

THE IMPACT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE ON LANDSCAPES

*Proceedings of the Fourteenth Workshop
of the International Network Impact of
Empire (Mainz, June 12–15, 2019)*

Edited by
Marietta Horster
and **Nikolas Hächler**

The Impact of the Roman Empire on Landscapes

Impact of Empire

ROMAN EMPIRE, C. 200 B.C.–A.D. 476

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Marietta Horster and Nikolas Hächler

March 2021

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PART 1

Introducing Roman Landscapes



Le regard du vainqueur?

Nikolas Hächler and Marietta Horster

Can we answer the question “How Roman were the landscapes of the Roman empire?”¹ from a non-Roman perspective? A simple answer is available neither on an epistemological nor on a methodological level. A naïve but all-embracing and practical working hypothesis might base the definition of landscapes as ‘Roman’ on the thoughts, feelings, and the evaluation of the Romans themselves, of few non-Romans, and of the scholars who are reading these lines and working on the subject. We should not, however, regard the issue as settled so easily. One may achieve a broader perspective, even if the Roman view remains dominant. For example, a focus on archaeology widens our view, whereas a focus on antique written sources reveals ‘Roman’ thoughts filtered through our lenses. Therefore, the authors of this volume zoomed in on different approaches. The papers incorporate vantage points of modern interpretation, cultural construction, and metalanguage, as well as hermeneutical analyses of ancient visual and written artefacts as testimonies for and remains of ‘landscapes’ – but whose landscapes? Southern landscapes of the Roman period can be studied on the macro-ecological level as part of the Mediterranean, which is characterised by a specific connectivity and flows of resources, goods, people, political power, and ideas. With their distinct geographical and political connectivity, these Mediterranean landscapes are different from the landscapes of, e.g., the north-western Roman provinces.² The broader view of connectedness and embeddedness must prevent even a volume in the series “Impact of Empire” to draw on a simplistic dichotomy between Rome and all the other parts of the empire. As the editors and authors of this volume were aware of a

-
- 1 Bourdin categorised Greek geography as “regard médiatisé”, Greek historiography as “ethnographie”, the Roman annalistic as “regard du vainqueur”, and the antiquarian tradition as “exaltation des *mores Italiae*”, St. Bourdin, *Les peuples de l'Italie préromaine: identités, territoires et relations inter-ethniques en Italie centrale et septentrionale (VIII^e–I^{er} s. av. J.-C.)* (Rome 2012), 1191. In these more than 1200 pages, Bourdin addresses the issue of “landscape” identity of pre-Roman and Roman Italy in a variety of contexts.
 - 2 P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Boundless Sea: Writing Mediterranean History* (London and New York 2020); for different arguments for the “wider Mediterranean perspective” see T. Stek, ‘Cult, conquest, and “religious romanization”: the impact of Rome on places and religious practices in Italy’, in T. Stek and G.-J. Burgers (eds.), *The Impact of Rome on Cult Places and Religious Practices in Ancient Italy* (London 2015), 1–28, here 5–6.

persisting broader geographical framework than the Roman world and of the dynamics within the Roman world and changing perceptions of Romanness, they applied different approaches and premises to discuss the impact on landscape without risking to fall into the stumbling blocks of the debate on the term and the underlying concept of “Romanization” as a one-way road.³

What is ‘Roman’, at least from the Roman authors’ point of view and in the context of discussing Roman identity? From the Republican to the late antique period, authors expressed ideas of and judgement about otherness in Latin or Greek, and they referred not only to ‘barbarians’ outside the gate or at the borders. The categories defining otherness shifted over time. Writers changed their perspectives and narratological strategies, and in most cases the discourse on otherness was seemingly not centred on a specific region, a distinct ‘landscape’, but on specific people or individual groups, defined by moral standards, manly virtues, social categories, or learnedness.⁴ Some authors promoted the idea that natural environment and climate zones influenced a people’s character and social organisation.⁵

Against this backdrop, the problem of the term ‘Romanisation’ describing manifestations of Romanness and various processes of interaction, influence and categorisation seems less dramatic. This approach is not centred on ideas of colonialism as it is debated from a modern political perspective, although this term and debate naturally accompany any discussion of ‘Roman’. But as much as the once “extremely value-laden term” Romanisation has been discussed and criticised in the last decades, it is still a “useful tool”⁶ to describe

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- 3 G. Woolf, ‘Beyond Romans and Natives’, *World Archaeology* 28 (1996–1997), 339–350. For an extensive bibliography on current terminologies to describe the interconnectedness of the Roman world see R. Haeussler and E. Webster, ‘Creolage: a bottom-up approach to cultural change in Roman times’, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 3 (2020), 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.16995/traj.419>.
 - 4 For various methods and approaches to “otherness” in Roman culture and literature with extensive references to earlier literature see G. Woolf, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West* (Malden 2011), and M. Horster, ‘Small-minded, envious and chauvinistic: the self-shaping of Roman intellectuals’, in F. Pina-Polo (ed.), *Xenophobia in the Ancient World* (Barcelona 2019), 59–74, and other contributions with different focuses in Pina-Polo 2019, op. cit. (n. 4).
 - 5 J. Weidauer, *Männlichkeit verhandeln: Von Lüstlingen, Kriegern und wahren Römern* (1./2. Jh. n. Chr.) (Heidelberg 2021), 141–148; on Strabo’s climate theory in connection with ‘natural’ dominance and ruling power, see K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford 1999), 295–296 and J.M. Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee in Josephus, Luke and John: Critical Geography and the Construction of an Ancient Space* (Leiden and Boston 2016), 63.
 - 6 S. Keay, N. Terrenato, ‘Preface’, in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001), IX–XII, here IX.

aspects and phenomena of interaction and exchange that led to the creation of the Roman empire as a political and cultural unit. Coercion, adaptation, and all varieties of multilateral interaction between Romans and non-Romans, or Romans-not-from-the-centre-of-the-empire, created something new and by no means uniform. Differences were visible on all social levels and in local manifestations. Ideas of 'Roman' in the mid-Republic, when the first Roman provinces were created, were not identical to imperial period Roman identity. These changes correlated with shifts in the political system, the increase of dominated territory, and the number of provinces. Despite the rhetoric of unity of orders, of harmony of all Romans, of maintaining traditions, of *mos maiorum*, and of an economy continuously dominated by agriculture as the only traditional and reputable option, the Roman world was highly dynamic. While the reality was a composite culture with changing faces,⁷ the social traditions, political and religious institutions, architecture, aesthetic preferences, ideas, ideals, language, etc. continued to be labelled 'Roman' by Romans. Modern accounts react to this phenomenon for example by calling the epigrammatist and satirist Martial Hispano-Roman, or a less famous man from Gallia Belgica with *tria nomina* including some Celtic *cognomen* and with a 'poor' quality relief on his funerary slab Gallo-Roman.⁸

This modern perspective has antique roots in the later Roman empire. It seems, however, that already in earlier times the term 'Roman' lost its splendour of exclusiveness for parts of the Italian Romans. For a short time during or after the Civil wars of the late Republic, in the mid-first century CE, elite-members were admitted into the Roman senate for provincials from southern Gaul, as well as for many inhabitants all over the empire in the third century CE after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. This judicial aspect of being Roman had important consequences for political participation, social standing, legal protection, and economic opportunities. Some of our contributions will demonstrate that this had an impact on making a landscape 'Roman' as well. However, a 'Roman' landscape was most obviously marked by land distribution to newly settled Roman colonists. This colonising Romanness is still detectable in surveys, visible in aerial photographs, and readable on the inscribed stones not just on those terminating land lots. The effects of land distribution were just one of the colonial status of a city with its territory. Outside the city wall and within the territory, it was obvious in funerary contexts and in rural sanctuaries. The inscriptions setup in graveyards or as part of votive offerings refer to Romans

⁷ Cf. Keay 2001, op. cit. (n. 6), IX.

⁸ E.g. *CIL* XIII 8655 = *CSIR* Deutschland III 1. 22 with plates 24–25; Silvanus, son of Loupus, a man from Trier, *eques* in the Roman army and stationed in Xanten.

using their Roman names, mentioning their Roman voting districts (*tribus*), referring to Roman institutions and to a Roman status or career. This example of Rome-overloaded inscriptions creating funerary landscapes (a topic not addressed in this book) or Roman-related sacred landscapes (a topic twice addressed in this book) should have made obvious that despite the many perspectives, approaches and themes discussed in this anthology, the authors can only offer a few insights into the diversity and heterogeneity of a Roman landscape.

The space in which human action and interaction probably took place will play the leading role. This volume focusses on ideals, ideas, and concepts, as well as on institutions and material manifestations of Romanness in a city's territory and surroundings, in larger regions, and territorial units. The collection of papers, however, will give but a small insight into these issues of "glocal"⁹ vs. local processes. In sum, the rapidity, the timescale, and the character of the enforcement and impact of Roman actions, varied from region to region. The extent to which provincial boundaries, compared to demography, settlement patterns, and economic potential, influenced these processes is questionable. It seems that economic efficiency was more often determined by geological or climatic than by political conditions. Therefore, most of the following contributions focus on the local level, either within Italy or in one of the provinces or settlement areas. Similar effects, common themes, and connections become visible; differences in time and place become obvious as well. Some of the papers will explore a specific local, regional, or provincial context and consider the results of limited scope, if not in contrast to the effects in other areas of the Roman empire. This volume thus reflects the modern concept of a multifaceted, composite, multi-layered Roman world, but at the same time reduces its complexity. It views 'Roman' not only in the sense of power politics, but also in a cultural context. It highlights 'landscapes' and puts into the shadow important administrative and legal structures, i.e., cities and provinces, and main actors, viz. local and imperial members of the elites living in cities, which ran the empire. However, Roman landscapes are still connected to both the cities and the elites, notwithstanding which definition and facets of landscape are taken into account. In this volume, in contrast to the multifaceted usage of the landscape-terminology, the term and concept of 'environment' are considered as pre-existent to human agency, whereas a real or an ideal landscape is defined as conceptualised by human perception, as formed

9 For the concept of "glocalisation" see M. Pitts and M.J. Versluys, 'Globalisation and the Roman world: Perspectives and opportunities', in M. Pitts and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge 2015), 3–31, here 13–15.

and changed by human activities, and as represented and communicated by language and visual artefacts.

It would have been tempting to focus on a specific landscape, for example Roman Gaul. With stone quarries, drained marshes, and its mining industry, its material remains are less obvious in its the landscape than the notorious paved Roman roads with milestones, legionary or auxiliary camps, aqueducts, large funerary monuments, or rural sanctuaries. Zooarchaeology, botanical analyses, and geodata analyses have added to the knowledge about the Romanisation of landscape; they investigated changes in arboriculture, the introduction of new crops, consumption patterns of Mediterranean food like olives, olive oil, and vine in the Gallic provinces, and changes of the amount and choice of animal husbandry.¹⁰ Little evidence remains to assess how 'Roman' the landscape of the late Republican province of southern Gaul was. Only the milestones of the *Via Domitiana* and traceable land division on the territory of the colony of Narbo give some indications.¹¹ The testimonies from the imperial period are much richer; they include impressive remains like the Pont du Gard and the archaeological park of the imperial city Glanum.¹² In the late antique period, authors like Sidonius praised living in a villa in the countryside, and Ausonius celebrated the beauty of Gallia Belgica's charming *Mosella* valley and poetically described travelling across the country.

However, Gaul will not be the focus of this volume. Only Deru and Auvertin touch historical developments in northern Gaul and discuss methodological options for their interpretation. Some authors will take up some of the examples from Gaul just mentioned. Weaverdyck refers to some findings from Gaul within his study of the Northern provinces. Kerschbaum focuses on aqueducts like the Pont du Gard, but in the eastern part of the empire. Gangloff discusses aspects of real and imagined villa life and *otium* in Italy. Köster, as well as Walker, analyse poetic descriptions of landscapes in words and images. Carlà-Uhink and Kolb each consider streets and milestones as creating specific Roman landscapes. Campedelli, España-Chamarro, and Lefebvre all

10 See G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998), 142–168 on these effects on the countryside in the Gallic provinces. Cf. the overview of Marietta Horster in this volume, providing further literature.

11 Woolf 1996–1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 345.

12 According to James Frakes, some features of cult architecture related capitals in Glanum seem neither Roman nor Celtic; they present “a vision of a larger world” merging influences of several Mediterranean cultures, J.F.D. Frakes, ‘An architecture of human heads: Gallic responses to Roman power’, in J.-J. Aubert (ed.), *A Tall Order: Writing Social History of the Ancient World. Essays in Honor of William V. Harris* (München and Leipzig 2005), 161–183, here 179.

discuss the role of streets and milestones in Spain for imposing a specific Roman imperial vision upon a space that had already been used and defined by Celt-Iberians and Punic authorities and traders. Lastly, Schörner addresses land division, the most obvious and brutal impact on landscape, again not in Gaul but in the heart of Italy.

The methodological approaches applied in this volume are sometimes controversial like the categorisation and statistics of groups of findings and places, and sometimes traditional like analysing inscribed milestones as claims of authority and imposing dominance. This volume demonstrates the potential of surveys, of archive studies, and of map analyses. Close reading and a Michel Foucault-inspired “archéologie” of ideas and terms reveal Roman legal concepts that entailed consequences for the definition of arable land and land of different (if not poorer) quality. The management of water by drainage systems in metaphorical contexts (Maticic) or in connection to supply (Kerschbaum) and natural impact (Bono) was among the many aspects of Roman cultural superiority (*humanitas*) and subtle methods of oppression (*pars servitutis*) mentioned in Tacitus’s *Agricola* (21, *balinea*). This quintessential, arrogant, imperial Roman self-perception is drawn upon by modern views of Roman infrastructure, famously reflected (and parodied) in Monty Python’s *Life of Brian*: “What have the Romans ever done for us?”

The fourteenth workshop of the network “Impact of Empire” took place in Mainz from 12th to 15th June 2019. Its topic, the *Impact of Empire on Roman Landscape*, addressed the world outside the cities and focused on how different spaces of the Mediterranean world became ‘Roman’ during the imperial age and, particularly, the later Roman empire. The contributions studied Rome’s varied impact on the shaping and structuring of places, changes in the cultivation of land under its control, and the symbolic, literary, political, and legal creation of Roman landscapes. Discussions were centred on concepts of the empire, practices of mapping the Roman world, its narrative representations, and rituals and procedures of integrating landscapes into the Roman state. Furthermore, the workshop discussed public symbols that shaped and marked individual regions as Roman, as well as the appropriation and exploitation of land and its resources for the benefit of the *Imperium Romanum*. The book is structured in four parts starting with two introductory chapters in the first section. Inspired by the scene from Monty Python’s *The Life of Brian* mentioned above, the second section of this volume focuses on Roman infrastructure and its impact on political landscapes. It deals therefore primarily with the processes of making an administrative unit ‘Roman’ by establishing public infrastructure. The papers within this section answer the question what the Roman state actually did for its inhabitants, how its domination was staged outside the

world of the cities, and how the population might have perceived it. The third section, “Measuring the World *à la romaine*”, asks how Romans assessed, categorised, re-arranged, and used various landscapes, for instance regarding agricultural activities. It also deals with the political and juridical (re-)organisation of territories and the economic use and exploitation of the land. The contributions in this part highlight the development of the heterogeneous landscapes under Roman rule, which evolved into an interconnected economic, political, and cultural entity and thus created a ‘Roman’ world. The final fourth section, “The Semantics of Roman Landscape Representations”, focuses on notions of landscape in Roman literature, in performed Roman cult, in art, as well as in the iconography of a map. It thus deals with ideal and idealised conceptions of nature and space under Rome’s influence depicted in wall-paintings and described in philosophical contemplations, public speeches, and Latin poetry. Analyses of geographical depictions of the Roman world reveal similar ideas; the Tabula Peutingeriana is among the most famous examples.

1 The Benefactions of Infrastructure

The papers of the second section, “What Have the Romans Ever Done for Them?” focus on Roman infrastructure and its impact on political landscapes. Anne Kolb’s “*Redacta in formam provinciae: Überlegungen zu Rolle und Funktion der viae publicae*” presents a synoptic overview over the Roman road network and discusses its fundamental importance for the general functioning of the *Imperium Romanum* as well as its impact on various Mediterranean landscapes during the imperial period. Roads connected different regions and helped to form a political, military, economic, and ideological unity. They gave the empire’s inhabitants the opportunity to increase their mobility, which influenced migration.¹³

Filippo Carlà-Uhink’s “The Impact of Roman Roads on Landscape and Space: The Case of Republican Italy” highlights the manifold interactions of Roman politics with space in the context of the construction of the Roman road system in Republican Italy. He focuses on how the enormous effort of the road construction resulted in a long-term connectivity between urban communities of the steadily growing *Imperium Romanum*. These new opportunities for participation in official affairs changed the public perception of the organisation of places and the distance between them. The Roman road

13 See the contributions in E. Lo Cascio and L.E. Tacoma (eds.), *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire [IMEM 22]* (Leiden and Boston 2016).

system was a subtle instrument of hegemonic power, which led to the crystallisation of urban hierarchies in various regions of the Italian peninsula as well as to the definition of (regional) centres and peripheries.

Sergio España-Chamorro's "Engaging Landscapes, Connecting Provinces: Milestones and the Construction of *Hispania* at the Beginning of the Empire" investigates the complex configuration of the administrative system in *Hispania* during the early Principate. He analyses the importance and functions of milestones in provincial territories within the context of landscape archaeology. The origin and rise of 'road epigraphy' on the Iberian Peninsula can be linked to a new perception of territorial space, rooted in the conception of provincial structures under Augustus. In case of the province Baetica, milestones were used specifically to promote the new administrative organisation of the territory and thus imitated the epigraphic habit already established in Italy. In *Lusitania*, on the other hand, no comparable signs for a comprehensive network of roads publicly represented by milestones exist, apart from rare cases under Nero. The small number of milestones on the *via Augusta* in *Hispania Citerior* probably shows that the Roman administration paid little attention to milestones as an instrument of imperial domination. España-Chamorro interprets the varied use of road epigraphy in these provinces as part of a flexible 'grand strategy' of the Roman state under the Julio-Claudian emperors, which served to assure their rule in newly conquered territories.

Camilla Campedelli's "The Impact of Roman Roads and Milestones on the Landscape of the Iberian Peninsula" examines the socio-political implications of road construction and milestones. Major parts of the *via Augusta*, which connected the province of *Baetica* with Gaul and Italy, already existed before the Roman conquest. Therefore, the beginning Roman domination had no major physical impact on this road within the landscape of *Hispania*. Nevertheless, a specific Roman landscape was created on the peninsula. This was achieved through the construction of solid pavements, bridges, and arches, which, in addition to the adaptation of the Roman mile system and inscribed milestones, monumentalised the Iberian road system. In the southern regions of *Hispania* and in the Pyrenees, however, Roman road workers transformed the physical landscape by cutting through, straightening, balancing, and levelling parts of the area to connect urban centres of the Roman provinces.

Sabine Lefebvre's "Les milliaires tardifs, une réception particulière de l'autorité impériale. Un paysage particulier le long des voies de Lusitanie" carries on with the theme of the function of milestones. She focuses on rural Lusitania's *via XXIV* (*Via de la Plata*) in the period of the political and military crises of the 3rd and early 4th centuries CE. Some rulers seemingly took the opportunity to present themselves to the provincial population on milestones,

although they did not necessarily invest in constructing new or rebuilding existing roads. The increasing omission of concrete information on distances and the change from the nominative case (indicating action) to the dative case (praising the object) when the name of the emperor is given indicate that around 305 CE milestones were no longer primarily intended for the orientation of travellers on their way. Instead, they offered provincial administrators and local elites the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the rulers of the later Roman empire. At least in the most western parts of the empire, the imperially dominated landscape under Roman rule had seemingly turned into a provincial landscape within the Roman empire.

Saskia Kerschbaum's "Romanization and Beyond: Aqueducts and their Multilayered Impact on Political and Urban Landscapes in Roman Asia Minor" closes this part on infrastructure with a focus on the various interactions between the cities' elites and the emperors regarding the funding, placement, and functioning of aqueducts. As Kerschbaum highlights the vital importance of water supply and its prestige in the competition between poleis in Asia minor, it becomes clear that aqueducts played a fundamental role for a specific Roman notion of *urbanitas* and for the every-day life in Greco-Roman cities in the east.

2 Measuring the World

The third section of this volume, "Measuring the World *à la romaine*", highlights shifting assessments, classifications, functions, and adaptations of landscape and its use for and within the Roman empire. The consequences of Rome's growing influence were not determined from the outset and did not necessarily develop straightforwardly to, for instance, more productivity or a general increase of well-being. This section starts with Günther Schörner's "Changing Landscapes under Roman Impact: Interdisciplinary Research in Northern Etruria", which analyses the transformation of the Italian landscape. Centuriation was a pervading intervention and had long-lasting effects on landscapes within the Roman empire.¹⁴ Schörner argues that the allotment

14 Since 2004, *Agri Centuriati*, an international, peer-reviewed journal of landscape archaeology dedicated to the phenomenon of centuriation is published annually. It includes papers on registration patterns, juridical problems, and administration, on soil quality and agrarian patterns, on the relationship of city and territory, and on dependency and territorial hierarchisation with its effects on villages in or near a Roman colony as one of the many consequences for the political, social, and economic order of a region or a specific colony, like Cremona in Italy or Corinth in Greece.

of land to colonists and the accompanying divisions, farmsteads, and termination-stones had dramatic consequences for land ownership and the land itself and made a landscape Roman. This was, however, not the result of a ‘Romanising’ strategy or of specific goals for the design of Italian landscapes, which were under the control of Roman officials. The landscapes created in northern Etruria under Roman rule must rather be understood as landscapes of ‘Etruscan memory’. This approach reflects how their past had been shaped and superimposed by the Roman state.

Tradition and, in this case, “Celto-Roman memory” is of major importance for the research methodology and results of Xavier Deru’s and Rémi Auvertin’s contribution “Des territoires celtiques aux cités romaines en Gaule septentrionale”. The authors get us closer to the consequences of the transformation of Celtic territories in Gaul under Rome’s political, economic, cultural, and legal influence. The division of formerly tribal territories, which had been connected primarily through family ties, language, religious practices, or trade networks, created new boundaries and borders. The Roman state established these new regions on a case-by-case basis. By negotiating, they took tradition and existing structures into consideration, favouring some local groups and families to the detriment of others. Previous identities, often reflected on numismatic remains, were redefined as people looked to the important urban centres, a process that created new socio-political and legally binding territories. These new Roman communal and social settings served as political, economic, cultural, and legal knots and orientation within the Roman provincial structure. The communities of Roman Gaul reassessed their self-image as inhabitants of the *Imperium Romanum*. This process resulted in the creation of long-term and stable governmental structures.

Francesco Bono’s *“Adluvionum ea natura est, ut semper incerta possessio sit: Picturing and Regulating Alluvial Lands in Nov. Theod. 20”* examines juridical attempts to regulate the Roman landscape in late antiquity. In his analysis of Theodosius’s II *Novella 20*, which deals with questions of ownership of alluvial land, he addresses its instability in general and the resulting consequences for jurisdiction. Theodosius II created legal security and reassured rightful ownership of these territories in order to guarantee legal and political stability in the regions affected by his decision, i.e., in this case the areas near the Egyptian Nile. His verdict reaffirmed the rights of owners of riparian land and aimed at preventing migration and rural depopulation. In response to the continuous transformation of Rome’s landscape, the emperor thus re-affirmed territorial boundaries on a legal level with the intention to create stable socio-political and economic structures.

Eli Weaverdyck explores the impact of “Auxiliary Forts and Rural Economic Landscapes on the Northern Frontier” by applying targeted, quantitative

spatial modelling. He assesses the functions of auxiliary forts as marketplaces, as well as their impact on the rural economic landscapes at the northern frontier. Case studies from the lower Danube and the lower Rhine regions serve as examples. Instances of increased sensitivity to local landscape features might suggest agricultural intensification. However, the results vary within each area of research, which indicates that Roman occupation as well as local responses to it were flexible throughout the early imperial and the late antique periods. Although many forts were centres within a landscape, it seems that the rural population did generally not perceive them as markets. The economic functions of auxiliary forts must therefore be examined on a case-by-case basis. The most obvious changes in the perception of the northern landscapes occurred around 300 CE, when at least some data indicates that inhabitants started to prefer settlement areas which allowed withdrawal, defence, and security, whereas in previous centuries the quality of agricultural land and market opportunities had been of primary importance. Even if Roman colonial foundations and permanent military installations such as colonies, analysed by Schörner, and camps, considered by Weaverdyck, had an obvious impact on the socio-political landscape by changing possibilities of property-holding and by creating hierarchies of soil, owners, and citizens, Weaverdyck also underlines the potential of sanctuaries for the local elites' self-representation. In pre-Roman communities and regions, cults and sacred places had internally supported, if not created identity. These mechanisms included manipulating and connecting existing rituals and sites according to the needs of the dominating groups. The Roman intervention in the religious sphere and on cult sites outside the Roman city models *coloniae* and *municipiae* varied in intensity and form.¹⁵ However, even where Roman impact was barely visible, like in many cults of the Near East or Egypt, the new cultic order persisted for centuries, and at least divinity-assimilations and the devotion of the emperor spread all over the empire. The resulting Romanness of a sacred landscape differed widely and it is hardly possible to cover all regions within one study.

In this volume, only one paper addresses this topic. "Imperial Cult Processions and Landscape in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire: The

15 Most studies dealing with Roman impact on sacred landscapes have a regional focus as, e.g., the pioneering works of S. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993), 172–214 and T. Derks, 'The transformation of landscape and religious representation in Roman Gaul', *Archaeological Dialogues* 4 (1997), 126–147, or the contributions in the volume of Stek and Burgers 2015, op. cit. (n. 2) challenging the modern urban-rural division of cults and the notion of a rather small impact on cult affairs during the Republican period. For the notion of "sacred landscapes" see below Marietta Horster's contribution in this volume.

Case of the Demosthenia of Oenoanda” focuses on the socio-political context within one Greco-Roman ritual landscape in the eastern part of the empire. Elena Muñoz-Grijalvo and Fernando Lozano discuss a case of shifting notions of landscape in *Asia Minor* under Roman rule. The authors present a new interpretation of the epigraphic dossier on the introduction of the so-called *Demosthenia*, written by C. Iulius Demosthenes in Oenoanda in Lycia from 124 CE. They focus particularly on the importance of rural communities around the city during the conduct of public feasts within the framework of the imperial cult. Public worship of the emperor offered new forms of and opportunities for coexistence and cooperation between the city and the surrounding territory, leading to the active inclusion of members of Oenoanda’s neighbouring villages during the festive acts. The establishment of the imperial cult ultimately led to the creation of a specific Roman landscape on a cultural, social, economic, and political level without necessarily altering the region’s physical properties.

Nikolas Hächler’s “*Post hos nostra terra est. Mapping the Late Roman Ecumene with the Expositio totius mundi et gentium*” ends the second section of the book with the portrayal of the Roman world in a late antique geographical treatise. According to the so-called *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, landscape is mainly characterised by the relations between the fertile land and its adaptive inhabitants, the interconnectivity of economic and cultural hubs, and a strong mainstream culture, which includes various regions into a coherent Roman world. The geographical treatise compares the structures, organisation, and functionality of the *Imperium Romanum* with other communities. In contrast to the Persians and the *Saraceni*, for instance, the Roman empire does not wage war against its neighbours. According to the *expositio*-treatise, Rome’s society is able to adapt to its environment, as it assesses, changes, and domesticates the landscapes of the Mediterranean world, and thereby ultimately mirrors the fortunate existence of Edenic cultures.

3 The Semantics of Landscape Representations

The fourth section of this volume, “The Semantics of Roman Landscape Representations”, explores the appreciation and representation of landscapes in Roman literature and art, as well as their depiction on maps. It analyses the semantic meanings of these visual and literary representations within varying historical and cultural contexts. Isabel Köster’s contribution “Making and Unmaking Roman Landscapes in Cicero and Caesar” examines differing accounts of *Gallia* in the writings of Cicero and Caesar and assesses the political and military background of the Gallic Wars. By persuasively adapting the

notion of “anti-landscape”, which was coined by the environmental historian David Nye, she presents two divergent perspectives on Gaul’s landscape and its future within the Roman empire. According to Cicero, this ill-defined and uncontrollable region does not resemble a Roman landscape. Although it has been conquered by Caesar, by its ‘nature’ it is unsuited to become Roman. Caesar, however, presents to his readers a hostile but often orderly landscape that can potentially be controlled by Rome. From his point of view, Gaul’s inhabitants counteract the land’s true nature by resisting its conquest by Rome. Both authors share the notion that humans cannot change a landscape’s character. A landscape either lends itself to Roman conquest or remains an “anti-landscape” and repeatedly denies the possibility of establishing Roman civilisation.

In contrast to this, Anne Gangloff demonstrates how the Roman authors Seneca and Pliny the Younger insist on the potential of human impact for creating a new landscape by changing its *raison d’être*. In “Paysages et *otium* au début du Haut-Empire”, Gangloff shows the changing functions of the Roman *villae* in the first century CE as described and perceived by the elite. With the establishment of the Principate, the *villa*’s perception changed. In the eyes of the rich and learned senatorial elite, the *villa* no longer served as a political gathering point for senators far away from Rome and from the emperor, but rather as an important basis for literary production and intellectual activities in general. Quite often, its owners used it as a place of personal retreat, for instance for philosophical reflection focussing on a personal ‘inner’ landscape. In this individualised world of the elite members, *villae* and their territories became playgrounds for shaping and surpassing nature according to Roman aesthetics.

Notions of such idealised landscapes of *otium* were also represented in Roman art and sometimes depicted in *villae* and urban residences. In this context, Abigail Walker interprets “The Landscape and Nature of the Cyclops in Campanian Wall-Painting”. Mythical landscapes on paintings were not simply a background for the interaction of protagonists such as Polyphemus and Galatea. These landscapes became active agents within the narratives on display. This approach allows the author to reveal the tensions between the cruel nature of the cyclops (in poetry) and the usually peaceful and idyllic groves he resides in to court his desired sea nymph (in wall-paintings). The land-sea encounter in these representations is mirrored by the meeting of the two lovers. This mythical landscape is depicted as a liminal space, which does not allow fixed and long-term relations.

These multi-layered landscape representations reflect the skilful literary adaptations appreciated by members of the Roman elite. Del Maticic explores one example. “Hercules, Cacus and the Poetics of Drains in *Aeneid* 8

and Propertius” focuses on the literary representation of the battles between Hercules and the earth giant Cacus as well as on the allusions to drainage in these writings. By importing Hercules into a specifically Roman context as “Master of Waters”, both poets comment upon the ethics and symbolism of Rome’s water consumption. They thus associate the mythological hero’s deeds with the creation of new waterways and subterranean channels. The connotations of the term *barathrum*, which Vergil uses for the exposed caves of Cacus, confirm this notion. On the one hand, this connects Arcadian and Roman waterworks within the landscape (re-)created by the poets and thereby successfully bridges time and two different landscapes of the Roman empire. On the other hand, Hercules’s deeds are an implicit commentary on the excessive Roman water consumption and the comprehensive building activities under Augustus.

Christopher Chinn’s “Empire and Italian Landscape in Statius: *Silvae* 4.3 and 4.5” demonstrates how imperial politics influenced the poetical landscape in Statius’ oeuvre. The poet often appropriates representations of landscapes from his literary predecessors, including Vergil’s pastoral Golden Age, the *Aeneid*’s prehistoric landscapes of Italy, and Horace’s rural retreats. Statius puts his depictions of landscape into the context of the political realities of his time. Additionally, his depictions at times idealise the current condition of the Roman state. Thus, the Golden Age, which is characterised in a speech of the river god Vulturnus, becomes a metaphor that praises the improvements resulting from the channelisation of the river under Domitian. The Sibyl’s monologue by Statius adapts the history of the empire and particularly Aeneas’s conquests. It thus allows the reader to explore the newly accessible Campanian coast while it simultaneously emphasises the emperor’s control over the landscape. Finally, the so-called Severus Ode reveals the economic underpinnings of Horace’s rural moralising by reconnecting the Horatian landscape to the physical world.

A different landscape representation with few words but many icons is analysed by Silke Diederich. “Empire and Landscape in the Tabula Peutingeriana” concerns the internal semantics of the Tabula Peutingeriana. Diederich interprets the document as an elaborate narrative depicting the history and organisation of Rome’s imperial landscape. The map presents the known world as an all-accessible, well-structured space under the beneficial care of the Roman government and permeated by an elaborated (albeit idealised) network of roads, which connect various nodes of interest. The mapmaker arranged the known world by matching seemingly natural river-mountain-systems to the political and cultural borders of the *Imperium Romanum*. He thus indicates that nature itself shaped the form of the Roman empire. The Tabula Peutingeriana

claims that the Roman state rules over the known landscape in concordance with a divine cosmic order.

4 Impact of Empire

Each conference of the “Impact of Empire”-series and each of its published proceedings focuses on a different angle of interactions and changes within the Roman empire. As part of this IMEM-tradition, in this book on the impact of the Roman empire on the landscape, the authors and editors were able to take up and continue some of the earlier studies, especially those on the transformation of economic life, on religion and ritual, on army and frontiers, on mobility and migration, and also the last published proceedings on the impact of justice.¹⁶ Since its foundation in Nijmegen in 1999, the international network is committed to interdisciplinarity, the promotion of young researchers and, above all, joint work on understanding the impact of the Roman empire, to which these international proceedings make a contribution. A landscape may be the result and symbol of a power relation, but they represent as well the cultural practice of all parties involved.

¹⁶ L. de Blois and J. Rich (eds.), *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* [IMEM 2] (Amsterdam 2002); L. de Blois, P. Funke and J. Hahn (eds.), *The Impact of Imperial Rome on Religions, Ritual and Religious Life in the Roman Empire* [IMEM 5] (Leiden and Boston 2006); L. de Blois and E. Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476): Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects* [IMEM 6] (Leiden and Boston 2007); O.J. Hekster, S. Schmidt-Hofner and C. Witschel (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* [IMEM 9] (Leiden and Boston 2009); O.J. Hekster and T. Kaizer (eds.), *Frontiers in the Roman World* [IMEM 13] (Leiden and Boston 2011); D. Slootjes and M. Peachin (eds.), *Rome and the World beyond its Frontiers* [IMEM 21] (Leiden and Boston, 2016); Lo Cascio and Tacoma 2016, op. cit. (n. 12); O. Hekster and K. Verboven (eds.), *The Impact of Justice on the Roman Empire* [IMEM 34] (Leiden and Boston 2019).

Heterogeneous Landscapes: From Theory to Impact

Marietta Horster

Authors and editors of such a landscape-related volume “create” the outlines of their respective ancient landscapes and define the specific Roman-ness of this landscape’s existence. Therefore, the subject is broad if not vast. The individual researcher fixates the borders of a landscape: these may be natural such as mountains or rivers, social such as dwellings, cities, cultivation or mining areas, political such as physical frontiers between states or administrative boundaries between civic territories or provinces as well as imaginary, such as those between two book covers. Landscapes are established by the humans acting and reacting within a given space and in different periods of time. They may be formed by visual, verbal or digital media, characterised by the parameters applied and defined by the respective research project. The number of such parameters seems to be endless, either encompassing a kind of generic level of landscapes as emotional, social, sacred, poetic, epic, economic, maritime etc.,¹ or capturing a more specific landscape like Gainsborough’s or Ovid’s, Roman, German or Egyptian.² Apart from this delineated scheme of a variety of envisioned landscapes, one might draw a physical map of landscapes as well, however, equally determined by theoretical preconditions and decisions.

The evidence for environmental, social and economic conditions of a given region is growing with shifts in interest of archaeological and historical studies. Refined methodologies of regional surveys as well as the adoption of geological, biological and other technologies and multi-scalar approaches in pre-modern historical contexts give insights into “lived” landscapes.³ Surveys provide data for the analysis of small scatters and soil samples. These permit the investigation of

1 E.g. the modelling of a maritime landscape establishes a network of shipwrecks, harbors, sea-borne connectivity, hinterland activities and more such categories, see J. Leidwanger, *Roman Seas: A Maritime Archaeology of Eastern Mediterranean Economies*, (Oxford 2020), 69–109.

2 E.g. S. Sloman, *Gainsborough’s Landscapes. Themes and Variations* (London 2011); C.E. Barrett, *Domesticating Empire: Egyptian Landscapes in Pompeian Gardens* (Oxford 2019).

3 For the anthropological dimension of the landscape theory see T. Ingold, ‘The temporality of the landscape’, *WorldA* 25 (1993), 152–172, here 152. A summary of some of the many critical engagements with Ingold’s “temporality” and “taskscape”-ideas is to be found in D. Hicks, ‘The temporality of the landscape revisited’, *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49 (2016), 5–22. Different categories within an anthropological plus social theory approach to spatial aspects of landscape (e.g. existential, somatic-unconscious or cognitive-theoretical categories) are

settlement patterns, demographic changes, dietary habits, infrastructure developments, connectivity or trade flows. Some such survey-based studies analysing traces of human activities and changes in climate and environment have modified our understanding of republican Italy or imperial Greece.⁴

Recent decades have shown an increasing sensitivity to the time dimension and ontology, as material and ideal entities are not associated with a specific point in time. Rather, objects of everyday life or built structures, for example, as well as literary and artistic products reflect the memories, tastes and preferences that have formed and accumulated over a shorter or longer period of time and were used over generations. Activities, movements, perceptions, emotions etc. are inscribed in the landscape and have merged in objects, which were produced out of a specific social practice at any given time. This “hybridity” of everything and everyone has been given a theoretical background with the “third space theory” that was applied in the field of archaeology, whereas the acceptance of the precondition of embeddedness in traditions and hybridity of textual evidence has long since been established in the research of classicists without making use of the specific “third space” term.⁵ The classified

discussed by C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape. Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Oxford 1994), passim and esp. 16–17.

- 4 A. Casarotto, *Spatial Patterns in Landscape Archaeology. A GIS Procedure to Study Settlement Organization in Early Roman Colonial Territories* (Leiden 2018) compares different methods, their effects and results. For obvious changes in settlement patterns not all following the same model and having the same impact in the Italian regions, see e.g. E. Antonacci Sanpaolo, ‘Landscape changes: romanization and new settlement patterns at Tiati’, in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001), 27–38. With an overview of the ongoing discussion concerning developments of more or less dramatic changes of landscapes in post-Hannibal Italy triggered by demographic change, Roman land distribution and land use: L. de Ligt and S. Northwood, ‘Introduction’, in L. de Ligt and S. Northwood (eds.), *People, Land, and Politics. Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC–AD 14* (Leiden and Boston 2008), 1–14. For Greece, see S. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, (Cambridge 1993).
- 5 R. Bernbeck, “Squatting” in the Iron Age: an example of third space in archaeology’, *eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies* 8 (2019), 1–20 providing a rich bibliography and an introduction into the “third space” theory and its rooting in post-colonial, sociological and philosophical studies. Better manageable is the adaptation of A. Haug in her paper ‘Visual concepts in human surroundings: the case of the early Greek polis (10th–7th century BC)’, in A. Haug, L. Käppel and J. Müller (eds.), *Past Landscapes. The Dynamics of Interaction between Society, Landscape, and Culture* (Leiden 2018), 145–168. Haug ‘translates’ the theoretical concept of “lived space, conceived space, perceived space” with the terms “built environment, visual concepts, representations”. She elucidates (p. 164–165) that there is no antithetical relationship of “Lebenswelt and Bilderwelt”; images are not a simple reflection of lived space, and the relation between the “spaces” underlies changes. For the appropriation of the third-space concept in historiography, see J.M. Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee in Josephus, Luke, and*

objects and samples within the context of landscape research are, however, defined by timeframes as e.g. the date of production, first usage, last access or the stratum in which they were found. The fruitful discussion on landscape theories has given more prominence to the objects (material, verbal) as agents, to the difficulties of defining specific layers of impact and agency, and to the researchers, authors and museum curators as being actors in creating the landscapes (not to mention e.g. the readers and visitors of an exhibition or archaeological park). Notwithstanding the creativity and openness of mental maps and landscapes created by literature and art, not all landscapes are static or dynamic. A landscape is not merely a passive representation or symbol. It is itself actively exerting influence on human activities, decisions and perceptions, and can ultimately be instrumentalised in a power relation.⁶

1 Definition(s)

Landscape is a land shaped.⁷ It is part of the past, a product of the past and a product of previous and present archaeological, historical, philological or art-creating praxis. This, and any other definition of “landscape” as an analytical term, will inevitably be vague and imprecise as too many different disciplinary approaches have contributed well-argued phrases (see below). Two rather general concepts are the following: the term landscape denotes “the arrangement and interaction of peoples and places in space and time” and are thus “spatial correlates of human behaviours”.⁸ “Landscape can be seen as a specific segment

John: Critical Geography and the Construction of an Ancient Space (Leiden/Boston 2016), 50–86.

6 W.J.T. Mitchell, ‘Introduction’, in W.T.J. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power* (Chicago and London 1994, repr. 2002), 1–4. Tilley 1994 op. cit. (n. 3), 35–70 on the social construction of landscapes in small-scale societies representing and influencing power relations.

7 Etymology cited by P. Gruppuso and A. Whitehouse, ‘Exploring taskscape: An introduction’, *Social Anthropology – Anthropologie Sociale* 28 (2020), 588–597, here 591. They discuss the influential, different landscape theories of T. Ingold 2013, op. cit. (n. 3) and K. Olwig, cf. K.R. Olwig, ‘Performing on the landscape versus doing landscape: Perambulatory practice, sight and the senses of belonging’ in T. Ingold and J.L. Vergunst (eds.), *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on the Foot* (Aldershot 2008), 81–91. M. Teichmann, *Mensch und Landschaft im südwestlichen Latium in der römischen Antike* (Wien 2017), 17–28 presents a critical overview of landscape archaeology approaches categorised into contemporary “Schulen”.

8 Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 4), 6 and *ibid.* “Usages of the term are also bound together by an emphasis upon landscape as a *social* product, the consequence of a collective human transformation of the physical environment. Human activity, human involvement forms the key element: landscape is ‘never simply a natural space’” with the last words referring to J.B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven 1984), 7–8.

of space, constructed through permanent processes of meaning-making and boundary-production, and is therefore always connected with multiple perceptions.”⁹ Davidovic therefore recommends that a researcher should qualify the usage of the word by an attribute, or address specific ecological and physical elements, or use terms other than environment. The major difference in the usage (and definition) of the term “landscape” arises when it comes to addressing either the cultural product or the physical entity. However, temporality, interrelatedness and processes of development and change are part of both concepts – the *physis* as well as the cultural construct. Whatever definition one applies, landscapes are simply shaped by human activity – the “physical” by more or less intensive interventions in an environment, the “imagined” by an artist or an author, and all of them combined by the observer’s perspective, which ultimately decides which landscape “exists”.

The interactions, perceptions and traditions of social groups have a different impact on landscapes.¹⁰ The human imprints in an environment such as the division and organisation of land into areas of sacred use or agricultural production are determined by natural conditions of geomorphology and climate, and the human conditions of social structures and symbolic systems.¹¹ The landscape created in this manner is not static as long as social activities take place. In turn, such a landscape has an impact on the determinants and can thus also influence, for example, the climate, soil quality, social structure, demography and political organisation. Landscape is therefore not just “qualitative and heterogeneous”, but also “a contoured and textured surface replete with diverse objects” in which every new “addition” is a “reworking”.¹²

9 A. Davidovic, ‘On melting grounds. Theories of the landscape’, in Haug et al. 2018, op. cit. (n. 5), 53–72, here 53.

10 A very wide appropriation of the term was chosen by the initiators of ‘Graduate School for Human Development in Landscapes’ (GSHDL) at the German University of Kiel, see J. Müller, ‘Landscape and the GSHDL, 2007–2017: Ten years of research’, in Haug et al. 2018, op. cit. (n. 5), 17–36. They defined four “spheres of landscapes” 1) ritual landscape (cult activities, holy places and monuments, burial practices etc.); 2) social landscape (social strategy and behaviour, social stratification, political institutions etc.); 3) economical landscape (food production, clothing, house building, urbanization, craftsmanship etc.); 4) ecological landscape (climate; geomorphology, soils, vegetation, humans etc.). Another publication of this GSHDL was published in 2012 by 11 doctoral students: F. Förster et al., ‘What is a landscape? Towards a common concept within an interdisciplinary research environment’, *eTopoi* 3 (2012), 169–179. For a less integrating, sharper distinction of the term, see Th. Meier, ‘Umweltarchäologie – Landschaftsarchäologie’, *Historia Archaeologica* 70 (2009), 697–734, underlining that landscape-studies are related to a historical approach, whereas environmental studies are more related to the sciences.

11 Müller 2018, op. cit. (n. 10), 25.

12 Ingold 1993, op. cit. (n. 3), 154.

Underlining the temporality of the landscape, Ingold's ideas are paring the idea of accumulation, dynamics and hybridity of objects in the above mentioned third space theory. Ingold and others insist that a separation between the notions of culture and nature does not make sense at the level of landscape definition. Most obviously, the tradition of literary and artful products would evolve. Following this convincing assumption, the landscape of *exempli gratia* Campania changed after the publication of after Statius's poems not only in the world of the *literati*, but also for the educated public in historical times as well as our own.¹³

The notion of landscape therefore has four coordinates 1) space, 2) time, 3) one or more 'historical' actor(s) or social interactions, 4) the (modern) observer, defining the landscape as such. In the landscape-context, (modern) observation thus takes the role of Paasi's "external recognition" in shaping space as a region.¹⁴ Insofar, this volume inscribes itself in the long list of landscape studies as one study of "the temporality of the landscape revisited".¹⁵ This includes material as well as imagined spaces, though both reflect an "interim outcome of a long-standing and complex interplay" of agents, structures and processes.¹⁶ We should be aware that, at least in the material world, nature and climate are agents as well, taking part in the creation of a landscape not just once but over time. Landscapes are more than the outcome of human action and experience; they are the outcome of a process in which humans "integrate their physical environment in their understanding of the world".¹⁷ The following selection of characteristics and aspects is primarily intended to offer the

13 With further references see J.L. Smolenaars, 'Ideology and poetics along the Via Domitiana: Statius Silv. 4.3', in R.R. Nauta (ed.), *Flavian Poetry* (Leiden 2006), 223–244; A. Agoustakis, 'Campania in the Flavian poets' Imagination', in A. Agoustakis and R.J. Littlewood (eds.), *Campania in the Flavian Poetic Imagination* (Oxford 2019), 3–12.

14 A. Paasi, 'The resurgence of the "region" and "regional identity": Theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe', *Review of International Studies* 35 (2009), 121–146, here 133–137, the other ingredients for defining a region are territory, borders, institutions and symbols. F. Carlà-Uhink, *The 'Birth' of Italy: The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region, 3rd–1st Century BCE* (Berlin 2017), 15–18 engages with Paasi's concept and applies aspects of it profitably to his study of Roman Italy.

15 D. Hicks, 'The temporality of the landscape revisited', *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49 (2016), 5–22.

16 J. Kolen and J. Renes, 'Landscape biographies: key issues', in J. Kolen, J. Renes and R. Hermans, *Landscape Biographies. Geographical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on the Production and Transmission of Landscapes* (Amsterdam 2015), 21–48, here 28.

17 J. McNerney and I. Sluiter, 'General introduction', in J. McNerney and I. Sluiter, (eds.), *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity. Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination* (Leiden and Boston 2016), 1–21, here 2.

larger framework, both for the landscapes and for the variants and modalities of *Impact of the Roman Empire* discussed in the present volume.

2 Social and Economic Aspects

Roman aggressive, imperialistic activities concerned forced population movements such as those of the *Ubii*, *Cananefatii* or *Nemetii* in the early first century CE),¹⁸ colonisation and land distribution.¹⁹ These measures had an immediate impact on social relations and the economic systems. The results of land division (*centuriae*), the distribution of quality land to settlers and the notification of undistributed land were put on public display. The overall volume and size of plots of the allocated land depended on the number of settlers, but there existed standards of size in a given time.²⁰ Neighbouring land not divided was called *subseciva*.²¹ The fair distribution was thus demonstrated by centuriation records as well as the correct work of the land surveyors. Later disputes should thus be avoidable as far as possible. The maps and the inscriptions connected with it created a landscape related to the Roman law, which could only be changed by legal intervention.²² Some land division had been massive, under Sulla up to 80,000 veterans were settled in Italy, Pompey's and later Octavian's veterans were rewarded in Italy and in the provinces:²³ making

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- 18 H. Galsterer, 'Gemeinde und Städte in Gallien und am Rhein', in G. Precht and N. Zielsing (eds.), *Genese, Struktur und Entwicklung römischer Städte im 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr. in Nieder- und Obergermanien* (Mainz 2001), 1–9, bes. 4.
- 19 For further literature on centuriation and the distribution of land in the context of colonisation see Günther Schörner in this volume, and B. Campbell, *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum. The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary* (London 2000), XXVII–XLIV with an overview of the antique authors and the contents of the extant collection.
- 20 Campbell 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), XLIV–LXI with a summary of the Roman land division and allocation history in the context of colonisation. Often land plots had the length of 20 *actus* (ca. 706m) per colonist (cf. LVII).
- 21 J. Hettinger, 'Neues zum Kataster von Lacimurga. Die Darstellung der *subseciva* entlang des Ana', *Chiron* 47 (2017), 189–212 presents sources and debates concerning *subseciva* and interprets the visual presentation of the *subseciva* in the Lacimurga-fragment as floodplains of the river Ana, therefore unsuitable for agricultural use.
- 22 Campbell 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), XLV–LIII for the development of surveying. On public documentation and its legal context, see e.g. for Urbicus, Campbell 2000, *ibid.*, XXXII (legal training), Hyginus 1, *ibid.*, XXXV–XXXVI (respect law and seek legal advice); Hyginus 2, *ibid.*, XXXVII (record settlement and document relevant features on bronze map).
- 23 A. Thein, 'Sulla's veteran settlement policy', in F. Daubner (ed.), *Militärsiedlungen und Territorialherrschaft in der Antike* (Berlin 2010), 79–99.

use of the conquered land and the property of the defeated people was less symbolic than real. However, it seems that at least in parts of central and south Italy, the Romans had no plan for an overall reconstruction of these regions after their punitive and ravaging activities.²⁴

The long term effects of this migration and changes in ownership structure on the economic, cultural, and political landscape was a Romanisation in the proper sense of the word. It might have turned though into intercultural exchange by marriages, trade, and interconnectedness and identification of the new settlers with the region. Many less obvious Roman and probably even more pro-, inter- and re-active undertakings by other agents influenced and accelerated, changed or slowed down processes of changes of the social landscape. Such massive social-economic changes are sometimes still visible in the ground and in aerial photography like e.g. in the centuriated field systems visible in the territories of Pola, Iader and Salona in Roman Dalmatia.²⁵

Research based on surveys offer clues to study exploitation intensity and kind. They provide main indicators for changes in social behaviour and economic preferences and choices. Demography and settlement studies allow insights into the life of the populace without reducing them to a conquered population. With a focus on economy, some surveys have revealed that Rome's domination and the possibilities of empire-wide sales markets were by no means a great stimulus for all regions of the *Imperium Romanum*. Furthermore, a large part of the economy remained entrenched in a local context. However, the precise dating of the ceramic data and the respective inference of a corresponding density of the rural population in a specific century and historical context proved challenging.²⁶ Despite these methodological difficulties in biases of attributing data to chronology, there is enough context-related and well-dated material to discern that some regions were among the losers after the integration into the Roman empire. This concerns e.g. parts of Italy in the republican time and the late antique period and some parts of Greece in the

24 E. Bispham, *From Ausculum to Actium. The Municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus* (Oxford 2007), 407–412.

25 For aerial photography and other means and methods of investigation and analysis, see H.A. Orenge, J.M. Palet Martínez, 'Methodological insights into the study of centuriated field systems: a landscape archaeology perspective', *Agri Centuriati* 6 (2009), 171–185.

26 P. Attema, T. de Haas and G. Tol, 'Concluding remarks' in P. Attema, T. de Haas and G. Tol (eds.), *Between Satricium and Antium. Settlement Dynamics in a Coastal Landscape in Latium Vetus* (Leuven 2011), 81–82. Similar, J.A. Barceló and M. Pallarés, 'Beyond GIS: the archaeology of social spaces', *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 9 (1998), 47–80 here 63–69 underline the importance of hypothesizing relationships between activities and findings that produced a specific cluster of objects.

Imperial period.²⁷ For example, the expansion of a port-city might have negative consequences for nearby smaller centres, as seen in the region around Italian Brundisium.²⁸ Global economy seemed to have threatened some of the Italian produces, whereby Trajan introduced protective measures for Italian viniculture. In the provinces, other measures were taken to maintain a solid economic base and with it secure the corresponding tax revenues on land for the Romans, and for customs duties on agricultural products that entered inter-regional trade.²⁹ There was no reason to intervene in the case of land under continuous cultivation, whereas land that was often flooded, washed away or sanded up needed special treatment. In imperial Roman Egypt, there existed short-term lease-contracts for such “substandard land” categories with very low rent in kind or money.³⁰ Here as well as in other provinces, the positive, reinforcing measures consisted of either long-term fiscal relief or tax exemption for a given period of time to those willing to cultivate abandoned land.³¹ The so called early-second century *lex Manciana*, a contract of which copies are known from Africa Proconsularis (*CIL* VIII 25902 with AE 1998, 1579; 2001, 2083) offered, as it seems, attractive sharecropping regulations to farmers on imperial estates in the Bagradas Valley, perhaps to further the intensification

27 Attema, de Haas and Tol 2011, op. cit. (n. 26), 81 summarise for post-archaic, pre-Roman Latium a “sharp decrease in the number of rural sites”, an average performance between 350–30 BCE, and an increase by the Augustan period. See *ibid.*, 71 a distribution map of imperial sites; *ibid.*, 73 reduction in 250–400 CE; *ibid.*, 75 sharp break since 400 CE; Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 4), 91 n. 90, 243 on *agri deserti* and emphyteutic legislation.

