMITTO	IN	PLUR.	FINES	640-616		B ₃

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
1.10.5	<i>Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit ibi que ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis finis cognomen que addidit deo.</i>	He was no less anxious to display his achievements than he had been great in performing them, so, after leading his victorious army home, he mounted to the Capitol with the spoils of his dead foe borne before him on a frame constructed for the purpose. He hung them there on an oak, which the shepherds looked upon as a sacred tree, and at the same time marked out the site for the temple of Jupiter, and addressing the god by a new title, uttered the following invocation:	DESIGNARE		SING.	FINIS	753-717		B ₂
1.44.2	<i>ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit; id que conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est.</i>	There the whole army was drawn up, and a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull was offered by the king for its purification. This was termed the 'closing of the lustrum', because it was the last act in the enrolment.	CENSIRE/FACERE		SING.	FINIS	578-534		A
1.3.5	<i>pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinis que fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.</i>	When terms of peace were being arranged, the river Albula, now called the Tiber, had been fixed as the boundary between the Etruscans and the Latins.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	Iron Age		B ₁
1.55.3	<i>inter principia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere; id que omen augurium que ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unum que eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabilia que cuncta portendere.</i>	At the very time when he began this task the gods are said to have exerted their power to show the magnitude of this mighty empire. For whereas the birds permitted that the consecrations of all the other shrines should be rescinded, they refused their consent for the shrine of Terminus. This omen and augury was thus construed: the fact that the seat of Terminus was not moved, and that of all the gods he alone was not called away from the place consecrated to him, meant that the whole kingdom would be firm and steadfast.	EVOcare		PLUR.	FINIBUS	534-510	IMPERIUM	B ₂
1.56.3	<i>his laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeios que colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra mari que</i>	After making the plebeians toil at these hard tasks, the king felt that a populace which had now no work to do was only a burden to the City; he wished, moreover, by sending out settlers, to extend the frontiers of his dominions. He therefore sent colonists to Signia and Circei, to safeguard the City by land and sea.	OCCUPARE		PLUR.	FINES	534-510	IMPERIUM FINES	B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
1.18.7	<i>inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrum que capto deos precatu regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita precatu ita est: 'Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos finis, quos feci'</i>	After surveying the prospect over the City and surrounding country, he offered prayers and marked out the heavenly regions by an imaginary line from east to west; the southern he defined as 'the right hand', the northern as 'the left hand.' He then fixed upon an object, as far as he could see, as a corresponding mark, and then transferring the lituus to his left hand, he laid his right upon Numa's head and offered this prayer: 'Father Jupiter, if it be heaven's will that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king of Rome, do thou signify it to us by sure signs within those boundaries which I have traced.' Then he described in the usual formula the augury which he desired should be sent. They were sent, and Numa being by them manifested to be king, came down from the 'templum.'	ADCLARARE	INTER	PLUR.	FINES	716		B ₂
1.32.6	<i>legatus ubi ad finis eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo – lanae velamen est'</i>	When the envoy has arrived at the frontiers of the people from whom satisfaction is sought, he covers his head with a bonnet —the covering is of wool — and says:	VENIRE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	640-616		B ₃
1.32.6	<i>audi, Iuppiter', inquit; 'audite, finis' – cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat – ; 'audiat fas: ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pie que legatus venio verbis que meis fides sit'</i>	'Hear, Jupiter; hear, ye boundaries of' —naming whatever nation they belong to; —'let righteousness hear! I am the public herald of the Roman People; I come duly and religiously commissioned; let my words be credited',			PLUR.	FINES	640-616		B ₃
1.32.8	<i>haec, cum finis superscandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis concipiendi que iuris iurandi mutatis peragit.</i>	These words he rehearses when he crosses the boundary line, the same to what man soever first meets him, the same when he enters the city gates, the same when he has come into the market-place, with only a few changes in the form and wording of the oath.	SUPERSCANDERE		SING.	FINIS	640-616		B ₃
2.11.10	<i>Finisque ille tam effuse vagandi Etruscis fuit.</i>	Thus the raiders were hemmed in and cut to pieces, for they were no match for the Romans in fighting strength, and were shut off from every line of retreat. This was the last time the Etruscans roamed so far afield.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	58		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
1.33.9	<i>nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae egregie que rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata</i>	And this reign was a period of growth, not only for the City, but also for her lands and boundaries. The Maesian Forest was taken from the Veientes, extending Rome's dominion clear to the sea; at the Tiber's mouth the city of Ostia was founded, and salt-works were established near-by; while in recognition of signal success in war the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.	CREO		PLUR.	FINES	640-616	IMPERIUM	B ₄
1.50.8	<i>is finis orationi fuit; aversi omnes ad Tarquinius salutandum.</i>	This was the end of the speech; all turned to salute Tarquinius.	FACERE		SING.	FINIS	534-510		A
2.15.3	<i>ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius quam regibus portas patefacere; ea esse vota omnium, ut, qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit.</i>	The Roman people were not living under a monarchy, but were free. They had resolved to throw open their gates to enemies sooner than to kings; in this prayer they were all united, that the day which saw the end of liberty in their City might also see the City's end.	ESSE	IN	SING.	FINIS	57-56		A
2.53.4	<i>Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequi que in Latino agro posuerant castra populati que fines errant.</i>	While these victories were being won at Veii, the Volsci and the Aequi had encamped on Latin soil, and had laid waste the country.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINES	476-475		B ₁₀
2.16.8	<i>fuso que ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsus est</i>	Upon the defeat of the great army which had boldly issued forth to meet the invasion of their territory by the consuls, the whole weight of the Auruncan war fell upon Pometia.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	505-503	AURUNCI	B ₅
2.30.8	<i>oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent</i>	Emissaries from the Latins begged the senate either to send them help or permit them to take up arms themselves in defence of their country.	TUERE		PLUR.	FINIUM	494		B ₄
2.40.7	<i>non tibi quamvis infesto animo et minaci [perveneras] ingredienti fines ira cecidit?</i>	Did not your anger fall from you, no matter how hostile and threatening your spirit when you came, as you passed the boundary? Did it not come over you, when Rome lay before your eyes: 'Within those walls are my home and my gods, my mother, my wife, and my children?'	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	488-487		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
2.9.3	<i>nisi, quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos homines que pulcherrimae.</i>	Unless the energy with which nations sought to obtain it were matched by the efforts which kings put forth to defend their power, the highest would be reduced to the level of the lowest; there would be nothing lofty, nothing that stood out above the rest of the state; there was the end of monarchy, the noblest institution known to gods or men.	ADESSE		SING.	FINEM	58		A
2.30.9	<i>Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit.</i>	It seemed safer that the Latins should be defended without arming them, than that they should be suffered to resume their weapons. Vetusius the consul was dispatched to them, and this ended the pillaging.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	494		A
3.16.1	<i>praeter ea tamen, quae denuntiabantur, ne Veientium neu Sabinorum id consilium esset timere et, cum tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinae Etruscae que legiones ex composito adessent, tum aeterni hostes Volsci et Aequi non ad populandos, ut ante, fines, sed ad urbem ut ex parte captam venirent</i>	The situation became clearer to the senators and the consuls. Still, besides the dangers with which they were publicly threatened, they were afraid that this might be a ruse of the Veientes or the Sabines, and that while there were so many enemies within the City, Sabine and Etruscan levies might presently combine for an invasion; or again that their perpetual foes, the Volsci and Aequi, might come, not as before to lay waste their fields, but to the City, which they would regard as already partly captured.	POPULO	AD	PLUR.	FINES	460		B ₄
3.2.12	<i>non tamen sustinere aciem Romanam Aequi; pulsi que cum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilo inclinioribus ad pacem animis ferox multitudo increpare duces, quod in aciem, qua pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit;</i>	Nevertheless they were unable to withstand the attack of the Romans. And yet, when they had been defeated and had fallen back to their own territory, the warlike soldiers, their spirit as little inclined to peace as ever, complained against their generals for having staked the cause on a pitched battle, a species of fighting in which the Romans excelled;	RECIPERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	466-465	AEQUI	B ₅
2.63.7	<i>deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium, quam intulerant, acceperunt.</i>	A few days after this they themselves had to confront two armies, for both the consuls indignantly invaded their borders, and they suffered greater losses than they had themselves inflicted.	INGREDERE	IN	SING.	FINIS	469	SABINI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
2.45.9	<i>accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe inpune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse imperio.</i>	Then the consuls issued an order to abstain from fighting, declaring that if any man fought without orders they should treat him as an enemy. Dismissed with these words, the less inclination the soldiers discovered in the consuls the greater became their own eagerness for the fray.	VENIRE		SING.	FINEM	480	IMPERIUM ROMANUS	B ₉
2.49.9	<i>et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem fecere.</i>	And so long as nothing more than plundering was afoot the Fabii were not only an adequate garrison for the fort, but in all that region where the Tuscan territory marches with the Roman they afforded universal security to their own countrymen and annoyance to the enemy, by ranging along the border on both sides.	FACERE	PER	SING.	FINEM	479-478		B ₁
3.3.1	<i>Relicto itaque castris praesidio egressi tanto cum tumultu invasere fines Romanos, ut ad urbem quoque terrorem pertulerint</i>	. Leaving a garrison, therefore, in their camp, they crossed the Roman border in so headlong an incursion as to carry terror even to the City.	INVADERE		PLUR.	FINES	466-465	ROMANUS	B ₄ B ₁₀
3.26.2	<i>alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit castris que ad Eretum positis per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut comparati ad eam prope intacti bello fines Romani viderentur</i>	Pitching his camp at Eretum, he sent out little expeditions, chiefly nocturnal raiding parties, and so liberally repaid on their own fields the depredations of the Sabines, that the Roman territories in comparison seemed scarcely to have been touched by war.			PLUR.	FINES	458	ROMANUS	B ₈
3.36.1	<i>Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit; suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit novos que collegas, iam priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare.</i>	Appius now threw off the mask he had been wearing, and began from that moment to live as his true nature prompted him. His new colleagues too he commenced, even before they entered upon office, to fashion after his own character.			SING.	FINIS	450		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
3.44.1	<i>Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu, quam quod per stuprum caedem que Lucretiae urbe regno que Tarquinius expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset.</i>	This outrage was followed by another, committed in Rome, which was inspired by lust and was no less shocking in its consequences than that which had led, through the rape and the death of Lucretia, to the expulsion of the Tarquinius from the City and from their throne; thus not only did the same end befall the decemvirs as had befallen the kings, but the same cause deprived them of their power.				SING. FINIS	449	IMPERIUM	A
3.5.12.	<i>difficile ad fidem est in tam antiqua re, quot pugnaverint ceciderint ve, exacto adfirmare numero; audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas: Romanorum cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque milia octingentos, ex praedatoribus Aequorum, qui populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur, ab A. Postumio consule duo milia et quadringentos caesos; ceteram multitudinem praedam agentem, quae inciderit in Quinctium, nequaquam pari defunctam esse caede; interfecta inde quattuor milia et exequendo subtiliter numerum ducentos ait et triginta.</i>	It is hard to make a trustworthy statement, in a matter of such antiquity, as to just how many fought and how many fell; yet Valerius Antias ventures to specify the totals, saying that the Romans lost five thousand eight hundred in the country of the Hernici; that of the Aequian marauders who were roaming about and pillaging within the Roman borders two thousand four hundred were slain by Aulus Postumius, the consul; and that the rest of the expedition, which stumbled upon Quinctius as they were driving off their booty, got off by no means so lightly, for their killed amounted, so he says, with minute particularity, to four thousand two hundred and thirty.	VAGARE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	464	ROMANUS	B ₈
3.67.10	<i>qui finis erit discordiarum? ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit?</i>	What end will there be to our dissensions? Will a time ever come when we can have a united City? Will a time ever come when this can be our common country?	ESSE			SING. FINIS	446		A
3.71.1	<i>Victoriam honestam ex hostibus partam turpe domi de finibus sociorum iudicium populi deformavit.</i>	The glory of defeating the enemy was sullied by a shameful judgment given by the people in Rome regarding the boundaries of her allies.	DEFORMO	DE	PLUR.	FINIBUS	446		B ₂
3.5.4	<i>L Valerius ad praesidium urbis relictus, consul Postumius ad arcendas populationes finium missus</i>	Lucius Valerius was left to defend the City, while the consul p. Postumius was sent out to protect the frontier from pillage.	MITTERE			PLUR. FINIUM	464	ROMAE	B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
3.23.7	<i>ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines ingenti certamine hinc Volscos, hinc Aequos populantur</i>	Thus at two points the consuls invaded the enemy's borders, and with keen rivalry devastated the lands of the Volsci on the one hand, and those of the Aequi on the other.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	460	VOLSCI - AEQUI	B ₅
3.19.8	<i>cum hostes in arce, in Capitolio essent, exulum et servorum dux profanatis omnibus in cella Iovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi ante quam Romae sumpta sunt arma; in dubio fuit, utrum L. Mamilius, Tusculanus dux, an Valerius et C. Claudius consules Romanam arcem liberarent; et qui ante Latinos ne pro se quidem ipsis, cum in finibus hostem haberent, attingere arma passis sumus, nunc, nisi Latini sua sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti eramus.</i>	When foes were in the Citadel, foes in the Capitol, when the captain of slaves and exiles, profaning everything, was quartered in the very shrine of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, it was Tusculum —not Rome —where the first sword was drawn. It was a question whether Lucius Mamilius, the Tusculan general, or Publius Valerius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls, would free the Roman Citadel; and we who until then did not allow the Latins to touch their weapons, even in their own defence, though they had an enemy within their borders, had now, unless the Latins had armed of their own free will, been taken captive and destroyed.	HABERE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	460		B ₄
3.6.4	<i>vix instantes sustinentibus clades repente legati Hernici nuntiant in agro suo Aequos Volscos que coniunctis copiis castra posuisse; inde exercitu ingenti fines suos depopulari</i>	when suddenly envoys from the Hernici appeared, announcing that the Aequi and the Volsci had joined forces and established a camp in their territory, from which base they were devastating their land with an enormous army.	DEPOPULAARE		PLUR.	FINES	463	HERNICI	B ₅
3.3.7	<i>vocato dein senatu cum ex auctoritate patrum iustitio indicto profectus ad tutandos fines esset Q Servilio praefecto urbis relicto, hostem in agris non invenit</i>	After that he set out to defend the frontier, leaving Quintus Servilius as prefect of the City, but did not meet with the enemy in the field.	TUERE		PLUR.	FINES	466-465	ROMAE	B ₄
3.31.7	<i>tum abiecta lege, quae promulgata consenuerat, tribuni lenius agere cum patribus: finem tandem certaminum facerent.</i>	Then the tribunes, discarding the law, which, in the time it had been before the people, had lost its vitality, began to treat more moderately with the patricians: Let them at last put an end, they said, to these disputes;	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	456-454		A
3.52.6	<i>si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis?</i>	'If the decemvirs persist in their obstinacy, will you suffer everything to go to wrack and ruin?	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	449		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
3.25.9	<i>Romam ut rediere legati, senatus iussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidum exercitum ducere, alteri populationem finium Aequorum provinciam dedit</i>	On the return of the envoys to Rome, the senate ordered one consul to lead an army to Algidus, against Gracchus, and to the other assigned the task of devastating the territories of the Aequi.	DARE		PLUR.	FINIUM	458	AEQUI	B ₅
3.8.4	<i>igitur nuntiantibus Hernicis in fines suos transcendisse hostis inpigre promissum auxilium.</i>	Accordingly, when the Hernici reported that the enemy had crossed their borders, they were promptly offered assistance.	IGITUR	IN	SING.	FINIS	462	HERNICI	B ₅
3.4.8	<i>Neque is finis periculi fuit; namque et proxima nocte et postero die tanta vi castra sunt circumsessa atque oppugnata, ut ne nuntius quidem inde mitti Romam posset.</i>	At the first attack he was repulsed and withdrew into his camp. Nor did this end his danger, for both that night and the following day his camp was so vigorously hemmed in and assaulted that not even a messenger could be got off to Rome.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	464		A
3.3.9	<i>sic finem iustitio, quod quadriduum fuit, reditus Quincti consulis in urbem fecit.</i>	So the suspension of the courts, which had lasted four days, was lifted on the return of the consul Quinctius to the City.			SING.	FINEM	466-465		A
4.2.1	<i>negabant consules iam ultra ferri posse furores tribunicios; ventum iam ad finem esse; domi plus belli concitari quam foris.</i>	and the tribune was arousing the people against the consuls. The consuls declared that the frenzy of the tribunes could no longer be endured; the end had now been reached, and there was more war being stirred up at home than abroad.	ESSE	AD	SING.	FINEM	445		A
4.2.10	<i>Quia tum concessum sit de tribunis, iterum concessum esse; finem non fieri.</i>	Because they had yielded then, in the matter of the tribunes, they had yielded a second time;	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	445		A
3.71.6	<i>eo rem se vetustate obliteratam, ceterum suae memoriae infixam adferre, agrum, de quo ambigitur, finium Coriolanorum fuisse captis que Coriolis iure belli publicum populi Romani factum</i>	Hence it came that he was telling them of a matter forgotten with the lapse of years, but fixed in his own memory, namely that the disputed land had been a part of the territory of Corioli, and had consequently, on the capture of that town, become, by right of conquest, the property of the Roman People.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINIUM	446	CORIOLANI	B ₆
3.70.7	<i>is finis pugnae equestris fuit.</i>	His words did not fall upon deaf ears. With a single rush the Romans routed the entire body of cavalry.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	446		A
3.58.9	<i>Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est et ante iudicii diem finem ibi vitae fecit.</i>	Oppius too was led to prison, and before the day of trial he there put an end to his life.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	449		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
3.7.8	<i>stratae passim matres crinibus templa verrentes veniam irarum caelestium finemque pesti exposcunt.</i>	Everywhere were prostrate matrons, sweeping the floors of the temples with their hair, while they besought the angry gods to grant them pardon and end the pestilence.	EXPONERE		SING.	FINEM	463		A
4.2.4	<i>Finem ergo non fieri nec futuram, donec, quam felices seditiones, tam honorati seditionum auctores essent.</i>	There was no end in sight, nor would be, so long as the fomenters of insurrection were honoured in proportion to the success of their projects.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	445		A
4.55.1	<i>Sed nulla erat consularis actio, quam impediendo id, quod petebant exprimerent, cum mira opportunitate Volscos et Aequos praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum Latinum Hernicum que adfertur</i>	But the consuls had no measure on foot which the tribunes could oppose and so wring from them what they wanted, when, by a wonderful piece of luck, the Volsci and Aequi were reported to have crossed the border and raided the lands of the Latins and the Hernici.	EXIRE	EXTRAPLUR.		FINES	409	LATINI / HERNICI	B ₅
4.58.1	<i>quibus venientibus ad finem legatio Veientium obviam fuit.</i>	Arriving at the frontier, these men were met by an embassy of the Veientes,	ESSE	AD	SING.	FINEM	46		B ₃
4.39.4	<i>diversi Volsci hinc consulem ac legiones sustinere, altera fronte instare Tempanio atque equitibus; qui cum saepe conati nequissent perrumpere ad suos, tumulo quodam occupato in orbem se tutabantur nequaquam inulti; nec pugnae finis ante noctem fuit.</i>	The Volscians, facing two ways, sustained on one side the onset of the consul and the legions, and on the other front pressed home their attack upon Tempanius and his troopers; who, having failed, in spite of many attempts, to force their way through to their friends, had seized a certain mound and, forming a circle, were defending themselves, not without taking vengeance on their assailants. The battle did not end till nightfall.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	423		A
4.59.2	<i>tres tribuni, postquam nullo loco castra Volscorum esse nec commissuros se proelio apparuit, tripertito ad devastandos fines discessere</i>	The three tribunes, on its appearing that the Volsci had no camp anywhere and did not propose to risk a battle, divided their army into three and advanced in different directions to lay waste the country.	DISCEDERE		PLUR.	FINES	46	VOLSCI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
4.33.5	<i>agite,. nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque memores vertite incendium hoc in hostium urbem et suis flammis delete Fidenas, quas vestris beneficiis placare non potuistis. legatorum hoc vos vestrorum colonorumque sanguis vastatique fines monent'. ad imperium dictatoris mota cuncta acies.</i>	Will you not seize these self-same brands, and each for himself —if we must fight with fire, not with javelins —attack them with their own weapons? Come, call to mind the Roman name, your fathers' valour and your own; turn this blaze upon the enemy's city and destroy Fidenae with its own flames, since your kindness was powerless to gain its friendship! The blood of your envoys and your colonists and your devastated borders exhort you to do as I say.'	MONERE		PLUR.	FINES	426		B ₂
4.6.3	<i>plebes ad id maxime indignatione exarsit, quod auspicari, tamquam invisi diis immortalibus, negarentur posse; nec ante finis contentionum fuit, cum et tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset et ipsa cum eo pertinacia certaret, quam victi tandem patres, ut de conubio ferretur, concessere, ita maxime rati contentionem de plebeis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros aut post bellum dilaturos esse contentam que interim conubio plebem paratam dilectui fore.</i>	At this the plebs fairly blazed with indignation, because it was declared that; they could not take auspices, as though they were hated by the immortal gods; nor was the controversy ended —for the plebeians had got a most energetic champion in their tribune, and rivalled him themselves in determination, —until at last the patricians were beaten, and allowed the law regarding intermarriage to be passed, chiefly because they thought that so the tribunes would either wholly give over their contention for plebeian consuls or would postpone it until after the war, and that the plebs meantime, contented with the right to intermarry, would be ready to submit to the levy.	ESSE	ANTE	SING.	FINIS	445		A
4.24.7	<i>Deposito suo magistratu, inposito fine alteri cum gratulatione ac favore ingenti populi domum est reductus</i>	Thus, having resigned his own magistracy and assigned a limit for the other, he was escorted to his home by the people, with striking manifestations of rejoicing and good-will.	INPONERE		SING.	FINE	434		A
4.49.5	<i>quam noxam cum se consensu omnium Aequorum defensuros sperassent, deserti ab suis ne memorabili quidem bello per obsidionem levem que unam pugnam et oppidum et fines amisere</i>	The consequences of this outrage they had hoped to avoid by means of the co-operation of all the Aequi; but, having been abandoned by their friends, they lost their town and their lands, in a war which does not even merit description, as the result of a siege and a single skirmish.	AMISERE		PLUR.	FINES	415-414		B ₁₀

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
4.54.6	<i>pro ingenti itaque victoria id fuit plebi, quaesturam que eam non honoris ipsius fine aestimabant, sed patefactus ad consulatum ac triumphos locus novis hominibus videbatur</i>	And so the plebs felt that they had won a great victory, not estimating the significance of that quaestorship by the limits of the office itself, but feeling that the way to consulships and triumphs was thrown open to new men.	AESTIMARE		SING.	FINE	413		A
4.56.6	<i>iam non exercitus modo armatos, sed colonias etiam in suos fines mitti; nec ipsos modo Romanos sua divisa habere, sed Ferentinum etiam de se captum Hernicis donasse.</i>	They would presently be sending out, not merely armed expeditions across their borders, but colonies too; and not only, they said, had the Romans divided up their possessions amongst themselves, but they had even taken Ferentinum from them and bestowed it on the Hernici.	MITTERE	IN	SING.	FINES	48	ANTIATES / VERRUGO	B ₆ B ₁₀
4.58.6	<i>Insequenti anno et Cn. Corneliis Cossis, Num. Fabio Ambusto, L. Valerio Potito tribunis militum consulari potestate Veiens bellum motum ob superbum responsum Veientis senatus, qui legatis repetentibus res, ni facessero prope ex urbe finibusque, daturos, quod Lars Tolumnius dedisset, responderi iussit.</i>	The following year, when Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus were consular tribunes, war broke out with Veii on account of the insolent reply of the Veientine senate, who, when envoys demanded restitution of them, bade them be ?? answered that unless they got quickly out from their city and their borders, they would give them what Lars Tolumnius had given the others.	IUBERE	EX	PLUR.	FINIBUS	46		B ₄
5.1.1	<i>Pace alibi parta Romani Vei que in armis erant tanta ira odio que, ut victis finem adesse appareret.</i>	Peace was now established elsewhere, but Romans and Veientes were at war, and their rage and animosity were such that the end was clearly at hand for those that should be vanquished.	ADESSE		SING.	FINEM	403		A
4.51.7	<i>Eodem anno adversus Volscos populantes Hernicorum fines legiones ductae a Furio consule, cum hostem ibi non invenissent, Ferentinum, quo magna multitudo Volscorum se contulerat, cepere</i>	The same year the Volsci laid waste the borders of the Hernici, and the legions were led out to meet them by the consul Furius. Not finding the enemy there, they captured Ferentinum, to which a great number of Volsci had retired.	DUCERE		PLUR.	FINES	413	HERNICI	B ₅
5.21.13	<i>is finis sanguinis fuit.</i>	This ended the slaughter.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	396		A
5.29.1	<i>Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum et patres reficere intercessores legis adnisi sunt; sed plus suis comitiis plebs valuit.</i>	The measures introduced by the tribunes of the plebs being still undecided, the commons strove to prolong the tenure of the supporters of the bill, and the patricians to re-elect the tribunes who had vetoed it.	INVENIRE		SING.	FINEM	393		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
5.3.1	<i>Is tum iam non promptus ingenio tantum, sed usu etiam exercitatus talem orationem habuit: 'si umquam dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestra, an sua causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno desisse dubitari certum habeo; et cum laetor tandem longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quod secundis potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis et propter vos rei publicae gratulor.</i>	The man not only had a nimble wit but was already a practised orator, and he delivered on this occasion a speech to the following effect: 'If it has ever been a question, Quirites, whether it was for your sake or their own that the tribunes of the commons have always encouraged sedition, I am certain that the doubt has this year been resolved; and not only do I rejoice that you have at length cleared up a long misunderstanding, but I congratulate both you, – and on your account the state as well, that it has happened at a time, of all others, when your affairs are prospering.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	403		A
5.4.10	<i>perficietur autem, si urgemus obsessos, si non ante abscedimus, quam spei nostrae finem captis Veis inposuerimus.</i>	And we shall end it, if we press our beleaguered foes, and quit them not till we have fulfilled our hopes and captured Veii.	INPONERE		SING.	FINEM	403		A
5.13.4	<i>cuius insanabili pernicipi quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatus consulto aditi sunt.</i>	Unable to discover what caused the incurable ravages of this distemper, or would put an end to them, the senate voted to consult the Sibylline Books.	INVENIRE		SING.	FINIS	399		A
5.46.10	<i>missi que Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu [quod] magis credere libet non prius profectum ab Ardea, quam conpererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere.</i>	whence envoys were despatched to Ardea for Camillus, and fetched him to Veii; or rather —as I prefer to believe that he did not quit Ardea until he had learnt that the law was passed, since he could not change his residence without the People's command, nor take the auspices in the army till he had been appointed dictator—the curiate law was passed and Camillus declared dictator, in his absence.	MUTARE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	390		B ₄
5.5.11	<i>videte, quot res quam inutiles sequantur illam viam consilii, iactura operum tanto labore factorum, vastatio imminens finium nostrorum, Etruscum bellum pro Veiente concitatum</i>	See how many undesirable consequences attend that line of policy: the loss of works constructed with such effort; the imminent devastation of our fields; the Etruscans, instead of the Veientes only, aroused to war with us.	VASTARE		PLUR.	FINIUM	403	NOSTRI	B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
5.12.5	<i>a M Furio in Faliscis et a Cn Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi; praedae actae incendiis que villarum ac frugum vastati fines; oppida nec oppugnata nec obsessa sunt</i>	Marcus Furius in the Faliscan country, and Gnaeus Cornelius in the territory of Capena, meeting no enemies afield, drove off booty, and burning farmhouses and crops, laid waste the land, but the towns they neither assaulted nor besieged;	VASTARE		PLUR.	FINES	400		B ₁₀
5.35.3	<i>tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere</i>	Then the Senones, the latest to come, had their holdings from the river Utens all the way to the Aesis.	HABERE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	391		B ₁
5.36.3	<i>et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem, quam illi adferant, aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse</i>	and inasmuch as they had chosen to defend their allies by negotiation rather than by the sword, they would not, for their own part, spurn the peace which the Romans proposed, if the men of Clusium, who possessed more land than they could till, would surrender to the Gauls, who needed land, a portion of their territory; on no other terms could they consider granting peace.	CONCEDERE		PLUR.	FINIUM	390	CLUSIUM	B ₆
5.5.3	<i>non differimus igitur bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostros accipimus</i>	So we are not postponing the war, if we act on your advice, but are receiving it within our own borders.	ACCIPERE	INTRA	PLUR.	FINES	403		B ₄
5.28.6	<i>primo rem communiter gesserunt; fuis inde acie hostibus Aemilium praesidio Verruginem obtinere placuit, Postumium fines vastare.</i>	At first they exercised the command conjointly; afterwards, when they had routed the enemy in battle, they arranged that Aemilius should hold Verrugo with a garrison, while Postumius should lay waste the country.	VASTARE		PLUR.	FINES	394	AEQUI	B ₄
5.5.6	<i>cum tantum laboris exhaustum sit et ad finem iam operis tandem perventum, relinquenda ne haec censeatis, ut ad aestatem rursus novus de integro his instituendis exsudetur labor?</i>	When they have expended all this labour, and the end of their task is at last in sight, do you: vote for abandoning these things, that when summer comes they may sweat and toil again to produce them afresh?	PERVENIRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	403		A
5.51.6	<i>iam omnium primum Veiens bellum – per quot annos quanto labore gestum! – non ante cepit finem, quam monitu deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est.</i>	First of all, the war with Veii. How many years we fought, and with what painful exertion! And the end came not, until, admonished by Heaven, we drew the water off from the Alban Lake.	CAPERE		SING.	FINEM	390		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
6.18.16	<i>. inde de regno agendi ortum initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint, satis planum traditur.</i>	It was thus, they say, that the agitation for kingly power was begun; but there is no very clear tradition with whom or to what length his plans were matured.	PERVENIRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	384		A
5.6.8	<i>nihil deinde timeat, an hic sit terror nominis nostri, ut exercitum Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsessa semel amovere possit nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit nec impetu potius bella quam perseverantia gerat?</i>	or whether our name inspire such dread, that men believe that once a Roman army has sat down before a town, it will never budge, either from the weariness of a protracted siege or from the rigours of winter, that it knows no other end of war but victory, and relies in its campaigns not more on swiftness than on perseverance?			SING.	FINEM	403		A
6.31.2	<i>cuius noscendi gratia Sp Servilius Priscus Q Cloelius Siculus censores facti, ne rem agerent, bello impediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde ex agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines populari que passim Romanum agrum attulere</i>	But when Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Cloelius Siculus had been made censors in order that they might investigate the situation, they were prevented from doing so by a war; for first frightened messengers, and then the country-folk fleeing from the fields, brought word that the Volscian legions had crossed the border, and were everywhere devastating Roman territory.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	378	ROMANUS	B ₈
6.41.11	<i>tanta dulcedo est ex alienis fortunis praedandi, nec in mentem venit altera lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo finibus dominos, altera fidem abrogari, cum qua omnis humana societas tollitur?</i>	of others. Is it so sweet to plunder others of their fortunes? Does it not occur to them that one of their laws will make vast deserts in the country-side, by driving the landlords out from their demesnes, while the other will wipe out credit, and with it all	PELLERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	368		B ₄
6.33.2.	<i>finis certaminis fuit, postquam utrisque apparuit nihil per alteros stare, quo minus incepta persequerentur.</i>	the Latins had but just revolted after a long peace; their spirits were still fresh; and they meant to continue boldly with the war. The dispute came to an end as soon as each party saw that the other could not prevent it in any way from carrying out its policy.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	377		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
6.19.4	<i>Tum tribuni consulari potestate tribuni que plebi – nam ei, quia eundem et suae potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dediderant – hi tum omnes, quid opus facto sit, consultant.</i>	Thereupon the consular tribunes and the tribunes of the plebs —for they too, perceiving that their own authority would come to an end with the general liberty, had made their submission to the Fathers — all these men, I say, thereupon took counsel together, what was needful to be done.	CERNERE		SING.	FINEM			A
6.13.6	<i>fugae sequendi que non ante noctem finis fuit.</i>	Flight and pursuit continued until nightfall.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	385		A
6.25.7	<i>Intrantibus fines Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis itineri locis, non cultus agrorum intermissus, patentibus portis urbis togati obviam frequentes imperatoribus processere, commeatus exercitui comiter in castra ex urbe et ex agris devehitur</i>	When the Romans entered their territory, they did not withdraw from the places near the line of march, nor break off their labour in the fields; the gates of their city stood wide open; the citizens, wearing the toga, came out in great numbers to meet the generals;	INTRARE		PLUR.	FINES	382-381	ROMANUS	B ₈
6.27.7	<i>passim iam sine ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis, Hernicis, Praenestinis iam intentari arma civium magis quam hostium odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de levando faenore et fine aliarum iniuriarum agentem quod si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis,</i>	wars were now sought indiscriminately, far and wide; from Antium the legions had been marched to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitrae, from there to Tusculum; now it was the Latins, the Hernici and the Praenestini who were threatened with attack, more out of hatred of Rome's citizens than of her enemies. The object was to wear the plebeians out with service and give them no time to take breath in the City, or leisure to bethink them of liberty or to stand in the assembly, where they might sometimes hear the voice of a tribune urging the reduction of interest and the removal of their other grievances.			SING.	FINE	380		A
6.9.11.	<i>magna caedes fugientium et in urbe et per agros est facta plures a Furianis intra moenia caesi; Valeriani expeditiores ad persequendos fuere nec ante noctem, quae conspectum ademit, finem caedendi fecere.</i>	Great was the carnage they suffered as they fled, both in the city and in the fields. Furius's men slew more within the walls; the soldiers of Valerius were more lightly equipped for pursuit, and kept up the massacre until night made it impossible to see.	CADERE		SING.	FINEM	386		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
6.31.7	<i>quippe a Volscis timentibus, ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret, incursiones in extrema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in hostico morandi causa erat, ut hostem ad certamen eliceret</i>	In fact, the Volsci had confined their pillaging to the borders, because of their fear lest an army might come out from Rome while they were at it; the Romans, on the contrary, were partly actuated, in remaining on hostile ground, by the desire of luring the enemy into a battle.	FACERE	IN	PLUR.	FINIUM	378	EXTREMA ROMANUS	B ₄
6.21.9	<i>De Praenestinatorum quoque defectione eo anno primum fama exorta; arguentibus que eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Labicanis, quorum in fines incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum est, ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret</i>	The Praenestines, too, were that year, for the first time, reported as disloyal; evidence against them was given by the Tusculans, the Gabini, and the Labicani, whose borders they had invaded; but the senate returned so mild an answer that it was evident that they refused to believe in the charges because they wished them not to be true.	INCURRERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	383	TUSCULANI/ GABINI /LABICANI	B ₆
6.4.8	<i>exercitum alterum in Aequos non ad bellum – victos namque se fatebantur – sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines, ne quid ad nova consilia relinqueretur virium, duxere, alterum in agrum Tarquiniensem</i>	These men led one army against the Aequi, not to war —for they confessed themselves vanquished — but from hatred, in order to waste, their territories and leave them with no strength to make new trouble; with another they invaded the district of Tarquini, where they captured by assault the Etruscan towns Cortuosa and Contenebra.	PERVASTARE		PLUR.	FINES	388	AEQUI	B ₅
6.42.9	<i>et ne is quidem finis certaminum fuit.</i>	The dictator was awarded a triumph with the consent of both senate and plebs. Hardly had Camillus brought the war to an end, when he was confronted with a fiercer opposition in the City. After desperate struggles the senate and the dictator were beaten, and the measures advocated by the tribunes were adopted.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	368		A
7.39.12	<i>patriciae hic vir gentis erat, cui cum militiae magna cum gloria actae finem pes alter ex vulnere claudus fecisset, ruri agere vitam procul ambitione ac foro constituit.</i>	This man, who belonged to a noble family, had won great distinction in the wars, but lameness in one of his feet, resulting from a wound, had put an end to his campaigning, and had determined him to take up his residence in the country, far from the Forum and from politics.			SING.	FINEM	342		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
7.38.2	<i>neque ita rei gestae fama Italiae se finibus tenuit, sed Carthaginenses quoque legatos gratulatum Romam misere cum coronae aureae dono, quae in Capitolio in Iovis cella poneretur.</i>	Nor was the fame of this success confined to Italy; even the Carthaginians sent their envoys to Rome, with congratulations and the gift of a golden crown, weighing five and twenty pounds, to be placed in the shrine of Jupiter on the Capitol.	TENERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	342		B ₇
7.19.6	<i>In bellum Etruscum intentam civitatem, quia Caeritem populum misericordia consanguinitatis Tarquiniensibus adiunctum fama ferebatur, legati Latini ad Volscos convertere nuntiantes exercitum conscriptum armatum que iam suis finibus inminere; inde populabundos in agrum Romanum venturos esse.</i>	While the citizens were occupied with thoughts of an Etruscan war—for it was rumoured that the people of Caere, out of compassion for their kinsmen of Tarquinius, had made common cause with them—came envoys from the Latins and turned their thoughts upon the Volsci, with a report that they had mustered and equipped an army, which was even then descending upon Latium, from whence it would invade and devastate the territory of the Romans.	INMINERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	359-358	LATINI	B ₅
7.12.69	<i>Alius adventus hostium fuit proximo anno agris terribilior quam urbi: populabundi Tarquinienses fines Romanos, maxime qua ex parte Etruriae adiacent, peragravere; rebus que nequiquam repetitis novi consules iis C Fabius et C Plautius iussu populi bellum indixere; Fabio que ea provincia, Plautio Hernici evenere</i>	Another hostile incursion was more terrifying to the countryside. The Tarquinienses, bent on plundering, ranged over the Roman territory, particularly that part which adjoins Etruria; and demands for reparation proving futile, the new consuls, Gaius Fabius and Gaius Plautius, declared war against them, as commanded by the people. This campaign fell to Fabius, that against the Hernici to Plautius.	POPULARE		PLUR.	FINES	368	ROMANUS	B ₈
7.19.8	<i>inclinavit deinde pars maior curae in Etruscum bellum, postquam litteris Sulpici consulis, cui Tarquinius provincia evenerat, cognitum est depopulatum agrum circa Romanas salinas praedae que partem in Caeritum fines avectam et haud dubie iuventutem eius populi inter praedatores fuisse</i>	But the Etruscan war afterwards came to be their chief concern, on the receipt of a dispatch from the consul Sulpicius, who had received the assignment to Tarquinius, with the news that the countryside lying near the Roman salt-works had been pillaged, and a part of the booty carried into the borders of the Caerites, whose soldiers had, without question, been amongst the depredators.		IN	PLUR.	FINES	359-358	CAERE	B ₆
7.19.9	<i>itaque Valerium consulem, Volscis oppositum castra que ad finem Tusculanum habentem, revocatum inde senatus dictatorem dicere iussit.</i>	And so the senate recalled Valerius the consul, who was opposing the Volsci and had his camp close to the Tusculan frontier, and ordered him to nominate a dictator.	HABERE	AD	SING.	FINEM	359-358	TUSCULANUM	B ₆ B ₁₀