28 R. Witcher, ‘The global Roman countryside: Connectivity and community’, in T. de Haas and G. Tol (eds.), *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy. Rural Communities in a Globalizing World* (Leiden 2017), 28–50.

29 As concerns agricultural production and consumers’ preferences and needs, Bang underlines the impact of the extreme geographic variation in the Roman empire and e.g. the erratic rainfall in many regions. Market activities or the potential of such undertakings reflect the ecological conditions as well as social and cultural demands. B.F. Bang, ‘Imperial bazaar: towards a comparative understanding of markets in the Roman empire’, in P.F. Bang, M. Ikeguchi and H.G. Ziche (eds.), *Ancient Economies, Modern Methodologies, Archaeology, Comparative History, Models and Institutions* (Bari 2006), 51–88, esp. 56 discussing arguments of P. Horden and N. Purcell, *Corrupting Sea* (Oxford 2000).

30 J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt. The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996), 80–88 for the filling of vacant tenancies for public land of low quality and little return.

31 See above for imperial Greece (n. 27), for Roman Egypt (n. 30) and for *subseciva* in the provinces (n. 21). For late antique legislation concerning such issues, see D. Bar, ‘Roman legislation as reflected in the settlement history of late antique Palestine’, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24 (2005), 195–206 and Francesco Bono in this volume.

of agriculture.³² Investments in water management and in product processing such as crushing olives, milling grain, cutting wood, extracting stones increased the return of the individual tenant or proprietor as well as the overall economic performance of a region and had an impact on the rural landscape. Efficiency and intensification of labour, e.g. the increased use of draught animals may, however, not always been in the interest of the tenants, who had to invest in donkeys and feed them.³³ In addition, some of the Roman legal arrangements and provisions, such as those for water rights, not only had economic consequences for farmers in rural communities but changed social relationships of neighbours, including those in need of water to increase their private comfort and to decorate their villas with artificial water features.³⁴ Differences in Rome's reaction to regional requests thus depended inter alia on the potential of the environment, the plant regime and water management, and the specific patterns of exploitation as part of agricultural strategies.³⁵

Social groups and interactions determined settlement structures, which had to follow the natural conditions of the land. Geophysical surveys are effective means of "making visible the spatial layout and character of buried remnants of identified settlements and identifying hidden sub-surface traces of human activities in the landscape."³⁶ However, it is difficult to understand and define the quality of rural sites: the remains may have been those of permanent farmsteads or seasonally occupied field houses. Other interpretation patterns have more validity and are connected to the quality and quantity of findings, like the differentiation between nucleated or dispersed settlements and between

32 L. de Ligt, 'Studies in legal and agrarian history I: the inscription from Henchir Mettich and the *Lex Manciana*', *Ancient Society* 29 (1998–1999), 219–229; M. de Vos, 'The rural landscape of Thugga: farms, presses, mills, and transport', in A.K. Bowman (ed.), *The Roman agricultural economy. Organization, investment, and production* (Oxford 2013), 143–218, esp. 146.

33 The tenants-*coloni* of imperial land in North Africa as in Egypt and few other regions had the option of putting pressure on the imperial procurator by threats of leaving the leased imperial land for privately owned land, see D. Kehoe, *The Economics of Agriculture on roman Imperial Estates in North Africa* (Göttingen 1988), 79–90.

34 C.J. Bannon, *Gardens and Neighbors. Private Water Rights in Roman Italy* (Ann Arbor 2009); C. Möller, *Die Servituten. Entwicklungsgeschichte, Funktion und Struktur der grundstückvermittelten Privatrechtsverhältnisse im römischen Recht. Mit einem Ausblick auf die Rezeptionsgeschichte und das BGB* (Göttingen 2010), 78–90 and 317–364.

35 See e.g. De Vos 2013, op. cit. (n. 32); K. Blouin, *Triangular Landscapes. Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule* (Oxford 2014); J.C. Wright, J.L. Davies and J.F. Cherry, 'Foreword', in E.-F. Athanassopoulos, *Landscape Archaeology and the Medieval Countryside. Nemea Valley Archaeological Project 2* (Princeton 2016), VII–X, esp. VIII; Athanassopoulos, *ibid.*, 22–24.

36 Müller 2018 op. cit. (n. 10), 25.

dominance of transhumance or animals in small herds, which allowed easy manuring the fields. These alternatives reflect different agricultural strategies and patterns of land tenure.³⁷ Archaeozoological and botanical data and analysis give insights into land use, choices of crops or market production such as fruits and olives. Findings represented by histograms and period maps open up many research possibilities and methodological approaches to study developments within an area and variations between areas.³⁸ The quality and diversity of data have increased throughout the last decades, not only in terms of the results of surveys and excavations, but also due to new field methodologies, analytical techniques and focal points briefly listed here following de Haas' and Tol's introduction to her Italy-related volume: the intensive off-site field methods, the application of geophysical prospection, refined geo-archaeological and paleo-environmental studies, a new focus on rural sites, the use of ecological sampling and the advancement in digital recording (like photogrammetry) and technologies (like handheld XRF).³⁹

The integration of highly urbanised regions, i.e. parts of Italy, Greece and coastal Asia Minor, the encouraged or enforced urbanisation of some Western and Eastern regions and the administrative structuring in provincial units was of major importance for an effective Roman control of its empire. The wealth and strength of the individual cities with their respective provincial performance as tax-payer and as a multiplier of Roman culture and the imperial cult most often depended on the size of the territories, the quality of the soil and its ecological potential, the size of landed property and the number of its citizens. Densely populated and highly urbanised regions or provinces produced different sacred, demographical, economic, power etc. landscapes compared to remote, soldier-dominated and probably rather poor regions like that around Mainz.⁴⁰

Evidently, settlement structures, land ownership, the distribution of wealth and income and ostentation of status and resources influenced the social landscape. It is also obvious that there existed more manifestations of social life and

37 The two sentences above follow closely the text of Athanassopoulos 2016, op. cit. (n. 35), 22.

38 See e.g. the graphs in Attema, de Haas and Tol 2011, op. cit. (n. 26), 53–80.

39 T. de Haas and G. Tol, 'Introduction', in Haas and Tol 2017 op. cit. (n. 28), 1–12, esp. 2.

40 Moguntiacum near the border of Roman Germania Superior, though, had an enormous theatre not only for the soldiers stationed here. It had harbour facilities and lay at the crossing of two rivers, attractive for traders and important for Roman defense strategies. With rather similar characteristics as concerns the dominance of soldiers in the region, their needs and preferences, military veteran settlement and demographical changes, see M. Fulford, 'Roman Britain: immigration and material culture', in H. Eckardt (ed.), *Roman Diasporas. Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth 2010), 67–78.

social structures such as gender, identity groups, dwellings for slaves or tenants, training grounds for boys or cemeteries, to name but a few. The “landscapes of death” often began immediately outside the gates of a city.⁴¹ The city wall was, however, no dividing line between life (city) and death (cemeteries outside). Burial preparation rituals commenced wherever the death had occurred, be it in- or outside the city walls.⁴² Cemeteries and single funerary monuments were meeting places of the living with the dead rather than inanimate spaces: libation conduits, offering tables, mensa tombs and accommodated banquets attest the ritualised and regular communication in Roman-styled and locally-adapted graveyards. The decision between cremation or inhumation had consequences for the rituals and arrangements of funerary places.⁴³ Diverse locations and topographical conditions, catacombs and hills strewn along overland roads or hidden in the hinterland indicate the great variance in the framework conditions that existed for the landscapes of death – not to mention specific contexts such as that of remembering fallen soldiers without a graveyard but with a monument of victory on the battlefield (*tropaium*). In addition, there were regional traditions in the design of larger tombs and the arrangement of smaller burial grounds.⁴⁴

41 For the terminology of landscapes and the subject of relation of tomb and landscape, see D.L. Stone and L. Stirling, *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa* (Toronto 2007), 3–31 and C. Botturi, “Landscapes of life” and “landscapes of death”: the contribution of funerary evidence to the understanding of the perception and organisation of Roman rural landscapes in northern Italy’, in M.J. Mandich et al. (eds.), *TRAC 2015. Proceedings of the 25th Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford 2016), 43–56.

42 For an introduction into the Roman in contrast to the Greek ritual of death, see I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1992, 31–69 with further literature.

43 Ahrens, S. (2015), “Whether by decay or fire consumed ...”: cremation in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor’, in J.R. Brandt et al. (eds.), *Death and Changing Rituals. Function and Meaning in Ancient Funerary Practices* (Oxford 2015), 185–222, here 200 and 208 on cremation in Greece and western Asia Minor as an acculturation process in the Roman imperial period perhaps in connection with West-East migration at least in the regions Galatia and Paphlagonia. With a different conclusion, P. Johnson, ‘How did the landscape of Pompeiopolis become Roman?’, in K. Winther-Jacobsen and L. Summerer (eds.), *Landscape dynamics and settlement patterns in northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period* (Stuttgart 2015), 61–82: typical rock-cut tombs and new local style burial *tumuli* are part of a Paphlagonian-Roman dialogue, but more important for the impression of a Roman landscape was its prosperity and the density of the settlement. For the (methodological) difficulties to identify immigration by burial style and cemeteries, see J. Pearce, ‘Burial, identity and migration in the Roman world’, in H. Eckardt 2010, op. cit. (n. 40), 79–98.

44 There is an immense amount of publications on the regional aspect of this subject, see e.g. for the Northwestern Provinces, N. Laubry, ‘Aspects de la romanisation en Gaule et

Depending on the focus and research questions, “social landscapes” come to life in different ways. They can be defined by investigating ceramics and gravestones, house structures and ritual or literary spaces. Landscape composed of social structures and symbolic systems represented by objects, interactions and rituals create a “dynamic, functional, and symbolic network”.⁴⁵ It is assumed that there was a connection between objects, texts, people and environment, and that people (living or dead, real or imagined) interacted and communicated within these spaces. Apart from military strength it was, above all, the interconnectedness of administrative structures, geographical spaces, trade routes and communication channels that held the Roman empire together. Accordingly, infrastructure through road construction, politically connoted landmarks such as milestones, but also impressive aqueducts and long-distance water pipes played an important role in the border-transgressing creation of Roman landscapes in Italy and the provinces.

3 Connectivity and Infrastructure Contexts

The organisation of communication, transportation and traveling by overland, riverine and maritime networks was a common feature of pre-modern societies.⁴⁶ Differences in the demand for speed, in the topographical features, the needs for supply of larger communities, the organisational level of the administration, cultural choices of transport preferences and technical provisions and other conditions had a major impact on the road systems. Roman

en Germanie : les monuments et les inscriptions funéraires sous le Haut-Empire’, *Pallas* 80 (2009), 281–305. M. Scholz, *Grabbauten des 1.–3. Jahrhunderts in den nördlichen Grenzprovinzen des Römischen Reiches*, Mainz 2012; S. Esmonde Cleary, ‘Putting the dead in their place: burial location in Roman Britain’, in J. Pearce, M. Millett and M. Struck (eds.), *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World* (Oxford 2015), 127–142; M. Monteil and W. van Andringa, ‘Hoc monumentum maesoleumque: les monuments funéraires dans le paysage des cités des Gaules et des Germanies romaines’, *Gallia* 76 (2019), 1–8.

45 Botturi 2016, op. cit. (n. 41), 51.

46 S.E. Alcock, J. Bodel and R.J.A. Talbert, ‘Introduction’, in S.E. Alcock, J. Bodel and R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World*, New York 2012, 1–11, present an outline of the studies in the volume from the second millennium BCE to the nineteenth century CE and concerns societies on four continents. Even in strong empires like China and Japan, in some periods rich individuals as well as local communities dominated infrastructure work and maintenance (id., 3–4). During the centuries of Roman dominance, communities had to invest and maintain parts of infrastructure, either judicially preassigned or of practical necessity, see e.g. T. Kissel, ‘Road-Building as a *Munus Publicum*’, in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *The Roman Army and the Economy* (Amsterdam 2002), 127–160, here 133–157.

decisions and investments in the development of road networks and of waterways, e.g. by anti-silting measures, caused profound changes to the economy of a region. Not all built infrastructure under a certain regime had to be part of an overall (spatial) planning or the outcome of a requirement analysis. In terms of historical societies and their governments, it is not always possible to evaluate the quantity and quality of the roads, the functionality of the road systems and network-designs compared to previous systems in the same region, to other regions and/or societies. Despite an intensive and decades-long research of Roman roads and networks, there are still methodological problems of classification and functionalities.⁴⁷ These concern such rather banal assessments such as road classifications, in contemporary or later sources described as broad, convenient, highway-type and costly (or in the Roman language as *consularis* or *militaris*). The presumption that the existence of roads ensures safe transport and comfortable travelling merges with the visible structures and changes. One such example is the Venetian plain south of Padua, which was covered by a Roman road network with effects on the environment as well as the visual and emotional but also the economic and political landscape.⁴⁸ In some infrastructure-strong regimes like the Roman, extensive remodelling of the landscape may also have served “to impress upon the population the proud grip imposed by a dominant power” as one interpretation of Inca investment into road building connected to social engineering of reshaped communities and residential areas in the 15–16th centuries has suggested.⁴⁹ The high connectivity of the Roman empire, as a consequence, has boundary transgression of provincial administrative and political structures, not just by its road network, but also by aqueducts passing over and through civic territories.⁵⁰ An augmented transhumant pastoralism by large-scale flocks was part of the augmented Roman demand of animal-products (e.g. wool and meat) and required an extension of pastoral movements.⁵¹

47 For the impact of Roman investment into infrastructure on economy and regional hierarchies, see T. de Haas, ‘The geography of Roman Italy and its implications for the development of rural economies’, in de Haas and Tol 2017, op. cit. (n. 28), 51–82. See Anne Kolb’s contribution in this volume with further literature.

48 M. Matteazzi, *Il paesaggio trasformato. La pianura a sud di Padova tra Romanizzazione e Tarda Antichità* (Oxford 2019), 85–101 and with a broader perspective R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy: Mobility and Cultural Change* (London and New York 1999).

49 C. Julien, ‘The Chinchaysuyu road and the definition of an Inca imperial landscape’, in Alcock, Bodel and Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 46), 147–167. Similar observations of power-messages by roads and milestones in Roman Spain are presented by Camilla Campedelli in this volume.

50 For aqueducts as an important part of this interconnected world of the Roman empire, see Saskia Kerschbaum’s contribution in this volume with further literature for Asia minor.

51 E.g. for some regions in Achaia, Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 4), 87–88; 120.

Social engineering by a central government could also be the objective of forced migration as well as of supporting measures like tax releases for those willing to invest, rebuild or reshape a country shaken by the damages of war or natural disasters. Roman imperial “benefactions”, like tax releases or building activities in Italy and the provinces and rebuilding after damages, was inherent to the paternalistic system of aristocratic and monarchic governments; however, the extent and frequency of investments were not.

Neither the large road network in many provinces and regions of the Roman empire, nor the granting of Roman and Latin city statuses’ or the spreading of Roman citizenship – all with a major impact on the Romanness of the landscape, and the firmness and implicitness of the Roman grip on a region – seem to have been part of a standardised feature or developing trait of Roman imperialism over a longer period of time.⁵² No doubt, the Roman road system extending to circa 100,000 km had a strong impact and was part of the main active forces for the integration and development of the parts of the Roman territory.⁵³ With each volume, the *Impact of Empire*-series as such emphasises that bridges and roads linking all parts of the empire influenced peoples, cultures and politics all along the way and at its ends.⁵⁴ It may go too far to speak of an “orthogonal Roman landscape”, but R. Talbert’s assertion that the Roman emperors and elite were not interested in a systematic or strategic development of the Roman road network on which so much depended in their empire, not only on an administrative and military level, can be doubted as well.⁵⁵ However, Greek-speaking contemporaries from the first century BCE to the late second CE praised the greatness of the empire visible in these infrastructure development and maintenance (e.g. D. H. 3, 67, 5). Less spectacular was the development of rural landscapes, not just because of the establishment

52 Ph. Leveau, ‘Temps, espace et structuration des paysage’, in G. Chouquer (ed.), *Les formes des paysages, Vol. 3 L’analyse des systèmes spatiaux* (Paris 1997), 14–24 draws particular attention to the linear axis of Rome’s structuring of southern Gaul by land lots and road-network creating an orthogonal Roman landscape, whereas areas that were not on the main roads and far from the colonies remained non-orthogonal. By contrast, R. Talbert, ‘Roads not featured: A Roman failure to communicate?’, in Alcock, Bodel and Talbert 2012 op. cit. (n. 46), 235–254 argues that in the republican and imperial period, there existed no data collection, no standard management, no envision of the roads as a comprehensive entity.

53 100,000 km, see Kissel 2002, op. cit. (n. 46), 127. In this context the term „active force” is used by Alcock, Bodel, Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 52), 5.

54 For the IMEM-series and the foci of the volumes, see the list at the end of the contribution of Marietta Horster and Nikolas Hächler in this volume.

55 Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 52). Contra, e.g. A. Kolb, ‘Herrschaft durch Raumerschließung – Rom und sein Imperium’, in O. Dally et al. (ed.), *Politische Räume in vormodernen Gesellschaften. Gestaltung – Wahrnehmung – Funktion*, (Rahden, Westf. 2012), 71–85.

of better connections of countryside and cities and a facilitated transfer of agricultural goods. The regions, integrated into the empire with its network of roads, lost their local orientation and small scale economic function.⁵⁶ This changed any landscape in its ideological framing as well as its physical ends.

From the first to the fourth centuries, the awareness of the importance of the road network as well as the responsibility of supervision and maintenance by the provincial governor is attested by thousands of milestones all over the empire. Crossing landscapes by using roads with rather strong optical, man-made signals, might qualify the perceived environment as Roman. Roman interregional roads were characterised by milestones of more or less similar shape and size, but with slight variants in wording and therewith referred authority. At least in parts of Italy and some provinces, small sanctuaries at crossroads honoured the Roman *Lares compitales* or *Quadriviae* deities.⁵⁷ These deities seem to have a strong integrating effect.

Other inscribed objects turned an impressive “natural” feature into a Roman feature. At the alpine pass Grand St. Bernard, the Celtic god *Poeninus* merged with the supreme Roman god Jupiter and probably soon lost its Celtic character, but not its name (*Jupiter Optimus Maximus Poeninus* and similar). Next to the road of this important pass, he was venerated in a Roman temple as a Roman god with Celtic roots into the fourth century CE by Latin inscribed votive tablets.⁵⁸ At least at some of the *stationes* at the *limes* and near the border along the large roads in the provinces, soldiers were stationed for the control of goods and people, thus providing a massive, perhaps even positive Roman impact while travelling, offering greater safety for travellers. Next to these small garrisons, inscribed altars were offered to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*

56 R.B. Hitchner, ‘Roads, integration, connectivity, and economic performance in the Roman empire’, in Alcock, Bodel and Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 46), 222–234, esp. 230.

57 For the integrating aspect of the shrines at crossroads and the popular cult of the *Lares* in the city of Rome, see H. Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner*, Princeton 2017, 253–254; for the Italian inscribed evidence of a cult of *Lares* at *compita*, *ibid.*, 226–233. For altars (not sanctuaries, as it seems) at crossroads and non-identifiable other places offered to the tutelary gods of travel, boundaries and roads in the two *Germaniae* provinces, see D. Schmitz, ‘Weihbezirke an Wegekreuzungen? Inschriften zu den Wegegöttinnen und archäologischer Befund: das Fallbeispiel Nieder- und Obergermanien’, in A. Busch and A. Schäfer (eds.), *Römische Weihealtäre im Kontext: Internationale Tagung in Köln vom 3.–5. Dezember 2009* (Friedberg 2014), 281–299.

58 Votive tablets name *Poeninus*: e.g. *CIL* v 6866; *InscrIt* 11/1, 87. 90. *Jupiter Poeninus*: e.g. *CIL* v 6867; *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Poeninus*: e.g. *CIL* v 6865, 6868–9; *InscrIt* 11/1, 93.

by the *beneficarii*, the respective head of such a small group of soldiers, thus Romanising such a landscape in a religious way.⁵⁹

Roads marked a landscape as Roman not because they were built by Romans and laid throughout the Roman empire. Roads were Roman because of their density in comparison to previous road systems, because of their solid paving, their having such marked signs as milestones with or without Latin inscriptions, because they allowed commodities such as *garum*, wine and olive oil to be transported from one Roman province to another. Perhaps more important was the role of communication and social connectivity as Roman roads linked Roman cities, *villae rusticae* and military camps, Roman business partners, religious groups, families and friends.⁶⁰ The *tabernae*, lodgings, and changing stations (*mutationes*) along the long roads were used by Romans and non-Romans, by rich and poor, by private and official travellers.

Around 300 CE, the Antonine Itinerary counted over 700 roads. Its long lists with precise distance indications in Roman miles “visualised” the connectivity of the empire not through a map, but a register, integrating some 2000 smaller settlements and larger cities in this Roman road network.⁶¹ The registers list road sections from one city to another; provincial boundaries have no consequences for the road registers. The roads depicted by words as well as in the roads outside in the landscape connected people within the empire as a whole,⁶² whereas many of the stations mentioned above with their Roman

59 E. Schallmayer, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1990): e.g. from Osterburken *CBI* 148 *Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno Regina*, the *Genius loci*, and all other gods; *CBI* 149 the same selection excluding the other gods; *CBI* 500 the same choice of gods as in 149, including *Mars Exalbiovicus*. For the stations, their functions and the garrisoned soldiers see, J. Nelis-Clément, *Les beneficiarii: militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire (I^{er} s.a.C.–VI^e s.p.C.)* (Bordeaux 2000), 133–210.

60 Connectivity is discussed by Hitchner 2012, op. cit. (n. 56), who underlines the (methodological) difficulties to link Roman infrastructure and flow of goods. See as well the papers of Filippo Carlà-Uhink and Anne Kolb in this volume pointing to different concepts of connectivity during republic and empire and empire-related visions of roads in Italy (Carlà-Uhink) and the provinces (Kolb).

61 For a discussion of the function of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, see B. Löhberg, *Das “Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti”: Ein kaiserzeitliches Straßenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches*, Berlin 2006, 1–3; M. Maas and R. Derek, ‘Road connectivity and the structure of ancient empires: A Case Study from Late Antiquity’, in Alcock, Bodel and Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 46), 255–264.

62 Löhberg 2006, op. cit. (n. 61), 49 the longest terrestrial connection starts in Rome and ends in Upper Egypt after 6,098 km, another such long “road” is the route from Carthage to Alexandria with 2,739 km.

military and religious context were social and visual markers next to the near border outside of the empire.

Borders of territories (cities, provinces or the Roman empire) and (Roman or local) institutions have an important impact on creating a regional identity.⁶³ Cult and sanctuaries are one of the institutions which greatly identify a community or group. Within a few generations, the locally dominated Italian sacred landscape was changed with and by Rome's expansion in the republican period;⁶⁴ the impact on the provinces started later, took a longer time and had different results in the West, East, North and South of the empire. On the surface and compared to other regions of the empire, there were no major changes for the structure based on the Nile-economy of Roman Egypt compared to the Ptolemaic period.⁶⁵ However, even in a province such as Egypt, shifts of size and composition of administrative units or frequentation of the long distance roads were connected to changes of religious preferences and therewith the sacred landscape. The Roman emperor had to be worshipped instead of the Hellenistic king and the relationship between the Egyptian-Hellenistic religious traditions and the *interpretatio Romana* of some cults was renegotiated. There have also been demographic changes in Alexandria and some other regions of Egypt and with it ritual traditions not only in the religious sector.

4 Ritual Performance and Religious Facets

Rituals, ritual performances and practices are not reduced to cult-related activities, but to religious, judicial and political public and many private activities determined by a sequence of gestures, words and actions.⁶⁶ In this broad

63 Boundaries, but e.g. also institutions and symbols as important agents in creating a regional identity are presented by A. Paasi, 'The resurgence of "region" and "regional identity". Theoretical reflections with empirical illustrations', in R. Barndon, A. Engevik jr. and I. Øye (eds.), *The Archaeology of Regional Technologies. Case Studies from the Palaeolithic to the Age of the Vikings* (Lewiston et al. 2009), 15–33.

64 For cult and sacred places as internal identity-support, see T. Stek, 'Cult, conquest, and "religious Romanization". The Impact of Rome on Places and Religious Practices in Italy', in T. Stek and G.J. Burgers (eds.), *The Impact of Rome on Cult Places and Religious Practices in Ancient Italy* (London 2015), 1–28. For detailed studies on these changes, see T. Stek, *Cult places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy: A contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society after the Roman Conquest* (Amsterdam 2009).

65 However, even in Roman Egypt, there were considerable changes of land tenure regulations, administrative geography, and social ramifications inter alia as responses to environmental behaviour and fiscal challenges, Blouin 2014, op. cit. (n. 36).

66 V.P.J. Arponen and A. Ribeiro, 'Ritual and landscape. Theoretical considerations', in Haug et al. 2018, op. cit. (n. 5), 73–84 give a short insight into the potential of post-processual archaeological approaches for the interdisciplinary analysis of ritual landscapes.

context, the fixed founding rituals, those for land division, the innumerable rites in the context of sowing and harvesting, thanksgiving rituals offered to the gods after a journey or because of childbirth, ritual processions outside of the city to a rural sanctuary – all of these mark the territories outside the city walls. Focussing on the religious aspect, performances and ritual are but one aspect of forming a “sacred landscape”, but the most difficult to grasp by archaeological, historical and philological methods of research.⁶⁷

Related to the broad areas of ritual and religious studies, sacred landscape-studies have become a research area of their own.⁶⁸ They incorporate two main vantage points. The first concerns the location, the presentation and architectural features, the meaning and offers of interpretation and the relevance of sanctuaries and cult places for a given group or society and their relationship with others. An exemplary field of research is Cyprus questioning the relatedness of local insular tradition and the global imperial impact during the Roman period:⁶⁹ “The number of sanctuaries surviving into or built during the Roman period suggest that extra-urban sanctuaries within the new unified political organisation eventually lost one of their most important connotations: their ‘territorial’ implication.” Papantoniou claims that these sanctuaries were marginalised losing their rural visitors due to changes in settlement patterns in the first century CE. Moreover, Cyprus was ‘provincialised’ with shifts of reference points to a Rome-related history and Rome-focused local elite policy, creating new memories and traditions. Most often, this kind of landscape-approach concerns material and art historians studies, yet with wide ranging consequences for the interpretation of religious notions, beliefs

67 C. Moser, ‘The architecture of changing sacrificial practices in Pre-Roman and Roman Gaul’, in S.E. Alcock, M. Egri and J.F.D. Frakes (eds.), *Beyond Boundaries. Connecting Visual Cultures in the Provinces of Ancient Rome* (Los Angeles 2016), 174–189 discusses if changes in offering practices and sacrifices had consequences for the organisation of the sacred space in which the rituals take place.

68 For the Greek context, see M. Horster, ‘Religious landscape and sacred ground: Relationships between space and cult in the Greek world’, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 227 (2010), 435–458; for the Greek imperial period, Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 4), 172–214. Since 2011, A.K. Vionis, G. Papantoniou and others are researching on developments of the sacred landscape of Cyprus from iron age to the Christian era, e.g. G. Papantoniou, ‘Cyprus from *basileis* to *strategos*: A sacred-landscape approach’, *AJA* 117 (2013), 33–57, here 33 he “explores how spatial order (i.e., the hierarchical arrangement of sites), as observed in sacred landscapes, is expected to articulate social order and to be linked with shifting relations of power and cultural influence in an ancient Cypriot context.” An excellent introduction into the subject is provided in chapter 2 of C. Williams, *Urban Rituals in Sacred Landscapes in Hellenistic Asia Minor*, Leiden and Boston 2021, investigating into the country sanctuaries and ritual connectedness of the territories and cities of Mylasa, Labraunda, Sinuri, Stratonikeia and Lagina.

69 Papantoniou 2013, op. cit. (n. 68), 52.

and norms. Since the 1990s, the study of sacred landscapes in the Roman context takes into account settlement patterns, imaginary worlds and conceptions of the ancients.⁷⁰ This broader religious and cult-related perspective of landscapes is implemented for the study of all types of texts, from documents to poetry (e.g. inscribed votive, 'sacred laws', literature from Hesiod to late antique church history). Pausanias' second-century CE *Periegesis* is a special case as his text centres around informing about sacred places and cult rituals of the Pre-Roman period, at the same time transporting religious notions of his contemporary Roman Greece.⁷¹ In Pausanias' vision of ancient Greece, strength and greatness of a now (nearly) lost world is still audible in stories (which he therefore tells), and visible for his imperial period contemporaries in briefly mentioned or sometimes extensively described sanctuaries and places of worship. Pausanias' text constantly refers to the extra-textual reality and reminds his readers of cult-related role models, of heroes worshipping the gods and of famous creators of rituals.⁷² He underlines the local and emblematic specialties and curiosities as the (inter)national traditions and relatedness of the Greeks within religion and cult practice. The latter is one of the essential foundations for an alternative perspective on sacred landscapes. This field of research attempts to grasp the performative aspect of cult and religious expression, not only through texts and images, but also by examining the finds from a sanctuary. Archaeozoology, for example, has made an important contribution here. However, the analysis of animal bones in sanctuaries has given rise to further investigations of sacrificial practices (e.g. absence of specific bones, size and number of altars), communal feasting (places, hierarchies of participants, arrangements), gender-based preferences (gender, age and size of sacrificed animals) and concepts of the divine and individual gods (kind and frequency of offers). Sacred landscapes created by material objects and (alleged) ritual activities are based on religion and geography at a particular point in time. They reflect the socio-political mediation of the participants involved and of those absent and refer to the institutional organisation of a group or society.

70 E.g. by Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 4), 175–181 on Roman Greece, by Papantoniou 2013 op. cit. (n. 68) on Roman Cyprus. T. Derks, 'The transformation of landscape and religious representation in Roman Gaul', *Archaeological Dialogues* 4 (1997), 126–147, esp. 145, with a discussion of his arguments, *ibid.*, 148–163; Stek 2009 op. cit. (n. 64) for Italy.

71 V. Pirenne-Delforge, 'Ritual dynamics in Pausanias: The Laphria', in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World* (Liège 2006), 111–129 with an exemplary study on the relatedness of space and ritual in Pausanias.

72 For Pausanias' religious sights as a literary space of stories, see J. Akujärvi, 'Pausanias', in I. de Jong (ed.), *Space in Ancient Greek Literature, Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* 3 (Leiden/Boston 2012), 235–255, here 238–240.

Connected by architecture, ritual, landscape, human behaviour etc., this kind of network is dynamic and open for development. Some objects, architectures or texts might have triggered specific mind-sets or memories, integrating them into the mental map of religion, cult or ritual of the respective visitors of the sanctuary, user of the object, participant in the ritual or reader of the text. In the case of textual evidence rather than material findings, the ritual and sacred landscapes, as e.g. created by Strabo's, Pausanias', Vergil's or Tacitus' works, follow other compositional features and reflect the (social) world of objects and literature. The dynamic lies in the revisited landscape of the reader and interactive reading process. Although the ancient educated readers had a common library with the most important texts and authors as a basis, further readings differed greatly, probably according to personal preferences, experiences and individual social and professional life and life time. Our reduced knowledge of the world of texts read e.g. by the elite members living in Southern Gaul in the mid-second century CE, reduces the potential and openness of the texts that have survived the medieval and byzantine selection processes.

5 Creativity, Innovation and Tradition

Literature creates landscapes in more than one sense. Narrated space-forming landscapes are an important medium to "devise (spatially) coherent worlds".⁷³ Country settings may as well be combined with stylistic features like purity (mountain springs), roughness (mountains) or decoration (flowers and idylls).⁷⁴ There are geographically defined genres, such as the classical Attidography or late republican Strabo's geography.⁷⁵ Some motives like travelling and wandering require landscape-settings as a combination of spatial, ethnographical, adventurous and/or civilising storytelling.⁷⁶ According to de Jong, there are several literary strategies of why and how to introduce space, similar to the mirror function of synoptic descriptions or of a person's character, and the symbolic function charging a scene with an additional meaning, transporting

73 M. Skempis and I. Ziogas, 'Introduction. Putting epic space in context', in M. Skempis and I. Ziogas (eds.), *Geography, Topography, Landscape. Configurations of Space in Greek and Roman Epic* (Berlin et al. 2013), 1–18.

74 N. Worman, *Landscape and the Spaces of Metaphor in Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism* (Cambridge 2015), 2–6.

75 K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford 1999), 193–244 for Strabo.

76 Skempis and Ziogas 2013, op. cit. (n. 73), 5 with further literature for Greek and Roman traditions including narratives of colonization grounded in mythical structures.

values and emotions.⁷⁷ Literary landscapes are rooted in narratology traditions of a detailed ekphrasis sometimes having an ornamental function, sometimes, as is the case in Latin epic, leading to action or preparing a change in the storyline.⁷⁸ Setting a story in a real place, the author offers familiarity to his readers, whatever fantastic and novelistic turns the narrative will take.⁷⁹ Place names and etiological explanations transform a space into a landscape. Such narratives join heroes or people and stories with a spatial configuration, transforming and appropriating the landscape.⁸⁰ Quite explicit in the *Aeneid*, Virgil connects Roman political power of his days with a teleologically narrated certainty that all of Italy (even before it existed as a unit) was destined to come under Roman rule (*Aen.* 1.279).

The following passages reduce the multifaceted aspects of literary creativity to but few aspects of the representation of (civilised) nature and landscapes in which social interaction takes place. Italian Campania is a good example to start, as it is the historical setting as well as the narrated space of the second Punic war with humiliation and losses for the Romans, and it continues to be a battlefield during the Civic wars of the first century BCE.⁸¹ It becomes a leisure landscape, a place of retreat and a *locus amoenus* for the rich and educated Romans during the late republic and the early empire – in a “real” world as villa architecture attests, as well as in epistles and poetry.⁸² In such a landscape, educated men and literary circles meet, literary competition and criticism takes

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- 77 I.J.F. de Jong, ‘Introduction: narratological theory on space’, in I.J.F. de Jong (ed.), *Space in Ancient Greek Literature* (Leiden 2012), 1–18, here 13–17. Most of the general functions work for Latin literature as well, W. Fitzgerald, E. Spentzou, ‘Introduction’, in W. Fitzgerald, E. Spentzou (eds.), *The Production of Space in Latin Literature*, Oxford 2018, 2–21.
- 78 T. Behm, ‘Landscapes in Latin epic’, in C. Reitz and S. Finkmann (eds.), *Structures of Epic Poetry. Vol. 1: Foundations* (Berlin 2019), 325–359 with further references. Longer landscape descriptions or a short spatial setting may foreshadow the action; the character of a landscape gets more prominence when heroes are in search of the “right” place like Vergil for Aeneas or Ovid and Claudian for Ceres.
- 79 I. de Jong, *Narratology and Classics: A Practical Guide* (Oxford 2014), 108.
- 80 M. Skempis, ‘Phenomenology of space, place names and colonization in the “Caieta–Circe” sequence of *Aeneid* 7’, in Skempis and Ziogas 2013, op. cit. (n. 73), 291–324 argues with Virgil’s semanticisation of spaces and aims to demonstrate “how literary relations merge into spatial configurations” (p. 292). For the rather slow development of the idea (and for the language used for it) of Italy as a geographical unit see Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 14).
- 81 E.g. for the Punic War landscape setting in poetry: Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 7 and historiography: Livy 23.45. For Campania in different literary genres, see E. Stärk, *Kampanien als geistige Landschaft: Interpretationen zum antiken Bild des Golfs von Neapel*, München 1995.
- 82 E.g. Domitian’s villas in Mart. 5.1.1–6. See, C. Connors, ‘Imperial space and time: the literature of leisure’, in O. Taplin (ed.), *Literature in the Greek & Roman Worlds. A New Perspective* (Oxford 2000), 492–518; D. Spencer, *Roman Landscapes: Culture and Identity* (Cambridge 2010), 62–134 for the manifold meanings given to villa landscapes in Italy by

place, and it provides the perfect setting for literary production.⁸³ Pliny's *Tu felix ille Campania* (Plin. *Nat.* 3.60) refers to this and much more: Campania is also the agriculturally rich, green and lovely countryside of the Flavian period as described by Plinius the Elder, Statius and Martial. From time to time, it shows its dangerous side with the outbreak of the Vesuvius, most destructive in 79 CE. However, besides the volcano, Campania has a dark side with the Italian entry to the Underworld in the Phlegraean fields and the bay of Naples with its fabulous grottos seduce men of power and wealth to extravagances of all kinds, sometimes damaging the reputation of other wealthy men or even emperors.⁸⁴ The poet Statius presents his native region Campania for its beauty, history and cultural values and praises the emperor Domitian for his investment into infrastructure, building the road *Via Domitiana* that connected Rome with Puteoli.⁸⁵

Sometimes, it is not a specific landscape like Campania, but an all embracing category or keyword that is sufficient to create a literary spatial setting. Defeated Greek general Polybius' motivation to write his 'History' is grounded in Rome's subjection of almost the entire inhabited world within a short time of less than 53 years (Pol. 1.1.5).⁸⁶ The keyword *oikumene* is enough to reduce and appropriate an enormous space to a Roman landscape.⁸⁷ This is Polybius' narrated space – the inhabited, Roman dominated world. In this spatial context, he is programmatically interested in measuring this world. Therefore, he presents distances and landscapes for battle narratives as a kind of technically appropriate geographical information.⁸⁸ Some 200 years later, another representative of a conquered people, Flavius Josephus, takes a decidedly different perspective. He does not tell a Roman story to the Greeks (or in his case the Jews), but a Jew's story to the Romans (and Greeks). In a context of historiography and war narratives similar to those of Polybius, Flavius Josephus rather

Cicero, Varro, Columella, Statius and Pliny the Younger. See as well Anne Gangloff's paper in this volume.

- 83 A. Augoustakis, 'Campania in the Flavian poets' Imagination', in A. Augoustiakakis and R.J. Littlewood (eds.), *Campania in the Flavian Poetic Imagination* (Oxford 2019), 3–12.
- 84 É. Wolff, 'Martial and Campania', in Augoustakis 2019, op. cit. (n. 83), 75–82.
- 85 Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 13); Augoustakis 2019, op. cit. (n. 13), 8.
- 86 Clarke 1999, op. cit. (n. 75), 98–101 Polybius, a self-confident author and historiographer, admires the Roman conquerors but does not adopt the Roman standpoint keeping the Greek (conquered) one. For poetic perspectives on centre (Rome, Italy) and periphery (Egypt and other provinces), see W. Fitzgerald, 'The space of the poem', in W. Fitzgerald, E. Spentzou (eds.) op. cit. (n. 77), 147–166.
- 87 Clarke 1999, op. cit. (n. 75), 77–128: Polybius "subordinates space to time" (p. 119), to narrate a continuous story of the unification of the world by the Romans. With *oikumene* Polybius defines an enclosed, defined space: the inhabited world, whereas Virgil's *imperium sine fine* (Verg. *Aen.* 1.279) attributes Rome an open, unlimited space. Cf. V. Rimell, *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics. Empire's Inward Turn* (Cambridge 2015), 28–31.
- 88 T. Rood, 'Polybius', in de Jong 2012, op. cit. (n. 72), 179–197.

speaks of the beauty of his home country and the stories connected to Judaea and Israel. He entangles these narrated landscapes with Jewish perspectives and history, as if to prevent these landscapes from becoming Roman within a Roman province as part of the Roman empire.⁸⁹ In contrast to the provincial perspective of Josephus, in the world of poetry at least, some authors with a Roman perspective have built metaphorical bridges between the provincial, yet “uncivilised” world and Roman culture with landscape settings, like a frozen river allowing the crossing between cultural and mental borders.⁹⁰ One should keep in mind that not only rivers and other ‘natural’ features or heroes and literary (historical or imagined) personae leave their traces in the narrated landscapes, but the authors as well. In this perspective, narrated Latium has become Virgil’s landscape, Aeneas’ mythological-poetic property as well as Rome’s spatial future.

In many ways, art has an analogous framework for literary production and reception and similar modes for the process to create a landscape. In contrast to verbal art, the aspect of intercultural interaction was a strong stimulus for creativity in the visual arts. Spatiality is another big difference influencing the creation and perception of an artefact. Art is linked to the space in which it is presented, to the function of the wall in a room adorned by a painting and to the social and geographical framework in which the room itself is located. An assemblage of several art works creates new effects for all and for each of them, and this interaction changes the perception of the viewer. Therefore, when examining the iconographic elements of a landscape, its integration into the social and spatial context is important. Unfortunately, this is often not possible because the necessary information is unknown.⁹¹

Metallanguage is strong enough to describe varieties, effects, modalities and functions of literary landscapes; however, it seems more appropriate to transport a more ‘visualising’ effect by using a different language to get an exemplary impression of such aspects connected to landscapes of artworks:⁹² “In the late 70s CE, dinner guests arriving at the large Pompeian house known today as the

89 Von der Bruegge 2016, op. cit. (n. 5), 36–38; 45–50 with further references to Josephus’ creation of a “land of the Jews” as a “Josephan national geography”.

90 C. Pieper, ‘Polyvalent Tomi: Ovid’s landscape of relegation and the Romanization of the Black Sea region’, in McInerney and Sluiter 2016, op. cit. (n. 17), 408–430.

91 A short overview of developments in studies of paintings in antiquity within the last decades is provided by M.E. Fuchs, ‘Regards sur la peinture antique’, *Perspective. Actualité en histoire de l’art* 2010, 249–256, but see as well further literature in Abigail Walker’s paper in this volume.

92 Barrett op. cit. (n. 2), 1 in his prologue before he starts his analysis of the Aegyptica-fashion in Pompeii. For Pompeian painted landscapes, see Walker op. cit. (n. 91).

'Casa dell' Efebo' would have found themselves navigating a landscape at once both foreign and familiar. Within the garden stood a pleasant outdoor dining area: a masonry triclinium shaded from the afternoon heat by a vine-covered canopy. Splashing water from a nearby fountain filled a small channel to the triclinium benches, creating the impression that the diners were reclining on a riverbank. Outdoor dining areas of this type were a familiar sight in Roman Italy, but certain aspects of this particular installation simultaneously suggest more distant landscapes. As visitors came closer to the triclinium, they would have noticed a painted frieze on its benches depicting scenes of festival, cult, and banqueting along the banks of the Nile. The characters populating this painted landscape would have struck Pompeian viewers as unusual in a number of ways. Depicted as dwarfs or pygmies, their very bodies mark them as fundamentally different from their presumed viewers. Their behaviours, too, seem intended to be read as 'exotic,' 'foreign' customs: they perform worship before Egyptian animal gods, do battle with crocodiles and even engage in public sexual acts on the riverbank." Vivid and exotic banqueting in the painting and noisy, smelling, tasting "real" banqueting in front of the frieze merged and probably created something completely different than what was so nicely described by Barrett: perhaps crocodile-look-alike pastry was served during dinner by Egyptian-clothed servants creating an evening in an Italo-Egyptian setting ... However, often enough, literature was also taken out of the individual reading room and was read aloud or performed for a group. Whereas modern investigations of literary antique landscapes take into account the individual recreating process while reading, the performative and contextualised event (in a banquet context, in the *otium-villa* or in busy Rome) for an individual or a group is often forgotten. It seems, as if space and performative, cultural and social context also had an impact on the potential (emotional or intellectual or both) interpretation of a literary landscape, as it did on that of an artwork. And, finally, commissioned work plays an important role in art-created landscapes,⁹³ whereas this is also known for poetry, it is less manifest in literature, as copies could transcend time and space and access to originals, visual or textual was but rare.⁹⁴

93 However, N.B. Jones, *Paintings, Ethics, and Aesthetics in Rome* (Cambridge 2019), 137–178 argues that artists had the freedom for innovation of genres and themes in mythological and landscape painting, and an engagement with the subject of representation in panel painting.

94 On the rare access to originals and the role of copies see, J.P. Small, 'Visual copies and memory', in A. Mackay (ed.), *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World* (Leiden 2007), 227–251.

Similar to wall paintings, mosaics are the result of artwork and technical craft. Nile motifs as those mentioned in wall paintings as part of the Aegyptiaca-fashion are known from mosaics as well. Both, paintings and mosaics respond to the taste and wishes of the client, probably offering and creating what is modern or fashionable. In a Roman styled villa, mosaics offered a flat and waterproof surface with decoration. Such decorated, often artful floors were to become an important means to display the wealth, status and taste of the owner of the house,⁹⁵ even more so in provinces of the Roman empire, where there had existed no pre-Roman experience and production tradition, like in Roman Germany or Britain in contrast to Greece and Italy. The very few late antique 'maps' that have survived as mosaics are often interpreted in a cartographic and political context, but they are also decorative and artful representations of landscapes comparable to a Nile or maritime or garden motif representation. The sixth-century Madaba map is such a floor mosaic of a church.⁹⁶ Because of its ecclesiastical context, it was interpreted as an idiosyncratic Christian world view with a selection of geographical conditions (rivers, deserts, mountains) and social forms of organisation (cities, villages) often represented by city walls and churches.⁹⁷ Many of the maps that existed on papyrus and parchment (Suet *Dom.*10.3) were not preserved.⁹⁸ Other Roman census or city-related maps, such as the *Forma Urbis Romae* of the Severan period, were carved in marble or engraved in bronze.⁹⁹ Such maps seem to have had an

95 An overview of mosaics as part of Rome-related intercultural negotiation is given by W. Wooton, 'A portrait of the artist as a mosaicist under the Roman empire' in Alcock, Egri and Frakes 2016, op. cit. (n. 67), 62–83. For the mosaicists workshops and individual craftsmen in a Roman provincial Eastern setting with previous longstanding non-Roman mosaic-traditions, see R.J. Sweetman, *The Mosaics of Roman Crete* (Cambridge 2013), 116–136. Sweetman does not use the term 'landscape' when describing motives and genres but speaks e.g. of a "marine scenes" with fishermen at a shore (ibid., 189).

96 The 'Madaba map' is a floor mosaic in the Saint Georg Church of Madaba in Jordan. Originally, it measured 21 × 7m of which 16 × 5m are still existent. H. Donner and H. Cüppers *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba* (Wiesbaden 1977). It covers the modern states of Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Egypt and the Palestinian territories.

97 B. Leal, 'A reconsideration of the Madaba map', *Gesta* 57 (2018), 123–143 argues that it was originally designed for a secular building.

98 One of the first c. BCE: C. Gallazzi, B. Kramer and S. Settis, *Il papiro di Artemidoro* (Milan 2008). For a short overview of illustrated texts of antiquity, see J.P. Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge 2003), 118–154.

99 *Census* and *centuriation* related maps are mentioned in many of the *Gromatici Latini* authors. Such maps were supposed to guarantee legal security of the properties involved, see above n. 22. See Campbell 2000, op. cit. (n. 19), LVII with reference to the fragmentary map of a land surveyor from Augusta Emerita in Spain; S. Keay and G. Earl, 'Towns and territories in Roman Baetica', in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population* (Oxford 2011), 277–316, esp. 285 on the cadastral map at Arausio (Orange)

administrative and fiscal function and the explanatory legends were of highest importance.¹⁰⁰ The inscriptions of the Madaba map mosaic, and the legends of the Peutinger Table seem to have had a different purpose, but were both part of the overall composition of a specific landscape.¹⁰¹ Similar to the third-century CE map on a parchment from Dura Europos,¹⁰² both artworks create a political (and theological?) interpretation of the landscape of the late Roman and early Byzantine empire through their subject matter, but even more so through the choice of objects and their arrangement and layout. In the late antique Roman empire emblematic visualisation of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as in the literary design of Pausanias' imperial Greece, the 'narrative' moves from landmark to landmark connected by routes. These landscape portrayals of the Roman world, which lie several centuries apart and work with different media, unlock the civilised world by the ordering principle of itineraries.¹⁰³

6 Political Landscapes

It goes without saying that Rome set many visual markers in the landscapes of the empire, not just paved roads and milestones, aqueducts and military camps. These and other infrastructure measures changed the way and intensity of communication, transport, supply, travelling, and migration. All the above discussed landscapes were Roman in a substantial political way – they were

in Gallia Narbonensis and the fragmentary map of Lacimurga in Spain; for Lacimurga and similar maps with further literature, Hettinger 2017, op. cit. (n. 21).

100 For an overview see O.A.W. Dilke, 'Maps in the service of the state: Roman cartography to the end of the Augustan era', in J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography. Vol. I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London 1987), 201–211; for military maps, see R.K. Sherk, 'Roman geographical exploration and military maps', in *ANRW* 1 (Berlin 1974), 534–562.

101 For the *Tabula Peutingeriana* see Silke Diederich's contribution in this volume with references to further literature.

102 P. Arnaud, 'Une deuxième lecture du bouclier de Doura-Europos', *CRAI* 133 (1989), 373–389 with good arguments that the Dura-Europos map did not cover a shield (as the context of its finding suggests and most publications report), but that it was a *pinax* probably originating from the Balkan region.

103 Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 52), 235–264 underlines that the Peutinger Table is a cartographic propaganda with street lines being the main characteristic of the empire. For an overview of the few surviving maps with pictograms and roads see the overview of O.A.W. Dilke, 'Itineraries and geographical maps in the early and late Roman empire', in Harley and Woodward 1987, op. cit. (n. 100), 234–257. For Pausanias, Akujärvi 2012, op. cit. (n. 72), 241–245; and compare Clark 1999, op. cit. (n. 75), 26 with reference to selection processes and choices by map-makers and literary geographers of what to present and how.

created by Roman means (objects, monuments, inscriptions, Latin language etc.) and they oriented towards a centre, Rome, even if Rome was invisible or, if at all, formed the background like a faint noise. This centrality formed spatial structures throughout the empire through hierarchisation: physical nearness to the political and financial centre of the empire (e.g. Latium and Campania, Southern Gaul), economic potential (e.g. western Asia minor) and relevance for the supply of Rome (e.g. Egypt, North Africa, oil from Spain), cultural relevance for the political and educated elite (e.g. Athens), divine protection for Rome and the empire (e.g. early imperial Latium) or individual members of the elite (e.g. Eleusis) etc. However, this Rome-relatedness was dynamic. The importance of a region for Rome depended not only on fiscal needs and access to resources, but also on military necessities.

The landscapes of the Roman empire also had a life of their own, if one can put it that way. Landscape forms arose and were sustained by local resources and constraints of the natural environment, demography and way of life, customs and beliefs, rituals and religion, self-awareness and history, language and art traditions. This local or individual involvement (in the case of an artist or author) was incorporated into the Roman framework and made a social, religious, ritual, economic etc. landscape look different in the Transpadana region than in the provinces of Cappadocia or Lusitania. Real, constructed or imagined, with long-term or short-term effects, Roman landscapes are shaped by the lives of its inhabitants.¹⁰⁴

Landscape studies are a dynamic field of study in modern archaeology, history and philology and related fields synthesising various types of data, testing theories, and using a broad range of methods. The heterogeneous landscapes thus created attest to the connectivity, complexity, multi-identity and flexibility of the Roman empire as a space of power.

104 Gruppuso and Whitehouse 2020, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 594.

PART 2

What Have the Romans Ever Done for Them?



Redacta in formam provinciae: Überlegungen zu Rolle und Funktion der viae publicae

Anne Kolb

„Roads determine the growth of empires, their area, and their duration.“¹ Mit diesen Worten umschreibt Ronald Syme die fundamentale Bedeutung von Straßen in antiken Imperien: Denn Wachstum, Gebiet und Dauer von Reichsgebilden lassen sich am Straßennetz ablesen. Obwohl Syme den Satz im Zusammenhang mit dem Reich der Hethiter formulierte, hat er doch ebenso seine Gültigkeit für das Imperium Romanum. Dessen Straßennetz wurde mit dem wachsenden Territorium sukzessive erweitert, bis es während der Kaiserzeit seinen größten Umfang und höchsten Ausbaustandard erlangte. Aufgrund seiner vielfältigen Funktionen ist das Straßensystem als eine der wichtigsten Grundlagen der römischen Herrschaft zu bewerten. Diese zielte während der Republik primär auf die reine Ausbeutung der gewonnenen Gebiete ab, wozu auch die Straßenanlage diente. Am Ende der Republik und vor allem seit der Kaiserzeit trat eine Politik der Reichslenkung, die mit der Integration der Provinzialen in das Reichsgebilde verbunden war, in den Fokus des neuen monarchischen Regimes.

Dass dieses Verkehrssystem in der antiken Welt herausragend war, betont bereits in augusteischer Zeit der Historiker Dionysios von Halikarnassos, indem er die gepflasterten Strassen neben Wasserleitungen und Abwasserkanälen als Kennzeichen der Großartigkeit des Imperium Romanum bewertete. Auch der Geograph Strabo sah diese drei Bautypen als charakteristische Leistungen der Römer. Er schrieb jedoch ihre besondere Bedeutung ihrer Qualität als „Gaben der Vorsorge“ zu, da sie der Gemeinschaft aller einen langfristigen Nutzen erbringen könnten. Damit zeigte Strabo, dass von diesen Anlagen nicht allein die Machthaber profitierten, sondern ebenso die Reichsbewohner. Denn die Straßen auf dem Land dienten dem Verkehr der Lastwagen, die ganze Bootsladungen aufnehmen können.²

1 R. Syme, 'The royal road', in R. Syme, *Anatolica, Studies in Strabo. Edited by Anthony Birley* (Oxford 1995), 3.

2 D.H. *Ant.* 3.67.5; Str. 5.3.8.

Die Straßen im Römischen Reich, insbesondere die Hauptadern des öffentlichen Verkehrs (*viae publicae*), über die Kaiser, Statthalter und provinziale Gemeinden Aufsicht führten, erfüllten verschiedene Aufgaben. Diese sollen im Folgenden systematisiert und an ausgewählten Beispielen diskutiert werden. Betrachtet werden die folgenden Aspekte:

1) Straßen als Instrumente für Reichsbildung und Konsolidierung, 2) Straßen als Grundlage von Mobilität und Wirtschaft, 3) Straßen als Orte der Repräsentation.

1 Straßen als Instrumente für Reichsbildung und Konsolidierung

Der Aufstieg der kleinen Gemeinde am Tiber zur Weltmacht erfolgte auf dem Weg massiver Expansion, die durch Bündnisse, vor allem aber durch kriegerische Eroberungen erzielt wurde. So führten die Kriege der Römer zum stetigen Anwachsen des Staatsgebietes. Ihre militärische Schlagkraft basierte auf Truppenstärke, Taktik und Technik. Dazu gehörte auch die nötige Infrastruktur, die offenbar schon seit der Frühzeit eine wichtige Rolle spielte. So zeigen Historiker wie Livius oder Dionysios an verschiedenen Stellen ihrer Werke, dass die Römer den Aufbau ihres Reiches mit Hilfe von Straßen betrieben.³ Neben deren Bau im eroberten Gebiet wurden weitere Feldzüge und militärische Aktionen vorbereitet, indem die Straßen durch Posten und Kastelle gesichert wurden. Infolge des Straßen- und Kastellbaus konnten die Römer ihre Heere dislozieren und ebenso versorgen. Dadurch konnten sie neue Territorien erobern und dort die Länder und deren Landschaften erschließen.

Mit der militärischen Funktion der Straßen haben die antiken Historiker einen wichtigen Beweggrund des römischen Straßenbaus betont.⁴ Dieser ermöglichte nicht allein den Aufbau des Reiches, sondern ebenso dessen äußere und innere Sicherung. Gebiete und Landschaften wurden miteinander verbunden und als zusammenhängender Raum etabliert. Dessen Stabilisierung erfolgte nicht zuletzt durch seine administrative Durchdringung, welche die

3 Siehe etwa Liv. 4.41; 22.11; 39.2; D.H. *Ant.* 3.65.2.

4 Vgl. zur Diskussion über den Zweck der frühen Straßenbauten etwa F.T. Hinrichs, 'Der römische Straßenbau zur Zeit der Gracchen', *Historia* 16 (1967), 165, der bis 133 v. Chr. eine militärische Motivation sieht, dann auf Siedlungstätigkeit und wirtschaftliche wie verkehrstechnische Funktion verweist; weitere Argumente der älteren Forschung bündelt H.-C. Schneider, *Altstraßenforschung* (Darmstadt 1982), 24–28; zuletzt bewertet R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy: Mobility and Cultural Change* (London 1999) den Straßenbau in Italien als grundlegenden Baustein der römischen Reichsbildung.

Straßen ermöglichten. Nur durch diese Grundlagen ist das dauerhafte Bestehen eines riesigen Territorialstaates über Jahrhunderte hinweg zu erklären.

Im etablierten Imperium Romanum bildeten die Straßen gleichzeitig Grundlage und Medium der Machtausübung. Dies lässt sich einerseits aus der Geschichte und Entwicklung des römischen Straßenwesens folgern, andererseits aus der schon antiken Bewertung und Bewunderung, die der Rolle der Straßen als Faktor von Zivilisierung und Romanisierung beigemessen wird. So diente das weit verzweigte kaiserzeitliche Straßensystem im Reich als Instrument der Herrschaft. Es bestand aus einem reichsweiten Netz von in staatlichem Auftrag angelegten und ausgebauten Hauptverbindungen, den *viae publicae*, die auf rund 100.000 km Länge geschätzt werden. Weitere Verbindungen von im Standard oft weniger ausgebauten Regional- und Lokalstraßen kamen mit vielleicht bis zu 200.000 km, hinzu. Dieses strukturierte Straßensystem existierte in solch enormen Umfang und Ausbaustandard allerdings nicht vor der Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.⁵

Bis dahin war es schrittweise im Zuge von Roms militärischer Expansion entsprechend den Bedürfnissen des sich entwickelnden Territorialstaates gewachsen. Sowohl bereits vorhandene als auch neue Wege wurden gangbar gemacht und befestigt oder als *viae publicae* mit dem höchsten Ausbaustandard zum Zweck der möglichst gelände- und witterungsunabhängigen

5 Siehe zu Bedeutung und Entwicklung der *viae publicae* M. Rathmann, 'Die Bedeutung der Straßen im Römischen Reich', in J. Kunow (Hg.), *Erlebnisraum Römerstraße Köln-Trier. Erststadt-Kolloquium 2007* (Treis-Karden 2007), 17–30; A. Kolb, 'The conception and practice of Roman rule: The example of transport infrastructure', *GeoAnt* 20–21 (2012), 53–69; M. Rathmann, 'Der Princeps und die *viae publicae* in den Provinzen. Konstruktion und Fakten eines planmäßigen Infrastrukturausbaus durch die Reichszentrale', in A. Kolb (Hg.), *Infrastruktur und Herrschaftsorganisation im Imperium Romanum. Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis III. Akten der Tagung in Zürich 19.–20.10.2012* (Berlin 2014), 197–221; A. Kolb, 'Communications and mobility in the Roman Empire', in: C. Bruun und J. Edmonson (Hgg.), *Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Oxford 2015), 649–670; A. Kolb, 'The Romans and the world's measure', in S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella und H.-J. Gehrke (Hgg.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography* (Leiden und Boston 2016), 223–238; zu den juristischen Definitionen S. Frühinsfeld, *Das Verhältnis von via publica und via privata* (Baden-Baden 2017); zur Verwaltung T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstraßen* (Bonn 1968); M. Rathmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Reichsstraßen in den westlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum* (Bonn 2003); zur Straßenverwaltung in Italien W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (München 1979); C. Campedelli, *L'amministrazione municipale delle strade Romane in Italia* (Bonn 2014); zur Bautechnik L. Quilici, 'Land transport part 1: Roads and bridges', in J.P. Oleson (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford 2008), 571–579; K. Grewe, 'Streckenmessung im antiken Aquädukt- und Straßenbau', in T. Fischer und H.G. Horn (Hgg.), *Straßen von der Frühgeschichte bis in die Moderne. Verkehrswege – Kulturträger – Lebensraum: Akten des Interdisziplinären Kolloquiums Köln Februar 2011* (Wiesbaden 2013), 128–135.

Nutzung durch Wagen ausgebaut. Dieses Wachstum erfolgte seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. auf der italischen Halbinsel, um die gewonnenen Gebiete und die dort neu gegründeten Städte zu sichern und sie mit Rom zu verbinden. Seit dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. griff Rom außerhalb Italiens in die Mittelmeerwelt aus, die dann sukzessive erst im Westen, dann im Osten unterworfen und provinzialisiert wurde. Diese Expansion manifestiert sich im Straßenbau.⁶ Dabei nutzte Rom vorhandene Strukturen (insbesondere im Osten des Reiches), aber auch neue Verbindungen erfuhren eine planmäßige Anlage.⁷ Verbessert wurde dadurch der Landtransport mit seinen wichtigsten Aufgaben, dem Personenverkehr und der Güterbeförderung. Denn eine effiziente Kommunikation und die Dislozierung staatlicher Beauftragter waren wichtig. Ebenso wurde der Transfer von Ressourcen, insbesondere solchen, die in den Untertanengebieten abgeschöpft wurden oder zur Versorgung Roms und der Heere benötigt wurden, erleichtert.

Seinen Höhepunkt erreichte der Wegebau, der seit Augustus einen massiven Schub erfuhr, während der Kaiserzeit. Denn damals wurde die Administration zum Zweck der Konsolidierung des Reiches intensiviert. Ein weitreichendes und gut ausgebautes Verkehrsnetz, das alle Teile des Reiches erschloss, bildete die infrastrukturelle Basis. Laut Aelius Aristides konnte der Kaiser dann, wie es für Antoninus Pius überliefert ist, mit all seinen Legaten und Beauftragten im Reich quasi pausenlos kommunizieren, indem er diese durch schriftliche Anweisungen wie einen Chor dirigierte: *Sie* (sc. die kaiserlichen Botschaften) *sind kaum abgefasst, da treffen sie auch schon ein, als seien sie von Flügeln getragen.*⁸

6 Zum Straßenbau in Italien bis 44 v. Chr. bes. R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy: Mobility and Cultural Change* (London 1999), 11–26. Der älteste bekannte provinzielle Meilenstein aus Sizilien wurde offenbar vom Konsul L. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 254 und 248 v. Chr.) nach den römischen Siegen gegen die Karthager (262 v. Chr. Agrigent, 254 v. Chr. Palermo) errichtet: *AE* 1957, 172 = *CIL* 1² 2877; zuletzt zum Stein mit der älteren Forschung B. Diaz Arinio, *Miliarios romanos de época republicana* (Rom 2015), 104–105 Nr. 24, der auch alle anderen insgesamt 48 Miliaria aus der Epoche der Republik gebündelt vorlegt. In der Narbonensis bezeugt ein Miliarium des Konsuls Domitius Ahenobarbus, den Ausbau der Verbindung von Italien nach Spanien nach der Provinzeinrichtung: *AE* 1952, 38 = *CIL* 1² 2937 = *XVII*/2, 294. Auch in Asia stammen die ersten Miliarien aus der Zeit der Provinzialisierung vom Konsul des Jahres 129 v. Chr. Manlius Aquilius: e.g. *CIL* 1² 647 ff.; alle Aquilius-Steine bei Diaz Arinio a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 111–117, Nr. 34–44. In Spanien allerdings datieren die fünf gesicherten Miliarien der Republik vermutlich in die Zeit nach dem Sieg über Numantia 133 v. Chr.: *CIL* *XVII*/1,96. 98. 108. 113. 117; auch in Sardinien ist der erste republikanische Meilenstein erst für 66–63 v. Chr. bezeugt *AE* 2007, 693.

7 Gut belegt z.B. für die Via Egnatia, dazu Kolb 2012, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 75–76; siehe auch zu anderen vorrömischen Straßennetzen Rathmann 2014, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 202–208.

8 Aristid. 26.33.

Von diesem Verbindungsnetz profitierte maßgeblich die Wirtschaft, deren Blüte für die Mehrzahl der Provinzen bekanntlich in das 2. Jh. n. Chr. fiel. In der Folgezeit dominierten Instandhaltung und Reparaturarbeiten oder auch Repräsentation der Kaiser und der Städte entlang der Hauptstraßen, was primär an den zahlreichen Meilensteinen auch noch im 4. Jh. zu erkennen ist. Im Westen des Reiches fehlen nach dem Jahr 435 nach heutigem Kenntnisstand die Quellen.⁹ Im Osten hingegen blieb die Sorge um das Straßennetz zumindest noch im 6. Jh. vital.¹⁰

Die Bedeutung der römischen Straßen als Symbole von Überlegenheit und Machtfülle betonen zwei Autoren, die im 2. Jh., der laut Cassius Dio glücklichsten Epoche der Menschheit, schrieben. Der Schriftsteller und Moralphilosoph Plutarch bewertet im Rahmen seiner *Vita des C. Gracchus* dessen politische Aktivitäten, unter denen er den Straßenbau in einem eigenen Abschnitt würdigt:¹¹

Die eifrigste Tätigkeit entfaltete Gaius Gracchus im Straßenbau, wobei er neben praktischen Erfordernissen auch auf gefällige Formen bedacht war. Schnurgerade zogen die Straßen durch das Land, teils mit behauenen Steinen gepflastert, teils mit aufgeschüttetem und festgestampftem Sand bedeckt. Vertiefungen füllte man aus und baute Brücken, wo Bäche oder Schluchten das Gelände durchschnitten, und da die Ufer auf beiden Seiten gleichmäßig erhöht wurden, gewann das ganze Werk ein ebenmäßiges und schönes Aussehen. Jede Wegstrecke war nach Meilen unterteilt – eine Meile entspricht nicht ganz acht Stadien –, und zur Angabe der Distanzen waren von Meile zu Meile steinerne Säulen aufgestellt.

Der hier geschilderte gehobene Ausbaustandard der Straßen legt nahe, dass Plutarch die Situation seines eigenen Zeithorizonts zu Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. vor Augen hatte. Genau diese beiden Typen von Straßen, einerseits mit Stein-Pflasterung und andererseits mit fest gestampfter Oberfläche, sind so auch später von Ulpian definiert.¹² Die überragende römische Bautechnik

9 Der letzte bekannte Meilenstein stammt aus der Herrschaft von Theodosius II. und Valentinian III. (435 n.Chr.) aus Arles.

10 Gut bekannt ist Justinians Engagement bis in die 550iger/600iger Jahre durch Prokop. Siehe etwa Procop. *Aed.* 4,8 (dazu s.u.) oder 5,3,4–11 zum Bau von Brücken (u.a. über den Sangarios, zur Abfassungszeit von Prokops Schrift noch im Bau), 5,3,12–15 Pflasterung, 5,5,1–3 Bergdurchstich.

11 Plut. *CG* 7.

12 Dig. 43.11.1.2: [...] *vel in viam terrenam glaream inicere aut sternere viam lapide quae terrena sit, vel contra lapide stratam terrenam facere*; siehe auch zu diesem und weiteren

wird von Plutarch in besonderem Maße gewürdigt, indem Geradlinigkeit, die zielgerichtete Beseitigung oder Durchschneidung natürlicher Hindernisse sowie die ansprechende Ästhetik gelobt werden. Eine genaue Vermessung und Einteilung in Meilen sowie die Markierung durch dauerhafte Steinmonumente entlang der Straßen trugen zur sichtbaren Perfektionierung des Verkehrsnetzes bei. Den Gesamteindruck bildete also eine technisch, funktional und ästhetisch überlegene Infrastruktur.

Einen größeren Bogen in Bezug auf die Leistungen der römischen Herrschaft spannt dann der Rhetor Aelius Aristides. Er lobt die Römer in seiner berühmten Rede auf Rom aus dem Jahr 143 vor Kaiser Antoninus Pius dafür, dass sie durch ihren Straßenbau die damalige Welt erschlossen hätten:¹³

Ihr habt den gesamten Erdkreis vermessen, Flüsse überspannt mit Brücken verschiedener Art, Berge durchstochen, um Fahrwege anzulegen, in menschenleeren Gegenden Stationen installiert und überall eine kultivierte und geordnete Lebensweise eingeführt.

Die Verbeugung des Autors vor dem Imperium fokussiert das Motiv der römischen Zivilisierung der Völker durch technische und organisatorische Überlegenheit, wie sie im Straßenbau sichtbar ist. Damit wird am Beispiel des Wegebbaus konkretisiert, was derselbe Autor an anderer Stelle in dieser Rede den Römern zuschreibt: ihre bewundernswerte Fähigkeit zu herrschen.¹⁴ Die Äußerung impliziert ferner, dass die Reichsbewohner zu den Hauptnutzern der Wege gehörten, da nun ihre Wohngebiete durch Wege infrastrukturell erschlossen und Ordnung und Kultur Einzug genommen hatten.

Diese von Aristides panegyrisch propagierten Leitlinien römischer Herrschaftspraxis dürften bei Kaiser und Führungselite sicherlich auf große Zustimmung gestoßen sein. Als Heilsbringer und zivilisierende Ordnungsmacht sahen sich die Römer bekanntermaßen schon lange, was insbesondere Vergil unter dem Eindruck der *Pax Augusta* nach Begründung der Monarchie auf eine griffige Formel gebracht hat: *tu regere imperio populos Romane*,

Interdikten zum Schutz öffentlicher Straßen in juristischer Perspektive Frühinsfeld, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 247–266, hier 264; J.M. Rainer, 'Die Interdikte zum Schutze von Straßen und Wasserwegen', in M. Ronin und C. Möller (Hgg.), *Instandhaltung und Renovierung von Straßen und Wasserleitungen von der Zeit der römischen Republik bis zur Spätantike* (Baden-Baden 2019), 47–54.

13 Aristid. 26.101.

14 Aristid. 26.51, 58.

*memento – haec tibi erunt artes – pacique inponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*¹⁵

Noch im 6. Jh. galten die römischen Straßen als Sinnbild römischer Macht, wie Prokop am Beispiel einer Straßenreparatur durch Kaiser Justinian illustriert:

In einer Vorstadt von Konstantinopel liegt ein Kastell, das man entsprechend der Form seiner Anlage Strongylon nennt. Die von dort aus nach Rhegion führende Straße war größtenteils uneben und verwandelte sich beim Eintritt von Regenfällen für die Reisenden in einen unpassierbaren Sumpf. Jetzt aber ließ sie der Kaiser mit riesigen Steinen pflastern, wodurch sie angenehm und ganz leicht zu benutzen wurde. Die Straße erstreckt sich bis Rhegion, und ihre Breite gestattet zwei entgegenkommenden Wagen ein bequemes Ausweichen. Die Steine sind außerordentlich hart, so dass man sie für Mühlsteine halten möchte, dazu auch von sehr großem Ausmaß. Jeder bedeckt eine ansehnliche Fläche und besitzt dabei eine bedeutende Höhe. Ganz eben und glatt gearbeitet wie sie sind, könnte man meinen, dass sie nicht durch das Aneinandersetzen zusammengehalten werden oder nur sorgfältig gegenseitig verfügt sind, sie scheinen vielmehr miteinander verwachsen.¹⁶

Das Lob des Schriftstellers stellt Funktion und Bedeutung der durch die Kaiser erbauten bzw. instand gesetzten Straßen deutlich heraus. Indem diese eine leichte und angenehme Fortbewegung ermöglichten, stellten sie den Verkehr im Reich sicher. Die Pflasterung aus riesigen und harten Steinen, die kaum zu bewegendem und dauerhaft haltbaren Mühlsteinen gleichen, wird durch den Kaiser veranlasst. Es scheint, als könne nur der Regent des Reiches eine solche geradezu übermenschliche Leistung vollbringen, durch die in der Oberfläche der Straße ein perfektes Werk entsteht. Die aneinander gesetzten Pflastersteine erscheinen Prokop in ihrer hervorragenden Be- und Verarbeitung geradezu als miteinander verwachsen: ein Werk, das über normale menschliche Kräfte hinausgehe und nur eines Kaisers würdig sei. Trotz dieser Panegyrik, die eine solche Auftragsarbeit wie der Traktat über die Bauten des Kaisers Iustinian bieten muss, kann die Stelle bei Prokop den praktischen Nutzen sowie die solide und aufwändige Bauweise der kaiserlichen Straßen illustrieren. Sie gereicht dem Herrscher zweifelsohne zu Ruhm und dient damit als Symbol seiner Macht.

¹⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 6.847–853.

¹⁶ Procop. *Aed.* 4.8.

2 Straßen als Grundlage von Mobilität und Wirtschaft

Die große Bedeutung von Mobilität im römischen Reich legen unsere Quellen für bestimmte Gruppen der Bevölkerung in besonderem Maße nahe.¹⁷ Dabei handelt es sich primär um Personen, die aufgrund ihrer beruflichen oder amtlichen Tätigkeit mobil sein mussten und dabei zum Teil auch längerfristige bis dauerhafte Ortsveränderungen in Kauf nahmen oder auch dazu gezwungen wurden wie im Fall von Sklaven. Im Hinblick auf längere Arbeits- oder Geschäftsaufenthalte fern der Heimat könnte man von einer Binnenmigration innerhalb des Reiches sprechen. Dabei ist die Unterscheidung zwischen reiner Mobilität, d. h. der kurz- oder längerfristigen Ortsveränderung, und Migration, die als abschließende Form der Mobilität den dauerhaften Ortswechsel einschließt, nicht immer eindeutig feststellbar. Die Quellenbasis bilden Hinweise in der antiken Literatur, aber vor allem die griechischen und römischen Grab-, Weih- oder Ehren-Inschriften, die Informationen zu Herkunft, Ortswechsel oder Aufenthalts- bzw. Wohnortort liefern.¹⁸ In zahlreichen Fällen ist dies nachvollziehbar, wenn Berufs- oder Funktions-Angaben in Verbindung mit Herkunftsbezeichnung vorhanden oder zumindest zu erschließen sind. Zudem können Personenamen und weitere biographische Informationen Hinweise auf Ortswechsel oder Wohnsitze liefern, auch wenn nicht immer völlig klar zu entscheiden ist, ob der durch eine Grabinschrift bezeugte Tod in der Fremde auf der Durchreise oder nach der Migration erfolgt ist.

Das Beispiel einer Grabinschrift, die von einer Witwe namens Martina aus Nordgallien errichtet wurde, ist illustrativ.¹⁹ Sie scheute keine Mühen und

17 Den Themenbereich von Mobilität und Migration in der römischen Kaiserzeit behandeln jüngst eine Monographie und drei Sammelbände: E. Olshausen und V. Sauer (Hgg.), *Mobilität in den Kulturen der antiken Mittelmeerwelt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 11* (Stuttgart 2014); L.E. Tacoma, *Moving Romans. Migration to Rome in the Principate* (Oxford 2016); L. de Ligt und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2016); E. Lo Cascio und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17–19, 2015)* (Leiden und Boston 2017).

18 Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien untersucht exemplarisch auf der Basis von 640 Inschriften mit 680 Ortswechseln L. Wierschowski, *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1995), ferner die Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien L. Wierschowski, *Fremde in Gallien – "Gallier" in der Fremde. Die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 2001).

19 *CIL* V 2108 = Dessau 8453 = *ILCV* 157: [---] / *qui vixi[t] an[nos] / plus minus XL / Martina cara coniux / quae venit de Gallia / per mansiones L ut / commemoraret memoriam du[lcis] / [si]mi mariti sui / bene qu(i)escas dulcissime / marite.*

reiste von Gallien über 50 Tagesreisen bis nach Asolo bei Treviso, um ihren Gatten zu beerdigen, der dort sehr wahrscheinlich auf einer Geschäftsreise verstorben war. Andere Fälle lassen vielleicht auf einen permanenten Wohnortswechsel schließen wie bei einem griechischen Chorflötisten (*choraula*), der in Köln bestattet war, und bei einem afrikanischen Wagenlenker, der in Rom all seine bedeutenden Siege errungen hatte, bevor er dort verstarb.²⁰ Beide waren offenbar Migranten, die aus ihrer Heimat nach Köln bzw. Rom ausgewandert waren, um ihre Berufe dort auszuüben.

Mobilität und temporäre Migration aus professionellen Gründen bezeugen unsere Quellen auch in zahlreichen weiteren Beispielen, die Beruf oder Amtstätigkeit durch Text oder Bild erkennen lassen. Dazu gehörten Gewerbetreibende wie vor allem überregional tätige Händler, Transporteure oder Handwerker sowie andere reisende Dienstleister: Konzertredner wie Aelius Aristides tourten auf Vortragsreisen durch das Reich. Schauspieler, Musiker, Pantomimen, aber auch Athleten reisten zu Festen und Wettkämpfen, um sich in ihrer Kunst zu beweisen. Ebenso waren Bildhauer, Ärzte oder Lehrer und Professoren beruflich unterwegs. Hinzukommen einfache Saisonarbeiter in diversen Wirtschaftssparten insbesondere im Transport- und Bausektor.²¹

Eine weitere große Gruppe berufsmäßig mobiler Personen bilden Beauftragte im Dienst des Staates, die mit militärischen oder zivilen Aufgaben befasst waren. An erster Stelle und als größte Gruppe sind hier die Angehörigen des römischen Heeres zu nennen, die auf Geheiß des Kaisers praktisch

20 CIL XIII 8343: *Memoriae / Ruphi natione Gr(a)eco / Mylasei choraul(a)e / qui vixit annos / XVI Dionysius / Asclepiades nati/one Alexandri/nus parens item / Atheneus bene m[e]renti de su[o]*; CIL VI 10050: *Crescens agit(ator) / factionis ven(etae) / natione Maurus / annorum XXII / quadriga primum / vicit L(ucio) Vipstano / Messalla co(n)s(ule) natale / divi Nervae miss(u) XXIII / equis his Circio Accep(tore) Delicato Cotyno / ex Messalla in Glabri/onem co(n)s(ulibus) in natale / divi Claudii miss(us) ost(io) / DCLXXXVI vicit XXXVII / inter sing(ularum) vic(it) XIX binar(un) / XXIII tern(arum) V praemiss(u) I / occup(avit) VIII eripuit XXXVIII / secund(as) tulit CXXX tert(ias) CXI / quaest(um) ret(tulit) HS XV(centena milia) LVIII(milia) / CCCXXXVI*.

21 Zur Mobilität von Handwerkern und Händlern in griechischen Inschriften K. Ruffing, 'Die regionale Mobilität von Händlern und Handwerkern nach den griechischen Inschriften', in E. Olshausen und H. Sonnabend (Hgg.), *„Troianer sind wir gewesen“ – Migrationen in der antiken Welt: Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums* 8, 2002 (Stuttgart 2006), 133–149. Zur Arbeits-Migration zuletzt Tacoma 2016, a.a.O. (Anm. 17), 170–203; weitere Beispiele etwa für Kaufleute bei H. Grassl, 'Arbeitsmigration in den römischen Grenzprovinzen', in Olshausen und Sauer 2014, a.a.O. (Anm. 17), 261–266; C. Holleran, 'Labour mobility in the Roman world: A case study of mines in Iberia', in L. de Ligt und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2016), 95–137, zu Minenarbeitern; P. Erdkamp, 'Seasonal labour and rural-urban migration in Roman Italy', in L. de Ligt und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2016), 33–49 beleuchtet temporäre Beschäftigungen in der Stadt Rom insbesondere im Transport- und Bausektor.

überall und zu jedem Zweck eingesetzt werden konnten.²² Neben dem Dienst in der Stammtruppe, in die ein Rekrut eingeschrieben war, konnte er sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb seiner Stationierungsprovinz zu unterschiedlichen Aufgaben längerfristig oder sogar permanent, aber auch nur fallweise abkommandiert werden.

Auch die Position von Senatoren und Rittern im Staatsdienst erforderte eine hohe Mobilität, da die Mehrheit der Aufgaben außerhalb der Hauptstadt zu erfüllen war.²³ Dazu zählten insbesondere die Statthalterschaften und Legionskommandos, aber unterhalb dieser Top-Posten waren zahlreiche weitere zivile und militärische Funktionen zu erfüllen. Da die Senatoren, für die prinzipiell eine Residenzpflicht in Italien galt, ihre Provinzialaufgaben für ein bis drei Jahre übernahmen, waren sie nicht nur mobil, sondern immer wieder über längere Zeit in anderen Reichsteilen ansässig. Dies gilt in ähnlicher Weise für die Angehörigen des Ritterstandes. Nicht vergessen werden darf das kaiserliche Personal, das in den Provinzen vor allem Aufgaben im Bereich von Steuer-, Zoll- und Domänenverwaltung innehatte. Diese Amtsträger unterlagen nicht dem ständigen politik- bzw. karrierebedingten Wechsel der Position, sondern verblieben üblicherweise eher langfristig in ihren Positionen, so dass auf dieser Ebene der römischen Verwaltung die Binnenmigration ein häufigeres Phänomen gebildet haben dürfte.²⁴ Vielleicht auch in den Bereich der Reichsverwaltung mit einzubeziehen ist der Verkehr von Gesandtschaften innerhalb und außerhalb der Reiches, durch den auch die provinziellen Gemeinden in direkte Kommunikation mit dem Kaiser traten.²⁵

22 T. Ivleva, 'Peasants into soldiers: Recruitment and military mobility in the Early Roman Empire', in L. de Ligt und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2016), 158–175; S.T. Roselaar, 'State-organised mobility in the Roman Empire: Legionaries and auxiliaries', in L. de Ligt und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2016), 138–187; P. Herz, 'Die Mobilität römischer Soldaten in Friedenszeiten', in E. Lo Cascio und L.E. Tacoma (Hgg.), *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17–19, 2015)* (Leiden und Boston 2017), 80–99.

23 W. Eck, 'Unterwegs im Auftrag des Kaisers. Römische Funktionsträger auf Reisen', in T. Fischer (Hg.), *Strassen von der Frühgeschichte bis in die Moderne* (Wiesbaden 2013), 95–108; M. Heil, 'Senatoren auf Dienstreise', in Olshausen und Sauer 2014, a.a.O. (Anm. 17), 293–308; W. Eck, 'Ordo senatorius und Mobilität. Auswirkungen und Konsequenzen im Imperium Romanum', in Lo Cascio und Tacoma 2017, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 100–115.

24 Vor allem Grab- oder Weihinschriften kaiserlicher Sklaven und Freigelassener belegen diese Situation wie etwa das Beispiel des *Augusti libertus* und Zolleinnehmers L. Aelius Unio aus *Turicum*/Zürich zeigt *CIL* XIII 5244; zu Sklaven und Freigelassenen des Kaiserhauses in den Provinzen zusammenfassend mit weiterer Literatur E. Herrmann-Otto, *Sklaverei und Freilassung in der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Hildesheim 2018), 217–219.

25 Siehe bes. W. Eck, 'Diplomacy as a part of the administrative process in the Roman empire', in C. Eilers (Hg.), *Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Roman World* (Leiden und Boston 2008),

Den modernen Tourismus als Massenphänomen kannte die Antike freilich noch nicht. Dazu war das Reisen noch zu teuer, zu anstrengend und zu gefährlich. Auch mangelte es der Mehrheit der Bevölkerung an freier Zeit und Muße im Gegensatz zur vermögenden Oberschicht, bei der besonders Studien- und Bildungsreisen beliebt waren, wie etwa Plinius dies ausführte: *Wir pflegen Reisen zu unternehmen, das Meer zu überqueren, um Dinge kennenzulernen, die uns, wenn wir sie vor Augen haben, nicht interessieren ... Von vielem in unserer Stadt und ihrer Umgebung haben wir weder je etwas gesehen noch auch nur gehört, was wir, befände es sich in Achaia, Ägypten, Asien oder sonst einem beliebigen Lande, das reich an Wundern ist und für sie Reklame zu machen weiß, längst gehört, gelesen und besichtigt hätten.* Weitere Motivationen von Reisen schloss dies nicht aus: So wollte man etwa der Sommerhitze auf einem höher gelegenen Landgut entgehen. Ebenso waren die Bäder am Golf von Neapel für ihren Heil- und Freizeitwert berühmt – nicht nur bei der besseren Gesellschaft. Auch andere Kurorte und Heilbäder wurden im gesamten Imperium wegen ihrer heißen Quellen gerne besucht, wovon die zahlreichen Orte mit dem Namensteil *Aquae* zeugen. Studenten der Philosophie und Rhetorik reisten dagegen nach Athen oder Alexandria, wo auch die berühmte Bibliothek ein Anziehungspunkt für Forscher und Schriftsteller war. Für die Jurisprudenz wiederum empfahl sich Beirut als bedeutender Studienort. Besondere Attraktion genossen seit jeher Kultstätten und Heiligtümer. Besucht wurden sie aus den vielfältigsten Motiven, da Religion und Mythos das Weltbild der antiken Menschen grundlegend bestimmten. Nur wenige Kultorte hatten eine weite überregionale Ausstrahlung wie das griechische Delphi, Paphos auf Zypern oder die Oase Siwa in Ägypten, deren Orakelstätten höchstes Renommee genossen. Aber auch andere Heiligtümer wurden besucht und die Reisenden hinterließen schon damals gern im Stein der Monumente den Beleg ihres Aufenthalts mit einem «hic fui».²⁶

Insgesamt besehen lassen sich ortsfremde Personen so gut wie überall im Römischen Reich fassen, freilich mehrheitlich in den Städten, wo die

193–208; E. Torregaray Pagola, 'Diplomatic Mobility and Persuasion between Rome and the West (I–II AD)', in E. Lo Cascio, L.E. Tacoma, *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17–19, 2015)* (Leiden und Boston 2017), 116–131 mit weiterer Literatur.

26 E.g. *CIL* III 74 am Isis-Tempel von Philae (Ägypten); Plin. *Ep.* 8,20,1–2. Das Phänomen des antiken Tourismus beleuchtet zuletzt N. Zwingmann, *Antiker Tourismus in Kleinasien und auf den vorgelagerten Inseln. Selbstvergewisserung in der Fremde* (Bonn 2012); zu Reisenden und ihren Motivationen grundlegend schon L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine I* (Leipzig 10,1922, 10. Ed.), 359–490; L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Baltimore und London 1994, 2. Ed), 128–137.

epigraphische Kultur wie überhaupt jeglicher Austausch ausgeprägter als auf dem Land waren. Obwohl das Römische Reich ein Agrarstaat war, hatte die Mobilität vor allem in einschlägigen Bevölkerungsgruppen ein größeres Ausmaß als in anderen antiken oder vorindustriellen Gesellschaften, gehörten doch Mobilität und Migration zum Alltag der Bewohner des römischen Reiches.

Dies gilt ebenso im Hinblick auf ökonomische Prozesse. So lag die Funktionalität der Straßen seit ihren Anfängen in der Erleichterung wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeiten, um den Transportbedarf an Menschen, Gütern und Waren zu befriedigen. Im frühen Rom galt dies – wie das Zwölftafelgesetz zeigt²⁷ – zuerst für die Weidewirtschaft. Das frühe staatliche Interesse war zunächst durch den Wunsch motiviert, Wege- und Nachbarschaftsrechte zu regeln, indem Verbindungswege definiert und markiert wurden. Für eine Nutzung standen sie dann aber allen zur Verfügung und jeglicher Transportbedarf konnte über die Straßen abgewickelt werden. Dies zeigt sich in der späteren juristischen Definition der *viae publicae*, die in öffentlichem Interesse auf öffentlichem Grund und mit öffentlichen Mitteln errichtet werden sollten.²⁸

Wie kaiserzeitliche Autoren des 1. Jh. zeigen, war der Ausbau der Verkehrsinfrastruktur und die damit erzielte Erfassung des Raumes nicht nur für die Politik, sondern auch für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Bedeutung, da laut Plinius d. Ä. der unter römischer Herrschaft geeinte Raum des Reiches maßgeblich dem Handelsverkehr nutzte.²⁹ Die *pax Romana* ermöglichte quasi eine globale ökonomische Vernetzung. Mit ähnlicher Zielsetzung und Formulierung pries einige Jahre später sein Neffe Plinius d. J. in seiner Lobrede auf Kaiser Traian die Lebensmittelversorgung der Hauptstadt und die vom Kaiser dafür eingerichteten Verkehrswege und Anlagen:

Einer immerwährenden Geldspende kommt in meinen Augen die überreiche Getreideversorgung gleich. Dass er sie organisierte, hat einst dem Pompeius nicht weniger Ruhm eingetragen, als dass er die Wahlintrigen vom Marsfeld verbannte, die Seeräuber vom Meer verjagte, Orient und Okzident im Triumph durchzog. Und doch war Pompeius kein besserer Staatsdiener als unser Vater! Er nämlich hat durch seinen Einfluss, seine Planung und seinen gewissenhaften Einsatz Straßen erschlossen und

27 Leg. XII tab. 7,7.

28 Dig. 43,8,2,20–24, dazu Rathmann 2003, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 3–6.

29 Plin. Nat. 14,1,2: *quis enim non communicato orbe terrarum maiestate Romani imperii proficisse vitam putet commercio rerum ac societate festae pacis, omniaque etiam quae ante occulta fuerant in promiscuo usu facta?*

Häfen eröffnet, hat dem Land seine Wege, dem Gestade ein Meer und dem Meer ein Gestade gegeben, hat zwischen weit entfernten Völkern derart engen Handelsverkehr geknüpft, dass die Produkte eines einzelnen Landes in allen Ländern gewachsen scheinen.³⁰

Diese Beschreibungen belegen wiederum das antike Verständnis des Römischen Reiches als eines einheitlichen, erschlossenen Raumes, der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft zu Prosperität verhalf.

Die Bedeutung der Straßen für das Funktionieren von Lebensmittelversorgung und Wirtschaft im Allgemeinen hebt auch die jüngere Forschung hervor, indem sie die Notwendigkeit des Landverkehrs trotz dessen höherer Kosten im Vergleich zum Wassertransport (gerade für Massengüter oder Schwertransporte) aufzeigt.³¹ Nicht überall waren Wasserwege vorhanden, so dass vor allem der kleinräumige lokale Handels- und Güterverkehr auf Straßen und Wegen, selbst wenn diese in schlechtem Zustand waren, angewiesen war. Einzelne dokumentarische Quellen lassen gelegentlich auch das privatwirtschaftliche Interesse am Straßenbau erkennen. Ein Beispiel bietet ein Straßenbau-Dokument aus dem Schweizerischen Jura an der Verbindungsstraße zwischen dem Bielerseegebiet und dem Birstal: *Numini Augus[t]or[um] / via [d]ucta per M(arcum) / Dunium Paternum / Iivir(um) col(oniae) Helvet(iorum)*.³² Die Inschrift auf dem Straßentor zeigt eine Verbindung an, die vielleicht einem keltischen Weg folgte, der von den Römern während des 1. Jh. zur Verknüpfung der beiden Haupttrouten der Region ausgebaut worden war.³³

30 Plin. *Paneg.* 29,1–2: *Instar ego perpetui congiarii reor affluentiam annonae. Huius aliquando cura Pompeio non minus addidit gloriae, quam pulsus ambitus campo, exactus hostis mari, Oriens triumphis Occidensque lustratus. Nec vero ille civilius, quam parens noster, auctoritate, consilio, fide reclusit vias, portus patefacit, itinera terris, litoribus mare, litora mari reddidit, diversasque gentes ita commercio miscuit, ut, quod genitum esset usquam, id apud omnes natum esse videretur.*

31 Zuletzt C. Adams, 'Transport', in W. Scheidel (Hg.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 2012), bes. 229–232; P. Rothenhöfer, 'Die Wirtschaft der Römer: Produktionszentren und Handelswege in römischer Zeit', in T. Fischer und H.G. Horn (Hgg.), *Straßen von der Frühgeschichte bis in die Moderne. Verkehrswege – Kulturträger – Lebensraum: Akten des Interdisziplinären Kolloquiums Köln Februar 2011* (Wiesbaden 2013), 109–121.

32 *CIL* XIII 5166 = E. Howald und E. Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz. Texte und Inschriften mit Übersetzung* (Zürich 1940), 271 Nr. 244 = G. Walser, *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz. II. Teil. Nordwest- und Nordschweiz* (Bern 1980), 34–35 Nr. 125. Die Inschrift ist über dem Nordausgang des Felsentors der Pierre Pertuis südlich von Tavannes (CH) in 815 m über Meeresspiegel eingemeißelt.

33 Diese verliefen einerseits von Avenches über Solothurn nach Augst und andererseits von Besançon über Mandeure nach Kembs. Die bei Petinesca abzweigende römische

Der Bauherr M. Dunius Paternus präsentiert sich als Oberbeamter der Kolonie Aventicum. Sein Amtskollege im Duumvirat wird allerdings nicht genannt, weshalb mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit von einer privaten Finanzierung durch M. Dunius Paternus auszugehen ist.³⁴ Seine Motivation dazu entsprang jedoch kaum reinem Altruismus oder bloßem Prestigestreben, vielmehr bildeten wohl handfeste eigene ökonomische Interessen den Hintergrund. Wie sich aus anderen Zeugnissen erschließen lässt, war M. Dunius Paternus vermutlich als Unternehmer im Holz- wie auch im Baukeramikgewerbe aktiv.³⁵ Aus solchen Ressourcen stammte folglich sein Vermögen, das üblicherweise die Eintrittskarte für eine politische Führungsrolle in der Lokalverwaltung bildete.³⁶ Möglicherweise tangierte die Straße sogar den privaten Landbesitz des Holzproduzenten.³⁷ Derartige Fälle einer Verknüpfung von Privatwirtschaft und öffentlichem Interesse sind aufgrund unserer lückenhaften Tradition heute leider wenig bekannt, dürften aber eine nicht zu unterschätzende Triebfeder im antiken Straßenbau gebildet haben.³⁸

Jurastraße (nach Porrentruy und Delle) wird nach archäologischen Funden datiert; dazu H.E. Herzig, 'Römerstraßen in der Schweiz', *Helvetica Archaeologica* 146/147 (2006), 96–99, der von einem keltischen Vorgängerbau vor allem aufgrund der im Jura zahlreichen Erzlagerstätten ausgeht. Die Formel *Numini Augustorum* lässt eine Datierung der Inschrift an das Ende des 1. Jh. durchaus zu, siehe A. Kolb, 'Via ducta – Roman road building: An introduction to its significance, the sources and the state of research', in A. Kolb (Hg.), *Roman Roads. New Evidence- New Perspectives* (Berlin und Boston 2019), 3–21, hier 8.

- 34 Ähnlich R. Frei-Stolba, 'Holzfässer. Studien zu den Holzfässern und ihren Inschriften im römischen Reich mit Neufunden und Neulesungen der Fassinschriften aus Oberwinterthur/Vitudurum', *Zürcher Archäologie* 34 (2017), 164, die aber von Geldern der Kolonie und Zuschüssen ausgeht.
- 35 Zuletzt Frei-Stolba 2017, a.a.O. (Anm. 34), 162–167.
- 36 Seine angesehene Rolle in der Kolonie scheinen die Fragmente einer Ehrung zu unterstreichen, die vielleicht auf den Bau einer *schola* hinweisen: AE 2009, 940 (zu *CIL* XIII 5101. 5114. 5144).
- 37 Dies lässt sich gerade für einen Holzproduzenten vermuten, wenn man den Fall des Arco di Barà in der Hispania Tarraconensis in Betracht zieht. Dieser Bogen des Senators L. Licinius Sura überspannte die Via Augusta möglicherweise an dem Ort, wo diese Straße das Land der Familie erreichte, so G. Alföldy in *CIL* II 2/14, 2332; auch Rathmann 2003, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 141, folgert, dass der Großgrundbesitzer den Bau eines Abschnitts der Via Augusta finanzierte, der über seine Ländereien verlief.
- 38 Vergleichbar ist eine Felsinschrift aus Spanien (Soria), die ebenfalls einen einzelnen Duumvir als Bauherrn nennt: *CIL* II 2886: *Hanc viam / Aug(ustam?) / L(ucius) Lucret(ius) Densus / P(ublius) / fecit*. Weitere Inschriften belegen Straßenbau außerhalb von Städten durch private Stifter: *CIL* II 3167. 3221. 3271; *CIL* III 600. 6983; *CIL* V 1863. 1864; *CIL* XIII 4549; *SEG* 17, 315; *IK* 59, 152; Rathmann 2003, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 141, Anm. 807 bezweifelt jedoch, dass es sich um Reichsstraßen handelt; R. Haensch und P. Weiß, 'Ein schwieriger Weg. Die Straßenbauinschrift des M. Valerius Lollianus aus Byllis', *Römische Mitteilungen* 118 (2012), 451; A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens,*

3 Straßen als Orte der Repräsentation

*Ave viator / D(is) M(anibus) / Antoniae....*³⁹ Aus Sarmizegetusa, der Hauptstadt der Provinz Dacia, stammt diese Inschrift von einem Plattenfragment, das ursprünglich zu einem Grabmonument gehörte und wie viele andere Beispiele üblicherweise außerhalb des Stadttors an der Ausfallstraße errichtet war. Aber nicht die Gräber und Grabbauten entlang einer Straße definierten deren Zweck. Vielmehr war die Straße ein besonders gut geeigneter Ort zur Aufstellung von Grabmonumenten, da hier ein großes vorbeiziehendes Publikum zu erwarten war. Auch die Anrede des Passanten im Text der Inschrift, durch welche der Stein den Reisenden zur Lektüre aufruft, ist charakteristisch für die Quellengattung. Der Zweck des Textes auf dem Grabmonument ist evident: Er soll gelesen werden. Konkrete Aufrufe wie *lege* oder *perlege* sind ebenfalls gut bezeugt. Die Aufstellung an einer Ausfallstraße hielt die Erinnerung an den Verstorbenen bei einem möglichst großen Personenkreis aufrecht und dies nicht nur für kurze Zeit, sondern im besten Fall für die Ewigkeit oder zumindest solange das Monument Bestand hatte. Grabmonumente bilden daher in der näheren Umgebung der Städte die zahlenmässig größte Inschriftengruppe.

Für Straßenkreuzungen, aber auch für andere Straßenstandorte sind ferner Weihungen an die Gottheiten dieser Orte typisch wie an die «Kreuzweggottheiten», *Quadriviae*, *Triviae* und *Biviae*, dann auch an die *Lares viales* oder *Dii itinerarii*.⁴⁰ In vielen Fällen sind die genauen Fund- oder Standorte nicht bekannt, so dass bei diesen Gottheiten allein aus ihrem Namen auf den Aufstellungsort an der Kreuzung oder der Straße zu schließen ist. Zu den Dedicanten zählten nicht nur Soldaten, die einen Straßenposten kontrollierten, sondern auch lokale Magistrate oder Privatpersonen, Männer wie Frauen, stellten solche Weihaltäre an Straßen auf. In vielen Fällen bleiben die Dedicanten jedoch ungenannt.

Aufgrund der Gefahren, die das Reisen barg, sind Weihaltäre oder Geschenke durch Reisende an Straßen oder an Straßen gelegenen Halteorten auch für andere Gottheiten ein gut bekanntes Phänomen. An wichtigen oder schwer passierbaren Knotenpunkten sind solche Votive manchmal als Cluster erhalten, so dass an demselben Ort mehrere oder gar eine größere Anzahl von Inschriften Einblicke in die soziale und professionelle Herkunft der Reisenden

Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor (Cambridge 2009), 77 weist auf die insgesamt geringe Anzahl solch nutzbringender Stiftungen wie Straßen hin.

39 *CIL* III 7987.

40 E.g. *AE* 1947, 24; *CIL* XIII 8420; A. Kolb, 'Reisen unter göttlichem Schutz', in F. Beutler und W. Hammeter (Hgg.), *„Eine ganz normale Inschrift“ ... und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005* (Wien 2005), 293–298.

erlauben. Dies ist bei den 52 Votivgaben aus dem Heiligtum des Jupiter Poeninus (spätestens aus flavischer Zeit) in den Schweizer Alpen auf der Pashöhe des Großen St. Bernhard (2473m über Meeresspiegel) der Fall.⁴¹ Aus diesen Bronzetäfelchen erfahren wir, wer auf dieser Route unterwegs war und den göttlichen Schutz reklamierte und in welcher Form das Votum für andere Reisende sichtbar fixiert wurde. Die größte Gruppe von Reisenden bestand aus 18 aktiven Militärangehörigen, die jeweils in Einzelmissionen unterwegs waren, da keine Kollektiv-Weihungen vorliegen. Eine kleinere zweite Gruppe zeigt Freigelassene und Sklaven aus dem Kaiserhaus, aber auch aus privaten Haushalten, die folglich im Auftrag ihrer *domini* unterwegs waren. Dabei ist vor allem an Botendienste zu denken, wie dies die Weihung des *tabellarius* der Stadt Besançon explizit für den römischen Bürger Q. Silvius Perennis dokumentiert.⁴² Die dritte Gruppe bilden wohl Händler, die aber nur teilweise eindeutig bezeichnet sind. Unter diesen befinden sich nicht nur römische Bürger aus Italien, sondern auch Bürger anderer Herkunft wie der helvetische Sklavenhändler C. Domitius Carassounus.⁴³ Ohne Hinweise auf ihre Tätigkeit nennen einige weitere Votive römische Bürger sowie peregrine Personen. Insgesamt betrachtet unterscheiden sich die Votivtafeln in ihrer Ausführung: Neben perfekt ausgearbeiteten Tafeln finden sich ebenso einfach gepunzte, offenbar schnell bis unsauber gearbeitete dünne Plättchen. So dürfte das überaus qualitätvolle Dokument des Sklavenhändlers in einer professionellen Werkstatt angefertigt worden und kaum während der Durchreise auf der Pashöhe entstanden sein, wie dies wohl für andere zum Teil schwach gepunzte

41 *Inscriptiones Italiae* 11/1, 50. 55–105; G. Walser, 'Römische Militärschriften vom Großen St. Bernhard', *Archäologie der Schweiz* 6 (1983), 15–29 nur mit den Weihungen von Militärangehörigen; eine bebilderte ausführliche Vorlage und Auswertung aller Zeugnisse bei G. Walser, *Summus Poeninus. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Großen St. Bernhard-Passes in römischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1984) mit Katalog 81–129 Nr. 1–51; erneute kürzere Vorlage von F. Wiblé, 'Les tablettes votives', in L. Appolonia, F. Wiblé und P. Framarin (Hgg.), *Alpis Poenina. Grand Saint-Bernard. Une voie à travers l'Europe. Séminaire de clôture, 11/12 Avril 2008, Fort de Bard* (Aosta 2008), 93–107. Neben den 49 Bronzetäfelchen gehören zum Komplex eine Tafel aus Silber (heute verlorenes Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 43 = Wiblé 2008, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 43), ein gefiedertes Votivblech aus Silber (Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 51 = Wiblé 2008, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 51) und eine Statuettenbasis (*Inscriptiones Italiae* 11/1, 50 = Wiblé 2008, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 52). Die Geschichte und Bedeutung des Passes erläutert Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41); die Funde von Militaria diverser Natur bespricht E. Deschler-Erb, 'Die römische Armee auf dem Großen St. Bernhard/Summus Poeninus', in B. Cabouret, A. Gros Lambert und C. Wolff (Hgg.), *Visions de l'Occident romain* 1 (Paris 2012), 455–477: Erste Belege stammen evtl. aus der Zeit Caesars, sicher dann Augustus; sie belegen die Reisen von Infanteristen in Friedenszeiten; der Durchzug von Armee-Einheiten zeigt sich nicht gut im Fundmaterial.

42 *Inscriptiones Italiae* 11/1, 89 = Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 35.

43 *Inscriptiones Italiae* 11/1, 65 = Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 11.

Täfelchen gilt. Daraus lässt sich schließen, dass ein Teil der Reisenden ihre Weihgaben frühzeitig vorbereitet hatten, um ein ansprechendes und gut lesbares Dokument am Heiligtum zu hinterlassen, das möglicherweise sogar die Sicherheit auf mehreren Reisen gewährleisten sollte.⁴⁴

Cluster von Weihungen entlang der Straßen finden sich freilich noch an weiteren Orten, besonders an Posten, die der Kontrolle und Verwaltung dienten, wie Straßenposten oder Zollstationen. Hier verewigten Soldaten oder kaiserliches Personal ihre Vota auf Altären anlässlich ihres Dienstendes oder anderer Anlässe. Auch Ehrungen des Kaisers bzw. seiner Familie waren in diesem Kontext nicht unüblich. Besonders gut bekannt sind die Weihungen von Benefiziariern an und um ihre Posten, die im ganzen Reich an den Straßen verbreitet waren.⁴⁵ Besonders oft verehrt wurden dort Iuppiter und Merkur, aber auch Mars, Silvanus oder andere Gottheiten sind zu finden.

Die wohl wichtigsten Monumente der Repräsentation entlang von Straßen bildeten Bauinschriften. Sie befanden sich zumeist entweder direkt in den Fels entlang einer Straße gemeißelt oder an den zur Straße gehörigen Bauten und Anlagen wie Brücken, Viadukte, Tunnel, Stützmauern, Entwässerungskanäle etc. Diese Dokumente feiern den Bauherrn bzw. Finanzier, also Magistrate, Kaiser oder Private, daneben wird oftmals die technische Leistung hervorgehoben.⁴⁶ Eine Bauinschrift des Caracalla aus der Nähe von Beirut zeigt ein derartiges in den Felsen gehauenes Monument entlang des Küstenweges, der durch den römischen Kaiser verbreitert wurde.⁴⁷ Er stellt sich an diesem Ort in die Tradition zahlreicher früherer Straßenbauer seit dem

44 Die Beobachtung schon bei Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), 79; vgl. das nachlässig gearbeitete Täfelchen des T. Annius Cissus, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 11/1, 55 = Walser 1984, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), Nr. 1.

45 Die Zeugnisse der Benefiziarier gesammelt bei K. Schallmayer et al., *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Benefiziarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1990); generell zu *stationes* im römischen Reich siehe zuletzt die beiden Sammelbände J. France und J. Nelis-Clément (Hgg.), *La statio. Archéologie d'un lieu de pouvoir dans l'empire romain* (Bordeaux 2014); P. Basso und E. Zanini, *Statio Amoena. Sostare e vivere lungo le strade romane* (Oxford 2016).

46 E.g. *ILAlg* 1, 3875 = Dessau 9374 (Ain Berda, Africa proc.): [*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius*] / [*pont(iffex) max(imus) trib[ui]nicia potestate / XV co(n)s(ul) IIII / viam per Alpes / Numidicas ve/tustate inter/[r]uptam ponti/[b]us denuo fac/[ti]s paludibus / siccatis labibus / confirmatis / res{s}tituit / curante M(arco) Valerio / Etrusco leg(ato) suo/pr(o) pr(aetore)*]; A. Kolb, 'Epigraphy as a source on ancient technology', in K. Verboven und P. Erdkamp (Hgg.), *Structure and Performance in the Roman Economy. Models, Methods and Case Studies* (Brüssel 2015), 231–234.