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
7.20.9	<i>cum populatione peragrati fines essent, ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum; legionibus que Romam reductis reliquum anni muris turribus que reficiendis consumptum et aedis Apollinis dedicata est</i>	Having ranged over their lands and laid them waste, the Romans refrained from attacking their cities, and led their legions home. The rest of the year was consumed in repairing the walls and towers, and a temple was dedicated to Apollo.	PERAGRO		PLUR.	FINES	353	FALISCI	B ₅
8.13.10	<i>Priusquam comitiis in insequentem annum consules rogarent, Camillus de Latinis populis ad senatum rettulit atque ita disseruit: 'patres conscripti, quod bello armis que in Latio agendum fuit, id iam deum benignitate ac virtute militum ad finem venit.</i>	before the consular elections for the following year were held, Camillus referred to the senate the disposition of the Latin peoples, and spoke as follows: 'Conscript Fathers, what was needful to be done in Latium in the way of war and arms has now by Heaven's favour and the valour of our troops been brought to a conclusion.	VENIRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	338		A
8.14.10	<i>Campanis, equitum honoris causa, quia cum Latinis rebellare nolissent, Fundanis que et Formianis, quod per fines eorum tuta pacata que semper fuisset via, civitas sine suffragio data</i>	councils. The Campanians, out of compliment to their knights, because they had not consented to revolt along with the Latins, were granted citizenship without the suffrage; so too were the Fundani and Formiani, because they had always afforded a safe and peaceful passage through their territories.	ESSE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	338	FUNDANI / FORMIANI	B ₆
8.17.1	<i>Novi deinde consules a veteribus exercitu accepto ingressi hostium fines populando usque ad moenia atque urbem pervenerunt</i>	The new consuls then took over the army from their predecessors, and entering the enemy's territory laid it waste as far as their city walls.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	332	SIDICINI/CALLES	B ₅ B ₆
8.19.10	<i>Ingredi fines senatus Fundanorum occurrit; negant se pro Vitruvio sectam que eius secutis precatum venisse, sed pro Fundano populo, quem extra culpam belli esse ipsum Vitruvium iudicasse, cum receptaculum fugae Privernum habuerit, non patriam Fundos</i>	as he crossed the border he was met by the Fundanian senate, who said that they had come to plead, not for Vitruvius and his followers, but for the people of Fundi, whom even Vitruvius himself had cleared of responsibility for the war, when he sought refuge in Privernum and not in his native city.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	330	FUNDANI	B ₆
8.24.16.	<i>is finis lacerationi fuit,</i>	them. this ended the mutilation.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	326		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
8.33.1	<i>His vocibus cum in se magis incitarent dictatorem quam magistro equitum placarent, iussi de tribunali descendere legati;et silentio nequiquam per praeconem temptato, cum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec ipsius dictatoris nec apparitorum eius vox audiretur, nox velut in proelio certamini finem fecit.</i>	but the lieutenants by these words rather stirred up the wrath of the dictator against themselves than lessened his rancour against the master of the horse, and he ordered them to go down from the tribunal.he then sought by the mouth of a herald to procure silence, but without success, for the din and uproar were so great that it was impossible for the dictator himself or his attendants to be heard;and it was left for darkness, as though descending on a battle —field, to end the struggle.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	325		A
8.32.13	<i>ne tribunal quidem satis quietum erat;legati circumstantes sellam orabant, ut rem in posterum diem differret et irae suae spatium et consilio tempus daret: satis castigatam adulescentiam Fabi esse, satis deformatam victoriam; ne ad extremum finem supplicii tenderet neu unico iuveni, neu patri eius, clarissimo viro, neu Fabiae genti eam iniungeret ignominiam.</i>	not even the tribunal itself was quiet; the lieutenants, standing about the dictator's chair, besought him to put the matter off until the morrow and allow time for consideration and for his anger to cool;he had sufficiently chastened the youth of Fabius, they said, and discredited his victory; it would not be well to carry out his punishment to the end, nor to fasten such humiliation upon a young man of extraordinary merit, nor on that most distinguished man, his father, and the Fabian family.	TENDERE		SING.	FINEM	325	EXTREMUM	A
8.19.33.	<i>missi tum ab senatu legati denuntiatum que Samnitibus, ut eorum populorum finibus vim abstinerent; valuit que ea legatio, non tam quia pacem volebant Samnites, quam quia nondum parati erant ad bellum.</i>	The embassy was effective, not so much because the Samnites desired peace, as because they were unprepared, as yet, for war. The same year saw the beginning of the war with Privernum.	ABSTINERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	330	SAMNITI	B ₅
8.1.6	<i>ea Luae matri dare se consul dixit finesque hostium usque ad oram maritumam est depopulatus</i>	declaring that he gave these arms to Lua Mater, the consul proceeded to lay waste the enemy's country as far as the coast.	DEPOPULARE		PLUR.	FINES	341	VOLSCI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
8.24.5	<i>misisset, haud procul Pandosia urbe, imminente Lucanis ac Bruttiiis finibus, tris tumulos aliquantum inter se distantes insedit, ex quibus incursiones in omnem partem agri hostilis faceret; et ducentos ferme Lucanorum exules circa se pro fidis habebat, ut pleraque eius generis ingenia sunt, cum fortuna mutabilem gerentes fidem.</i>	and having sent to Epirus three hundred illustrious families, to be held as hostages, he took up his station not far from the city Pandosia, which looks down upon the borders of Lucania and Bruttium, on three hills that stand some little distance apart from one another, that he might thence make incursions into every quarter of the enemy's country. he had about him some two hundred Lucanian exiles, whom he trusted; but their loyalty, like that of most men of that nation, was prone to change with the change of fortune.				PLUR. FINIBUS	326	LUCANI / BRUTTI	B ₅
8.25.5	<i>Hoc bello tam prospere commisso alteri quoque bello, quo Graeci obsidebantur, iam finis aderat.</i>	while this war was beginning in so prosperous a fashion, the other, against the Greeks, was in a fair way to be concluded.	ADESSE			SING. FINIS	326		A
8.5.4	<i>sed quoniam vos, regno inpotenti finem ut inponatis, non inducitis in animum, nos, quamquam armis possumus adserere Latium in libertatem, consanguinitati tamen hoc dabimus, ut condiciones pacis feramus aequas utrisque, quoniam vires quoque aequari dis immortalibus placuit.</i>	but, since you cannot make up your minds to bring your impotent sovereignty to a close, we —though able by force of arms to give Latium her freedom — will nevertheless concede so much to kinship as to offer terms of peace fair and equal to both sides, since the immortal gods have willed that we should be of equal strength.				SING. FINEM	340		A
8.29.7	<i>exercitus utroque ducti, et cura tuendorum finium hostes prohibiti coniungere arma</i>	this command was assigned by lot to Brutus, that against the Samnites to Camillus. armies were dispatched in both directions, and the enemy, concerned to protect their borders, were kept from joining forces.	TUERE			PLUR. FINIUM	325		B ₆
8.2.8	<i>ex his tot populis unus ingens exercitus duce Latino fines Samnitium ingressus plus populationibus quam proeliis cladium fecit; et quamquam superiores certaminibus Latini erant, haud inviti, ne saepius dimicandum foret, agro hostium excessere</i>	one great army, gathered out of all these nations, invaded the borders of the Samnites, under a Latin general, but wrought more havoc by pillage than in battle; and although the Latins came off best in all encounters, they were not unwilling to retire from the enemy's country, that they might not have to fight so often.	INGREDIRE			PLUR. FINES	341	SAMNITI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
8.4.8	<i>bellum nostro nomine cum Paelignis gessimus; qui ne nostrorum quidem finium nobis per nos tuendorum ius antea dabant, nihil intercesserunt</i>	we waged war on our own account with the Paeligni; those who aforesaid withheld from us even the right to defend our own borders by ourselves, never interposed.	TUERE/DARE		PLUR.	FINIUM	340		B ₄
9.45.1.	<i>Sulpicio Saverione Sempronio Sopho consulibus Samnites, seu finem seu dilationem belli quaerentes, legatos de pace Romam misere.</i>	in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius Saverrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus, the Samnites, whether seeking to end or only to postpone hostilities, sent envoys to Rome to treat for peace.	QUAERERE		SING.	FINEM	304		A
9.6.10	<i>Postero die cum iuvenes nobiles, missi a Capua, ut proficiscentes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur, revertissent vocati que in curiam percunctantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et abiectioris animi visos referrent: adeo silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse;</i>	on the following day, when the young nobles sent from Capua to attend them to the borders of Campania had returned, and were called into the senatehouse and questioned by the elders, they reported that they had seemed to be much more sorrowful and dejected than before: their column had marched on in silence and almost as though dumb	PROSEQUIRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	321		B ₄
9.29.5	<i>eadem in comparando cohibendo que bello consilia et apud Etruscos fuere: neutri finibus egressi.</i>	field. but the Etruscans followed the same policy, preparing for war but preventing it from breaking out. neither side went beyond their own frontiers.	EGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	312		B ₄
9.26.9	<i>latior que et re et personis quaestio fieri, haud abnuente dictatore sine fine ulla quaestionis suae ius esse</i>	The enquiry began to take a wider range, in respect both of charges and of persons, and the dictator was nothing loath that there should be no limit to the jurisdiction of his court.	FACIO		SING.	FINE	314		A
10.11.1	<i>T. Manlio consuli provincia Etruria sorte evenit; qui vixdum ingressus hostium fines cum exercebat inter equites, ab rapido cursu circumagendo equo effusus extemplo prope expiravit.</i>	The command in Etruria fell by lot to Titus Manlius the consul. he had barely entered the territory of the enemy, and was exercising with the cavalry, when, in wheeling his horse about after a swift gallop, he was thrown	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	298	ETRURIA	B ₇
10.11.11	<i>Principio huius anni oratores Lucanorum ad novos consules venerunt questum, quia condicionibus perlicere se nequiverint ad societatem armorum, Samnites infesto exercitu ingressos fines suos vastare bello que ad bellum cogere</i>	in the beginning of this year Lucanian envoys came to the new consuls to complain that the Samnites, since they had been unable by offering inducements to entice them into an armed alliance, had invaded their territories with a hostile army and by warring on them were obliging them to go to war.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	298	LUCANI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
9.32.9.	<i>nullo umquam proelio fugae minus nec plus caedis fuisset, ni obstinatos mori Tuscos nox texisset, ita ut victores prius quam victi pugnandi finem facerent.</i>	Victory hung in the balance and many perished on both sides, including all the bravest, and the event was not decided until the Roman second line came up with undiminished vigour to relieve their exhausted comrades in the first; and the Etruscans, whose fighting line was supported by no fresh reserves, all fell in front of their standards and around them.	FACIERE		SING.	FINEM	311		A
10.20.1	<i>XXDum ambo consules omnis que Romana vis in Etruscum bellum magis inclinat, in Samnio novi exercitus exorti ad populandos imperii Romani fines per Vescinos in Campaniam Falernum que agrum transcendunt ingentes que praedas faciunt</i>	while both consuls and all the strength of Rome were being devoted mainly to the Etruscan war, new armies rose up in Samnium to waste the territories under Roman sway, and crossing over into Campania and the Falernian district, through the land of the Vescini, gathered in huge spoils.	POPULARE		PLUR.	FINES	296	IMPERII ROMANII	B ₉
10.11.2	<i>tertius ab eo casu dies finis vitae consuli fuit.</i>	?? and ere long breathed his last, for the third day following the accident saw the end of the consul's life.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	298		A
10.12.2	<i>benigne responsum Lucanis ictum que foedus; fetiales missi, qui Samnitem decedere agro sociorum ac deducere exercitum finibus Lucanis iuberent, quibus obviam missi ab Samnitibus, qui denuntiarent, si quod adissent in Samnio concilium, haud inviolatos abituros.</i>	The Lucanians received a friendly answer, and the league was formed. fetials were then sent to command the Samnites to leave the country belonging to Rome's allies, and withdraw their army from the territory of Lucania. they were met on the way by messengers, whom the Samnites had dispatched to warn them that if they went before any Samnite council they would not depart unscathed.	DEDUCERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	298		B ₃
10.16.2	<i>itaque insequenti quoque anno, L. Volumnio Ap. Claudio consulibus, Decius, qui consul in Samnio relictus a collega fuerat, proconsul idem populari non destitit agros, donec Samnitium exercitum nusquam se proelio committentem postremo expulit finibus.</i>	so in the following year likewise —the consulship of Lucius Volumnius and Appius Claudius —Publius Decius, who had been left behind in Samnium, when consul, by his colleague, ceased not as proconsul to lay waste the farms, until finally he forced the army of the Samnites —which would nowhere risk a battle —to withdraw from the country.	EXPELLERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	296	SAMNIUS	B ₇

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
10.17.2	<i>quin urbes et moenia adgredimur? nullus iam exercitus Samnio praesidet; cessere finibus ac sibimet ipsi exilium conscivere'.</i>	why do we not assail cities and walled towns? there is no longer any army defending Samnium; they have withdrawn beyond their borders, sentenced to banishment by their own decree.'	CESSERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	296		B ₄
10.20.2.	<i>Volumnium magnis itineribus in Samnium redeuntem – iam enim Fabio Decio que prorogati imperii finis aderat – fama de Samnitium exercitu populationibus que Campani agri ad tuendos socios convertit.</i>	as Volumnius was returning by long marches into Samnium —for now the extension of authority granted to Fabius and Decius was drawing to a close —a rumour about the Samnite army and its depredations in the territory of Campania turned him aside to the defence of the allies.	PROROGARE/ ADESSE		SING.	FINIS	296	IMPERII FINES	B ₉
9.9.5	<i>an, si eadem superbia, qua sponsonem istam expresserunt nobis Samnites, coegissent nos verba legitima dedentium urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum vos, tribuni, diceretis et hanc urbem, templa, delubra, fines, aquas Samnitium esse?</i>	If the Samnites with that same arrogance with which they extorted this capitulation from us had compelled us to pronounce the solemn form of words of those who surrender cities, would you tribunes assert that the Roman People had been surrendered, and that this City, with its temples, its holy places, its bounds and waters, was become the property of the Samnites?	ESSE		PLUR.	FINES	320	ROMANOS	B ₄
10.35.1	<i>Alteri consuli M. Atilio nequaquam tam facile bellum fuit cum ad Luceriam duceret legiones, quam oppugnari ab Samnitibus audierat, ad finem Lucerinum ei hostis obvius fuit.</i>	The other consul, Marcus Atilius, had by no means so easy a war. he was marching, at the head of his legions, towards Luceria, which he had heard was being besieged by the Samnites, when the enemy met him at the Lucerine frontier.	ESSE	AD	SING.	FINEM	294		B ₄
10.37.1	<i>Consul alter Postumius, quia in Samnitibus materia belli deerat, in Etruriam transducto exercitu primum pervastaverat Volsiniensem agrum; dein cum egressis ad tuendos fines haud procul moenibus ipsorum depugnat; duo milia octingenti Etruscorum caesi; ceteros propinquitas urbis tutata est</i>	The other consul, Postumius, in default of enemies in Samnium, transferred his army to Etruria. there he first devastated the lands of the Volsinienses, and then, when they came out to defend their territory, defeated them at no great distance from their own walls. two thousand eight hundred Etruscans were slain; the rest were saved by their nearness to the city.	EGREDIRE-TUERE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	292	VOLSINII	B ₆
9.8.7	<i>interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet nec prius ingredi hostium fines, quam omnia iusta in deditione nostra perfecta erunt</i>	meantime I move that the consuls enroll an army and arm it and lead it forth, yet without crossing the borders of the enemy, until all the ceremonies incident to our surrender shall have been completed.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	320	SAMNITI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
10.32.2	<i>Samnium ambobus decreta provincia est, quia tres scriptos hostium exercitus, uno Etruriam, altero populationes Campaniae repeti, tertium tuendis parari finibus fama erat.</i>	Samnium was assigned them both for their province, in consequence of a report that the enemy had raised three armies, with one of which they meant to return into Etruria, with another to resume the devastation of Campania, while the third was making ready for the defence of their frontiers.	TUERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	294		B ₄
10.14.5	<i>Ubi in hostium fines ventum est, uterque populabundus effuso agmine incedit</i>	arrived at the borders of the enemy, each spread his army over a wide front and pillaged.	VENIRE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	297	SAMNIUM/SI DICINI	B ₇ B ₅
10.17.5	<i>vultis vos pro virtute spes gerere? omnes Samnitium urbes fortunae que in urbibus relictæ vestrae sunt, quando legiones eorum tot proeliis fusas postremo finibus expulistis.</i>	lest these should encumber the marching army with heavy baggage, Decius called the soldiers together and thus addressed them: 'will this single victory or these spoils content you? will your expectations not be equal to your courage? all the cities of the Samnites and the riches left behind in them are yours, since, after defeating their legions in so many battles, you have in the end expelled them from their country.	EXPELLERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	296	URBES SAMNITIUM	B ₆
10.10.6	<i>Eodem anno ab Etruscis adversus indutias paratum bellum; sed eos talia molientis Gallorum ingens exercitus fines ingressus paulisper a proposito avertit.</i>	The Etruscans planned to go to war that year in violation of the truce; but while they were busy with this project an enormous army of Gauls invaded their borders and diverted them for a little while from their purpose.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	299	ETRUSCI	B ₅
10.32.4	<i>velut ex composito ibi obvium habuere hostem, ubi et vastare ipsi Samnitium agrum prohiberentur et egredi inde in pacata sociorum que populi Romani fines Samnitium prohiberent</i>	as though it had been prearranged, they encountered the foe in a place where they themselves were prevented from laying waste the territory of their enemies, while they prevented the Samnites from coming out into the district which had been pacified and the territory of the allies of the Roman People.	PROHIBERE		PLUR.	FINES	294		B ₄
10.27.5	<i>consules Fulvio, ut ex Falisco, Postumio, ut ex Vaticano agro exercitum ad Clusium admoveant summa que vi fines hostium depopulentur, scribunt</i>	The consuls wrote to Fulvius and Postumius to march from their respective posts in the Faliscan and Vatican districts to Clusium, and lay waste the territories of the enemy with the utmost rigour.	POPULARE		PLUR.	FINES	295		B ₆

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
10.1.7	<i>coloniam aegre patientes velut arcem suis finibus inpositam summa vi expugnare adorti ab ipsis colonis pelluntur.</i>	p.when Marcus Livius Dentor and Marcus Aemilius were consuls, the Aequi resumed hostilities. Indignant that a colony had been established, like a citadel, within their borders, they attacked it with great fury.	INPOSITA		PLUR.	FINIBUS	303-302		B ₁₀
10.12.7	<i>inde in Faliscum agrum copiis reductis cum impedimenta Faleriis cum modico praesidio reliquisset, expedito agmine ad depopulandos hostium fines incedit</i>	hurriedly abandoned. Scipio then led his troops back into the Faliscan territory, and having left his baggage with a small guard in Falerii, set out with his army in light marching order to ravage the territory of the enemy.	INCEDERE		PLUR.	FINES	298	FALISCI/ FALERII	B ₆ B ₅
10.32.5.	<i>cum castra castris conlata essent, quod vix Romanus totiens victor auderet, ausi Samnites sunt – tantum desperatio ultima temeritatis facit – castra Romana oppugnare, et quamquam non venit ad finem tam audax inceptum, tamen haud omnino vanum fuit.</i>	on the camps being established over against each other, what the Romans would hardly have dared to do, victorious as they had so often been, the Samnites ventured —such temerity does utter hopelessness beget, —that is, to assault the enemy's camp; and although their desperate enterprise did not fully succeed, still, it was not altogether futile.	VENIO	AD	SING.	FINEM	294		A
10.27.6	<i>huius populationis fama Etruscos ex agro Sentinate ad suos fines tuendos movit</i>	The reports of this devastation drew off the Etruscans from the region of Sentinum to the defence of their own frontiers.	TUERE-MOVERE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	295	ETRUSCI	B ₅
10.47.6	<i>Multis rebus laetus annus vix ad solacium unius mali, pestilentiae urentis simul urbem atque agros, suffecit; portento que iam similis clades erat, et libri aditi, quinam finis aut quod remedium eius mali ab diis daretur.</i>	its devastation was now grown portentous, and the Books were consulted to discover what end or what remedy the gods proposed	DARE		SING.	FINIS	292		A
21.19.11	<i>inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere.</i>	Being then bidden straightway to depart out of the borders of the Volciani, they received from that day forth no kinder response from any Spanish council. Accordingly, having traversed that country to no purpose, they passed over into Gaul.	ABIRE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	218	VOLCIANI	B ₅
21.25.13	<i>Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere.</i>	The alarming onsets of the Gauls and the panic of the Romans ended when they got clear of the tracklesswoods and thickets.			SING.	FINIS	218		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
21.30.11	<i>proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.</i>	their enterprise? Had Gauls once captured that which the Phoenician despaired of approaching? Then let them yield in spirit and manhood to a race which they had so often vanquished in the course of the last few days, or look to end their march in the field that lay between the Tiber and the walls of Rome.	SPERARE		SING.	FINEM	218		B ₄
21.14.3	<i>quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?</i>	Hannibal, deeming it no time to hesitate, when such an opportunity offered, attacked with all his strength and captured the city out of hand. He had given orders that all the grown inhabitants be put to the sword—a cruel command, but found in the upshot to have been well-nigh inevitable; for who could be spared of those who either shut themselves up with their wives and children and burned the houses over their own heads, or took arms and never gave over fighting till they died?	FACERE	ANTE	SING.	FINEM	219		A
21.36.3	<i>ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse.</i>	There the cavalry came to a halt, as though they had reached the end of the road, and as Hannibal was wondering what it could be that held the column back, word was brought to him that the cliff was impassable.	CONSTITUERE	AD	SING.	FINEM	218		A
21.20.5	<i>sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendium que pendere et cetera indigna pati.</i>	When at last the uproar had been quelled, the Gauls made answer to the envoys that they owed the Romans no kindness nor the Carthaginians any grudge, to induce them to draw the sword in behalf of the former or against the latter; on the contrary, ?? they heard that men of their own race were being driven from the land and even out of the borders of Italy by the Roman People, and were paying tribute and suffering every other humiliation.			PLUR.	FINIBUS	218	ITALIA	B ₇

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
21.24.5	<i>et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.</i>	Thus far his emissaries. But when the Gallic chieftains, moving up their camp at once near Iliberri, came, nothing loath, to the Phoenician, they were captivated by his gifts, and permitted the army to march unmolested through their borders and past the town of Ruscino.	TRANSMITTERE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	218		B ₁₀
21.5.3	<i>quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines – ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginiensium erat – induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendo que tractus ad id bellum videri posset</i>	But since an attack on them must certainly provoke the Romans to hostile action, he marched first into the territory of the Olcades—a tribe living south of the Ebro, within the limits of the Carthaginians but not under their dominion—that he might appear not to have aimed at the Saguntines but to have been drawn into that war by a chain of events, as he conquered the neighbouring nations and annexed their territories.	INDUCERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	221	OLCADES	B ₅
21.2.7	<i>cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperio que suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinis que mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.</i>	With this Hasdrubal, because of the marvellous skill which he had shown in tempting the native tribes to join his empire, the Roman People had renewed their covenant, with the stipulation that neither side should extend its dominion beyond the Ebro, while the Saguntines, situated between the empires of the two peoples, should be preserved in independence.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	226	IMPERIUM	B ₉ B ₁
21.7.4	<i>Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur.</i>	Crossing their borders with a hostile army Hannibal laid waste their country far and wide and advanced in three divisions against their city. There was an angle of the wall that gave on a valley more open and more level than the other ground about the town.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	219		B ₄
21.56.7	<i>finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent.</i>	The Phoenicians pursued their enemies no further than to the river Trebia, and got back to camp so benumbed and chilled as hardly to feel the joy of victory.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	218		B ₁

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
22.60.1	<i>Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba quae in comitio erat clamor flebilis est sublatus, manus que ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent.</i>	As soon as he had finished speaking, the throng in the Comitium began to utter doleful cries, and holding out their hands to the Curia besought the senators to give them back their sons, their brothers, and their kinsmen.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	216		A
22.47.4	<i>sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanis que: tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aequa fronte acie que densa inpulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eo que parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie.</i>	Towards the end of the cavalry engagement the infantry got into action. At first they were evenly matched in strength and courage, as long as the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ranks;but at last the Romans, by prolonged and frequent efforts, pushing forward with an even front and a dense line, drove in the wedge-like formation which projected from the enemy's line, for it was too thin to be strong;	ESSE		SING.	FINEM	216		A
22.57.4	<i>hoc nefas, cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt,et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciiis que deos possent placare et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret.</i>	Since in the midst of so many misfortunes this pollution was, as happens at such times, converted into a portent, the decemvirs were commanded to consult the Books, and Quintus Fabius Pictor was ?? dispatched to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle with what prayers and supplications they might propitiate the gods, and what would be the end of all their calamities.	FORE		SING.	FINIS	216		A
22.34.7	<i>id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent;</i>	After that the consuls had employed the arts of Fabius to prolong the war, when they were able to have ended it.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	217		A
23.27.1	<i>Postquam neque elicere Poenum ad certamen obversati castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat, urbem Ascua, quo fines hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum commeatus que alios convexerat, vi capiunt omni que circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in agmine aut in castris ullo imperio contineri.</i>	After the Tartesii had repeatedly failed to draw the Carthaginian out to battle by facing his camp, and it was also not easy to assault the camp, they took by storm the city of Ascua, to which Hasdrubal, on entering the land of the enemy, had brought grain and other supplies;	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	216	ASCUA IMPERIUM	B ₆ B ₁₀ B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
22.58.9	<i>ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthalonum obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.</i>	When the news reached Rome that they were coming, a lictor was sent to meet Carthalo on the way and warn him in the name of the Dictator to depart before nightfall out of Roman territory.	EXCEDERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	216	ROMANIS	B ₈
23.37.11	<i>pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit.</i>	He slew above two thousand men, and captured two hundred and eighty soldiers and some forty-one military standards. Driven out of Lucanian territory, Hanno withdrew into the land of the Bruttians.	RECEPIRE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	215	LUCANI	B ₄
23.42.10	<i>nunc propraetoris unius et parvi ad tuendam Nolam praesidii praeda sumus; iam ne manipulatim quidem sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris neglegentius, quam si in Romano vagarentur agro.</i>	. Already they roam over our whole territory, not even in maniples, but after the manner of brigands, with less caution than if they were wandering in the country around Rome.			PLUR.	FINIBUS	215	NOSTRI (ROMANUS)	B ₄
23.1.6	<i>ubi fines Neapolitanorum intravit, Numidas partim in insidiis – et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinus que occulti -, quacumque apte poterat, disposuit, alios prae se actam praedam ex agris ostentantis obequitare portis iussit</i>	On entering the territory of the p.Neapolitans, he stationed some of the Numidians in ambush, wherever he conveniently could (and most of the roads are deep-cut and the turnings concealed). Other Numidians he ordered to ride up to the gates, making a display of the booty they were driving along before them from the farms.	INTRARE		PLUR.	FINES	216	NEAPOLITANI	B ₆
23.28.7	<i>Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus ambo duces iunctis copiis ire obviam coeptis atque obsistere parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando Italiae hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset iunctus, illum finem Romani imperii fore.</i>	Therefore he exacted money in haste and came down to the Hiberus. When news of the decrees of the Carthaginians and Hasdrubal's expedition reached the Roman commanders, both dropped everything, and uniting their forces prepared to meet and resist his efforts, thinking ?? that if Hannibal, who was himself an enemy Italy could scarcely endure, should be joined by Hasdrubal as a general and by an army from Spain, that would be the end of the Roman power.	FORE		SING.	FINEM	216	ROMANI IMPERII	B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
23.6.5	<i>postremo vincit sententia plurium, ut iidem legati, qui ad consulem Romanum ierant, ad Hannibalem mitterenturquo priusquam iretur certum que defectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in quibusdam annalibus inuenio postulantes, ut alter consul Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam adiuuari vellent; indignatione orta summoveri a curia iussos esse missum que lictorem, qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die manere extra fines Romanos iuberet.</i>	But action was postponed for a few days by the weighty advice of the older men. Finally the view of the majority prevailed, that the same legates who had gone to the Roman consul should be sent to Hannibal. Before they went to him and' before the plan to revolt was settled upon, I find in some of the annals that legates were sent to Rome by the Campanians with the demand that, if they wished' them to aid the Roman state, one of the consuls should be a Campanian; that resentment was aroused and the legates were ordered to be removed from the Senate House, and that a lictor was sent to lead them out of the city and bid them lodge that night outside of Roman territory	IUBIRE		EXTRAPLUR.	FINES	216	ROMANUS	B ₈
23.42.9	<i>magni dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur fines nostros; ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant:</i>	After first reconnoitring and posting reserves, and in regular array they would lead out for a raid. But now we are the prey of a single propraetor and a small garrison assigned to the defence of Nola	PERCUDERE		PLUR.	FINES	215		B ₄
24.22.13	<i>ibi in aram Concordiae, ex qua pridie Polyaeus contionatus erat, escendit orationem que eam orsus est, qua primum cunctationis suae veniam petiuit: se enim clausas habuisse portas non separantem suas res a publicis, sed strictis semel gladiis timentem, qui finis caedibus esset futurus, utrum, quod satis libertati[s] foret, contenti nece tyranni essent, an, quicumque aut propinquitate aut adfinitate aut aliquis ministeriis regiam contigissent, alienae culpae rei trucidarentur.</i>	On the following day at dawn he opened the gates of the Island and came to the market-place of Achradina. There he mounted the altar of Concord, from which Polyaeus had addressed the people the day before, and began a speech in which he first begged pardon for his hesitation. For he had kept the gates closed, he said, not that he wished to separate his cause from that of the people, but because he feared what limit there would be to slaughter, when swords should once be drawn;	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	214		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
24.29.1	<i>Dies haud ita multi intercesserunt, cum ex Leontinis legati praesidium finibus suis orantes venerunt [!]; quae legatio peropportuna visa ad multitudinem inconditam ac tumultuosam exonerandam duces que eius ablegandos.</i>	Not many days had elapsed, when ambassadors from Leontini arrived, pleading for a force to defend their territory. The request of this embassy seemed very timely for the purpose of relieving the city of a disorderly and turbulent multitude and of sending away its leaders.	VENIRE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	214	LEONTINI	B ₆
24.44.4	<i>prorogata imperia provinciae que, M. Claudio Sicilia[e] finibus eis, quibus regnum Hieronis fuisset, <P>. Lentulo propraetori provincia vetus, T. Otacilio classis – exercitus nulli additi novi -,M. Valerio Graecia Macedonia que cum legione et classe, quam haberet; Q. Mucio cum vetere exercitu – duae autem legiones erant – Sardinia; C. Terentio <cum> legio<ne> una, cui iam praeerat, Picenum.</i>	Commands and assignments were continued as follows: for Marcus Claudius Sicily, with the boundaries which Hiero's kingdom had had; for Publius Lentulus, as propraetor, the old province; for Titus Otacilius the fleet; and for them new armies were not added. So also for Marcus Valerius Greece and Macedonia, with the legion and the fleet which he had; for Quintus Mucius Sardinia, with its old army —there were two legions; for Gaius Terentius one legion which he already commanded, and Picenum.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	213	IMPERIUM	B ₉
24.32.8	<i>nox caedibus finem fecit.</i>	Thus Achradina also is taken by assault, and all the magistrates, except those who escaped in the midst of the uproar, are slain. Night put an end to the slaughter.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	214		A
25.11.10	<i>is que finis Hannibali fuit ea parte arcem oppugnandi.</i>	Hannibal summoned the leading men of Tarentum and laid before them all the difficulties of the situation, saying that he neither saw a way to take so well fortified	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	212		A
24.6.7	<i>convenit, ut, cum Romanos Sicilia expulissent – id autem brevi fore, si naves atque exercitum misissent -, Himera amnis, qui ferme <mediam> dividit, finis regni Syracusani ac Punici imperii esset.</i>		ESSE		SING.	FINIS	215	IMPERIUM	B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
25.23.1	<i>XXIII.Cum maxume Capua circumvallaretur, Syracusarum oppugnatio ad finem venit, praeterquam vi ac virtute ducis exercitus que, intestina etiam proditione adiuta.</i>	Just as Capua was being encircled the siege of Syracuse came to an end, expedited not only by the vigour and valour of the general and the army but also by treachery within.	VENIRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	212		A
24.7.8	<i>incerto rerum statu Ap Claudius bellum oriens ex propinquo cum cerneret, senatum litteris certiore fecit Siciliam Carthaginensi populo et Hannibali conciliari; ipse adversus Syracusana consilia <ad> provinciae regni que fines omnia convertit praesidia</i>	In the unsettled state of affairs Appius Claudius, seeing a war beginning near at hand, informed the senate by letter that Sicily was being won over to the Carthaginian people and Hannibal. For his own part, to meet the schemes of the Syracusans, he concentrated all his garrisons on the frontier between the province and the kingdom.	CONVERTERE		PLUR.	FINES	215		B ₁₀
25.5.10	<i>Cannensis reliquiae cladis hic exercitus erat, relegatus in Siciliam, sicut ante dictum est, ne ante Punici belli finem in Italiam reportarentur.</i>	At the same time a letter from Marcus Marcellus in Sicily was read in the senate concerning demands of the soldiers serving under Publius Lentulus. This army was the remnant of the disaster at Cannae, and, as has been said above, was relegated to Sicily, not to be brought back to Italy before the end of the Punic War.	REPORTARE		SING.	FINEM	212		A
25.6.19	<i>neque ignominiae finem nec virtutis praemium petimus; modo experiri animum, et virtutem exercere liceat.</i>	It is neither an end of our disgrace nor a reward for our courage that we ask. Only let us prove our spirit and put our courage into practice. It is for hardship and danger we are asking, that we may do the duty of men and soldiers.	PETERE		SING.	FINEM	212		A
26.1.10	<i>huic generi militum senatus eundem quem Cannensibus finem statuerat militiae.</i>	for this class of soldier the senate had established the same term of service as for the men who were at Cannae.	STATUERE		SING.	FINEM	211		A
26.17.10	<i>addita insequens nox spatium dedit et alios emittendi; nec postero die res finem inuenit.</i>	and on the following day the business did not reach an end.	INVENIRE		SING.	FINEM	211		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
26.25.1	<i>itaque quia primo uere moturus exercitum in Graeciam erat, Illyrios finitimas que eis urbes ab tergo metu quietas ut Macedonia haberet, expeditionem subitam in Oricinorum atque Apolloniatum finis fecit, egressos que Apolloniatas cum magno terrore ac pauore compulit intra muros</i>	as Philip was wintering at Pella, the estrangement of the Aetolians was reported to him. accordingly, because he intended at the beginning of spring to move his army into Greece, in order that Macedonia should keep the Illyrians in her rear and the cities near them intimidated, he made a sudden incursion into the territories of Oricum and Apollonia, and when the Apollonians came out of their city, he drove them inside their walls, causing great panic and alarm.	FACERE		PLUR.	FINES	211	ORICINI / APOLLONIA TI	B ₆
26.25.15	<i>per haec incitatis animis castra in extremis finibus suis obuia hosti posuerunt.</i>	having aroused their spirits by these means, they pitched camp facing the enemy at their very frontier.	PONERE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	211	EXTREMUS	B ₁₀
26.25.16	<i>Aetolorum impetum tardauerat primo coniurationis fama Acarnanicae; deinde auditus Philippi aduentus regredi etiam in intimos coegit finis</i>	the Aetolians' attack was delayed at first by the report of the oath of the Acarnanians, and then news of Philip's approach forced them to retire far back into the interior.	COAGERE		PLUR.	FINES	211	INTIMUS AETOLI	B ₅
26.46.10	<i>quoad dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae, nec ulli puberum qui obuius fuit parcebatur; tum signo dato caedibus finis factus.</i>	until the surrender of the citadel there was slaughter everywhere throughout the city, and they did not spare any adult who met them. then the signal was given and an end was made of slaughter. the victors turned to the spoils, which were immense and of every kind.	FACIO		SING.	FINIS	210		A
26.1.6	<i>Prorogatum et M. Marcello ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu quem haberet: si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus quibus Cornelius pro praetore in Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero quibus senatus missionem reditum que in patriam negasset ante belli finem.</i>	the command of Marcus Marcellus also was continued, that as proconsul in Sicily he might finish the remainder of the war with the army which he had. if he should need reinforcements, he should provide them from the legions which Publius Cornelius, the propraeator, ?? commanded in Sicily, provided he did not enlist any soldier from the number of those to whom the senate had refused a discharge and a return to their home towns before the end of the war.	NEGARE		SING.	FINEM	211		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
27.14.12	<i>tum in fugientes equitatum immittit Marcellus, nec ante finis sequendi est factus quam in castra pauentes compulsi sunt.</i>	Then, as they fled, Marcellus sent his cavalry against them, and pursuit did not end until in alarm they were driven into their camp.	SEQUIRE	ANTE	SING.	FINIS	209		A
27.32.1	<i>profecti ab Dymis coniuncto exercitu transeunt Larisum amnem, qui Eleum agrum ab Dymaeo dirimit. Primum diem quo fines hostium ingressi sunt populando absumpserunt; postero die acie instructa ad urbem accesserunt, praemissis equitibus qui obequitando portis promptum ad excursiones genus lacerarent Aetolorum</i>	Setting forth from Dymae and uniting their armies, they crossed the river Larisus, which separates the Elean territory from that of Dymae. The first day on which they entered the territory of the enemy they spent in devastation. On the next day, drawing up a battle-line, they approached the city, after sending the cavalry in advance; it was to ride up to the gates and provoke the Aetolians, a race of men alert for sallies.	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	28	ELEUM/ DYMAEUM – LARISUM	B ₆ B ₁
27.35.10	<i>prouvinciae iis non permixtae regionibus sicut superioribus annis, sed diuersae extremis Italiae finibus, alteri aduersus Hannibalem Bruttii Lucani, alteri Gallia aduersus Hasdrubalem, quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta.</i>	The provinces assigned to them were not locally indistinguishable, as in the preceding years, but separated by the whole length of Italy. To the one was assigned the land of the Bruttii and Lucania facing Hannibal, to the other Gaul facing Hasdrubal, who was reported to be already nearing the Alps. Whichever of them should receive Gaul in the allotment was to choose the army he preferred out of the two that were in Gaul and in Etruria and the one at the city.			PLUR.	FINIBUS	28	EXTREMUS	B ₇
27.40.10	<i>Priusquam Claudius consul in prouinciam perueniret, per extremum finem agri Tarentini ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus incomposito agmini terribilem tumultum intulit; ad quattuor milia hominum occidit, nouem signa militaria cepit.</i>	Before Claudius, the consul, reached his province, as Hannibal was leading his army along the very border of the territory of ... into the country of the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus with cohorts unencumbered by baggage attacked him and caused terrible confusion in the straggling column.	ADHORTERE		SING.	FINEM	27		B ₆