47 *CIL* III 206 (Nahr El Kalb/Lykos, Syria): *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurelius / Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus / Part(hicus) maximus Brit(annicus) max(imus) Germ(anicus) maximus / pontifex maximus / montibus inminentibus / Lyco flumini caesis viam delatavit / per [[leg(ionem) III Gallicam]] / Antoninianam suam.*



ABB. 3.1 Nahr el Kelb inscriptions. From: L.F. Cassas, *Voyages pittoresques de la Syrie etc.*, Paris 1800
PUBLIC DOMAIN

ägyptischen Pharaos Ramses II (1303–1213 v. Chr.). (Abb. 1). Mit seiner Inschrift demonstrierte Caracalla seine Sorge für die Verkehrs-Infrastruktur des Reiches, welche die Sicherheit und Mobilität der Reisenden sicherstellen sollte. Seit Augustus im Jahr 20 v. Chr. die Aufgabe als *curator viarum* in Italien übernommen hatte, aber später in Kombination mit seinem *imperium maius* die Rolle faktisch auch in den Provinzen ausübte, galt der Kaiser als oberster Straßenbauer. Darüber hinaus war der Herrscher als *pater patriae* der Patron aller Städte und deren Bewohner und hatte damit auch eine Art genereller Fürsorgepflicht für seine Schutzbefohlenen, die immer wieder im Straßenbau dokumentiert wurde.⁴⁸ Solche Baumaßnahmen der Kaiser wurden daher gerne mit den Tugenden der *providentia* und *liberalitas* in Verbindung gebracht. Instrukтив ist hier eine Bauinschrift aus Dyrrachium, die für Severus Alexander die Reparatur einer Wasserleitung belegt, die ursprünglich aufgrund der *liberalitas*

48 E.g. *IRT* 934 (Gasr Dellasc, Africa proc.) aus dem Jahr 237: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius Verus / Maximinus Piu(s) Felix / Aug(ustus) Germanicus ma/ximus Sarmaticus ma/ximus Dacicus maximus / tribuniciae potestatis ter(tium) / imp(erator) V ponti(fex) maximus / et C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximus / nobilissimus Caes(ar) prin/ceps iuventutis Germanicus maximus Sarmaticus / maximus Dacicus maxi/mus pontes / vetustate dilabso(s) (!) / iter longa iniuria corru/ptum restituerunt et pro s/ua infaticabili providenti/a perviam com(m)entibus redd/iderunt I*; zur Rolle als oberster Straßenbauer Rathmann 2014, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 209–216.

Hadrians errichtet worden war.⁴⁹ Die Steintafel vermerkt aber weiter, dass Severus Alexander zugleich vier Meilen einer Straße ausbauen ließ. Die Tafel dürfte also ursprünglich an oder in direkter Umgebung von Straße und Aquädukt verbaut gewesen sein.

Obwohl der Kaiser als *curator viarum* prinzipiell der Straßenbauer des Reiches schlechthin war, finden sich gelegentlich auch Privatleute, die das Netz baulich ergänzten. Die Inschriften benennen die verantwortlichen Bauträger, die Umstände der Errichtung und ggf. Schwierigkeiten dabei. Häufig werden Gottheiten oder der Herrscher und seine Familie einleitend angerufen. Solche Beschwörungen schmälerten die Repräsentation der Bauträger keineswegs, sondern stellten die Aktivitäten bzw. die Bauten zusätzlich unter den Schutz der göttlichen Autoritäten.⁵⁰ Von besonderem Interesse sind bei den Bauinschriften Dokumente, die eine private Initiative im Straßenbau erkennen lassen. Denn dies ist relativ selten bezeugt. So konnte die kostspielige Finanzierung von Straßenbaumaßnahmen die Beliebtheit der Bauherren im lokalen Umfeld vermutlich nicht so stark steigern wie die populären Spiele, Speisungen oder Schenkungen. Jedoch bot ein steinernes Monument entlang der Straße oder eine in den Fels gehauene Inschrift dauerhafte Sichtbarkeit und Erinnerung, wie etwa die Straßenbauinschrift des M. Valerius Lollianus aus Byllis, südwestlich von Apollonia im heutigen Albanien, dokumentiert.⁵¹

49 CIL III 709 (Dyrrachium, Macedonia): *Imp(erator) Caes[ar] / M(arcus) Aurelius Sever[us] / Alexander Pius / Felix Aug(ustus) aquae/ductum divi / Hadriani parentis / sui liberalitate Dyr/rachinis factum et / vetustate pluribus / in locis vexatum resti/tuit set et viam a co/lonia per mil{l}ia passuum / quattuor voraginibus / [---].*

50 E.g. CIL V 1863 (Plöckenpass, Venetia et Histria): *[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) / [Trivii Quadri] viis ceterisque dibu[s] / [a]ram c[um] [signo] sollemne votum di[c(avit)] / Hermias susceptor operis aeterni/titulum immanem montem Alpinum/ingentem litteris inscripsit quot saepe / invium commiantium periclitante / populo ad pontem transitum non / placuit curiae et Attio Braetiano / q(uaestori) eorum viro ornato viam nov(am) / demonstrante Hermia multa ni/mis fide(n)s operisque paratus una/nimes omnes hanc viam explicuit.*

51 CIL III 600 (Byllis, Macedonia): *M(arcus) Valerius M(arci) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Lollianus prae/fectus cohort(is) I Apamenorum sagitt[ariorum] / equit(atae) trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) Fel(icis) praef(ectus) eq(uitum) alae Fl(aviae) Agrip(pianae) / praepositus in Mesopotamia vexillationibus equitum electorum alarum / praetoriae Augustae Syriacae Agrippianae Herculianae / singularium item cohortium I Lucensium II Ulpiae equit(atae) / c(ivium) R(omanorum) I Fl(aviae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) I(I) Thracum III Ulpiae Paflagonum II equitum I / Ascalolitanorum I Fl(a)u(iae) Chalcidenorum V Petr(a) eorum IIII / Lucensium I Ulpiae Petr(a)eorum II Ulpiae Paflago{g}num I Ulpiae / sagittariorum IIII Dacorum I Syngambrum / viam pub[lic(am)] quae a col(onia) Byllid(ensium) / per Astacias ducit angustam fragosam [pe]riculosam / ita muni(vi)t ut vehiculis comme{e}tur item [pon]tes / in Argya flumine et rivis d(e) s(uo) p(osuit) / et inscr[ip]sit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum); dazu Haensch und Weiß 2012, a.a.O. (Anm. 38) mit weiteren Beispielen, wie auch oben Anm. 37.*

Schließlich bilden die Meilensteine die zahlenmässig größte Gruppe von Monumenten entlang der Straßen, die nochmals deutlich deren Funktion als Orte der Repräsentation illustrieren. Denn neben ihrer praktischen Eigenschaft der Distanzanzeige verherrlichen diese Inschriften primär den Kaiser als Straßenbauer, der das Reich nicht nur durch Wege erschloss, sondern dadurch jeglichen Austausch von Botschaften, Personen und Gütern ermöglichte.

Der Titel meines Beitrags zitiert aus dem Text eines Meilensteins aus der Provinz Arabia, die nach dem Jahr 106 auf dem Boden des damals annektierten Königreichs der Nabatäer neu begründet wurde.⁵² Seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. hatten diese durch ihr Wege-, Posten- und Beziehungsnetz den lukrativen Orienthandel kontrolliert, der die Basis für ihren wirtschaftlichen wie politischen Machtzuwachs bildete. Denn die geopolitische Lage bescherte dem Königreich Verbindungen nach Südarabien (Weihrauchstraße), Mesopotamien (und damit zur Seidenstraße), gen Norden in die Levante sowie den Zugang zum Überseehandel vom Roten Meer aus. Die Inschrift des Meilensteins, der heute in 25 Exemplaren erhalten ist, zeigt, dass Trajan nach der Aneignung des Territoriums dieses als römisch beherrschtes Gebiet definiert und in den Status einer Provinz überführt hat:⁵³ *Redacta in formam provinciae*.⁵⁴ In der Folge

52 Vorgang und Umstände der Annexion sind mangels Überlieferung bis heute unklar, da Dio 68,14,5 nur das Ergebnis und den zuständigen Befehlshaber, den Statthalter Syriens A. Cornelius Palma, benennt. Wichtig waren dabei unter anderem innenpolitische wie auch wirtschaftliche Überlegungen; siehe bündelnd etwa K. Strobel, 'Zu Fragen der frühen Geschichte der römischen Provinz Arabia und zu einigen Problemen der Legionsdislokation im Osten des Imperium Romanum zu Beginn des 2. Jh. n. Chr.', *ZPE* 71 (1993), 251–280; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East. 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge 1993), 92–93; U. Hackl, H. Jenni und C. Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer. Textsammlung mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Freiburg 2003), 52–56.

53 Siehe den vollständigen Text etwa in P. Thomsen, 'Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palästina', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 40 (1917), Nr. 76a (Bostra/Busra, Arabia): *Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae fil(ius) Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germanicus Dacicus pont(ifex) maximus trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVIII imp(erator) VII co(n)s(ul) VI p(ater) p(atriciae) redacta in formam provinciae Arabia viam novam a finibus Syriae usque ad mare rubrum aperuit et stravit per C(aium) Claudium Severum leg(atum) Aug(usti) pro praetore m(ilia) p(assuum) CLXXI*. Die Formulierung wurde schon von Augustus auf den Obelisken in Rom verwendet siehe etwa *CIL* VI 701: *[I]mp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) / Augustus / pontifex maximus / [I]mp(erator) XII co(n)s(ul) XI trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIV / Aegypto in potestatem / populi Romani redacta / [S]oli donum dedit // Imp(erator) Caesar divi [f(ilius)] / Augustus / pontifex maximus / imp(erator) XII co(n)s(ul) XI trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIV / Aegypto in potestatem / populi Romani redact[a] / Soli donum dedit*.

54 Zur Beschreibung des Aktes der Provinzialisierung soll ein Meilenstein des Caracalla angeblich eine kräftigere Formulierung enthalten *CIL* III 467: *... provinciam Asiam / per viam et flumina / pontibus subiugavit*.. Die Inschrift ist jedoch nur als Abschrift des 16. Jh.

wird durch den Kaiser in Arabia die *via nova* als Nord-Süd-Transversale von über 430 km Länge ausgebaut, die quer durch die gesamte Provinz von der Südgrenze der Nachbarprovinz Syrien über die neue Provinzhauptstadt Bostra mit ihrem Legionslager bis zum Golf von Acqaba führt: *viam novam/a finibus Syriae/usque ad mare Rubrum*.

Die Bezeichnung „neu“ schließt gleichwohl die Inkorporierung bestehender Verbindungen nicht aus. Dies gilt hier für den sogenannten Königsweg, den das Alte Testament erwähnt und der den Nabatäern als Nord-Süd-Handelsroute diente.⁵⁵ Aber die römische *via nova* brachte auch neue Streckenführungen sowie einen völlig neuen Ausbaustandard.⁵⁶ Den neuen Ausbau der Straße in Stein belegen einerseits die Meilensteine selbst, die wie üblich zur Distanzanzeige und Baudokumentation entlang der Strecke positioniert wurden. Andererseits wurden weite Streckenabschnitte einer an der Oberfläche fest gestampften Erd-Straße an den Rändern durch Steinsetzungen eingefasst. Schließlich wurden Teile der Straße auch gepflastert, wie die Inschrift eigens hervorhebt. Dies entsprach der höchsten Qualitätsstufe eines römischen Highways, um schnellen und sicheren Verkehr sowie Transport mit Wagen zu ermöglichen. Diesen Ausbaustandard belegen für die *via nova Traiana* zahlreiche archäologische Befunde, die etwa südlich von Philadelphia (Amman) die Pflasterstraße in einer durchschnittlichen Breite von 6 Metern zeigen. Die Route war dort zudem durch eine zentrale Steinlinie in zwei Fahrspuren unterteilt. Befestigte Raststationen und militärische Posten entlang der Straße ergänzten die Anlage. Außerdem überwand die römische Straße – anders als die alte Karawanenroute – die tiefen Flusstäler wie besonders das Wadi Mudjib

tradiert und wird schon im CIL angezweifelt: «Interpolatas esse apparet, sed item genuinos Caracallae Diocletianique titulos subesse.» Ähnlich auch D. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* (London 2014; BIAA Electronic Monographs), vol. 3 fasc. 5, 128: “a curiosity, if not a fake.”

55 Vet. Test. *Nu.* 20,17; Strab. 16,2,20; dazu Hackl, Jenni und Schneider 2003, a.a.O. (Anm. 52), 7–9 mit einem Überblick über die Verkehrswege der Nabatäer.

56 Zum archäologischen Forschungsstand zuletzt F. Abudana, ‘The *Via Nova Traiana* Between Petra and Ayn Al-Qana In Arabia Petraea’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 35 (2016), 389–412; die grundlegende ältere Forschung mit den über 200 Meilensteinen bei P. Thomsen 1917, a.a.O. (Anm. 53), 34–57, ferner A. Alt, ‘Neue Untersuchungen zum *limes Palaestinae*’, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 71 (1955), 83–88; H.-P. Kuhnen, *Wüstengrenze des Imperium Romanum. Der römische Limes in Israel und Jordanien* (Mainz 2018), 184–186; M. Rathmann, ‘Statthalter und die Verwaltung der Reichsstraßen in der Kaiserzeit’, in A. Kolb (Hg.), *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis. Konzepte, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich* (Berlin 2006), 209 betont das Strukturkonzept im Ausbau; zur politischen und militärischen Bedeutung M.A. Speidel, ‘Rom und die Fernhandelswege durch Arabien’, in Kolb 2019, a.a.O. (Anm. 33), 53–66.

und das Wadi Wale durch neu errichtete Brücken, deren Reste an diversen Stellen erhalten sind.

Innerhalb des übernommenen Wegenetzes der Nabatäer bildet daher dieser neue Ausbau der *via nova Traiana* eine Besonderheit, die anderen Straßen in der Region nicht zu Teil wurde.⁵⁷ Den Ausschlag dafür dürften nicht nur ökonomische Gründe und sicherheitspolitische Aspekte gegeben haben. An dem alten Königsweg des Nabatäerreiches ging es offenbar ganz besonders darum, die Überlegenheit der neuen Herren am Beispiel ihrer alles bisherige übertreffenden Infrastruktur zu demonstrieren. Der neue Name „*via nova Traiana*“ und die Verbreitung von Umbenennung und Herrschaftswechsel durch die Inschriften der Meilensteine führen dies vor Augen. Das nabatäische Territorium war nun römisch, d.h. es wurde von Rom gesichert, geordnet und gehörte zum Verband des Reiches. Zudem durchquerte die *via nova Traiana* das am stärksten besiedelte Gebiet der *provincia Arabia*. Dort wurden neben Soldaten und fremden Durchreisenden vor allem die Provinzbewohner ständig an die Herrschaft Roms erinnert. Und dies erfolgte in der Sprache der neuen Herren: auf Latein. Selbst die Meilenzahlen auf den Miliaren des Traian wurden nur in römischen Ziffern gemeißelt. Erst spätere Kaiser ließen gelegentlich dem lateinischen Text griechische Ziffern für die Distanzen hinzufügen.⁵⁸

3.1 *Fazit*

Die vielfältigen Funktionen von Straßen wurden in den Blick genommen: ihre Rolle und Bedeutung für die Entstehung und Konsolidierung des Reiches, ihre Rolle für die Mobilität und Wirtschaft sowie ihre Rolle als Orte der Repräsentation. Freilich existierten diese Funktionen nicht unabhängig voneinander, sondern kamen zumeist Hand in Hand zur Wirkung. Ihre generelle Bedeutung für die historische Entwicklung des Imperium Romanum hatte Ronald Syme – wie eingangs zitiert – treffend gefasst: „Roads determine the growth of empires, their area, and their duration.“

57 Dazu auch Speidel 2019, a.a.O. (Anm. 56), 62–63, der darauf hinweist, dass Rom den Ausbaustandard jeweils an den unterschiedlichen Funktionen der Routen ausrichtete.

58 Auf dieser Strecke sind auf über 100 epigraphen Steinen nur auf 22 griechische Ziffern erhalten. Eine griechische Kaisertitulatur ist dort bisher nur für Iulian bezeugt, was auch für die übrige Provinz Arabia, Syria und Palaestina gilt; dazu Thomsen 1917, a.a.O. (Anm. 53), 11.

The Impact of Roman Roads on Landscape and Space: The Case of Republican Italy

Filippo Carlà-Uhink

1 Roman Roads and Space Construction

Considering the impact of empire on Roman landscapes, most people would immediately think of the most prominent extra-urban Roman constructions that can still often be admired crossing the landscapes of Europe and are sometimes still in use: aqueducts and roads (the latter including the architecturally more prominent bridges).¹ “Roads” are mentioned, just after aqueducts and sanitation, in the famous list of all the things the Romans “have ever done for us” in scene 10 of Monty Python’s *Life of Brian*. Indeed not only in this film, but already in the ancient world, road construction was considered a specific character of Roman rule;² later, many other forms of Classical reception and the proverb, famous worldwide, that “all roads lead to Rome”, have contributed to the consolidation, also at a popular level, of the image of the Romans as a road-constructing power, modifying the landscapes of their conquered territories through this instrument of communication, movement and control.³

At the most basic level, roads affect the landscape because they change it: in this sense, they are a major object of study for landscape archaeology and archaeomorphology.⁴ It is true that Roman roads generally adapt to the

1 On aqueducts, see Kerschbaum in this volume.

2 Str. 5.3.8: “The Romans had the best foresight in those matters which the Greeks made but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts” (transl. by H.L. Jones). See R.J.A. Talbert, ‘Roads not featured: a Roman failure to communicate?’, in S.E. Alcock, J. Bodel and R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World* (Malden and Oxford 2012), 235–254, here 238–239; A. Kolb, ‘Via ducta – Roman road building: an introduction to its significance, the sources and the state of research’, in A. Kolb (ed.), *Roman Roads. New Evidence – New Perspectives* (Berlin and Boston 2019), 3–21, here 8–9 for further ancient texts already presenting the roads “among Rome’s greatest achievements”.

3 E.g., H.E. Herzig, ‘Probleme des römischen Straßenwesens: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Recht’, in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *ANRW* 2.1 (Berlin and New York 1974), 593–648, here 593–594.

4 M. Matteazzi, ‘All the roads to Patavium: morphology, genesis and development of the Roman road network around Padua’, *Open Archaeology* 3 (2017), 83–100, here 83. See also R. Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (Paris 1997), 292–298.

topographical characters of each territory – and thus use existing environmental elements such as ridges, passes and bottlenecks. Nonetheless, “itineraries do not only adapt their paths to the natural environment but, in some cases, they face it. For example, where *natura loci* is not optimal, Romans addressed it through the creation of artificial structures” such as embankments (*aggeres*) that impact the course of rivers and their regime.⁵ When dealing with Caius Gracchus’ road construction programme, Plutarch stresses intervention in the landscape, and the beauty deriving from the constructed order and symmetry:

For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-packed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance.⁶

Also Diodorus Siculus emphasises the construction works on the *via Appia*, stressing how they contributed to shaping the memory of his constructor: “And since he dug through elevated places and levelled with noteworthy fills the ravines and valleys, he expended the entire revenue of the state but left behind a deathless monument to himself, having been ambitious in the public interest.”⁷

But even once they have been built, roads exist physically as ‘markers’, conditioning the further development of the area and the further modifications of landscape. As formulated by Matteazzi, roads “are invariable elements in the landscape, often constituting proper ‘bearing structures’ and being used as starting points in building specific territorial morphologies.”⁸ One can take as example the *sententia Minuciorum*, which in 117 BCE defined the boundaries

5 Matteazzi 2017, op. cit. (n. 4), 88. See Str. 5.3.8, celebrating how the Romans “have so constructed also the roads which run throughout the country, by adding both cuts through hills and embankments across valleys, that their wagons can carry boat-loads.” (transl. by H.L. Jones). See also Chevallier 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 127–154; P. Basso, *Strade romane: storia e archeologia* (Rome 2007), 40–50; 57–65.

6 Plu. *CG*. 7.1 (transl. by B. Perrin). On this passage, stressing how it resonates with motives and themes from the 2nd century CE and from Trajan’s propaganda, see R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy* (London and New York 1999), 49–51.

7 D.S. 20.36.2 (transl. by R.M. Geer). See Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 15.

8 Matteazzi 2017, op. cit. (n. 4), 83.

between the Genuates and the Viturii Langenses.⁹ Here, the *via Postumia*, realized thirty years earlier (in 148 BCE) in the same area, is deployed as a landscape marker to describe the exact course of the boundary, together with rivers and stone markers (*termini*). The Hyginus of the *de condicionibus agrorum*, when giving an abstract example of how to provide the description of a boundary's course, also includes roads as markers, next to hills, rivers, passes or feet and summits of mountains.¹⁰

Such impact becomes particularly evident when the construction of roads is planned in connection with bigger plans of transformation of the territory, such as centuriation and *viridane* assignments, as in the case of the *via Flaminia* (220 BCE), which was deeply connected to the distributions of lands in the *ager Gallicus et Picenus* following the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viridim dividundo* of 232 BCE.¹¹ It is obvious that in these cases the roads would, as for the *via Postumia* in Liguria, be a prominent marker for the delimitation and division of land.

Yet there are further levels on which Roman roads 'impacted' on the landscape of the *imperium*. Following the spatial turn, humanities and social sciences have insisted on the social construction of space – against the previous idea of space as a 'container' – on its ways of being an instrument of power, as well as on the continuous interactions between the perception of space, the discourses on it, its modifications, etc.¹² In this sense, it is possible to

9 CIL 1² 584 = CIL V 7749. P. Tozzi, *La via Postumia* (Pavia 1999), 14, highlights that this inscription provides a demonstration "della importanza e della evidenza che la via aveva assunto nel quadro ambientale"; in a similar form also G. Cera, *La via Postumia da Genova a Cremona* (Rome 2000), 10. See also M. Crawford, 'Language and geography in the *sententia Minuciorum*', *Athenaeum* 91 (2003), 204–210.

10 Sic. Flacc. *grom.* 74,10–19, ed. Thulin 1913: [...] *nam invenimus saepe in publicis instrumentis significanter inscripta territoria ita ut ex colliculo qui appellatur ille, ad flumen illud, et per flumen illud ad rivum illum aut viam illam, et per viam illam ad infima montis illius, qui locus appellatur ille [...].*

11 F. Carlà-Uhink, *The "Birth" of Italy. The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region, 3rd–1st Century BCE* (Berlin and Boston 2017), 59–60. The *gromatici* explicitly suggest organising the centuriation also along already existing public roads, which thus influence the development of landscape beyond their construction: see Herzig 1974, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 621–623; A. Palma, 'Le strade romane nelle dottrine giuridiche e gromatiche dell'età del principato', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *ANRW* 2.14 (Berlin and New York 1982), 850–880, here 872.

12 E.g., S. Günzel, *Raum. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung* (Bielefeld 2017), in particular 75–80. For an application to the Roman Republic, see F. Carlà, 'Caput mundi: Rome as center in Roman representation and construction of space', *AncSoc* 47 (2017), 119–157, here 119–121; D.J. Gargola, *The Shape of the Roman Order. The Republic and Its*

investigate the forms in which Roman roads changed perception of space and thus altered the ways in which this was ‘used’ and further constructed, thus helping to define and build Roman power, on a macro- as well as on a micro-regional level.

Of course, it would be senseless to argue that these effects were primary aims considered when the decision to build a road was met, and its destination and its path were defined – roads were mostly built for military reasons, or more generally to allow quicker communication between distant areas, and also as a form of aristocratic self-representation.¹³ Only in individual cases – as we will see below – it is possible to argue that the decision to reach a particular town, thus impacting on its further development, was consciously taken; additionally, it has been repeatedly argued that each road was built following individual decisions, and there was no conscious idea of developing a “network”,¹⁴ meaning that some of the consequences that we will discuss in this chapter were impossible for ancient planners to foresee. Nonetheless, it was clear already to the inhabitants of the empire that the construction of roads had far-reaching consequences – Aelius Aristides, for instance, clearly identifies roads as vehicles of ‘civilization’ (and thus, in our vocabulary, as vehicles of ‘Romanization’, ‘cultural transfer’, ‘homologation’, ‘globalization’, etc.) in a passage of his speech *To Rome*:

Homer said, “Earth common of all,” and you have made it come true. You have measured and recorded the land of the entire civilized world; you have spanned the rivers with all kinds of bridges and hewn highways through the mountains and filled the barren stretches with posting stations; you have accustomed all areas to a settled and orderly way of life.¹⁵

Spaces (Chapel Hill 2017), 1–3. Specifically on paths and roads: J.E. Snead, C.L. Erickson and J.A. Darling, ‘Making human space: the archaeology of trails, paths, and roads’, in J.E. Snead, C.L. Erickson and J.A. Darling (eds.), *Landscapes of Movement. Trails, Paths, and Roads in Anthropological Perspective* (Philadelphia 2009), 1–19, here 14–16; on Roman roads see R.E. Witcher, ‘Roman roads: phenomenological perspectives on roads in the landscape’, in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R.E. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC 97* (Oxford 1998), 60–70, here 60–62.

- 13 Also, private economic interests should not be underestimated as a reason for road construction: see Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 2), 6, and more generally, Kolb in this volume.
- 14 Talbert 2012, op. cit. (n. 2), 247–248; C. Carreras and P. De Soto, ‘The Roman transport network. A precedent for the integration of the European mobility’, *Historical Methods* 463 (2013), 117–133, here 127.
- 15 Aristid. 26.101 (transl. by J.H. Oliver). See Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 2), 9. Also Pliny the Younger (*Paneg.* 29) identifies road construction as an act bringing civilisation and progress, and praises Trajan for that.

Even when the original function of a road had eventually lost its relevance, it was still present in the landscape, conditioning its development and more generally the use of space: “Roads change over time with the transformation of the political, economic and environmental framework, as does the road networks of which they form a part. For this reason, road networks can be considered a dynamic structure that is continuously developing, where the traces of former phases remain almost fossilized within the most recent interventions, as in a palimpsest.”¹⁶

I will concentrate here on examples from Republican Italy in order to highlight different facets of this complex bundle of interactions with space and place revolving around Roman road construction and road use, and thus to contribute to the discussion on “the wider roles of Roman roads in the cultures and mindsets of the Empire’s peoples” and on “their place in the Roman physical, cultural and mental landscapes” – a topic towards which Richard Talbert has recently drawn the attention of the scholarly community, highlighting its relative neglect until now.¹⁷ This chapter will also deal exclusively with the Roman public roads, the *viae publicae*, built on public land and accessible to everybody, and more particularly with the so-called *Reichsstraßen*, understood by modern scholarship as sub-category of the *viae publicae*, built and administered by magistrates of the *res publica* and not, for example, by individual towns.¹⁸

I will focus in particular on the following points: (1) how Roman roads constructed connectivity and modified perceptions of distance; (2) which political, economic and cultural consequences they had on individual regions and centres, for instance how they shaped the hierarchy of settlements in a given area; (3) how they contributed to the expansion and diffusion of Roman institutions – and therefore ultimately shaped the political presence of Rome as hegemonic power within Italy; (4) how Roman roads contributed to define at a meta-level the perception and description of space, shaping centrality and defining different regions. I hope in this way to offer a broad and varied

16 Matteazzi 2017, op. cit. (n. 4), 84.

17 R.J.A. Talbert, ‘Roads in the Roman world: Strategy for the way forward’, in Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 2), 22–34, here 22–23.

18 For a definition and for the difference between *Reichsstraße* and *via publica*, see C. Campedelli, *L'amministrazione municipale delle strade romane in Italia* (Bonn 2014), 5–6. See also, among many others, T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstraßen* (Bonn 1968), 6; G. Radke, ‘*Viae publicae Romanae*’, *RE Suppl.* 13 (1973), 1417–1686, here 1422–1423 for a list of characters of the *viae publicae* following Siculus Flaccus, and Herzig 1974, op. cit. (n. 3), 605–614 and A. Kolb, ‘Le strade romane come mezzo di percezione dello spazio’, in M.G. Angeli Bertinelli and A. Donati (eds.), *Misurare il tempo, misurare lo spazio* (Faenza 2006), 313–329, here 314–316 on the different kinds of Roman roads.

overview of a set of different forms through which Roman roads shaped the landscape of empire, and to explain why “the systematic extension of the Roman road network [...] continues to enjoy unquestioned pride of place as the primary, physical manifestation of Roman power in Italy.”¹⁹

2 Connectivity and Distance

It is almost a tautology to say that roads increase the connectivity between different places, as this is the very aim of their construction; yet it is important to stress that this effect is a generalized one – the connectivity is then there for all to use, and it touches on other places than the two extreme *capita viarum*.²⁰ Roman public roads, once built, were free to access for anybody:²¹ “Generally speaking, anyone could use these roads without requiring prior authorization or the equivalent of a modern passport.”²² This is crucial in understanding how widespread the consequences of such connectivity were for substantial numbers of people, and therefore what great impact these roads had on the general mentality concerning roads and on perceptions of space.²³

As formulated by Ray Laurence, with a statement containing many different and important points, which will be differentiated and expanded upon over the next few pages:

The road was the fundamental element for the production of territorial space in the creation of a Roman Empire. The road caused places to become unified that were at distance, for example, Rimini and Rome [by the *via Flaminia*]. The road structured the Roman view of space that was linear and emphasised the connectivity between cities (places of local

19 R. Roth, ‘Beyond romanisation’, in G.D. Farney and G. Bradley (eds.), *The Peoples of Ancient Italy* (Berlin and Boston 2018), 295–317, here 301.

20 M. Fronza, *Between Rome and Carthage. Southern Italy during the Second Punic War* (Cambridge 2010), 318: “Roman roads, although built originally for military purposes, facilitated travel and communications between Rome and communities throughout Italy.”

21 Fest. 508.20 L: *Viae sunt et publicae, per [...] e omnibus licet, [...]*.

22 Talbert 2019, op. cit. (n. 17), 27. See also A. Palma, ‘Le strade romane nelle dottrine giuridiche e gromatiche dell’età del principato’, in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *ANRW* 2.14 (Berlin and New York 1982), 850–880, here 859. An exception were private roads, on which the owner could decide to forbid any passage, as attested by *CIL* 1² 1831.

23 On roads as “landscapes of movement”, see Snead, Erickson and Darling 2009, op. cit. (n. 12), 1–4.

government). Equally, the road altered the nature of space by connecting places that were divided by ranges of mountains and also by simply avoiding contact with former rivals to Rome such as Veii. In this sense, the road was a mechanism of Roman power that physically reshaped the landscape after Roman control had initially been asserted through military intervention. The ability to alter the nature of space and to produce a cultural form that emphasised the interconnection between cities created a new viewpoint of territory that was no longer fragmented or divided. The emphasis on Rome as the centre of the road system assured the city's cultural and political dominance over the places on the roads themselves.²⁴

The Roman perception of space was not as 'bidimensional' and 'cartographic' as ours: as Pietro Janni has shown, the Romans had a 'hodological' perception of space, of a linear kind, which saw the movement from a point A to a point B as a sequence of intermediate places that needed to be reached and passed.²⁵ In this sense, it becomes immediately clear that the construction of a new road that shortened or simply modified such a sequence could alter radically the way in which the inhabitants of a region positioned individual places in relation to each other, which shaped the (power) relationships between individual centres: "che la cartografia pratica dei Romani fosse fondata sulla rete stradale non è certo un caso [...]. La strada romana, costruita per durare eternamente, diventava un aspetto permanente del paesaggio, un punto stabile e sicurissimo di riferimento e orientamento."²⁶

A strong perception of the existing connectivity and of the "possibility of movement" was then provided through the practice of name-giving: in connection with each and every road and with the related infrastructure arose a huge number of toponyms that reified their presence as a constitutive component of landscape.²⁷ While Radke's theory that the mid-point of every Republican road was marked by a *forum* bearing the name of the constructor was disproved a long time ago,²⁸ names derived from Roman ordinal numbers and directly

24 Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 197.

25 P. Janni, *La mappa e il periplo. Cartografia antica e spazio odologico* (Rome 1984), in part. 79–90. See also C.R. Whittaker, *Rome and Its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire* (London and New York 2004), 63–82.

26 Janni 1984, op. cit. (n. 25), 61.

27 Basso 2007, op. cit. (n. 5), 75–77.

28 G. Radke, 'Namen und Daten. Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des römischen Straßenbaus', *MH* 24 (1967), 221–235, here 229–230; Radke 1973, op. cit. (n. 18), 1465–1472; rightly

recalling the distance from Rome or from the next centres, for example, are still often recognizable in Italian toponyms:²⁹ Sesto Calende, for instance, derives its name from its being sixth miles from Somma Lombardo/*Summa* on the road that brought one from Milan to the Simplon Pass. The importance of such names in shaping the idea of connectivity and of connected space should not be underestimated – as name-giving is famously a crucial element in shaping discourses of power. As formulated by Whittaker, “the names of places they [the Roman roads] united, what has been called in modern colonial times ‘dispossession through naming’, illustrated the relations between centre and periphery, and that in turn enhanced the rhetoric of control.”³⁰

This connectivity and the implied power relations were manifested physically through the milestones, placed exclusively along the *viae publicae*.³¹ By expressing in a numeric form the distance from centres touched by the road, or reachable through the road network, they helped to identify specific towns as more important, or central, at a local, regional or supra-regional level.³² In the most notable case, of course, this happened when the milestones acknowledged the distance from Rome also in areas far away from the *Urbs* – a very common practice in northern and central Italy, attested already on the earliest milestones known;³³ this, according to Laurence, “created a distinctive geography in Italy that was structured according to the position of a person or place relative to the public road system.”³⁴ An example is provided by the milestone from Mesa bearing the names of the aediles *P. Claudio(s) Ap. f.* and *C. Fourio(s)*

disproved by, among others, T.P. Wiseman, ‘Roman republican road-building’, *PBSR* 38 (1970), 122–152, here 123–124; Herzig 1974, op. cit. (n. 3), 602–604; Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 27–28.

29 M. Calzolari, ‘«Ad sextum miliarem» (Itin. Burdig., 564, 4). I toponimi derivati dalle distanze in miglia come fonte per la ricostruzione della rete stradale di età romana’, *AttiMemModena* 11 (1986), 27–56.

30 Whittaker 2004, op. cit. (n. 25), 78.

31 W. Eck, ‘Die Administration der italischen Straßen: das Beispiel der Via Appia’, in W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* 1 (Basel and Berlin 1995), 295–313, here 297.

32 Milestones display significant local and regional variation concerning the way in which the distance was counted and represented, as already realized by G.J. Laing, ‘Roman milestones and the *capita viarum*’, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 39 (1908) 15–34, here 34, even if his conclusions cannot be all shared today.

33 E.g., *CIL* XI 6642. For this practice during the Principate and in the provinces, see also A. Kolb, ‘Römische Meilensteine: Stand der Forschung und Probleme’, in R. Frei-Stolba (ed.), *Siedlung und Verkehr im römischen Reich* (Bern and Berlin 2004), 135–155, here 151–152.

34 Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 84. On the practice of counting the distance from Rome on Italian milestones see Laing 1908, op. cit. (n. 32), 15–24.

C. f., laid most probably around 255–253 BCE, that marks on the via Appia the distance of 53 miles from Rome and 10 from Forum Appii or – much more probably – from Terracina.³⁵

Milestones did not thus simply indicate “the relative importance of different places”,³⁶ but actively shaped it in the perception and in the understanding of the traveller/reader. The identification of the important centres nearby, the definition of the crossroads and therefore of the possibility of reaching, from a hodological perspective, different areas and towns, the definition of a distance and therefore also of a time of travel allowed the milestones to deeply shape the spatial perception of each traveller, reinforcing and ‘objectifying’ the effect of the road system itself. Shifting hierarchies, political change, or just different perceptions of the territory and its structure could lead to updating the stones³⁷ – as it also happened when further work on the roads led to a change in the distances.³⁸

Ancient authors stress how less tiring the trip is when milestones break down the distance by showing ‘intermediate aims’ – Quintilian compares this with the introduction of the partition of a speech, providing “clarity and charm”: “it also relieves the hearer by setting limits to particular parts, just as the fatigue of a journey is a good deal relieved by reading the distances on the milestones! It is also pleasant to know how much of our work has been done, while the knowledge of how much remains is an encouragement to set about the rest with a better heart.”³⁹ It is thus clear that the travellers were expected to pay attention to the milestones, to derive from them clear knowledge about the sequence and the distance of the individual towns, and thus to mentally structure the (Roman) space through which they were moving.⁴⁰

35 *AE* 2011, 221 = B. Díaz Ariño, *Miliarios romanos de época republicana* (Rome 2015), no. 5. See A. Buonopane, “Il più antico di tutti ora esistenti”: Mommsen, Barnabei e le vicende del miliario arcaico di Mesa (Latina); in P. Basso (ed.), *I miliari lungo le strade dell'impero* (Verona 2011), 35–46, here 41.

36 So Laing 1908, op. cit. (n. 32), 15, even if he argues that being mentioned on the milestones might also have depended on the amount of money that the single communities spent on building or maintaining the road (20–21).

37 R. Ghidotti, ‘Sull’ubicazione del miliario di Spurio Postumo Albino (*CIL* v 8045); *Epigraphica* 76 (2014), 495–502, here 501–502, argues for instance that *CIL* v 8042 (on which see below), originally marking a crossroads, was then displaced to mark a *mansio* when the crossing lost importance, and this led to the inscription of an additional numeral on the milestone.

38 M. Adamo, ‘The *lapis Pollae*: Date and contexts’, *PBSR* 84 (2016), 73–100, here 83.

39 Quint. *inst.* 4.5.22–23 (transl. by D.A. Russell). Cf. Rut. Nam. 2.7–8.

40 See Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 82–84; Kolb 2006, op. cit. (n. 18), 316 and España-Chamorro in this volume.

Plutarch stresses that Caius Gracchus wanted milestones to be placed at regular distance on his roads: “In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances.”⁴¹ This should not be understood in the sense that Caius Gracchus was the first to ‘systematize’ and generalize the use of milestones;⁴² rather, it is meaningful of Plutarch’s – and of most Romans’ – perception of what makes a ‘good road’, and as such it is a component of the self-representation of the road constructors.⁴³ The very famous and much discussed *lapis Pollae*,⁴⁴ for example, insists on the fact that the honoured person built the road and equipped it with bridges, milestones and other inscriptions (*tabellarii*).⁴⁵

41 See also Plu. *CG* 7.2 (transl. by B. Perrin). Caius Gracchus’ programme of road building is mentioned also by App. *BC* 1.23.98.

42 So O. Hirschfeld, ‘Die römischen Meilensteine’, *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 9 (1907), 165–201, here 167, and in a milder form also Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 151.

43 On references to road construction in Republican *elogia*, see S.G. Bernard, C. Damon and C. Grey, ‘Rhetorics of land and power in the Polla inscription (*CIL* 1² 638)’, *Mnemosyne* 67 (2014), 953–985, here 972. See also Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 150–151.

44 *CIL* X 6950 = Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 49. It is not crucial here to discuss the ‘genre’ of this composite inscription, that surely is not a normal milestone and yet is deeply connected to the construction of the road from Capua to Rhegium (see G. Susini, ‘Le lapis de Polla’, *MAWBL* 46 [1984], 101–110, here 103–104; V. Bracco, ‘Il *tabellarius* di Polla’, *Epigraphica* 47 [1985], 93–97): the text celebrates the construction of the road and contains distances calculated along it. Nor is it necessary to discuss here who is the honoured magistrate – once it is agreed, as almost all scholars do, that the inscription dates to the 2nd century BCE. In Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 82–89, I defended Mommsen’s identification of the honoured magistrate with P. Popillius Laenas (consul 132 BCE) – and I still am convinced that this is the most plausible identification, defended also by Franciosi 2002.

45 On the *tabellarii* and their difference from the *miliarii*, many theories have been expressed: see, for instance, Hirschfeld 1907, op. cit. (n. 42), 169–170; Susini 1984, op. cit. (n. 44), 110; A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2000), 25–27; Bernard, Damon, Grey 2014, op. cit. (n. 43), 969–970. A summary of different theories is formulated by B. Salway, ‘Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*’, in C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (London and New York 2001), 22–66, here 50–58, whose interpretation of the term as inscriptions bearing a ‘*tabella* of routestations clearly displayed to public view’ (54) is the most convincing. See also B. Salway, ‘The perception and description of space in Roman itineraries’, in M. Rathmann (ed.), *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike* (Mainz 2007), 181–209, here 190–192.

3 Development and Hierarchy of Settlements

As mentioned, milestones could visualize and reify a hierarchy of settlements, defining which towns were ‘worthy’ of being mentioned – and thus of being identified as *capita viae*, relevant ‘nodes’ of the road network. A milestone from Verona and connected to the via Postumia, for example, identified, after the name of the road constructor, the consul of 148 BCE Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus, the distance to Genua (122 miles), the final destination of the road conceived by Albinus, and to Cremona (27 miles), therefore identified as the ‘next’ relevant centre. At a later moment, another hand added above Postumius’ name the indication VIII – probably the distance from another local centre that did not need to be mentioned.⁴⁶ Not mentioned are the towns from which the distance is measured also on the Republican milestones placed by the consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, constructor of the via Aemilia (187 BCE):⁴⁷ they are the nearest bigger centres (Bononia on the first stone, Bononia and Mutina on the second one) and Rome, whose role as *caput viarum* and final ‘aim’ of the road system is implicit.

The fact that often distances were stated on the stone without explicitly saying from where they had been calculated, indeed, implies the expectation that the travellers would immediately understand what the reference point was – be it Rome, the *caput viae* or the nearest relevant settlement.⁴⁸ The inscription from Mesa mentioned above is a perfect example: we have a problem in understanding whether the ten miles were from Terracina or from Forum Appii – the ancient travellers did not. The indication of the distances on the milestones were thus embedded in broader structures of perception of space and of the hierarchy of settlements, and reinforcing mutually with other forms of hierarchization and structuration, such as the *nundinae*, other fairs, the presence of administrative centres, the juridical status of a community, public discourse, etc.

Yet it is the construction of the roads itself that can determine and influence the status, the political and the economic development, somehow the entire future of individual settlements. In the passage quoted above, Laurence highlighted that the Romans were very well aware of the effects that an important road, with all the traffic and the commerce it implied, could have on a town, and thus for example deliberately avoiding Veii, the *Urfeind* in Roman cultural

46 *CIL* V 8045 = Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 21. According to Ghidotti 2014, op. cit. (n. 37), 501–502, this happened when the milestone was displaced to a *mansio* located at the ninth mile from Bedriacum. See also Cera 2000, op. cit. (n. 9), 9–10.

47 *CIL* XI 6642; 6645.

48 Radke 1973, op. cit. (n. 18), 1450–1454, presents the different possible distances listed on milestones.

memory, when building the *via Cassia*;⁴⁹ in the same way, it has been argued that the *via Appia* intentionally avoided “any contact with the cities of Rome’s Latin allies.”⁵⁰ The relationship between Roman roads and the economic and administrative development of individual centres is, more generally, a perfect example of how pre-existing structures, topographical characters, individual decisions, all interact and contribute to shaping the landscape and determining the construction and perception of space. Of course, Roman roads followed on most occasions pre-existing paths that had been used (and in part also ‘constructed’) before their acquisition of hegemony in each individual territory. This applies to Etruscan roads as well as to Venetic and Celtic ones. This means that some centres were founded at – or already were – important crossroads, at the convergence of especially important itineraries. This is, for example, the case of Padua/Padova, “the heart of an important network of routes (both terrestrial and fluvial) communicating the South and the North-East of the Italian Peninsula since the Bronze Age.”⁵¹

For Gaul, Strabo explicitly refers to the topographic reasons that led Agrippa to choose Lugdunum as the central crossroads:

Lugdunum is in the centre of the country – an acropolis, as it were, not only because the rivers meet there, but also because it is near all parts of the country. And it was on this account, also, that Agrippa began at Lugdunum when he cut his roads – that which passes through the Cemmenus Mountains as far as the Santoni and Aquitania, and that which leads to the Rhenus, and, a third, that which leads to the ocean (the one that runs by the Bellovaci and the Ambiani); and, a fourth, that which leads to Narbonitis and the Massilian seaboard. And there is also, again, in the Poeninus itself (if you leave on your left Lugdunum and the country that lies above it), a bye-road which, after you cross the Rhodanus or Lake Lemenna, leads into the plains of the Helvetii; and thence there is a pass through the Jura Mountain over to the country of the Sequani and also to that of the Lingones; moreover, the thoroughfares through these countries branch off both ways – both towards the Rhenus and towards the ocean.⁵²

49 J.B. Ward Perkins, ‘Etruscan towns, Roman roads and medieval villages: the historical geography of southern Etruria’, *The Geographical Journal* 128 (1962), 389–404, here 398.

50 Laurence 1999, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 13, referencing further literature.

51 Matteazzi 2017, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 89–90.

52 Str. 4.6.11 (transl. by H.L. Jones). See A. Buisson and A. Pelletier, ‘Les voies romaines autour de Lyon. Essai de synthèse’, *Caesarodunum* 18 (1983), 157–166.

Quite obviously, a new road would aim to reach and connect what already were bigger or more important towns – often with a special eye for Latin and Roman colonies.⁵³ On the other side, after its construction, the road would reinforce and perpetuate the centrality and importance of these centres, but also determine the success of smaller towns – or even the foundation and the very existence of new settlements.⁵⁴ This has often not been sufficiently highlighted, as Hitchner has pointed out – but it is important to remember that “many smaller towns, particularly in the western provinces, owed their origins to the construction and convergence of new roads.”⁵⁵ A significant example in Italy is Dertona/Tortona:⁵⁶ a Ligurian village, the settlement was on the route of the via Postumia, which, as we have already seen, since 148 BCE connected Genua to Cremona, Verona and Aquileia. This meant a significant growth of the town that was deducted as a Roman colony around 120 BCE. A few years later, in 115 BCE or in 109 BCE,⁵⁷ a branch of the via Aemilia Scauri connected Dertona through Aquae Statiellae to Vada Sabatia, thus increasing further the connectivity – and the centrality, and the importance – of the colony.⁵⁸

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- 53 On the relationship between development of the road system and colonial foundations see, among others, F.T. Hinrichs, ‘Der römische Straßenbau zur Zeit der Gracchen’, *Historia* 16 (1967), 162–176, here 166; F. Coarelli, ‘Colonizzazione romana e viabilità’, *DArch*, s. 3.6 (1988), 35–48; Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 25; Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 52–53.
- 54 As already noted by Ward Perkins 1962, op. cit. (n. 49), 398 and Herzig 1974, op. cit. (n. 3), 618. More generally, see Carreras and De Soto 2013, op. cit. (n. 14), 117.
- 55 R.B. Hitchner, ‘Roads, integration, connectivity, and economic performance in the Roman Empire’, in S.E. Alcock, J. Bodel and R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World* (Malden and Oxford 2012), 222–234, here 225.
- 56 Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 73–74.
- 57 See E. Fentress, ‘Via Aurelia, via Aemilia’, *PBSR* 52 (1984), 72–76, here 75.
- 58 Str. 5.1.11. See Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 81–82. On the via Aemilia Scauri see now A. Buonopane and C. Gabrielli, ‘Miliari e viabilità dell’Etruria romana: un aggiornamento e alcune considerazioni’, in Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 2), 375–403, in particular 394–396; on its branch leading to Dertona, see P.L. Dall’Aglia and I. Di Cocco, ‘La via Aemilia Scauri e gli itinerari medievali dei pellegrini’, in M. Pozzar (ed.), *Insedimenti e territorio. Viabilità in Liguria tra I e VII secolo d.C.* (Bordighera 2004), 49–69, here 52–56; on its relation to the via Postumia, see G. Sena Chiesa and M.P. Lavizzari Pedrazzini (eds.), *Tesori della Postumia. Archeologia e storia intorno a una grande strada romana alle radici dell’Europa* (Milan 1998), 261–262. According to the Tabula Peutingeriana, in Dertona a third road joined the via Postumia and the via Aemilia Scauri. Many scholars consider this the via Fulvia, based on the existence of a Forum Fulvi between Dertona and Ocelum, which would lead to Hasta/Asti, Turin and Ocelum, and would have been realised by M. Fulvius Flaccus, consul 125 BCE (see, among others, Hinrichs 1967, op. cit. [n.53], 169; G. Corradi, *Le strade romane dell’Italia occidentale* [Turin 1968], 36–41; Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1998, op. cit. [58], 223–225; Chevallier 1997, op. cit. [n.4], 189; E. Banzi, *I miliari come fonte topografica e storica. L’esempio della XI regio [Transpadana] e delle Alpes Cottiae* [Rome 1999], 109). Even if other scholars, such as Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 139, have shown

4 Roads and Institutions

We return now to milestones – their presence represented a form of reification and of literal inscription in the landscape of Roman institutions and Roman elites – in short, of Roman institutions and Roman power, as “their purpose was thus not purely practical, but also to immortalise Roman rule on stone columns along the Empire’s main lines of communication. Ancient travellers were thus constantly confronted with Roman power, as well as the Empire’s capacity of organisation and public welfare.”⁵⁹ The names of the Republican magistrates given to the *viae publicae* they realised, following the principle stated by Siculus Flaccus,⁶⁰ and present on Republican milestones celebrating who built or renovated the road and its infrastructure, were an important means of aristocratic self-representation, and manifested to the local inhabitants the hegemonic power of Rome and its elite.⁶¹ Indeed, there is good reason to think that magistrates and members of the elite could sometime set milestones without doing any further construction works on the road.⁶²

Polybius stresses clearly that the measurement of distances and the placement of milestones (and thus the construction of roads) are indicative of the Roman presence in the territory – in his case, Southern Gaul: “this part of the road [from Narbo to the Rhone] having now been carefully measured by

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- that the name via Fulvia is at best an unfounded educated guess, the road did exist and was presumably used already in Republican times. Tozzi 1999, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 23–25 discusses the impact of the via Postumia on the development and the topography of the towns it crossed, including Dertona. See also Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 429–432; Cera 2000, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 80–87 on the via Postumia and Dertona.
- 59 Kolb 2019, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 12; the sentences apply there to imperial milestones bearing the emperors’ names, but it is valid also for Republican milestones, as it will be shown in this paragraph. See also Kolb 2006, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 317. On Late Antique milestones and their meaning as honorary monuments for the emperors, see C. Witschel, ‘Meilensteine als historische Quelle? Das Beispiel Aquileia’, *Chiron* 32 (2002), 325–393, here 367–369.
- 60 Sic. Flacc. *grom* 110,2–3, ed. Thulin 1913; *Nam sunt viae publicae [regales], quae publice muniuntur et auctororum nomina optinent*. Radke 1973, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 1428, suggests that the roads received their names from the names of the magistrates inscribed on the milestones or from the name of the *fora*. This is not relevant here, as long as it is clear that already in antiquity these roads were called with the name of the Roman magistrate who built it (as in the case of the via Appia, the via Aemilia, etc.).
- 61 A comprehensive study of the 49 known Republican milestones has been provided by Díaz Ariño 2015, *op. cit.* (n. 35). On their function for aristocratic self-representation, see in particular 46–47. See also Witcher 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 66.
- 62 Adamo 2016, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 80. This idea was already partially introduced by Wiseman 1970, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 152. See also below, fn. 106. To the same conclusion, but for the Late Antique milestones in Venetia et Histria, comes also Witschel 2002, *op. cit.* (n. 59), 366–367.

the Romans and marked with milestones at every eighth stade.”⁶³ The *lapis Pollae* – independent of the name given to its genre, undoubtedly a text deeply connected to the road network, as it recalls the construction of the road from Rhegium to Capua and contains a set of distance from relevant centres – has been (rightly) interpreted as the product of the self-representation of a Roman magistrate “presenting himself as the ‘face’ of Roman hegemony in Southern Italy, and in the process revealing the complex processes of cooperation and domination, negotiation and concession that were fundamental to that hegemony in this period.”⁶⁴ The readers were, indeed, all travellers⁶⁵ – and many of them would have been locals (and members of the local elites), who accessed in this way messages from the hegemonic power.⁶⁶

Yet roads did not need inscriptions and milestones to be bearers of Roman institutions and Roman law, and thus instruments of implementation and enforcement of Roman power: “Roads are a principal means by which the state’s control over a territory can be expressed and maintained – after all, soldiers can move along roads just as easily as traders and merchants.”⁶⁷

As prominent markers on the territory, and as important means of communication, the roads became a crucial part of the exercise of power and hegemony – and contributed also in this sense to expand, materialise and reify Roman authority over Italy.⁶⁸

Michael Crawford has shown, for instance, that the Roman rural *tribus* – obviously a crucial instrument of organisation of Roman power, given their importance in structuring the life of the Roman citizens across the territory and subdividing them in voting units – were organised along the Roman roads, and numbered, at least since the second half of the 3rd century, according to their succession on those roads when moving from Rome.⁶⁹ This is, according

63 Plb. 3.39.8 (transl. by W.R. Paton).

64 Bernard, Damon and Grey 2014, op. cit. (n. 43), 954. For similar considerations on the via Appia, see Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 13.

65 Susini 1984, op. cit. (n. 44), 106: “L’inscription était destinée à être lue par le public du forum de Polla et par ceux qui passaient sur cette route”; see also 107.

66 See Bernard, Damon and Grey 2014, op. cit. (n. 43), 974–980.

67 Bernard, Damon and Grey 2014, op. cit. (n. 43), 980.

68 As seen already by J. Vogt, ‘Raumauffassung und Raumordnung in der römischen Politik’, in H. Berve (ed.), *Das neue Bild der Antike* II (Leipzig 1942), 100–132, here 108–109. See also W. Eck, ‘Straßen und ihre Denkmäler’, in R. Frei-Stolba (ed.), *Siedlung und Verkehr im römischen Reich* (Bern and Berlin 2004), 17–39, here 17–19.

69 M.H. Crawford, ‘Tribus, tessères et regions’, *CRAI* 146 (2002), 1125–1136, here 1130: “Il apparaît que l’ordre des tribus, du moins de celles dont l’ordre et la localisation sont raisonnablement sûrs, suit les grandes routes partant de Rome: en premier lieu la Via Ostiensis, avec les tribus Romilia, Voltinia et Voturia, et puis, en sens inverse de la course du soleil,

to Crawford's reconstruction, probably connected to military conscription, the *dilectus*, which seems to have been organised around the roads that facilitated the movement of the soldiers,⁷⁰ and "magistrates and the senate almost certainly used these roads to organize the movement of orders and messages to and from the center."⁷¹ Gargola has further noted that also the *prodigia* known to us through our sources tend to happen along roads or very near them, adding a further element of "direct intervention" of Roman power through the road system.⁷²

The importance of the roads in marking and shaping the space of Roman law becomes very visible in a series of measures that use the roads – or better the distances marked on them – to define spheres of validity and/or of action of magistrates or individual decisions. Since the oldest time, the first mile from Rome – as marked on the roads leaving the city – was an important boundary, regulating the limits of the specific jurisdiction of the *Urbs*.⁷³ Further sources speak of individual measures identifying the tenth or the fiftieth milestone from Rome as the limit of validity,⁷⁴ revealing the importance of roads in assessing and establishing legal structures. Specific laws, then, regulated the uses of roads and the rights – of circulation but not only – that were valid on them. Particularly famous is a provision from the agrarian law of 111 BCE: "Insofar as anyone [shall have] led animals onto public drove-roads and public roads for transit [or shall have driven (them there) for pasture he is] not [to be obliged to pay] anything to the people or to a publicanus [for that livestock, whatever of it] shall have been driven on the public [drove-roads] or public roads for pasture or for transit."⁷⁵

And yet, this is not all, as the construction of the *Reichsstraßen* was also always an act that brought upon the territory – and manifesting physically

la Via Appia, depuis la tribu Horatia jusqu'à la Falerna, la Via Latina, la Via Praenestina, la Via Valeria, la Via Salaria, la Via Flaminia et la Via Clodia." According to Crawford, this system would have been devised in 225 BCE and would have lasted until the enfranchisement of Italy after the Social War.

70 Crawford 2002, op. cit. (n. 69). See also Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 94–95.

71 Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 54.

72 Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 103. On the importance of *prodigia* in defining (sacral) space, see also Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 190–192.

73 E.g., M. Crawford, *Roman Statutes I–II* (London 1996), 363, n. 24.24; 752, n. 50. See F. Carlà, 'Pomerium, fines and *ager Romanus*: understanding Rome's "first boundary"' *Latomus* 74 (2015), 599–630, here 619–620; Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 190.

74 E.g., Liv. 25.5.6; 27.37.9; 31.13.6. See Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 195–198.

75 Crawford 1996, op. cit. (n. 73), 116, n. 2.26. See D.W. Rathbone, 'Ager publicus in Italy', in J.-J. Aubert (ed.), *Tâches publiques et entreprise privée dans le monde romain* (Geneva 2003), 135–178, here 170.

there – the power and authority of the *res publica* and its magistrates, crossing the territories and touching upon the towns of independent allied communities.⁷⁶ It is not necessary here to reopen the long debate about who had the authority of building a *via publica* and in what capacity, as such discussion would lead too far and is not central to what we are discussing.⁷⁷ Crucial is acknowledging that such roads, anywhere they were built, implied the presence of Roman magistrates (whose name would then be reified and made further visible by the milestones and the name of the roads) and more generally of Roman law and Roman power.

The *viae publicae*, furthermore, were built with public money⁷⁸ – from Rome, in the case of the *Reichsstraßen* –, as Siculus Flaccus clearly states and a famous Roman inscription from the late 2nd or the first half of the 1st century BCE concerning maintenance works on the *via Caecilia* reveals.⁷⁹ The urban quaestor T. Vibius Temuudinus received on this occasion also the function of *curator viarum*, following a very little known *lex Visellia*, that seemingly regulated how Roman roads were funded and maintained, and took care of farming out the necessary operations.⁸⁰ Additionally, the *viae publicae* were built on public property, which implies that prior to the construction

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- 76 G. Paci, 'Il miliario repubblicano di Porchiano', in E. Catani and G. Paci (eds.), *La Salaria in età antica* (Macerata 2000), 343–352, here 347–348, in reference to a possible *via Stata* near Asculum. A milestone from Porchiano from the second half of the 2nd century BCE (*AE* 2000, 476) indeed marks the distance to Asculum, at that stage a *civitas foederata*, identified as a regional centre and touched upon by a road. This was constructed by Rome, with the intervention of the *praefectus* Cn. Staius. On the *praefecturae* in Republican Italy, see Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 200–202 and the bibliography referenced there.
- 77 See, among others, Hinrichs 1967, op. cit. (n. 53), 166–168; Radke 1967, op. cit. (n. 28), 221–226; Pekáry 1968, op. cit. (n. 18), 37–71; Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 125; Radke 1973, op. cit. (n. 18), 1431–1438; Herzig 1974, op. cit. (n. 3), 597–601; P.C. Ertman, *Curatores viarum: A Study of the Superintendents of Highways in Ancient Rome*, (PhD thesis, Buffalo 1976), 5–7; Eck 1995, op. cit. (n. 31), 297–298; M. Rathmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Reichsstraßen in den westlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum* (Mainz 2003), 44–46; Basso 2007, op. cit. (n. 5), 26–27; Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 213–214. See also Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 71–72 and the literature referenced there.
- 78 Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 144–147; Radke 1973, op. cit. (n. 18), 1445–1446; Herzig 1974, op. cit. (n. 3), 601–602; Ertman 1976, op. cit. (n. 77), 24–25.
- 79 *CIL* VI 31603. See M.P. Guidobaldi, *La romanizzazione dell'ager Praetutianus (secoli III–I a.C.)* (Naples 1995), 292–313; Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 40–41; M.P. Guidobaldi, 'La *via Caecilia*: riflessioni sulla cronologia e sul percorso di una *via publica romana*', in E. Catani and G. Paci (eds.), *La Salaria in età antica* (Macerata 2000), 277–291. Siculus Flaccus: see above, fn. 60.
- 80 A *curator viarum e lege Visellia* is attested also by *CIL* VI 1299 (68 BCE). See Pekáry 1968, op. cit. (n. 18), 102–104; Radke 1973, op. cit. (n. 18), 1472–1474; Herzig 1974, op. cit. (n. 3), 643–644; Ertman 1976, op. cit. (n. 77), 13–17; Rathmann 2003, op. cit. (n. 77), 47–49.

of the *Reichsstraßen*, the lands through which they would have run had to be declared *ager publicus*, through the *ius publicandi* available to magistrates with *imperium*.⁸¹ In this sense, the planning, the construction, and the existence of a Roman public road were acts literally expanding upon the landscape Roman legal institutions and Roman political power. The Roman hegemony was physically manifested by such construction works, and underlying these were juridical, administrative, and political structures that penetrated thus different parts of Italy – and later the provinces. Roman law, most crucially, regulated the planning and construction of the roads, starting with the XII Tables that had already defined the minimum width of a *via* – eight feet when straight, sixteen in the curves.⁸²

Roads were not only built – they needed maintenance: without regular repair they would not have fulfilled their function, nor would they have had any lasting impact on the territory.⁸³ This maintenance represents a further important facet of Roman intervention throughout Italy – as financial investment, as creation of juridical frameworks, as personal action of members of the Roman elite (for instance in cases of euergetism, through which notables personally paid for the maintenance of roads).⁸⁴ Already since the XII Tables it is foreseen that roads needed to be regularly marked and kept in a recognizable shape; the responsibility for that was attributed to local inhabitants, even if it is a matter of discussion as to whether this meant those whose possessions were limited by the road or the inhabitants of the town through which the road passed.⁸⁵ The first option seems more probable, as Cicero states that “if a road is impassable, a man may drive his beast by any way he likes”, thus over the fields of those who should have maintained it.⁸⁶ Municipal laws attest that the public life of individual towns was affected on the administrative level by the passage of roads as they had to take care of them.⁸⁷ The *Tabula Heraclensis* reveals, for example, that the aediles of each town, just as the aediles in Rome, were responsible for the cleaning and the maintenance of the

81 A. Palma, ‘Le strade romane nelle dottrine giuridiche e gromatiche dell’età del principato’, in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *ANRW* 2.14 (Berlin and New York 1982), 850–880, here 854; Rathmann 2003, op. cit. (n. 77), 6–8; concrete information is available only for the Principate, yet. See V. Ponte, *Régimen jurídico de las vías públicas en derecho romano* (Madrid 2007), 251–263.

82 XII tab. 7.6; Varr. *ling.* 7.15. See Ponte 2007, op. cit. (n. 81), 44–46.

83 Hitchner 2012, op. cit. (n. 55), 225.

84 See Campedelli 2014, op. cit. (n. 18), 82–96. See also Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 52–55.

85 XII tab. 7.7. See Pekáry 1968, op. cit. (n. 18), 37–38; Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 147; Crawford 1996, op. cit. (n. 63), 672–673; Campedelli 2014, op. cit. (n. 18), 19–22; Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), 38–39 and the literature referenced there.

86 Cic. *Caecin.* 54 (transl. by H.G. Hodge). See Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 54.

87 Campedelli 2014, op. cit. (n. 18), 22–28.

roads – and of checking that those who lived along the road took care of the part of road in front of their property.⁸⁸

Similar measures must have been taken also within the autonomous communities – allied with Rome – through which the roads were passing, as we cannot expect only the colonies and the *municipia* to have dealt with the maintenance of the public ways. The agrarian law of 111 BCE mentions a group of *viasei vicanei*,⁸⁹ whose identification is quite difficult – as is the discussion whether the land they occupied was public or their private property; Michael Crawford writes that comparisons with other texts “might suggest that what we have here are ‘road-people, lane-people’, in open country and urban areas on *ager publicus*. Their duties were presumably to match the obligations of proprietors fronting on roads”,⁹⁰ as those mentioned in the Table of Heraclea.

There is no need to discuss here further the identity of the *viasii*, or the laws concerning the roads and their maintenance, which are mostly known for the imperial time.⁹¹ The main point, the one relevant to our considerations in this chapter, should have become very clear by now: the construction of Roman roads, and particularly of the *viae publicae* and of the *Reichsstraßen*, brought with them an expansion of Roman law and legal structures, as well as of Roman political and hegemonic power. Such legal structures and power were carved into the landscape through the very existence of the roads, the infrastructure that needed care and maintenance, the inscriptions bearing evidence of the intervention of Roman magistrates, as well as by the very movement of members of the Roman elite along those roads and through the towns they crossed.

5 Shaping Regions – Roman Republican Roads and the Definition of Italy

Saying that Rome was the centre of the Roman world is very obvious – yet, this centrality was absolutely crucial to the Roman understanding of space,⁹² and the roads, which famously “led to Rome”, were an important facet in

88 Crawford 1996, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 24.24–61. See, among others, Ertman 1976, op. cit. (n. 77), 8–12; Campedelli 2014, op. cit. (n. 18), 28–37.

89 Crawford 1996, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 2.11–12.

90 Crawford 1996, op. cit. (n. 63), 160. See also Hinrichs 1967, op. cit. (n. 53), 175–176; Wiseman 1970, op. cit. (n. 28), 148–149; Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 73. See also Hinrichs 1967, op. cit. (n. 53), 171–172 and A. Franciosi, ‘La romanizzazione del Vallo di Diano in età graciana e l’elogio di Polla’, in G. Franciosi (ed.), *La romanizzazione della Campania antica I* (Napels 2002), 195–228, here 214–215, interpreting the reference, in the *lapis Pollae*, to lands given to agriculture as relating to the *viasii vicani* ‘installed’ along the road.

91 A summary is provided by Basso 2007, op. cit. (n. 5), 25.

92 Carlà 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), in particular 126–132.

structuring such centrality.⁹³ Around twenty roads departed radially from Rome in different directions, and many of them belong to the most ancient phase of Roman road construction.⁹⁴ Starting with the second half of the 3rd century, indeed, the Roman roads lost the previous character of radially, assumed a “long-distance character”⁹⁵ and stretched thus over the entire peninsula, as “tangible reminders to the Italics of Rome’s virtual stronghold”⁹⁶ on it. Yet even now, roads connected with each other, always guaranteeing the possibility of travelling to the *Urbs*.

The milestones, as we have seen, reinforced the sense of Rome as the point of departure or arrival of all journeys by showing the distance from this central point, long before this was monumentally marked in the Forum by the *milliarium aureum* built by Augustus in 20 BCE.⁹⁷ Gargola recently stressed that Roman roads were primarily used by members of the Roman elite: “The regular movement of magistrates and citizens to and from Rome was a prominent structural feature of its public life. Because of their military service, members of Rome’s elite would have seen much more of their world than other members of their society, and they would have experienced it largely in the form of journeys to and from the center.”⁹⁸ Also in this sense, the road system contributed to shaping also at a meta- and macro-level the space of the Roman state, highlighting the centrality – physical, geographical, political and symbolic – of Rome.⁹⁹

And yet, centrality and centricity, understood as principle structuring space, and through it the *Weltanschauung* of historical cultures, imply the existence of a hierarchy, and therefore of different ‘levels of centrality’. Indeed, if Rome is the one and only centre of the *imperium* – and this is indisputable – Roman space was nonetheless constructed, perceived and reproduced as a concentric system in which proximity to the centre assumed a character of value. In the most evident form, Italy was – as the region “surrounding Rome” – a regional centre, clearly distinct from the provinces.¹⁰⁰

93 E.g., Whittaker 2004, op. cit. (n. 25), 78

94 Chevallier 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 174. See also Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), 67–70.

95 Ward Perkins 1962, op. cit. (n. 49), 398.

96 Fronda 2010, op. cit. (n. 20), 310–311. On this evolution, see, among others, Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), 70–74; Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 75–80, and the literature referenced there.

97 D.C. 54.8.4.

98 Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 51.

99 See also Kolb 2006, op. cit. (n. 18), 318–319.

100 Carlà 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), in particular 117–125.

This ‘concentric system’ was also reified on the landscape by the road system that made similar ‘assets of centrality’ visible on the territory. At the first and most evident level, this happened through the very presence of public roads. Still in the Principate, the road administration in Italy was different from that in the provinces and marked the specificity of the peninsula.¹⁰¹ While Roman roads began being built in the provinces already ‘in parallel’ to the expansion of the road system in Italy, the sheer quantity of roads defined and clearly characterised Italy as the ‘connected place’, with a much more capillary connectivity and therefore connection to Rome.¹⁰² Elsewhere I have argued that for over a century, between the second half of the 3rd and the end of the 2nd century BCE, public roads were basically built exclusively in Italy.¹⁰³

Even in Sicily, indeed, we know only one milestone, placed by the consul C. Aurelius Cotta in 252 or 248 BCE, during the First Punic War, on the road leading from Panormus to Agrigentum¹⁰⁴ – at a time in which the provincial system did not exist yet, and the legal and administrative status of what would become, a generation later, the first Roman province was anything but clear.¹⁰⁵ Recent work on the earliest roads in the provinces, such as the *via Egnatia* in Macedonia and the *Via Domitia* in Gaul, has stressed how these were probably pre-existing paths on which maybe no construction work at all took place, but that it is rather possible that “l’essentiel de l’action proconsulaire ait concerné la pose de milliaires.”¹⁰⁶ The same applies to Aurelius Cotta’s road in Sicily, a pre-existing path on which the milestone, after the Roman conquest of Agrigentum (262 BCE) and Panormus (254 BCE), assumed the clear role of a political statement: as Jonathan Prag has emphasised, the inscription has many common characters with trophies, as it “sta in un territorio che i Romani stanno conquistando, ricorda la distanza dalla prima città importante siciliana conquistata, e segna il percorso rafforzato dai Romani tra due città

101 Eck 1995, op. cit. (n. 31), 296. See also, more generally, W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1979), 25–87.

102 E.g., Gargola 2017, op. cit. (n. 12), 58.

103 Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 93. On a more local level, Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 22, argues that “the building of the *Via Flaminia* created a view of the region and defined it as a single territory”, also highlighting how roads can define the shape of individual regions.

104 *ILLRP* 1277 = Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 24. On this milestone, see J.R.W. Prag, ‘Il miliario di Aurelius Cotta (*ILLRP* 1277): una lapide in contesto’, in M.A. Vaggioli (ed.), *Guerra e pace in Sicilia nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII–III sec. a.C.)*. *Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra* II (Pisa 2006), 733–744, including a discussion of the previous literature.

105 Carlà-Uhink 2017, op. cit. (n. 11), 90–91. See also Prag 2006, op. cit. (n. 104), 736–738.

106 F. Mottas, ‘Du premier milliaire au dernier palimpseste: cinq siècles et demi de présence romaine en Grèce’, in Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 2), 272–302, here 273–275.

importanti in Sicilia occidentale. Si configura, dunque, proprio come un simbolo del potere romano in Sicilia in questo momento – un simbolo rafforzato tramite l'uso della lingua latina, una lingua del tutto straniera in Sicilia a [sic!] questo periodo.”¹⁰⁷

Surely, these milestones were absolutely crucial in displaying, as we have seen above, Rome's presence and its power in these territories, and the now established and reified link to Rome – and the importance of this action, as well as of the simple 'declaring' a path as a Roman public road cannot be underestimated. Cicero famously refers to the via Egnatia as “our great military road through Macedonia as far as the Hellespont”, and complains that it is currently endangered by barbarians to attack his enemy Piso.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, although, it cannot be underestimated that roads, through their appearance and infrastructure, could draw attention not only to their connectivity, but also to their distance from the centre – as well as to the difference between Italy and the provinces.

This was true also within Italy – and it constituted a further means of structuring the Roman system of concentric centralities. Of course, I do not want to argue that this was done intentionally, with the precise aim of differentiating the infrastructure of the roads in Northern Italy from that in the central part of the peninsula. Nonetheless, some construction practices that were deployed near the centre shaped the perception of particular areas as 'more embellished' and thus 'more important' and therefore reified and reinforced the spatial structures at stake. The best example is offered by the realisation of the roads themselves: stone paving was for instance still during the Principate common within the urban centres, much more seldom in the countryside – “a esclusione delle campagne centro-italiche e in particolare tosco-laziali, ove i tracciati erano per lo più lastricati, forse per la vicinanza a Roma o per la disponibilità di approvvigionamento lapideo.”¹⁰⁹ The two possible explanations offered by Basso are not mutually exclusive – and even if the second had been the original main reason (which does not seem probable), such construction practice probably finally ended up marking and highlighting proximity to Rome, and influencing the paving of further roads in the area.

107 Prag 2006, op. cit. (n. 104), 736.

108 Cic. *prov.* 4: *Via illa nostra, quae per Macedoniam est usque ad Hellespontum militaris*, [...]. (transl. by R. Gardner). *Via militaris* is used here to indicate a public road, rhetorically and dramatically connected with the passage of armies as instruments of Roman control, but without any 'technical' meaning: see Rathmann 2003, op. cit. (n. 77), 24–25; M.A. Speidel, 'Heer und Strassen – Militares viae', in R. Frei-Stolba (ed.), *Siedlung und Verkehr im römischen Reich* (Bern and Berlin 2004), 333–344, here 333. See Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 35), 44–46.

109 Basso 2007, op. cit. (n. 5), 32. See also Laurence 1999, op. cit. (n. 6), 8.

Proximity to Rome was again marked by the milestones – also here, local and regional differences allow to see the ‘concentric’ spatial structure that we have been discussing. Yet, it is a field that would require further studies and more attention. Already in 1908, Laing noted that the indication of the distance from Rome is very common in central and southern Italy, less so in northern Italy, and much more seldom in the provinces,¹¹⁰ while Calzolari stressed how toponyms derived from the distance from Rome exist only in central Italy:¹¹¹ these patterns confirm that the road system, its infrastructure and the practices connected to its use shaped a spatial system in which the centrality of Rome made itself clear in the areas surrounding it, which were thus characterised by better and faster connectivity to the centre. Central Italy had therefore more and more ‘embellished’ roads, on which the distance to Rome was stressed more frequently; Italy in general displayed – also through the road system – its special character and its difference from the provinces.

“All roads lead to Rome” – and by doing so, they deeply shaped and modified the landscapes they were crossing, the perception and definition of regions and territories, and the ways in which the Romans and the inhabitants of the *imperium* saw and understood the space they lived and moved in. In this way, they shaped, reinforced and reified Roman power – as “landscapes do not mirror society, they also help to create and perpetuate social relations.”¹¹²

110 Laing 1908, op. cit. (n. 32).

111 Calzolari 1986, op. cit. (n. 29), 36–37.

112 Witcher 1998, op. cit. (n. 12), 61.

Engaging Landscapes, Connecting Provinces: Milestones and the Construction of *Hispania* at the Beginning of the Empire

Sergio España-Chamorro

1 Introduction¹

At the time of Augustus, the reconfiguration of the administrative system of *Hispania* was combined with a new plan for interconnectivity.² The foundation of *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida) in *Lusitania* required to restructure the former regional system therewith implementing a new provincial system of communication. With the redefinition of the border between *Hispania Citerior* and the newly created province of *Baetica*, it was necessary to reorganise the administration of roads of the recently created provinces. Furthermore, a new conception of administrative unity was created. It was traceable by milestones, as will become clear in the below presented example of the so called *Ianus Augustus*. These significant processes transformed the republican provinces (*Hispania Ulterior* and *Hispania Citerior*) into a new provincial system consisting of three parts instead of two, the subdivision of *Hispania Ulterior* into *Baetica* and *Lusitania* and the territorial redefinition of *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis*, hitherto called only *Citerior*. The new territories incorporated into *Hispania Citerior* (the north-western corner of the Iberian Peninsula) required the implementation of a system of highways to connect the new cities founded by Augustus after the Cantabrian Wars and to bring the Roman administration system to the region.³ The impact of this reorganisation can be

1 This research was funded by the I+D Project “*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*” (MINECO Ref. PGC2018-095981-B-I00), “*Identidades norteafricanas en transformación*” (MINECO Ref. PID2019-107176GB-I00), the IdEx project at the Institut Ausonius (Bordeaux), and the Juan de la Cierva Incorporación contract (Madrid).

2 I am aware that in Anglo-Saxon tradition the term “Spain” is more frequently used, but I prefer to omit this expression because this is a modern concept that should be avoided for the Roman period. Terms like Iberian Peninsula or the Latin *Hispania* are more accurate and allow to include the region of modern Portugal.

3 A. Kolb, ‘The conception and practice of Roman rule: the example of transport infrastructure’, *GeorgAnt* 20 (2011–2012), 53. She says that Roman road policy has been considered one of the best strategies for opening and developing conquered territories.

traced through road epigraphy. Republican milestones have only been documented in the Northeast of the Iberian Peninsula. However, the opening of new roads and the creation of the new provinces brought the habit of road epigraphy to other areas. Through a careful analysis of the Julio-Claudian milestones, the administrative policy in rural areas can be traced.

2 Landscape Archaeology and Political Landscapes: An Introduction

Landscape Archaeology has been developed as a strong sub-discipline for giving a wider idea of Antiquity outside of the urban environments.⁴ Tilley provided a fantastic idea of what is a landscape, saying that it is not only as a conjunction of visible, tangible and available elements, but also a construction of a system of meaning and its symbolic aspects,⁵ which reflect and integrate multiple factors (social, economic, historical, political, ideological ...). The political involvement is the part I will develop in this paper connecting it with the administrative implications. This offers an interesting new vision of the beginning of Roman infrastructure planning in the Iberian Peninsula by analysing inscriptions connected with the roads.

Focusing on the administrative epigraphic evidence, milestones and *termini* have even more links with the geographical context than other kinds of epigraphy due to the fact that the main purpose is to inform walkers about any aspect of the surrounding landscape. Taking into account this point of view, it is important to understand some aspects of road inscriptions. Of course, it is important to study and to analyse their inscribed texts, but the above mentioned new approaches of landscape archaeology have demonstrated the importance of their symbolism narrowly linked with the territory and the way of their dispersion in order to have a wider vision of these general phenomena. It also has opened a huge range of possibilities of interpretation. Linking landscape and politics allows us to know which areas were important for Imperial propaganda and to understand the pedagogy of power. The new administration created by Augustus changed the political landscape of the whole Iberian Peninsula. The first emperor founded new Roman *coloniae* that became very important points for spreading the Roman culture and lifestyle. These new

4 This is a vast topic, for which see in this volume the contributions by Marietta Horster and Günther Schörmer. I expand on the theoretical framework and my personal position in my unpublished thesis: S. España-Chamorro, *Límites y territorios de la Bética romana* (Madrid 2017), 1–53.

5 C. Tilley, *Interpretative Archaeology* (Providence 1993); C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscapes. Places, Paths and Monuments* (Berg 1994).

colonies and some other already existing cities were used as administrative capitals of provinces or of *conventus iuridici*.⁶ This allowed him to rethink the whole provincial infrastructure and roads around them. Roads were an important part of rural propaganda and they were commissioned by the Imperial house. The various roads can be distinguished by main characteristics: their quality, their durability, their pavement into the entrance area of the cities, as well as by bridges and other annexed infrastructures. Directing to the horizon, roads overpassed the irregularities of territories.⁷ This was a strong symbol of connectivity of the Hispanic provinces with the Roman empire outside the peninsula, but at the same time a way of representing the subjugation and the new Roman order by establishing an orthogonal division of land and territories.⁸ It reminded the inhabitants of the evident military character of roads with the inclusion of the name of the legions working on the public infrastructure into the inscribed text,⁹ or the inclusion of military adjectives in these inscriptions as for example, the *via Augusta militaris* mentioned in some Baetican milestones from Domitian.¹⁰ Milestones and other road inscription were a perfect way for the Romans to engage in the new provincial landscapes and to develop public epigraphy in rural areas. This serial epigraphic source outside the city brought the Imperial power to the margins of the cities.¹¹

6 About this form of administration, M.D. Dopico Caínzos, 'Los *conventus iuridici*: origen, cronología y naturaleza histórica', *Gerión* 4 (1986), 265–283 and P. Ozcáriz Gil, *Los conventus de la Hispania Citerior* (Madrid 2006).

7 S. España-Chamorro, 'Pedagogía del poder imperial en el espacio rural bético a través de los miliarios', *Potestas* 10 (2017), 31–48.

8 P. Zanker, 'The city as a symbol: Rome and the creation of an urban image', in E. Fentress and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformation, and Failures. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavation of Cosa, 14–16 May, 1998* (Portsmouth [RI] 2000), 29.

9 *Legio IIII Macedonica* in Las Cinco Villas area, *CIL* xvii/1, 169–170. I. Moreno Gallo, *Item a Caesarea Augusta Beneharno. La carretera romana de Zaragoza al Bearn* (Zaragoza 2009), 39–43; J. Andreu Pintado, 'La ciudad romana de Los Bañales (Uncastillo, Zaragoza) en las fuentes históricas', in J. Andreu Pintado (ed.), *La ciudad romana de Los Bañales (Uncastillo and Zaragoza) entre la historia, la arqueología y la historiografía* (Zaragoza 2012), 19–100, esp. 34–37.

10 Four milestones: *CMB* I 27 = *CIL* II²/5, p. 65, n. 10 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 15; *CMB* I 28 = *CIL* II 4721 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 30; *CMB* I 29 = *CIL* II 4722 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 31; *CMB* I 30 = *CIL* II 4703. The abbreviation *CMB* corresponds to S. España Chamorro, 'Corpus Milliariorum Baeticae. Miliarios y política viaria en la *Hispania Ulterior Baetica* en época imperial (s. I–IV)', *Archeologia Classica* 70 (2019), 397–454; see also P. Sillières, 'La *vehiculatio* (ou *curus publicus*) et les *Militares Viae*. Le contrôle politique et administratif de l'Empire par Auguste', *SHHA* 32 (2014), 123–141.

11 España-Chamorro 2017, op. cit. (n. 6), 31–48; S. España-Chamorro, 'Poder y Territorio. La política territorial y viaria en la *Baetica* de Augusto a Adriano', in A.J. Domínguez et al.,

3 Milestones and *Hispania*

The Roman transport system was a fundamental tool for the consolidation of the newly annexed territories and for the dissemination of the territorial administration, the culture of Roman power, and the Roman lifestyle.¹² It was also one of the best ways to incorporate these territories into the economic framework of the Roman empire and the provinces. However, the cases of the Iberian Peninsula are inconsistent within the empire since Rome did not create a new road system from scratch (quite the opposite), but relied heavily on the pre-Roman communication and territorial systems.¹³ The first road regulation known is the *lex Sempronia viaria* implemented by Caius Gracchus and dating back to BCE 123.¹⁴ This law was also the first to consider milestone policy, thus contrasting with the (much earlier) epigraphic habit represented in some republican milestones. In this sense and connected with the use of the mile, standardised in Republican times, Gianfrotta proposed that this *lex* belonged to the agrarian reform effectuated in Italy in which the Roman mile was legally sanctioned as the official measure for the Roman road policy.¹⁵

Republican milestones have recently been compiled in a corpus that provides a useful image of how concentrated their use was during the Republic.¹⁶ Only 50 republican milestones are known to date.¹⁷ These are concentrated in few regions: in Italy, Southern Gaul to the Hispanic region (between the

Formas, manifestaciones y estructuras del poder político en el Mundo Antiguo (Madrid 2017), 333–350.

12 España Chamorro 2019, op. cit. (n. 9).

13 Some interesting historical notes can be found in Timeus of Tauromenium in, *De mirab. Ausc.* 85 where he explains that the path from Italy to the Iberians was called the “*via Herculea*”, later known as “*via Augusta*” after the reformulation of its name, which makes it obvious that both *viae*, *Heraclea* and *Augusta*, refer to the same road; cf. Pol. 3.39; Str. 3.4.9 with an extensive description of this road.

14 C. Campedelli, *L'amministrazione municipale delle strade romane in Italia* (Bonn 2014).

15 P.A. Gianfrotta, *Le vie di comunicazione*, in A. Schiavone and E. Gabba (eds.), *Storia di Roma IV. Carattere e Morfologia* (Rome 1982), 303. The connection of road and agrarian policies can also be seen in BCE 223, when the *via Flaminia* was constructed and the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico e Piceno viritim dividundo* was enacted, see V. Ponte Arrébola, ‘Régimen jurídico de las vías romanas’, in I. Moreno (ed.), *Las técnicas y las construcciones en la ingeniería romana* (Córdoba 2010), 84.

16 B. Díaz Ariño, *Miliarios romanos de época republicana* (Rome 2015).

17 Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 15) published 48 republican milestones, but recently published papers have added some more: A. Buonopane and C. Gabrielli, ‘I due miliari repubblicani della via Faesulae-Pisae e la viabilità nell’Etruria settentrionale’, *Sylloge epigraphica Barcinonensis* 16 (2018), 213–224 and A. Buonopane and C. Gabrielli, ‘Miliari e viabilità dell’Etruria romana: un aggiornamento e alcune considerazioni’, in A. Kolb (ed.), *Roman Roads. New Evidence – New Perspectives* (Berlin and Boston 2019), 375–403.

rivers *Rhodanus/Rhône* and the *Hiberus/Ebro*) and the eastern provinces of *Macedonia* and *Asia*. Other areas that were conquered during the Republic such as Africa or the southern part of *Hispania Ulterior*, the future *Baetica*, have not provided any republican milestone. It is astonishing that later, during the Imperial period, the provinces *Africa* and *Baetica* will have such a rich repertoire and great number of Latin inscriptions. In some areas such as the Ebro and Guadalquivir valleys or the Eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, the public epigraphic habit started to develop slowly from the second century BCE onwards. We know from archaeology and classical text sources that the road system of these provinces was already partially constructed and working before that date. The situation in the empire outside *Hispania* is also quite complex and diverse. Until now, around 8000 milestones are documented.¹⁸ It is assumed that less than 5% of all milestones were erected in the republican times. The numbers of stones known from the provinces differ in absolute numbers, and it seems in proportion to the antique milestones, depending on the later history of the region and its respective infrastructure: Published are 112 milestones of *Britannia*, 250 of the *Narbonensis*, 450 of *Palaestina*, 570 of the provinces in the *Illyricum*, more than 1000 in *Asia Minor* and around 2300 in *Africa Proconsularis* and *Numidia*. Focusing on a specific geographical area like *Hispania*, we find 79 milestones in *Baetica*,¹⁹ around 450–500 in *Lusitania*²⁰ and around 639 in *Hispania Citerior*.²¹

Assuming that no major events and economic developments in Portugal and Spain had an impact on the preservation of the stones, this data apparently shows us that there were different policies of road management. Provinces or *conventus iuridici* had the control and maintenance of the *viae publicae*. This created differences in the epigraphic habit of each administrative unit.

18 A. Kolb, 'Miliaria: Ricerca e metodi. L'identificazione delle petre milari', in F. Pavan (ed.), *I miliari lungo le strade dell'impero. Atti del Convegno (Isola della Scala, 28 novembre 2010)* (Verona 2011), 19; A. Kolb, 'Via ducta – Roman road building: An introduction to its significance, the sources and the state of research', in Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 16), 3; Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (EDCS) provides a total number of 7919.

19 España Chamorro 2019, op. cit. (n. 9).

20 EDCS (July 2020) presents only 250 milestones, as well as M. Rathmann, 'Miliaria in der Provinz Lusitania', in Kolb 2019, op. cit. (n. 16), 303–323 (with and without inscriptions), probably taking only the information from EDCS; this will be updated in the corpus that E. Paredes Martín and I are preparing together (*Corpus Milliariorum Lusitaniae*) under development and the total number will increase it at least until 450–500 (including anepigraphic milestones).

21 Taking only into account the inscribed milestones. The total number has been reached by using the information provided in *CIL* XVII/1 and A. Rodríguez Colmenero et al., *Miliarios e outras inscrições viarias romanas do Noroeste Hispánico* (Santiago de Compostela 2004).

Apparently, milestones were not always important for travellers in terms of movement, but was a powerful element of propaganda.

Rome and Italy were spaces in which a huge number of milestones were placed. We can see that from the Republican times onwards there is a great interest in providing useful information about distances between cities. In other parts of the empire the density of milestones is lower, or it may be that they were not set up on all larger connecting roads, but only on some particular points of the main routes.

Augustus reconsidered the whole process of communication and connectivity within the empire. In his time, a lot of roads were opened or rebuilt. He also transformed the conception of connectivity by placing the *miliarium aureum* in the heart of the empire, the forum of Rome, and quite close to the *umbilicus urbis Romae*.²² The central place of the city was next to the centre of communications of the whole empire. This element was erected only for symbolic and propagandistic purposes, but not as a functional element. According to the *Digesta* the point for measuring roads in Italy were the city walls, not this milestone.²³

Augustus implemented and reinforced the propagandistic function of road epigraphy. Until his age, this element was mainly italic, as can be seen above, but knowing of the power of propaganda in rural areas, he introduced road epigraphy in new territories such as in *Baetica*, *Lusitania* or *Gallia*. Some of those new provincial text were written in an archaic way. The first milestones from Africa, for example, were erected by him using a traditional formula that reminds us of the republican texts.²⁴

4 The Augustan Administration of *Hispania*

The end of the Cantabrig Wars finalised the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. It is supposed to have finished the administrative project planned by Caesar. This plan consisted in reorganising the two Republican provinces into three and its subdivision into the *conventus iuridici*.²⁵ It was also a new way of reorganising the engagement amongst local communities within the empire. The foundation of new important cities such as *Augusta Emerita*, *Asturica Augusta*,

22 Plin. *nat.* 3.66; Tac. *hist.* 1.27; Suet. *Otho* 5; D.C. 54.8.4.

23 *Mille passus non a miliario urbis sed a continentibus aedificiis numerandi sunt* (Dig. 50.16.144).

24 Díaz Ariño 2015, op. cit. (n. 15).

25 This provincial subdivision specially known for *Dalmatia*, *Asia* and *Hispania* is quoted by Pliny. For the Hispanic provinces, Plin. *nat.* 3.

Bracara Augusta or *Lucus Augusti*, placed in an area with a low number of Latin or Roman communities, was the materialisation of this new plan. But this also entailed the renovation of the road network and its involvement with the new imperial propaganda. The implementation of Roman culture in the newly conquered areas and the restructured former provincial territories also brought about a new process of Latinization. This supposed not only the incredible rise of the epigraphy, but also the incorporation of a new brand model of inscriptions such as the generalisation of the funerary epigraphic habit, the quotation of the *origo* and the extinction of the Paleohispanic language with the only exception of Lusitanian.²⁶ A new way of understanding space and of incorporating measurements in the public daily life appeared. It can be perceived with the apparition of the *mensurae sepulcri* with the *indicatio pedaturae, termini* and milestones in other areas away of the Ebro valley.²⁷

As we can see, the beginning of imperial milestones with Augustus in the Iberian Peninsula can be linked to a wider process of Latinization and generalisation of epigraphy in cities and in rural areas. There also was a special interest in bringing the epigraphy into the rural areas.

5 Where Are the Milestones? The Evidence

There are obvious differences between the new imperial provinces:

1. In *Baetica* 79 milestones have been found. 25 were erected in the Julio-Claudian period. 11 of them were placed in the time of Augustus. Only milestones from Caracalla's times are as numerous as in Augustus' time.
2. In *Lusitania* a work-in-progress compilation has compiled around 400–450 milestones (around 300 with inscription).²⁸ Only 24 inscriptions can

26 I. Simón, 'El final de las escrituras paleohispánicas', *Acta Palaeohispanica* XI. *Palaeohispanica* 13 (2013), 167–186; J. Herrera Rando, 'La desaparición de las lenguas y escrituras paleohispánicas en el sur peninsular', *Antesteria* 5 (2016), 153–163.

27 D. Vaquerizo Gil and S. Sánchez, 'Entre lo público y lo privado: *Indicatio pedaturae* en la epigrafía funeraria hispana', *AEspA* 81 (2008), 101–131 and the addenda in *AEspA* 82 (2009), 311–313. There is only one republican *terminus* in the whole peninsula, see Fuentes de Ebro, Zaragoza according to C. Cortés Barcena, *Epigrafía en los confines de las ciudades romanas* (Rome 2013), 136–137, n. 50, and 14 *termini* from the Augustan age (see *ibid.* 221–222).

28 See fn. 20. Before the compilation of that corpus, I have previously published the total number of 108 milestones based on the information of J.M. Solana Sáinz and L. Hernández Guerra, *La política viaria en Hispania siglo III d.C.* (Valladolid 2002); J.M. Solana Sáinz and L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, *La política viaria en Hispania. Siglo IV d.C.* (Valladolid 1998); J.M. Solana Sáinz and L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, *La política viaria*

be dated in the Julio-Claudian period. The intervention of Augustus is very low with only 7 inscriptions.

3. *Hispania Citerior* is a much more complicated province. This is the biggest province in the whole empire. There is also a high number of epigraphic evidence in its territory. The first of two fascicles of *CIL* XVII/1 for Spain has compiled the evidence without the Northwestern part.²⁹ Another corpus made by a Galician team complete this information.³⁰ We have a total number of 639 milestones. 94 are dated to the Julio-Claudian age,³¹ of which 35 are dated to the Augustan time.

In *Baetica*, 43 milestone inscriptions have been found in the main axis of the province: the *via Augusta*. All the Julio-Claudian inscription belonging to this road were placed in the surrounding of Corduba with the only exception of a milestone of Nero, found at El Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz), at the end of the *via Augusta*.³²

This Neronian milestone is an important proof about the *caput viae* of the Baetican *via Augusta*. The Augustan road system fixed the new *capita viarum* of the provinces. Baetican milestones of the *via Augusta* inform us that this

en Hispania: siglos I-II d.C. (Valladolid 2008); Recently Rathmann 2019, op. cit. (n. 19) counted 250 milestones for *Lusitania*.

29 In *CIL* XVII/1. The total amount is 307 milestones.

30 Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 20).

31 **Augustus:** *CIL* XVII/1. 9, 31, 67, 70, 73, 74, 78, 84, 86, 114–116, 118–121, 134, 135, 142, 147, 151, 169, 170, 239, 257–287; Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 20), n. 1, 55, 79, 118, 121, 133, 140, 167, 565; **Tiberius:** *CIL* XVII/1. 4, 14a, 29, 37, 143, 146, 148, 149a–b, 152, 153, 204, 209, 218, 224, 228, 230, 240, 246, 258, 278, 279, 284, 286, 288, 294, 295; Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 20), n. 2, 53, 56, 65, 76, 137, 139, 142; **Caligula:** Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 20), n. 208, 211; **Claudius:** *CIL* XVII/1. 15, 35, 93, 94, 109, 130, 139, 289; Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 20), n. 208–211; **Nero:** *CIL* XVII/1, 110, 124, 141, 210, 219, 220; Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 20), n. 222–569.

32 **Augustus:** *CMB* I 1 = *CIL* II 4701 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 4; *CMB* I 2 = *CIL* II 4702 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 6; *CMB* I 3 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 11 = *HEp* 4, 300; *CMB* I 4 = *CIL* II 4703 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 12; *CMB* I 5 = *CIL* II 4704 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 15 = *HEp* 4, 302; *CMB* I 6 = *CIL* II 4705 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 17; *CMB* I 7 = *CIL* II 4706 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 20; *CMB* I 8 = *CIL* II 4707 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 24 = *HEp* 4, 294; *CMB* I 9 = *CIL* II 4708 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 25 = *HEp* 4, 295; *CMB* I 10 = *CIL* II 4709/4710 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 26 = *HEp* 4, 296; *CMB* I 11 = *CIL* II 4711 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 27 = *HEp* 4, 297; **Tiberius:** *CMB* I 12 = *CIL* II 4712 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 5; *CMB* I 13 = *CIL* II 4713 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 18; *CMB* I 14 = *AE* 1912, 11; *CMB* I 15 = *CIL* II 4714 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 21; *CMB* I 16 = *CIL* II 4715 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 22; **Caligula:** *CMB* I 17 = *CIL* II 6208 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 2 = *HEp* 4, 292; *CMB* I 18 = *CIL* II 4717 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 14 = *HEp* 4, 301; *CMB* I 19 = *CIL* II 4716 = *ILS* 193 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 28; **Claudius:** *CMB* I 20 = *CIL* II 4718 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 29; **Nero:** *CMB* I 21 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 54 = *AE* 1986, 368 = *HEp* 1, 277; *CMB* I 22 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 9 = *HEp* 5, 315; *CMB* I 23 = *CIL* II 4719 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 23; from El Puerto de Santa María *CMB* I 25 = *CIL* II 4734 = *ILS* 227.

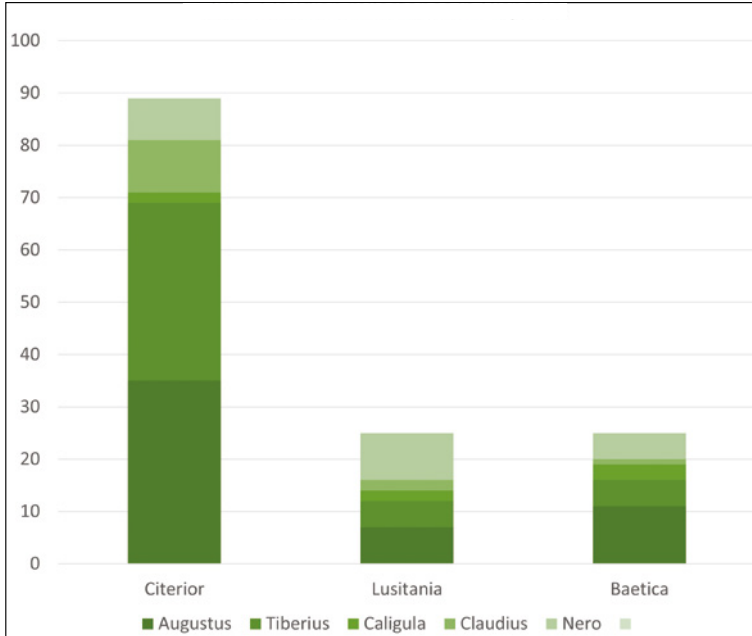


FIGURE 5.1 Julio-Claudian milestones in *Hispania*

SOURCE: AUTHOR

was the only *caput* for the whole provincial territory in contrast to the *via Augusta* in *Hispania Citerior*, which had different intermediate *capita viae*. This Baetican *caput* is known as the *Ianus Augustus* and is an important element of the Baetican geography and a proof of how important roads and road epigraphy were in the geographical conception. The integration process of the already existing road system into the new one, received an impressive image and symbol by the *Ianus*-orchestration, going thus far beyond the Roman imperial standard of administrative necessities and imperial propaganda. In the Iberian Peninsula, the subdivision of *Hispania Ulterior* into two parts reformulated the conception of territory and mobility. The former highway called Ὀδὸς Ἡράκλεια was transformed into the *via Augusta* and the new provincial limit between *Baetica* and *Citerior* was marked with the previously quoted *Ianus Augustus*. Apart from the above said symbolic value, it had an important practical function by its role as *caput viae*.

Augustan milestones inform us about the so-called *Ianus Augustus* saying that it leads *a Baete et Iano Augusto ad Oceanum*.³³ The information can be

33 L.A. Holland, *Ianus and the bridge* (Rome 1961), 294–295; A. Nünnerich-Asmus, ‘Straßen, Brücken und Bögen als Zeichen römischen Herrschaftsanspruchs’, in W. Trillmich et al. (eds.), *Hispania Antiqua. Denkmäler der Römerzeit* (Mainz 1993), 121–157, esp. 134;

completed with the milestones from Tiberius and Caligula (*ab Iano Augusto qui est ad Baetem usque ad Oceanum*) and also with those from the Domitian time (*ab arcu unde incipit Baetica*).³⁴ Taking into account all this information, we can imagine that the *Ianus Augustus* was a monumental arch placed on the border between the two provinces. With the Augustan reorganisation of *Hispania*, the limit between *Citerior* and *Baetica* was definitely fixed at the *Baetis* river (now called Guadalquivir).³⁵ That is why it is often interpreted as being an arch over a bridge, similar to other cases such as Alcántara bridge or Martorell bridge, also in the Iberian Peninsula.³⁶ We can also assume that this specific Roman created road landscape including this monumental arch was originally conceived to reach the border to the *Oceanum*, linking this specific idea with an expression with others from Virgil's *Aeneid*.³⁷ This was a way to persuade the provincial society from this region to develop a new territorial identity in order to transform the previously ethno-geographical idea of Turdetania into a cohesive province. It is also important that sometimes milestones placed on the same road and at the same time have a different text and *ordinatio*, allowing us to perceive the provincial differences through the different inscriptions of the respective magistrates. This is not only perceivable in the quotation of the *Ianus Augustus*, but also in the emperor's formulation of his *cursus honorum*.³⁸ A quick look at this provincial case can provide us with

P. Sillières, 'Le *Ianus Augustus*', in R. Bedon and P.M. Martin (eds.), *Mélanges Raymond Chevallier: Histoire et Archéologie 1*. (Caesarodunum 28, Tours 1994), 305–311, esp. 309. Sillières even proposed a temple of imperial cult next to the arch. Remains of a monumental altar have been found and recently published, J.P. Bellón Ruiz, M.A. Lechuga Chica, M.I. Moreno Padilla, and M. Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, 'Ianus Augustus, Caput Viae (Mengíbar, Spain): an interprovincial monumental border in Roman Hispania', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 34 (2021), 3–29. See also my interpretation in S. España-Chamorro, *Unde incipit Baetica. Los límites de la Baetica y su integración territorial (s. I–III)* (Rome 2021), 195–200.

34 *CIL* II²/5, p. 65, n. 10 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 65, n. 15 = *CMB* I 27; *CIL* II 4721 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 30 = *CMB* I 28; *CIL* II 4722 = *CIL* II²/7, p. 66, n. 31 = *CMB* I 29; *CIL* II 4703 = *CMB* I 30.

35 Most researchers have identified two stages of the fixation of the frontier. However, P. Moret, 'La Lusitanie d'Artemidore', *Palaehispanica* 10 (2010), 113–131 has convincingly questioned this idea. For further analysis see España Chamorro 2017, op. cit. (n. 3), 440–444.

36 C. Fernández Casado, *Historia del puente en España: puentes romanos* (Madrid 2008), 61–122; 319–334.

37 Verg. *Aen.* 1.286–288: *Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar, imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astros, Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

38 Due to the low number of sources, it is only perceivable in some specific spots. For this question see D. Estefanía, 'Notas para la delimitación de los Conventos Jurídicos en Hispania', *Zephyrus* 9 (1958), 51–57; P. Sillières, 'Les villes du pouvoir et le réseau des grandes voies romaines de l'Hispanie', *Revista de historiografía* 25 (2016), 177–189, esp. 186–187; S. España-Chamorro, 'Miliarios y límites provinciales: Algunas reflexiones sobre

a real idea of how Romans living in the provinces engaged with road inscriptions. The *via Augusta* was the main road of this province. For this reason, it was also the preferred zone for placing these elements of propaganda. From a total amount of 79 milestones, 46 road inscriptions were placed in this axis of communication, and most importantly, 43 in the surrounding of *Corduba*, the provincial capital.³⁹ In *Lusitania*, milestones show an interesting pattern.⁴⁰ It is astonishing that no milestones of Augustus have been found near the capital of the province, which was founded by this very emperor as part of his restructuration plan of the Iberian Peninsula. Notwithstanding this centre-connected absence, two Augustan milestones can be found in the main axis of the province (Silver way).⁴¹ This number is quite low if we compare it to another secondary road that links the important military camp *Castra Caecilia* with the area of *Centum Cellae*, but for the Romans there seemed no apparent reason for developing propaganda by putting up inscribed milestones neither in this area nor for this road. The most probable option is that this road continued to *Bracara Augusta*, in *Hispania Citerior*, but the area has only recently been explored and the results are still preliminary.⁴² We might think that the four milestones that have been found in this unknown axis of communication once constituted this road.⁴³ This area is not important for the province communication because there are no important cities, settlements, quarries or mines. Another Augustan milestone (the only one found in the Algarve)⁴⁴

el miliario de Mengíbar *CIL* XVII/1, 93 y la frontera oriental entre la Bética y la Citerior', *Epigraphica* 80 (2018), 211–228.

- 39 P. Sillières, 'La Via Augusta de Cordoue à Cadix. Documents du XVIII^e s. et photographies aériennes pour une étude de topographie historique', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, Madrid* 12 (1976), 27–67; S. España-Chamorro, 'El paisaje epigráfico viario de la *via Augusta*. Consideraciones de la jurisdicción de los *conventus iuridici* y la epigrafía miliaria', *Florentia Illiberritana* 28 (2017), 35–55.
- 40 For a general perspective of Lusitanian roads (but not an accurate corpus of milestones) cf. V. Mantas, 'A rede viária romana em Portugal. Estado da questão e perspectivas futuras', *Anas* 21–22 (2008–2009), 245–272; V. Mantas, *As vias romanas da Lusitânia* (Merida 2012).
- 41 **Casar de Cáceres**: *CPILC* 677 = *MVP* 74 = *CILC* 1 193; Ahigal: *HEp* 10, 108 = *HEp* 14, 78 = *CRC* 16 = *CILC* III 920 (previously thought as being a Tiberian one, it is now reinterpreted as an Augustan milestone by E. Paredes Martín, 'Notas sobre la presencia de Augusto en el *Iter ab Emerita Asturicam*: acerca de dos miliarios de la provincia *Lusitania*', *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua* 29 (2021), 253–278.
- 42 V. Mantas, 'Da capital da Lusitânia a Bracara Augusta pela Serra da Estrela', *Conimbriga* 58 (2019), 255–300.
- 43 **Coria**: *HEp* 8, 57 = *CILC* IV 1254; **Fuenteguinaldo**: *HEp* 18, 419 = *AE* 2012, 729; **Alfaiates**: *AE* 1967, 185 = *HEp* 15, 505; the **Argomil**: *HEp* 1, 682 = *RAP* 479 = *HEp* 15, 502 'milestone' should be taken with caution, as others have categorised the stone as a *terminus*, see V. Mantas, 'A política viária de Augusto na Lusitânia', in T. Nogales Basarrate and N. Barrero Martín (eds.), *La fundación de Augusta Emerita y los orígenes de Lusitania*, (Mérida 2018), 189–221.
- 44 Moncarapacho: *IRCP* 660, for other scholars this one may date to Claudius.

comes from Bias do Sul, between Faro and Tavira. Its inscription has been ascribed to Augustus, but the fragmented text raises doubts and could have as well mentioned another Julio-Claudian emperor. As explained earlier, this isolated milestone does not make sense in terms of imperial or Roman provincial propaganda because there is a low density of settlements in this area with no important cities in terms of demography or as concerns a specific interest of provincial administration. Most milestones of Augustus in *Lusitania* have a quadrangular appearance, unlike the column form *Baetica* and *Citerior*.⁴⁵ These Augustan milestones in *Lusitania* can also be related to the first *stelae* found in *Augusta Emerita* (the provincial capital) dated between the last years of the 1st century BCE and the beginning of the 1st CE.⁴⁶

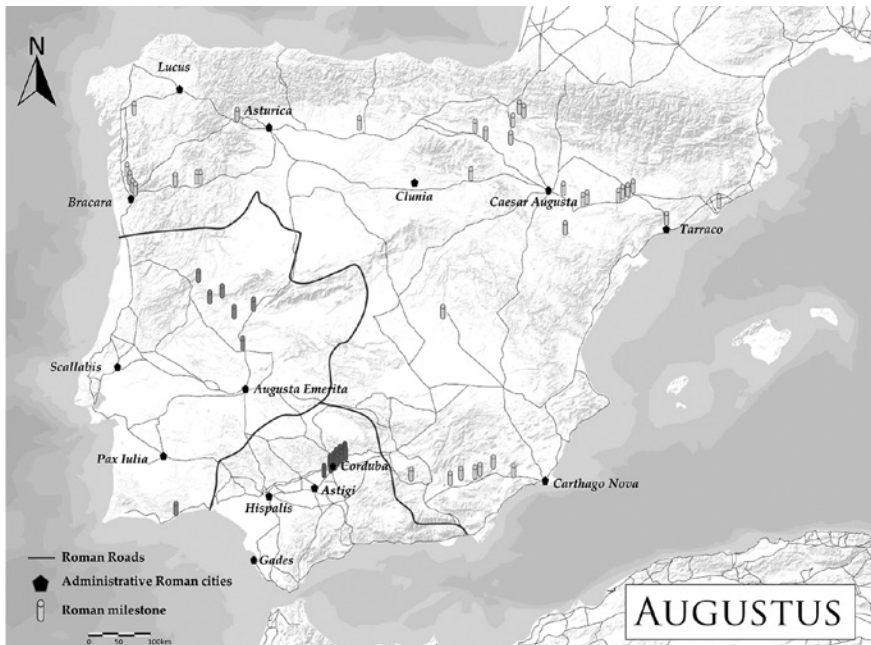


FIGURE 5.2 Milestones of Augustus in the Iberian Peninsula

SOURCE: AUTHOR

45 Maybe this corresponds to different moments in the road plan of this province. The older ones could have had a quadrangular form while the newer ones had a column form. We only have some consular chronology for some of the quadrangular milestones that proves an early chronology. For those with a column form we do not have any fixed dates, but maybe they were placed later, coinciding with the earliest Baetican milestones.