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
27.20.4	<i>ibi conferentibus quid in cuiusque prouinciae regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram quae ad Oceanum et Gades uergit ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse, eo que Carthaginensibus satis fidam censebat;inter Hasdrubalem alterum et Magonem constabat beneficiis Scipionis occupatos omnium animos publice priuatim que esse, nec transitionibus finem ante fore quam omnes Hispani milites aut in ultima Hispaniae amoti aut traducti in Galliam forent.</i>	There, as they were exchanging information concerning the spirit of the Spaniards in the territory assigned to each of them, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was alone of the opinion that the most remote part of Spain, which extends toward the Ocean and Gades, was still unacquainted with the Romans and in consequence sufficiently loyal to the Carthaginians.The other Hasdrubal and Mago agreed that, both as states and as individuals, all men were prepossessed owing to the favours of Scipio; and there would be no end to desertions until all the Spanish soldiers had been either segregated in the farthest part of Spain, or led over into Gaul.	FORE		SING.	FINEM	209		A
27.43.5	<i>qui ubi ad consulem peruenerunt litterae que lectae per interpretem sunt et ex captiuis percontatio facta,tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus quo consiliis ordinariis,prouinciae suae quisque finibus, per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu bellum gereret – audendum ac nouandum aliquid improuisum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud ciues quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetratum in magnam laetitiam ex magno metu uerteret</i>	At the same time two troops of Samnites were sent as an escort. When they had reached the consul, and the letter had been read by an interpreter and the captives questioned, Claudius thereupon judged that the ?? situation of the state was not such that they should carry on the war by routine methods, each consul within the bounds of his own province, operating with his own armies against an enemy prescribed by the senate.			PLUR.	FINIBUS	27		B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
27.8.16	<i>altero L. Cincium partem insulae, qua regnum Hieronis fuerat, tueri iussit; altero ipse ceteram insulam tuebatur diuisam quondam Romani Punici que imperii finibus, classe quoque nauium septuaginta partita ut omni ambitu litorum praesidio orae maritimae essent.</i>	Having attached these foreign auxiliary forces to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies. With the one he ordered Lucius Cincius to defend that part of the island where had been the kingdom of Hiero; with the other he himself defended the rest of the island, formerly divided by the boundaries between the Roman and the Punic empires. The fleet also of seventy ships was divided, so that they might protect the seacoast around its entire circuit.	DIVIDERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	209	IMPERIUM FINES	B ₉
27.17.9	<i>per omnia pacata eunti, ut cuiusque populi fines transiret prosequentibus excipientibus que sociis, Indibilis et Mandonius cum suis copiis occurrerunt</i>	As Scipio was passing through an entirely peaceful region, while allies escorted and welcomed him whenever he crossed the boundary of a tribe, Indibilis and Mandonius with their forces met him.	TRANSIRE		PLUR.	FINES	209	POPULI	B ₄ B ₅
28.17.10	<i>Magnum in omnia momentum Syphax adfectanti res Africae erat, opulentissimus eius terrae rex, bello iam expertus ipsos Carthaginienses, finibus etiam regni apte ad Hispaniam, quod freto exiguo dirimuntur, positus.</i>	A factor of great importance in every respect for a man planning an attack upon Africa was Syphax, the richest king in that land and one who had already gained experience even of the Carthaginians in war, while boundaries of his kingdom were also well situated with reference to Spain in being separated from it by a narrow strait only.	PONERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	26		B ₁ B ₉
28.25.11	<i>tranquillam seditionem iam per se languescentem repentina quies rebellantium Hispanorum fecit; redierant enim in fines omisso incepto Mandonius et Indibilis, postquam uiuere Scipionem allatum est</i>	For Mandonius and Indibilis had abandoned their project and retired to their borders when they had news that Scipio was alive. Nor was there either a fellow-citizen or foreigner any longer with whom the soldiers might share their madness.	REDERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	26		B ₄
28.29.12	<i>hunc finem exitum que seditio militum coepta apud Sucronem habuit.</i>	Such was the end and outcome of the mutiny of the soldiers which began at Sucro.				SING.	FINEM	26	A
28.3.3	<i>sita in Maessessum finibus est, Bastetanae gentis ager frugifer; argentum etiam incolae fodiunt.</i>	It is situated in the territory of the Maessesses, a Bastetanian tribe. Its land is fruitful; the inhabitants mine silver also.	ESSE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	27	MAESESSI	B ₅
28.22.4	<i>magnum etiam comitatum, quia paucis parum tutum fuerat, transredientem fines positus insidiis circumuentum iniquo loco interfecerant</i>	Even a caravan —large because there had been too little safety for small numbers —crossing their territory had been entrapped in an unfavourable spot by an ambush and cut to pieces.	TRANSGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	26		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
28.44.2	<i>multum interest alienos populere fines an tuos uri, exscindi uideas; plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti</i>	A great difference it makes whether you are seeing the land of others ravaged or your own being burned over and devastated. More spirit has an aggressor than a defender.	POPULERE		PLUR.	FINES	205		B ₄
28.44.3	<i>ad hoc maior ignotarum rerum est terror; bona mala que hostium ex propinquo, ingressus fines, adspicias</i>	More spirit has an aggressor than a defender. Besides there is greater dread of things unknown; on entering the territory of the enemy you have a near view of their advantages and disadvantages. (!!!)	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	205		B ₄
28.7.10	<i>et Attalus primo Oreum se recepit: inde, cum fama accidisset Prusian, Bithyniae regem, in fines regni sui transgressum, omissis Romanis rebus atque Aetolico bello in Asiam traiecit</i>	Attalus also retired at first to Oreum; and then, when the report reached him that Prusias, King of Bithynia, had crossed into territory belonging to his kingdom, he sailed over to Asia, forsaking the Roman cause and the Aetolian war.	TRANGREDIRE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	27		B ₉
28.31.5	<i>Mandonius et Indibilis in fines regressi paulisper, dum quidnam de seditione statueretur scirent, suspensi quieuerunt, si ciuium errori ignosceretur non diffidentes sibi quoque ignosci posse</i>	Mandonius and Indibilis returned into their own territory and for a time remained quietly on the alert, until they should know what decision was reached in regard to the mutiny, not without confidence that, if a misunderstanding on the part of Roman citizens should be pardoned, they themselves also might possibly be pardoned.	REGREDIRE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	26		B ₄
28.4.5	<i>extremis finibus Carthaginiensium circa ipsa moenia Vticae praedae actae sunt.</i>	The same year a Roman fleet under Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the proconsul, was sent over from Sicily to Africa, and in the territory of Utica and Carthage they ravaged the country far and wide. Along the edge of the Carthaginian territory, close to the very walls of Utica, booty was carried off.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	27	CARTHAGIN IENSI	B ₆
28.5.5	<i>nec Acarnanes solum Boeoti que et qui Euboeam incolunt in magno metu erant, sed Achaei quoque, quos super Aetolicum bellum Machanidas etiam, Lacedaemonius tyrannus, haud procul Argiuorum fine positis castris terreat</i>	The inhabitants of Euboea greatly alarmed but also the Achaeans, who in addition to the Aetolian war were further terrified by Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who had pitched his camp not far from the Argive frontier.	PONERE		SING.	FINE	27	ARGIUI	B ₆
28.29.9	<i>Vix finem dicendi fecerat cum ex praeparato simul omnium rerum terror oculis auribus que est offusus.</i>	Scarcely had he made an end of speaking when, in accordance with previous orders, their eyes and ears were assailed by terrifying sights and sounds everywhere.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	26		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
29.12.12	<i>primus Philippus praetor uerba fecit et petiit simul ab rege et ab imperatore Romano ut finem belli facerent darent que eam Epirotis ueniam.</i>	The first to speak was Philip, the magistrate, begging the king and at the same time the Roman general to make an end of the war and grant that favour to the Epirotes.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	205	IMPERATOR ROMANUS	A
29.14.1	<i>Quamquam nondum aperte Africa prouincia decreta erat – occultantibus id, credo, patribus ne praesciscerent Carthaginienses – tamen in eam spem erecta ciuitas erat, in Africa eo anno bellatum iri finemque bello Punico adesse.</i>	Although Africa had not been openly assigned as a province, while the senators kept the matter dark, I believe, for fear the Carthaginians might know in advance, nevertheless the people were aroused to hope that the war would be waged that year in Africa, and that the end of the Punic war was at hand.	ADESSE		SING.	FINEM	205		A
29.31.0	<i>instando stimulando que peruincit ut exercitum ad fines Maesuliorum admoueat, atque in agro de quo saepe cum Gala non uerbis modo disceptatum sed etiam armis certatum fuerat, tamquam haud dubie iuris sui, castra locet</i>	By insisting and goading him on Hasdrubal brought him to the point of advancing his army to the frontier of the Maesulians and pitching his camp as though upon soil to which he was unquestionably entitled — land concerning which he had not only argued with Gala repeatedly but had contended also in arms.	ADMOVERE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	204	MAESULII	B ₅
28.8.6	<i>reddidit inde Achaeis Heraeam et Triphyliam, Alipheram autem Megalopolitis, quod suorum fuisse finium satis probabant, restituit</i>	The allies rejoiced when they listened to the king. Thereupon he delivered Heraea and Triphylia to the Achaeans, but restored Aliphēra to Megalopolis, because the citizens of the latter gave sufficient proofs that it had belonged to their territory.	PROBARE		PLUR.	FINIUM	27		B ₁₀
29.20.2	<i>qui enim conuenire, quem modo ciuitas iuuenem admodum unum recipendae Hispaniae delegerit ducem, quem recepta ab hostibus Hispania ad imponendum Punico bello finem creauerit consulem, spe destinauerit Hannibalem ex Italia retracturum,</i>	then, after Spain had been won from the enemy, elected him consul to put an end to the Punic war, and counted upon him to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to conquer Africa.	CREARE		SING.	FINEM	204		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
29.32.14	<i>quattuor equitum ad eum confluerent, iam que non in possessione modo paterni regni esset, sed etiam socios Carthaginiensium populos Masaesuliorum que fines – id Syphacis regnum erat – uastaret</i>	The results were that within a few days six thousand armed foot-soldiers and four thousand horsemen flocked to him, and that now he was not merely in possession of his father's kingdom but was even laying waste lands of allies of the Carthaginians and those of the Masaesulians, the kingdom, that is, of Syphax. Consequently, having provoked Syphax to war, he established himself between Cirta and Hippo on a mountain range that in every way was favourable.	VASTARE		PLUR.	FINES	204	CARTHAGINIENSI / MASAESULI	B ₆ B ₅
29.13.4	<i>et M. Liuius et Sp. Lucretio cum binis legionibus quibus aduersus Magonem Galliae praesidio fuissent prorogatum imperium est; et Cn. Octauio ut, cum Sardiniam legionem que Ti. Claudio tradidisset, ipse nauibus longis quadraginta maritimam oram, quibus finibus senatus censuisset, tutaretur.</i>	Marcus Livius also and Spurius Lucretius had their commands continued, with two legions each to defend Gaul against Mago. So Gnaeus Octavius also, with the order that, after turning over Sardinia and the legion to Tiberius Claudius, his duty should be the defence of the sea-coast with forty war-ships within an area to be defined by the senate.	TUTARE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	205	IMPERUM	B ₄
29.30.3	<i>cum iis praemisso nuntio ad paternos suos que amicos cum ad fines regni peruenisset, quingenti ferme Numidae ad eum conuenerunt</i>	When with that escort, after first sending word to his father's friends and his own, he had reached the frontier of the kingdom, about five hundred Numidians joined him.	PERVENIRE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	204		B ₄
29.10.7	<i>in eiusdem spei summam conferebant P Scipionis uelut praesagientem animum de fine belli quod depoposcisset prouinciam Africam</i>	To the facts supporting that same hope the senators added Publius Scipio's state of mind, virtually forecasting the end of the war, in that he demanded Africa as his province.			SING.	FINE	205		A
29.5.6	<i>Galli summam ad id suam uoluntatem esse dicere; sed cum una castra Romana intra fines, altera in finitima terra Etruria prope in conspectu habeant, si palam fiat auxiliis adiutum ab se esse Poenum, extemplo infestos utrimque exercitus in agrum suum incursuros</i>	The Gauls said that they were entirely willing to do so, but that since they had almost before their eyes one Roman camp within their borders and another in the neighbouring land of Etruria, if it should become known that they had aided the Carthaginian by furnishing auxiliaries, forthwith hostile armies would invade their territory from both directions.		INTRA	PLUR.	FINES	205		B ₁₀

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
30.1.10	<i>Scipioni non temporis sed rei gerendae fine, donec debellatum in Africa foret, prorogatum imperium est;</i>	Publius Scipio's command was prolonged, not for a fixed time but to the completion of his task, until the war in Africa should be over.	GERERE		SING.	FINE	203	IMPERIUM	A
29.32.9	<i>is finis Bucari sequendi fuit, nec ingredi flumen auso nec habere credenti se iam quem sequeretur.</i>	That was the end of pursuit for Bucar, as he did not dare enter the river and believed he had no one left to pursue.	SEQUERE		SING.	FINIS	204		A
30.32.10	<i>adesse finem belli ac laboris; in manibus esse praedam Carthaginiensis, reditum domum in patriam ad parentes, liberos coniuges penates que deos.</i>	The end of the war and hardship was at hand, he said, the spoils of Carthage within reach, and the return home to their native city, to parents, children, wives and household gods.	ADESSE		SING.	FINEM	202		A
30.37.2	<i>populandi que finem eo die Romanus faceret.</i>	; and the Roman was on that day to make an end of devastation.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	202		A
30.37.2	<i>quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent, tenerent,</i>	Whereupon the peace terms were stated to them: they were to live as free men under their own laws; to hold the cities and territories which they had held before the war, with the same boundaries	TEUERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	202		B ₄
30.40.2	<i>ubi cum L. Veturius Philo pugnatum cum Hannibale esse suprema Carthaginiensibus pugna finemque tandem lugubri bello impositum ingenti laetitia patrum exposuisset,</i>	There Lucius Veturius Philo to the great joy of the senators set forth how they had fought with Hannibal in a battle that was for the Carthaginians their last, and that at length an end had been made of a war of grievous losses.			SING.	FINEM	202		A
30.30.4	<i>tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui de tot Romanis ducibus uictoriam di dedissent, tibi cessione, te que huic bello uestris prius quam nostris cladibus insigni finem imposuisse.</i>	For you also, among your many distinctions, it will prove not the least of your honours that Hannibal, to whom the gods have given the victory over so many Roman generals, has submitted to you, and that you have made an end of this war, which was memorable at first for your disasters and then for ours.	IMPONERE		SING.	FINEM	202		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
30.42.5	<i>aduersus ea M. Furius, missus ad id ipsum ab Aurelio ex Macedonia, disseruit Aurelium relictum ne socii populi Romani fessi populationibus ui atque iniuria ad regem deficerent finibus sociorum non excessisse; dedisse operam ne impune in agros eorum populatores transcenderent.</i>	In reply Marcus Furius, who had been sent for the very purpose from Macedonia by Aurelius, maintained that Aurelius had been left behind in order to prevent allies of the Roman people from being exhausted by raids and forced by acts of violence to go over to the king's side; that he had not gone beyond the boundaries of the allies; that he had exerted himself that raiders should not come over into the allies' lands with impunity.	EXCEDERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	201		B ₄
30.40.6	<i>de prouinciis consulum nihil ante placebat agi quam legati Philippi regis et Carthaginensium auditi essent; belli finem alterius, principium alterius prospiciebant animis.</i>	As for the consuls' provinces, the senators were not disposed to take up the matter until the envoys of King Philip and those of the Carthaginians had been heard. They foresaw the end of one war, the beginning of another.			SING.	FINEM	202		A
30.28.8	<i>Has formidines agitando animis, ipsi curas et metus augebant, etiam quod, cum adsuissent per aliquot annos bellum ante oculos aliis atque aliis in Italiae partibus, lenta spe in nullum propinquum debellandi finem, gerere, erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal uelut ad supremum certamen comparati duces.</i>	By brooding over such terrifying thoughts men were adding to their own anxieties and fears, for another reason too: whereas year after year it had been their habit to carry on a war before their eyes in one part and then in another of Italy, with hope deferred and looking to no immediate end of the conflict, all men's interest ?? was now intensified by Scipio and Hannibal, as it were, pitted against each other for the final combat.	GERERE		SING.	FINEM	202		A
31.1.1	<i>Me quoque iuuat, uelut ipse in parte laboris ac periculi fuerim, ad finem belli Punici peruenisse.</i>	.I., too, feel as much relief in having reached the end of the Punic War as if I had taken a personal part in its toils and dangers.	PERVENIRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	201		A
31.2.11	<i>qui nisi quod populatus est Boiorum fines, et cum Ingaunis Liguribus foedus icit, nihil quod esset memorabile aliud in prouincia cum gessisset, Romam rediit</i>	Beyond ravaging the Boian country and making a league with the Ligurian Ingauni the consul did nothing worth mentioning in his province before his return to Rome.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINES	201	BOII	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
31.26.11	<i>Per eos ipsos dies quibus Philippus in Achaia fuit Philocles praefectus regius, ex Euboea profectus cum duobus milibus Thracum Macedonum que ad depopulandos Atheniensium fines, regione Eleusinis saltum Cithaeronis transcendit</i>	During this same period while Philip was in Achaea, his prefect Philocles left Euboea with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians to plunder the territory of the Athenians in the region of Eleusis, and crossed the pass of Cithaeron.	DEPOPULARE		PLUR.	FINES	200		B ₄
31.27.13	<i>Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat castra, quo arcessitum L Apustium legatum cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos hostium fines mittit</i>	The consul Sulpicius was at that time encamped along the Apsus river between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, and summoning to him there his lieutenant Lucius Apustius he sent him with part of the troops to ravage the enemy's country.	MITTERE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	200	APOLLONIA / DYRRACHIUM M / APSUM FL.	B ₆ B ₁
31.43.1	<i>Per eos dies et Athenagoras regius praefectus Dardanos recipientes se in fines adeptus postremum agmen primo turbavit; dein, postquam Dardani conuersis signis direxere aciem, aequa pugna iusto proelio erat</i>	At the same time, moreover, Athenagoras, the king's prefect, overtaking the Dardani as they retired into their own country, threw the rear of the column into confusion; then, after the Dardani had faced about and formed their line, there was a regular battle on equal terms.	ADEPTARE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	200	DARDANI	B ₅
31.19.5	<i>is ad primos fines regni legatis obuiam progressus, ut scriberent ipsi quas uellent pacis condiciones permisit: omnem pacem bonam iustam que fore sibi cum populo Romano</i>	The third errand was to Vermina, who met the ambassadors at the frontier and left it to them to lay down terms of peace satisfactory to Rome, while for his own part he promised to maintain a just and lawful peace with the Roman people.	PROGREDIRE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	200		B ₄
31.33.4	<i>per Dassaretiorum fines exercitum ducebat, frumentum quod ex hibernis extulerat integrum uehens, quod in usum militi satis esset praebentibus agris</i>	He was leading the army through the territory of the Dassaretii, carrying with him untouched the grain he had brought from winter quarters, since the country supplied adequately the needs of the soldiers.	DUCERE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	200	DASSARETI	B ₅
31.30.5.	<i>omnia sepulcra monumenta que diruta esse in finibus suis, omnium nudatos manes, nullius ossa terra tegi.</i>	All the tombs and monuments in their land had been destroyed, the shades of all the dead left naked, no man's bones left with their covering of earth.	ESSE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	200		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
31.2.7	<i>Ampius ingressus hostium fines primo populationes satis prospere ac tuto fecit</i>	Ampius, after entering the enemy's country, at first conducted raids with considerable success and without losses; then, choosing, near the fortified town of Mutilus, a camp-site suitable for reaping the crops—for the grain was now ripe	INGRESSO FACERE		PLUR.	FINES	201	BOII	B ₅
31.11.8	<i>haec ad Carthaginenses mandata, Masinissae gratulari iussi quod non patrium modo reciperasset regnum, sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam auxisset</i>	As to Masinissa, they were ordered to congratulate him because he had not only recovered his ancestral possessions but had also enlarged them by the addition of the most prosperous part of the territory of Syphax.	AUXIRE		PLUR.	FINIUM	200	SYPHAX	B ₄
31.8.2	<i>supplicatio inde a consulibus in triduum ex senatus consulto indicta est, obsecrati que circa omnia puluinaria di ut quod bellum cum Philippo populus iussisset, id bene ac feliciter eueniret; consulti que fetiales ab consule Sulpicio, bellum quod indiceretur regi Philippo utrum ipsi utique nuntiari iuberent, an satis esset in finibus regni quod proximum praesidium esset eo nuntiari.</i>	A three-day period of supplication was then declared by the consuls on the authorization of the senate, and the gods were implored at all their seats, that this war which the people had declared upon Philip might succeed and prosper. The fetials were consulted by the consul whether they would direct that the declaration of war against King Philip be delivered to him in person, or whether it was sufficient to announce it at the first fortified post in his territory. The fetials replied that in whichever way he acted he would act correctly.	ESSE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	200		B ₃ B ₁₀
31.5.5.	<i>per eos dies opportune inritandis ad bellum animis et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laeuino pro praetore adlatae, et Atheniensium noua legatio uenit, quae regem adpropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret, breui que non agros modo sed urbem etiam in ditione eius futuram, nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret.</i>	In these days two things occurred opportunely for arousing popular sentiment in favour of the war: the arrival of the dispatches from the commissioner Marcus Aurelius and Marcus Laevinus the propraetor, and the coming of a new embassy from the Athenians, which brought word that the king was approaching their borders and that in a short time not only their farms but Athens itself would be in his power unless there should be some assistance from the Romans.	ADPROPINQUARE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	200	ATHENIENSI	B ₆

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
31.5.7	<i>cum renuntiassent consules rem diuinam rite peractam esse, et precationi adnuisse deos haruspices respondere, laeta que exta fuisse, et prolationem finium uictoriam que et triumphum portendi, tum litterae Valeri Aureli que lectae et legati Atheniensium auditi</i>	When the consuls had reported that the sacrifices had been duly performed and that the gods had given approval to their prayers, that the soothsayers had given answer that the entrails were propitious and portended an extension of territory, victory, and a triumph, then the letters of Valerius and Aurelius were read and the Athenian embassy given audience.				PLUR. FINIUM	200		B ₄
32.10.12	<i>multis hinc atque illinc uolneribus acceptis cum etiam, ut in proelio iusto, aliquot cecidissent, nox pugnae finem fecit.</i>	When many had been wounded on both sides, and a considerable number had even fallen, as in a regular engagement, night put an end to the fighting.	FACERE			SING. FINEM	198 BC		A
32.27.1	<i>Eodem anno legati ab rege Attalo coronam auream ducentum quadraginta sex pondo in Capitolio posuerunt, gratias que senatui egere quod Antiochus legatorum Romanorum auctoritate motus finibus Attali exercitum deduxisset.</i>	In the same year ambassadors from King Attalus deposited on the Capitoline a golden crown of a weight of two hundred forty-six pounds, and expressed to the senate his gratitude because Antiochus, influenced by the authority of the Roman ambassadors, had withdrawn his army from the frontiers of Attalus.	DEDUCERE			PLUR. FINIBUS	198	ATTALUS	B ₄
32.31.1	<i>Minucius consul primo effusis populationibus peragrauerat fines Boiorum; deinde, ut relictis Insubribus ad sua tuenda receperant sese, castris se tenuit, acie dimicandum cum hoste ratus</i>	The consul Minucius had at first wandered far and wide through the country of the Boi, raiding in every direction, but later, when they had left the Insubres and returned to defend their possessions, – he remained in camp, thinking that he would fight a regular battle with the enemy.	PERAGRAUERE			PLUR. FINES	197		B ₄
32.4.2	<i>ceterum incepto absistere eum coegit subitus Aetolorum aduentus, qui Archidamo duce inter custodias Macedonum moenia ingressi nec nocte nec die finem ullum erumpendi nunc in stationes nunc in opera Macedonum faciebant.</i>	but he was compelled to give up his enterprise by the sudden attack of the Aetolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, slipped through the screen of Macedonian patrols into the city, and never, either by night or day, ceased making sallies, now against the Macedonian outposts, now against their siege-works. The nature of the place, – too, aided them.				SING. FINEM	199 BC	MACEDONU M	B ₆ B ₁₀

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
32.35.3	<i>uolgo credebant de industria rem in serum tractam, ne tempus dari posset Achaeis Aetolis que ad respondendum;et eam opinionem ipse adfirmavit petendo ut submotis aliis, ne tempus altercando tereretur et aliqui finis rei imponi posset, cum ipso imperatore Romano liceret sibi conloqui.</i>	it was the general opinion that he had purposely deferred his arrival until late, so as to give the Achaeans and Aetolians no time to reply to him, and he himself confirmed this belief by asking that the others retire, that time might not be wasted in argument and that some end might be set to the affair, and that he be permitted to confer with the Roman commander by himself.				SING. FINIS	197	IMPERATOR ROMANUS	A
32.3.4	<i>sed utcumque, seu iniuncta seu suscepta foret militia, et eam exhaustam et finem aliquem militandi fieri aequum esse.</i>	But whatever the facts were, whether their service was compulsory or voluntary, it was, they said, finished, and it was right that there be some end to their soldiering.				SING. FINEM	200		A
32.34.4	<i>indignari inde coepit Aetolos tamquam Romanos decedi Graecia iubere, qui quibus finibus Graecia sit dicere non possent; ipsius enim Aetoliae Agraeos Apodotos que et Amphilochos, quae permagna eorum pars sit, Graeciam non esse.</i>	Then he began to complain that the Aetolians, like the Romans, ordered him to retire from Greece, although they could not say within what boundaries Greece lay; for in Aetolia itself, the Agraei, the Apodoti, the Amphilochoi, who comprise a great part of the country, were not in Greece.	ESSE			PLUR. FINIBUS	197		B ₆
32.8.12	<i>senatus legatis ita responderi iussit: quod rex Attalus classe copiis que aliis duces Romanos iuisset, id gratum senatui esse;auxilia nec ipsos missuros Attalo aduersus Antiochum, socium et amicum populi Romani, nec Attali auxilia retenturos ultra quam regi commodum esset;semper populum Romanum alienis rebus arbitrio alieno usum; et principium et finem in potestate ipsorum qui ope sua uelint adiutos romanos esse;</i>	that both the beginning and the end of rendering assistance was under the control of those who wished the Roman people to enjoy their aid; that they would send ambassadors to Antiochus to point out that the Roman people was employing the aid of Attalus and his ships and soldiers against the common enemy Philip;				SING. FINEM	198 BC		A
32.7.5	<i>Eodem anno Cn Baebius Tamphilus, qui ab C Aurelio consule anni prioris prouinciam Galliam acceperat, temere ingressus Gallorum Insubrum fines prope cum toto exercitu est circumuentus;</i>	During the same year, Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, who had succeeded Gaius Aurelius, consul of the preceding year, as governor of the province of Gaul, rashly invaded the territory of the Insubrian Gauls and was cut off with almost his entire army;	INGREDIRE			PLUR. FINES	199 BC	GALLI INSUBRES	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
33.14.11	<i>omnibus ad diem edictam paratis, profectus inde extemplo per Phliasiorum finis nocte Cleonae, insciis omnibus quid pararet, peruenit</i>	When all was ready on the appointed day, he at once set out by night through the country of the Phliasii and arrived at Cleonae, no one knowing what he was planning.	PROFACERE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	197	PHLIASII	B ₅
33.19.1	<i>Philippus cum audisset Dardanos transgressos fines ab contemptu concussi tum regni superiora Macedoniae euastare,quamquam toto prope orbe terrarum undique se suos que exigente fortuna urgebatur,</i>	When Philip learned that the Dardani had crossed the borders, out of contempt for his stricken kingdom, and were then laying waste the farther frontiers of Macedonia, although he was hard pressed in every quarter of the world, since fortune	TRANSGREDDRE		PLUR.	FINES	197		B ₄
33.20.1	<i>Multa egregie Rhodii pro fide erga populum Romanum pro que uniuerso nomine Graecorum terra mari que ausi sunt,nihil magnificentius quam quod ea tempestate, non territi tanta mole imminentis belli, legatos ad regem miserunt ne Chelidonias promunturium Ciliciae est, inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus Persarum – superaret: si eo fine non contineret classem copias que suas,se obuiam ituros, non ab odio ullo sed ne coniungi eum Philippo paterentur, et impedimento esse Romanis liberantibus Graeciam</i>	Many are the noble ventures which the Rhodians have undertaken on land and sea, to testify to their loyalty to the Roman people and in behalf of the whole race of the Greeks, but they have done nothing more glorious than on this occasion, when, unterrified by the magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to the king, ordering him not to pass Chelidoniae—a promontory in Cilicia, made famous by the ancient treaty between the Athenians and the Persian kings: if Antiochus did not keep his fleet and army within this limit, they vowed that they would oppose him, not from any ill-will towards him, but to prevent his joining Philip and interfering with the Romans who were undertaking to liberate Greece.	CONTINERE		SING.	FINE	197		B ₁
33.35.12	<i>hunc finem bellum cum Philippo habuit.</i>	This was the end of the war with Philip.	HABERE		SING.	FINEM	196		A
33.19.4	<i>quibus fuga in expedito fuit, ne temptato quidem casu pugnae in finis suos redierunt</i>	Many men fell in the battle, many more through their lust for booty while roving through the fields. Those to whom flight was possible returned to their country without even risking the hazard of a battle.	REDIRE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	197		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
33.36.4	<i>Marcellum Boiorum ingressum finēs, fatigato per diem totum milite uia facienda castra in tumulo quodam ponentem Corolamus quidam, regulus Boiorum, cum magna manu adortus ad tria milia hominum occidit;</i>	The consuls departed to their provinces. As Marcellus was entering the territory of the Boi, and was pitching camp on a certain hill, his troops being exhausted by building roads all the day, a chieftain of the Boi, Corolamus by name, fell upon him with a large force and killed about three thousand of his men;	INGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINES	196		B ₄ B ₁₀
33.14.7	<i>regiae copiae peditum equitum que uagae Pelle<n>ensem et Phliasium et Cleonaeum agrum depopulabantur;postremo exprobrantes metum hosti in finēs Sicyoniorum transcendebant, nauibus etiam circumuecti omnem oram Achaiae uastabant</i>	The king's infantry and cavalry were roaming about and ravaging the lands of Pellene, Phlius and Cleonae, and finally crossed into the territory of Sicyon, taunting the enemy with cowardice;likewise they skirted with their ships the whole coast of Achaea and laid it waste.	TRASCENDERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	197	SICYONI	B ₆
33.30.6	<i>ne plus quinque milia armatorum haberet neue elephantum ullum; bellum extra Macedoniae finēs ne iniussu senatus gereret;mille talentum daret populo Romano, dimidium praesens dimidium pensionibus decem annorum</i>	that he should wage no war outside Macedonia without the permission of the senate; that he should pay to the Roman people an indemnity of one thousand talents, half at onceand half in ten annual instalments.	GERERE		EXTRAPLUR.	FINES	196		B ₄
33.37.6	<i>quos non adepti, Pado repente nauibus traiecto Laeuos Libuos que cum peruastassent, redeuntes inde per Ligurum extremos finēs cum agresti praeda in agmen incidunt Romanum</i>	Failing to overtake them, and suddenly crossing the Po in boats, when they had laid waste the country of the Laevi and Libui, and were returning from there loaded with the spoils of the country along the edges of the Ligurian territory, they encountered the Roman column.	REDERE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	196	EXTREMUS LIGURI	B ₅
34.2.10.	<i>quamquam ne domi quidem uos, si sui iuris finibus matronas contineret pudor, quae leges hic rogarentur abrogarentur ue curare decuit'.</i>	And yet, not even at home, if modesty would keep matrons within the limits of their proper rights, did it become you to concern yourselves with the question of what laws should be adopted in this place or repealed.'			PLUR.	FINIBUS	195		B ₉
34.32.11	<i>quam tu ipse, cum iam prope in finibus Lacedaemoniorum essem?</i>	Of what were you yourself guilty, at a time when I was practically on the frontiers of the Spartans?	ESSE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	195	LACEDAEM ONI	B ₆

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
34.56.1	<i>Nihil eo anno belli exspectantibus consulibus litterae M. Cinci – praefectus is Pisis erat – adlatae: Ligurum uiginti milia armatorum, coniuratione per omnia conciliabula uniuersae gentis facta, Lunensem primum agrum depopulatos, Pisanum deinde finem transgressos, omnem oram maris peragrassse.</i>	Though the consuls expected no war that year, a letter came from Marcus Cincius —he was the prefect at Pisae —announcing that twenty thousand of the Ligures were in arms, had caused a conspiracy to be formed in all the towns of the whole tribe, and had first devastated the fields around Luna and then had entered the territory of Pisae and overrun the whole sea-coast.	TRANSGREDIRE		SING.	FINEM	193		B ₄
34.58.1	<i>Ad ea Quinctius: ‘quoniam uobis distincte agere libet et genera iungendarum amicitiarum enumerare, ego quoque duas condiciones ponam, extra quas nullam esse regi nuntietis amicitiae cum populo Romano iungendae: unam, si nos nihil quod ad urbes Asiae attinet curare uelit, ut et ipse omni Europa abstineat; alteram, si se ille Asiae finibus non contineat et in Europam transcendat, ut et Romanis ius sit Asiae ciuitatum amicitias et tueri quas habeant et nouas complecti’.</i>	Quinctius replied thus: ‘Since it is your pleasure to discuss the matter systematically and to enumerate the different ways of establishing friendships, I shall set forth two conditions without which you may report to the king that there is no way to form a friendship with the Roman people: first, that if he wishes us to have no interest in what concerns the cities of Asia, he too must himself keep entirely out of Europe; second, that if he will not keep himself within the limits of Asia, but crosses into Europe, the Romans too shall have the right both to defend the existing friendships with the cities of Asia and to add new treaties of alliance.’	CONTINERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	193		B ₄
34.13.7	<i>patres nostri, cum <in> Hispania Carthaginiensium et imperatores et exercitus essent, ipsi nullum in ea militem haberent, tamen addi hoc in foedere uoluerunt ut imperii sui Hiberus fluius esset finis.</i>	Our fathers, when the Carthaginians had both generals and armies in Spain, and they themselves had not a single soldier here, still demanded that it be stated in the treaty that the Ebro river should be the boundary of their empire;	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	195	IMPERIUM	B ₁
34.46.4	<i>Boiorix tum regulus eorum cum duobus fratribus tota gente concitata ad rebellandum castra locis apertis posuit, ut appareret dimicaturos si hostis fines intrasset</i>	Boiorix, their chieftain at the time, with his two brothers, had aroused the whole people to revolt and had placed his camp in open country, so that it was clear that they would fight if the enemy entered their territory.	INTRARE		PLUR.	FINES	194	BOII	B ₅ B ₁₀
34.47.8	<i>Galli recepere in intima finium consul Placentiam legiones duxit</i>	The Gauls retired into the interior of their country, while the consul led his legions to Placentia.	RECEPERE		PLUR.	FINIUM	194	INTIMUS GALLI	B ₅