46 J. Edmonson, 'Las estelas funerarias marmóreas de Augusta Emerita: novedades, revisiones y apuntes tipológicos, técnicos e iconográficos', *Anas* 25–26 (2012–2013), 133–171.



FIGURE 5.3 Milestones of Tiberius in the Iberian Peninsula

SOURCE: AUTHOR

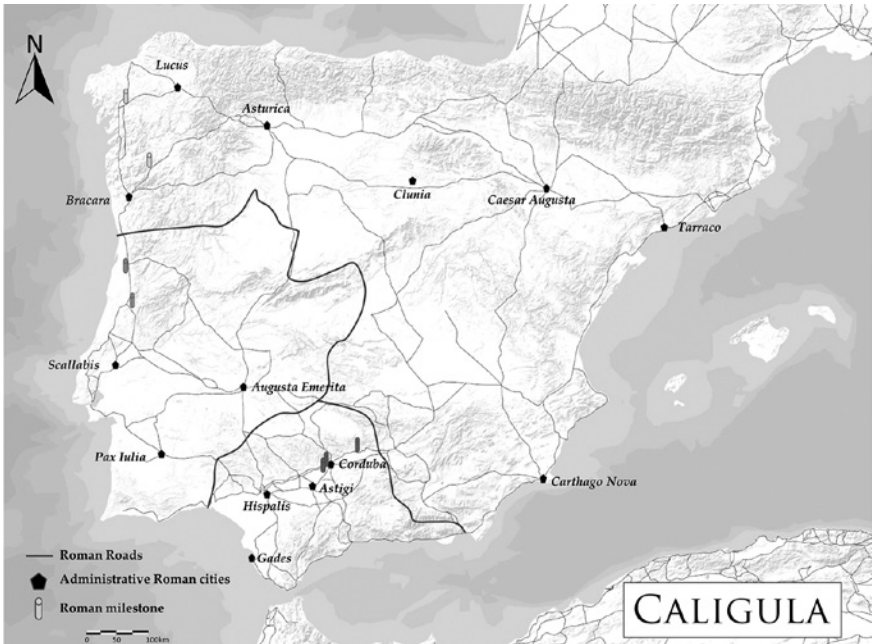


FIGURE 5.4 Milestones of Caligula in the Iberian Peninsula

SOURCE: AUTHOR

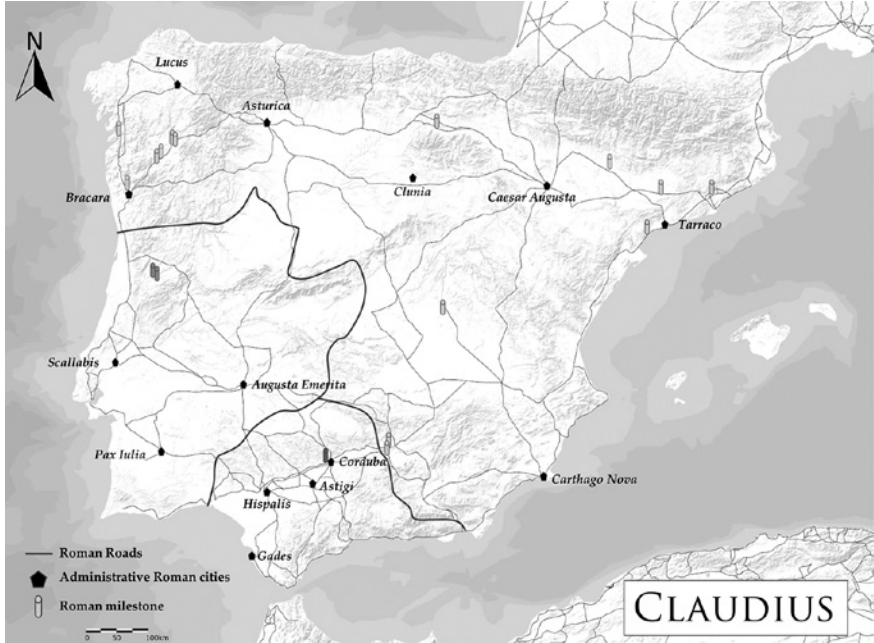


FIGURE 5.5 Milestones of Claudius in the Iberian Peninsula

SOURCE: AUTHOR

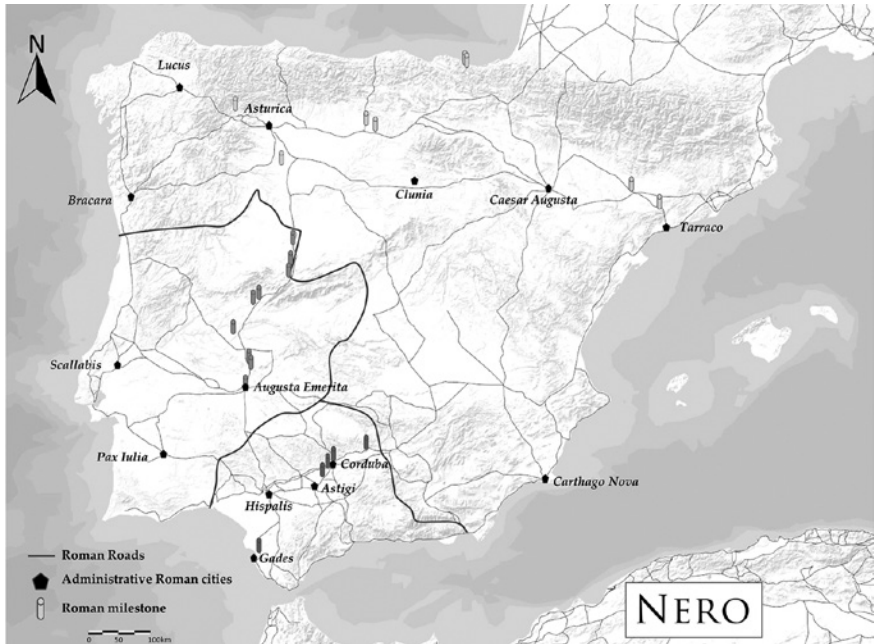


FIGURE 5.6 Milestones of Nero in the Iberian Peninsula

SOURCE: AUTHOR

It is more difficult to get an idea of Tiberius' plan for the infrastructure of *Hispania* with additions (or changes) to Augustus' conception. If we see the evidence from his reign, we can see that only one appears in the same area of the Augustan inscriptions.⁴⁷ Two more were found in the surroundings of *Augustobriga*, which was not a main city, but was an important point of connection with *Hispania Citerior* and cities such as *Toletum* or *Caesaraugusta*.⁴⁸ Another isolated milestone was placed in Guarda next to *Centum Cellae*.⁴⁹ This crossroads could have been an important point of communication, as we saw earlier with the presence of Augustan milestones on the same road. This road is not mentioned in the late antique itinerary sources. This gave rise to the idea that it might have lost its importance after the Julio-Claudian period. Finally, the latest of Tiberius' milestones were placed for the first time between *Scallabis* and *Bracara*.⁵⁰ On this important highway, we have also identified two more road inscriptions dated back in the age of Caligula.⁵¹ The cities *Scallabis* and *Bracara* were both capitals of different *conventus iuridici* (one Lusitanian, the other Citerior). However, this road was not the main axis of the province.

Only two milestones are known from the reign of Claudius. They were found in Viseu, not important as a Roman settlement, but it was a kind of crossing point between the coastal highway and the roads to the interior of the Iberian peninsula.⁵² It is only with emperor Nero, when 9 milestones were placed in the so called Silver Way, in the important part between *Augusta Emerita* and *Salmantica*.⁵³ With him, a new habit starts taken up by the emperors of the second century. The emperors Trajan and Hadrian will later reinforce and

47 Garrovillas de Alconetar: *CMPC*, p. 52 = *EAE* 70 = *CILC* I 208.

48 Carrascalejo: *CIL* II 4644 = *MVP* 3; Carrascalejo: *CIL* II 4645 = *CIL* II 6200 = *MVP* 5.

49 Guarda: *Ficheiro Epigráfico* 42 (1992), 189 = *AE* 1992, 943 = *HEp* 5, 1025.

50 Oliveira de Azaméis: *AE* 1967, 131.

51 Coimbra: *CIL* II 4639; Mealhada: *CIL* II 4640.

52 F. Campo and C. Viseu in *Beira Alta* 12 (1955), 49; F. Espinho and C. Manguale in *Beira Alta* 12 (1955), 54–55.

53 Mérida: *HAE* 2056 = *ERAE* 60 = *MVP* 1 = *CIIAE* 86; Alcuéscar: *CILC* I 67 = *HEp* 16, 65; Casas de Don Antonio: *HEp* 1, 163 = *MVP* 34 = *CILC* I 186; Garrovillas de Alconetar: *CIL* II 4652 = *CPILC* 682 = *MVP* 89 = *CILC* I 209; Carcaboso: *CIL* II 4657 = *CMPC* 35 = *AE* 1967, 198 = *CPILC* 692 = *MVP* 100 = *HEp* 13, 230 = *CRC* 88 = *CILC* III 954; Cáparra: *AE*, 1967, 108 = *CPILC* 699 = *MVP* 109 = *CRC* 80 = *CILC* III 1075; Cáparra: *CIL* II 4665 = *CPILC* 707 = *MVP* 114 = *CRC* 82 = *CILC* III 1078; Valverde de Valdelacasa: G. Gillani, M. Santonja and C. Macarro: 'Los miliarios de la Vía de la Plata en la provincia de Salamanca', in G. Gillani, M. Santonja G. Gillani, M. Santonja (eds.), *Arqueología en la Vía de la Plata* (Salamanca 2007), 114–115; Membibre de la Sierra: *MVPSa* 43; San Pedro de los Rozados: *CIL* II 4683 = *CIRPSa* 259 = *ERPSa* 228.

renovate this Silver road with 51 milestones and anepigraphic columns.⁵⁴ Nero placed the first milestones in the surrounding of *Augusta Emerita*, the provincial capital. But we find them only in the northern part of this road. In the southern part of this road a couple of anepigraphic milestones have been discovered, but we cannot surely know the date of their were placed. It must be said that we find the anepigraphic objects of this road only in the Lusitanian part. Crossing the border and entering to *Baetica*, we find ourselves in the so-called *Baeturia celtica*, an area with its own culture in which the absence of milestones itself is a sign of a regional identity. In general, Julio-Claudian road policy in *Lusitania* does not follow a coherent pattern, different to what we have observed in *Baetica*. The Lusitanian evidence is quite scattered and the stones are placed on some secondary axes.

The situation in *Hispania Citerior* is slightly different. Milestones of Augustus are dispersed in the provincial territory. There are three main areas of positioning:

1. The southern part of the province with the important connection *Castulo-Acci-Carthago Nova*.⁵⁵ This axis of communication was one of the factors to determine the line of division between the former province of *Hispania Ulterior* and the *Hispania Citerior* due to the control of the lead, cooper and silver mines of the surroundings of *Castulo*.
2. An important area is the Ebro valley taking *Caesaraugusta* (Zaragoza) as the central point. A total of 14 milestones can be found in the roads around *Caesaraugusta*, mainly the western section (direction to *Tarraco*) and to the east and north-east (direction to the two main cities of the upper Ebro: the colony of *Calagurris*, that was placed the northern corridor to the Cantabrian area, not yet completely pacified, and the *municipium* of *Pompaelo*, that controlled the road to the province of *Aquitania*).
3. In the north-western part, milestones are concentrated near *Bracara* and on the main axis of connection to *Lucus* and *Asturica*, capitals of the *conventus iuridici* of this part of the province.

There is a total absence of road epigraphy on the Citerior *via Augusta* in the age of the first *princeps*. It will be the time of Tiberius until we find some milestones on this road, exactly around *Tarraco* and *Barcino* and on the connection

54 29 from Trajan, 22 from Hadrian; Some notes about Hadrian in E. Paredes Martín, 'La presencia epigráfica de Hadriano en Lusitania: Ciudad y Territorio', *Anas* 25–26 (2012–13 [2018]), 273–295.

55 See M. Schmidt, 'Roads and towns along the border of Hispania Citerior', in J. López Vilar (ed.), *Tarraco Biennial: Congrès Internacional d'Arqueologia i Món Antic* (Tarragona 2013), 291–299; España-Chamorro 2018, op. cit. (n. 37).

between *Carthago Nova* and *Castulo*. Two other milestones dating to the reign of Claudius were placed around *Tarraco*. However, the total number of inscriptions on the main road of the eastern part of the province is almost anecdotic. In contrast to the situation in *Baetica*, it seems not to have been important to use inscribed propaganda in the coastal rural areas. Maybe the fact that most of the important cities on this road, such as *Barcino*, *Tarraco*, *Saguntum*, *Valentia*, *Lucentum* or *Carthago Nova*, were important ports, the roads had less importance in this context and the freight transport was mainly by ship and not by cart. There is also another important difference: the *Ianus Augustus* was the only and therefore outstanding *caput viae* of the *via Augusta* in the Baetican part, but there are several and different *capita viae* in the Citerior part of the *via Augusta*, as we know from milestones dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The Baetican *caput* was also a way to promote the conception of the provincial Roman landscape, but the Citerior *capita viae* seem to have had only a functional purpose of the measurement of distances.

A road that seems to be important is the axis *Caesaraugusta-Pompaelo*, a road rebuilt in the age of Augustus and Tiberius. The refurbishment was assigned to the veterans of the three legions that founded *Caesaraugusta*. These legions were also involved in the construction of other infrastructure, such as the aqueduct of Los Bañales.⁵⁶

Concerning to the road policy, we can notice some interesting points elected as a *capita viarum* in several cities dispersed in the northern part of the province such as the conventual capitals *Bracara*, *Lucus* and *Asturica*, and other places as *Pisoraca*, or *Segobriga* in the centre of the province. It is also interesting to note that it is more likely to find milestones in the area that were conquered more recently than on the roads linking the oldest Roman settlements of the province. From these data we can deduce that there was no systematic plan of increasing the propagation of Roman dominance by milestones and other road connected inscriptions on the most circulated paths, as we can see in *Baetica*.

6 Conclusion: The Impact of Empire on Roman Roads

The birth and rise of road epigraphy in the Iberian Peninsula can be linked to a new perception of the space, in which the former hodologic vision of *Hispania*

56 J. Andreu Pintado, 'Una ciudad romana al pie de la vía "Caesar Augusta" – "Pompelo": Los Bañales de Uncastillo', *El Nuevo Miliario* 12 (2011), 3–14; Andreu Pintado 2012, op. cit. (8), 34–37; I. Moreno Gallo 2009, op. cit. (8), 39–43.

Ulterior and *Citerior* was transformed into a cartographical plane.⁵⁷ This developed an abstract conception of provinces in which one takes the name of its capital (*Citerior Tarraconensis*), the other of the main river (*Baetica*) and the last one takes its name from the main indigenous population of its territory (*Lusitania*).⁵⁸ This rec-conceptualisation of the Hispanic provinces with its “inscribed infrastructure” included the Latinization of its population and is visible within the Augustan epigraphic revolution.

In the case of *Baetica*, milestones were used as a promotion of the new administrative territory. This kind of epigraphy was reduced to the specific area of the capital, *Corduba*. It can be interpreted as an *aemulatio* of communication within the Italian landscape in which, however, a much higher ratio of milestones per road has been found.

In the other two Hispanic provinces, several factors conditioned the location of road inscriptions. In *Lusitania*, only in the times of Nero an intensification of setting up milestones on the Silver way can be observed.⁵⁹ There is, apparently, no plan for the road epigraphic landscape and milestones are scarce and dispersed.

Finally, we can assume that there was a different focus in the province of *Hispania Citerior*, as the *via Augusta* seems to be not important for propaganda in the rural landscapes of *Hispania Citerior*. The axis that connected the north-western corner with the east was the preferential path for this kind of inscribed propaganda of the Roman dominance in the countryside. On the contrary, in the Baetican part of the same *via Augusta*, this road became the preferred place for the propagandistic strategy of the first emperors. Thus, we can observe different processes in the three Hispanic provinces that show diverse ways of understanding and making use of milestones in provincial territories.

However, the above presented is just a specific aspect of a wider phenomenon. The Roman state pursued a very active and systematic policy by building roads in order to spread its influence in the provinces as a “grand strategy”. This started in the new Augustan provinces, but it also continued with some Julio-Claudian emperors in the newly conquered territories such

57 See P. Janni, *La mappa e il periplo. Cartografia antica e spazio odologico* (Rome 1984); F.J. González Ponce, ‘Estrabón, Geografía III.5.2. [C167] y la concepción hodológica del espacio geográfico’, *Habis* 21 (1990), 79–92.

58 P. Moret, ‘Artemidoro y la ordenación territorial de Hispania en época republicana’, in G. Cruz Andreotti et al. (eds.), *Romanización, fronteras y etnias en la Roma antigua: el caso hispano* (Vitoria 2012), 425–456, esp. 435.

59 C. Puerta Torres, *Los miliarios de la via de la Plata* (PhD thesis, Madrid 1995).

as *Narbonensis*⁶⁰ or *Dalmatia*.⁶¹ Julio-Claudian Hispanic milestones are only one (albeit important) piece of the whole puzzle of imperial propaganda in *Hispania* and it allows us to perceive the construction and the development of the new system of rule. This is must be put in context, not only with a new epigraphic habit commented above, but also with the new urban system promoted by municipalisation, which was started by Caesar and continued by Augustus. For this, the best proof is the many Roman *municipia* with Julio-Claudian *cognomina* dispersed in the three Hispanic provinces.

- 60 The milestones of the *Narbonensis* are collected in *CIL* XVII/2: G. Walser, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XVII/. Miliaria Imperii Romani. Miliaria provinciarum Narbonensis Galliarum Germaniarum* (Berlin and New York 1986).
- 61 Julio-Claudian milestones of roads in Dalmatia: *CIL* XVII/4, 146. 275. 276. 278. 277. 281. 282. 294. 555.

The Impact of Roman Roads and Milestones on the Landscape of the Iberian Peninsula

Camilla Campedelli

Werner Eck octuagenario



For the Romans, it was all but necessary to know the physical space and the territory they occupied or which they hoped to dominate, in order to overcome the obstacles posed by distance from the center of power to the periphery. Having detailed knowledge of the territory and the people would be a prerequisite for establishing an efficient Roman administration.¹ The use of pre-existing routes and the opening of new roads at first allowed the movement of soldiers and consequently the conquest and organisation of a territory that, over the centuries, came to reach an area of 6 million km² and was connected through a road network which expanded to 120,000 km.² The *munitio* of roads by the pavement of some of their segments and the erection of inscribed milestones, a Roman peculiarity in the Ancient World, enabled communication within the confines of the empire and equipped the Iberian landscape with the 'Roman characteristics'.

The concept of landscape is a fluid one. Especially research of the last century was polarised between mainly humanistic approaches, linked to historical-cultural, aesthetic and perceptual aspects on the one side, and scientific ones, grounded in geography and ecology, on the other. More recently, studies started to integrate the multiple existing approaches.³ This is evident in the

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- 1 C. Nicolet, *L'Inventaire du Monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain* (Paris 1988), 9.
 - 2 R. Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (Paris 1998), 306.
 - 3 M.G. Gibelli, 'Paesaggio e paesaggi: tante definizioni per una sola parola. Landscape and landscapes: one word, a lot of meanings', in C. Teofili and R. Clarino (eds.), *Riconquistare il paesaggio. La Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio e la Conservazione della Biodiversità in Italia* (Rome 2008), 108–123, part. 109–113; B. David and J. Thomas, 'Landscape archaeology: introduction', in B. David and J. Thomas (eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (London

definition of landscape contained in the “European Landscape Convention” of October 20, 2020: “Landscape’ is an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors.”⁴

So far, studies dedicated to Roman roads have mainly focused on the archaeological, historical-administrative and economic aspects.⁵ Much rarer are the works dedicated to the relationship between roads and landscape. Among these, one of N. Purcell’s papers of 1990 is pivotal, in which he analysed the development of the concepts of geography and “social landscape” in the period from the second Punic war to Claudius in Cisalpine Gaul. He stressed the fundamental role of tracing roads (particularly the *via Flaminia*, *Aemilia* and *Postumia*) and centuriation as instrumental in both the generation of knowledge of space as well as in the creation of a Roman landscape.⁶ With a different approach to the subject, but likewise an eye-opener, the anthology “*Via per montes excisa. Strade in galleria e passaggi sotterranei nell’Italia romana*” examines concrete examples of massive Roman interventions on the ecotope of the Italian peninsula and, in less detail, of the provinces.⁷ R.E. Witcher published a most interesting analysis of the Roman road system within the context of social landscapes based on three case studies of the *via Amerina* in the lands of the *ager Faliscus*, the *Gallia Cisalpina* and Colchester (Essex), taking into consideration the Roman respect (or lack thereof) for the nature of the territory, the use of pre-existing routes, and contemporary constructions. He concludes that the landscape with roads and milestones is an “expression and manifestation of the ideology of the Roman rule.”⁸ The most recent reflections by A. Kolb, as well as my own, on the road system and on milestones as a medium of self-representation of power argue along the same lines.⁹

and New York 2008), 27–43; A. Leone, *Riflessioni sul paesaggio* (Rome 2009), 9–14. See the contributions of Günther Schörner and Marietta Horster in the present volume on terminology and concepts within a variety of antiquity-related disciplines.

4 European Landscape Convention 1,1a, see <https://www.coe.int/en/web/landscape> (last accessed on March 23, 2021).

5 A. Kolb, ‘*Via ducta* – Roman road building: An introduction to its significance, the sources and the state of research’, in A. Kolb (ed.), *Roman Roads. New Evidence – New Perspectives* (Berlin and Boston 2019), 13–17.

6 N. Purcell, ‘The creation of provincial landscape: The Roman impact on Cisalpine Gaul’, in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 1990), 7–29.

7 M.S. Busana (ed.), *Via per montes excisa. Strade in galleria e passaggi sotterranei nell’Italia romana* (Rome 1997).

8 R.E. Witcher, ‘Roman roads: Phenomenological perspectives on roads in the landscape’, in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC97. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford 1998), 60–70.

9 A. Kolb, ‘Raumwahrnehmung und Raumerschliessung durch römische Strassen’, in M. Rathmann (ed.), *Geographie und Raumwahrnehmung in der Antike* (Mainz 2007), 169–180;

Hence, the present work is rooted in this kind of studies which analyse the impact of Rome on the physical landscape and the political and social value of this transformation, and therewith taking into account as well the bipolar definition of landscape contained in the European Landscape Convention. Not all the road axes of the peninsula, however, will be taken into consideration, but only the most important for traffic and transport. In the future, the topic will hopefully be considered in greater depth and expanded to the whole peninsula and to other provinces of the Roman Empire. Additionally, it will hopefully serve as a starting point for the study of landscape in later periods as in the case of the recent work of J.E. Albone, who in his PhD thesis “Roman Roads in the Changing Landscape of Eastern England c. AD 410–1850” analysed the influence of the Roman road network on the development of the landscape in Eastern England after 410 CE.¹⁰

In this paper, three aspects will especially be taken into account. Firstly, I will consider the impact of streets on the varied physical landscape of the Iberian peninsula, and more specifically, cases in which road constructions have been adapted to the physical landscape. Furthermore, I will examine cases in which the physical landscape has been modified to build roads. Next I will consider the impact on the physical landscape by the monumentalisation of roads through milestones, bridges and arches. At the end of this analysis, I will aim at highlighting some socio-political aspects which accompanied these infrastructure projects, and therefore, the creation of a Roman landscape in the Iberian peninsula through the construction of roads and the positioning of the milestones.

1 The Impact of Streets on the Varied Physical Landscape of the Iberian Peninsula

Roman *Hispania*, then as today, represents a territory dominated in the centre by an immense plateau, the Meseta Central, mountain ranges such as the Pyrenees, the Cantabrian Mountains or Picos de Europa, the Central System, the Iberian System, and the Sierra Moraine (Cordillera Bética), and few rivers, except for the southern region around the Guadalquivir. The Greek geographer

C. Campedelli, ‘Viae publicae als Mittel der Vermessung, Erfassung und Wahrnehmung von Räumen: Das Beispiel der Provinz Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis (CIL XVII/1)’, in W. Eck et al. (eds.), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text. XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae 27.-31. Augusti MMXII. Akten* (Berlin 2014), 608–610.

10 The thesis is available online: https://ueaeprints.uea.ac.uk/id/eprint/63543/1/Albone_Roman_Roads_in_the_Changing_Landscape.pdf (last accessed on April 21, 2020).

Strabo (64/63 BCE–c. 24 CE), in the third book of his *Geographia*, describes the Iberian peninsula with these words:

Now of Iberia the larger part affords but poor means of livelihood; for most of the inhabited country consists of mountains, forests, and plains whose soil is thin – and even that not uniformly well-watered. Northern Iberia, in addition to its ruggedness, not only is extremely cold, but lies next to the Ocean, and thus has acquired its characteristic of inhospitality and aversion to intercourse with other countries; consequently, it is an exceedingly wretched place to live in. Such, then, is the character of the northern parts; but almost the whole of Southern Iberia is fertile, particularly the region outside the Pillars.¹¹

In this geographical context the Roman road network developed along four main axes (s. map 6.1): First, the *via Augusta* that ran along the Mediterranean coast and the bank of the *Baetis* river up to the Atlantic Ocean;¹² second, the *via Augusta* which from Tarragona led to the north-western coast;¹³ third, the *via* which, crossing the Meseta Central, connected *Caesaraugusta* with the province of *Lusitania*;¹⁴ and fourth, the so-called ‘via de la Plata’, which connected the province of *Baetica* and the region of *Callaecia* through the province of *Lusitania*.¹⁵ These axes, with some changes which will also be discussed shortly, are attested since prehistoric times. The Phoenician-Carthaginian colonisation of the southern part of the peninsula caused a further development of settlements and consequently of the road network.¹⁶ Of particular interest is the concentration of roads and milestones in the inaccessible north-western region

11 Str. 3.2.1: Πρώτων δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ ἐσπέριον, ὡς ἔφραμεν, ἡ Ἰβηρία. Ταύτης δὴ τὸ μὲν πλέον οἰκεῖται φαύλως ὄρη γὰρ καὶ δρυμοὺς καὶ πεδία λεπτήν ἔχοντα γῆν οὐδὲ ταύτην ὁμαλῶς εὐὺδρον οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολλήν· ἡ δὲ πρόσβορρος ψυχρά τέ ἐστι τελέως πρὸς τῇ τραχύτητι καὶ παρωκεανίτις, προσειληφύια τὸ ἄμικτον κάνεπίπλεκτον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσθ' ὑπερβάλλει τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκήσεως. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ μέρη τοιαῦτα, ἡ δὲ νότιος πᾶσα εὐδαίμων σχεδόν τι καὶ διαφερόντως ἡ ἕξω στηλῶν. (transl. by H.L. Jones 1923).

12 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 1–2 for the section from the Pyrenees to *Castulo*; P. Sillières, *Les voies de communication de l'Hispanie méridionale* (Paris 1990), part. 291–328 for the following section to Cádiz.

13 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 83–85.

14 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 189–190.

15 J.M. Roldán Hervás, *Iter ab Emerita Asturicam: El Camino de la Plata* (Salamanca 1971).

16 J.M^a. Blázquez Martínez, ‘De la antigüedad a la Hispania romana’, in J.A. Abásolo (ed.), *Viaje por la historia de nuestros caminos* (Madrid 1997), 10–13; M. Almagro Gorbea, ‘Las vías de comunicación en la Prehistoria’, in M. Criado de Val (ed.), *Atlas de caminería hispánica.1 Vol I: Caminería peninsular y del Mediterráneo* (Madrid 2011), 20–25.



MAP 6.1 The main roads of Roman *Hispania*: H. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, 27 *Hispania*, Berlin 1893

of *Hispania citerior Tarraconensis*, namely in the *praefecturae* of *Asturiae* and *et Callaecia*.¹⁷

1.1 *Cases in Which Road Constructions Have Been Adapted to the Physical Landscape*

The above listed four axes were essentially laid out in accordance with the topographical characteristics of the territory. The *via Augusta*, which ran along the Mediterranean coast and the bank of the *Baetis* river, was the longest in the whole peninsula. It started from *Summus Pyrenaeus* (Le Perthus), passed through *Tarraco*, *Carthago Nova*, and *Castulo* to reach the province of *Baetica* and thence the ocean (s. map 6.2).¹⁸ This road was travelled by Hannibal and the Scipiones at the time of the Second Punic War, as well as later by Caesar

17 A. Rodríguez Colmenero, S. Ferrer Sierra and R.D. Álvarez Asorey, *Miliarios e outras inscricións viarias romanas do Noroeste hispánico (conventos bracarense, lucense e asturicense)* (Santiago de Compostela 2004).

18 Str. 3.4.9: Τινές δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρων νέμονται [τὰ] μέχρι τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπηίου, δι' ὧν βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὴν ἔξω καλουμένην Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαιτικὴν.



MAP 6.2 The *via Augusta*
COURTESY M.G. SCHMIDT

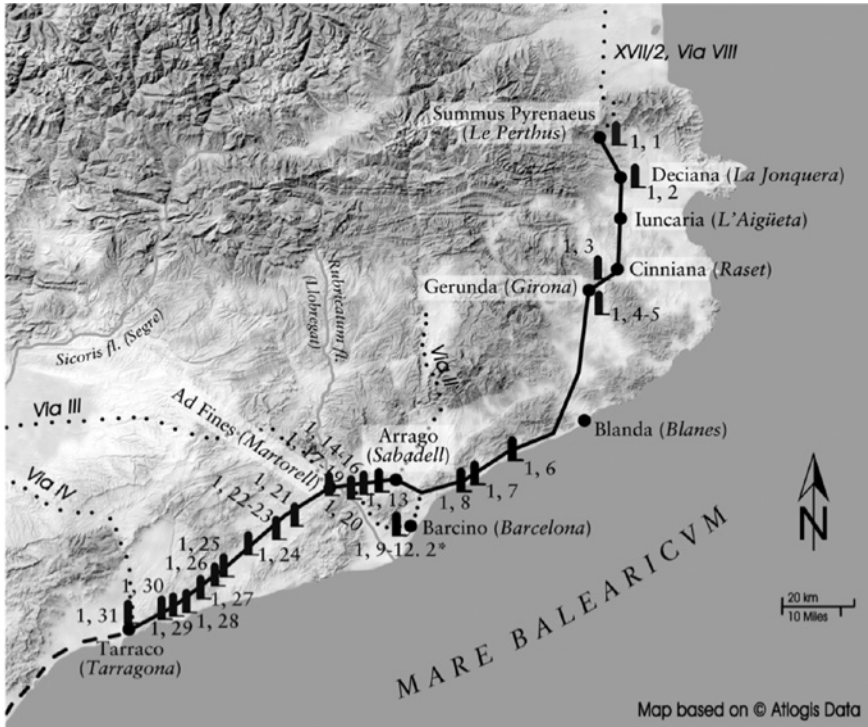
to reach *Obulco* in view of the battle of *Munda*.¹⁹ Polybius specifies that the Romans measured this road by placing a column (a milestone) every eight stadia (i.e. every mile),²⁰ while Strabo informs his readers: “This road sometimes approaches the sea, though sometimes it stands off at a distance from the sea, and particularly in the regions on the west.”²¹ The discovery of a series of milestones and the sequence of *mansiones* indicated in the *itineraria* (*Barcino – Ad Fines – Antistiana – Palfuriana – Tarraco*) confirm that the road had its starting point at the coast near *Barcino* (today Barcelona) heading inland (s. map 6.3).²² Taking this way, not touching the Catalan Coastal Range its course followed the left bank of the *Rubricatum* river (Llobregat). The road passed *Ad Fines*, a settlement attested by a *mansio*, including an ancient bridge, an Augustan arch

19 Liv. 21.23.1–6; 24.41.5–11; 28, 13, 4; Plb. 3.39; Str. 3.4.9.

20 Plb. 3.39.8: Ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν βεβημάτισται καὶ σεσημείωται κατὰ σταδίουσ ὀκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελώσ.

21 Str. 3.4.9: Αὕτη δ' ἡ ὁδὸς ποτὲ μὲν πλησιάζει τῇ θαλάττῃ ποτὲ δ' ἀφέστηκε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν μέρεσι. (transl. by H.L. Jones 1923).

22 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 14–26.



MAP 6.3 The *via Augusta* from *Summus Pirenaeus* to *Tarraco*
 COPYRIGHT CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM (CIL XVII/1)

spanning the cobblestones of a Roman road that leads across the *Rubricatum* river.²³ These monuments indicate the importance of this traffic junction from which two republican routes depart: the road that reached *Auso* (*Vic*) and the one that connected *Barcino* with *Caesaraugusta* passing through *Ilerda* (s. map 6.4).²⁴ Once in *Tarraco*, the *via Augusta* – says Strabo – “runs towards the passage of the *Iberus* at the city of *Dertossa*.”²⁵ The mountainous nature of the region south of the *Hiberus* river once again forced the route to *Saguntum* to deviate away from the coast, as attested by several milestones dating from the first to third centuries CE (s. map 6.5).²⁶

23 Cf. CIL XVII/1, p. 1.

24 Cf. CIL XVII/1, p. 66, 76.

25 Str. 3.4.9: Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἰβήρος κατὰ Δέρτωσσαν πόλιν. (transl. by H.L. Jones 1923).

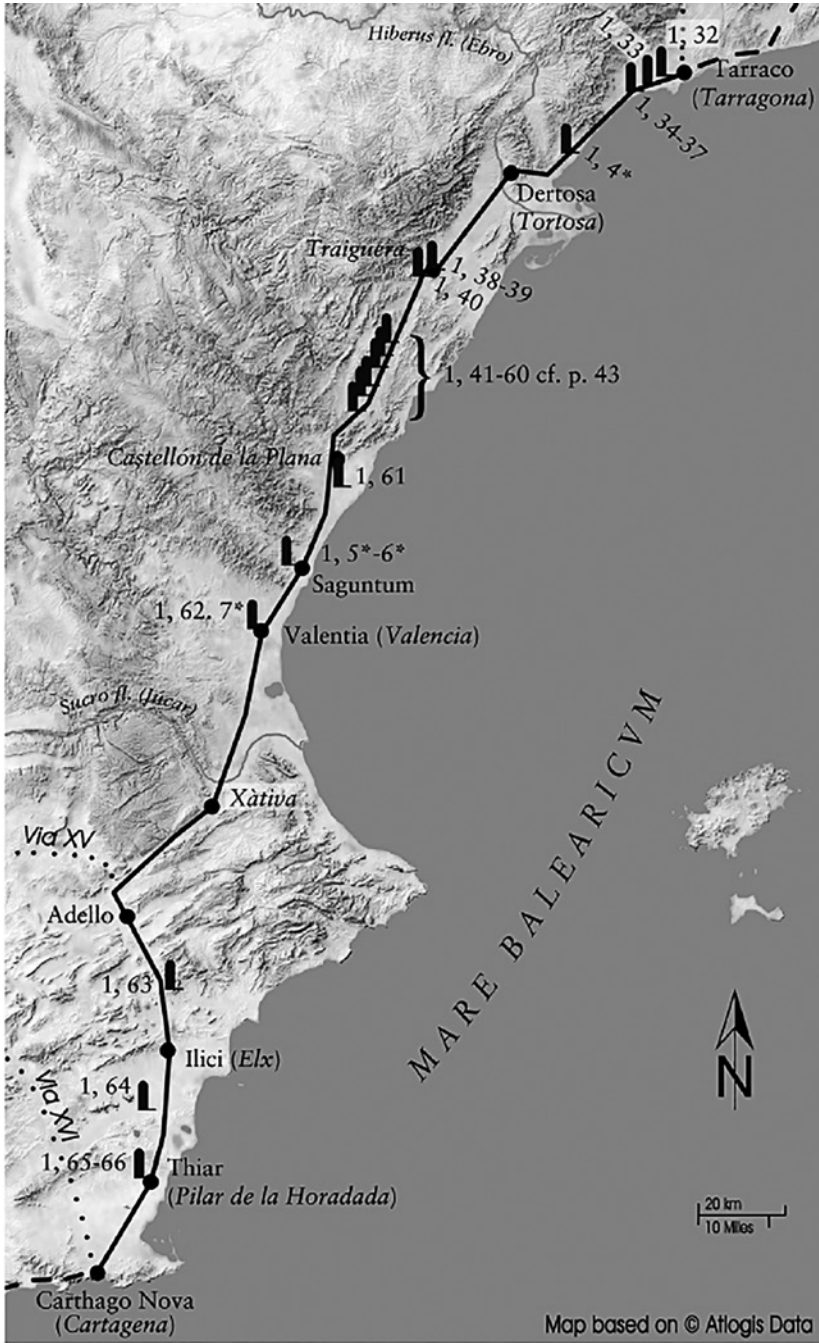
26 CIL XVII/1, p. 38–61.

MAP 6.4 Roman roads around *Ad Fines*COPYRIGHT *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM (CIL XVII/1)*

Strabo continues: “After passing through Saguntum and the city of Saetabis, it gradually departs from the sea and joins what is called the Spartarian – or as we should say, the ‘Rush’ Plain. This plain is large and has no water but produces the kind of broom that is suitable for twisting into ropes, and is therefore exported to all regions, particularly to Italy. Now formerly the road must have passed through the centre of this plain and through Egelasta”. In this passage, Strabo refers to the so-called ‘Camino de Haníbal’, attested by the four Vicarello goblets, which crossed the peninsula along a central axis (s. map 6.2).²⁷ “At the present day, however, they have made it run toward the coastal regions, merely touching upon the Rush Plain, yet leading to the same place as the former road did, namely to the regions around *Castulo* and *Obulco*.”²⁸ It is likely

27 *CIL* XI 3281–3284 on which see most recently M.G. Schmidt, ‘A Gadibus Romam. Myth and reality of an ancient route’, *BICS* 54 (2011), 71–86.

28 Str. 3.4.9: Ἐντεῦθεν διὰ Σαγούντου καὶ Σαιτάβιος πόλεως ἐνεχθεῖσα κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφίσταται τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνάπτει τῷ Σπαρταρίῳ ὡς ἂν Σχοινοῦντι καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ μέγα καὶ



MAP 6.5 The via Augusta from Tarraco to Carthago Nova
 COPYRIGHT CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM (CIL XVII/1)

that the route of the road had been modified by the Romans to avoid the dangerous *saltus Castulonensis* (i.e. the eastern part of the Sierra Morena), which, as Cicero recalls, was at that time (i.e., in 43 BCE) “full of robbers”.²⁹ The older ‘Herculean’ diagonal was no longer an accessible traffic connection through the interior of the country – this would have been the case for some individual sections at most – but rather a mythical route and a survey line at the same time, i.e. a *diretissima* covering the entire length of the Iberian peninsula.³⁰ The Augustan infrastructure policy aimed at creating modern routes that would enable frequent connection with faster shipping traffic, at least for the sections which ran along the coast, as some milestones attest.³¹

The *saltus Castulonensis* is an important ‘landmark’. From the beginnings of the Roman conquest it had a special strategic importance because of its significance as a passage point between the Levant and the valley of the Guadalquivir through the region of La Mancha, as well as for its copious mineral resources.³² An inscription attests the reconstruction of a road by a *procurator* of Augustus; the *saltus Castulonensis* is explicitly indicated: *viam quae per Castul(onensem) / saltum Sisaponem ducit / adsiduis imbribus corrup/tam munivit*.³³

The area east of *Castulo* is of particular interest because here, at the *Baetis* (*ad Baetem*), was located the *caput viae arcus Augusti*, which also marked the beginning of the province of *Baetica* (*unde incipit Baetica*), as witnessed by seven milestones and roadwork inscriptions dating from Augustus to Vespasian.³⁴ After

άνυδρον, τὴν σχοινοπλοικικὴν φύονσπάρτον ἐξαγωγὴν ἔχουσαν εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. Πρῶτερον μὲν οὖν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου καὶ Ἐγγελάστας συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν καὶ πολλήν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάττη μέρη πεποιήκασιν αὐτήν, ἐπιψάουσαν μόνον τοῦ Σχοινοῦντος, εἰς ταῦτο δὲ τείνουσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ περὶ Καστλῶνα καὶ Ὀβούλκωνα, δι’ ὧν εἰς τε Κορδύβην καὶ εἰς Γάδειρα ἡ ὁδός, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐμπορίων. διέχει δὲ τῆς Κορδύβης ἢ Ὀβούλκων περὶ τριακοσίουσ σταδίουσ. (transl. by H.L. Jones 1923).

29 Cic. *Fam.* 10.31.1: *Minime mirum tibi debet videri nihil me scripsisse de re publica postea quam itum est ad arma. nam saltus Castulonensis, qui semper tenuit nostros tabellarios, etsi nunc frequentioribus latrociniiis infestior factus est, tamen nequaquam tanta in mora est quanta qui locis omnibus dispositi ab utraque parte scrutantur tabellarios et retinent.*

30 Schmidt 2011, op. cit. (n. 27).

31 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 62–66.

32 Cf. Liv. 22.20.12; 27.20.3.

33 *CIL* II 3270 = *ILS* 5513 (Linares/Castulo): *Q(uinto) Torio Q(uinti) filio Culleoni / proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Baet(icae) / quod muros vetustate / collapsos d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) refecit solum / ad balineum aedificandum / dedit viam quae per Castul(onensem) / saltum Sisaponem ducit / adsiduis imbribus corrup/tam munivit signa Veneris Genitricis et Cupidinis ad theatrum posuit / HS centies quae illi summa / publice debebatur addito / etiam epulo populo remisit / municipes Castulonenses / editis per biduum circens(ibus) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

34 *CIL* II 4709–4712, 4715, 4679 (= *ILS* 5867), 4721.



MAP 6.6 The localization of the *arcus Augusti*
COURTESY M.G. SCHMIDT

centuries of debate on the location of the *arcus Augusti*, Manfred G. Schmidt, taking into account for the first time an Arabic *itinerarium* of the tenth century, has convincingly demonstrated that it was located at the intersection of two rivers, the Guadalquivir and the Guadalbullón (the border between Hispania Citerior and Ulterior), and two roads (s. map 6.6): the new section of the *via Augusta*, which ran right along the Guadalbullón, and the oldest 'Camino de Haníbal'.³⁵ The importance given to the natural elements of the territory, that is to say to the landscape, is evident: the rivers, together with the roads, constitute a real 'landmark' from which the miles of the road were counted and the *provincia populi Romani* began.

35 M.G. Schmidt, 'Ab Iano Augusto ad Oceanum. Methodologische Überlegungen zur Erforschung der viae publicae in der Baetica', in I. Czeguhn et al., (eds.), *Wasser – Wege – Wissen auf der iberischen Halbinsel. Eine interdisziplinäre Annäherung im Verlauf der Geschichte* (Baden-Baden 2018), 35–53.

Based on the sources available, we can deduce that the most important route of the Iberian peninsula, which connected *Baetica* to Italy and had certainly already been outlined before Roman times, was not particularly changed under their rule. The natural landscape did not undergo massive interventions but assumed the appearance of a Roman landscape due to the presence of milestones, bridges and arches. Furthermore, its Roman character was defined through the measurement of the roads on the basis of the Roman mile and the erection of milestones. The Iberian landscape was rationalised by the rulers as well as users of the routes.

1.2 *Cases in Which the Physical Landscape Has Been Modified to Accommodate the Construction of Roads*

In the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, we can still see the solutions adopted by Roman builders in the development and implementation of the road system in a morphologically intricate territorial context. There are numerous routes in the mountains and in the plains where the solution adopted was the 'cut road' or the road in the trench. The most frequent formula consisted of the combination between terracing and cutting, while the trench was generally used when the way passed a hill which was deemed necessary to regularise to reduce the difference in height. Among the most interesting examples are those belonging to the previously mentioned 'Camino de Haníbal' which, at Corral Rubio, has a 4 m deep section of trench. 5 m deep is the trench at Los Navas de San Juan. The *via Augusta*, at its entrance into the *Betica*, resorted to a 6–8 m deep cut to climb the steep left bank of the Guadalquivir. Near Espeluy, the road crossed a natural saddle with a trench section of 5–6 m. Even the route Corduba–Augusta Emerita found its path among the rocks in several areas, for example in the ascent of Cerro Muriano: at the Loma de Los Escalones, the cut was up to 100 m long, with an average width of 3 m. On the road from Italica to Augusta Emerita (the so-called 'Vía de la Plata'), the route used cuts and terraces north of Torremejía after crossing the Arroyo del Quico. There are also examples from the minor axes: the long ramp 3.60–3.80 m wide and 2–3.40 m deep at the foot of the *oppidum* of Ladera de Morana, perhaps a section in the trench at the eastern exit from Urso on the road Malaca–Corduba and, on the Urso–Ostippo section of the road Malaca–Italica.³⁶

36 A. Coralini, 'Complanatis montibus et caesis rupibus ... Vie in galleria, in tagliata e in trincea nel mondo romano e al di fuori dell'Italia peninsulare', in M.S. Busana (ed.), *Via per montes excisa. Strade in galleria e passaggi sotterranei nell'Italia romana* (Rome 1997), 309–311. Cf. Sillières 1990, op. cit. (n. 12), 267–268, 270, 300, 301, 404, 409, 416, 419.

The north-eastern border of the Iberian Peninsula consists of the Pyrenees. In the ancient literature, this mountain range is often compared to the Alps for its high peaks, gullies, and snows. The poet and orator Florus, e.g., in his dialogue written under Hadrian, *Vergilius orator an poeta*, says upon arriving in the Pyrenees: [...] *flecto cursum, sed statim par horrore, par vertice, par ille nivibus Alpinis exceptit*.³⁷ Strabo, describing the western passage, notes that at the time of the Roman conquest: “[...] only with difficulty could they [the Romans] get supplies out of Aquitania on account of the rough roads.”³⁸

There were three bigger Pyrenean passages, one to the west (Alto de Ibañeta, Roncesvalles), one to the east (Le Perthus), and one in between (Puerto de Somport). The second, the one described by Florus, connected the peninsula with Gallia Narbonensis and with Italy; the others led to Aquitania. It is obvious that in this morphological context, even though passes and valleys were present in large quantities according to Strabo,³⁹ it would sometimes have been necessary to modify the physical conformation of the territory.

From *Caesaraugusta* (Zaragoza), a road reached the town of *Tarraga* (Sádaba), headed north towards the valley of las Cinco Villas, Sos del Rey Católico and then eastwards following the river Aragón and the lake Embalse de Yesa until it reached the Pyrenees and the westernmost central passage *Summus Pirenaeus* near today’s Puerto de Somport.⁴⁰ This route, indicated by numerous milestones dating between the third and fourth centuries, is referred to by an inscription found in Siresa (Hecho, HU).⁴¹ The text of the epigraph reads:

*Iussu domini et principis nostri / Magni Maximi victo[ris] / semper Augusti
(vac.?) / Antonius Maximinu[s] v(ir) c(larissimus), / nova[e] provinciae
Ma[ximae] / primus consularis e[t antea] / praeses, viam adfa[tim] / rupi-
bus famosam, ia[m hiem]/alibus aquis perviam [a fundo] / conplanavi
(!), solo paca[to et] / perdomito averso [flumine] / inundationes obit[er
coercui?].⁴²*

37 Flor. *Verg.* 2.3. Cf. S. Rocchi, *P. Annio Floro, Virgilio: oratore o poeta? Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Berlin and Boston 2020), 95–96.

38 Str. 3.4.18. (transl. by H.L. Jones 1923).

39 Str. 3.4.11: Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Πυρρήνης τὸ μὲν Ἰβηρικὸν πλευρὸν εὐδενδρὸν ἐστί παντοδαπῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς ἀειθαλοῦς, τὸ δὲ Κελτικὸν ψιλόν, τὰ δὲ μέσα περιέχει καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι δυναμένους αὐλώνας.

40 On the route and the milestone of Somport see: L. Pros, ‘El miliario del Somport y la vía Caesaraugusta – Beneharno’, *El nuevo miliario 2* (2006), 24–27; I. Moreno Gallo, *Item a Caesarea Augusta Beneharno. La carretera romana de Zaragoza al Béarn* (Zaragoza 2009).

41 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 101–102, 118 and n. 1, 162–184.

42 *CIL* II 4911 = XVII/1.1, 185.

The mention of the Emperor Magnus Maximus suggests a plausible dating of the monument and works project at some point between 383 and 388. The *gouverneur* of the province *nova Maxima* (most likely the *Tarraconensis*) says (l. 7–12) that he let do some essential works on the road.⁴³ The road in question ran along the previously carved cliff of the mountain and a river. Frequent landslides and floods forced the governor to level the road's surface by lowering it on one side and raising it on the other, in order to divert the course of the river so that it could still flow along the road.

So far, in the cases analyzed here, it is clear that Roman interventions in the environment for the sake of constructing roads were not particularly profound and, in terms of technical commitment and scope of the results, no works are comparable to those of Italy and Gallia.⁴⁴

2 The Impact on Landscape by the Monumentalisation of Roads through Milestones

Streets with milestones, bridges, and arches were some of the most evident symbols of the Roman presence in the territory and, as we have already seen, clear attributes of a 'Roman landscape'. With the following words – a *locus classicus* – Plutarch describes, in the *vita Gaii Gracchi*, his road construction measures during the last third of the second century BCE:

But he busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance.⁴⁵

43 *CIL* XVII/1, p. 185. (Germ. transl. by M.G. Schmidt).

44 Coralini 1997, op. cit. (n. 36), 309.

45 Plu. *CG* 7: Ἐσπούδασε δὲ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ὁδοποιίαν, τῆς τε χρείας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν καὶ κάλλος ἐπιμεληθείς. εὐθεΐαι γὰρ ἦγοντο διὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀτρεμεῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστόρνυτο πέτρας

It is not known whether Plutarch's description represents a realistic or merely an idealised image of the Roman roads in his time but we can assume that it came close to the contemporary reality. In the Iberian Peninsula, roads with similar characteristics were built from the Augustan period onwards. In republican times, milestones on the Iberian Peninsula were few and small. After Augustus had conquered the whole peninsula, an expansive road system was built, equipped with monumental milestones (approx. 3 m), which connected the most important cities of the peninsula (fig. 6.1).⁴⁶ Mention has already been made of the monumentalisation of traffic junctions at *Ad Fines* and at the *arcus Augusti*. Among the examples worthy of note is certainly the arch of Titulcia, at the crossroad of the streets Augusta Emerita–Caesarauguta and Asturica Augusta–Laminium (*Itin. Anton.* 435, 4–5; 436, 1; 438, 8; 439, 11).⁴⁷

Of particular interest is the north-western region of the Iberian Peninsula, coinciding with the *praefecturae* of Asturia and Callaecia in the *Hispania citerior Tarraconensis*, a mountainous territory inhabited by rebellious peoples.⁴⁸ Although of little strategic value, the region maintained a vital importance due to its mineral resources.⁴⁹ This geographic area presents a varied morphology, which leads from the dilated plains of Castilla y León to those irrigated by the Duero, Esla and Órbigo rivers, to mention the main beds. The imposing mountainous bastions that surround the lowland to the north and to the west separate it at the same time from the coastal edge. Nonetheless the traffic from the *meseta* to the interior and coastal lands travelled along natural passages known since prehistoric times.⁵⁰

ξεστή, τὸ δ' ἄμμου χώμασι νακτῆς ἐπυκνοῦτο. πιμπλαμένων δὲ τῶν κοίλων, καὶ ζευγνυμένων γεφύραις ὅσα χεῖμαρροι διέκοπτον ἢ φάραγγες, ὕψος τε τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἴσον καὶ παράλληλον λαμβανόντων, ὁμαλὴν καὶ καλὴν ὄψιν εἶχε δι' ὅλου τὸ ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διαμετρήσας κατὰ μίλιον ὁδὸν πάσαν – τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτώ σταδίων ὀλίγον ἀποθεῖ κίονας λιθίνους σημεῖα τοῦ μέτρου κατέστησεν. ἄλλους κίονας λιθίνους σημεῖα τοῦ μέτρου κατέστησεν. Ἄλλους δὲ λίθους ἔλαττον ἀπέχοντας ἀλλήλων ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διέθηκεν, ὡς εἴη ῥαδίως τοῖς ἵππους ἔχουσιν ἐπιβαίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναβολέως μὴ δεομένοις. (transl. by B. Perrin 1921).

46 Cf. C. Campedelli, 'Von der römischen Besitzergreifung zur Verwaltung der Iberischen Halbinsel – das Zeugnis der Meilensteine', in O. Dally et al. (eds.), *Politische Räume in vor-modernen Gesellschaften Gestaltung – Wahrnehmung – Funktion, Internationale Tagung des DAI und des DFG-Exzellenzclusters TOPOI vom 18.–22. November 2009 in Berlin* (Leidorf 2012), 87–93.

47 *CIL* 11²/13, 1.

48 Cf. *AE* 2000, 760.

49 Cf. C. Domergue, *Les mines de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine* (Rome 1990), part. 40–44.

50 Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 17), 12.



FIGURE 6.1 Republican and imperial milestones compared
PHOTOGRAPH C. CAMPEDELLI (BBAW, BERLIN)

Roads were here equipped with milestones from the year 3/2 BCE.⁵¹ The main routes are the *via* from *Bracara Augusta* to *Aquae Flaviae* and *Asturica*, the *via Bracara Augusta–Lucus Augusti–Asturica*, the *via nova Bracara–Asturica*, built during the Flavian age, which run through the interior of the plunging cliffs of the *conventus Bracaraugustanus*, the *conventus Asturum*, and the extremely steep orographic conditions. The road was essential at a time of flourishing gold mining activities which, after initial developments under the Flavians, required increased infrastructure suitable for large-scale extraction and transport of the golden metal. Finally, milestones were also added to the coastal road from *Bracara Augusta* to *Brigantium*. In the *praefecturae* of Asturia and Callaecia the milestones are extremely plentiful. Between Braga and Astorga, along the province of Orensensis, 281 milestones are attested. This follow, ranked in importance, the street from *Bracara Augusta* to *Brigantium* with 105 milestones (of which the great majority of discoveries were made between *Bracara Augusta* and *Aquis Celenis*). Between *Bracara* and *Asturica* through *Aquae Flaviae* 80 milestones have been found.⁵² One of the main features of the milestones in this region is, as can still be seen today, that they were often grouped into clusters placed side by side mentioning successive emperors (fig. 6.2). The monumentalisation of these road sectors is certainly shaped by the honorary



FIGURE 6.2 Cluster of milestones in Portela do Home
COURTESY J.M. ABASCAL PALAZÓN

51 Campedelli 2012, op. cit. (n. 46), 91.

52 Rodríguez Colmenero et al. 2004, op. cit. (n. 17) passim.

function of the milestones from the 3rd century onwards, but also by the conformation of the surrounding environment, which required more frequent maintenance than those stretches on the plain.

3 Conclusions

From this study, although limited to the analysis of a few examples, it emerges that in the Iberian Peninsula, the building of roads developed on a pre-existing axial system that was adapted to the environment. Archaeological and epigraphic sources from Roman times attest that, in some cases, the terrain was modified to facilitate the passage and use of the routes. These changes certainly did not radically alter the physical landscape of the peninsula.

Nevertheless, the pre-existing tracks were formalised into Roman roads, especially from the time of Augustus onward, by erecting milestones inscribed with the name of the current emperor and by measuring distance in Roman miles. Thus, the Romanisation of its roads effected the Romanisation of the Iberian landscape. R.E. Witcher suggests that “the adoption of pre-existing routes was part of a far more subtle exercise of power offering to Rome considerable control over local populations.”⁵³ This also applies to the Iberian Peninsula, even if this phenomenon seems more a practical rather than an ideological plan.

Elsewhere, especially in Italy, but also in other provinces of the empire, the drilling and lowering of mountains was undertaken, as well as the construction of tunnels and terraces up to hundreds of meters deep, to make new roads passable.⁵⁴ Consider the example of the removal of an entire hill of rock, executed under Trajan in Tarracina, to allow the rapid passage of the *via Appia*, or that of the building of a bridge and shipping-canal at the Iron Gates on the Danube.⁵⁵ Certainly the morphological conformation of the Italian peninsula, garnished to the north by the Alpine chain and crossed by the Apennines along its longitudinal axis, made such works more necessary than in the case of the Iberian Peninsula. The *via Amerina* (from Rome to Ameria) differs in the nature of its construction north and south of Nepi. To the south, the road follows the contours of the landscape, rationalising the line of a pre-existing route. North of Nepi, the road, built some 150 years later, is quite different. Not only does it cut across contours with an impressive straightness but also it comprises a wider

53 Witcher 1998, op. cit. (n. 8), 65.

54 Coralini 1997, op. cit. (n. 36), 279–335.

55 Coralini 1997, op. cit. (n. 36), 312–317.

carriageway and a large masonry bridge.⁵⁶ R.E. Witcher believes, in my opinion too speculatively, that this difference would not depend only on the fact that the two sections were built in different periods, the first on pre-existing routes, the second not, but also that “there was a conscious decision to build a very different type of road [...] the use of straight sections simplified the surveying of roads is not in dispute [and] the very need to survey in the first place can be read as an expression of the ideology of imperium.”⁵⁷

Political and administrative factors, in addition to the widespread use of sea links, must, in my opinion, be taken into account to explain the poor state of road works that radically changed the landscape in the Iberian peninsula, namely: 1st. After the final conquest by Augustus, the *Hispania Romana* became a *provincia pacata*, far from the ‘hot’ regions, i.e. the *limes* and the eastern provinces. For this reason, it was perhaps less necessary than elsewhere to build very fast connections. 2nd. The engineering works present in Italy, in addition to being complex to build, required constant maintenance. The responsibility for the maintenance of the roads (municipal or “Reichsstraßen”) fell mainly on the inhabitants of the cities (*cives*, *incolae* and *contributi*) who, in the Iberian Peninsula, were certainly fewer in number than in Italy.⁵⁸

If on the Iberian Peninsula the physical nature of the landscape did not undergo considerable changes, it is clear that the presence and use of roads with milestones constituted a radical change in the landscape, not so much in the passage from the pre-Roman phase to the Roman one, but in the transition from the Republic to the Empire when, as already demonstrated, a few streets with small columns bearing the name of the proconsul were replaced by imposing milestones and clusters of milestones, bridges and arches.⁵⁹ The indigenous population which used paved roads bearing the name of the emperor (e.g., *via Augusta*), stone bridges (e.g., the bridge of las Alcantarillas),⁶⁰ and milestones to calculate distances in miles therefore participated in the ideology of imperium through their engagement with these practical and tangible expressions of Roman dominion.

56 M.W. Frederiksen and J.B. Ward Perkins, ‘The ancient road systems of the central and northern Ager Faliscus (Notes on Southern Etruria, 2)’, *PBSR* 25 (1957), 90.

57 Witcher 1998, op. cit. (n. 8), 62–64.

58 For Italy see W. Eck, *L’Italia nell’impero romano: stato e amministrazione in epoca imperiale* (Bari 1999), 76–80; C. Campedelli, *L’amministrazione municipale delle strade romane in Italia* (Bonn 2014).

59 Campedelli 2012, op. cit. (n. 46), 92.

60 C. Campedelli, ‘Nuova lettura delle iscrizioni del ponte di Las Alcantarillas (Siviglia)’, *Epigraphica* 79 (2017), 488–492.

It is therefore through the monumentalisation of the roads, through the positioning of arches in the most strategic points, through the construction of stone bridges, and above all, through the erection of milestones, due to which an accurate measurement and therefore perception of the territory was made possible, that the Iberian landscape was transformed into a Roman landscape.

Les milliaires tardifs, une réception particulière de l'autorité impériale. Un paysage particulier le long des voies de Lusitanie

Sabine Lefebvre¹

Dans tout l'empire, alors que les princes se succèdent parfois très rapidement au cours du III^e siècle mais aussi au IV^e siècle, leurs noms et leurs titulatures sont particulièrement présents dans les espaces ruraux des cités, en figurant sur les milliaires. Alors que les voies ne sont pas forcément refaites sous chaque règne, on constate cependant qu'à certains emplacements – carrefours, ponts ... –, un grand nombre de milliaires, souvent proches dans le temps, sont placés et proposés au regard des voyageurs, constituant un paysage particulier. Quel intérêt y-a-t-il à une telle concentration constituant parfois une forêt de pierres ? Et comment expliquer que sur certains de ces milliaires, la titulature du prince ne soit pas au nominatif mais au datif, prenant alors la forme d'un hommage rendu au détenteur du pouvoir ? Cette pratique, connue en Orient², l'est aussi dans l'extrême Occident, dans la province de Lusitanie. Reflétant l'impact des changements au sommet de l'Etat, elle est la manifestation d'un déplacement du centre des villes aux zones rurales où les grandes familles possédaient *uillae* et grands domaines.

1 Présentation de la problématique

Si l'impact de Rome dans les centres urbains des provinces est aujourd'hui bien connu d'une part par la parure monumentale des villes qui comportent, autour des fora, basiliques, temples et curies ... et d'autre part par les inscriptions,

1 S. Lefebvre, Université de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté / UMR 6298 ARTEHIS: Je remercie Anne Gangloff pour sa relecture attentive. Pour alléger les notes, le lemme des inscriptions citées sera réduit à la référence la plus récente ou la plus utilisée, sauf en cas de discussion sur un point précis. Les références complètes peuvent être retrouvées soit sur le site de Clauss-Slaby, soit sur le site d'*Hispania epigraphica*. Les abréviations mentionnées sont celles utilisées sur le site de Clauss-Slaby (<http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/abkuerz.html>). Ces deux sites proposent, pour une grande partie des documents cités, des photographies.

2 Cf. T. Bauzou, « Epigraphie et toponymie : le cas de la Palmyrène du sud-ouest », *Syria* 70 (1993), 27-50.

dont les hommages rendus aux princes de leur vivant ou après leur divinisation³ sont un exemple – c'est alors un paysage urbain très particulier qui se constitue progressivement –, cet impact peut sembler moindre dans les espaces ruraux. Or, la présence des *uillae*, résidences des notables vivant entre le centre politique de leur *ciuitas* et leur domaine agricole, témoigne que cet impact était important : par les techniques utilisées et par leur décor, on perçoit bien que le modèle romain s'est largement diffusé. Ces *uillae* sont ainsi un centre de diffusion de la culture romaine, mais aussi des pratiques sociales et politiques⁴.

Mais cet impact est aussi bien visible par le soin apporté au réseau routier par les empereurs, réseau qui fut régulièrement restauré, aménagé, y compris dans les confins de l'empire comme en Lusitanie⁵. Pouvant être datés grâce aux milliaires découverts le long des voies et où figure le nom de l'empereur, au nominatif en général, ces travaux et leur trace écrite permettaient aux ruraux d'être en contact avec le pouvoir impérial, contact modeste certes, mais réel. De fait, le paysage visible depuis la route par l'usager reflète la politique impériale⁶ – c'est un paysage de réception d'un message politique –, sans qu'une dimension esthétique soit donnée à cette concentration de pierres bordant la voie : il s'agit par ces implantations, de tenir les provinciaux au courant des modifications au centre du pouvoir et des actions décidées, éventuellement par les princes. Ce paysage, fort différent de celui proposé dans les centres urbains où la monumentalisation de l'image impériale est de mise, est néanmoins fort intéressant à analyser.

On constate en effet qu'à partir du milieu du III^e siècle et au IV^e siècle, ces milliaires restent très fréquents, même en période de crise politique, et, parfois,

3 S. Lefebvre, « Hommages rendus au *Divus Augustus* en Occident, témoignages d'une relation particulière ? », dans S. Lefebvre et A. Daguet-Gagey (éds.), *L'empereur Auguste et la mémoire des siècles* (Arras 2018), 123-168; S. Lefebvre, « Rendre hommage aux princes morts Nerva et Trajan. Les *Divi* comme facteur d'enracinement de la nouvelle dynastie », dans A. Caballos Rufino (éd.), *De Trajano à Adriano. Roma matura, Roma mutans* (Séville 2019), 143-167.

4 On peut voir J.-G. Gorges, « Villes et villas de Lusitanie (Interactions, échanges, autonomies) », dans J. de Alarcão et al. (éds.) *Les Villes de Lusitanie romaine. Hiérarchies et Territoires. Table ronde du CNRS (Talence, le 8-9 novembre 1988)* (Paris 1990), 91-113, en part. 107 : « De fait, villes et routes de Lusitanie rassemblent dans leur sphère d'influence directe la majeure partie des établissements ruraux répertoriés. Près de 80 % des villas recensées sont situées dans un rayon allant de 5 à 30 km autour des villes ou s'échelonnent le long des axes routiers, à une distance moyenne variant entre 1 et 10 kilomètres ».

5 S. Marcos, « Espace géographique, espace politique. La frontière provinciale lusitanienne, une limite déterminante ? », dans A. Caballos Rufino et S. Lefebvre (éds.), *Roma generadora de identidades. La experiencia hispana* (Madrid 2011), 171-184.

6 On pourrait évoquer ici un « paysage politique », dans un contexte particulier, celui des crises au sommet de l'État, qui conduit à son évolution constante au fur et à mesure de la succession des empereurs.

leur formulation est modifiée : la titulature du prince n'est plus au nominatif mais au datif, comme dans les hommages rendus dans les espaces publics de la cité⁷.

Il s'agit de montrer comment les voies deviennent un nouvel espace de propagande impériale, comment les hommages publics sis jusque-là dans les centres urbains, gagnent les espaces ruraux, changeant subtilement le paysage visible depuis les voies : les bornes milliaires ne sont plus uniquement des marqueurs de distances, elles deviennent des supports de la communication des princes, des milliaires-hommages. Je me propose d'analyser quelques dossiers provenant de Lusitanie, illustrant cette pratique.

2 Le réseau routier et les milliaires de Lusitanie

Les cartes dressées par nos collègues⁸ témoignent de la forte présence de ces milliaires, entre autres en Lusitanie, mis en place durant plus de quatre siècles : ils constituent, le long des voies, des repères, des marqueurs qui participent à l'élaboration d'un paysage particulier, vécu⁹, celui qui est visible depuis la route mais aussi depuis les *uillae*, ateliers, nécropoles qui la bordent. Constitutifs de la *uia*, ils rythment son parcours, proposant une vision qui se répète de mille en mille. Ainsi que le rappelle J.M. Roldán Hervás¹⁰, « el proceso de colocación de miliarios fue acumulativo, es decir, se fueron añadiendo de forma sucesiva, incluso en un mismo punto, sin retirar los anteriores ». Beaucoup ont subi les outrages du temps et nombre ont été déplacés, de quelques centaines de mètres à l'époque médiévale ou de plusieurs kilomètres, transformés en colonnes pour des maisons ou des églises. Il est donc souvent difficile de

7 S. Lefebvre, « Les critères de définition des hommages publics en Occident », *BAntFr* 1998 (2002), 102-113.

8 J.-M^a. Solana Sainz et L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, *La política viaria en Hispania. Siglo IV D.C.* (Valladolid 1997) ; J.-M^a. Solana Sainz et L. Hernández Guerra, *La política viaria en Hispania. Siglo III d.C.* (Valladolid 2002) ; J.-M^a. Solana Sainz et L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, *La red viaria romana en Hispania siglos I-IV d.C.* (Valladolid 2006) ; J.-M^a. Solana Sainz et L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, *La política viaria en Hispania siglos I-II d. C.* (Valladolid 2008). On peut également mentionner le projet du *CIL* XVII, mais les volumes portant sur la Lusitanie ne sont pas encore parus.

9 P. George (éd.), *Dictionnaire de la géographie*² (Paris 1974), 337-338 : « [...] il a pris récemment une signification synthétique rassemblant l'ensemble des traits issus de la géographie naturelle et des apports accumulés des civilisations qui ont façonné successivement le cadre initial et sont entrés dans la conscience de groupe des occupants. Il devient synonyme d'*environnement* dans les processus de perception de l'espace – se confond alors avec l'*espace vécu* ».

10 J.M. Roldán Hervás, « Los miliarios de la vía de la Plata », dans Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales (éd.), *La vía de la plata. Una calzada y mil caminos. Exposition au Museo Nacional de arte romano (Mérida, 21 février au 13 avril 2008)* (Madrid 2008), 70-79, en part. 71.



FIGURE 7.1 Milliaires de la Via de la Plata

PHOTOGRAPHIE ISSUE DE https://www.tripadvisor.com/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g2449867-d6403504-i238026701-Actividades_Barbancho-Casar_de_Caceres_Province_of_Caceres_Extremadura.html

préciser leur emplacement initial, de restituer le paysage auquel ils participaient, et de localiser *mansiones* ou autres *stationes* figurant dans les *Itinéraires* à des milles précis, mais aussi de mettre en rapport leur emplacement initial avec leur contexte : sont-ils proches d'un petit noyau d'habitation, d'une *uilla*, d'une nécropole ... Ces données importantes, il est parfois difficile d'en disposer. Rares sont les lieux où sont encore en place les milliaires, proposant un paysage tout à fait particulier (fig. 7.1).

Nous ne disposons que d'une infime partie des milliaires mis en place, nombreuses devaient être les bornes de bois qui ont bien entendu disparu. Tous ces milliaires n'étaient pas gravés – certains étaient sans doute peints –, et la présence de l'écrit, gravé dans la pierre avait sans nul doute une signification, faisant d'une partie de ces paysages ruraux, une page d'écriture.

Rythmant le territoire rural des *ciuitates*, devenant des éléments organiques du paysage rural¹¹, les milliaires sont, pour les ruraux, l'un des premiers

11 Mais d'un paysage de proximité, car les milliaires placés le long des voies devaient être lisibles. Ils constituent ainsi le premier plan des paysages que l'utilisateur découvre au fur et à mesure de son avancée. Bien que très visibles, ils ne devaient cependant pas être systématiquement tous lus par chaque passant. On peut donc s'interroger sur leur rôle et leur impact réel.

contacts¹² avec le prince au pouvoir, bien que tous les princes n'aient pas contribué à la réfection de chacune des voies de l'empire. Les cartes proposées par J.-M^a. Solana Sainz et L. Sagredo San Eustaquio¹³ mettent en évidence les routes ou tronçons sur lequel tel ou tel prince a mis l'accent. Ce contact avec l'empereur va prendre une importance cruciale quand les crises politiques se succèdent et que la nécessité de mener une propagande active se fait de plus en plus sentir. Les répercussions de l'action impériale vont alors être ressenties non seulement dans les centres urbains, qui accueillaient déjà, au sein des forums, les messages émanant de Rome, mais aussi dans l'espace rural, afin de toucher le maximum de sujets. Le support choisi, qui va alors être privilégié, est le milliaire ; familier dans le paysage, il permet d'allier utilité et propagande. Utilité certes, car il rythme la voie, mais une utilité relative, d'une part car il semble, vu leur proximité dans le temps, que peu soient liés à des travaux de réfection, et d'autre part, car positionnés en des lieux où se trouvaient déjà d'autres milliaires, leur utilité pour indiquer les distances était redondante. C'est donc bien la propagande impériale qui semble ici avoir conditionnée leur mise en place, avec une forme inhabituelle de la titulature impériale, au datif.

3 La *uia* XXIV

Le dossier que j'ai retenu pour illustrer cette pratique est celui de la *uia* XXIV, la « Via de la Plata¹⁴ », née à Augusta Emerita et qui relie Asturica Augusta¹⁵ avec, entre ces deux villes, 313 milles. Elle traverse le territoire de plusieurs cités¹⁶, entre autres Augusta Emerita, Norba, Caurium¹⁷, Capera, Salmantica et se poursuit en Citérieure. Il s'agit d'un des axes principaux de la péninsule Ibérique, tant sur le plan économique que stratégique (fig. 7.2) : en témoignent

12 L'autre contact se fait *via* le monnayage.

13 Solana Sainz et Sagredo San Eustaquio 2006, op. cit. (n. 8).

14 J.M. Roldán Hervás, *Iter ab Emerita Asturicam. El camino de la plata* (Salamanque 1971); Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales 2008, op. cit. (n. 10).

15 Elle se prolonge jusqu'à Caesaraugusta ; cf. *Itin. Anton.* 433, 1 (ed. de O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, I [Stuttgart 1990], 67).

16 Il est très difficile en péninsule Ibérique de déterminer les limites précises des cités ; la plupart des tracés s'appuient sur les limites naturelles, rivières ou hauteurs. Cf. E. Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres, J. M. Fernández Corrales et G. Herrera García de la Santa, « Ciudades, territorios y vías de comunicación en la Lusitania meridional española », dans J. de Alarcão et al. 1990, op. cit. (n. 4), 51-72, en part. 57, fig. 3.

17 La limite orientale de Caurium, frontière occidentale de Capera est formée par « una línea oblicua equidistante entre ambas ciudades que iría desde la Sierra de Gata hasta la de Cañaverál (que) sirve como separación artificial por oriente » selon J.E. Ortega, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Cáceres IV. Caurium* (Cáceres 2016), 9.

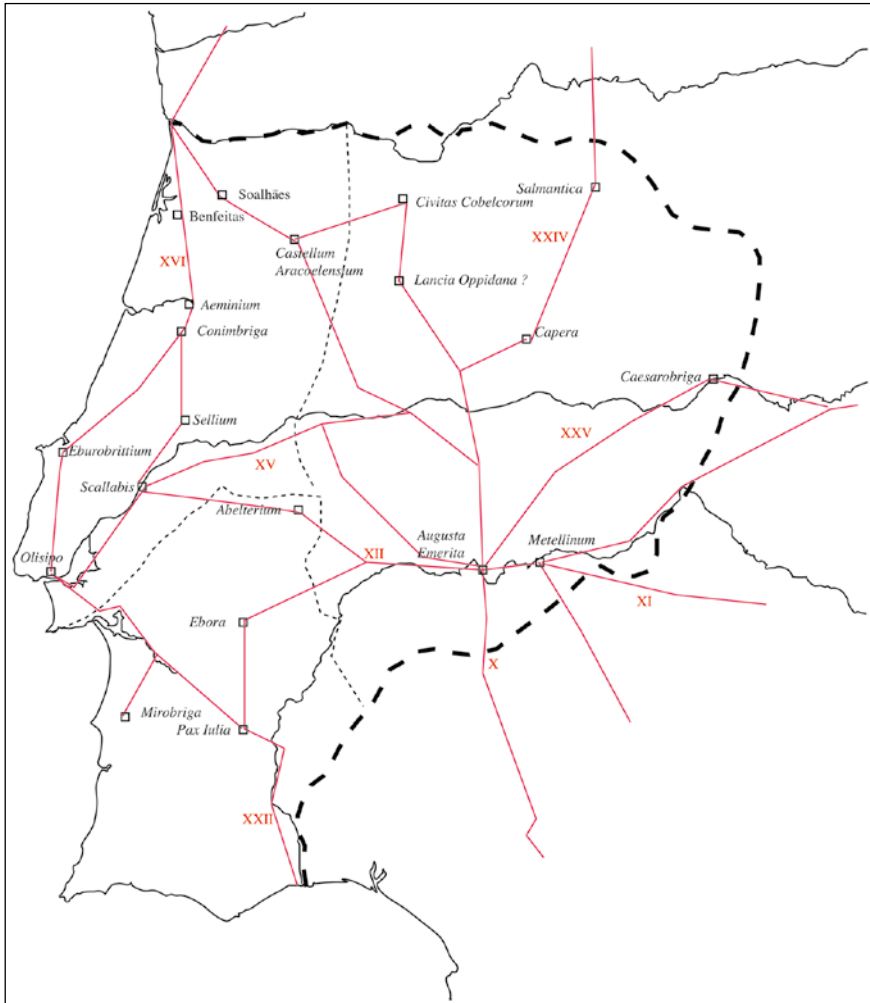


FIGURE 7.2 Les principales voies de Lusitanie

RÉALISATION S. LEFEBVRE D'APRÈS LEFEBVRE 2016, OP. CIT. (N. 23), 270

les ouvrages d'art comme le pont d'Alcantara ou celui de Salamanque. Les milliaires qui la bordent, datés du 1^{er} au 4^e siècles¹⁸, d'Auguste à Valentinien 1^{er}, témoignent de l'intérêt permanent des princes pour cet axe fondamental de circulation. La majorité des milliaires découverts – 198 décomptés en 1995¹⁹

18 Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 47-71 ; depuis la publication de cet ouvrage, des découvertes ont été faites, ainsi que des relectures.

19 Cf. C. Puerta Torres, *Los miliarios de la vía de la Plata*, (thèse de doctorat, Madrid 2002, voir <https://eprints.ucm.es/2439/>, consulté le 26/3/2021) ce qui est assez conséquent ; voir aussi Roldán Hervás 2008, op. cit. (n. 10), 70-79, en part. 71.

– se concentre sur un tiers environ du trajet, en territoire lusitanien²⁰ ; la plupart ont été retrouvés *in situ* ou à proximité de la chaussée antique, permettant d'avoir une idée du paysage antique, ce qui est évidemment une chance, même s'il reste aujourd'hui difficile de les localiser précisément pour d'autres. Tous n'indiquent pas de distances, j'y reviendrai.

J'ai retenu un tronçon assez long de cette *uia* XXIV²¹, au-delà du territoire d'Augusta Emerita. Ce très gros centre urbain et capitale provinciale, puis capitale du diocèse des Espagnes, exerce une forte influence sur un espace plus vaste que son territoire civique et est très attractif²². Les pratiques, et en particulier la réception et l'impact des politiques impériales y étaient forcément différentes²³. Je vais donc m'intéresser au tracé de la voie depuis le territoire de Norba (Cáceres) jusqu'à la frontière de la Lusitanie, au nord du territoire de Salmantica (Salamanque). J'envisagerai un focus plus particulier sur le territoire de Capera, en tenant compte des lieux où se trouvent des milliaires au datif²⁴.

La *mansio Ad Sorores*²⁵ est au sud de Norba, à 26 milles de Mérida. À proximité du site²⁶, on a retrouvé des milliaires, et au 31^e mille, à Aldea del Cano, un milliaire restitué au datif pour un empereur anonyme²⁷. À 29 km au nord de *Ad Sorores*, on trouve la *mansio Castris Caecilia*²⁸ sur le territoire de la cité de Norba²⁹, au nord de la ville de Cáceres, au mille 46 sans doute³⁰. À proximité,

20 Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 47 : il propose que la gestion de la *uia* devait être en lien avec le découpage provincial.

21 Cf. Annexe 1. La section lusitanienne de la Via de la Plata.

22 Gorges 1990, op. cit. (n. 4), 97-100.

23 S. Lefebvre, « Réception du pouvoir impérial en Lusitanie de Dioclétien à la fin de la dynastie constantinienne », dans J. d'Encarnação, M. Conceição Lopes et Pedro C. Carvalho (éds.), *A Lusitânia Romana – Entre Romanos e Bárbaros, VIII Mesa-redonda Internacional à Mangalde* (Coimbra et Mangalde 2016), 223-279.

24 Ils figurent souvent dans des groupes de plusieurs milliaires antérieurs, constituant ainsi un paysage particulier (fig. 1).

25 *Itin. Anton.* 433, 3 : *m. p. XXVI* (ed. Cuntz 1990, op. cit. [n. 15], 67) ; *Ravenn.* IV 45, 15 : *Sorores, quae confinatur cum* (ed. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, 2, *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia et Guidonis geographica* [Stuttgart 1990], 82) ; *Plin. Nat.* 4.117 : [...] *coloniae Augusta Emerita, Anae fluuiio adposita, Metellinensis, Pacensis, Norbensis Caesarina cognomine; contributa sunt in eam Castra Seruilia, Castra Caecilia*. Cf. Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 79-80, dans le village de Casas de Don Antonio, plus précisément dans la dehesa de Santiago Bencáliz, domaine foncier municipal.

26 Sur le site, on a retrouvé des restes de bâtiments.

27 *MiliariosPlata* 39 Aldea del Cano : [---] / [---] *max(imo)* [---], en remploi.

28 *Itin. Anton.* 433, 4 : *m. p. XX* (ed. Cuntz 1990, op. cit. [n. 15], 67) ; *Ravenn.* IV 45, 14 : *Castris* (ed. Schnetz 1990, op. cit. [n. 25], 82). Cf. Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 80-83.

29 Il est inutile ici de revenir sur les liens entre *Castra Caecilia* et Norba, en lien avec le texte de Pline l'Ancien (cf. n. 25).

30 Au niveau de Cáceres el Viejo.

au nord, se trouve le village de Casar de Cáceres³¹ qui correspond au mille *LII*. Outre des milliaires du I^e et du début du III^e siècle, on y a découvert un milliaire de Constance Chlore au datif³² daté de 293-305, retravaillé après 305.

Juste après le passage du Tage en venant du sud³³, se trouve le site d'Alconetar qui comprend un fortin antique, une villa rurale complétée à l'époque tardo-antique par une basilique du v^e siècle et un édifice funéraire³⁴. Le lieu est éminemment stratégique³⁵ et pourrait être assimilé à la *mansio Turmulus*³⁶, même si un autre site, un peu plus au nord correspond mieux aux distances indiquées par *l'Itinéraire d'Antonin*³⁷. Plusieurs inscriptions y ont été découvertes³⁸ – beaucoup en remploi dans le village de Garrovillas –, des funéraires³⁹ mais surtout des milliaires de Tibère, Néron, Septime Sévère, Hadrien, Marc Aurèle ou Caracalla au nominatif, plusieurs milliaires anépigraphes, et au datif, un milliaire attribué à Caracalla ou à Probus, mais qui reste très douteux⁴⁰ – il a disparu ! –, un de Probus⁴¹ assuré, tous deux très proches l'un de l'autre près

31 Il se trouve à 9 km de Castra Caecilia.

32 *MiliariosPlata* 66 Casar de Cáceres : *D(omino) n(ostro) F[l(auiio)] / Vale[ri]o] / [Con[stantio], / [n]ob(ilissimo) Ca[es(ari)]*. Un second texte se superpose : *D(omino) n(ostro) [Im]p(eratori) / Caes[ari] [---]V[---]R[---] / [---]*, / *[n]ob(ilissimo) Ca[es(ari)]*. La surcharge de *Imperator* sur *Dominus noster* est attestée en Bétique ; cf. par exemple P. Sillières, *Les voies de communication de l'Hispanie méridionale* (Bordeaux 1990), 70-71, n. 4.

33 Territoire de la cité de Norba (Cacères), limité au nord par le Tage. On peut s'étonner que Garrovillas soit localisé sur le territoire de Norba.

34 L. Caballero Zoreda, *Alconetar en la vía romana de la Plata, Garrovillas (Cáceres)* (Madrid 1970) ; E. Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres et A. Montalvo Frías, «La vía de la Plata en Extremadura de Augusta Emerita a Caecilius Vicus», dans *Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales* 2008, op. cit. (n. 10), 49-57, en part. 53.

35 Caballero Zoreda 1970, op. cit. (n. 34), 3.

36 *Itin. Anton.* 433, 5 : *m. p. XX* (ed. Cuntz 1990, op. cit. [n. 15], 67) ; *Ravenn.* IV 45, 13 : *Turmulum* (ed. Schnetz 1990, op. cit. [n. 25], 82). Cf. Caballero Zoreda 1970, op. cit. (n. 34), 8.

37 Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 83-86.

38 Caballero Zoreda 1970, op. cit. (n. 34), Appendice II, 128-135. Sur le site Clausus-Slaby, on n'en décompte à ce jour que 26, et 17 sur le site d'*Hispania epigraphica* qui n'a pas retenu les milliaires anépigraphes.

39 *CILCaceres* 1, Garrovillas de Alconetar 200 ; 201 ; 202 ; 203 ? ; 204 ; 205 ? ; 206 ; 207 ?.

40 *CIL* II 6204 (*HAEp* 1807) = *CPILCaceres* 683 = *MiliariosPlata* 91 = *CILCaceres* I 210 (*HEp* 16, 96) Garrovillas de Alconetar : *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / Marco [Aur(elio) [---] / P(io) [F(elici)] Inuic/to Augu[sto], / [---]* près du pont d'Alconetar. Dans la lacune pourrait se trouver la mention du grand pontificat. Une autre lecture a été envisagée dans le *CIL* pour ce milliaire aujourd'hui disparu : *Imp(eratori) Caes(aris) / M(arco) / p(io) Inuic/to duci / maxi(mo)*. Cette lecture est plus qu'improbable, en particulier pour les dernières lignes conservées.

41 *MiliariosPlata* 92 Garrovillas de Alconetar : *Imp(eratori) C(a)esar[us] / M(arco) Aurel(io) Pro[bo], / P(io) Felici Inuicto, / [Augusto ---]*, au mille LXV.

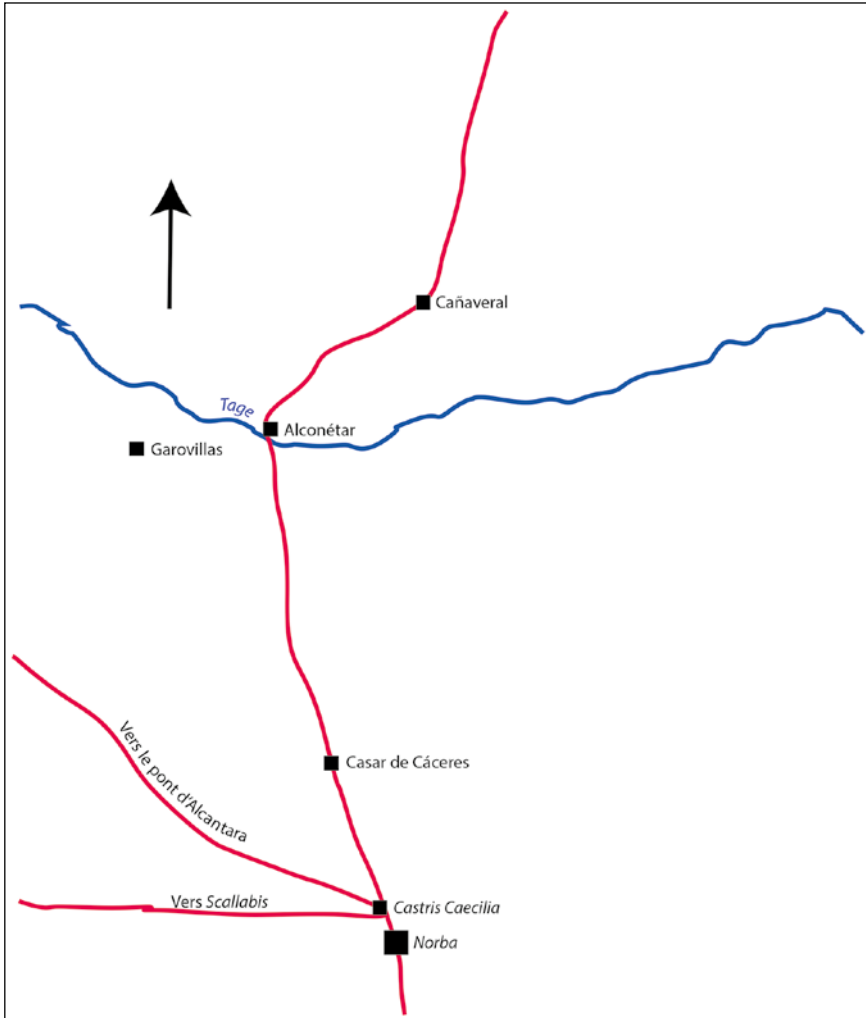


FIGURE 7.3 Localisation des mansiones *Castris Caecilia* et *Turmulus*

du pont d'Alconetar, et à Cañaverál, un milliaire de Constance II au datif⁴² daté entre 337 et 361. Ce sont donc deux milliaires assurés au datif que l'on trouve à proximité de la *mansio*.

42 J. Río-Miranda et M^a G^a Iglesias Domínguez, « Nuevas aportaciones a la epigrafía y arqueología de Cáceres », *Ahigal* 24 (2005), 13, n. 3 (*HEp* 14, 86 = *FE* 602) = *CIL*Cáceres IV 1159 = *AE* 2017, 654 Cañaverál : [Caesa]r (sic!) Iul(io) (sic!) / Co(n)stan(tio) (sic!), trium(p)h(ator) (sic!) m[ax(im)o] (sic!), / [s]enper (sic!) A(u)gus(to) (sic!), / b(ono) r(ei) p(ublica) n(ato).

En se dirigeant vers le nord, en direction de la ville de Capera, on trouve à Carcaboso, plusieurs milliaires en remploi dans l'église de la ville avec un « Parque de los miliarios ». Le remploi post-antiquité dans les édifices du village de Carcaboso génère une concentration sur un point qui n'existait pas dans l'antiquité. C'est une des difficultés que l'on rencontre lorsque l'on étudie les milliaires. C'est donc au sud du village actuel que le milliaire de Flavius Sévère au datif a dû être placé. Je n'ai pu retrouver d'informations sur les éventuels restes d'une *uilla* ou d'un établissement rural. Ce site est considéré comme appartenant à la cité de Capera, juste au sud de la ville romaine ; ce n'est pas une *mansio*, et les inscriptions qui s'y trouvent y ont été rassemblés, venant de la *uia* XXIV sur plusieurs milles : après le mille 90, un milliaire au datif mentionnant Flavius Sévère en 306/307⁴³, au 96^e mille, à Aldehuela del Jerte un autre milliaire au datif, de Magnence (entre 350 et 353)⁴⁴. Ce milliaire a été découvert à proximité de restes de sépultures⁴⁵, indiquant la présence d'un noyau permanent d'habitations, à proximité d'une inscription funéraire⁴⁶. En poursuivant sur quelques milles vers le nord, au mille 104 à Ahigal peut-être, un milliaire au datif de Maximien⁴⁷ en 305.

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- L'auteur de la notice de *HEp* signale que la transcription est défectueuse, d'après la photographie, et qu'il est possible de compléter la restitution du texte, lecture reprise dans l'*AE* : *[D(omino) n(ostro) I]mp(eratori) Fl(a)uio] / [I]ulio Co(n)sta[n]t[i]o / [Max]imo triu<m>f/ator(i) [m]/axi(mo) [s]e<m>per A[u]gusto, b(ono) r(ei) p(ublicae) [n(ato)]*.
- 43 *CILCaceres* 712 = *MiliariosPlata* 98 = *CILCaceres* III 1108 Carcaboso : *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Flauio Val(erio) / Seuero / Inu(icto) Au(gusto) XC[---]*. Pour Puerta Torres 1995, op. cit. (n. 19), l'inscription aurait été découverte près du rio Jerte, puis fut transporté dans une finca : l'auteur la note comme étant à Galisteo.
- 44 J. Río-Miranda Alcón, « Inscripción de Aldehuela del Jerte », *BIGCV* 6 (1981), 9 = Río-Miranda et Iglesias Domínguez 2005, op. cit. (n. 42), 9-10, n. 5, fig. 5 (*HEp* 14, 81) = *CILCaceres* III 930 Aldehuela del Jerte : *[D(omino) n(ostro) Magno ?] / Magne(n)/tio, uic/tori sem/per Augu(sto, bono / [rei] publi/cae nato / [---]* ; autre lecture retenue par *HEp* : *[---] / [d(omino) n(ostro) ---] / Magne(n)/tio, uic/tori sem/per Aug(us)/to, bono / r(ei) p(ublico) (sic!) n(ato)*.
- 45 J.E. Ortega, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Cáceres III. Capera* (Cacères 2013), 35 (= *CILCaceres* III).
- 46 *CILCaceres* III 929 Aldehuela del Jerte, que l'on pourrait mettre en relation avec une éventuelle installation humaine.
- 47 J. Río-Miranda et M^a G^a Iglesias Domínguez, « Nuevas aportaciones a la epigrafía y arqueología romana de Cáceres », *Ahigal* 14 (2003), 4-5 (*HEp* 13, 211) = *CILCáceres* III 923 Ahigal : *Imp(eratori) Caesar(i) M(arco) / [---] Vá[lerio] / [---] Maxim(i)ano, / [pontif] <ici> maximo (sic!), / C[---] Imperatoris / [---] fortissimo / Caesaris A(u)g(usto) / CIII*. Développé en *A(u)g(ustus)* par les éditeurs et Ortega 2013, op. cit. (n. 45), il a été découvert en 2002 *in situ*. Le texte, outre les fautes de grammaire, propose une titulature qui pourrait être celle de Maximien et/ou de Maximin le Thrace et son fils. Il pourrait s'agir de la réutilisation d'un milliaire, peut-être martelé.

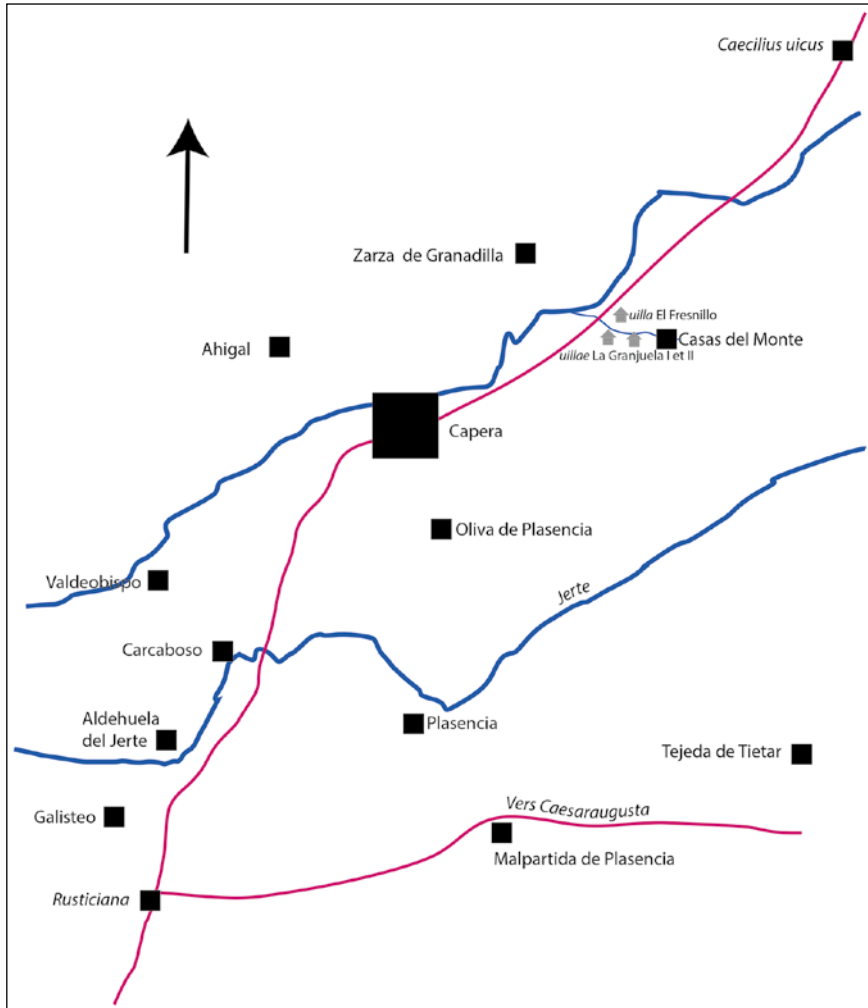


FIGURE 7.4 La uia XXIV aux environs de Capera

Capera, placée au centre de son territoire⁴⁸, est aussi une des *mansiones* de la uia XXIV, et on y trouve donc des milliaires⁴⁹ dont celui de Crispus au

48 Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres, Fernández Corrales et Herrera García de la Santa 1990, op. cit. (n. 16), 62, fig. 7.

49 *Itin. Anton.* 433, 7 (ed. de Cuntz 1990, op. cit. [n. 15], 67); *Ravenn.* IV 45, 11: *Cappara* (ed. de Schnetz 1990, op. cit. [n. 25], 82). Cf. Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 87-89. Pour les milliaires, par exemple : *MiliariosPlata* 100 : *Nero Claudius Caes(ar) / Aug(ustus), pont(ifex) maxim(us), / trib(unicia) pot(estate) V, imp(erator) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) / CII ; ERCCaceres* 99 : *Imp(erator) C(a)esa(r) / M(arcus) Aure[lius] / [---]IC[---]*, entre 276 et 282.

datif⁵⁰. À Oliva de Plasencia, on trouve un milliaire de Décence⁵¹ au datif. En s'éloignant de Capera, sans doute au 115^e mille, et venant de Zarza de Granadilla, on trouve un milliaire au datif d'un empereur anonyme⁵².

Au nord du territoire de la cité de Capera, se trouve la petite ville de Casas del Monte, à proximité de la somptueuse *uilla* romaine de La Granjuela, une exploitation agricole⁵³ implantée à l'est de la *uia* XXIV. Des bâtiments complémentaires, « La Granjuela II », ont été découverts lors de la construction de l'autoroute A 66. La *uilla* été détruite au V^e siècle, réoccupée aux VI^e-VII^e avec la présence d'un cimetière. Avec les grands travaux, d'autres découvertes⁵⁴ ont été faites dans ce secteur, près du 118^e mille de la *uia* XXIV, à 150 m de la confluence des rivières Garganta Grande et Ancha : la *uilla* « El Fresnillo II », en relation étroite avec une découverte plus ancienne qui pourrait être la pars *urbana* de cet ensemble qui constituerait la *pars rustica*⁵⁵. Certains des petits bâtiments découverts le long de la voie pourraient être des *tabernae diuersoriae*.

On a découvert aux alentours des inscriptions funéraires⁵⁶, des milliaires dont plusieurs au datif de Constance Chlore⁵⁷ en 305, hélas sans milles indiqués ce qui renforce l'aspect « hommage public », de Maximin Daia⁵⁸ au mille

50 *MiliariosPlata* 112 = *CILCáceres* III 1112 Segura de Toro : *D(omino) N(ostro) [Fla]/uio Iuli/o Cris[po] / nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari), / CX*.

51 *MiliariosPlata* 113 = *CILCáceres* III 1077 Oliva de Plasencia : *Dom(ino) n(ostro) / Magno / Decentio / nob(ilissimo) C[aesari] / [---]*. Lors de sa découverte dans le temple dédié à Jupiter, il a été considéré comme un hommage, mais sa forme est bien celle d'un milliaire. Décence est César en 350 et meurt en 353.

52 *MiliariosPlata* 120 = *CILCáceres* III 1074 Oliva de Plasencia ou Zarza de Granadilla : *[---] / sem/per / Aug[us]/to u[ic]/[tor]i maxi(imo) / [C]XV*.

53 Elle n'était sans doute pas la seule le long de cet axe.

54 J. Río-Miranda Alcón et M^a.G. Iglesias Domínguez, « Nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos en la A-66 », article publié en ligne : <http://www.caparra.es/archivospdf/20-2004.pdf> (consulté le 26/4/2019).

55 Les découvreurs évoquent l'absence de « suntuosidad » dans les découvertes faites.

56 *CILCáceres* III 962 Casas del Monte.

57 Río-Miranda et Iglesias Domínguez 2005, op. cit. (n. 42) 5-6, n. 2, fig. 2 (*HEp* 14, 88 ; *FE* 394) = *CILCáceres* III 964 Casas del Monte : *[---] / [---] Cons[tan]t[io], p(ito) [f(elici)] / semp(er) / Augus[to], / b(ono) r(ei) p(ublicae) n(ato)*. Il a été trouvé dans la villa « El Frenillo », en remploi.

58 *CILCáceres* III 965 Casas del Monte : *[Im]p(eratori) Caes(ari) / Max(imin)o (sic!) / [---] RAIVS[---] / [p(ontifici) m(axim)]o, tri(bunicia) (sic!) / [po]tes(tate) / CXVIII*. La présence d'un milliaire de Maximin Daia en péninsule Ibérique est sans doute liée à une décision de Constantin lui-même dans le cadre d'une période de concorde entre 305 et 310. Son nom aurait été ensuite martelé suite à la détérioration des relations entre les deux hommes.

118, de Constantin I^{er}⁵⁹ après 307 et avant 324 regravé sur le précédent, et un postérieur à 324⁶⁰, un à un membre de la famille constantinienne⁶¹, qui pourrait être Constance II entre 324 et 337.

Depuis le nœud routier constitué par Rusticiana, part vers l'est une voie reliant Caesarobriga⁶². Sur son tracé, sur le territoire de la commune de Malpartida de Plasencia, dans la finca El Robledo a été découvert un milliaire de Constantin II César⁶³ entre 317 et 337 : il est au datif, sans indication des milles. À ses côtés ce sont plusieurs inscriptions votives qui ont été découvertes⁶⁴ – il y avait sans nul doute à proximité un lieu de culte au dieu Quangeius⁶⁵ – ou de nature diverse⁶⁶.

- 59 Río-Miranda et Iglesias Domínguez 2005, op. cit. (n. 42) 6, n. 3, fig. 3. = *CILCaceres* III 965 Casas del Monte : *D(omino n(ostro) Fl(auio) V(alerio) V(inuicto) / Augusto, / [---]N[---]us / nobilis(simo). C[---]A[---]/OX[---]MA[---]; CXVIII*. Il est placé dans l'index par Ortega 2013, op. cit. (n. 45), 207, sous le nom de « Constancio I ».
- 60 *CIL* II 4670 = *CPILCaceres* 714 = *MiliariosPlata* 125 = *CILCaceres* III 1107 Plasencia : *DD(omínis) n(ostris) / Flauio V(alerio) / [Constantino], / uicto[ri maximo] / semp[er] / Aug(usto) / [et ? ---]*. Le document a été découvert dans un mur de la Plaza del Deán de Plasencia en remploi, mais il devait venir de la route reliant Casas del Monte et Segura de Tore. La fin du texte comprenait sans doute les noms des fils de Constantin.
- 61 *MiliariosPlata* 124 = J.-M. Solana Sainz et L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, *La política viaria en Hispania. Signo IV D. C.*, (Valladolid 1997), 93, n. 21 = *ERCMCC* 57, n. 47 = *CILCaceres* III 963 Casas del Monte : *[--- Flauio Valerio ?] / Constan[tio], nobi[lissimo] / Caesari / Brit[anico] / [---]*. (Constance Chlore entre 296-305) mais il existe une autre lecture : *[D(omino) N(ostro) ?] / [Flauio Julio ?] / Constan[tio], nobi[lissimo] / Caesari, / b(ono) r(ei) p(ubllicae) n(ato) / [---]*. (Constance II entre 324-337). Ce milliaire ne bornait pas la *uia* XXV *Toletum-Caesarobriga-Augusta Emerita*, mais bien la *uia* XXIV. La seconde hypothèse proposée dans la banque de données *Hispania epigraphica* (25511) et qui mentionne dans la bibliographie la première publication, ne tient absolument pas compte de la lecture des inventeurs, qui a pourtant été reprise ensuite. Le site ne fait que mentionner la variante possible *Brit[anico]* dont la lecture, sur la photo proposée, semble assez évidente, la troisième lettre apparaissant clairement comme un I et non un P. Nous préférons donc privilégier la proposition des inventeurs.
- 62 Pour Solana Sainz et Sagredo San Eustaquio 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 115, ce milliaire appartient à la *uia* XXIV.
- 63 A. Sánchez Paredes, «Inscripciones latinas de la Vetonia», *Diario Extremadura*, 31 de enero de 1964, n. 9 (*ILER* 1932) = *CPILCaceres* 745 = *MiliariosPlata* 97, fig. 21, lám. 35 = Solana Sainz et Sagredo San Eustaquio 1997, op. cit. (n. 61), 127, n. 118. = *CILCaceres* III 995 Malpartida de Plasencia : *Caes[ari] / [Fla]uio / Clau[dio] C/onst[a]n[tin]o Iun[iori], n[ob]l[iss]imo) / Ca[es]ari*. Il est possible qu'il appartienne à la *uia* XXIV, sans assurance, car une *uia* part de Rusticiana. On ne comprend pas l'introduction de *P(r)/obo* dans la restitution de Ortega 2013, op. cit. (n. 45), 83.
- 64 Par exemple *CILCaceres* III 991 Malpartida de Plasencia 991 ; 992.
- 65 *CILCaceres* III 991 Malpartida de Plasencia 993.
- 66 *CILCaceres* III 991 Malpartida de Plasencia 994 : une funéraire ; 996 : elle est illisible ; *FE* 588 : une funéraire ?

Sur le territoire de Capera, sur la voie en direction de l'est, au-delà de Tejada de Tietar, on trouve à Berrocalejo, un milliaire de Maximien ou de Galère au datif⁶⁷. Après ce rapide inventaire des milliaires de la *uia* XXIV, ce sont donc une dizaine de milliaires que nous pouvons isoler car au datif.

TABLEAU 7.1 Les milliaires au datif de la *uia* XXIV

Nom du prince	Lieu de découverte	Date	Divers
Caracalla	<i>Mansio Turmulus</i>	212/217	
Probus	<i>Mansio Turmulus</i>	276/282	
Maximien	Carcaboso	305	Remploi après martelage de Maximin le Thrace ?
Flavius Sévère	Carcaboso	306/307	
Crispus	<i>Capera</i>	317/326 César	Entrée de la ville au sud
Constantin II	Malpartida de Plasencia	317/337 César	
Constance Chlore ou Constance II	Casas del Monte	324/337 César	
Constance II	<i>Mansio Turmulus</i>	337/361	
Magnence	Carcaboso	350/353	
Décence	<i>Capera</i>	350/353	?
?	Au nord de <i>Capera</i>		

67 Milliaire de Maximien ou de Galère ? Milliaire découvert à Berrocalejo, dans les ruines d'une forteresse musulmane, en remploi : cf. A. Moraleda Olivares, « Aportación al estudio de la epigrafía romana de la Extremadura oriental », dans Centro de Estudios de los Montes de Toledo y la Jara (éd.), *Homenaje a Fernando Jiménez de Gregorio* (Tolède 1988), 97-107 = M. Santos Sánchez, *La villa de Berrocalejo de Abajo*, (Talavera de la Reina 1995), 98 = A. González Cordero, « Catálogo de inscripciones romanas del Campo Arañuelo, La Jara y Los Iboreas », dans D. Quijada González (éd.), *VII Coloquios Históricas-Culturales del Campo Arañuelo. D. Justo Corchón García*, (Navalmoral de la Mata 2001), 115-163, en part. 121-122, n. 7, avec photographie (*HEp* 11, 102) : *D(omino) n(ostro) / Maxi/miano, / nob(ilissimo) / Caes(ari); / XXXII (milia passuum)*. Variante : *D(eutus) n(uminis) [maiestatisque eius] / Maxi/miano, / nob(ilissimus) (sic!) / Caes(ar) (sic!) / XXXII (milia passuum)*. Il serait daté de 285-286 s'il s'agit de Maximien, devenu *Augustus* en 286, ou de 293-305 s'il s'agit de Galère, qui est fait *Augustus* en 305.