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
34.62.8	<i>Carthaginienses iure finium causam tutabantur, quod intra eos terminos esset quibus P Scipio uictor agrum qui iuris esset Carthaginiensium finisset, et confessione regis, qui cum Aphthirem profugum ex regno suo cum parte Numidarum uagantem circa Cyrenas persequeretur, precario ab se iter per eum ipsum agrum tamquam haud dubie Carthaginiensium iuris petisset</i>	The Carthaginians maintained their case by their boundary-rights, because the district was within the limits which Publius Scipio, when he conquered them, had set for the land which should be under Carthaginian jurisdiction, and by the king's own admission, who, when he was pursuing Aphthir, a fugitive from his country, who was wandering around Cyrene with a party of Numidians, had requested, as a favour from them, a right of way through this very country as if it had without question belonged to the Carthaginians.	TUERE		PLUR.	FINIUM	193		B ₉
35.4.1	<i>Cum bellum Ligustinum ad Pisas constitisset, consul alter, L Cornelius Merula, per extremos Ligurum fines exercitum in agrum Boiorum induxit, ubi longe alia belli ratio quam cum Liguribus erat</i>	While the Ligurian war was at a standstill around Pisa, the other consul, Lucius Cornelius Merula, led his army through the farthest lands of the Ligures into the country of the Boii, where the war was conducted in a fashion far different from that in the war with the Ligures.	INDUCERE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	193	EXTREMUS LIGURI	B ₅
35.3.5	<i>Ligures multitudine freti et in aciem exhibant, parati de summa rerum decernere, et abundantes militum numero passim multas manus per extrema finium ad praedandum mittebant, et cum coacta uis magna pecorum praedae que esset, paratum erat praesidium per quos in castella eorum uicos que ageretur</i>	The Ligures both marched out to battle, trusting in their numbers and prepared to risk a decisive engagement, and, since they had abundance of men, sent out many parties to plunder in all directions on the borders of the territory, ?? and when a large number of animals and much booty had been collected, guards were available to conduct them to their forts and villages.	MITTERE	PER	PLUR.	FINIUM	193	EXTREMUS LIGURI	B ₅
35.4.4	<i>Boii ut egressum e finibus suis hostem sensere, sequebantur silenti agmine, locum insidiis quaerentes.</i>	When the Boii saw that the enemy had withdrawn from their territory, they followed stealthily, seeking a place for an ambush. At night they passed the Roman camp and seized a defile through which the Romans had to march.	SENSERE	E/EX	PLUR.	FINIBUS	193	BOII	B ₅
35.26.9	<i>ipse Philopoemen in leui speculatoria naue fugit, nec ante fugae finem quam Patras uentum est fecit.</i>	The rest of the fleet, when their flagship was lost, fled as fast as the oars could drive them. Philopoemen himself escaped in a light scouting vessel and did not stop his flight until he reached Patrae.			SING.	FINEM	192		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
35.27.9.	<i>ita percussis hostibus Philopoemen protinus ad depopulandam Tripolim Laconici agri, qui proximus finem Megalopolitarum est, duxit, et magna ui pecorum hominum que inde abrepta, priusquam a Gytheo tyrannus praesidium agris mitteret, discessit.</i>	Having thus inflicted a defeat upon the enemy, Philopoemen marched straight to ravage Tripolis in Spartan territory, this being nearest the borders of the Megalopolitae, and having ?? carried off thence a large number of animals and men departed before the tyrant from Gytheum could send guards over the land.	ESSE		SING.	FINEM	192		B ₄
35.48.7.	<i>itaque non cum Philippo nec Hannibale rem futuram Romanis, principe altero unius ciuitatis, altero Macedoniae tantum regni finibus incluso, sed cum magno Asiae totius partis que Europae rege.</i>	At this time to speak of money, at this time to speak of other equipment for war, he said was useless: they themselves were aware that the kingdoms of Asia had always been rich in gold. Therefore the Romans would not have to do with Philip or Hannibal, the one the chief of a single state, the other confined only within the bounds of the Macedonian kingdom, but with the mighty lord of all Asia and part of Europe.	INCLUDERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	192		B ₇ B ₉
36.10.13	<i>itaque hiemem + stare + apud suos causatus, rex unum tantum moratus diem, ab Larisa recessit et Demetriadem rediit, Aetoli que et Athamanes in suos receperunt se fines</i>	So the king, using as a pretext to his men the approach of winter, delayed only one day and retired from Larisa and withdrew to Demetrias, and the Aetolians and Athamanes returned to their own countries.	RECEPERE		PLUR.	FINES	191	AETOLI / ATHAMANE S	B ₅
36.10.14	<i>Appius etsi, cuius rei causa missus erat, solutam cernebat obsidionem, tamen Larisam ad confirmandos in reliquum sociorum animos descendit; duplex que laetitia erat, quod et hostes excesserant finibus, et intra moenia praesidium Romanum cernebant.</i>	Although Appius saw that the siege had been raised, which had been the purpose of his coming, he yet went down to Larisa to reassure the minds of the allies for the future; and there was double joy, both because the enemy had left their country and ?? because they saw a Roman garrison within the walls.	EXCEDERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	191		B ₈
36.17.15	<i>quid deinde aberit quin ab Gadibus ad mare rubrum Oceano finis terminemus, qui orbem terrarum amplexu finit, et omne humanum genus secundum deos nomen Romanum ueneretur?</i>	What then will be lacking, that we shall not bound our empire by the ocean from Gades to the Red Sea, that ocean which holds the earth in its embrace, and that the whole human race will not reverence the Roman name next after the gods?	TERMINARE		SING.	FINIS	191		B ₁
36.35.14	<i>bellum quod cum Antiocho rege in Graecia gestum est a M'. Acilio consule hunc finem habuit.</i>	The war which was waged with King Antiochus in Greece by Manius Acilius the consul came thus to an end.	HABERE		SING.	FINEM	191		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
36.18.4	<i>ab dextro Macedonibus ad ipsum munimentorum finem, qua loca usque ad mare inuia palustri limo et uoraginibus claudunt, elephantos cum adsueto praesidio posuit, post eos equites, tum modico interuallo relicto ceteras copias in secunda acie.</i>	On the right, next to the Macedonians, at the very end of the fortification, where the ground, impassable as far as the sea, closed it in with swampy mud and quicksands, he stationed the elephants with their usual guard and behind them the cavalry; then, a short distance to the rear, the rest of his troops in the second line.				SING. FINEM	191		B ₁₀
36.20.4	<i>reuocato extemplo milite finis populandi factus; castigati tantum uerbis Boeoti ob ingratum in tantis tam que recentibus beneficiis animum erga Romanos.</i>	The soldiers were at once recalled and an end put to the pillaging; the Boeotians received only a verbal reproof for their ingratitude to the Romans after such notable and recent acts of kindness.	POPULARE			SING. FINIS	191		A
36.12.5	<i>itaque uixdum iis egressis Antiochus in finibus et mox ad portas erat, et trepidantibus qui expertes proditionis fuerant, tumultuose que iuuentutem ad arma uocantibus, ab Clito et Mnasilocho in urbem est inductus; et aliis sua uoluntate adfluentibus, metu coacti etiam qui dissentiebant ad regem conuenerunt.</i>	Accordingly, when the ambassadors had barely set out, Antiochus was already at the frontier and soon before the gates, and while those who were without knowledge of the treachery were in panic and were excitedly calling the youth to arms, he was admitted into the city by Clytus and Mnasilochus; and as some flocked to him voluntarily, those who disagreed also, under the compulsion of fear, joined the king.	ESSE	IN		PLUR. FINIBUS	191		B ₄
36.45.4	<i>Polyxenidas non prius quam in portu Ephesi fugae finem fecit.</i>	Polyxenidas did not stop his flight until he reached the harbour of Ephesus.	FACERE			SING. FINEM	191		A
37.18.1	<i>Per idem tempus Seleucus Antiochi filius, cum per omne hibernorum tempus exercitum in Aeolide continuisset partim sociis ferendo opem, partim quos in societatem perlicere non poterat depopulandis, transire in fines regni Eumenis, dum is procul ab domo cum Romanis et Rhodiis Lyciae maritima oppugnaret, statuit</i>	About the same time Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, ?? after holding the army in Aeolis for the whole period of the winter, partly assisting his allies, partly plundering those whom he could not win over to his alliance, decided to invade the territory of Eumenes while he was far from home, engaged with the Romans and Rhodians in the naval operations off Lycia.	TRANSIRE	IN		PLUR. FINES	191	REGNI	B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
37.26.10	<i>Aemilium et Sami segnis diu mora offendebat nihil minus opinantem quam Polyxenidam, bis nequiquam ab se prouocatum, potestatem pugnae facturum esse;et turpe existimabat Eumenis classem adiuuare consulem ad traiciendas in Asiam legiones, se Colophonis obsessae auxilio, incertam finem habituro, adligari.</i>	Aemilius, idle at Samos, was chafing under the long delay, thinking of nothing less than that Polyxenidas, twice challenged by him ?? in vain, would offer the opportunity for battle, and he thought it a disgrace that the fleet of Eumenes should assist the consul in transporting the legions into Asia while he was entangled in aiding the beleaguered Colophon, an operation of indefinite duration.	HABERE		SING.	FINEM	190		A
37.33.1	<i>Per idem fere tempus consuli transgresso Aeniorum Maronitarum que fines, nuntiatur uictam regiam classem ad Myonnesum relictam que a praesidio Lysimachiam esse</i>	About the same time the consul, having crossed the territories of the Aenians and Maronians, received the news of the defeat of the royal fleet off Myonnesus and the abandonment of Lysimachia by its garrison.			PLUR.	FINES	190		B ₄
37.55.4	<i>quibus omnibus datum responsum decem legatos more maiorum senatum missurum ad res Asiae disceptandas componendas que;summam tamen hanc fore, ut cis Taurum montem quae intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent Eumeni attribuerentur, praeter Lyciam Cariam que usque ad Maeandrum amnem;</i>	Then other embassies also from Asia were heard. To all these the same reply was given, that the senate, in the fashion of their forefathers, would send ten commissioners to adjudge cases arising in Asia and to settle differences;yet the general principle followed would be this, that on this side of the Taurus mountains the districts which had been within the boundaries of the kingdom of Antiochus should be assigned to Eumenes with the exception of Lycia and Caria as far as the Meander river;	ESSE		PLUR.	FINES	189		B ₁
38.1.10	<i>Telum oppidum, litteris a Xenone praefecto praesidii interceptis et arce ab regiis occupata, paucos dies obsidentibus restitit;deinde id quoque traditum Amynandro est, et omnis Athamania in potestate erat praeter Athenaeum castellum, finibus Macedoniae subiectum.</i>	The town of Theium, since the despatch had been intercepted by Xenon, the prefect of the garrison, and the citadel had been seized by the king's troops, held out for a few days against the besiegers;finally it also was delivered to Amynander, and all Athamania was in his hands except the fortress of Athenaeum, lying on the borders of Macedonia.			PLUR.	FINIBUS	189		B ₁₀ B ₇

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
37.53.7.	<i>quod ad me attinet, in aliis rebus cessisse intra finem iuris mei cui libet uideri malim quam nimis pertinaciter in obtinendo eo tetendisse; in certamine autem amicitiae uestrae, beneuolentiae erga uos, honoris qui a uobis habebitur, minime aequo animo uinci possum.</i>	So far as I am concerned, I should prefer to seem, in other respects, to have yielded something to anyone, though it was within the limits of my rights, than to have struggled too stubbornly to maintain it; but in a contest of friendship towards you, of goodwill towards you, of respect which is due you, I cannot willingly be overcome.				INTRA SING. FINEM	190	IUS	B ₉
38.13.11	<i>in finibus Pisidarum posita urbs est, in ea parte quae uergit ad Pamphylium mare.</i>	The city lies on the borders of the Pisidians, on the side which faces the Pamphylian sea.	ESSE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	189	PISIDIAE	B ₇ B ₁₀
38.15.10.	<i>consul, quia nulla legatio ad finem praesto fuerat, praedatum in agros misit.</i>	Since no embassy met him at the frontier, the consul sent out parties to plunder the fields.	ESSE	AD	SING.	FINEM	189	PISIDIAE	B ₄
38.15.15	<i>ibi plures dies statiuu habuit, quia peruentum erat ad Tolostobogiorum fines</i>	There he maintained his camp for many days because he had come to the frontiers of the Tolostobogii.	PERVENIRE		PLUR.	FINES	189		B ₄
38.18.12	<i>tria maria pari ferme distantia interuallo habet, Hellespontum, ad Sinopen, et alterius orae litora, qua Cilices maritimi colunt; multarum magnarum que praeterea gentium finis contingit, quarum commercium in eum maxime locum mutui usus contraxere</i>	It has three seas about equidistant from it, the Hellespont, the sea at Sinope and the shores of the opposite sea where the Cilicians of the coast dwell; besides, it adjoins the borders of several strong states, and their mutual needs concentrated their intercourse at this place especially. At this time the Romans found it deserted by the flight of the inhabitants, but likewise filled with abundance of all things.	CONTIGERE		SING.	FINIS	189		B ₄
38.2.11.	<i>hic finis sequendi fuit.</i>	This was the end of the pursuit.	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	189		A
38.11.2	<i>fuerunt autem hae: 'imperium maiestatem que populi Romani gens Aetolorum conseruato sine dolo malo; ne quem exercitum, qui aduersus socios amicos que eorum ducetur, per fines suos transire sinito, neue ulla ope iuuato;</i>	These were the conditions: 'The people of the Aetolians shall uphold the sovereignty and dignity of the Roman people without fraud; they shall permit no army which is being led against the allies and friends of the Romans to cross their borders and shall aid such an army in no way;	TRANSIRE	PER	PLUR.	FINES	189	IMPERIUM	B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
37.53.8	<i>hanc ego maximam hereditatem a patre accepi, qui primus omnium Asiam Graeciam que incolentium in amicitiam uenit uestram, eam que perpetua et constanti fide ad extremum uitae finem perduxit;</i>	This is the greatest inheritance I have received from my father, who first of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece entered into your friendship and who maintained it with constant and true faith to the very end of his life;	PERDUCERE	AD	SING.	FINEM	190		A
37.58.8	<i>in Asia totius Asiae steterunt uires, ab ultimis orientis + in + finibus omnium gentium contractis auxiliis.</i>	In Asia the strength of all Asia from the farthest parts of the east and of all nations stood as his assembled army.		IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	189		B ₄
38.32.1	<i>ne extemplo gereretur hiemps impediit; incursionibus tamen paruus, latrocinii magis quam belli modo, non terra tantum sed etiam nauibus a mari fines eorum uastati</i>	Winter prevented the immediate prosecution of the war; nevertheless, their territories were devastated by small raids, more like brigandage than war, not only on land but also by ships from the sea.	VASTARE		PLUR.	FINES	189	LACEDAEMONI	B ₆
38.33.1	<i>qui ueris initio exercitu indicto castra in finibus Lacedaemoniorum posuit, legatos deinde misit ad deposcendos auctores defectionis, et ciuitatem in pace futuram, si id fecisset, pollicentes, et illos nihil indicta causa passuros.</i>	He at the beginning of spring called out the army and encamped within the ?? borders of the Lacedaemonians, and then sent ambassadors to demand the men responsible for the revolt and to promise that the state should be at peace if they did this and that those men should suffer no injury without the opportunity to plead their cause in court.	PONERE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	189	LACEDAEMONI	B ₆ B ₁₀
38.38.1	<i>Ibi ex decem legatorum sententia foedus in haec fere uerba cum Antiocho conscriptum est: 'amicitia regi Antiocho cum populo Romano his legibus et condicionibus esto: ne quem exercitum, qui cum populo romano sociis ue bellum gesturus erit, rex per fines regni sui eorum ue qui sub ditione eius erunt transire sinito, neu commeatu neu qua alia ope iuuato; idem Romani socii que Antiocho et iis qui sub imperio eius erunt praestant</i>	There in accordance with the decision of the ten commissioners the treaty with Antiochus was drafted in about this language: 'There shall be friendship between King Antiochus and the Roman people on these conditions and terms: the king shall permit no army which shall purpose to wage war with the Roman people or its allies to march through the territories of his kingdom or of his allies, and he shall not aid them with grain or with any other form of assistance; the Romans and their allies shall guarantee the same to Antiochus and to those who are under his control.		PER	PLUR.	FINES	189	IMPERIUM	B ₉

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
38.38.11	<i>Rhodiorum sociorum ue quae aedes aedificia que intra fines regni Antiochi sunt, quo iure ante bellum fuerunt, eo Rhodiorum sociorum ue sunt; si quae pecuniae debentur, earum exactio esto; si quid ablatum est, id conquirendi cognoscendi repetendi que item ius esto</i>	If the Rhodians or the allies own any houses or buildings within the boundaries of the kingdom of Antiochus, they shall belong to the Rhodians or the allies on the same basis as before the war; if any moneys are due, the right to collect them shall exist; if anything has been taken away, the right shall likewise exist to search for, identify and recover it.	ESSE	INTRA	PLUR.	FINES	188		B ₉
38.39.14	<i>regi Eumeni Chersonesum in Europa et Lysimachiam, castella uicos agrum quibus finibus tenuerat Antiochus, adiecerunt; in Asia Phrygiam utramque alteram ad hellespontum maiorem alteram uocant – et Mysiam, quam Prusia rex ademerat, ei restituerunt, et Lycaoniam et Milyada et Lydiam et nominatim urbes Trallis atque Ephesum et Telmessum.</i>	Upon King Eumenes they bestowed, in Europe, the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, the strongholds, villages and lands within the boundaries of Antiochus; in Asia, both Phrygias —the one on the Hellespont, the other which they call the Greater; and they gave back to him Mysia, which King Prusias had taken from him, and Lycaonia and Milyas and Lydia and expressly the cities of Tralles and Ephesus and Telimessus.				PLUR. FINIBUS	188		B ₁₀
38.14.4	<i>huic agmini iam finis ingredientibus legatis occurrerunt, nuntiantes paratum esse tyrannum imperata facere;</i>	To test his attitude, the consul sent Gaius Helvius ahead with four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. As this column was crossing the frontier ambassadors met them, bringing word that the tyrant was ready to do their bidding;	INGREDIRE		SING.	FINIS	189	CYBIRA	B ₆
38.20.4	<i>tertio die cum omnibus ad loca exploranda profectus, quia nemo hostium extra munimenta processit, tuto circumuectus montem, animaduertit meridiana regione terrenos et placide adcliuos ad quendam finem colles esse, a septentrione arduas et rectas prope rupes, atque omnibus ferme aliis inuis itinera tria esse, unum medio monte, qua terrena erant, duo difficilia, ab hiberno solis ortu et ab aestiuo occasu.</i>	The third day he proceeded with his entire force to reconnoitre the ground, and, because no one of the enemy came out beyond the fortifications, he rode in safety around the mountain, and observed that on the southern side the hills were covered with earth and sloped gently up to a certain point, that ?? on the north there were steep and almost perpendicular cliffs, and that although almost everything else was impassable there were three roads, one in the centre of the mountain, where it was covered with soil, two difficult, on the side of the winter rising of the sun and of its summer setting.	ESSE		SING.	FINEM	189		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
38.14.5	<i>orabant ut pacatus fines iniret cohiberet que a populatione agri militem, et in corona aurea quindecim talenta adferebant</i>	they begged that he would enter their country peacefully and restrain the soldiery from laying waste the land, and brought him fifteen talents in the form of a golden crown.	INIRE		PLUR.	FINES	189		B ₄
38.32.4	<i>magna ibi non disceptatio modo sed altercatio fuit, cui consul, cum alia satis ambitiose partem utramque fouendo incerta respondisset, una denuntiatione, ut bello abstinerent donec Romam ad senatum legatos misissent, finem imposuit.</i>	Not only a lively debate took place there but also a violent quarrel, to which the consul, although in other respects, favouring both sides in a spirit of conciliation, he had given ambiguous replies, put an end by the one peremptory demand that they should refrain from war until they had sent ambassadors to the senate in Rome. Both sides sent embassies to Rome.	IMPONERE		SING.	FINEM	189		A
38.25.5	<i>trecentos equites Attalus praesidii causa cum adduxisset, iactat>ae sunt pacis condiciones;finis rei quia absentibus ducibus imponi non poterat, conuenit uti consul reges que eo loco postero die congredierentur.</i>	Both parties attended this conference. When Attalus had brought up with him a bodyguard of three hundred cavalry, terms of peace were discussed;since a conclusion to the matter could not be reached in the absence of the principals, it was agreed that the consul and the chiefs should meet in that place the following day.			SING.	FINIS	189		A
38.48.3	<i>equidem aliquid interesse rebar inter id tempus, quo nondum in iure ac ditione uestra Graecia atque Asia erat, ad curandum animaduertendum que quid in iis terris fieret,et hoc, quo finem imperii Romani Taurum montem statuistis, quo libertatem immunitatem ciuitatibus datis</i>	For my part, I thought that there was some difference between that time, when Greece and Asia were not yet under your control and sway, as regards your interest and concern in what ?? was happening in those lands, and this time, when you have fixed the Taurus mountain as the boundary of the Roman empire, when you bestow liberty and immunity upon cities,	STATUERE		SING.	FINEM	188	IMPERIUM ROMANUM	B ₁ B ₈ B ₉
38.41.4	<i>eo die ad Hebrum flumen peruentum est, inde Aeniorum finis praeter Apollinis, Zerynthium quem uocant incolae, templum superant</i>	Then they crossed the frontiers of the Aenians near the temple of Apollo, whom the natives call Zerynthius.	SUPERARE		SING.	FINIS	188		B ₁ B ₂

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
38.33.5	<i>nunquam alias exsules Lacedaemoniorum Achaei se cum adduxerant in finis, quia nihil aequae alienaturum animos ciuitatis uidebatur; tunc exercitus totius prope antesignani exsules erant</i>	Under no other circumstances had the Achaeans taken Lacedaemonian exiles with them to the frontiers, because it was obvious that nothing would offend so much the feelings of the state; on this occasion practically the whole of the advance troops of the army consisted of exiles.	ADDUCERE	IN	SING.	FINIS	189	ACHAEI	B ₅
38.48.4	<i>, quo aliis fines adicitis alias agro multatis aliis uectigal impositis, regna augetis minuitis donatis adimitis, curae uestrae censetis esse ut pacem terra mari que habeant</i>	increase the territory of some, deprive others of their lands, impose tribute upon others, enlarge, diminish, give, take away kingdoms, and deem it your responsibility that they shall have peace on land and sea.	ADICERE		PLUR.	FINES	188		B ₄
38.38.5	<i>ne militem neu quem alium ex regno Eumenis recipito, si qui earum urbium ciues quae regno abscedunt cum rege Antiocho intraque fines regni eius sunt, Apameam omnes ante diem certam redeunto; qui ex regno Antiochi apud Romanos socios que sunt, iis ius abeundi manendi que esto; seruos seu fugitiuos seu bello captos, seu quis liber captus aut transfuga erit, reddito romanis sociis que</i>	He shall carry away nothing but his weapons from these towns, lands and fortresses from which he is withdrawing; if he has removed anything, he shall duly restore it to the place in which each item belongs. He shall harbour no soldier or other person from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any citizens of those cities which are separating from his kingdom are with King Antiochus and within the borders of his kingdom, they shall all return to Apamea before a designated day; whatever persons from the kingdom of Antiochus are with the Romans or their allies shall have the right to depart or to remain;	ESSE		PLUR.	FINES	188		B ₉
38.59.4	<i>nam quid de finibus regni dicam? Asiam omnem et proxima Europae tenuisse Antiochum.</i>	For what (returning to their first charge) shall I say about the boundaries of the kingdom of Antiochus?			PLUR.	FINIBUS	187		B ₉
38.1.9	<i>ubi ea dies aduenit, et Amynander cum mille Aetolis in finibus erat, ex composito quattuor simul locis praesidia Macedonum expulsa, litterae que in alias urbes passim dimissae, ut uindicarent sese ab impotenti dominatione Philippi et <regem> restituerent in patrium ac legitimum regnum.</i>	When this day came and Amynander with a thousand Aetolians was at the frontiers, according to agreement the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the four places at once, and a despatch was sent in all directions to the other towns, summoning them to free themselves from the headstrong rule of Philip and to return to their hereditary and lawful sovereign. On all sides the Macedonians were expelled.	ESSE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	189	MACEDONI A	B ₇

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
38.60.46	<i>LScipionem, qui regem opulentissimum orbis terrarum deuicerit, imperium populi Romani propagauerit in ultimos terrarum fines, regem Eumenem Rhodios alias tot asiae urbes deuinxerit populi Romani beneficiis, plurimos duces hostium in triumpho ductos carcere incluserit, non passurum inter hostes populi Romani in carcere et uinculis esse, mitti que eum se iubere</i>	Lucius Scipio himself, who had conquered the richest king in the world, extended the empire of the Roman people to the most distant limits of ?? the earth, bound King Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many cities of Asia by obligations to the Roman people, had led in his triumph and thrown into prison so many leaders of the enemy, he would not permit to lie in prison and in chains among the enemies of the Roman people, and he ordered him to be released.				PLUR. FINES	187	IMPERIUM POPULI ROMANI	B ₉
39.27.10	<i>Q Fabium Labeonem, cum in regione ea fuisset, derexisse finem Philippo ueterem uiam regiam quae ad Thraciae Paroream subeat, nusquam ad mare declinantem; Philippum nouam postea deflexisse uiam, qua Maronitarum urbes agros que amplectatur</i>	only that Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he had been in that region, had fixed as the boundary for Philip the ancient royal road which leads to Paroreia in Thrace, nowhere approaching the sea: Philip had later laid out a new road which encompassed the cities and lands of the Maroneans.				SING. FINEM	185		B ₄
39.27.10	<i>de iure etiam finium pauca adiecerunt:</i>	And as to the boundary rights, they had little new to say:				PLUR. FINIUM	185		B ₉
39.28.2	<i>ciuitates Macedonum, quae a me inter indutias defecerant, reddi mihi aequum censebam, non quia magna accessio ea regni futura esset – sunt enim et parua oppida et in finibus extremis posita -, sed quia multum ad reliquos Macedonas continendos exemplum pertinebat.</i>	The cities of the Macedonians which had revolted from me during the truce I deemed it right that I should recover, not because it would be an important addition to my kingdom —for they are small towns and, moreover, situated on the farthest frontiers — but because it was a valuable precedent for holding within bounds the other Macedonians.	PONERE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	185		B ₁₀ B ₇
39.47.1	<i>cum haud facile esset aut ea quae obicerentur aut quae aduersus ea dicenda erant memoria complecti – nec enim multa solum, sed etiam pleraque oppido quam parua erant, de controuersia finium, de hominibus raptis pecoribus que abactis, de iure aut dicto per libidinem aut non dicto, de rebus per uim aut gratiam iudicatis -,</i>	Demetrius, who was then quite a young man, had to answer all these complaints. Since it was not easy to remember either all the charges which were made or what was to be said in reply to them —for they were not only numerous but many of them also trivial in the extreme, dealing with boundary disputes, men abducted or animals driven off, justice either administered by caprice or not administered, decisions rendered as a result of violence or influence				PLUR. FINIUM	185		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
39.17.4.	<i>contione dimissa magnus terror urbe tota fuit, nec moenibus se tantum urbis aut finibus Romanis continuit, sed passim per totam Italiam litteris hospitum de senatus consulto et contione et edicto consulum acceptis, trepidari coeptum est.</i>	When the meeting was dismissed there was great panic in the whole City, nor was this confined only to the walls or the boundaries of Rome; but gradually through all Italy, as letters were received from their friends concerning the decree of the senate, concerning the assembly and the edict of the consuls, the terror began to spread.				PLUR. FINIBUS	187	ROMANUS	B ₈
39.54.12	<i>itaque se cum iis legatos ad consulem missuros, qui, si redeant unde uenerint, omnia iis sua reddi iubeant, quique protinus eant trans Alpes, et denuntient Gallicis populis multitudinem suam domi contineant: Alpes prope inexsuperabilem finem in medio esse; non utique iis melius fore quam qui eas primi peruas fecissent.</i>	Accordingly, the senate would send with them ambassadors to the consul who would direct him, on condition that they would return whence they had come, to give back all their property, and who would then cross the Alps and warn the Gallic tribes to keep their population at home: the Alps were an almost insuperable boundary between them: in any case they would fare no better than those who had first made them passable.	ESSE			SING. FINEM	185		B ₁
39.27.6	<i>nam Philippum quidem quo aut merito in populum Romanum aut iure imperii, cum tam procul a finibus Macedoniae absint, ciuitatibus his praesidia imposuisse?</i>	In consequence of what service to the Roman people, they asked, or of what right to rule had Philip imposed his garrisons upon these cities when they were so far away from the boundaries of Macedonia?				PLUR. FINIBUS	185	IMPERIUM	B ₆ B ₄
39.20.8	<i>prius sequendi Ligures finem quam fugae Romani fecerunt.</i>	The Ligurians desisted from their pursuit before the Romans stopped their flight.				SING. FINEM	186		A
39.24.8	<i>Athamanes quoque uenerunt legati, non partis amissae, non finium iacturam querentes, sed totam Athamaniam sub ius iudicium que regis uenisse; et Maronitarum exsules + erant + pulsi, quia libertatis causam defendissent ab regio praesidio; ei non Maroneam modo sed etiam Aenum in potestate nuntiabant Philippi esse</i>	Athamanian ambassadors had also arrived, complaining, not of the occupation of part of their kingdom or of the loss of territory, but that all Athamania had come under the sovereignty and sway of the king; exiles of the Maroneans had also come, expelled because they had defended the cause of liberty against the king's garrison: they brought the news that not only Maronea but also Aenus was in the power of Philip.				PLUR. FINIUM	185	ATHMANI / ATHAMANIA	B ₅ B ₇
40.11.10	<i>Postquam dicendi finem Perseus fecit,</i>	After said that, Perseus gave up,	FACERE			SING. FINEM	185		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
40.22.10	<i>socii erant, sed propter inopiam haud secus quam hostium fines Macedones populati sunt: rapiendo enim passim uillas primum, dein quosdam etiam uicos euastarunt, non sine magno pudore regis, cum sociorum uoces nequiquam deos sociales nomen que suum implorantes audiret</i>	They were allies, but on account of their need the Macedonians pillaged them just as if theirs were hostile territory: in their plundering they first laid waste the farm-houses far and wide, then even certain villages, not without great shame on the king's part, when he heard the voices of his allies calling in vain upon the gods who protect alliances and upon his own name.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINES	185		B ₇
40.25.1	<i>ubi primum in hostium finibus castra posuit, legati ad eum per speciem pacis petendae speculatum uenerunt.</i>	As soon as he had encamped in the enemy's country, ambassadors came to him to spy, although under the guise of seeking peace.	PONERE	IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	185	IMPERIUM	B ₁₀
40.38.2	<i>eos, consulto per litteras prius senatu, deducere ex montibus in agros campestris procul ab domo, ne reditus spes esset, Cornelius et Baebius statuerunt, nullum alium ante finem rati fore Ligustini belli.</i>	First consulting the senate by letter, Cornelius and Baebius determined to move them down from the mountains to lands on the plains, far from home, that there might be no hope of return, thinking that there would be no end to the Ligurian war until this was done.	FORE	ANTE	SING.	FINEM	180		A
40.25.4	<i>ad hoc decem dierum indutiae cum darentur, petierunt deinde ne trans montes proximos castris pabulatum lignatum que milites irent: culta ea loca suorum finium esse.</i>	When a truce for ten days was granted for this purpose, they then asked that the soldiers should not cross the mountains nearest the camp in quest of forage and wood: these, they said, were the cultivated parts of their territory.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINIUM	185	LIGURES INGAUNOS	B ₅ B ₁ B ₁₀
40.16.5	<i>Ligurum duo milia fere ad extremum finem prouinciae Galliae, ubi castra Marcellus habebat, uenerunt, uti reciperentur orantes.</i>	About two thousand Ligurians came to the most remote boundary of the province of Gaul, where Marcellus was encamped, and asked that they be received under his protection.	FERRE	AD	SING.	FINEM	185		B ₇ B ₁₀
41.10.1	<i>Dum haec Romae geruntur, M Iunius et A Manlius, qui priore anno consules fuerant, cum Aquileiae hibernassent, principio ueris in finis Histrorum exercitum introduxerunt;</i>	While all these things were being done at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, who had been consuls the preceding year, after wintering at Aquileia, in the beginning of spring led the army into the land of the Histrians;	INTRODUCERE	IN	SING.	FINIS	180	HISTRI	B ₅
41.11.10	<i>Sub Histrici finem belli apud Ligures concilia de bello haberi coepta.</i>	Toward the end of the Histrian war the Ligurians began to hold councils regarding war.			SING.	FINEM	177		A
41.21.10.	<i>cum pestilentiae finis non fieret, senatus decreuit uti decemuiri libros Sibyllinos adirent.</i>	Since the pestilence would not come to an end, the senate decreed that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline Books.	FACERE		SING.	FINIS	174		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
41.23.1	<i>haec una ex omni Graecia gens et Atheniensium ciuitas eo processerat irarum ut finibus interdiceret Macedonibus.</i>	This one people out of all Greece, together with the Athenian state, had gone so far in their anger as to exclude Macedonians from their territories.	INTERDICERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	174		B ₄
41.24.15	<i>sed commercium tantum iuris praebendi repetendi que sit, ne interdictione finium + nostros quoque et nos segni + arceamus, ne seruis nostris aliquo fugere liceat</i>	only intercourse of proffering and receiving justice, and that we shall not exclude ourselves from the territory of the kingdom by barring our frontiers tothem; that it may not be permitted our slaves to flee anywhere —how is that against the Roman treaties?	ARCERE		PLUR.	FINIUM	174		B ₄
40.9.5	<i>itaque si mori tacitum oportet, taceamus, precati tantum deos ut a me coeptum scelus in me finem habeat, nec per meum latus tu petaris;</i>	And so, if it is right that I should die in silence, let me be silent, praying only to the gods that the crime which began with me may have its end with me, and that the sword may not reach through my body to yours.	HABERE		SING.	FINEM	185		A
41.23.2	<i>itaque seruitiis ex Achaia fugientibus receptaculum Macedonia erat, quia cum finibus suis <iis> interdixissent, intrare regni terminos ipsi non audebant.</i>	And so when slaves escaped from Achaea Macedonia was a refuge for them because, since the Achaeans had forbidden the Macedonians to enter their country, they themselves did not dare to cross the frontiers of their kingdom.	INTERDICERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	174		B ₄
41.1.4	<i>vae naues ad proximum portum in Histriae fines cum onerariis et magno commeatu missae, secutus que cum legionibus consul quinque ferme milia a mari posuit castra</i>	These ships were sent to the nearest harbour in Histrian territory with transports and a large quantity of supplies, and the consul, following with the legions, encamped about five miles from the sea.	MITTERE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	180	HISTRIA	B ₇
41.22.6	<i>triduum non plus Delphis moratus, per Phthiotidem Achaiam Thessaliamque sine damno iniuriaque eorum, per quorum <fines> iter fecit, in regnum rediit.</i>	Having tarried in Delphi not more than three days, he returned through Phthiotic Achaea and Thessaly to his kingdom without doing any damage or injury to those through whose lands he marched.			PLUR.	FINES	174	ACHAIA / THESSALIA	B ₇

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
41.23.6	<i>nam qui regibus Macedonum Macedonibus que ipsis finibus interdixissemus + manere que id decretum +,scilicet ne legatos ne nuntios admitteremus regum, per quos aliquorum ex nobis animi sollicitarentur, ii contionantem quodam modo absentem audimus regem, et, si dis placet, orationem eius probamus.</i>	For we who had forbidden to the kings of the Macedonians and to the Macedonians themselves admission to our territories and who knew that the decree was still in force, namely that by which we had made provision that we should not receive theambassadors or the messengers of the kings, through whom the sentiments of some of us might be affected, we, I say, are now listening to the king who, so to say, speaks to us though absent, and (heaven help us!) we even approve his speech.	INTERDICERE			PLUR. FINIBUS	174		B ₄
41.19.7	<i>Dardani cum Bastarnas non modo non excedere finibus suis, quod sperauerant, sed grauiore fieri in dies cernerent, subnixos Thracum accolarum et Scordischorum auxiliis, audendum aliquid uel temere rati, omnes undique armati ad oppidum quod proximum castris Bastarnarum erat conueniunt.</i>	When the Dardanians saw that the Bastarnae were not only not leaving their territory, as they had hoped, but were growing more troublesome every day, and were relying on the aid of the neighbouring Thracians and the Scordisci, they decided that they must venture something, even rashly, and all from all sides met in arms at the town which was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnae.				PLUR. FINIBUS	177	DARDANI	B ₅
41.19.8	<i>hiemps erat, et id anni tempus elegerant ut Thraces Scordisci que in fines suos abirent</i>	It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries.	ABIRE	IN	PLUR.	FINES	175	THRACES / SCORDISCI	B ₅
41.17.9	<i>et C Claudius proconsul, audita rebellione Ligurum, praeter eas copias quas se cum Parmae habebat subitariis collectis militibus, exercitum ad fines Ligurum admouit</i>	And Gaius Claudius the proconsul, hearing of the revolt of the Ligurians, in addition to the troops which he had with him at Parma, raised emergency troops and moved his army to the frontiers of the Ligurians.	ADMOVERE	AD	PLUR.	FINES	177		B ₄
42.25.12	<i>qua uoce eum accensum restitisse atque uoce clara denuntiasset sibi ut triduo regni sui decederent finibus.</i>	. At these words he stopped and in a towering rage shouted out a warning to them to leave his dominions within three days.	DECEDERE			PLUR. FINIBUS	172		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
42.26.2	<i>Cum Macedonicum bellum expectaretur, Gentium quoque, Illyriorum regem, suspectum Issaei legati fecerunt, simul questi fines suos eum depopulatum, simul nuntiantes uno animo uiuere Macedonum atque Illyriorum reges; communi consilio parere Romanis bellum, et specie legatorum Illyrios speculatores Romae esse, Perse auctore missos ut quid ageretur scirent</i>	Whilst war with Macedonia was anticipated, Gentius, King of the Illyrians, also fell under suspicion. Envoys from Issus laid complaints before the senate about his ravaging their borders and asserted that he and Perseus were living on the most perfect understanding with each other and were planning war with Rome in close cooperation. Illyrian spies had been sent to Rome at the instigation of Perseus, ostensibly as envoys, really to find out what was going on.	DEPOPULATUM		PLUR.	FINES	172	ISSAEI	B ₅
42.41.11	<i>sin autem hoc et ex foedere licuit et iure gentium ita comparatum est ut arma armis propulsentur, quid tandem me facere decuit, cum Abrupolis fines mei regni usque ad Amphipolim peruastasset, multa libera capita, magnam uim mancipiorum, multa milia pecorum abegisset?</i>	If, however, it is allowed by treaty and established as a rule of international law that arms may be repelled by arms, what ought I to have done after Abrupolis had devastated the frontiers of my kingdom right up to Amphipolis, and carried off many freeborn persons, a large body of slaves, and many thousand head of cattle?	PERVASTARE		PLUR.	FINES	172		B ₉
42.23.3	<i>Carthaginienses foedere inligatos silere; prohiberi enim extra fines efferre arma;</i>	As the Carthaginians were bound by their treaty they took no action, for they were forbidden to carry their arms outside their frontiers,	EFFERRE		EXTRAPLUR.	FINES	172		B ₄
42.23.3	<i>quamquam sciant in suis finibus, si inde Numidas pellant, se gesturos bellum,</i>	though they knew quite well that if they were to drive the Numidians out, they would be warring within their own frontiers.		IN	PLUR.	FINIBUS	172	CARTHAGINIANS	B ₄
42.20.4	<i>haruspices in bonum uersurum id prodigium, prolationem que finium et interitum perduellium portendi responderunt, quod ex hostibus spolia fuissent ea rostra quae tempestas disiecisset</i>	The reply of the augurs was to the effect that the portent would prove to be favourable, for it portended the widening of frontiers and the destruction of enemies; those ships' beaks which the storm had thrown down had been taken as spoils from the enemy.			PLUR.	FINIUM	172		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
42.53.1	<i>Cum per omnem orationem satis frequenti adsensu succlamatum est, tum uero ea uociferatio simul indignantium minitantium que, partim iubentium bonum animum habere regem, exorta est ut finem faceret, tantum iussis ad iter parare; iam enim dici mouere castra ab Nymphaeo Romanos.</i>	There had been frequent bursts of applause all through the speech, but at this point such a shout of indignation and defiance arose, and encouraging cheers for the king, that he brought his speech to a close, only adding that they must be prepared to march, as there was a report that the Romans were already advancing from Nymphaeum.	FACERE		SING.	FINEM	171		A
42.25.4	<i>suae orationis summam fuisse foedus cum Philippo ictum <es>se, cum ipso eo post mortem patris renouatum, in quo diserte prohiberi eum extra fines arma efferre, prohiberi socios populi Romani lacessere bello</i>	The sum and substance of their address to him was that a treaty had been concluded with Philip and, after his father's death, renewed with him; that in it were clauses expressly forbidding him to carry his arms beyond his frontiers or to make hostile aggression upon the allies of Rome.+	EFFERRE		PLUR.	FINES	172		B ₄
42.1.6	<i>priusquam in <prouincias> magistratus proficiscerentur, senatui placuit L Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a priuato terminandum in Campaniam ire, cuius ingentem modum possidere priuatos paulatim proferendo fines constabat</i>	The senate decreed that before the magistrates departed for their provinces, Lucius Postumius the consul should proceed to Campania to determine the boundaries between the public and private lands, since it was well known that private persons, by gradually moving their boundaries outward, were occupying a very large part of it.	CONSTARE		PLUR.	FINES	173		B ₄
42.6.2	<i>ubi conlaudata gente quod constanter uetus decretum de arcendis aditu finium regibus Macedonum tenuissent, insigne aduersus Persea odium Romanorum fecit;</i>	Here he commended them for having firmly retained the old decree forbidding the Macedonian kings any approach to their territories, and he made it quite clear that the Romans regarded Perseus as an enemy.	TENUERE		PLUR.	FINIUM	173		B ₄
42.23.7	<i>ipsum nullum praeterquam suae libidinis arbitrio <finem> facturum.</i>	himself would set no limit except in accordance with his own pleasure.				FINEM			A
42.24.8	<i>agrum qua cuiusque sit possideri uelle, nec nouos statuere fines sed ueteres obseruare in animo habere</i>	They wish every man to remain in possession of his own land; it is not their intention to fix new boundaries, but to preserve the old ones.	STATUERE		PLUR.	FINES	172		B ₄

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
42.67.4	<i>eo fama adfertur + Autlesbim +, regulum Thracum, <et> Corragum, Eumenis praefectum, in Cotyis fines quam uocant cepisse</i>	News reached him there that Autlebis, a Thracian chief, and Corragus, an officer of Eumenes, had invaded the dominions of Cotys and occupied a district called Marene.	FACERE		PLUR.	FINES	171	COTYIS	B ₆
43.10.1	<i>Haud procul inde Vscana oppidum finium imperiique Persei erat</i>	Not far from there lay Uscana, a town belonging to the lands and realm of Perseus.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINIUM	171		B ₉ B ₁₀
42.41.8	<i>ego tamen istos, ut primum in Macedonia admonitus a uobis comperi, requisitis abire ex regno iussi et in perpetuum interdixi finibus meis.</i>	Nevertheless, as soon as I was advised by you and ascertained that these men were in Macedonia, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom, and I forbade them ever to cross my frontiers.	INTERDICERE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	172		B ₄
43.18.1	<i>Perseus principio hiemis egredi Macedoniae finibus non ausus, ne qua in regnum uacuum inrumperet Romani, sub tempus brumae, cum <in>exsuperabiles ab Thessalia montes niuis altitudo facit,</i>	Perseus did not dare to leave the limits of Macedonia at the outset of winter, for fear that at some point the Romans might raid his undefended realm. About the winter solstice, however, when p.the depth of snow makes the mountains impassable from Thessaly,	EGREDIRE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	169	MACEDONI AE	B ₇
43.22.1	<i>Eo die ad finem agri <Ae>tolici castra posita; inde altero die ad Stratum peruentum; ubi prope Inachum amnem castris <positis>, cum exspectaret effusos omnibus portis Aetolos in fidem suam uenturos, clausas portas atque ipsa ea nocte qua uenerat receptum Romanum praesidium cum C. Popillio legato inuenit.</i>	On that day camp was pitched at the edge of Aetolian territory; thence on the second day they arrived at Stratus. Although, when he pitched camp there near the Inachus River, Perseus expected the Aetolians to come streaming out of every gate to put themselves under his protection, he found that the gates were closed and that on the very night when he had arrived a Roman garrison, under the staff-officer Gaius Popilius, had been received.	PONERE	AD	SING.	FINEM	169	AETOLICI	B ₅ B ₁₀
43.5.4	<i>inde ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse fines suos; caedes passim rapinas que et incendia facta; nec se ad id locorum scire propter quam causam consuli pro hostibus fuerint</i>	He left them quite peaceably, his intention being apparently to make war elsewhere, and then in the middle of his march he turned back and invaded their territory, spreading everywhere bloodshed, rapine and fire, nor did they up to that moment know the consul's reason for treating them as enemies.	PERAGRARE		PLUR.	FINES	171	CARNII / HISTRI / IAPYDES	B ₅
44.10.12	<i>finium is ager Cassandrensiu erat, longe fertilissimus omnis orae quam praeteruecti fuerant</i>	This land belonged to the territory of Cassandrea and was by far the most fertile of all the coast they had passed.	ESSE		PLUR.	FINIUM	169	CASSANDR EA	B ₆

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
44.14.12	<i>per quos stetisset quo minus belli fieret, aduersus eos quid sibi faciendum esset Rhodios consideraturos esse.</i>	If either party was responsible for preventing the ending of the war, the Rhodians would deliberate as to what action they ought to take against this party.	FACERE		SING.	FINIS	169		A
44.22.17	<i>traditum memoriae est maiore quam solita frequentia prosequentium consulem celebratum, ac prope certa spe ominatos esse homines Macedonico bello, maturum que reditum cum egregio triumpho consulis fore.</i>	History records that the consul was escorted by an unusually great throng of persons paying their respects to him, and that men prophesied with almost sure expectation that the Macedonian war would come to an end, and that the return of the consul would be prompt and in great triumph.	ESSE		SING.	FINEM	168		A
44.10.8	<i>peruastatis Antigoneam perueniunt.</i>	After devastating its territory they followed the shore and arrived at Antigonea.	PERVASTARE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	169		B ₄
44.29.7	<i>et iam cum accessissent animi Dinoni ac Polyarato, qui Persei partium erant, non benigne modo responsum regibus est, <sed> palam pronuntiatum bello se auctoritate sua imposituros esse; itaque ipsi quoque reges aequos adhiberent animos ad pacem accipiendam.</i>	Since, then, the boldness of Dinon and Polyaratus, who sided with Perseus, was on the increase, not only was a cordial response given to the kings, but the flat statement was made that the Rhodians would by their influence bring an end to the war, and that therefore the kings ?? themselves should make up their minds calmly to accept peace.	IMPONERE		SING.	FINEM	168		A
44.27.8	<i>nam cum trecenta talenta miss<is> a Gentio numerasset, eos pecuniam passus; inde decem talenta ad Pantauchum missa, ea que praesentia dari regi iussit; reliquam pecuniam, signatam Illyriorum signo, portantibus suis praecipit paruis itineribus ueherent; dein cum ad Macedoniae uentum esset, subsisterent ibi ac nuntios ab se opperirentur.</i>	The same miserliness caused a rift with Gentius. For when Perseus had counted out three hundred talents for the envoys sent by Gentius to Pella, he permitted them to affix their seal to the money; then he sent ten talents to Pantauchus and ordered this paid at once to the king. His own people were transporting the rest of the money marked with the seal of the Illyrians, and he ordered them to convey it by short stages, and then when the Macedonian frontier was reached, to halt there and wait for messengers from him.	VENIRE		SING.	FINEM	168		B ₄
44.43.8	<i>petebat Amphipolim; sed nocte a Pella exierat, properans ante lucem Axiu amnem traicere, eum propter difficultatem transitus fore ratus Romanis.</i>	His escort was composed of about five hundred Cretans. He was making for Amphipolis; but he had left Pella at night because of his anxiety to cross the Axius River before dawn, since he thought that because of the difficulty of crossing this would be the limit of the Roman pursuit.	FERRE		SING.	FINEM	168		B ₁

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
45.13.11	<i>senatus qui de finibus cognoscerent statuerent que quinque uiros misit, Q. Fabium Buteonem, Cornelium Blasionem, T. Sempronium Muscam, L. Naeuium Balbum, C. Appuleium Saturninum.</i>	The senate sent five men to investigate the facts about the boundary and make a decision, namely, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Titus Sempronius Musca, Lucius Naevius Balbus, and Gaius Apuleius Saturninus.	COGNOSCERE	DE	PLUR.	FINIBUS	168		B ₄
45.29.10	<i>pronuntiauit deinde neque conubium neque commercium agrorum aedificiorum que inter se placere cuiquam extra fines regionis suae esse</i>	Paulus then announced that it had been decided that no one should be allowed the right of marriage or of trading in land or buildings outside the bounds of his own region.			EXTRAPLUR.	FINES	167		B ₄
45.29.12	<i>Dardanis repetentibus Paeoniam, quod et sua fuisset et continens esset finibus suis, omnibus dare libertatem pronuntiauit qui sub regno Persei fuissent.</i>	When the Dardanians asked for the return of Paeonia, on the ground that it had been theirs and adjoined their boundaries, Paulus proclaimed that freedom was being given to all those who had been subjects of Perseus.	FUIRE/ESSE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	167		B ₃
45.29.14	<i>regionibus quae adfines barbaris essent – excepta autem tertia omnes erant – permisit ut praesidia armata in finibus extremis haberent.</i>	The regions which bordered on barbarians —and this was true of all except the third —were allowed to have armed guards along their frontiers.			PLUR.	FINIBUS	167		B ₁₀
45.39.10	<i>maiores uestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi a dis sunt, et finem statuerunt.</i>	Nay more —shall we rob not only Paulus, but even the gods, of the honour that belongs to them? For it is to the gods too, not only to men, that we owe a triumph. Your ancestors made the gods their starting-point in every important enterprise, and likewise resorted to them at the conclusion.	STATUERE		SING.	FINEM	167		A
45.9.2.	<i>Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bellatum esset, inter Romanos ac Persea fuit</i>	This was the end of the war between the Romans and Perseus, after four years of steady campaigning,	ESSE		SING.	FINIS	168		A
45.9.2.	<i>idemque finis incluti per Europae plerumque atque Asiam omnem regni.</i>	and also the end of a kingdom famed over a large part of Europe and all of Asia.			SING.	FINIS	168		A

PASSAGE	TEXT	TRANSLATION	VERB	PREPOS.	GENRE	DECL. CASE	DATE	LINK	FINIS (TYPE)
45.9.4.	<i>Macedonum <gens> obscura admodum fama usque ad Philippum Amyntae filium fuit; inde ac per eum crescere cum coepisset, Europae tamen finibus omnem et partem Thraciae atque Illyrici amplexa.</i>	The Macedonian nation was of no great reputation until the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Later, when it had proceeded to expand under him, it was still confined within the bounds of Europe, though embracing all Greece and part of Thrace and Illyricum.	CONTINUARE		PLUR.	FINIBUS	168		B ₇
45.9.6	<i>superfudit deinde se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus Alexander regnavit, primum omnia qua Persarum prope immenso spatio imperium fuerat suae dicionis fecit; Arabas hinc Indiam que, qua terrarum ultimos finis mare amplectitur, peragravit</i>	Thereafter it overflowed into Asia, and Alexander, in the thirteen years of his reign, first brought under his sway all the well-nigh boundless empire that had belonged to the Persians, and then traversed Arabia and India, where the Indian Ocean embraces the uttermost ends of the earth.	PERAGRARE		SING.	FINIS	168	IMPERIUM	B ₁
45.9.7	<i>tum maximum in terris macedonum regnum nomen que; inde morte Alexandri distractum <in> multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt, laceratis uiribus a summo culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem quinquaginta annos stetit.</i>	thereafter at the death of Alexander it was torn into many kingdoms, as each leader snatched at resources for his own account, and its strength was dismembered; yet it endured for a hundred and fifty years from the topmost pinnacle of its fortune to its final end.		AD	SING.	FINEM	168		A

APPENDIX 2.1. Finis in Livy's Periochae.

Liuiani operis periochae

*Per. 1: Ib Latinis victis montem Aventinum adsignavit, **fines** protulit, Hostiam coloniam deduxit.*

*Per. 46: legati Prusiae regis questi sunt de Eumene, quod **fines** suos popularetur, dixerunt que eum conspirasse cum Antiocho adversus populum R. societas cum Rhodis deprecantibus iuncta est.*

*Per. 49: placuit tamen, quod contra foedus naves haberent, quod exercitum extra **fines** duxissent, quod socio populi R. et amico, Masinissae, arma intulissent, quod filium eius, Gulussam, qui cum legatis Romanis erat, in oppidum non recepissent, bellum his indici.*

*Per. 60: M. Fulvius Flaccus primus transalpinos Liguras domuit bello, missus in auxilium Massiliensium adversus Salluvios Gallos, qui **fines** Massiliensium populabantur.*

Liuius (Titus Liuius) – Ab urbe condita (fragmentum in cod. palimps. Uaticano seruatum)

*Per. 91: profectus inde in Bursaonum et Cascantinorum et Graccuritanorum **fines**, evastatis omnibus proculcatis que segetibus, ad Calagurim Nasicam, sociorum urbem, venit; transgressus que amnem propinquum urbi ponte facto castra posuit.*

APPENDIX 3: List of the natural features in Livy with more citations and linked to a *finis* (in alph. order).

ALPS – MOUNTAIN RANGE

1.1.3	<i>euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus, Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est: gens universa Veneti appellati.</i>	There, driving out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Eneti and Trojans took possession of those lands. And in fact the place where they first landed is called Troy, and the district is therefore known as Trojan, while the people as a whole are called the Veneti.	Situation before Diomedes' arrive to Italy – Venetians: definition of inhabited territory Between Alps and sea.
1.2.5	<i>nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui inplesset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit.</i>	Accordingly, trusting to this friendly spirit of the two peoples, which were growing each day more united, and, despite the power of Etruria, which had filled with the glory of her name not only the lands but the sea as well, along the whole extent of Italy from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait, Aeneas declined to defend himself behind his walls, as he might have done, but led out his troops to battle.	Situation before Enea's arriving to Italy – Etruscans: population (etruscans) well-known between Alps and the strait (of Messina).
5.33.2-6	<i>eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, nova tum voluptate, captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis ante cultos possedissee; et invexisse in Galliam vinum inliciendae gentis causa Arruntem Clusium ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor is fuerat, praepotente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa vis quaesita esset, nequirent; hunc transeuntibus Alpes ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse. equidem haud abnuerim Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte seu quo alio Clusino adductos; sed eos qui oppugnaverint Clusium non fuisse qui primi Alpes transierint satis constat. ducentis quippe annis ante quam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli transcenderunt; nec cum his primum Etruscorum sed multo ante cum iis qui inter Appenninum Alpesque incolebant saepe exercitus Gallici pugnare.</i>	The story runs that this race, allured by the delicious fruits and especially the wine —then a novel luxury —had crossed the Alps and possessed themselves of lands that had before been tilled by the Etruscans; and that wine had been imported into Gaul expressly to entice them, by Arruns of Clusium, in his anger at the seduction of his wife by Lucumo. This youth, whose guardian he had been, was so powerful that he could not have chastised him without calling in a foreign force. He it was who is said to have guided the Gauls across the Alps, and to have suggested the attack on Clusium. Now I would not deny that Arruns or some other citizen brought the Gauls to Clusium, but that those who besieged Clusium were not the first who had passed the Alps is generally agreed. Indeed it was two hundred years before the attack on Clusium and the capture of Rome, that the Gauls first crossed over into Italy; neither were the Clusini the first of the Etruscans with whom they fought; but long before that the Gallic armies had often given battle to those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps.	Crossing the Alps/ Invasion of the Padanian plane. Territory is between the Apennines and the Alps (Gallia Cisalpina?)

5.34.6	<i>is quod eius ex populis abundabat, Bituriges Arvernos Senones Haeduos Ambarros Carnutes Aulercos excivit. profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde oppositae erant quas inxsuperabiles uisas haud equidem miror, nulladum uia, quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.</i>	Taking out with him the surplus population of his tribes, the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Haedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, he marched with vast numbers of infantry and cavalry into the country of the Tricastini. There the Alps stood over against them; and I for one do not wonder that they seemed insuperable, for as yet no road had led across them—as far back at all events as tradition reaches—unless one chooses to believe the stories about Hercules.	Gallic invasions	The Alps look to them insuperable as no road had led across them.
5.34.9	<i>Massilienses erant ii, navibus a Phocaea profecti. id Galli fortunae suae omen rati adiuvare ut quem primum in terram egressi occupaverant locum patientibus Saluis communirent. ipsi per Taurinos saltus saltumque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt</i>	These were the Massilians, who had come in ships from Phocaea. The Gauls, regarding this as a good omen of their own success, lent them assistance, so that they fortified, without opposition from the Salui, the spot which they had first seized after landing. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria;		Gallic invasion: passage through the Alps.
5.35.1-2	<i>alia subinde manus Cenomanorum Etitovio duce vestigia priorum secuta eodem saltu favente Belloveso cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt locos tenuere. Libui considunt post hos Salluviique prope antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum amnem. poenino deinde Boii Lingonesque transgressi cum iam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos modo sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Appenninum tamen sese tenuere.</i>	Presently another band, consisting of Cenomani led by Etitovius, followed in the tracks of the earlier emigrants; and having, with the approval of Bellovesus, crossed the Alps by the same pass, established themselves where the cities of Brixia and Verona are now. After these the Libui came and settled, and the Salluvii—taking up their abode hard by the ancient tribe of the Laevi Ligures, about the river Ticinus. Then, over the Poenine Pass, came the Boii and Lingones, who finding everything taken up between the Po and the Alps, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out not only the Etruscans, but also the Umbrians from their lands; nevertheless, they kept on the further side of the Apennines.		Gallic invasion: the new invader need approval to cross the Alps. Everything taken between Alps and Apennines.
21.23.1-2	<i>hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit.</i>	Rejoicing at this vision, he led his troops across the Ebro in three columns, after sending agents ahead, to win over with presents the Gauls who dwelt in the region which the army had to cross, and to explore the passes of the Alps. He had ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse when he crossed the Ebro.		Connection: Ebro-Alps
21.25.2	<i>cum perinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur.</i>	when, as though he had already crossed the Alps, the Boi, after rousing up the Insubres, revolted. To this they were incited not so much by their old animosity against the Roman People as by vexation at the recent establishment of colonies in Gallic territory, near the Po, at Placentia and Cremona		Crossing the Alps as key-point of the war
21.29.7	<i>multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.</i>	The rank and file were fearful of the enemy—for their memory of the former war was not yet erased—but more fearful of the interminable march over the Alps, an undertaking which rumour made appalling, at any rate to the inexperienced.		Immensum iter (long journey through) Alpes

21.30.5-8	<p><i>nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaicum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectionem, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari coli gignere atque alere animantes; pervias fauces esse exercitibus. eos ipsos quos cernant legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos. ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes p. ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse.</i></p>	<p>but now, when they could see that they had measured off the greater part of it; when they had made their way, through the fiercest tribes, over the Pyrenees; when they had crossed the Rhone —that mighty river —in the teeth of so many thousand Gauls, overcoming, too, the violence of the stream itself; when the Alps, the other side of which was in Italy, were in full sight; —were they halting now, as though exhausted, at the very gates of their enemies What else did they think that the Alps were but high mountains They might fancy them higher than the ranges of the Pyrenees; but surely no lands touched the skies or were impassable to man. The Alps indeed were inhabited, were tilled, produced and supported living beings; their defiles were practicable for armies. Those very ambassadors whom they beheld had not crossed the Alps in the air on wings. Even the ancestors of these men had not been natives of Italy, but had lived there as foreign settlers, and had often crossed these very Alps in p. great companies, with their children and their wives, in the manner of emigrants.</p>	<p>Why Alps are difficult to be crossed. See comparison with Pyrenees. Foreigners are those who crossed the Alps and settled in Italy</p>
21.31.2-3	<p><i>postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rector ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum.</i></p>	<p>Setting out the following day he advanced up the Rhone towards the interior of Gaul, not that it was the more direct way to the Alps, but believing that the farther he retired from the sea, the less likely he was to fall in with the Romans, with whom he had no mind to fight a battle until he should arrive in Italy. The fourth day's march brought him to the Island. There the rivers Isara and Rhone, rushing down from different Alps, unite their waters, after enclosing a considerable territory, and the Island is the name which has been given to the plains lying between them.</p>	<p>Hannibal crosses the Alps: topographic definition of 'land island' between two rivers</p>
21.31.8-10	<p><i>ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogebant. sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est,</i></p>	<p>In requital of this service he was assisted with provisions and supplies of every sort, particularly clothing, which the notorious cold of the Alps made it necessary to provide. Having settled the contentions of the Allobroges, Hannibal was now ready for the Alps; but instead of marching directly towards them, he turned to the left, to the country of the Tricastini, and thence proceeded through the outer borders of the territory of the Vocontii to the Tricorii, by a road which nowhere presented any difficulties, until he came to the Druentia. This, too, is an Alpine river and by far the most difficult of all the rivers of Gaul to p. cross; for, though it brings down a vast volume of water, it does not admit of navigation,</p>	<p>Hannibal crosses the Alps: connection between river and Mountain Range (Druentia– Alpes)</p>

21.32.2	<i>ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus.</i>	But finding the works deserted, and perceiving that he could not readily overtake the enemy, who had got so long a start of him, he returned to the sea, where he had left his ships, thinking that he would thus be more safely and easily enabled to confront Hannibal as he descended from the Alps.	Hannibal crosses the Alps
21.35.4	<i>nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initaes valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant.</i>	On the ninth day they arrived at the summit of the Alps, having come for the most part over trackless wastes and by roundabout routes, owing either to the dishonesty of their guides, or —when they would not trust the guides —to their blindly entering some valley, guessing at the way. For two days they lay encamped on the summit.	Hannibal crosses the Alps: note the value of <i>iugum</i> (pass)
21.35.8	<i>praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpibus montibus circumpadanos campos,</i>	Then Hannibal, who had gone on before the standards, made the army halt on a certain promontory which commanded an extensive prospect, and pointing out Italy to them, and just under the Alps the plains about the Po	Hannibal crosses the Alps: Hannibal's vision from a high point.
21.35.11	<i>ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilior fuit.</i>	But the way was much more difficult than the ascent had been, as indeed the slope of the Alps on the Italian side is in general more precipitous in proportion as it is shorter.	Hannibal crosses the Alps
21.38.1	<i>hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis.</i>	Such were the chief features of the march to Italy, which they accomplished five months after leaving New Carthage —as certain authorities' state —having crossed the Alps in fifteen days.	Hannibal crosses the Alps, travelling from Carthago Nova
21.38.6	<i>id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quamquam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse;</i>	Since all are agreed on this point, I am the more astonished at the difference of opinion in regard to his route over the Alps, and that it should be commonly held that he crossed by the Poenine Pass and that from this circumstance that ridge of the Alps derived its name —and that Coelius should state that he crossed by the ridge of Cremona;	Hannibal crosses the Alps: importance of the passes in breaking into Italy
21.39.9	<i>et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectu.</i>	Each had increased the other's good opinion —Scipio, because, though left behind in Gaul, he had confronted Hannibal at his crossing over into Italy; Hannibal by the audacity with which he had conceived and executed his passage of the Alps.	Hannibal crosses the Alps: 'Alps have been crossed in few days!'
21.40.7	<i>nisi creditis qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis plus spei nactos esse.</i>	unless you think that those who avoided battle when their strength was unimpaired would, now that they have lost two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry in the passage of the Alps, have become more hopeful!	Hannibal crosses the Alps: Alps worked as first barrier, damaging Hannibal's army
21.40.10	<i>cum hoc equite, cum hoc peditate pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostis, non hostem habetis. ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, cum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur.</i>	That is the cavalry, that the infantry with which you are to fight; you have no enemy —only the last relics of an enemy! And I fear nothing more than this, that when you have fought, it may seem to have been the Alps that conquered Hannibal.	Hannibal crosses the Alps: which slowed down Hannibal. First defence

21.41.4	<i>equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi: peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui.</i>	In a cavalry engagement —for this was the arm with which I was given the opportunity of fighting —I put the enemy to rout: his infantry column, marching hastily off as if in flight, I could not overtake by land; returning therefore to my ships I accomplished with all possible expedition so circuitous a voyage and march, and am come to confront this redoubtable enemy almost at the very foot of the Alps. Does it look as though I were avoiding battle and had blundered upon him unawares	Hannibal crosses the Alps: Roman Strategy
21.43.4	<i>dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentes; circa Padus amnis— maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae.</i>	On the right and on the left two seas encompass you, and you have not a single ship, even to flee in; round you is the river Po —the Po, a greater and more turbulent river than the Rhone; behind you tower the Alps, which you hardly scaled when you were fresh and vigorous.	Hannibal crosses the Alps: landscape and strategic situation of Hannibal. Picture of Northern Italy
21.47.1	<i>hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse.</i>	Such was the first battle fought with Hannibal, in which it was clearly seen that the Phoenician was superior in cavalry and that consequently open plains, like those between the Po and the Alps, were ill-suited to the Romans for campaigning.	Strategic issues: 'Between Po and Alps'
21.53.5	<i>'quantum ingemiscant' inquit 'patres nostri circa moenia Carthagini bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpes Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse.</i>	'How would our fathers groan', he cried, 'that were wont to wage war about the walls of Carthage, could they see us, their offspring, two consuls and two consular armies, cowering within our camp in the heart of Italy; and the Phoenician in full sway over all the territory between the Alps and the Apennines!'	Between alps and Apennines
21.54.7	<i>erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis.</i>	It chanced to be the time of year when the days are shortest, and it was snowing in the region between the Alps and the Apennines, and the proximity of rivers and marshes intensified the bitter cold.	Between Alps and Apennines
21.58.3	<i>transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit. vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere</i>	In attempting to cross the Apennines he was assailed by a storm so terrible as almost to surpass the horrors of the Alps. With the wind and rain blowing full in their faces, at first —because they must either have dropped their arms or else, if they struggled against it, be caught by the hurricane and hurled to the ground —they halted;	
22.10.3	<i>rogatus in haec verba populus: 'velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt qui cis Alpes sunt,</i>	The question was put to them in this form: 'Do you will and so order that these things be done in the manner following If the Republic of the Roman People, the Quirites, shall be preserved for the next five years —as I would wish it preserved —in these wars, to wit, the war of the Roman People with the People of Carthage and the wars with the Gauls on this side of the Alps,	Hilighting a territory as 'before' 'behind' the Alps

23.33.3	<i>is ubi primum fama accepit Hannibalem Alpibus transgressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto laetatus erat, ita utriusque populi mallet victoriam esse incertis adhuc viribus fluctuatus animo fuerat.</i>	On first learning by report that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, although he had rejoiced at the outbreak of war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, still, as their resources were not yet known, he had wavered, uncertain which of the two peoples he wished to have the victory.	
23.45.3	<i>abisse illam vim vigoremque, dilapsa esse robora corporum animorumque quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint iuga.</i>	Gone was that force and energy, lost the strength of body and spirit with which they had crossed the ranges of the Pyrenees and the Alps.	Passes of Pyrenees and Alps
23.28.6	<i>pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse; inopem tantum iter ingressum vix penetraturum ad Alpibus fuisse. pecuniis igitur raptim exactis ad Hiberum descendit.</i>	but that if he had set out on so long a march without funds, he would scarcely have made his way to the Alps. Therefore he exacted money in haste and came down to the Hiberus.	Alps and Ebro
26.12.14	<i>non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum gesturos transisse Alpibus: ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginensium exercitus debere esse. sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam, coeundo conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando.</i>	it was not to wage war with the people of Regium and Tarentum that they had crossed the Alps. where the Roman legions were, there ought the Carthaginian armies also to be. Thus at Cannae, thus at Trasumennus, by coming to grips and pitching camp near the enemy, by trying their luck they had met with success.	Connection between Alps and Regium and Tarentum. Both at the toes of Italy
26.19.11	<i>ita cum triginta navium classe—omnes autem quinqueremes erant—ostiiis Tiberinis profectus praeter oram Tusci maris, Alpesque et Gallicum sinum et deinde Pyrenaei circumvectus promunturium, Emporiis, urbe Graeca—oriundi et ipsi a Phocaea sunt—copias exposuit.</i>	so with a fleet of thirty ships (and they were all quinqueremes) Scipio set out from the mouth of the Tiber, sailed along the coast of the Tuscan Sea and past the Alps and the Gallic Gulf, and then rounding the promontory of the Pyrenees, landed his troops at Emporiae, a Greek city, for they also are sprung from Phocaea.	Connection: Tiber-Tyrrhenian Sea-Alps-Provence-Pyrenees-Ampurias
26.41.13	<i>vos omnium primi, milites, post Cannensem cladem vadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpibus Italiamque, qui si se cum fratre coniunxisset, nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani, ductu auspicioque patris mei obstitistis; et hae secundae res illas adversas sustinuerunt.</i>	it was this that raised and set up all the scattered debris. when Hasdrubal after the rout at Cannae was on his way to the Alps and Italy—and if he had joined his brother even the name of the Roman people would be no more—you were the very first, soldiers, to stand in his path under the command and auspices of my father	
27.35.10	<i>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.</i>	To the one was assigned the land of the Bruttii and Lucania facing Hannibal, to the other Gaul facing Hasdrubal, who was reported to be already nearing the Alps. Whichever of them should receive Gaul in the allotment was to choose the army he preferred out of the two that were in Gaul and in Etruria and the one at the city.	
27.39.2	<i>Hasdrubalem movisse ex hibernis et iam Alpes transire</i>	Hasdrubal had left his winter quarters and was already crossing the Alps;	

27.39.4-7	<i>plurimum in eam rem adiuvit opinio Hannibalis, quod, etsi ea aestate transiturum in Italiam fratrem crediderat, recordando quae ipse in transitu nunc Rhodani, nunc Alpium cum hominibus locisque pugnando per quinque menses exhausisset, haudquaquam tam facilem maturumque transitum exspectabat; ea tardius movendi ex hibernis causa fuit. ceterum Hasdrubali et sua et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque expeditiora fuere. non enim receperunt modo Arverni eum deincepsque aliae Gallicae atque Alpinae gentes, sed etiam secutae sunt ad bellum. et cum per munita pleraque transitu fratris, quae antea invia fuerant, ducebat, tum etiam duodecim annorum adsuetudine perviis Alpibus factis inter mitiora iam transibant hominum ingenia.</i>	Of the greatest assistance in that direction was Hannibal's miscalculation. He had believed, indeed, that his brother would come over into Italy that summer; but when he recalled what he had himself endured during five months, recordando quae ipse in transitu nunc Rhodani, nunc Alpium, in conflicts with men and the nature of the country, he looked forward to a crossing by no means so easy and so soon accomplished. This accounted for his slowness in leaving winter quarters. But for Hasdrubal everything moved more quickly and more easily than had been expected by himself and others. For not only did the Arverni, and then in turn other Gallic and Alpine tribes, receive him, but they even followed him to war. And not merely was he leading an army through country for the most part made passable by his brother's crossing, although previously trackless, but, thanks to the opening up of the Alps by twelve years of habitual use, they were also crossing through tribes now less savagely disposed.	It took five months to cross Rhone and Alps
27.36.4	<i>pro comperto habere Hasdrubalem ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo vere Alpes traiecturum, nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari nisi quod clausae hieme Alpes essent.</i>	that they had established that Hasdrubal with a huge army already concentrated would cross the Alps the next spring, and that at that time nothing else was detaining him than that the Alps were closed by the winter.	Alps closed in the Winter. This is one reason because they were considered a 'barrier'
27.38.6	<i>cum omnes censerent primo quoque tempore consulibus eundum ad bellum—nam et Hasdrubali occurrendum esse descendenti ab Alpibus, ne Gallos Cisalpinos neve Etruriam erectam in spem rerum novarum sollicitaret,</i>	All the senators were indeed of the opinion that the consuls must take the field at the earliest possible moment. For they felt that Hasdrubal must be met as he came down from the Alps, to prevent his stirring up the Cisalpine Gauls or Etruria, which was already aroused to the hope of rebellion,	
28.46.10	<i>igitur Poenus Savone, oppido Alpino, praeda deposita et decem longis navibus in statione ad praesidium relictis,</i>	The Carthaginian, therefore, having deposited his plunder at Savo, an Alpine town, left ten ships of war for its protection.	Savo Alpine fortress
28.42.20	<i>quam compar consilium tuum parentis tui consilio sit reputa. ille consul profectus in Hispaniam, ut Hannibali ab Alpibus descendenti occurreret, in Italiam ex provincia rediit: tu, cum Hannibal in Italia sit, relinquere Italiam paras, non quia rei publicae id utile, sed quia tibi amplum et gloriosum censes esse,</i>	Consider how far this policy of yours corresponds with that of your parent. He, setting out in his consulship for Spain, returned from his province into Italy, that he might meet Hannibal on his descent from the Alps; while you are going to leave Italy when Hannibal is there, not because you consider such a course beneficial to the state, but because you think it will redound to your own honour and glory;	Descending the Alps looks like 'the way to Rome' was free of obstacles.
29.5.9	<i>M. Livius exercitum volonum ex Etruria in Galliam traducit, iunctusque Lucretio, si se Mago ex Liguribus propius urbem moveat, obviam ire parat, si Poenus sub angulo Alpium quietus se contineat, et ipse in eadem regione circa Ariminum Italiae praesidio futurus.</i>	Marcus Livius led his army of volunteer slaves out of Etruria into Gaul, and having joined Lucretius, prepared to meet Mago in case he should move from Liguria nearer to the city; but intending, if the Carthaginian should keep himself quiet under the angle formed by the Alps, to remain himself also in the same quarter, near Ariminum. for the protection of Italy.	An angle formed by the Alps. Knowledge of visual geography

30.28.5	<i>qui senex vincendo factus Hispanias, Gallias, Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum compleret. ducere exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas vix fides fiat homines passes, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuvias non militum tantum, sed etiam imperatorum portantem.</i>	who, having grown old in victory, had filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy, from the Alps to the strait, with monuments of his vast achievements; who commanded troops who had served as long as he had himself; troops hardened by the endurance of every species of suffering, such as it is scarcely credible that men could have supported; stained a thousand times with Roman blood, and bearing with them the spoils not only of soldiers but of generals.	
30.19.6	<i>haec terra marique in parte Italiae quae iacet ad Alpes gesta.</i>	Such were the transactions by sea and land in that part of Italy which is adjacent to the Alps.	
39.22.7	<i>legatis Romanis de ea re trans Alpes missis responsum est neque profectos ex auctoritate gentis eos, nec quid in Italia facerent sese scire.</i>	Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, and to them an answer was given that 'they had not emigrated by the authority of their state, nor did their countrymen know what they were doing in Italy.'	Gallic invasions: crossing the Alps by the Gallic tribes: 'Alps, an almost impassable barrier'
39.54.5	<i>introduci in senatum a C. Valerio praetore exposuerunt se superante in Gallia multitudine inopia coactos agri et egestate ad quaerendam sedem Alpes transgressos, quae inculta per solitudines viderent, ibi sine ullius iniuria consedissee.</i>	being introduced to an audience of the senate, by the praetor Caius Valerius, represented, that 'in consequence of a redundancy of people in Gaul, they had been compelled by the want of land, and indeed of every thing, to cross the Alps in quest of a settlement: that they had settled in those lands which they found waste and uncultivated without doing injury to any.	Crossing the Alps
39.54.11-12	<i>itaque se cum iis legatos ad consulem missuros, qui si redeant unde venerint, omnia iis sua reddi iubeant, quique protinus eant trans Alpes, et denuntient Gallicis populis, multitudinem suam domi contineant: Alpes prope inxsuperabilem finem in medio esse: non utique iis melius fore quam qui eas primi pervias fecissent.</i>	They would therefore send to the consuls ambassadors, who would order all their effects to be restored, provided they returned to the place whence they came; and who would also proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give warning to the Gallic states to keep their people at home. That the Alps, an almost impassable barrier, lay between the two countries, and whoever should pass in future, should meet no better fate than those who first proved them to be passable.'	Gallic invasions: crossing the Alps by the Gallic tribes: 'Alps, an almost impassable barrier'
40.21.2	<i>cupido eum ceperat in verticem Haemi montis ascendendi, quia volgatae opinioni crediderat Ponticum simul et Hadriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes conspici posse: subiecta oculis ea haud parvi sibi momenti futura ad cogitationem Romani belli.</i>	He had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Haemus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic Seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places, would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome.	Extended view – landscape view from the top of the mountain Haemus
40.53.6	<i>eos senatus excedere Italia iussit et consulem Q. Fulvium quaerere et animadvertere in eos qui principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes fuissent.</i>	But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the consul Quintus Fulvius to search after and punish those who had been the first to advise them to cross the Alps.	

41.16.8	<i>litteraeque Romam extemplo scriptae, quibus non modo rem exponeret, sed etiam gloriaretur sua virtute ac felicitate neminem iam cis Alpes esse hostem populi Romani, agrisque aliquantum captum, qui multis milibus hominum dividi viritim posset.</i>	He immediately despatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only represented this success, but likewise boasted that through his good conduct and good fortune there was not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, which might be distributed among many thousand men, giving each a share.	Importance for Rome to not have a foe behind (cis) Alps
43.5.10	<i>legati cum Gallis missi trans Alpibus C. Laelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, ad ceteros populos C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Memmius.</i>	Caius Laelius and Marcus Aemilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls, to the regions on the northern side of the Alps; and Caius Cicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states	
43.5.7	<i>nec responderi tantum iis gentibus, sed legatos mitti, duos ad regulum trans Alpibus, tres circa eos populos placuit, qui indicarent, quae patrum sententia esset.</i>	It was voted not only to make a reply to these peoples, but to send envoys, two to the prince beyond the Alps and three to the several other peoples; the envoys were to announce what the opinion pronounced by the Fathers was.	Alps term of comparison. Those who live beyond and behind
AXIUS – RIVER			
39.53.15	<i>qui ex Illyrico per Pelagoniam fluens in Axium amnem editur, haud procul Stobis, vetere urbe:</i>	This is a district of Paeonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum through Paeonia, falls into the river Axius.	
44.43.8	<i>secuti eum sunt admodum quingenti Cretenses. petebat Amphipolim; sed nocte a Pella exierat, properans ante lucem Axium amnem traicere, eum finem sequendi propter difficultatem transitus fore ratus Romanis.</i>	He took the road to Amphipolis; leaving Pella in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axius before daylight, as he thought that it, from the difficulty of passing it, would put an end to the further pursuit of the Romans.	Macedonian War: Axius as border river
45.29.7-8	<i>secundam fore regionem, quam ab ortu Strymo amplecteretur amnis, praeter Sinticen Heracleam et Bisaltas, ab occasuque Axius terminaret fluvius, additis Paeonibus, qui prope Axium flumen ad regionem orientis colerent. tertia pars facta, quam Axius ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt; ad septentrionem Bora mons obicitur; adiecta huic parti regio Paeonia, qua ab occasu praeter Axium amnem porrigitur;</i>	That the second district should be the country enclosed by the river Strymon, on the east, where were excepted Sintice-Heraclea and Bisaltica, and by the river Axius on the west; to which should be added the Pœnians, who dwelt near the river Axius, and on its right bank. The third district comprised the territory bounded by the river Axius on the east, the Peneus on the west, and Mount Bora on the north. That to this division should be joined that tract of Paeonia, which stretches along the western side of the Axius;	Axius as border river
CHELIDONIUM – PROMONTORY			
33.20.1	<i>Multa egregie Rhodii pro fide erga populum Romanum proque uniuerso nomine Graecorum terra marique ausi sunt, nihil magnificentius quam quod ea tempestate non teriti tanta mole imminentis belli legatos ad regem miserunt ne Chaelidonias—promunturium Ciliciae est, inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus Persarum—superaret: si eo fine non contineret classem copiasque suas</i>	The Rhodians, out of a faithful attachment to the Roman people, and an affection for the whole race of the Greeks, have performed many honourable exploits, both on land and sea: but never was their gallantry more eminently conspicuous than on this occasion, when, nowise dismayed at the formidable magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to tell the king, that he should not double the point of Chelidoniae, which is a promontory of Cilicia, rendered famous by an ancient treaty between the Athenians and the king of Persia;	

33.41.6	<i>Cyprum nihilo minus petens, cum Chaelidoniarum promunturium superasset, paulisper seditione remigum est retentus in Pamphylia circa Eurymedontem amnem.</i>	but nevertheless steered towards Cyprus; and, when he had passed the promontory of Chelidonium, was detained some little time in Pamphylia, near the river Eurymedon, by a mutiny among his rowers.	
CREMERA – RIVER			
2.49.8-12	<i>infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis, profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio. L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem fecere. intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra—ibi castra habebant—pacem supplices petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.</i>	Setting out by the Unlucky Way, the right arch of the Porta Carmentalis, they came to the river Cremera, a position which seemed favourable for the erection of a fort. Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius were then chosen consuls. And so long as nothing more than plundering was afoot the Fabii were not only an adequate garrison for the fort, but in all that region where the Tuscan territory marches with the Roman they afforded universal security to their own countrymen and annoyance to the enemy, by ranging along the border on both sides. Then came a brief interruption to these depredations, while the men of Veii, having called in an army from Etruria, attacked the post on the Cremera, and the Roman legions, led thither by Lucius Aemilius the consul, engaged them in a pitched battle; though in truth the Veientes had scarcely time to draw up a battle-line, for at the first alarm, while the ranks were falling in behind the standards and the reserves were being posted, a division of Roman cavalry made a sudden charge on their flank and deprived them of the power not only of attacking first, but even of standing their ground. And so they were driven back upon Saxa Rubra, where they had their camp, and sued for peace. It was granted, but their instinctive fickleness caused them to weary of the pact before the Roman garrison was withdrawn from the Cremera.	Veientine War
2.50.5	<i>iamque Fabii adeo contempserant hostem ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. haec spes provexit ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent.</i>	This confidence so won upon them that on catching sight of some flocks at a distance from the Cremera, across a wide interval of plain, they disregarded the appearance here and there of hostile arms, and ran down to capture them. Their rashness carried them on at a swift pace past an ambushade which had been laid on both sides of their very road.	Veientine War
2.52.3	<i>Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset;</i>	Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, the proposers of the agrarian measure, cited Titus Menenius to appear for trial. He had incurred the dislike of the plebs owing to the loss of the outpost on the Cremera, when he as consul had occupied a permanent camp not far away;	Praesidium Cremerae. Stronghold: Garrison on the river. Military plan
3.1.1	<i>Antio capto T. Aemilius et Q. Fabius consules fiunt. hic erat Fabius, qui unus exstinctae ad Cremeram genti superfuerat.</i>	After the capture of Antium, Titus Aemilius and Quintus Fabius were elected consuls. This was that Fabius who had been the sole survivor of his family destroyed at the Cremera.	

6.1.11	<i>tum de diebus religiosis agitari coeptum, diemque a. d. quintum decimum kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Alliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Alliensem appellarunt insignemque religione rei ullius publice privatimque agenda fecerunt.</i>	Then they proceeded to deliberate about days of evil omen. The th of July was notorious for a double misfortune, since it was on that day that the Fabii were massacred at the Cremera and that subsequently the rout at the Allia occurred, which resulted in the destruction of the City. From the latter disaster they named it the Day of the Allia, and forbade any public or private business to be done that day.	Remembering Cremera and Allia
9.38.16	<i>Macer Licinius tertia etiam clade, quae ad Cremeram accepta est, abominandam eam curiam facit.</i>	the first return. Licinius Macer makes this ward unlucky also for a third disaster—that of the Cremera.	
GADES – STRAIT			
21.21.9	<i>Hannibal cum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi uota exsoluit nouisque se obligat uotis, si cetera prospera euenissent.</i>	In the early days of spring they reassembled according to orders. After reviewing the whole of the native contingents, Hannibal left for Gades, where he discharged his vows to Hercules, and bound himself by fresh obligations to that deity in case his enterprise should succeed.	Gades as connecting point between Carthaginian Africa and Spain
21.22.4	<i>classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae, quia qua parte belli uicerant ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque. ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit;</i>	The protection of the coast required a fleet, and as it was natural to suppose that the Romans would again make use of that arm in which they had been victorious before, Hasdrubal had assigned to him a fleet of warships, including quinqueremes, quadriremes, and triremes, but only quinqueremes and the triremes were ready for sea. From Gades he returned to the winter quarters of his army at New Carthage, and from New Carthage he commenced his march on Italy.	Gades as linking point with Carthago Nova
24.45.5	<i>Syphax cum paucis equitibus in Maurusios ex acie Numidas—extremi prope Oceanum aduersus Gades colunt—refugit, adfluentibusque ad famam eius undique barbaris ingentes breui copias armauit,</i>	Syphax with a few of his horse fled from the field to the Maurusii, a tribe of Numidians who dwell at almost the furthest point of Africa near the ocean, opposite Gades.	Gades opens his doors to sea and join Africa and Europe
26.20.6	<i>in hiberna diuersi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum et Gades, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem saltum; Hasdrubal Hamilcaris filius proximus Hiberno circa Saguntum hibernauit.</i>	The Carthaginian armies withdrew into their respective winter-quarters: Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, to Gades on the coast, Mago into the interior above the forest of Castulo, Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, near the Ebro in the neighbourhood of Saguntum.	Ebro and Saguntum key points for war operation in Spain
27.20.4	<i>ibi conferentibus quid in cuiusque prouinciae regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram quae ad Oceanum et Gades uergit ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse eoque Carthaginensibus satis fidam censebat:</i>	When they came to compare notes as to the feeling in the different provinces, Hasdrubal Gisgo considered that as the distant coast of Spain between Gades and the ocean still knew nothing of the Romans, it was so far faithful to Carthage.	

28.2.15-16	<i>Poenus cum castra tum forte in Baetica ad sociorum animos continendos in fide haberet, signis repente sublatis fugae magis quam itineris modo penitus ad Oceanum et Gades ducit. ceterum, quoad continuisset exercitum, propositum bello se fore ratus, antequam freto Gades traiceret exercitum omnem passim in ciuitates diuisit ut et muris se ipsi et armis muros tutarentur.</i>	The Carthaginian, in order to ensure the loyalty of his allies, had his camp at that time, as it happened, in Baetica. Nevertheless he suddenly took up his standards and with the appearance of a flight rather than of a march led his men all the way to the Ocean and Gades. But before taking ship along the strait to Gades, thinking he would be the object of attack so long as he kept his army together he scattered his entire force among the cities in every direction, that they might defend themselves by walls and at the same time defend walled cities by their arms.	Subdivision of Spain. Gades as key point
28.12.13	<i>ibi tum Hasdrubal Gisgonis, maximus clarissimusque eo bello secundum Barcinus dux, regressus ab Gadibus rebellandi spe, adiuuante Magone Hamilcaris filio dilectibus per ulteriorem Hispaniam habitis ad quinquaginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quingentos equites armauit.</i>	Here Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, the greatest and most renowned general concerned in the war, next to the Barcine family, returning from Gades, and encouraged in his hopes of reviving the war by Mago, son of Hamilcar, by means of levies made throughout the Farther Spain, armed as many as fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse.	Gades as strategic point
32.2.5	<i>Gaditanis item petentibus remissum, ne praefectus Gades mitteretur aduersus id quod iis in fidem populi Romani venientibus cum L. Marcio Septimo conuenisset.</i>	A deputation from Gades came with a request that no prefect might be sent there, as this would be in contravention of the agreement made with L. Marcius Septimus when they placed themselves under the protection of Rome.	
HIBERUM – RIVER			
21.2.7	<i>cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperio que suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinis que mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.</i>	With this Hasdrubal, because of the marvellous skill which he had shown in tempting the native tribes to join his empire, the Roman People had renewed their covenant, with the stipulation that neither side should extend its dominion beyond the Ebro, while the Saguntines, situated between the empires of the two peoples, should be preserved in independence.	Second Punic War: causes of the Second Punic War. Description of the area of the Ebro
21.5.3	<i>quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines – ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginiensium erat – induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendo que tractus ad id bellum videri posset</i>	But since an attack on them must certainly provoke the Romans to hostile action, he marched first into the territory of the Olcades —a tribe living south of the Ebro, within the limits of the Carthaginians but not under their dominion —that he might appear not to have aimed at the Saguntines but to have been drawn into that war by a chain of events, as he conquered the neighbouring nations and annexed their territories.	Causes of the Second Punic War: description of the area of the Ebro
21.5.17	<i>Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit uastisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit; et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.</i>	He followed up his victory by laying waste their fields, and in a few days was able to receive the submission of the Carpetani There was no part of the country beyond the Ebro which did not now belong to the Carthaginians, with the exception of Saguntum.	Ebro as limitation line of power. Military actions.
21.7.2	<i>Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa ui oppugnabatur. Ciuitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari.</i>	During these proceedings in Rome the siege of Saguntum was being pressed with the utmost vigour. That city was by far the wealthiest of all beyond the Ebro; it was situated about a mile from the sea.	Positioning of Saguntum in relation with Ebro

21.16.5-6	<i>Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire, trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, concitum avidas p. semper armorum Gallicas gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.</i>	But the Carthaginians, a veteran enemy which for three-and-twenty years had seen hard and rough service amongst the Spanish tribes, and had always been victorious, trained under a general of exceptional ability, were now crossing the Ebro fresh from the sack of a most wealthy city, and were bringing with them all those Spanish tribes, eager for the fray. They would rouse the various Gaulish tribes, who were always ready to take up arms; there would be the whole world to fight against; the battleground would be Italy; the struggle would take place before the walls of Rome.	Crossing the Ebro
21.18.12	<i>vos enim quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem p. Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere et quod diu parturit animus vester aliquando pariat!</i>	the Saguntines are exempted from attack. I shall meet that with your own arguments. You told us that you refused to be bound by the treaty which your consul, C. Lutatius, concluded with us, because it did not receive the authorisation of either the senate or the Assembly. A fresh treaty was accordingly made by your government. Now, if no treaties have any binding force for you unless they have been made with the authority of your senate or by order of your Assembly, we, on our side, cannot possibly be bound by Hasdrubal's treaty, which he made without our knowledge. Drop all allusions to Saguntum and the Ebro, and speak out plainly what has long been secretly hatching in your minds.'	Treaty of Ebro
21.19.7	<i>ad Bargusios primum venerunt; a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt.</i>	The Bargusii were the first they visited, and being warmly welcomed by them, for men were wearying of the Punic sway, they aroused in many nations south of the Ebro a desire to revolt.	Crossing the Ebro
21.20.9	<i>ita peragratis Hispaniae Galliaeque populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. civitatem omnem exspectatione belli erectam invenerunt satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.</i>	So the envoys, having travelled through the nations of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome, not long after the consuls had set out for their respective commands. They found the citizens all on tip-toe with expectation of the war, for the rumour persisted that the Phoenicians had already crossed the Ebro.	Crossing the Ebro
21.22.5	<i>ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum per maritimam oram ducit.</i>	From Gades Hannibal returned to New Carthage, to the winter quarters of his army. Setting out from thence, he marched along the coast, past the city of Onusa, to the Ebro.	The Ebro and Onusa as stage in the journey
21.25.1	<i>in Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat,</i>	In Italy meanwhile nothing more was known than that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro —which was the news that Massiliot envoys brought to Rome,	Crossing the Ebro as key-point of the war
21.30.3	<i>indignatos deinde quod quicumque Saguntum obsedissent velut ob noxam sibi dedici postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum.</i>	Then, indignant that the Roman People should demand that whoever had laid siege to Saguntum be surrendered up to them, as though to expiate a felony, they had crossed the Ebro, in order to wipe out the Roman name and liberate the world.	Crossing the Ebro as key-point of the war

21.44.6	<i>crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque quos non excedamus; neque eos quos statuit terminos observat. 'Ne transieris Hiberum! ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!' at liberum est Saguntum. 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!</i>	They circumscribe and hem us in with boundaries of mountains and rivers which we may not cross; yet they do not observe those boundaries which they have set. 'Do not cross the Ebro! Have naught to do with the Saguntines!' But Saguntum is free. Do not budge from where you are in any direction!' Is it not enough that you have taken away my ancient provinces of Sicily and Sardinia Are you taking away Spain as well If I withdraw from these, shall you cross over into Africa Shall, do I say They have dispatched the two consuls of this year, the one into Africa, and the other into Spain!	Questioning the treaty of Hiberum: Arguments on the Ebro and Sagunt.
21.53.4	<i>castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque in qua geniti forent pelli Romanos.</i>	The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy and almost within sight of Rome. Their object was, not to get back Sicily and Sardinia, taken from them after their defeat, nor to cross the Ebro and occupy northern Spain, but to expel the Romans from the land of their fathers and from their native soil.	Purposes of the Carthaaginians
21.60.3-5	<i>exposito ibi exercitu orsus a Laeetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis, Romanae dicionis fecit. inde conciliata clementiae iustitiaeque fama non ad maritimos modo populos sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in conspectu hostium positus in aciem eduxit.</i>	Landing his army there and beginning with the Laeetani, he had brought all that coast, as far as the river Ebro, under Roman sway, partly by renewing old alliances and partly by forming new ones. The reputation which he there acquired for clemency and justice availed not only with the maritime tribes, but also with the more warlike clans inhabiting the interior and the mountainous parts; so that he was able not only to establish peaceful relations but even to conclude a military alliance with them, and several strong cohorts of auxiliaries were raised there. North of the Ebro Hanno was the Carthaginian commander, for Hannibal had left him there to defend that region. Feeling, therefore, that something ought to be done, before everything was lost to Carthage, he pitched his camp in sight of the enemy and offered battle.	Military operations in Spain: the importance of Ebro

21.61.1-6	<p><i>priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundae res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit. nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat,</i></p>	<p>Hasdrubal had not yet received definite tidings of this disaster when he crossed the Ebro with eight thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, as though to confront the Romans at their first arrival; but on learning of the catastrophe at Cissis and the loss of the camp, he turned and marched in the direction of the sea. Not far from Tarraco he came upon the soldiers of the fleet and the naval allies, who were dispersed and wandering over the country-side, with the carelessness which usually attends success; and sending out his cavalry in all directions he drove them, with much slaughter and more confusion, to their ships. But not venturing to tarry longer in that region, lest Scipio should be down upon him, he retreated across the Ebro. Scipio, hearing of these new enemies, did indeed march thither with all speed; but after punishing a few of the ships' captains, he left a garrison of moderate size in Tarraco and returned with the fleet to Emporiae. No sooner was he gone than Hasdrubal appeared, and inciting the Ilergetes, who had given Scipio hostages, to revolt, he used the young men of this very tribe to lay waste the fields of the allies who were faithful to the Romans. But this having roused Scipio from his winter quarters, he retreated again and abandoned all the territory north of the Ebro. Scipio invaded the country of the Ilergetes —left thus in the lurch by the instigator of their revolt —with fire and sword, and driving them all into the city of Atanagrus, the capital of that nation, laid siege to them.</p>	<p>Military operations in Spain: importance of crossing the Ebro. Use of 'trans' and 'cis'.</p>
22.19.5	<p><i>altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita.</i></p>	<p>On the second day out of Tarraco he came to an anchorage ten miles from the mouth of the river Ebro. Thence he dispatched two Massiliot scouting vessels, who reported that the Punic fleet was lying in the mouth of the river and their camp established on the bank.</p>	<p>Strategic function of the Ebro</p>
22.20.11	<p><i>quo omnium populorum, qui cis Hiberum incolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; sed qui vere ditionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis populi amplius fuere centum viginti.</i></p>	<p>The fleet now put about and returned to the northern part of the province, and thither flocked ambassadors from all the communities on this side of the Ebro and even from many places in farthest Spain; but the communities that gave hostages and really came under the rule and government of Rome were more than a hundred and twenty.</p>	<p>Again on the question of Ebro</p>
22.21.5	<p><i>hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit.</i></p>	<p>Nevertheless, this outbreak induced Hasdrubal, who was retreating towards the ocean, to turn back and cross the Ebro, for the purpose of protecting his allies.</p>	<p>Strategic function of the Ebro</p>

22.22.4	<i>occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio.</i>	Accordingly, while the Carthaginians were taken up with the Celtiberian campaign, they lost no time in crossing the Ebro, and seeing nothing of any enemy, marched directly on Saguntum, where it was said that hostages from all over Spain were being guarded in the citadel by a small garrison, to whose keeping they had been consigned by Hannibal.	Importance of crossing the Ebro
22.22.11	<i>metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque quos metus non teneat beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse.</i>	Fear, he said, had until then kept the Spaniards down, because the Romans were a long way off; now the Roman camp was on this side of the Ebro, a sure stronghold and asylum for any who wished a change; those, accordingly, who were not bound by fear must be secured by kindness and generosity.	Importance of a fort behind the Ebro
22.25.7	<i>itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante.</i>	Thus it had actually come to pass that not only Samnium —whose territories, as though they lay beyond the Ebro, had already been surrendered to the Phoenicians —but Campania, and the districts both of Cales and Falerii had been utterly laid waste; while the dictator sat still at Casilinum and used the legions of the Roman People to protect his own estate.	Conquests of the Carthaginians. Ebro as comparison point
22.39.14	<i>in diem raptio vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti, nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat.</i>	he subsists on the plunder of each day; he has barely a third of that army which he led across the Ebro; more have perished by starvation than by the sword, and the few that are left have no longer any food.	Importance of crossing the Ebro
23.26.4	<i>in ipso impetu movendarum de integro rerum perculit eum praefectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter increpiti numquam p. deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginiensium rebus fuerant.</i>	In the very flush of renewed operations he met a blow in the desertion of the commanders of his ships, who, being severely reprimanded after their abandonment of the fleet at the Hiberus in their fright, had never p. since been entirely loyal either to the general or to the cause of Carthage.	Ebro as key points
23.27.10	<i>itaque Hasdrubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit, indicans quanto fama profectionis suae damno fuisset; si vero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum transiret Romanorum Hispaniam fore</i>	Accordingly Hasdrubal at once sent a letter to Carthage, showing what a loss the mere report of his departure had caused; that if he were actually to leave the country, Spain would belong to the Romans before he should cross the Hiberus.	Ebro balance of power in Spain
23.28.6	<i>pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse; inopem tantum iter ingressum vix penetraturum ad Alpis fuisse. pecuniis igitur raptim exactis ad Hiberum descendit.</i>	but that if he had set out on so long a march without funds, he would scarcely have made his way to the Alps. Therefore he exacted money in haste and came down to the Hiberus.	Alps and Ebro

23.28.9-10	<i>his anxii curis ad Hiberum contrahunt copias, et transitio amne cum diu consultassent utrum castra castris conferrent an satis haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis morari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea tempestate regionis eius, oppugnare parant.</i>	Troubled by these apprehensions, they concentrated their troops at the Hiberus, crossed the river, and after protracted deliberation, whether to pitch camp near that of the enemy or to be satisfied with keeping him from his projected march by attacking allies of the Carthaginians, they prepared to attack a city which had its name Hibera from the river near by, the richest city of the region at that time.	Ebro as key point
24.41.1-2	<i>eodem anno in Hispania varie res gestae. nam priusquam Romani amnem Hiberum transirent, ingentes copias Hispanorum Mago et Hasdrubal fuderunt; defecissetque ab Romanis ulterior Hispania, ni P. Cornelius raptim traducto exercitu Hiberum dubiis sociorum animis in tempore advenisset.</i>	In the same year operations in Spain were chequered. For Mago and Hasdrubal, before the Romans should cross the Ebro, routed immense forces of Spaniards. And Farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans if Publius Cornelius had not hastily led his army across the Hiberus and arrived in the nick of time, while the allies were still wavering.	Ebro balance of power in Spain
25.37.5-8	<i>sed tantum praestitit eques Romanus auctoritate inter milites atque honore ut, castris citra Hiberum communitis, cum ducem exercitus comitiis militaribus creari placuisset, subeuntes alii aliis in custodiam valli stationesque, donec per omnis suffragium iret, ad L. Marcium cuncti summam imperii detulerint. omne inde tempus—exiguum id fuit—muniendis castris convehendisque commeatibus consumpsit, et omnia imperia milites cum inpigre, tum haudquaquam abiecto animo exequabantur. ceterum postquam Hasdrubalem Gisgonis venientem ad reliquias belli delendas transisse Hiberum et adpropinquare adlatum est, signumque pugnae propositum ab novo duce milites viderunt,</i>	But so preeminent was a mere Roman knight in his personal influence with the soldiers and in the respect they paid him that, after they had fortified a camp on this side of the Hiberus and decided that a commander of the army should be chosen in an election by the soldiers, relieving each other as sentries on the wall and in outpost duty until all had cast their votes, they unanimously conferred the high command upon Lucius Marcius. He then spent the whole time—and it was very short—in fortifying the camp and bringing up supplies. And the soldiers carried out all his commands, not only with energy, but also in no dejected spirit. But when the news came that Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, on his way to wipe out the last remains of the war, had crossed the Hiberus and was approaching, and the soldiers	Importance of a camp along the river
26.17.3	<i>profectus ad Hiberum flumen exercitum ab Ti, Fonteio et L. Marcio accepit.</i>	then setting out for the river Ebro, he took over the army from Tiberius Fonteius and Lucius Marcius.	Ebro as key point
26.20.2	<i>nec fructum secundarum rerum sentire hostis passi omni cis Hiberum agro eos arcuissent, sociosque cum fide tutati essent.</i>	and not allowing the enemy to feel any benefit from their successes, had kept them out of the whole region this side of the Ebro, and had loyally protected the allies.	Ebrum and Sagunt key points for war operation in Spain
26.20.6	<i>in hiberna diversi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum et Gadis, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem saltum; Hasdrubal Hamilcaris filius proximus Hiberi circa Saguntum hibernavit.</i>	The Carthaginian armies withdrew into their respective winter-quarters: Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, to Gades on the coast, Mago into the interior above the forest of Castulo, Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, near the Ebro in the neighbourhood of Saguntum.	Ebrum and Sagunt key points for war operation in Spain

26.41.1	<i>in Hispania principio veris P. Scipio navibus deductis evocatisque edicto Tarraconem sociorum auxiliis classem onerariasque ostium inde Hiberi fluminis petere iubet.</i>	in Spain at the beginning of spring Publius Scipio launched his ships, and after summoning the allied auxiliaries to Tarraco by an edict, he ordered the fleet and the transports to sail thence to the mouth of the river Ebro.	Ebro is important not just as 'line' but also for its mout able to host ships
26.41.6	<i>sed cum iam benignitate deum id paremus atque agamus, non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant, nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu hostes, sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque bellum,</i>	but now with the favour of the gods we are preparing and striving, not to remain in Spain ourselves, but to prevent the Carthaginians from remaining, and not to stand on the bank of the Ebro and keep the enemy from crossing, but taking the offensive to cross over and shift the scene of the war.	Not make the enemy crossing
26.41.23	<i>agite, veteres milites, novum exercitum novumque ducem traducite Hiberum, traducite in terras cum multis fortibus factis saepe a vobis peragratas.</i>	come now, veterans, lead a new army and a new commander across the Ebro, lead them over into lands often traversed by you with many deeds of bravery.	Crossing the Ebro (as probably the Alps) is sign of bravery
26.42.1	<i>hac oratione accensis militum animis, relicto ad praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus, ceteras omnes copias—erant autem viginti quinque milia peditum, duo milia quingenti equites—Hiberum traiecit.</i>	having fired the spirits of the soldiers by this speech, and leaving for the defence of the region Marcus Silanus with three thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen, all the rest of the forces — and they were twenty —five thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry —he led across the Ebro.	Military operations
26.42.6	<i>septimo die ab Hiberio Carthaginem ventum est simul terra marique. castra ab regione urbis qua in septentrionem versa est posita; his ab tergo—nam frons natura tuta erat—vallum obiectum.</i>	on the seventh day from the Ebro they reached (New) Carthage by sea and land at the same time. camp was pitched opposite the city where it faces the north.	Ebro is once again the balance of power in Spain
26.51.10	<i>quas partim dato responso ex itinere dimisit, partim distulit Tarraconem, quo omnibus novis veteribusque sociis edixerat conventum. et cuncti fere qui cis Hiberum incolunt populi, multi etiam ulterioris provinciae convenerunt.</i>	some of these he answered and dismissed without stopping, some he postponed till he reached Tarraco, at which he had announced an assembly for all the allies new and old. and nearly all the peoples dwelling on this side of the Ebro came together, and many also from the farther province.	Ebro in the roman vision of Spain
28.24.5	<i>civilis alius furor in castris ad Sucronem ortus. octo ibi milia militum erant, praesidium gentibus quae cis Hiberum incolunt inpositum.</i>	Besides, a mutiny arose in the camp at Sucro. Here were eight thousand men, stationed as a guard over the nations dwelling on this side the Iberus.	
28.33.1	<i>ab hac oratione dimissos ad iter se comparare in diem posterum iubet, profectusque decumis castris pervenit ad Hiberum flumen. inde superato amni die quarto in conspectu hostium posuit castra. Campus ante montibus circa saeptus erat.</i>	After this harangue he dismissed them, with orders to get themselves in readiness in every respect for marching the next day; when, setting out, he arrived at the river Iberus in ten days. Then crossing the river, he, on the fourth day, pitched his camp within sight of the enemy.	Forts on the Ebro

28.39.14	<i>simul gratulatum, quod ita res per hos annos in Hispania atque Italia gessistis ut Hispaniam non Hiberi amne tenus, sed qua terrarum ultimas finit Oceanus, domitam armis habeatis, Italiae, nisi quatenus vallum castrorum cingit, nihil reliqueritis Poeno.</i>	and at the same time to offer you their congratulations on your having carried on your operations in Spain and Italy so successfully of late years, that you have subdued by your arms, and have gotten possession of Spain, not only as far as the river Iberus, but also to where the ocean forms the limit of the remotest regions of the world; while in Italy you have left nothing to the Carthaginian except so much space as the rampart of his camp encloses.	Occupation of Spain: up to Gades. First stop was Ebro, second Gades.
28.42.4	<i>ab Tarracone deinde iter per praesidia Romana; circa Hiberum exercitus patris patruisque tui post amissos imperatores ferociore calamitate ipsa facti,</i>	There landing your soldiers, you marched them through countries entirely secure from danger to Tarraco, to join the allies and friends of the Roman people. After that, from Tarraco you marched through places garrisoned by Roman troops. On the banks of the Iberus were the armies of your father and your uncle, rendered.	
30.22.2	<i>eum iniussu senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Saguntinis privato consilio bellum intulisse;</i>	They declared, that he had not only crossed the Alps, but the Iberus also, without the sanction of the senate; and that he had made war not only on the Romans, but previously on the Saguntines also, on his own individual responsibility.	Alps and Ebro are legally not meant to be crossed
34.13.7-8	<i>patres nostri, cum in Hispania Carthaginiensium et imperatores et exercitus essent, ipsi nullum in ea militem haberent, tamen addi hoc in foedere voluerunt, ut imperii sui Hiberus fluvius esset finis; nunc cum duo praetores, cum consul, cum tres exercitus Romani Hispaniam obtineant, Carthaginiensium decem iam prope annis nemo in his provinciis sit, imperium nobis citra Hiberum amissum est.</i>	Our fathers, at a time when the Carthaginians had in Spain both commanders and armies, and had themselves neither commander nor soldiers there, nevertheless insisted on its being an article of treaty, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of their empire. Now, when two praetors of the Romans, when a consul, and three armies are employed in Spain, and, for near ten years past, no Carthaginian has been in either of its provinces, yet we have lost that empire on the hither side of the Iberus.	Embodiment of the Carthaginian territories and dominions (<i>imperium</i>) over the Ebro
34.16.7	<i>et cum Tarraconem venit, iam omnis cis Hiberum Hispania perdomita erat, captivique et Romani et socium ac Latini nominis, variis casibus in Hispania oppressi, donum consuli a barbaris reducebantur.</i>	so that, by the time when he arrived at Tarraco, all Spain on this side of the Ebro was in a state of perfect subjection; and the Roman prisoners, and those of their allies and the Latin confederates, who by various chances had fallen into the hands of the enemies in Spain, were brought back by the barbarians, as an offering to the consul.	
34.17.5	<i>consul interim rebellione Bergistanorum ictus, ceteras quoque civitates ratus per occasionem idem facturam, arma omnibus cis Hiberum Hispanis adimit.</i>	The consul, meanwhile, alarmed at the rebellion of the Bergistans, and suspecting that the other states would act in like manner when occasion offered, took away their arms from all the Spaniards on this side of the Iberus.	

34.19.10	<i>deinde audito Saguntiae Celtiberum omnes sarcinas impedimentaue relicta, eo pergit ducere ad oppugnandum. postquam nulla moventur re, persoluto stipendio non suis modo sed etiam praetoris militibus relictoque omni exercitu in castris praetoris ipse cum septem cohortibus ad Hiberum est regressus.</i>	then hearing that all the baggage of the Celtiberians was deposited at Saguntia, he proceeded thither to attack that town, but was unable, notwithstanding, to provoke them to stir. Paying, therefore, his own troops and those of Minucius, he left the bulk of his army in the praetor's camp, and, with seven cohorts, returned to the Iberus.	
35.1.3	<i>nec dubium est quin omnis Hispania sublatura animos fuerit, ni alter praetor P. Cornelius Cn. F. Scipio trans Hiberum multa secunda proelia fecisset, quo terrore non minus quinquaginta oppida ad eum defecerunt.</i>	In consequence of this, every state in Spain would certainly have resumed new courage, had not the other praetor, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, been successful in several engagements on the other side of the Iberus;	
39.56.1	<i>eodem anno A. Terentius proconsul haud procul flumine Hiberno, in agro Ausetano, et proelia secunda cum Celtiberis fecit, et oppida, quae ibi communierant, aliquot expugnavit.</i>	In the same year Aulus Terentius Varro, the proprietor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, not far from the river Iberus, in the territory of Ausetana, reducing several towns, which they had fortified in that quarter.	Again the Ebro as key river
21.44.5-6	<i>Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos obseruat: 'Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis.' Ad Hiberum est Saguntum 'Nusquam te uestigio moueris.'</i>	They circumscribe and hem us in with boundaries of mountains and rivers which we may not cross; yet they do not observe those boundaries which they have set. 'Do not cross the Ebro! Have naught to do with the Saguntines!' But Saguntum is free.'	
MEANDER RIVER			
37.45.1	<i>sub idem fere tempus et ab Tralibus et a Magnesia quae super Maeandrum est, et ab Epheso ad dedendas urbes venerunt.</i>	About this time deputies came from Tralles, from Magnesia on the Maeander, and from Ephesus, to surrender those cities.	
37.45.19	<i>cum iis mandatis ab rege missi erant legati ut omnem pacis condicionem acciperent; itaque Romam mitti legatos placuit. consul in hiberna exercitum Magnesium ad Maeandrum et Tralles Ephesumque divisit.</i>	It was resolved, therefore, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. The consul distributed his army in winter quarters at Magnesia, on the Maeander, Tralles, and Ephesus.	
37.55.5	<i>summam tamen hanc fore, ut cis Taurum montem, quae intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent, Eumeni attribuerentur praeter Lyciam Cariamque usque ad Maeandrum amnem;</i>	That the general plan was to be this: that the places on this side of Mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Maeander;	Lycia and Caria Treaty of Apamea
37.56.3	<i>et nominatim Magnesium ad Sipylum, et Cariam, quae Hydrela appellatur, agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem, et castella vicisque ad Maeandrum amnem et oppida</i>	then the city of Caria, called also Hydrela, and the territory of Hydrela, stretching towards Phrygia, and the forts and villages on the river Maeander, and likewise the towns, excepting such as had been free before the war,	Land delimitation based on Maeander

37.56.6	<i>ea quoque iis pars Cariae data quae propior Rhodum insulam trans Maeandrum amnem est, oppida, vici, castella, agri, qui ad Pisidiam vergunt, nisi quae eorum oppida in libertate fuissent pridie, quam cum Antiocho rege in Asia pugnatum est.</i>	To the latter was given also that part of Caria which lies beyond the river Maeander nearest to the island of Rhodes, with its towns, villages, forts, and lands, extending to Pisidia, excepting those towns which had been in a state of freedom on the day before that of the battle with Antiochus.'	Land delimitation based on Maeander
38.12.9-10	<i>consul collaudato iuvene cum omnibus copiis ad p. Maeandrum progressus castra posuit, quia vado superari amnis non poterat et contrahendae naves erant ad exercitum traiciendum.</i>	The consul, after highly commending the young prince, having advanced with all his forces, encamped on the bank of the Maeander, for as that river could not be forded, it was necessary to collect shipping for carrying over the army.	Forts by the Meandrus (defensive line)
38.13.4-7	<i>consul tribuno militum misso cum modica manu castellum vi cepit, captum Alabandensibus reddit. ipse nihil via degressus ad Antiochiam super Maeandrum amnem posuit castra. huius amnis fontes Celaenis oriuntur. Celaenae urbs caput quondam Phrygiae fuit; migratum inde haud procul veteribus Celaenis, novaeque urbi Apameae nomen inditum ab Apama sorore Seleuci regis. et Marsyas amnis, haud procul a Maeandri fontibus oriens, in Maeandrum cadit, famaue ita tenet Celaenis Marsyan cum Apolline tibiurum cantu certasse. maeander ex arce summa Celaenarum p. ortus, media urbe decurrens, per Caras primum deinde lonas in sinum maris editur qui inter Prienen et Miletum est.</i>	The consul, having sent a military tribune with a small party, took the fort by assault, and restored it to the Alabandians. He himself, not deviating from his route, pitched his camp at Antioch on the Maeander. The source of this river is in Celaenae, which city was formerly the metropolis of Phrygia. The inhabitants afterwards removed to a spot not far distant from Old Celaenae, and the name of Apama was given to their new city, from Apama the sister of king Seleucus. The river Marsyas also, rising at a little distance from the head of the Maeander, falls into the latter river, and report so has it, that at Celaenae Marsyas contended with Apollo in the music of the pipe. The Maeander, springing up in the highest part of the citadel of Celaenae, runs down through the middle of the city, then through Caria, afterwards through Ionia, and empties itself into a bay which lies between Priene and Miletus.	Complex geography of the places around Meandrus
38.39.13	<i>rhodiis affirmata quae data priore decreto erant; Lycia et Caria datae usque ad Maeandrum amnem praeter Telmessum.</i>	Lycia and Caria were assigned to them as far as the river Maeander, except Telmessus.	
RUBRUM – SEA/OCEAN			
36.17.15	<i>Asiam deinde Syriamque et omnia usque ad ortum solis ditissima regna Romano imperio aperturos. quid deinde aberit, quin ab Gadibus ad mare rubrum Oceano finis terminemus, qui orbem terrarum amplexu finit, et omne humanum genus secundum deos nomen Romanum ueneretur in haec tanta praemia dignos parate animos, ut crastino die bene iuuantibus diis acie decernamus.'</i>	and also, that you will open a way for the Roman power into Asia and Syria, and all the most opulent realms to the extremity of the East. What then must be the consequence, but that, from Gades to the Red Sea, we shall have no limit but the ocean, which encircles in its embrace the whole orb of the earth; and that all mankind shall regard the Roman name with a degree of veneration next to that which they pay to the divinities	General idea of the extension of the Roman Republic
45.9.6	<i>Arabas hinc Indiamque, qua terrarum ultimos finis rubrum mare amplectitur,</i>	Hence it overspread the Arabias and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth.	Red Sea as 'limit of the world'

TAURUS – MOUNTAIN RANGE

35.13.4	<i>Antiochus rex, ea hieme Raphiae in Phoenice Ptolomaeo regi Aegypti filia in matrimonium data, cum Antiochiam se recepisset, per Ciliciam Tauro monte superato extremo iam hiemis Ephesum pervenit;</i>	King Antiochus having, this winter, solemnized the nuptials of his daughter with Ptolemy, king of Egypt, at Raphia, in Phœnicia, returned thence to Antioch, and came, towards the end of the season, through Cilicia, after passing Mount Taurus, to the city of Ephesus.	Crossing the Taurus M. means peril or real occupation of territory
37.35.10	<i>sed sicut Graecia omnis liberata esset, ita, quae in Asia sint, omnes liberari urbes; id aliter fieri non posse, quam ut cis Taurum montem possessione Asiae Antiochus cedat.</i>	That this could be effected in no other way, than by Antiochus relinquishing the possession of that part of Asia on the hither side of Mount Taurus.'	The possession of Asia is linked with the freedom of the territories up to Taurus
37.45.14	<i>Europa abstinete; Asia omni, quae cis Taurum montem est, decedite.</i>	Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia which lies on this side of Mount Taurus.	Treaty of Apamea
37.52.4	<i>quod terra marique res prospere gessissent, quodque regem Antiochum fusum fugatumque et exutum castris prius Europa, post et Asia, quae cis Taurum montem est, expulissent,</i>	and had congratulated them 'because they had carried on affairs successfully by sea and land, and because they had utterly routed, driven out of his camp, and expelled king Antiochus, first from Europe, and then from all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus;'	Traty of Apamea: confirmation of Eumenes' might, claiming territories behind Taurus
37.53.25	<i>quid ergo postulas dicat aliquis. ego, patres conscripti, quoniam dicere utique volentibus vobis parendum est, si vos ea mente ultra Tauri iuga emostis Antiochum, ut ipsi teneretis eas terras, nullos accolas nec finitimos habere quam vos malo,</i>	Conscript fathers, since I must obey you when you desire me to explain my wishes: if you have removed Antiochus beyond the mountains of Taurus with the intention of holding those countries yourselves, I wish for no other people to settle near me, no other neighbours than you; nor could I hope that my kingdom would be rendered safer or firmer by any other event.	The passes of Taurus. The fines are also a way to keep the distance between states
37.54.23	<i>terminus est nunc imperii vestri mons Taurus; quidquid intra eum cardinem est, nihil longinquum vobis debet videri; quo arma vestra pervenerunt, eodem ius hinc profectum perveniat.</i>	The boundary of your empire, at present, is Mount Taurus. Nothing within that line ought to be thought remote. To whatever extent your arms have reached, let justice, emanating from Rome, spread.	
37.55.5	<i>summam tamen hanc fore, ut cis Taurum montem, quae intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent, Eumeni attribuerentur praeter Lyciam Cariamque usque ad Maeandrum amnem;</i>	That the general plan was to be this: that the places on this side of Mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Maeander; and that these last-mentioned should become the property of the Rhodians.	Limits of Eumenes' kingdom
37.56.8	<i>vocati sunt legati regis Antiochi actumque cum iis est nec quicquam impetratum testante foedera Antipatro, adversus quae ab Rhodiis non Solos, sed Ciliciam peti et iuga Tauri transcendendi.</i>	The ambassadors of Antiochus were called in, and the matter was proposed to them, but their consent could not be obtained; Antipater appealing to the treaty, in opposition to which, not only Soli, but Cilicia was sought by the Rhodians, and they were passing the summits of Taurus.	The passes of Taurus
38.8.4	<i>Antiocho terra marique superato et prope extra orbem terrae ultra iuga Tauri exacto quam spem esse sustinendi belli</i>	Since Antiochus was vanquished by land and sea, and driven beyond the mountains of Taurus, almost out of the world, what hope remained of their being able to support it	The passes of Taurus

38.8.8	<i>non paucis urbibus eum, de quarum libertate certatum sit, sed omni Asia cis Taurum montem, opimo regno, excessisse.</i>	He had ceded, not the few cities whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia on this side Mount Taurus. That he (the consul) would not listen to the Aetolians, treating concerning peace, unless they laid down their arms.	Treaty of Apamea
38.12.4	<i>qui et auxiliis iuissent Antiochum, et adeo indomita haberent ingenia, ut nequiquam Antiochus emotus ultra iuga Tauri montis esset, nisi frangerentur opes Gallorum, de se quoque pauca, nec falsa nec immodica, adiecit.</i>	that Antiochus was to no purpose removed beyond the range of Mount Taurus, unless the power of the Gauls was broken; he then spoke briefly of himself, in terms neither ill-grounded nor extravagant.	The passes of Taurus
38.15.7	<i>ex Pamphylia rediens ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen quam vocant Comen posuit castra. profectus inde continentibus itineribus ad Cormasa urbem pervenit.</i>	Returning from Pamphylia he pitched his camp, the first day, at the river Taurus, and the second at Come Xyline, as they call it. Departing from which, he proceeded, by uninterrupted marches, to the city of Cormasa.	Presence of a 'River Taurus'
38.16.10	<i>tamen tantum terroris omnibus quae cis Taurum incolunt gentibus iniecerunt, ut quas adissent quasque non adissent, pariter ultimae propinquis, imperio parerent.</i>	Then leaving Bithynia, they advanced into Asia; and although, of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten thousand carried arms, yet such a degree of terror did they strike into all the natives, dwelling on this side of Taurus, that those which they-visited, and those which they did not visit, the most remote as well as the nearest, submitted to their authority.	Connection between Taurus M. and <i>imperium</i>
38.27.7-8	<i>Romanorum pars magna ea nocte in castris hostium mansit; ceteros in sua castra consul reduxit. postero die captivos praedamque recensuit, quae tanta fuit, quantam avidissima rapiendi gens, cum cis montem Taurum omnia armis per multos annos tenuisset, coacervare potuit. Galli ex dissipata passim fuga in unum locum congregati, magna pars saucii aut inermes, nudati omnibus rebus, oratores de pace ad consulem miserunt. eos Manlius Ephesum venire iussit; ipse — iam enim medium autumnus erat — locis gelidis propinquitate Tauri montis excedere properans victorem exercitum in hiberna maritimae orae reduxit.</i>	Next day, he took a review of the prisoners, and of the booty, the quantity of which was as great as a nation most greedy of rapine could amass, after holding possession, by force of arms, of all the country on this side Mount Taurus, during a space of many years. The Gauls, after this scattered and confused flight, reassembled in one place, a great part of them being wounded or unarmed, and as all were destitute of every kind of property, they sent deputies to the consul, to supplicate for peace. Manlius ordered them to attend him at Ephesus; and, being in haste to quit those cold regions, in the vicinity of Mount Taurus, as it was now the middle of autumn, he led back his victorious army into winter quarters on the sea-coast.	Roman operations in Asia are limited to the side behind (cis) of the M. Taurus
38.37.1	<i>hieme ea qua haec Romae gesta sunt, ad Cn. Manlium consulem primum, dein pro consule, hibernantem in Asia, legationes undique ex omnibus civitatibus gentibusque, quae cis Taurum montem incolunt, conveniebant.</i>	During the winter wherein these acts were performed at Rome, embassies from all the nations and states which dwelt on this side of Mount Taurus, came together on all sides to Cneius Manlius, at first consul, and afterwards proconsul, passing the winter in Asia;	
38.38.4	<i>excedito urbibus agris vicis castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Halyn amnem, et a valle Tauri usque ad iuga qua in Lycaoniam vergit.</i>	Let him evacuate the cities, lands, villages, and forts on this side of Mount Taurus, as far as the river Halys; and from the foot of Mount Taurus to the summit, where it verges upon Lycaonia.	Lands, forts, country towns were abandoned by Antiochus. R. Halis and M. Taurus = line?

38.39.17	<i>de Pamphylia disceptatum inter Eumenem et Antiochi legatos cum esset, quia pars eius citra pars ultra Taurum est, integra res ad senatum reicitur.</i>	When a dispute had arisen between Eumenes and Antiochus's ambassadors, concerning Pamphylia, because part of it lay on the hither side, and part on the further side of Taurus, the matter was referred wholly to the senate.	Mons Taurus splits Pamphilia in two parts
38.45.3	<i>cupientem transire Taurum aegre omnium legatorum precibus, ne carminibus Sibyllae praedictam superantibus terminos fatales cladem experiri vellet, retentum admosse tamen exercitum et prope in ipsis iugis ad divortia aquarum castra posuisse.</i>	That Manlius, desiring to cross Mount Taurus, was with difficulty restrained by the entreaties of all the ambassadors, who besought him not to brave the curse denounced in the Sibylline verses against such as should pass those fatal limits. Nevertheless, he marched his army thither, and encamped almost on the very summit where the waters take opposite directions.	Evidence in crossing the Taurus Range
38.47.6	<i>sed hostem omnino non vidisse inimici iactabant; ego, qui cum centum milibus ferocissimorum hostium signis collatis totiens pugnavi, qui plus quadraginta milia hominum cepi aut occidi, qui bina castra eorum expugnavi, qui citra iuga Tauri omnia pacatiora quam terra Italia est reliqui, non triumpho modo fraudor,</i>	Fabius enjoyed a triumph; and yet his adversaries alleged, not that he had carried on an unjust war, but that he had not seen the enemy at all. Whereas I, who fought so many pitched battles with one hundred thousand of your fiercest enemies; who killed or made prisoners more than forty thousand; who stormed two of their camps; who left all the countries on this side of the summits of Taurus in greater tranquillity than is the country of Italy;	The passes of Taurus
38.47.11	<i>mittite agedum legatos circa omnes Asiae urbes et quaerite, utra graviori servitute, Antiocho ultra Tauri iuga emoto an Gallis subactis, liberati sint.</i>	The farther Antiochus was removed, the more tyrannically would the Gauls have domineered in Asia; and all the countries on this side of Taurus you would have annexed to their empire, not to your own.	The passes of Taurus
38.48.1-4	<i>Quo longius Antiochus emotus esset, hoc impotentius in Asia Galli dominarentur, et, quidquid est terrarum citra Tauri iuga, Gallorum imperio, non uestro adiecissetis. curandum animadvertendumque quid in his terris fieret, et hoc quo finem imperii Romani Taurum montem statuistis, quo libertatem, immunitatem civitatibus datis, quo aliis fines adicitis, alias agro multatis, aliis vectigal imponitis, regna augetis minuitis donatis adimitis, curae vestrae censetis esse, ut pacem terra marique habeant.</i>	'But, allowing all this to be so; the Gauls formerly sacked Delphi, the common oracle to which all mankind resort, and the central point of the globe of the earth; yet the Roman people did not, on that account, proclaim or wage war against them. I really thought, that there was some distinction to be made between that period when Greece and Asia were not yet under your jurisdiction and dominion, and the present, when you have made Mount Taurus the boundary of the Roman empire; when you grant liberty and independence to the states of that country; when you augment the territories of some; amerce others in a part of their lands; impose tribute;	Taurus is linked with fines, imperio and 'terris' (soil or territory)
38.53.3	<i>Antiochum—recipit enim fratrem consortem huius gloriae L. Scipio— ultra iuga Tauri emovit, ut duobus Petillii succumberet</i>	Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus (for Lucius Scipio received his brother Africanus as his associate in this glory); that he should crouch under two Petillii	The passes of Taurus are the subject more than the mountain range

38.59.4-6	<i>nam quid de finibus regni dicam Asiam omnem et proxima Europae tenuisse Antiochum. ea quanta regio orbis terrarum sit, a Tauro monte in Aegaeum usque prominens mare, quot non urbes modo sed gentes amplectatur, omnes scire. hanc regionem dierum plus triginta iter in longitudinem, decem inter duo maria in latitudinem patentem usque ad Tauri montis iuga Antiocho ademptam,</i>	Why need I speak of the extent of the kingdom of Antiochus, or that he held all Asia, and the adjoining parts of Europe Every body knows what a large portion of the surface of the earth that is, which stretches from Mount Taurus quite to the Aegean Sea; what a number, not only of cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that this tract, as far as the summit of Mount Taurus, more than thirty days' journey in length and ten in breadth, from one sea to the other, —has been taken from Antiochus, who is thereby removed to the most distant corner of the world	Taurus is important because it goes into the Egean Sea and its passes are crucial.
42.42.6	<i>circumagetur hic orbis; erit mox, qui arguat nequiquam Antiochum ultra iuga Tauri emotum; graviolem multo Asiae, quam Antiochus fuerit, Eumenen esse; conquiescere socios vestros non posse, quoad regia Pergami sit; eam arcem supra capita finitimarum civitatum impositam.</i>	The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist, that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burdensome to Asia than Antiochus was; and that your allies can never enjoy peace so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states.	'Iuga Tauri' importance of mountain passes
42.50.6	<i>neque enim Romanos pecunia aut agro egere, sed hoc scire cum omnia humana tum maxima quaeque et regna et imperia sub casibus multis esse. Carthaginiensium opes fregisse sese, et cervicibus eorum praepotentem finitimum regem imposuisse; Antiochum progeniemque eius ultra iuga Tauri emotum;</i>	The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory: but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires, are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in the neighbourhood a very powerful king, as a yoke on their necks, and had removed Antiochus and his future successors beyond the mountains of Taurus.	Comparison between cartaginians and Antiochus, citing Taurus
TIBER RIVER			
1.4.4	<i>forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat.</i>	It happened by singular good fortune that the Tiber having spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools afforded nowhere any access to the regular channel of the river, and the men who brought the twins were led to hope that being infants they might be drowned, no matter how sluggish the stream.	Flooding
1.7.4	<i>Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse.</i>	The story is as follows: Hercules, after slaying Geryones, was driving off his wondrously beautiful cattle, when, close to the river Tiber, where he had swum across it with the herd before him, he found a green spot, where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the abundant grass; and being tired from his journey he lay down himself.	Hercules and Cacus' Tale
1.14.5	<i>inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit.</i>	Thence they turned to the left —for the Tiber stopped them on the right — and by their devastations struck terror into the farmers, whose sudden stampede from the fields into the City brought the first tidings of war.	1 st War against Fidenae: Fidenates' military operations

1.15.2	<i>itaque non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit.</i>	They made an incursion into Roman territory which more resembled a marauding expedition than a regular campaign; and so, without having entrenched a camp or waited for the enemy's army, they carried off their booty from the fields and brought it back to Veii. The Romans, on the contrary, not finding their enemy in the fields, crossed the Tiber, ready and eager for a decisive struggle.	1 st War against Veii: Veientes' military operations
1.27.4	<i>cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus Mettius exercituque eius ab Alba accito contra hostes ducit. ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentis conlocat castra. inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat.</i>	Fidenae having openly revolted, Tullus summoned Mettius and his army from Alba, and led his forces against the enemy. Crossing the Anio, he pitched his camp at the confluence of the rivers. The Veientine army had crossed the Tiber between that place and Fidenae.	1 st War against Veii: Veientes' military operations
1.33.6-7	<i>Janiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. id non muniri solum sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est.</i>	Janiculum was also annexed to the city, not from any lack of room, but lest it might some day become a stronghold of Rome's enemies. It was decided not only to fortify it, but also to connect it with the City, for greater ease in passing to and fro, by a bridge of piles, the first bridge ever built over the Tiber. The Quirites' Ditch also, no small protection on the more level and accessible side of town, was the work of King Ancus.	Annexing of Janiculum and building of the Sublicius bridge on Tiber
1.37.2	<i>ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis, et fusis eadem fugam impedit; multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene quam nuntiari posset insignem victoriam fecere.</i>	This was another source of alarm to the Sabines during the battle, and upon their being routed the same thing hindered their flight, so that many of them escaped the Romans only to perish in the stream; while their shields floated down the Tiber toward the City, and, being recognized, gave assurance that a victory had been won almost sooner than the news of it could be brought.	War against Sabines
1.38.6	<i>nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem qua nondum munierat cingere parat, et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccant, et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis.</i>	For he set to work to encircle the hitherto unfortified parts of the City with a stone wall, a task which had been interrupted by the Sabine war; and he drained the lowest parts of the City, about the Forum, and the other valleys between the hills, which were too flat to carry off the flood-waters easily, by means of sewers so made as to slope down toward the Tiber. Finally, with prophetic anticipation of the splendour which the place was one day to possess, he laid foundations for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabine war.	Building of Cloaca Maxima

1.45.6-7	<i>ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur: 'quidnam tu, hospes, paras ' inquit, 'inceste sacrificium Dianae facere quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine infima valle praefluit Tiberis.' religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim. interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.</i>	should sacrifice the animal to Diana would be the seat of empire, and this prediction had reached the ears of the priest of Diana's shrine. On the earliest day which seemed suitable for the sacrifice, the Sabine drove the heifer to Rome, and bringing her to the shrine of Diana, led her up to the altar. There the Roman priest, moved by the great size of the victim, which had been much talked of, and recalling the prophecy, asked the Sabine, 'What is this that you are doing, stranger Would you sacrifice, unpurified, to Diana Not so! First bathe in a running stream; the Tiber flows by in the bottom of the valley.' The stranger, touched by a scruple and wishing to do everything according to ritual, that the prodigy might be answered by the event, at once descended to the Tiber. Meanwhile the Roman offered the heifer to Diana, an act which was exceedingly acceptable to the king and the citizens.	Tiber as purificator
2.5.2-3	<i>diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit. forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. ita in vadis haesitantis frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo;</i>	They refused to return it, and refused to confiscate it to the state, but gave it up to the plebeians to plunder, that having had their fingers in the spoils of the princes they might for ever relinquish hope of making their peace with them. The land of the Tarquinius, lying between the City and the Tiber, was consecrated to Mars and became the Campus Martius. It happened, they say, that there was then standing upon it a crop of spelt, ripe for the harvest. Since this produce of the land might not, for religious reasons, be consumed, the grain was cut, straw and all, by a large body of men, who were set to work upon it simultaneously, and was carried in baskets and thrown into the Tiber, then flowing with a feeble current, as is usually the case in midsummer.	Campus Martius: the land of the Tarquinius, lying between the City and the Tiber, was consecrated to Mars and became the Campus Martius.
2.10.1	<i>cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta:</i>	When the enemy appeared, the Romans all, with one accord, withdrew from their fields into the City, which they surrounded with guards. Some parts appeared to be rendered safe by their walls, others by the barrier formed by the river Tiber.	War against Porsenna: Tiber as a defensive barrier
2.11.1	<i>Porsenna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit,</i>	Porsenna, repulsed in his first attempt, gave up the plan of storming the City, and determined to lay siege to it. Placing a garrison on Janiculum, he pitched his camp in the plain by the banks of the Tiber.	War against Porsenna: Janiculum and Tiber as military elements
2.12.5	<i>'transire Tiberim', inquit, 'patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus.' adprobant patres. abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur.</i>	'I wish', said he, 'to cross the river, senators, and enter, if I can, the enemy's camp —not to plunder or exact reprisals for their devastations: I have in mind to do a greater deed, if the gods grant me their help.'	War against Porsenna: Transire Tiberim, cross the river

2.13.5	<i>patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae, et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit.</i>	The Fathers bestowed on Gaius Mucius, for his bravery, a field across the Tiber, which was later known as the Mucian Meadows. Now when courage had been thus distinguished, even the women were inspired to deeds of patriotism. Thus the maiden Cloelia, one of the hostages, eluded the sentinels, when it chanced that the Etruscans had encamped not far from the bank of the Tiber, and heading a band of girls swam the river and, under a rain of hostile darts, brought them all back in safety to their kinsmen in Rome.	Tra ns Tib erim
2.34.5	<i>ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit; eo sustentata est plebs. incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset.</i>	From the Tuscans corn came in by way of the Tiber, and with this the plebs were kept alive. A disastrous war would have been added to the distresses arising from the scarcity of provisions, had not a grievous pestilence descended upon the Volsci just as they were beginning hostilities.	Transport and importance of the Tiber as waterway
2.51.2	<i>tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret super bellum annona premente—transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim,—ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus. adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam.</i>	They would also have laid siege to Rome, which was suffering not only from war but from a scarcity of corn—for the Etruscans had crossed the Tiber—had not the consul Horatius been recalled from the Volscian country; and so nearly did that invasion approach the very walls of the City that battles were fought first at the temple of Hope, where the result was indecisive, and again at the Colline Gate.	Veientine War - Siege of Rome: Danger: 'The Etruscans crossed the Tiber'
3.13.10	<i>pecunia a patre exacta crudeliter, ut divenditis omnibus bonis aliquamdiu trans Tiberim veluti relegatus devio quodam tugurio viveret.</i>	The money was exacted from Caeso's father without pity, so that he was obliged to sell all that he had and live for some time on the other side of the Tiber, like one banished, in a certain lonely hovel.	How the 'Trans Tiberim' was considered.
3.26.8	<i>spes unica imperii populi Romani L. Quinctius p. trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum ubi nunc navalia sunt, quattuor iugerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocantur.</i>	The one hope of Rome, L. Quinctius, used to cultivate a four-acre field on the other side of the Tiber, just opposite the place where the dockyard and arsenal are now situated; it bears the name of the 'Quinctian Meadows'.	How the 'Trans Tiberim' was considered. 'Digging out a ditch'.
4.12.11	<i>multi ex plebe, spe amissa, potius quam ut cruciarentur trahendo animam, capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.</i>	and by this bitter inquisition rather revealed than alleviated the scarcity, so that many of the plebeians lost hope, and sooner than suffer torment by prolonging their existence, covered up their heads and threw themselves into the Tiber.	
4.19.6	<i>Dictator legionibus fugatis instat et ad castra compulsos caedit. Fidenatium plurimi locorum notitia effugere in montes. Cossus Tiberim cum equitatu transvectus ex agro Veientano ingentem detulit praedam ad urbem.</i>	The dictator pressed on after the flying legions, and pursuing them to their camp cut them to pieces. Large numbers of the Fidenates escaped, thanks to their knowledge of the ground, into the mountains. Cossus crossed the Tiber with his cavalry, and from the fields of the Veientes brought a vast quantity of booty back to town.	Veientine war: crossing the Tiber, the Veientes brought a vast quantity of booty back to town. (the territory beyond the Tiber belongs to the Veientes)

4.31.8	<i>consultare inde principes duorum populorum Veios an Fidenas sedem belli caperent. Fidenae visae opportuniore; itaque trajecto Tiberi Veientes Fidenas transtulerunt bellum.</i>	Consultations followed between the leaders of the two nations whether they should take Veii or Fidenae for the headquarters of their campaign. Fidenae seemed the fitter; and accordingly the Veientes crossed the Tiber and transferred the war to Fidenae.	Veientine war: 'Crossed the Tiber'. The position of Fidenae is fitter because it is on the same side of Rome
4.32.8	<i>votis deinde nuncupatis profectus mille et quingentos passus citra Fidenas castra locat, dextra montibus, laeva Tiberi amne saeptus.</i>	Then, having offered vows to the gods, he marched out and encamped a mile and a half this side of Fidenae, protected on his right by mountains, on his left by the river Tiber.	Veientine war: military operations. Tiber as protection as the mountains
4.33.10	<i>cum duae acies, duo diversa proelia circumventos Etruscos et a fronte et ab tergo urgerent neque in castra retro neque in montes, unde se novus hostis obiecerat, iter fugae esset, et equitem passim liberis frenis distulissent equi, Veientium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt, Fidenatum qui supersunt ad urbem Fidenas tendunt.</i>	Now that two battle-fronts and two distinct attacks hemmed in the Etruscans and forced them back from front and rear; and there was no way for them to flee, either back into their camp or into the mountains, whence a new foe had appeared to block their path; and the horses, with loose reins, had borne their riders far and wide; —the Veientes for the most part ran in disorder to the Tiber, while those of the Fidenates who survived turned towards the city of Fidenae.	Veientine war: the Veientes fled to the Tiber in order to save them.
4.49.2	<i>ni Veiens bellum religio principum distulisset, quorum agros Tiberis super ripas effusus maxime ruinis villarum vastavit.</i>	Veientine leaders, whose farms an overflow of the Tiber had laid waste, chiefly by ruining the farmhouses.	Flooding
4.52.5-6	<i>iam fames quam pestilentia tristior erat, ni dimissis circa omnes populos legatis qui Etruscum mare quique Tiberim accolunt ad frumentum mercandum, annonae foret subventum. superbe ab Samnitibus qui Capuam habebant Cumasque legati prohibiti commercio sunt, contra ea benigne ab Siculorum tyrannis adiuti; maximos commeatus summo Etruriae studio Tiberis devexit.</i>	Indeed the famine would have been more baneful than the disease, had they not supplemented the supply of corn by dispatching emissaries to all the peoples round about who dwelt on the Tuscan sea or by the Tiber, to purchase it. The Samnites who held Capua and Cumae insolently refused to permit the envoys to trade with them, but the Sicilian tyrants, on the contrary, lent them generous assistance; and the largest supplies of all were brought down the Tiber, with the hearty goodwill of the Etruscans.	Commercial and strategic importance of the Tiber
5.13.1	<i>Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est neglectis die festo custodiis urbis. insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa fuit, adeo ut viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. annona ex ante convecta copia nihil mutavit.</i>	The Volscian Anxur was recaptured owing to the laxity of the guard during a festival. The year was remarkable for such a cold and snowy winter that the roads were blocked and the Tiber rendered unnavigable.	Frozen Tiber
5.38.5	<i>in altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. pavor fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio ut multo maior pars Veios in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent.</i>	In the other army there was no resemblance to Romans, either amongst officers or private soldiers. Terror and dismay had got hold of their spirits, and such complete forgetfulness of everything that a much greater number fled to Veii, a hostile city, though the Tiber was across their way, than by the straight road to Rome, to their wives and children.	Gallic invasion of Rome: Tiber divides Veii from Rome, perceived as obstacle

5.38.8	<i>circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves lorice aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites;</i>	On the bank of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing had fled, after throwing away their arms, there was great slaughter, and many who could not swim, or lacked the strength, weighed down by their corslets and other armour, sank beneath the flood.	Battle of Allia: Tiber is an obstacle for the retreat
5.46.8	<i>ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. ad eam rem Pontius Cominus, impiger iuuenis, operam pollicitus incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur.</i>	This an active youth named Pontius Cominus undertook to do, and supporting himself on a strip of cork, floated down the Tiber to the City.	Stream of the Tiber reaches Rome
5.54.3	<i>etsi minus iniuriae vestrae meminisse iuvat—cum abessem, quotienscumque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles campique et Tiberis et adsueta oculis regio et hoc caelum sub quo natus educatusque essem; quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potius caritate sua ut maneatis in sede vestra, quam postea, cum reliqueritis eam, macerent desiderio.</i>	Is our love of country confined to buildings and rafters And in truth I will confess to you —though: like not to recall the wrong you did me —that as often, during my absence, as I thought of my native place, all these objects came into my mind: the hills and the fields and the Tiber and the region familiar to my eyes, and this sky beneath which I had been born and reared. And I wish these things may rather move you now with love, Quirites, to make you abide in your own home, than afterwards, when you have left it, torment you with vain regrets.	Rome's landscape
7.3.2	<i>quin etiam, cum medios forte ludos circus Tiberi superfuso inrigatus impedisset, id vero, velut aversis iam dis aspernantibusque placamina irae, terrorem ingentem fecit.</i>	Indeed, it fell out quite otherwise; for the games were in full swing when an inundation of the Tiber flooded the circus and put a stop to them, an accident which —as though the gods had already turned away, rejecting the proffered appeasement of their anger —filled the people with fear.	Flooding
7.17.8	<i>profectus ab urbe utraque parte Tiberis, ratibus exercitu, quocumque fama hostium ducebat, traiecto multos populatores agrorum vagos palantes oppressit;</i>	For which reason the people voted the more promptly everything that the dictator proposed. Marching out from the City and setting his army across the Tiber by means of rafts, wherever a rumour	War against Tarquinians and Faliscans. Control of the other bank of Tiber. Military operations
7.25.4	<i>mare infestum classibus Graecorum erat oraque litoris Antiatis Laurensque tractus et Tiberis ostia, ut praedones maritimi cum terrestribus congressi ancipiti semel proelio decertarint dubiique discesserint in castra Galli, Graeci retro ad naves, victos se an victores putarent.</i>	country. The sea was infested by fleets of Greeks, and so were the seaboard of Antium, the Laurentine district, and the mouth of the Tiber. It happened once that the sea-robbers encountered the land-raiders, and a hard-fought battle ensued, from which the Gauls withdrew to their camp and the Greeks to their ships, alike uncertain whether they had been defeated or victorious.	Ostia Tiberis
8.14.5-6	<i>in Veliternos, veteres cives Romanos, quod totiens rebellassent, graviter saevitum: et muri deiecti et senatus inde abductus iussique trans Tiberim habitare, ut eius qui cis Tiberim deprehensus esset usque ad mille pondo assium clarigatio esset nec priusquam aere persoluto is qui cepisset extra vincula capture haberet.</i>	The Veliterni, Roman citizens of old, were severely punished, because they had so often revolted: not only were their walls thrown down, but their senate was carried off and commanded to dwell across the Tiber, with this understanding: that if any should be caught on the hither side, his redemption should be set at a thousand pounds of bronze, and that he who had captured him might not release his prisoner from bondage until the fine was paid.	Unrest of Velitrae: import a foreigner political structure to Rome but put 'trans Tiberim'

8.20.9	<i>de senatu Privernate ita decretum, ut qui senator Priverni post defectionem ab Romanis mansisset trans Tiberim lege eadem qua Veliterni habitaret.</i>	Concerning the senate of Privernum, it was decreed that any senator who had remained in Privernum after its defection from the Romans should dwell across the Tiber on the same terms as the Veliterni.	Same of 08.14.05
10.16.7	<i>nihil abesse, si sit animus Etruscis qui Porsinnae quondam maioribusque eorum fuerit, quin Romanos omni agro cis Tiberim pulsos dimicare pro salute sua non de intolerando Italiae regno cogant.</i>	if the Etruscans had the spirit that once had animated Porsinna and their forefathers, there was no reason why they should not expel the Romans from all the country north of the Tiber, and compel them to fight, not for an intolerable sovereignty over Italy, but for their own existence.	Romans overtook north of the Tiber. Etruscans are not able to repel them.
21.30.11	<i>cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus desperet proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum inter iacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.</i>	their enterprise Had Gauls once captured that which the Phoenician despaired of approaching Then let them yield in spirit and manhood to a race which they had so often vanquished in the course of the last few days, or look to end their march in the field that lay between the Tiber and the walls of Rome.	Comparison between City Walls and Tiber (again)
22.11.5	<i>tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret.</i>	He himself went out by the Flaminian way to meet the consul and his army, and when, close to the Tiber near Ocriculum, he came in sight of the column and saw the consul riding towards him at the head of his cavalry, he dispatched an orderly to bid the consul appear before the dictator without lictors.	Use of the Tiber as waterway
24.9.9	<i>aquae magnae bis eo anno fuerunt Tiberisque agros inundavit cum magna strage tectorum pecorumque et hominum pernicie.</i>	There were great floods twice that year and the Tiber overflowed the farms with great destruction of buildings and cattle and much loss of life.	Flooding
26.34.10	<i>qui eorum trans Tiberim emoti essent, ne ipsi posterive eorum uspiam pararent haberentve nisi in Veiente, Sutriano Nepesinove agro, dum ne cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus esset.</i>	of those removed across the Tiber, neither the men themselves nor their descendants were to acquire or hold anywhere except in the districts of Veii, Sutrium or Nepete, with the provision that no one was to have a larger amount of land than fifty iugera.	
26.34.7	<i>liberos esse iusserunt, ita ut nemo eorum civis Romanus aut Latini nominis esset, neve quis eorum qui Capuae fuisset, dum portae clausae essent, in urbe agrove Campano intra certam diem maneret; locus ubi habitarent trans Tiberim qui non contingeret Tiberim daretur;</i>	no one of them should be a Roman citizen or reckoned a Latin, and that no one of them who had been at Capua while the gates were closed should remain in the city or in the territory of Capua beyond a certain date; that a region across the Tiber, but not touching the Tiber, be given them as a dwelling —place.	<i>Trans Tiberim</i> dedicated to non-roman citizens
29.14.11	<i>postquam navis ad ostium amnis Tiberini accessit, sicut erat iussus, in salum nave evectus ab sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram. matronae primores civitatis,</i>	After the ship arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, Scipio, according to the directions given him, sailed out into the open sea, and, receiving the goddess from the priests, conveyed her to land.	
35.9.2	<i>Cornelius lustrum condidit. censa sunt civium capita CXLIII DCCIV. Aquae ingentes eo anno fuerunt et Tiberis loca plana urbis inundavit;</i>	The number of citizens rated was a hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell in this year, and the Tiber overflowed the lower parts of the city; and some buildings near the Flumentan gate were even laid in ruins.	

35.10.12	<i>ex ea pecunia clipea inaurata in fastigio Iovis aedis posuerunt, porticum unam extra portam Trigeminam, emporio ad Tiberim adiecto, alteram a porta Fontinali ad Martis aram, qua in Campum iter esset, perduxerunt.</i>	They built one colonnade, on the outside of the gate Tergemina, to which they added a wharf on the Tiber: and another, reaching from the Frontinal gate to the altar of Mars, to serve as a passage into the field of Mars.	River market on the Tiber
35.21.5	<i>ceterorum prodigiorum causa supplicatum est; bovem cum cura servari alicque haruspices iusserunt. Tiberis infestiore quam priore anno impetu illatus urbi duos pontes, aedificia multa, maxime circa Flumentanam portam, evertit.</i>	To expiate the other prodigies, a supplication was performed; the ox was ordered by the aruspices to be carefully preserved and fed. The Tiber, pouring into the city with more destructive violence than last year, swept away two bridges, and many buildings, particularly about the Flumentan gate.	
35.33.10	<i>quod magis instaret, praevertendum sibi esse dixit; decretum responsumque in Italia brevi castris super ripam Tiberis positum daturum:</i>	but he would shortly give him the decree, and an answer, in Italy, from his camp on the banks of the Tiber.'	
35.40.8	<i>ille non pavor vanus, sed vera multorum clades fuit: incendio a foro Bovario orto diem noctemque aedificia in Tiberim versa arsere, tabernaeque omnes cum magni pretii mercibus conflagraverunt.</i>	In consequence of a fire breaking out in the cattle-market, the conflagration, among the houses near to the Tiber, continued through all that day and the following night, and all the shops, with wares of very great value, were reduced to ashes.	
36.37.2	<i>boves duos domitos in Carinis per scalas pervenisse in tegulas aedificii proditum memoriae est. eos vivos comburi cineremque eorum deici in Tiberim haruspices iusserunt.</i>	Cornelius, yet remained in Rome, two tame oxen, it is said, climbed up by ladders on the tiles of a house in the Carinae. The aruspices ordered them to be burned alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the Tiber.	
37.46.5	<i>Damocritus, Aetolorum dux, paucos ante dies, dum e carcere noctu effugisset, in ripa Tiberis consecutis custodibus, priusquam comprehenderetur, gladio se transfixit. milites tantum qui sequerentur currum defuerunt;</i>	Damocritus, the Aetolian general, a few days before, when he had escaped out of prison in the night, being overtaken by the guards on the bank of the Tiber, stabbed himself with a sword before he was seized.	
38.28.4	<i>campani ubi censerentur senatum consuluerunt; decretum uti Romae censerentur. aquae ingentes eo anno fuerunt; Tiberis duodeciens campum Martium planaue urbis inundavit.</i>	The Campanians consulted the senate respecting the place where they should have their census; and an order was passed that they should be rated at Rome. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell this year; twelve times the Tiber overflowed the field of Mars and the lower parts of the city.	Flo odi ng
39.13.12	<i>viros, velut mente capta, cum iactatione fanatica corporis vaticinari; matronas Baccharum habitu crinibus sparsis cum ardentibus facibus decurrere ad Tiberim, demissasque in aquam faces, quia vivum sulphur cum calce insit, integra flamma efferre.</i>	The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions, with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, in the habit of Bacchantes, with their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches, ran down to the Tiber; where, dipping their torches in the water, they drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, being composed of native sulphur and charcoal.	
39.14.10	<i>triumviris capitalibus mandatum est ut vigilias disponerent per urbem servarentque ne qui nocturni coetus fierent, utque ab incendiis caveretur; adiutores triumviris quinqueviri uti cis Tiberim suae quisque regionis aedificiis praessent.</i>	In order likewise to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on this side the Tiber.	<i>Cis Tiberim</i> different from <i>Trans Tiberim</i> . <i>Cis</i> = buildings; <i>Trans</i> = <i>prata</i> (meadows)

40.51.4	<i>M. Fulvius plura et maioris locavit usus: portum et pilas pontis in Tiberi, quibus pilis fornices post aliquot annos P. Scipio Africanus et L. Mummius censores locaverunt imponendos;</i>	Marcus Fulvius made contracts for works more numerous and of more use; a haven on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it; on which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, who were the censors, many years after, bargained for the erection of arches; a court of justice behind the new bankers' houses, and a fish-market surrounded with shops, which he sold to private persons;	
41.27.8	<i>et extra portam Trigeminam emporium lapide straverunt stipitibusque saepserunt, et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt, gradibusque ascensum ab Tiberi in emporium fecerunt.</i>	they repaired the Aemilian portico, and formed an ascent, by stairs, from the Tiber to the market-place. They paved, with flint, the portico, from the same gate to the Aventine, and built a court-house:	Emporium connected with the forum
45.2.9	<i>naves, quae in Tiberi paratae instructaeque stabant, ut, si res posceret, in Macedoniam mitterentur,</i>	They also voted that the ships, which lay in the Tiber fit for sea, and ready to sail for Macedon, in case the king had been able to maintain the contest, should be hauled up, and placed in the docks, and that the seamen belonging to them should be discharged, after receiving a year's pay;	Tiber works as harbour
45.35.3	<i>Paulus ipse post dies paucos regia nave ingentis magnitudinis, quam sedecim versus remorum agebant, ornata Macedonicis spoliis non insignium tantum armorum, sed etiam regionum textilium, adverso Tiberi ad urbem est subvectus, completis ripis obviam effusa multitudine.</i>	In a few days after, Paullus was carried up the Tiber to the city, in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry, which had been the property of the king; while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days, arrived Anicius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet.	Tiber leads to Rome
1.3.5	<i>Pax ita conuenerat ut Etruscis Latinisque fluuius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset</i>	When terms of peace were being arranged, the river Albula, now called the Tiber, had been fixed as the boundary between the Etruscans and the Latins.	Role of Tiber between Etruscans and Latins: river used to strike a peace agreement
TREBIA RIVER			
21.15.4-6	<i>quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt non coeptum oppugnari est sed captum.</i>	In this case it is impossible for P. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius to have been the consuls to whom the Saguntine envoys were sent at the beginning of the siege and who afterwards, whilst still in office, fought with Hannibal, one of them at the Ticinus, both shortly afterwards at the Trebia. Either all the incidents occurred within a much shorter period or else it was the capture of Saguntum, not the beginning of the siege, which occurred when those two entered upon office.	Military actions next to Trebia. River next to Piacenza and Cremona. Perpendicular and tributary of the Po.

21.48.4	<i>quamquam gravis adhuc volnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra movet.</i>	Accordingly, though still troubled with his wound, he marched silently away in the fourth watch of the next night to the river Trebia, and encamped on higher ground, where hills made it more difficult for cavalry to operate.	Battle of Trebia
21.48.6	<i>ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos.</i>	Whilst they frittered away the time there, rummaging in every nook and cranny without finding anything that really repaid them for the loss of time, they let their enemies slip through their fingers. The Romans had already passed the Trebia and were marking out their camp, when the Numidians caught sight of them and cut down a few loiterers whom they intercepted on the hither side of the stream.	Battle of Trebia
21.48.9	<i>ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino, praefecto praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam.</i>	In the village of Clastidium the Romans had got together a great quantity of corn. Thither Hannibal dispatched some soldiers, who were making preparations to assault the place, when hopes were held out of its betrayal. The price was not a large one: Dasius of Brundisium, who was in command of the garrison, accepted a bribe of four hundred gold pieces, and turned Clastidium over to Hannibal.	Battle of Trebia
21.49.1	<i>Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante aduentum eius terra marique res gestae.</i>	Though the war on land had come to a standstill at the Trebia, engagements had in the meantime been fought by land and sea off Sicily and the islands near the Italian coast, not only by Sempronius the consul, but even before his coming thither.	Battle of Trebia
21.51.7	<i>M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen conlegae coniungitur.</i>	He himself, after settling the affairs of Sicily, took ten ships, and skirting the Italian coast, arrived at Ariminum. Thence he marched with his army to the Trebia and effected a junction with his colleague.	Battle of Trebia
21.52.3	<i>quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes.</i>	The country between the Trebia and the Po was in those days inhabited by Gauls, who in this struggle of two mighty peoples maintained a neutral attitude and plainly intended to court the good-will of the victor.	Battle of Trebia: between Trebia and Po
21.52.9	<i>Is tum collega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit.</i>	On the present occasion, while his colleague hesitated, Sempronius sent his cavalry, interspersed with about a thousand foot-soldiers, armed with darts, to protect the Gallic lands beyond the Trebia.	Battle of Trebia: crossing the Trebia
21.54.4	<i>ita cum mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus dimisso, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere.</i>	Mago and his thousand horse and thousand foot being thus dispatched, Hannibal ordered the Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia at dawn, and riding up to the enemy's gates and discharging missiles against his outposts, to lure him into battle; and then, when the fight was on, to give ground insensibly and draw him across the river. Such were the orders of the Numidians.	Battle of Trebia

21.56.7-8	<i>finis insequendi hostes Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod reliquum ex fuga inermium ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sentire obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.</i>	The Phoenicians pursued their enemies no further than to the river Trebia, and got back to camp so benumbed and chilled as hardly to feel the joy of victory. Consequently, when, in the night that followed, the garrison of the camp, and such soldiers without arms for the most part-as had survived the rout, were crossing the Trebia on rafts, they either heard nothing, owing to the noise made by the rain, or being unable, for weariness and wounds, to bestir themselves, pretended not to hear; and unmolested Polybius (II. lxxiv,), all but one perished from the effects of the rain and snow that followed the battle.	Battle of Trebia: <i>finis</i> of 'cheasing the enemy' or the 'border' was the river Trebia
21.58.11	<i>multi homines, multa iumenta, elephantum quoque ex iis qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuere septem absumpti.</i>	For two days they remained on that spot as if beleaguered. Many men and many horses perished, and seven of the elephants that had survived the battle on the Trebia.	Battle of Trebia
22.46.4	<i>Afros Romanam crederes aciem: ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis.</i>	The Africans might have passed for an array of Romans, equipped as they were with arms captured partly at the Trebia but mostly at Lake Trasumennus.	<i>Topos</i> : Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae
22.58.1	<i>Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum,</i>	For Hannibal, after his great victory at Cannae, had been more concerned with the projects of a conqueror than with those of one who was still waging war.	<i>Topos</i> : Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae
23.18.7	<i>postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est, atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos admonens universosque.</i>	More would have fallen if night had not interrupted the battle. On the next day all were fired to make the assault, especially after a mural crown of gold was displayed to them, and the general himself kept making their spiritless attack upon a fort on level ground a reproach to the captors of Saguntum, reminding them singly and collectively of Cannae and Trasumennus and Trebia. Then they began to push forward their sheds also and mines.	<i>Topos</i> : Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae
23.43.4	<i>quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum quoque se memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore victoria facturum.</i>	As for the Roman war, if the battle of Lake Trasumennus was more celebrated than that of the Trebia, if Cannae than Trasumennus, he would overshadow the memory even of Cannae by a greater and more famous victory.	<i>Topos</i> : Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae
23.45.6	<i>arma signaque eadem se noscere quae ad Trebiam Trasumennumque, postremo ad Cannas viderit habueritque; militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse.</i>	he recognized the same arms and standards which he had seen and had at the Trebia and Trasumennus, finally at Cannae; but as for the soldier, he had certainly led one man into winter quarters at Capua, and out of them a different man.	<i>Topos</i> : Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae

26.41.11	<i>iam quid hoc bello memorem omnibus aut ipse adfui cladibus aut quibus afui, maxime unus omnium eas sensi. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae quid aliud sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum consulumque Romanorum</i>	how many fleets, how many generals, how many armies were lost in the former war! and now in the present war what shall I say has happened in every disaster I was either present myself, or if absent, I above all others felt them. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae, what are they but memorials of Roman armies and consuls fallen	<i>Topos:</i> Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae
27.39.15	<i>non ipse se solum ea oppugnatione inpediit, sed Hannibalem post famam transitus eius tanto spe sua celeriore iam moventem ex hibernis continuerat, quippe reputantem non solum quam lenta urbium oppugnatio esset, sed etiam quam ipse frustra eandem illam coloniam ab Trebia victor regressus temptasset.</i>	For Hannibal recalled not only how slow was the besieging of cities, but also how vainly he had himself attempted to take that same colony, upon returning as a victor from the Trebia.	

APPENDIX 4: The treaty of Apamea after Polybius and Livy.

POLYBIUS 21.24.6-8

δόντες δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μετὰ ταῦτα κατέστησαν δέκα πρεσβευτάς, οἷς περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἔδωκαν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων αὐτοὶ διέλαβον ὅτι δεῖ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ταύρου κατοικούντων, ὅσοι μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀντίοχον ἐτάπτοντο, τούτους Εὐμένει δοθῆναι πλὴν Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίας τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ, ταῦτα δὲ Ῥοδίων ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ὅσαι μὲν Ἀττάλῳ φόρον ὑπετέλουν, ταύτας τὸν αὐτὸν Εὐμένει τελεῖν, ὅσαι δ’ Ἀντιόχῳ, μόνον ταύταις ἀφεῖσθαι τὸν φόρον.

The Senate then appointed ten commissioners, to whom they gave the entire settlement of particulars; while as a general principle they decided that of Asia this side Taurus such inhabitants as had been subject to Antiochus were to be assigned to Eumenes, except Lycia and Caria up to the Maeander, which were to belong to the Rhodians; while of the Greek cities, such of them as had been accustomed to pay tribute to Attalus were to pay the same to Eumenes; and only those who had done so to Antiochus were to be relieved of tribute altogether.

POLYBIUS 21.43.1-27

[1] ἦν δὲ τοιαύτη τις ἡ τῶν κατὰ μέρος διάταξις: φιλίαν ὑπάρχειν Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ποιοῦντι τὰ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας. [2] μὴ διέναι βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον καὶ τοὺς ὑποταττομένους διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πολεμίους μηδὲ χορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδέν: [3] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπ’ Ἀντίοχον καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον ταττομένους. [4] μὴ πολεμῆσαι δὲ Ἀντίοχον τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς νήσοις μηδὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην. [5] ἐκχωρεῖτω δὲ πόλεων καὶ χώρας * [6] **. μὴ ἐξαγέτω μηδὲν πλὴν τῶν ὄπλων ὧν φέρουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται: εἰ δὲ τι τυγχάνουσιν ἀπενηνεγμένοι, καθιστάτωσαν πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς πόλεις. [7] μὴδ’ ὑποδεχέσθωσαν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε στρατιώτας μήτ’ ἄλλον μηδέν. [8] εἰ δὲ τινες ἐξ ὧν ἀπολαμβάνουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεων μετὰ δυνάμεώς εἰσιν Ἀντιόχου, τούτους εἰς Ἀπάμειαν ἀποκαταστήσάτωσαν. [9] τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις εἴ τινες εἶεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιόχου βασιλείας, εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ μένειν, εἰ βούλονται, καὶ ἀποτρέχειν. [10] τοὺς δὲ δούλους Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδότω Ἀντίοχος καὶ οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ταττομένοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας, καὶ εἴ τινα αἰχμάλωτόν ποθεν εἰλήφασιν. [11] ἀποδότω δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ἐὰν ἦ δυνατόν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἀννίβαν Ἀμίλκου Καρχηδόνιον καὶ Μνασίλοχον Ἀκαρνανάνα καὶ Θόαντα Αἰτωλόν, καὶ Εὐβουλίδαν καὶ Φίλωνα Χαλκιδεῖς, καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὅσοι κοινὰς εἰλήφασιν ἀρχάς, [12] καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοὺς ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ πάντας, καὶ μηκέτι ἄλλους ἐχέτω [13] ἀποδότω δὲ καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἄρμενα καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ μηκέτι ἐχέτω πλὴν δέκα καταφράκτων: μηδὲ λέμβον πλείοσι τριάκοντα κωπῶν ἐχέτω ἐλαυνόμενον, μηδὲ μονήρη πολέμου ἕνεκεν, [14] οὗ αὐτὸς κατάρχει. μηδὲ

‘There shall be perpetual peace between Antiochus and the Romans if he fulfils the provisions of the treaty’. ‘Neither Antiochus nor any subject to him shall allow any to pass through their territories to attack the Romans or their allies, nor supply them with aught. Neither shall the Romans or their allies do the like for those attacking Antiochus or those subject to him. ‘Antiochus shall not wage war upon the Islanders or the dwellers in Europe. ‘He shall evacuate all cities and territory (this side Taurus1). His soldiers shall take nothing out with them except the arms they are carrying. If they chance to have taken anything away they shall restore it to the same cities. ‘He shall receive neither soldiers nor other men from the territory of king Eumenes. ‘If there be any men in the army of Antiochus coming from any of the cities taken over by the Romans, he shall deliver them up at Apameia. ‘If there be any from the kingdom of Antiochus with the Romans or their allies, they may remain or depart as they choose. ‘Antiochus and those subject to him shall give back the slaves, captives, and deserters of the Romans or their allies and any captive received from any quarter. Antiochus shall give up, if it be within his power so to do, Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, Mnesilochus the Acarnanian, Thoas the Aetolian, Euboulidas and Philo the Chalcidians, and such of the Aetolians as have held national offices. ‘Antiochus shall give up all his elephants, and shall have none henceforth. ‘Antiochus shall surrender his ships of war, their tackle, and fittings, and henceforth have only ten decked ships. He shall not have a vessel rowed by thirty oars, [or by less] for purposes of war begun by himself. ‘He shall not sail west of the river Calycadnus and the promontory of Sarpedon, except to convey tribute or ambassadors or hostages. ‘It shall

πλείωσαν ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Καλυκάδου καὶ Σαρπηδονίου ἀκρωτηρίου, εἰ μὴ φόρους ἢ πρέσβεις ἢ ὀμήρους ἄγοιεν [15] μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ Ἀντιόχῳ μὴδὲ ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ταπτομένης μὴδ' ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς φεύγοντας. [16] ὅσαι δὲ οἰκίαι Ῥοδίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ βασιλέα Ἀντιόχον ταπτομένη ταύτας εἶναι Ῥοδίων, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. [17] καὶ εἴ τι χρήμα ὀφείλετ' αὐτοῖς, ὁμοίως ἔστω πράξιμον: καὶ εἴ τι ἀπελήφθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἀναζητηθὲν ἀποδοθήτω. ἀτελῆ δὲ ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοδίους ὑπαρχέτω. εἰ δὲ τινες τῶν πόλεων, [18] ἃς ἀποδοῦναι δεῖ Ἀντιόχον, ἐτέροις δέδωκεν Ἀντιόχος, ἐξαγέτω καὶ ἐκ τούτων τὰς φρουράς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐὰν δὲ τινες ὕστερον ἀποτρέχειν βούλωνται, μὴ προσδεχέσθω. [19] ἀργυρίου δὲ δότω Ἀντιόχος Ἀπτικοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρίστου τάλαντα μύρια δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, διδοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος χίλια: μὴ ἔλαττον δ' ἑλκέτω τὸ τάλαντον λιτρῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀγδοήκοντα: καὶ μοδίους σίτου πεντηκοντακισμυρίου καὶ τετρακισμυρίου. [20] δότω δὲ Εὐμένει τῷ βασιλεῖ τάλαντα τριακόσια πεντήκοντα ἐν ἔτεσι τοῖς πρώτοις πέντε, ἑβδομήκοντα κατὰ τὸ ἔτος, τῷ ἐπιβαλλομένῳ * καιρῷ, ὃ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ τοῦ σίτου, [21] καθὼς ἐτίμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχος, τάλαντα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ καὶ δραχμὰς χιλίας διακοσίας ὀκτώ: ἃ συνεχώρησεν Εὐμένης λαβεῖν, γάζαν εὐαρεστομένην ἑαυτῷ. [22] ὀμήρους δὲ εἴκοσι διδόντω Ἀντιόχος, δι' ἐτῶν τριῶν ἄλλους ἀνταποστέλλων, μὴ νεωτέρους ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους τετταράκοντα πέντε. [23] ἐὰν δὲ τι διαφωνήσῃ τῶν ἀποδιδόμενων χρημάτων, τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ἀποδοθήσων. [24] ἂν δὲ τινες τῶν πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἐθνῶν, πρὸς ἃ γέγραπται μὴ πολεμεῖν Ἀντιόχον, πρότεροι ἐκφέρωσι πόλεμον, ἐξέστω πολεμεῖν Ἀντιόχῳ. [25] τῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων τούτων μὴ ἐχέτω τὴν κυρίαν αὐτὸς μὴδ' εἰς φιλίαν προσαγέσθω. [26] περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γινομένων εἰς κρίσιν προκαλείσθωσαν. [27] ἐὰν δὲ τι θέλωσι πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας ἀμφοτέρω κοινῷ δόγματι προστεθῆναι ἢ ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐξέστω.

LIVY 37.45.14-17

Europa abstinete; Asia omni, quae cis Taurum montem est, decedite. pro impensis deinde in bellum factis quindecim milia talentum Euboicorum dabit, quingenta praesentia, duo milia et quingenta, cum senatus populusque Romanus pacem comprobaverint; milia deinde talentum per duodecim annos. Eumeni quoque reddi quadringenta8 talenta et quod frumenti reliquum ex eo quod patri debitum est placet. haec cum pepigerimus, facturos vos9 ut pro certo habeamus, erit quidem aliquod pignus, si obsides viginti nostro arbitrato dabit; sed numquam satis liquebit nobis ibi pacem esse populo Romano, ubi Hannibal erit; eum ante omnia deposcimus. Thoantem quoque Aetolum, concitorem Aetolici

not be lawful for Antiochus to enlist soldiers or receive exiles from the territory subject to Rome. 'Such houses as belonged to the Rhodians or their allies, in the territory subject to Antiochus, shall continue to belong to the Rhodians as before the war: any money owed to them shall still be recoverable: and any property left behind by them, if sought for, shall be restored. 'The Rhodians shall, as before the war, be free from tribute. 'If Antiochus has given any of the towns to others which he is bound to restore, he shall remove from them also his garrisons and men. And if any shall wish hereafter to desert to him, he shall not receive them. 'Antiochus shall pay to the Romans ten thousand talents, in ten yearly instalments, of the best Attic silver, each talent to weigh not less than eighty Roman pounds, and ninety thousand medemni of corn. 'Antiochus shall pay to king Eumenes three hundred and fifty talents in the five years next following, in yearly instalments of seventy talents; and in lieu of the corn, according to the valuation of Antiochus himself, one hundred and twenty-seven talents, two hundred and eight drachmae, which sum Eumenes has consented to accept 'as satisfying his claims.' 'Antiochus shall give twenty hostages, not less than eighteen nor more than forty-five years old, and change them every three years. 'If there be in any year a deficit in the instalment paid, Antiochus shall make it good in the next year. 'If any of the cities or nations, against whom it has been hereby provided that Antiochus should not make war, should commence war against him, it shall be lawful for Antiochus to war with them; but of such nations and cities he shall not have sovereignty nor attach them as friends to himself. 'Such complaints as arise between the parties to this treaty shall be referred to arbitration. 'If both parties agree in wishing anything to be added to or taken from this treaty, it shall be lawful so to do.' (Histories. Polybius. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh. translator. London, New York. Macmillan. 1889. Reprint Bloomington 1962).

Then, for the expenses incurred in the war, you will pay fifteen thousand Euboean talents, five hundred now, twenty-five hundred when the senate and the Roman people shall have ratified this treaty, then one thousand talents annually for twelve years. To Eumenes too it is our pleasure that four hundred talents be paid and the balance of the grain which is due his father. When we have made this agreement, in order that we may hold it as certain that you will carry it out, there will be some guarantee if you give us twenty hostages of our selection; but never will it be quite clear to us that the Roman people is at peace in any place where Hannibal shall be; him we demand before all else. Thoas the Aetolian, too, provoker of the Aetolian war, who by your

belli, qui et illorum fiducia vos et vestra illos in nos armavit, dedetis et cum eo Mnasilochum Acarnana et Chalcidenses Philonem et Ebulidam.

LIVY 37.56.1-6.

his quae praesentis disceptationis essent libera mandata; de summa rerum senatus constituit. Lycaoniam omnem et Phrygiam utramque et Mysiam, regias silvas, et Lydiae Ioniaeque extra ea oppida, quae libera fuissent, quo die cum rege Antiocho pugnatum est, et nominatim Magnesiam ad Sipylum, et Cariam, quae Hydrela appellatur, agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem, et castella vicosque ad Maeandrum amnem et oppida, nisi quae libera ante bellum fuissent, Telmesson item nominatim et castra Telmessium, praeter agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset —: haec omnia, quae supra sunt scripta, regi Eumeni iussa dari. Rhodiis Lycia data extra eundem Telmessum et castra Telmessium et agrum, qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset: haec et ab Eumene et Rhodiis excepta. ea quoque his pars Cariae data, quae propior Rhodum insulam trans Maeandrum amnem est, oppida, vici, castella, agri, qui ad Pisidiam vergunt, nisi quae eorum oppida in libertate fuissent pridie, quam cum Antiocho rege in Asia pugnatum est.

Livy 38.38.1-18

ibi ex decem legatorum sententia foedus in haec verba fere cum Antiocho conscriptum est: "amicitia regi Antiocho cum populo Romano his legibus et condicionibus esto: ne quem exercitum, qui cum populo Romano sociisve bellum gesturus erit, rex per fines regni sui eorumve qui sub ditione eius erunt transire sinito, neu commeatu neu qua alia ope iuvato; [3] idem Romani sociique Antiocho et iis qui sub imperio eius erunt praestent. belli gerendi ius Antiocho ne esto cum illis qui insulas colunt neve in Europam transeundi. [4] excedito urbibus agris vicis castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Halyn amnem, et ea valle Tauri usque ad iuga qua in Lycaoniam vergit. [5] ne qua praeter arma efferto ex iis oppidis agris castellisque quibus excedat; si qua extulit quo quaeque oportebit recte restituito. [6] ne militem neu quem alium ex regno Eumenis recipito. si qui earum urbium cives quae regno abscedunt cum rege Antiocho intraque fines regni eius sunt, Apameam omnes ante diem certam redeunto; [7] qui ex regno Antiochi apud Romanos sociosque sunt, iis ius abeundi manendique esto; servos seu fugitivos seu bello captos, seu quis liber captus aut transfuga erit, reddito Romanis sociisque. [8] elephantos tradito omnes neque alios parato. tradito et naves

confidence in them armed you and by their confidence in you armed them against us, you will surrender, and with him Mnasilochus the Acarnanian⁵ and Philo and Ebulidas of Chalcis.

In matters pertaining to any discussion to be conducted on the spot, they were given a free hand; as to the chief issue involved, the senate made the decision. All Lycaonia and both Phrygias and Mysia, which King Prusias had taken from him, were restored to the king, as well as the Milyae and Lydia and Ionia with the exception of those cities which had been free on the day when the battle with King Antiochus had been fought, and, by name, Magnesia near Sipylus and Caria which they call Hydrela and the territory of Hydrela which faces Phrygia, and the forts and villages along the Meander river and the towns, except those which had been free before the war; Telmessus also and the camp of the Telmessii, except the land which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus. All these places which have been written down above were given to King Eumenes. The Rhodians were given Lycia except the same Telmessus and the camp of the Telmessii and the land which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus; this district was made an exception in the case of both Eumenes and the Rhodians. Also that part of Caria which is nearer to the island of Rhodes across the Meander river was given to them, and the towns, villages, forts and lands which face Pisidia except those of the towns which had been free the day before the battle had been fought with King Antiochus in Asia.

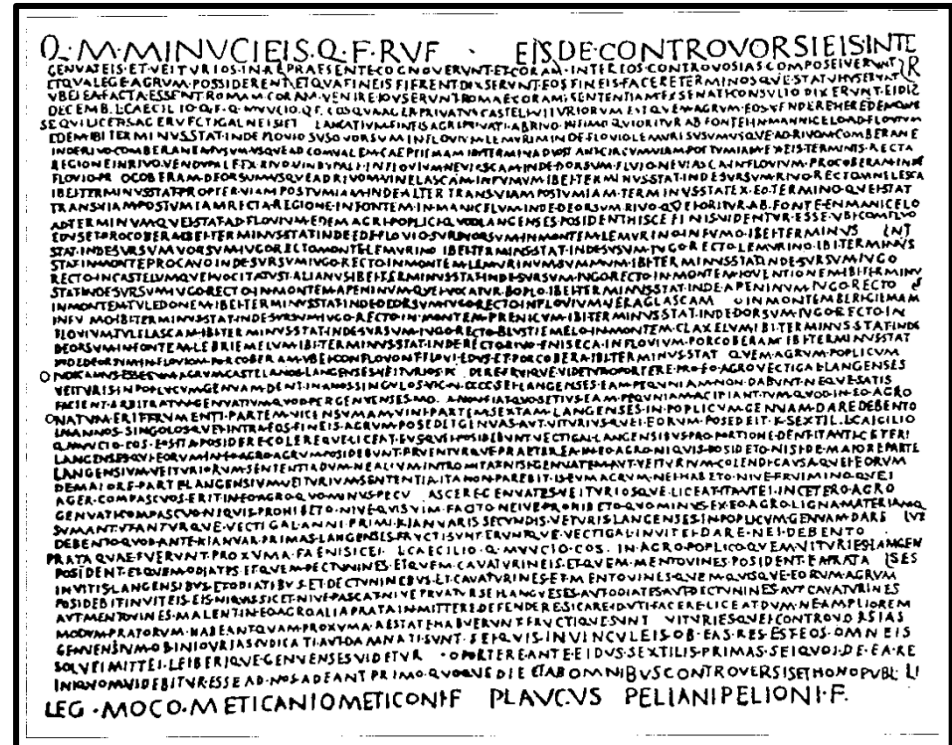
Here the treaty as settled by the ten commissioners was drawn up. The substance of it was as follows: "There shall be peace and amity between King Antiochus and the Roman people on these terms and conditions: The king shall not suffer any army purposing to levy war on the Roman people or their allies to pass through the borders of his kingdom or of any subject to him, nor shall he assist it with provisions or in any other way whatever. The Romans and their allies shall act in like manner towards Antiochus and those under his sway. Antiochus shall have no right to levy war upon those who dwell in the islands, or to sail across to Europe. He shall withdraw from all the cities, lands, villages and forts west of the Taurus as far as the Halys and extending from the lowlands of the Taurus up to the range which stretches towards Lycaonia. He shall not carry any arms from the aforesaid towns and lands and forts from which he withdraws; if he has carried any away he shall duly restore them to whatever place they belong. He shall not reclaim any soldier or any other person whatever from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any citizens belonging to the cities which are passing from under his rule are with Antiochus or within the boundaries of his realm, they shall all return to Apamea by a certain day; if any of Antiochus' subjects are with the Romans

longas armamentaue earum, neu plures quam decem naves tectas neve plures quam ... naves actuarias, nulla quarum plus quam triginta remis agatur, habeto, neve monerem belli causa quod ipse illaturus erit. [9] ne navigato citra Calycadnum neu Sarpedonium promunturia, extra quam si qua navis pecuniam in stipendium aut legatos aut obsides portabit. [10] milites mercede conducendi ex iis gentibus quae sub ditione populi Romani sunt Antiocho regi ius ne esto, ne voluntarios quidem recipiendi. [11] Rhodiorum sociorumve quae aedes aedificiaque intra fines regni Antiochi sunt, quo iure ante bellum fuerunt, eo Rhodiorum sociorumve sunt; [12] si quae pecuniae debentur, earum exactio esto; si quid ablatum est, id conquirendi cognoscendi repetendique item ius esto. si quas urbes quas tradi oportet ii tenent, quibus Antiochus dedit, et ex iis praesidia deducito, utique recte tradantur, curato. [13] argenti probi talenta Attica duodecim milia dato intra duodecim annos pensionibus aequis—talentum ne minus pondo octoginta Romanis ponderibus pendat—et tritici quingenta quadraginta milia modium. [14] Eumeni regi talenta trecenta quinquaginta intra quinquennium dato, et pro frumento quod aestimatione fit talenta centum viginti septem. [15] obsides Romanis viginti dato et triennio mutato, ne minores octonum denum annorum neu maiores quinquaginta. [16] si qui sociorum populi Romani ultro bellum inferent Antiocho, vim vi arcendi ius esto, dum ne quam urbem aut belli iure teneat aut in amicitiam accipiat. [17] controversias inter se iure ac iudicio disceptanto, aut, si utrisque placebit, bello. [18] de Hannibale Poeno et Aetolo Thoante et Mnasilocho Acarnane et Chalcidensibus Ebulida et Philone dedendis in hoc quoque foedere adscriptum est et ut, si quid postea addi demi mutarive placuisset, ut id salvo foedere fieret.

and their allies they shall be at liberty to depart or to remain. He shall restore to the Romans and their allies the slaves, whether fugitives or prisoners of war, or any free man who has been taken captive or is a deserter. He shall give up his elephants and not procure any more. He shall likewise make over his ships of war and all their tackle, nor shall he possess more than ten light decked ships, none of which may be propelled by more than thirty oars, and no smaller ones for use in any war which he may undertake. He shall not take his ships west of the headlands of the Calycadnus or the Sarpedon, save only such ships as shall carry money or tribute or envoys or hostages. Antiochus shall not have the right to hire mercenary troops from those nations which shall be under the suzerainty of Rome nor to accept them even as volunteers. Such houses and buildings as belonged to the Rhodians and their allies within the dominions of Antiochus shall be held by them on the same right as before the war. If any moneys are due to them they shall have the same right to exact them, if aught has been taken from them, they shall have the right of search and recovery. Whatever cities amongst those that are to be surrendered they hold as a gift from Antiochus; he shall withdraw the garrisons from them and provide for their due surrender. He shall pay 12,000 Attic talents of sterling silver in equal instalments over twelve years – the talent shall weigh not less than 80 Roman pounds – and 540,000 modii of wheat. To King Eumenes he shall pay 350 talents within five years, and in place of corn its value in money, 127 talents. He shall give twenty hostages to the Romans and exchange them for others in three years, that none may be less than eighteen or more than forty-five years of age. If any of the allies of Rome shall wantonly and without provocation make war on Antiochus, he shall have the right to repel them by force of arms, always providing that he shall not hold any city by right of war or receive it into friendship and amity. Disputes shall be determined before a judicial tribunal, or if both parties shall so will it, by war.” There was an additional clause dealing with the surrender of Hannibal, Thoas and Mnasilochus, as well as Ebulidas and Philo of Chalcidaea, and also a proviso that if it should afterwards be decided to add to, or repeal, or alter any of the articles, that should be done without impairing the validity of the treaty.

APPENDIX 5: The Polcevera Table.

Q(UINTUS) (ET) M(ARCUS) MINUCIEIS Q(UINTI) F(ILII) RUFES DE CONTROVORSIEIS INTER / GENUATEIS ET VEITURIOS IN RE PRAESENTE COGNOVERUNT, ET CORAM INTER EOS CONTROVOSIAS COMPOSEIVERUNT, / ET QUA LEGE AGRUM POSSIDERENT ET QUA FINEIS FIERENT DIXSERUNT. EOS FINEIS FACERE TERMINOSQUE STATUI IUSERUNT; / UBEI EA FACTA ESSENT, ROMAM CORAM VENIRE IOUSERUNT. ROMAE CORAM SENTENTIAM EX SENATI CONSULTO DIXERUNT EIDIB(US) / DECEMB(RIBUS) L(UCIO) CAECILIO Q(UINTI) F(ILIO) (ET) Q(UINTO) MUUCIO Q(UINTI) F(ILIO) CO(N)S(ULIBUS). QUA AGER PRIVATUS CASTELI VITURIORUM EST, QUEM AGRUM EOS VENDERE HEREDEMQUE / SEQUI LICET, IS AGER VECTIGAL(IS) NEI SIET. LANGATIUM FINEIS AGRI PRIVATI: AB RIVO INFIMO, QUI ORITUR AB FONTEI IN MANNICELO AD FLOVIUM / EDEM: IBI TERMINUS STAT; INDE FLOVIO SUSO DORSUM IN FLOVIUM LEMURIM; INDE FLOVIO LEMURI SUSUM USQUE AD RIVOM COMBERANE(AM); / INDE RIVO COMBERANEAM SUSUM USQUE AD COMVALEM CAEPTIEMAM: IBI TERMINA DUO STANT CIRCUM VIAM POSTUMIAM; EX EIS TERMINIS RECTA / REGIONE IN RIVO VENDUPALE; EX RIVO VINDUPALE IN FLOVIUM NEVIASCAM; INDE DORSUM FL<O>VIO NEVIASCA IN FLOVIUM PROCOBERAM; INDE / FLOVIO PROCOBERAM DEORSUM USQUE AD RIVOM VINELASCAM INFUMUM: IBEI TERMINUS STAT; INDE SURSUM RIVO RECTO VINELESCA: / IBEI TERMINUS STAT PROPTER VIAM POSTUMIAM, INDE ALTER TRANS VIAM POSTUMIAM TERMINUS STAT; EX EO TERMINO, QUEI STAT / TRANS VIAM POSTUMIAM, RECTA REGIONE IN FONTEM IN MANICELUM; INDE DEORSUM RIVO, QUEI ORITUR AB FONTE EN MANICELO, / AD TERMINUM, QUEI STAT AD FLOVIUM EDEM. AGRI POPLICI, QUOD LANGENSES POSIDENT, HISCE FINIS VIDENTUR ESSE: UBI COMFLUONT / EDUS ET PROCOBERA, IBEI TERMINUS STAT; INDE EDE FLOVIO SURSUORSUM IN MONTEM LEMURINO INFUMO: IBEI TERMINUS / STAT; INDE SURSUMUORSUM IUGO RECTO MONTE LEMURINO: IBI TERMINUS / STAT; INDE SURSUM IUGO RECTO IN MONTEM LEMURINUM SUMMUM: IBEI TERMINUS STAT; INDE SURSUM IUGO / RECTO IN CASTELUM, QUEI VOCITATU<S E>ST ALIANUS: IBEI TERMINUS STAT; INDE SURSUM IUGO RECTO IN MONTEM IOVENTIONEM: IBI TERMINUS / STAT; INDE SURSUM IUGO RECTO IN MONTEM APENINUM, QUEI VOCATUR BOLPO: IBEI TERMINUS STAT; INDE APENINUM IUGO RECTO / IN MONTEM TULEDONEM: IBEI TERMINUS STAT; INDE DEORSUM IUGO RECTO IN FLOVIUM VERAGLASCAM IN MONTEM BERIGIEMAM / INFUMO: IBI TERMINUS STAT; INDE SURSUM IUGO RECTO IN MONTEM PRENICUM: IBI TERMINUS STAT; INDE DORSUM IUGO RECTO IN / FLOVIUM TULELASCAM: IBI TERMINUS STAT; INDE SURSUM IUGO RECTO BLUSTIEMELO IN MONTEM CLAXELUM; IBI TERMINUS STAT; INDE / DEORSUM IN FONTEM LEBRIEMELUM: IBI TERMINUS STAT; INDE RECTO RIVO ENISEA IN FLOVIUM PORCOBERAM: IBI TERMINUS STAT; / INDE DEORSUM



IN FLOVIOM PORCOBERAM, UBEI CONFLOVONT FLOVI EDUS ET PORCOBERA: IBI TERMINUS STAT. QUEM AGRUM POPLICUM / IUDICAMUS ESSE, EUM AGRUM CASTELANOS LANGENSES VEITURIOS POSIDERE FRUIQUE VIDETUR OPORTERE. PRO EO AGRO VECTIGAL LANGENSES /



VEITURIS IN POPLICUM GENUAM DENT IN AN(N)OS SINGULOS VIC(TORIATOS) N(UMMOS) CCCC. SEI LANGENSES EAM PEQUNIAM NON DABUNT NEQUE SATIS / FACIENT ARBITRATUU GENUATIUM, QUOD PER GENUENSES MO[R]JA NON FIAT, QUO SETIUS EAM PEQUNIAM ACIPIANT, TUM QUOD IN EO AGRO / NATUM ERIT FRUMENTI PARTEM VICENSUMAM, VINI PARTEM SEXTAM LANGENSES IN POPLICUM GENUAM DARE DEBENTO / IN ANNOS SINGOLOS. QUEI INTRA EOS FINEIS AGRUM POSEDET GENUAS AUT VITURIUS, QUEI EORUM POSEDEIT K(ALENDIS) SEXTIL(IBUS) L(UCIO) CAICILIO / (ET) Q(UINTO) MUUCIO CO(N)S(ULIBUS), EOS ITA POSIDERE COLEREQUE LICEAT. EUS (!) QUEI POSIDEBUNT, VECTIGAL LANGENSIBUS PRO PORTIONE DENT ITA UTI CETERI / LANGENSES, QUI EORUM IN EO AGRO AGRUM POSIDEBUNT FRUENTURQUE. PRAETER EA IN EO AGRO NI QUIS POSIDETO, NISI DE MAIORE PARTE / LANGENSIVM VEITURIORUM SENTENTIA, DUM NE ALIUM INTRO MITAT NISI GENUATEM AUT VEITURIUM COLENDI CAUSA. QUEI EORUM / DE MAIORE PARTE LANGENSIVM VEITURI<OR>UM SENTENTIA ITA NON PAREBIT, IS EUM AGRUM NEI HABETO NIVE FRUIMINO. QUEI / AGER COMPASCUOS ERIT, IN EO AGRO QUO MINUS PECUS [P]ASCERE GENUATES VEITURIOSQUE LICEAT ITA UTEI IN CETERO AGRO / GENUATI COMPASCUO, NI QUIS PROHIBETO NIVE QUIS VIM FACITO, NEIVE PROHIBETO QUO MINUS EX EO AGRO LIGNA MATERIAMQUE / SUMANT UTANTURQUE. VECTIGAL ANNI PRIMI K(ALENDIS) IANUARIS SECUNDIS VETURIS LANGENSES IN POPLICUM GENUAM DARE / DEBENTO. QUOD ANTE K(ALENDAS) IANUAR(IAS) PRIMAS LANGENSES FRUCTI SUNT ERUNTQUE, VECTIGAL INVITEI DARE NEI DEBENTO. / PRATA QUAE FUERUNT

PROXUMA FAENISICEI L(UCIO) CAECILIO (ET) Q(UINTO) MUUCIO CO(N)S(ULIBUS) IN AGRO POPLICO, QUEM VITURIES LANGENSES / POSIDENT ET QUEM ODIATES ET QUEM DECTUNINES ET QUEM CAVATURINEIS ET QUEM MENTOVINES POSIDENT, EA PRATA, / INVITIS LANGENSIBUS ET ODIATIBUS ET DECTUNINEBUS ET CAVATURINES ET MENTOVINES, QUEM QUISQUE EORUM AGRUM / POSIDEBIT, INVITEIS EIS NIQUIS SICET NIVE PASCAT NIVE FRUATUR. SEI LANGUESSES (!) AUT ODIATES AUT DECTUNINES AUT CAVATURINES / AUT MENTOVINES MALENT IN EO AGRO ALIA PRATA INMITTERE, DEFENDERE, SICARE, ID UTI FACERE LICEAT, DUM NE AMPLIOREM / MODUM PRATORUM HABEANT QUAM PROXUMA AESTATE HABUERUNT FRUCTIQUE SUNT. VITURIES QUEI CONTROVORSIAS / GENUENSIVM OB INIOURIAS IUDICATI AUT DAMNATI SUNT, SEI QUIS IN VINCULEIS OB EAS RES EST, EOS OMNEIS / SOLVEI, MITTEI LEIBER<ARE>IQUE GENUENSES VIDETUR OPORTERE ANTE EIDUS SEXTILIS PRIMAS. SEI QUOI DE EA RE / INIQUOM VIDEBITUR ESSE, AD NOS ADEANT PRIMO QUOQUE DIE ET AB OMNIBUS CONTROVERSIS ET HONO(---) PUBL(---) LI(---). / LEG(ATI) MOCO METICANIO METICONI F(ILIIUS); PLAUCUS PELIANI(O) PELIONI F(ILIIUS).

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Abbreviations

A&A = *Antike und Abendland*

AA = *Antichita' Altoadriatiche*

AArchSlov = *Acta Archaeologica (Arheoloski Vestnik)*

AAssocAmGeogr = *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*

AB = *The Art Bulletin*

AC = *L'Antiquité Classique*

AEHV = *Anuario de la Escuela de Historia Virtual. Publicación periódica de la Escuela de Historia de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.*

Aevum = *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche*

AGLComo = *Annuario del Ginnasio Liceo A. Volta di Como*

AHR = *American Historical Review*

AION = *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientali di Napoli*

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJAH = *American Journal of Ancient History*

AJP = *American Journal of Philology*

ALL = *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*

Ampurias = *Ampurias. Periodico del Servicio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología. Barcelona.*

AncHistBull = *The Ancient History Bulletin*

AncSoc = *Ancient Society*

AnnRevAnthrop = *Annual Review of Anthropology*

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*

Antichthon = *Journal of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies*

AquilNost = *Aquileia Nostra*

ARID = *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*

AS = *Anatolian Studies*

AS = *Année sociologique*

ASLSP = *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*

Athenaeum = *Athenaeum: Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità, Università di Pavia*

BAR = *British Archaeological Reports*

BASO = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BEFAR = *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*

BICS Nottingham = *University of Nottingham. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*

BIDR = *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano.*

BNF = *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*

BRAH = *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia. Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid.*

BollSocGeogr = *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana*

CAH = *The Cambridge Ancient History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*

Capitolium = *Capitolium: Rivista mensile di attività municipale Roma*

Chiron = *Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, multiple volumes. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1863-present)*

CJ = *Classical Journal*

CIAnt = *Classical Antiquity*

Classical Weekly = *The Classical Weekly (Classical Association of the Atlantic States)*

CollLatomus = *Collection Latomus*

CP = *Classical Philology*

CQ = *The Classical Quarterly*

CR = *Classical Review*

CRAI = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)*

CRESM = *Centre de recherches et d'études sur les sociétés méditerranéennes*

CSCA = *University of California Studies in Classical Antiquity*

CSIDISUM = *Comunicazione e studi Dell'Istituto di Diritto internazionale e straniero dell'Università di Milano*

CW = *Classical World*

Daedalus = *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Harvard University. Cambridge, Mass.*

Denver JILP = *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy*

Die Nation = *Wochenschrift für Politik, Volkswirtschaft und Literatur*

DLJ = *Duke Law Journal*

EAB = *Environment and Behavior*

Emerita = *Emerita: Revista de lingüística y filología clásica*

Epigraphica = *Epigraphica: Rivista italiana di epigrafia*

Epigraphica Anatolica = *Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*

Eranos = *Eranos: Acta philologica Suecana*

G&R = *Greece and Rome*

GeogrJ = *The Geographical Journal*

Geopolitics = *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy Journal of Strategic Studies*

GeogrAnt = *Geographia Antiqua*

Gerión = *Revista de Historia Antigua. Universidad Complutense de Madrid*

Germania = *Germania: Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

Glotta = *Glotta: Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Gymnasium = *Gymnasium: Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung*

Hermes = *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*

Hirundo = *Hirundo: The McGill Journal of Classical Studies*

HistAM = *Histoire antique et médiévale*

Historia = *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*

HS/HL = *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics*

HSCP = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

Humanitas = *Humanitas: Paper of the National Humanities Institute*

Hypomnemata = *Hypomnemata: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem.*

HZ = *Historische Zeitschrift*

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae, multiple volumes. (Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1860-present)*

ILS = *Dessau, H. (ed.), Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, 3 volumes (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916)*

IM = *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*

ISPh = *Iowa Studies in Classical Philology*

Iura = *Iura. Rivista internazionale di diritto romano e antico*

JAA = *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*

JAW = *Jahresbericht für Altertumswissenschaft*

JOMH = *Journal of Military History*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

JWH = *Journal of World History*

JWI = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. London*

JWorldHist = *Journal Of World History*

Klio = *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*
Language = *Language: Journal of the Linguistic society of America*
Latomus = *Latomus: Revue d'études latines*
LF = *Listy Filologické*
LHR = *Law and History Review*
LR = *Lombardia Romana*
LTUR = *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*
M&H = *Mediaevalia et Humanistica: studies in medieval and renaissance society.*
MAA = *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*
MDAI(R) = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm)*
MÉFR = *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*
MEFRA = *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité*
MemTor = *Memorie dell'Istituto giuridico dell'Università di Torino*
MemPontAcc = *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*
MH = *Museum Helveticum*
MHJ = *Medieval History Journal*
Mnemosyne = *Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica batava*
MonAnt = *Monumenti antichi*
MSF = *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*
MSL = *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*
NGWG = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., Fachgruppe I: Altertumswissenschaften, ab 1941: NAWG, Göttingen*
NJbb = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik*
NotScavi = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*
NOUS = *Noûs quarterly peer-reviewed academic journal on philosophy*

Numen = *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*
PACA = *Proceedings of the African Classical Association*
PAPhS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PBSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*
Philologus = *Philologus: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
Phoenix = *Phoenix: The Classical Association of Canada*
PP = *La Parola del Passato*
PRoyalIrishAcadA = *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, celtic studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*
QITA = *Quaderni dell'Istituto di topografia antica della Università di Roma*
QuadPrCast = *Quadernos de Prehistoria Castellana*
QuadUrbCClas = *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RA = *Revue archéologique*
RANarb = *Revue archéologique Narbonnaise*
RC = *Revue Celtique*
RE = *Von Pauly, A.F., Wissowa, G., Kroll, W., Mittelhaus, K., Ziegler, K., & Gärtner, H. (eds.), Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, multiple volumes (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1894-1980)*
REA = *Revue des Études Anciennes*
REL = *Révue des Etudes Latines*
RGeogSocJl = *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography.*
RHist = *Revue historique*
RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RHSGM = *Revue d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*
RIDA = *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité,*
RivCultClassMediev = *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medievale*

RivFil = *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
RivIndGrt = *Rivista Indo Greca Italica*
RPhil = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RSA = *Rivista Storica d'Antichità*
Sampark = *Sampark: Journal of Global Understanding*
SAWW = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., Wien*
SCF = *Studia Celtica Fennica*
SCI = *Scripta classica Israelica*
Sewanee Rev = *Sewanee Review*
SHAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., Heidelberg*
SI = *Supplementa Italica*
SMSR = *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*
SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*
Speculum = *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*
StEtr = *Studi etruschi*
TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAPS = *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TPAPA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
WHQ = *Western Historical Quarterly*
WORD = *Journal of the International Linguistic Association*
ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZrP = *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*
ZSav = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung*
ZOG = *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*