4 Chronologie des milliaires au datif : la marque de moments clés ?

C'est tardivement que la titulature des empereurs sur les milliaires passe du nominatif au datif. Le texte concernant éventuellement Caracalla, venant de Garrovillas, ne peut être daté de ce règne : il faut bien entendu préférer y voir un milliaire de Probus⁶⁸, le premier de notre chronologie, bien plus cohérent avec l'apparition des milliaires au datif. On peut donc, à mon sens, ne pas garder dans cet ensemble, un document, qui serait un milliaire, aujourd'hui perdu, au nom de Trajan, et au datif⁶⁹ selon les éditeurs. Certes sa localisation, sur le tracé de la *uia*, pourrait en faire la borne du 31^e mille. Mais l'état de la pierre rend douteux sa lecture effectuée au milieu du XIX^e siècle.

Une fois l'habitude prise d'indiquer sur les milliaires le nom des princes au datif, c'est même à proximité du centre urbain que l'on va les trouver : l'un⁷⁰ est à placer entre 317 et 326 – il s'agirait de Crispus –, l'autre, aujourd'hui perdu, est daté de la première moitié du IV^e siècle⁷¹.

Sur la via de la Plata, les derniers grands travaux⁷² semblent dater de Sévère Alexandre et de Maximin le Thrace. Ensuite, ce sont plutôt des interventions locales, sous Dèce⁷³ en 250 et sous Probus⁷⁴ en 282 et les milliaires de la Tétrarchie et des années 324-326 semblent davantage répondre à « un intérêt de propagande dinástica⁷⁵ » selon J.M. Roldán Hervás. Néanmoins rares sont les textes associant plusieurs membres de la famille impériale ; un seul milliaire

68 *CIL* II 6204 = *CPIL* Cáceres 683 = *MiliariosPlata* 91 = *CIL* Cáceres I 210 (*HEp* 16, 96) Garrovillas : *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / Marco [Aur(elio) ---] / P(io) [F(elici)] Inuic/to Augu[sto], / [---]*, sur le pont d'Alconetar.

69 *CIL* II 4648 = *CPIL* 671 = *MiliariosPlata* 37 = *CIL* Cáceres I 69 Aldea del Cano : [---] / [---] *Traiano* [---] / [---] *co(n)s(uli) II* [---] / [---]. Cf. Roldán Hervás 1971, op. cit. (n. 14), 50, n. 18, qui ne donne pas le texte. Dans la base *Hispania Epigraphica* (21872), le texte a été donné au nominatif, selon la reconstruction « idéale » du Marquis de Monsalud : [*Imp(erator) Caesar*] / [*diui Neruae filius*], / [*Nerua Tra*] / *ianus [Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)]*, / [*p]o(ntifex) max(imus) tri(bunicia) [pot(estate)]*, / [*p(ater) p(atriciae), c]o(n)s(ul) II*, / [*restituit. XXXI*]. Nous serions ici plus proche de la réalité.

70 *MiliariosPlata* 112 = *CIL* Cáceres III 1112 Segura de Toro : *D(omino) n(ostro) [Fla]uio Iuli/o Cris[po] / nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari), / CX*.

71 *CIL* Cáceres III 1076 Oliva de Plasencia : *DD(ominis) nn(ostris) / F(l)uauio / [I]u[lio] —*.

72 Sillières 1990, op. cit. (n. 32), 595. Sur les travaux de restauration par Hadrien, cf. M^{re} P. González-Conde Puente, «La visita de Adriano a Hispania y la reparación de la vía de la Plata», *Habis* 51 (2020), 139-161, en part. 150-155.

73 Puerta Torres 1995, op. cit. (n. 19), 218-220.

74 Puerta Torres 1995, op. cit. (n. 19), 221-222.

75 J.M. Roldán Hervás, «El camino de la Plata : historia de una vía romana», dans Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales 2008, op. cit. (n. 10), 41-47, en part. 46.

jet, avec les populations voisines, et permettent ainsi d'établir une relation entre les utilisateurs de la voie et les établissements qui la longent⁸⁰. Le rôle des *mansiones*, des *stationes*, l'impact du *cursus publicus*⁸¹ était indéniable tant sur le plan économique, que social et culturel mais aussi politique. Ces liens établis au niveau local, avec les petits noyaux ruraux ou avec les *uillae*⁸² sont perceptibles dans l'utilisation des milliaires comme espace permettant de rendre hommage au prince, avec une titulature au datif. Ces relations s'établissent au niveau des grandes voies – on le voit bien dans la proximité avec la *uia* de la *uilla* de Santiago de Bencáliz⁸³, près de la *mansio Ad Sorores*⁸⁴ situé au 26^e mille, mais sans doute aussi au voisinage des routes secondaires, utilisées par les populations locales. C'est là que l'impact du milliaire-dédicace est sans doute le plus fort, car c'est régulièrement que les occupants des *uillae* et autres domaines passent devant ces milliaires et utilisent les voies pour écouler leurs productions.

Or, dans le cadre du dossier de la *uia* XXIV, les centres poliades sont rares, et l'espace territorial de chacune de ces cités est assez vaste, comme on le constate pour Capera⁸⁵. Le contact avec les centres civiques, les forums où se dressent normalement les hommages rendus aux princes est donc minoré par

dans la discussion sur cette communication (291) proposait que « dans les dédicaces au datif entre une part de préoccupation religieuse », en y voyant une manifestation du culte impérial. P. Sillières (293) a répondu qu'effectivement ces milliaires sont des « instruments de la propagande impériale », en particulier pour « ces monuments découverts en groupe et élevés à des dates très rapprochées » – il parle de « nids de milliaires ». Il ajoute que « ces inscriptions manifestent l'adhésion des populations à un nouveau prince et constituent une forme nouvelle du culte impérial », mais plus tardivement qu'en Afrique : en péninsule Ibérique, les milliaires au datif apparaissent au 1^{er} siècle. Cette idée est reprise par Roldán Hervás 2008, op. cit. (n. 75), 46.

- 80 S. Haba Quirós et V. Rodrigo López, « La vía de la Plata entre las mansiones Rusticana y Caecilius Vicus: la calzada en relación con el asentamineto », dans Institución Fernando el Católico (éd.), *Simposio sobre la red viaria en la Hispana romana* (Saragosse 1990), 241-252, en part. 244.
- 81 H.-G. Pflaum, « Essai sur le cursus publicus dans le Haut Empire », *Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France* 14 (1940), 189-391 ; A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2000).
- 82 Gorges 1990, op. cit. (n. 4), 91 : « La confrontation de l'implantation rurale romaine avec le réseau de communication achève de donner leur importance à ces secteurs ».
- 83 E. Cerillo Martín de Cáceres, « Santiago de Bencalíz. Un asentamiento rural en la vía de la Plata », *NAH* 13 (1982), 165-212 : la villa aurait deux périodes de construction : au 1^{er} siècle p.C. puis au 1^{er} siècle, avec une complète transformation.
- 84 V. Gil Mantas, *As Vias Romanas da Lusitânia* (Mérida 2012), 296-297, fig. 101.
- 85 Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres, Fernández Corrales et Herrera García de la Santa 1990, op. cit. (n. 16), 57, fig. 3 ; ils ont utilisé pour cet article les polygones de Thiessen, en reconnaissant les limites de cette méthode.



FIGURE 7.5 Les environs de la *mansio ad Sorores*

rapport à ce que peuvent vivre les citoyens d'Augusta Emerita ou d'autres cités, situées plus au sud, en Bétique⁸⁶. Mais ces hommages publics, décrétés normalement par les cités, semblent avoir été rares⁸⁷ : à Norba, fondation césarienne,

86 Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres, Fernández Corrales et Herrera García de la Santa 1990, op. cit. (n. 16), 57, fig. 3 : on constate une nette différence entre la taille des cités de l'est de la Lusitanie et du Nord de la Bétique.

87 En fonction de la documentation connue à ce jour.

un seul hommage est connu de façon sûre⁸⁸, rendu à Septime Sévère en 194⁸⁹. Ce piédestal de marbre était surmonté d'une statue ou statuette en argent de dix livres, l'*ordinatio* du texte est tout à fait remarquable ; si la décision est clairement prise par l'*ordo* de la cité de Norba, on peut se demander qui en est à l'initiative⁹⁰. Un autre document⁹¹ pourrait être un hommage rendu au prince, à Trajan ; il a été découvert au centre de la ville de Cáceres au XVIII^e siècle – il est aujourd'hui perdu – ; compte tenu des lettres qui restaient lisibles, il est difficile de dire si le texte était au nominatif – certains ont pensé qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un milliaire –, ou au datif. S'il était possible de restituer *Germanicus* et *pontifex maximus* en entier, on pourrait avoir des doutes sur un support milliaire ; la découverte au centre de la cité conduit plutôt à y voir un hommage qu'il faudrait alors proposer au datif⁹². La ville de Caurium, qui n'est pas située sur le tracé principal de la Via de la Plata, pas plus que son territoire, n'a pas gardé d'hommages rendus aux princes.

Quant à Capera⁹³, elle apparaît comme étant une cité modeste qui, appartenant au territoire vetton, était stipendiaire à l'époque augustéenne, puis a été dotée du droit latin et est devenue municipe sous les Flaviens⁹⁴. C'est une toute petite ville⁹⁵, enceinte d'une muraille dont on ignore la date de construction⁹⁶. Les hommages publics rendus à la famille impériale y sont rares : on ne peut en

88 Le dossier du pont d'Alcántara et du temple voisin est évidemment à mettre à part : trois hommages aux princes en proviennent : *CILCáceres* 1 18 ; 20 (avec des doutes importants sur l'exactitude de cette copie moderne) à Trajan ; 21 à Antonin le Pieux.

89 *CILCaceres* 1 113 Norba.

90 S. Lefebvre, « Les hommages rendu aux princes dans les trois provinces de péninsule Ibérique : uniformité ou différences de comportement des dédicants ? », dans A. Gangloff (éd.), *Les miroirs aux princes*, à paraître.

91 *CIL* II 692 = *CPILCaceres* 103 = *CILCáceres* 1 115 Cáceres : [*Imperator Cae*]sar / *D(iui) Nerua[e filius]* / [*Nerua Traianus*] Aug(ustus) G[ermanicus], / [*pontifex maximus*] trib(unicia) p(otestate) / [---].

92 Sous cette forme : [*Imperator Cae*]sar(i) / *D(iui) Nerua[e filio]* / [*Neruae Traiano*] Aug(usto) G[ermanico], / [*pontifici maximo*], trib(unicia) p(otestate) / [---].

93 J. Río-Miranda Alcón, *La ciudad romana de Cáparra, municipium Flavium Caparense*, (Pampelune 2010).

94 E. Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres, « Capara, municipio romano », dans J.-G. Gorges et T. Nogales Basarrate (éds.), *Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana (IV Mesa Redonda Internacional, Mérida)* (Mérida 2000), 155-164.

95 J.M. Blázquez, Caparra. *Excavaciones arqueológicas en España* 34 (Madrid 1965), 13. On estime sa surface à 14 à 16 hectares.

96 Blázquez 1965, op. cit. (n. 95), 13 donne le III^e siècle ; mais L. Brassous, *Les villes de la péninsule Ibérique au III^e siècle p.C.* (Thèse doctoral, Bordeaux 2010) II, 807, a repris le dossier et signale que l'enceinte en *opus quadratum* pourrait être bien antérieure.

mentionner qu'un seul, un hommage dynastique rendu à Iulia Domna⁹⁷ sans doute peu après 197 ; d'autres documents sont trop abîmés pour qu'ils puissent fournir des informations⁹⁸. Il semble qu'au début du IV^e siècle, les espaces publics soient en partie privatisés⁹⁹ : les lieux privilégiés où devraient se trouver les hommages rendus aux princes perdent leur physionomie monumentale et leur prestige. Ce sont d'autres lieux qui vont accueillir les inscriptions honorifiques, en particulier dans les espaces peu urbanisés mais où les *uillae* jouent un rôle important¹⁰⁰.

Avec une population sans doute plus habituée à voir le nom des princes sur les milliaires le long des voies que sur les forums des villes, les utiliser comme support pour rendre hommage à l'empereur a pu apparaître comme une solution peu coûteuse et efficace. Ils faisaient partie du paysage vécu par les ruraux.

Néanmoins, c'est alors toute une partie de la propagande impériale qui va être mise de côté : moins de place pour développer la titulature, moins de place pour faire figurer les héritiers potentiels, absence d'une statue couronnant habituellement l'hommage public en milieu urbain, alors que l'usage du milliaire au datif se développe dans un contexte de crises politiques au sommet de l'État. Ainsi que l'évoque S. Benoist¹⁰¹, la rhétorique du discours impérial passe d'une part par des documents normatifs, mais aussi par des supports qui relaient les hommages traditionnels.

C'est sans doute pour cela que l'on voit sur ces milliaires le nom des Césars tout aussi présent que celui des Augustes : Crispus, Constance II et Constantin II encore César tous trois. Dans ces trois milliaires, le nom de leur père n'est pas mentionné, et leur titre de *nobilissimus Caesar* est bien présent. Le prince régnant, Constantin I^{er} n'est pas honoré, mais ce sont ses trois fils associés au pouvoir qui le sont.

97 *CIL* II 810 = *CPILCaceres* 185 = *CILCaceres* III 1012 Capera : *Iuliae Aug(ustae) matri castror(um), / coniugi Imp(eratori) Caesaris L(uci) Sept(imi) / Seueri pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) et matri M(arci) Aur(elii) Ant(onini) Imp(eratoris) / [[et P(ublii) Sept(imi) Getae nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris) ?]], / ordo splendidis[simus] / Cap[erensium] deuotus / numini maiestatique eius*].

98 *CIL* II 811 = *CPILCaceres* 189 = *CILCaceres* III 1063 Capera : *[--- Ca]esari / C[---]em/o [---]nis; CPILCaceres 687 : [--- tribunicia pot]estas [---] / [---]pro*.

99 Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres 2000, op. cit. (n. 94), 163 ; Ortega 2013, op. cit. (n. 45), 13. Pour une étude plus globale, cf. P. Diarte Blasco, « La convivencia de lo público y lo privado. El establecimiento de unidades domésticas y artesanales en los espacios cívicos hispanos », dans L. Brassous et A. Quevedo (éds.), *Urbanisme civique en temps de crise. Les espaces publics d'Hispanie et de l'Occident romain entre le II^e et le IV^e siècle* (Madrid 2015), 289-307.

100 Gorges 1990, op. cit. (n. 4), 93.

101 S. Benoist, « Identité du prince et discours impérial : le cas de Julien », *AntTard* 17 (2009), 109-117, en part. 112.

En travaillant sur la province de Bétique, P. Sillières¹⁰², à la suite de P. Salama pour l'Afrique¹⁰³, a proposé de voir dans ces milliaires où la titulature est au datif des dédicaces¹⁰⁴; leur rôle de milliaires, de marqueur de l'espace y est peu présent avec l'absence souvent des distances¹⁰⁵, quand on a la chance d'avoir les milliaires complets. Ils ne servent plus alors à mesurer l'espace, à dimensionner le paysage rural. L'initiative impériale manque aussi souvent : les verbes habituellement trouvés sur les milliaires, *fecit*, *refecit* ou *restituit*¹⁰⁶ sont absents. On constate aussi que sur certains tronçons, voire sur le même site, on trouve des milliaires très proches dans le temps, qui ne peuvent être liés à des réfections de la voie¹⁰⁷. Comme le propose P. Sillières¹⁰⁸, on peut voir dans ces milliaires-hommages au datif la manifestation de « l'adhésion des populations à un nouveau Prince » et peut-être « une forme nouvelle du culte impérial¹⁰⁹ » dans des régions où les dédicaces impériales sont effectivement totalement absentes des centres urbains de moyenne taille en ce début du IV^e siècle, ce qui semble être le cas dans les capitales de cité liées à la *uia* XXIV. Selon sa formule¹¹⁰, « la voie relaie désormais le forum ». C'est dans un espace non pas nouveau mais dont

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- 102 P. Sillières, « Les milliaires du sud de la Péninsule ibérique », dans Étienne 1984, op. cit. (n. 79), 270-281, en part. 272 ; 292 dans la discussion ; P. Sillières, « De la borne milliaire à la dédicace impériale. L'exemple de quelques inscriptions de l'Hispanie méridionale », *REA* 88 (1988), 351-358, en part. 351 ; 352.
- 103 P. Salama, « La colonie de Rusguniae d'après les inscriptions », *Revue Africaine* 99 (1955), 5-52, en part. 22 : « Ces milliaires sont par conséquent des dédicaces dont la colonie de *Rusguniae* voulait honorer les souverains, et les bornes elles-mêmes des monuments de dévotion ... » ; 24. Cf. aussi I. König, « Zur Dedikation römischer Meilensteine. *Digesta*, 43, 7, 2 ; 50, 10, 3-4 », *Chiron* 3 (1973), 419-427.
- 104 J. Arce, « Los miliarios tardorromanos de Hispania : problemática histórica y epigráfica », dans Étienne 1984, op. cit. (n. 79), 289-294, en part. 289.
- 105 J. Arce, « Epigrafía de la Hispania tarorromana de Diocletiano a Teodosio : problemas de historia y de cultura », dans A. Donati (éd.), *La terza età dell'epigrafia (Atti del convegno) ; colloquio AIEGL, Borghesi 86 (Bologna 1986)* (Faenza 1988), 211-227, en part. 224 : « miliarios, no siempre mensurativos, sino propagandísticos ».
- 106 J.-M. Solana Sainz et L. Sagredo San Eustaquio, « La política edilicia viaria imperial en la Hispania del s. IV d.C. », dans R. Teja et C. Pérez Gonzalez (éds.), *Actas : Congreso Internacional La Hispania de Teodosio* (Valladolid et Segovia 1997), 255-274, en part. 255.
- 107 P. Sillières, « Un grupo de quatro miliarios en La Cerradura (Pegalajar, Jaén) », *Bolletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 90 (1976), 55-70 : un milliaire de Maximin Daia, un milliaire de Constantin, un milliaire de Crispus.
- 108 Sillières 1984, op. cit. (n. 102), 293 dans la discussion.
- 109 Si je suis P. Sillières pour les milliaires-hommages, je suis moins convaincue par sa proposition d'y voir une forme nouvelle du culte impérial, en raison de l'absence de milliaires-hommages aux *diui* entre autres.
- 110 Sillières 1988, op. cit. (n. 102), 351 ; 352.

l'utilisation évolue à la fin du III^e et au début du IV^e siècle que l'impact de Rome se fait désormais sentir : le paysage des espaces ruraux se politise.

6 Conclusion

Ce dossier est un témoignage de la variété de l'impact de Rome dans les espaces ruraux, loin du centre urbain de la *ciuitas*. L'exemple utilisé, celui de la *uia* XXIV permet d'appréhender la problématique, d'essayer de l'analyser dans un cadre spatial relativement limité, mais il ne répond pas à plusieurs questions, dont la principale : qui a eu l'idée de cette évolution du milliaire-borne au milliaire-hommage ? Qui a acté le passage du nominatif au datif ? Qui, ensuite, prenait la décision d'implanter ces milliaires-hommages le long des routes, souvent sans mentionner le nombre de milles ? Si le nord de la Lusitanie permet cette analyse sur un tronçon de la *uia* XXIV, il ressort de sondages ponctuels effectués dans tout l'empire, que l'on retrouve cette pratique aussi bien en Afrique, comme l'avait déjà signalé Pierre Salama¹¹¹, mais aussi en Orient¹¹². Des allusions ont pu être faites¹¹³, mais aucune étude systématique sur l'ensemble de l'empire n'a été à ma connaissance menée¹¹⁴.

Le dossier lusitanien permet cependant de proposer une première étape de la réflexion : les voies sont du ressort de l'empereur¹¹⁵, ses ordres sont appliqués par les hauts fonctionnaires provinciaux ; c'est donc bien du pouvoir central qu'émane l'idée de mettre en place ces milliaires-dédicaces. Mais il ne s'agit alors pas d'un véritable hommage, en dépit de la présence du datif, tel que les communautés pouvaient le rendre au prince, de façon assez libre et autonome ; il n'est en effet pas de leur fait, et n'est pas un témoignage de la popularité de tel ou tel prince¹¹⁶. Il consacre au contraire l'autorité impériale, y compris dans des moments de crise. Le milliaire-dédicace est une forme de l'affirmation de l'autorité impériale, affichée dans des lieux stratégiques, le long des voies, dans un cadre non monumentalisé comme pouvait l'être un forum ; son texte au datif évoque l'hommage public pour des populations qui ont pu voir de vrais hommages au centre des cités. Mais il n'en est pas réellement un. En prenant place dans le paysage, il est cependant une forme d'impact de Rome que l'on ne peut négliger.

111 Salama 1955, op. cit. (n. 103).

112 Pour le Syrie, cf. Bauzou 1993, op. cit. (n. 2).

113 Benoist 2009, op. cit. (n. 101).

114 La publication des volumes du *CIL* XVII devrait permettre des études plus globales.

115 Lefebvre 2016, op. cit. (n. 23).

116 Sillières 1988, op. cit. (n. 102), 358.

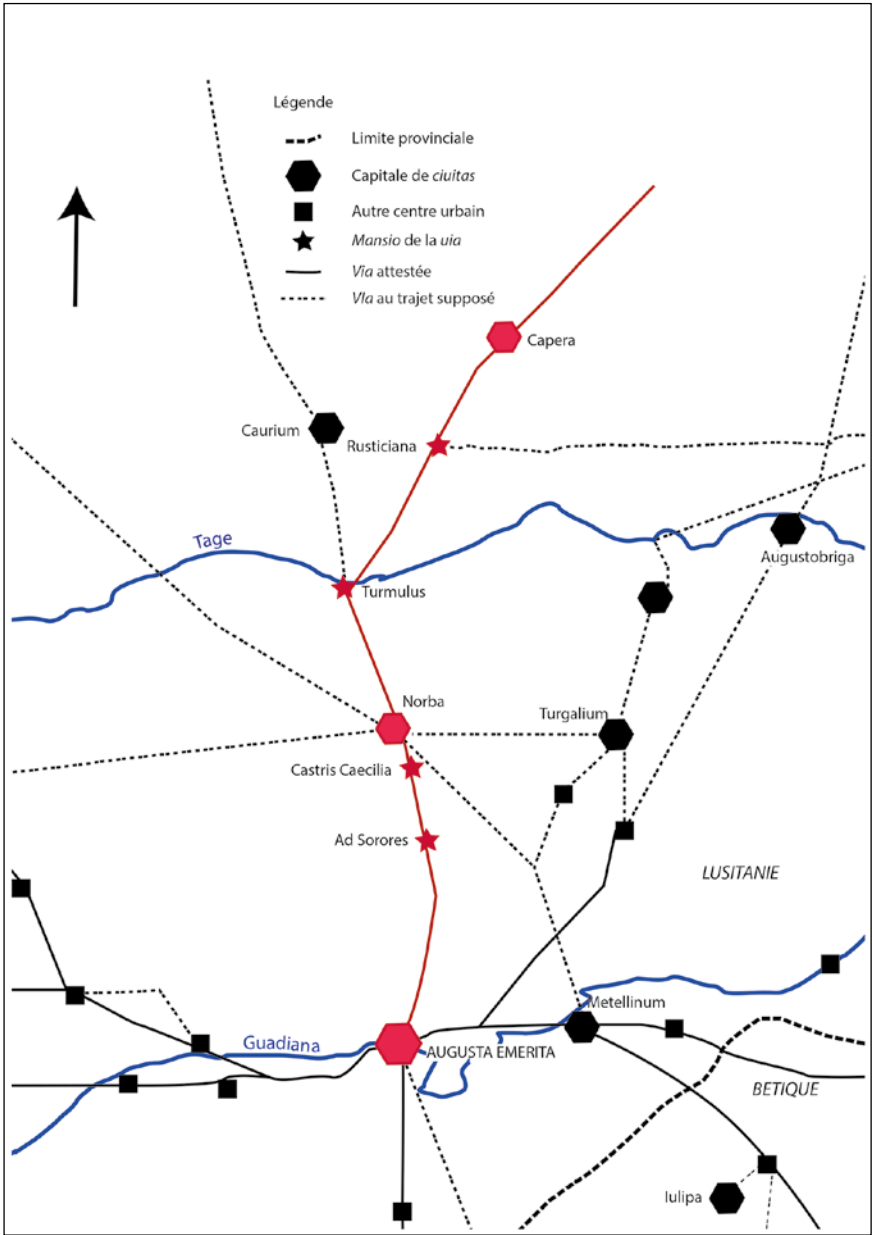


FIGURE 7.6 La section lusitanienne de la Via de la Plata

Romanization and Beyond: Aqueducts and Their Multilayered Impact on Political and Urban Landscapes in Roman Asia Minor

Saskia Kerschbaum

1 Aqueducts and Romanization¹ – A Broad Field of Research

“The boldness of the enterprise, the solidity of the execution, and the uses to which they were subservient, rank the aqueducts among the noblest monuments of Roman genius and power. (...)”²

That is how the great historian Edward Gibbon outlined his conception of the character of Roman aqueducts. In his opinion, the Roman *genius* domesticated nature through a sense of pragmatism and utilitarianism. His conviction that aqueducts can be considered a symbol of the genius and power of Rome still characterizes current research. Sitta von Reden and Christian Wieland wrote in 2015: “The superior hydraulics of the Romans also manifested their claim to political leadership over the entire Mediterranean region.”³ Aqueducts also stood for a certain Roman habitus, as Brent D. Shaw pointed out: Aqueducts can be seen as “symbols and devices useful for promoting a certain Roman

1 For a discussion and definition of the term ‘Romanization’ see below part 3 of this paper. If not otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2 E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 1 (London 1897), 47.

3 S. von Reden and C. Wieland, ‘Zur Einführung: Wasser – Alltagsbedarf, Ingenieurskunst und Repräsentation zwischen Antike und Neuzeit’, in S. von Reden and C. Wieland (eds.), *Wasser. Alltagsbedarf, Ingenieurskunst und Repräsentation zwischen Antike und Neuzeit* (Göttingen 2015), 9–26, esp. 19 (quote translated from German). The discussion about development, function, technology, external impact as well as perception among the population is primarily focused on Rome. Accordingly Rome forms the frame of reference for the studies on water supply as an aspect of ‘Romanization’, see inter alia E. van Deman, *The Building of Roman Aqueducts* (Washington 1934); T. Ashby, *Aqueducts of ancient Rome* (Oxford 1935); G. De Kleijn, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: City Area, Water, and Population* (Leiden 2001). A detailed study of the administration is offered by M. Hainzmann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung der stadtrömischen Wasserleitungen* (Wien 1975) and especially by many meritorious contributions of Christer Bruun, such as C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration* (Helsinki 1991).

style of life in urban centres, whose élites aspired to be ‘Roman’.⁴ Following him, building aqueducts needs to be taken as a conscious attempt of municipal elites to imitate a superior urban and pronounced Roman lifestyle, which expressed itself not only in the building of aqueducts but also in an intensified bathing habit. This interpretation goes hand in hand with the widespread assumption that in order to be Roman a city needed a basic ensemble of different public buildings, for example baths and aqueducts. In 1998, Kathryn Lomas investigated the influence of Roman expansion since the 2nd century BCE on the transformation of Italian urban topography. According to Lomas, the construction of amphitheatres, temples of the imperial cult and baths can be seen as a reaction to Roman presence.⁵ Engelbert Winter even called aqueducts “cultural symbols”, which in his opinion contributed to the “political and cultural standardization of the Roman Empire”.⁶

Different actors were held responsible for being the driving force of Romanization by building, financing or advertising aqueducts. Especially the Roman emperors are usually thought to be the most active builders in the Roman Empire. Engelbert Winter, for example, described aqueducts as “preferred objects of imperial welfare” because they were excellently suited to legitimize and publicly staging power. Furthermore, they were so expensive that only the emperors would be considered as builders anyway.⁷ As exponents of imperial power, especially the governors were also thought to be an important multiplier for the dissemination of Roman culture and way of life.⁸

4 B.D. Shaw, ‘The noblest monuments and the smallest things: wells, walls and aqueducts in the making of Roman Africa’, in A.T. Hodge (ed.), *Future currents in aqueduct studies* (Leeds 1991), 63–91.

5 K. Lomas, ‘Roman Imperialism and the City in Italy’, in R. Laurence and J. Berry (eds.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London and New York 1998), 64–78, esp. 78.

6 E. Winter, *Staatliche Baupolitik und Baufürsorge in den römischen Provinzen des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Bonn 1996), 53 (quote translated from German).

7 Winter 1996, op. cit. (n. 6), 53.

8 The scope of activities and the actual involvement of the governors regarding the building, financing and distribution of aqueducts cannot be discussed in detail here. They mostly acted on imperial behalf and represented the imperial authority in the provinces, see for example C. Schuler, ‘Fernwasserleitungen und römische Administration im griechischen Osten’, in A. Kolb (ed.) *Infrastruktur und Herrschaftsorganisation im Imperium Romanum. Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis III, Akten der Tagung in Zürich, 19.–20.10. 2012* (Zurich 2014), 103–121, who presents the establishment of the province Lycia as a case study for a coordinated building program implemented jointly by governors and emperors.

This short overview over the positions of modern research demonstrates a strong connection between aqueducts and Romanization and has already touched on the most important questions and aspects that will be discussed in this article, using Asia Minor as a case study.

Firstly, those responsible for the financing and distribution of aqueducts in Asia Minor and their potential reasons need to be detected. Did the Roman emperors and their governors, as often postulated in modern research, really use the construction of aqueducts as a demonstration of power and domination in the provinces, consciously pursuing a homogenous building policy by equipping the provinces with an ensemble of typically Roman buildings?⁹ Alternatively, did the cities themselves play a major role in the building of aqueducts? Answering these questions will also clarify the importance of the Roman presence for the development of a new water infrastructure, including not only aqueducts, but also public baths, toilets, *nymphaea* or artificial channels adorning new and monumentalized cityscapes. Second, the concept of Romanization, as it is used in relation to public infrastructure, should be defined. Based on this, the symbolic language of the aqueducts, i.e. their cultural code, is to be derived and examined for special Roman connotations.¹⁰ The cultural code will help to understand, why different groups and persons were active in building aqueducts and if their often postulated Roman-ness was pronouncedly used to justify these activities.

In doing so, the Roman impact on aqueducts in imperial Asia Minor will be analyzed in two different categories, aiming to clarify the importance of Rome for the building of aqueducts, counterbalancing it with the role of the cities and their interest for this new water infrastructure.

2 Romanizers – Emperors and Cities

Before the arrival of Rome, aqueducts were a rarity in Asia Minor, although a large part of the necessary technology has already been developed in Hellenistic

9 For a short definition of the concept of an imperial building policy, see especially Winter 1996, op. cit. (n. 6), 3–5 and M. Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser. Untersuchungen zur Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Principates* (Stuttgart 2001), 250.

10 The term ‘cultural code’ should be broadly defined as a set of symbols, expectations or normative conventions, which were connected to aqueducts. For a more detailed discussion see chapter three below.

times.¹¹ Only few cities, like Pergamon or Ephesos built aqueducts,¹² while most of the cities were dependent on rainwater or wells. The reason for this preference can probably be found in the unstable political landscapes of Hellenistic Asia Minor. The above-ground structures of aqueducts could easily be destroyed by enemies, who intended to interrupt the water supply of a city.¹³ Only the Romans were able to establish a long-lasting peace, the famed *pax Romana*.¹⁴

Proceeding chronologically, the Aqua Iulia and the Aqua Throessitica in Ephesos are among the oldest aqueducts built with imperial participation. While the construction of the Aqua Iulia is only preserved by a fragmentary inscription,¹⁵ we know a little more about the Aqua Throessitica: The pipeline was probably financed by Augustus and Tiberius and built under the

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- 11 M. Lewis, 'The Hellenistic Period', in Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (Leiden 2000), 631–648 about the development of innovative water technologies under the Hellenistic monarchies. The Romans advanced hydraulic engineering technology mainly through the invention of waterproof plaster and cement, materials that supported the building of overground structures like arches and bridges, see D. Kek, *Der römische Aquädukt als Bautypus und Repräsentationsarchitektur* (Münster 1996), 71–77.
- 12 For Ephesos see the following pages. Probably under the reign of Eumenes II in Pergamon, one of the most impressive aqueducts in Asia Minor, the so-called Madradağ-aqueduct, was built. Its siphon was made of massive lead pipes, bringing water to the acropolis, which was 200 m higher than ground level. Only lead pipes could resist the high water pressure, a knowledge and technique that was probably developed by Pergamenian water engineers, see especially G. Garbrecht, 'Die Wasserversorgung des antiken Pergamon', in Frontinus-Gesellschaft e.V. (ed.), *Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte. Pergamon, Recht/Verwaltung, Brunnen/Nymphäen, Bauelemente* (Mainz 1987), 11–49.
- 13 The destruction of urban water supply was a wide-spread and often effective strategy: The Athenians destroyed the pipelines of Syracuse during their occupation of Sicily in the fifth century BCE, see Th. 100.6.
- 14 The idea of *pax Romana* became soon an important aspect of imperial representation, see e.g. J. Bleicken, *Augustus. Eine Biographie* (Berlin 1998), 512–518 and St. Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia. An Ancient City in Peace and War* (London 1995), 216 about the importance of a stable political environment for the building of aqueducts.
- 15 *IK Ephesos* 12, 401. The Aqua Iulia probably served to supply the port area, but its exact route is not yet known, see Ü. Öziş and A. Atalay, 'Fernwasserleitungen von Ephesos', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Wien 1999), 407–409.

supervision of Gaius Sextilius Pollio, a Roman knight, and his son, Pollio.¹⁶ Both aqueducts used nearby springs and were less than 10 kilometres long.¹⁷

An unusual inscription from Lycian Patara reports necessary reparation works in detail.¹⁸ A pressure section of the pipeline had been destroyed by a series of earthquakes in Neronian times and now it had to be repaired at great expense (τὸ τοῦ ὕδραγωγίου ἀνάλημμα συμπεσὸν σεισμοῖς, line 2). The funds that were used for this purpose came from the levied poll tax as well as from funds of the Lycian League (ἐκ τῶν συντηρηθέντων τῆ πόλει χρημάτων ἀπὸ κεφαλαίων καὶ | τὸ ἔθνος συνήενκε (δηνάρια) line 7–8). In addition, the inscription emphasizes that no special payment was levied (μηδημιᾶς κατ’ ἄνδρα ἐπιγραφῆς γενομένης, line 9), a practice that was customary at that time for financing large buildings in Lycia.¹⁹ The complex financing model, which was only necessary for a single pressure section, demonstrates the high costs associated with the construction and maintenance of technically complex pipelines. These payments could not be made out of the usual public revenues, as the following example demonstrates.

Aphrodisias exchanged four letters with the Emperor Hadrian about the financing of a new aqueduct.²⁰ Letter three contains the emperor’s reply to a previous letter: Hadrian confirms the use of funds that were intended for the building of the new aqueduct (τοὺς πόρους οὓς ἀπετάξατε εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος καταγωγὴν βεβαίῳ, line 31–32). The term ποροί used by Hadrian is the technical term for the city’s finances, so the funds can be precisely identified.²¹ He also praises and approves a proposal from the city: συνχωρῶ ὑμεῖν παρὰ τῶν

16 *IK Ephesos* 12, 402: *Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus) et Ti(berius) | Caesar Aug(usti)fil(ius) | aquam Throessiticam | induxerunt curam | agentibus C(aio) Sextilio P(ublii)filio Polliōne | et C(aio) Offilio Proculo. | Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ | Σεβαστὸς | καὶ Τιβέριος Καίσαρ | Σεβαστοῦ | υἱός, τὸ Θροεσσειτικὸν ὕδωρ εἰσήγαγο[ν] | ἐπιμεληθέντων Γαίου Σεξτίλι[ίου], | [Ποπλίου υἱοῦ, Πωλλίωνος καὶ Γαῖου] | [Ὀφιλίου Πρόκλου.]* The family also built, as part of the *Aqua Throessitica*, an aqueduct bridge out of their own funds see figure ns. 8.2 and 8.3.

17 G. Wiplinger, ‘Neue Ergebnisse zur Wasserversorgung in Ephesos’, in G. Wiplinger (ed.), *De Aquaeductu atque Aqua Urbium Lyciae Pamphyliae, Pisidiae. The Legacy of Sextus Julius Frontinus* (Leuven 2016), 313–329.

18 See the commented and translated (German) edition from Schuler 2014, op. cit. (n. 8), 109–110 and figure n. 8.1 showing the inscription *in situ* above one of two openings in the supporting wall of the siphon. A counterpart with the same text is placed on the other side above the second opening and shows that right-hand traffic was preferred in Roman times.

19 Schuler 2014, op. cit. (n. 8), 111.

20 The best edition of the texts is offered by J. Reynolds, ‘New letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias: trials, taxes, gladiators and an aqueduct’, *JRA* 13 (2000), 5–20, with the transcribed Greek text on page 9.

21 Liddell & Scott s.v. Ποροί, 1450–1451.

ἀρχιερέων ἀντὶ μονομαχιῶν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν, καὶ οὐ συνχωρῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνῳ τὴν γνώμην (line 36–37).

At the end the city was given authority to choose the ἐπιμεληταί who were to take care of the aqueduct and was referred to his procurator Pompeius Severus (line 38–41) for further questions.²²

Communication can probably be reconstructed as follows: The city asked the proconsul or the emperor himself for help with the construction of an aqueduct and then had to submit a financing plan. The plan was to draw on the financial reserves of Aphrodisias and on diverse additional funds from the high priests. Hadrian agreed to this plan and offered further organizational help, but not the financial means the city might have hoped for.²³ Joyce Reynolds assumes that the financing of the aqueduct from funds that were actually intended for gladiatorial games was not popular and therefore the emperor's approval had to be obtained.²⁴ Kathleen Coleman suggested a different interpretation: She assumes that the high priests preferred to finance the aqueduct rather than the games, since the costs were lower and easier to calculate.²⁵ According to her Hadrian supported the priests with this financing plan and at the same time expanded the possible pool of candidates by reducing the costs of the liturgy.

In my opinion, the following explanation appears more plausible: The local high priests had invested a fixed amount of money either out of their official budget or from their own funds for monomachies, but the city wanted to redirect these funds for the construction of the aqueduct. The organization of monomachies was such a popular benefaction among high priests that

22 The role of the proconsul remains unclear, but we know from other examples that it was in his responsibility to provide engineers or other specialists or general legal and organizational help for the building process, see A.R. Commito, 'The Aqueducts of Aphrodisias', in C. Ratté and P.D. de Staebler (eds.), *Aphrodisias V, The Aphrodisias Regional Survey* (Darmstadt and Mainz 2012), 291. The most famous example for organizational and technical help of the governors is the case of the *librator* Nonius Datus in the 2nd century CE. The soldier was responsible for the building of a tunnel in the city of Saldæ (Mauretania), but retired while construction was still in process. The governor Titus Varius Clemens had to ask his superior to get Datus back to the building site, because the workers had made serious mistakes endangering the whole project. Datus finished the tunnel and recorded everything proudly on his grave stele, see *CIL VIII 2728* and S. Cuomo, 'A Roman engineer's tales', *JRS* 101 (2011), 143–165 with the latest discussion.

23 According to Reynolds 2000, op. cit. (n. 20), 17 the city was not obliged to get the authorization of the emperor for its plans, but hoped for help for this large project.

24 Reynolds 2000, op. cit. (n. 20), 19.

25 K. Coleman, 'Exchanging gladiators for an aqueduct at Aphrodisias (SEG 50, 1096)', *ActaCl* 51 (2008), 34.

many of them even had their own *φамиλία μονομάχων*.²⁶ Perhaps the priests had turned to the city to protest against the redirection of these funds, which they would rather prefer to invest in prestigious games than in an insignificant water pipeline. The city had probably written to the governor on this matter, who involved the emperor. In addition, gladiatorial games were part of the imperial cult and therefore required permission from the emperor if they were to be reduced or cancelled.²⁷

While the inscriptions seldom mention precise sums, the literary sources are much more informative. That the building of an aqueduct in fact consumed high sums, tells us, for example, Philostrat with a short story about Herodes Atticus. When Herodes Atticus came to Alexandria Troas in 134/135 CE, he saw that the city was missing any kind of water infrastructure and asked Emperor Hadrian to give him three million drachms to build an aqueduct, baths and a fountain. But as the project became much more expensive than planned and Herodes had to ask for an additional financing of four million drachms, the procurator of Asia Minor complained that the levies of 500 cities had to be diverted for a single project.²⁸ Although it is quite probable that the argumentation of the proconsul contains a literary exaggeration,²⁹ the episode demonstrates very nicely the complexity of financing an aqueduct and the sums involved. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the emperor used a redistribution of taxes for this project and not his own funds. The most important link between the province and the emperor were the governors. The letters of Pliny, who was on an imperial mission in Bithynia et Pontus under Traian, show that the governors were able to function as initiators of water infrastructure.³⁰ In addition, they were able to act as local contacts and supervisors of construction measures, but they never financed an aqueduct out of their own pocket or out of imperial funds.

26 M. Carter, 'Archiereis and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004), 66–68.

27 D. Campanile, 'Noterelle ai nuovi documenti da Afrodisia', *ZPE* 135 (2001), 136–138, esp. 138.

28 Philostr. *VS* 2.1.3. The refusal of the procurator referred not to the aqueduct, but to a *κρήνη*. So perhaps he was just no longer willing to finance the ending point of the pipeline in form of a fountain out of public funds.

29 The number of 500 cities was used as a synonym for the whole province of Asia, see for example J. *BJ* 2.16.4 and Ap.Ty. *Ep.* 58.

30 Pliny was *legatus pro praetore consulari potestate* in the province Bithynia et Pontus in 109 CE to control the civic finances. During this time, he also took care of several water infrastructure projects, for which he always sought to obtain the emperor's permission, see P. Wehmann, *Der jüngere Plinius und sein Kaiser. Die Statthalterschaft Plinius des Jüngeren zwischen Selbständigkeit und Abhängigkeit* (Hamburg 2014), 81–86.

The evidence shows clearly that the emperors were only financially active to a very limited extent and focused their commitment on important *conventus* cities, like Ephesos or Patara, or prestigious colonies. The emperors were thus much more often involved in organizational matters. They were responsible for the redistribution of funds, the provision of specialists like engineers or architects and they gave advice and assistance in organizational and legal matters. Moreover, they acted mostly at request of the governors or in special situations like earthquakes. Therefore, a comprehensive and planned imperial building policy seems non-existent.

In fact, as will become clear in the following section, the low level of imperial commitment can be explained above all by the fact that the cities bore the main burden for the construction of long-distance water conduits. First of all, the cities were the main financiers of aqueduct construction. Rarely do we learn details of how the cities were able to cope with this exceptional financial burden. Otherwise, the building inscriptions only provide the general information that the cities acted as the institution responsible for the building.³¹ Financing also seems to play a lesser role in Pliny's letters, because Pliny usually only confirms to the emperor in very general terms that he is taking care of the financing or that something similar has already happened, such as for a new water pipe in Sinope or the covering of a canal in Amastris.³² In Traian's replies, who almost always approves the construction projects, financing hardly plays a role. Assuming a general solvency of the *poleis*, Pliny and his complaints about the cities of Asia Minor can be interpreted differently: In fact, they rather point out that the cities were in an excellent financial condition. Otherwise, Nicomedia would hardly have been able to waste 3.5 million sesterces on two unfinished aqueducts, or Nicaea 10 million sesterces on an unfinished theatre.³³ Pliny actually mentions a concrete reason for this unnecessarily high expenditure of public money several times, namely not financial distress or civic mismanagement, but widespread corruption.³⁴ This also

31 See W. Eck, 'Wasserbauten in den spanischen Provinzen Roms. Staatliche, städtische oder private Verantwortung für die Infrastruktur?', in T. Schattner and E. Valdéz Fernández (eds.), *Wasserversorgung in Toledo und Wissensvermittlung von der Antike bis ins Mittelalter* (Tübingen 2017), 316, who discusses the scarcity of sources regarding the public building activity and the role of the cities in context with water infrastructure, using the Spanish provinces as a case study.

32 Plin. *epist.* 10.90; 98, ed. W. Williams, *Correspondence with Traian from Bithynia, Epistles X* (Warminster 1990).

33 Plin. *epist.* 10.37 (Nicomedia); 39 (Nicaea).

34 Plin. *epist.* 10.17a.3 and 10.17b.2: *videntur enim non mediocres pecuniae posse revocari a curatoribus operum, si mensurae fideliter agantur.*

shows us that there can be no question of a financial misery of the cities in the imperial era, often postulated in modern research.³⁵

Moreover, the cities were the only authorities able to support and control the construction and expansion of their water infrastructure. The water system as a whole was a fragile balance of inflow and outflow, so that the construction of new baths or magnificent fountains and the allocation of a private water supply in the countryside and in the city had to be precisely regulated. The public administration had a close eye on the capacity of its water system. In Rome, the senators decided in 11 BCE not to build new wells because the aqueducts could not cope with additional outflow.³⁶ In Asia Minor, too, the cities kept precise lists of their existing water structures: In Erythrai, a list of all roads including the sewers running along them was kept as early as the 4th century BCE;³⁷ in Sardeis, a list of wells was established in the 3rd century CE, which precisely identified the wells on the basis of various topographical additions. Moreover, the wells were classified by their capacity (100–1700 litres).³⁸ This strictly balanced input-output system also meant that potential benefactors had to coordinate their donations, like for example baths, with the municipal bodies.

3 What Is Roman about Aqueducts? – Water Infrastructure as an Important Part of Civic Identity

With this in mind we can now turn to the second part, the so-called cultural code or the symbolic language in connection with aqueducts. As was demonstrated at the beginning, modern research is very focused on the Roman-ness of aqueducts. The term 'Romanization', which is often used in this context, was not only often discussed in modern research, but also used in the most diverse connotations and different facets, to the point where its possible benefits were called into question in general.³⁹ Criticisms are mostly the given point of view (Rome-Province), the thereby implicitly assumed superiority of Roman

35 See, for instance, Winter 1996, op. cit. (n. 6), 60. Cf. H. Schwarz, *Soll oder Haben? Die Finanzwirtschaft kleinasiatischer Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit am Beispiel von Bithynien, Lykien und Ephesos (29 v. Chr.–284 n. Chr.)* (Bonn 2001).

36 Frontin. aq. 104.1.

37 *IK Erythrai* 151.

38 W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis VII: Part I, Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden 1932), 38–39, n. 17.

39 G. Alföldy, 'Romanisation-Grundbegriff oder Fehlgriff? Überlegungen zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung von Integrationsprozessen im römischen Weltreich', in Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX, Proceedings of XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003* (Pécs 2005), 25–57, with a concise summary.

culture over non-Roman ways of life, the disregard of cultural interactions on an equal level and the ignorance of the decisive actors.⁴⁰ First, it should be noted that ‘Romanization’ is both a process and a result of a process that, in a broader sense, involves the integration of a particular group of people subject to Roman rule and, consequently, the transformation of their living conditions and their acceptance of the Roman presence. In the meantime, the consensus is that this process must be understood as bilateral, i.e. as the offer and acceptance of a “range of objects, beliefs and practices that were characteristic of people who considered themselves to be and were widely acknowledged as Roman.”⁴¹ At least the “expectation of the rulers in Rome that their subjects (...) integrated themselves into the community of *res publica*” can be assumed, giving a frame for the idea of Romanization.⁴² This acceptance had to come above all from the local elites, who had to reconcile their own urban cultural identity with the Roman presence.

Among the various facets that Romanization can assume, the question of the extent to which buildings and certain architectural forms were perceived as typically Roman is particularly relevant in the context of this article. Since these were ultimately built with a purpose and in connection with social practices or a social habitus, the form of construction cannot be separated from its socio-cultural meaning. Stefan Burmeister and Nils Müller-Scheeßel called the idea of the symbolic language of a building ‘cultural code’, a term that will be used for the analysis later.⁴³ Felix Pirson in particular postulated that it was precisely this adoption of the symbolic language associated with a building that could make the degree of Romanization measurable.⁴⁴

The strongly Rom-centered perspective regarding aqueducts is, of course, not solely due to Edward Gibbon, but has its origins in fact in literary sources. One of the most important and most cited testimonies is the *curator aquarum*

40 See for example M. Meyer (ed.), *Neue Zeiten – Neue Sitten. Zur Rezeption und Integration italischen Kulturguts in Kleinasien* (Wien 2007), 15–16.

41 G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilisation in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998), 11.

42 Alföldy 2005, op. cit. (n. 39), 32. About the Roman *way of life* see also R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the time of Augustus* (New Haven and London 2000), 125.

43 S. Burmeister and N. Müller-Scheeßel, ‘Innovation as multi-faceted social process: an outline’, in S. Burmeister et al. (eds.), *Metal Matters, Innovative Technologies and Social Change in Prehistory and Antiquity* (Rahden 2013), 4.

44 F. Pirson, ‘Zusammenfassende Gedanken zur Bedeutung von Kulturkontakten als Auslöser architektonischer Innovation’, in F. Pirson and U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Austausch und Inspiration. Kulturkontakt als Impuls architektonischer Innovation. Kolloquium vom 28.–30.4.2006 in Berlin anlässlich des 65. Geburtstags von Adolf Hoffmann* (Mainz 2008), 312–319.

Frontinus, who repeatedly praised the aqueducts as a Roman invention and symbol of Roman civilization.⁴⁵ Pliny the Older, too, is overwhelmed with admiration for the aqueducts.⁴⁶ And Dionysios of Halicarnass writes that he counts the aqueducts among the buildings, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐμφαίνεται μέγεθος, “from which the *hegemonia* of the empire radiates out the most.”⁴⁷ While these statements might be explainable, because the authors’ point of reference is usually the city of Rome with its nine large and impressive aqueducts, other literary sources are much more explicit in their differentiation between the Roman-ness and Greekness of buildings. One of the most famous quotes in this context is a short passage written by Cicero.

*Atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus omniaque quae ad usum rei publicae pertinent, quamquam, quod praesens tamquam in manum datur, iucundius est, tamen haec in posterum gratiora.*⁴⁸

If expenditure is to be made, then in his opinion it is better invested in public infrastructure such as walls or aqueducts. While Cicero does not mention which buildings he considers to be worse than public buildings, this becomes clearer with Strabo:

τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτίσεις εὐστοχῆσαι μάλιστα δοξάντων, ὅτι κάλλους ἐστοχάζοντο καὶ ἐρμυμότητος καὶ λιμένων καὶ χώρας εὐφυοῦς, οὗτοι προϋνόησαν μάλιστα ὧν ὀλιγώρησαν ἐκεῖνοι, στρώσεως ὁδῶν καὶ ὑδάτων εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ὑπονόμων τῶν δυναμένων ἐκκλύζειν τὰ λύματα τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸν Τίβεριν.⁴⁹

Strabo’s short text is a prime example of the discourse on the discrepancy between the ‘beautiful’ buildings of the Greeks and the practical functionality of

45 Frontin. *Aqu.* 16; 88–89; 119. (*magnitudinis Romani imperii*).

46 Plin. *nat.* 36.121: *vera aestimatione investa miracula*.

47 D.H. 3.67.5.

48 Cic. *off.* 2.60: These expenses are again better justified when they are made for walls, docks, harbours, aqueducts, and all those works, which are of use for the community. There is, to be sure, more of present satisfaction in what is handed out [meaning monetary donations]; nevertheless these [public improvements] win us greater gratitude from future generations.

49 Str. 5.3.8: The Greek cities are thought to have flourished mainly on account of the fortunate choice made by their founders, in regard to the beauty and strength of their sites, their proximity to some port, and the beauty of the country. They [the Romans] were more concerned over matters that had received but little attention from the Greeks, such as paving their roads, constructing aqueducts, and sewers to convey the sewage of the city into the Tiber.

Roman engineering buildings. Both writers underline not only the Roman-ness but the general importance of public infrastructure because it serves *utilitas publica*, one of the most important keywords regarding the cultural code of aqueducts.

For Vitruvius, apart from *firmitas* and *venustas*, *utilitas* was one of the three most important criteria of Roman architecture.⁵⁰ Among the usual public buildings were streets and walls, as well as water pipes. Their construction was so highly regarded that Sueton, according to his own statements, refrained from blaming Emperor Claudius for his generally low construction activity, because he had financed two aqueducts.⁵¹ The emperors were also subject to particularly harsh criticism when they did not fulfil their duty of care for the public buildings, such as Nero, who had given up parts of the Roman Aqua Claudia, or Caligula, who destroyed the Aqua Virgo.⁵² Buildings that served the public good were not only highly regarded, in addition to their *utilitas publica*, further characteristics were associated with aqueducts.

A frequently used feature is *salubritas*. Pliny, for example, complains that there is an uncovered canal running through Amastris, which endangers the health of the whole city because it is dirty and smells disgusting; therefore it must be covered.⁵³ The late antique poet Rutilius Namatianus emphasized not only the quality of fresh and therefore healthy water, but also the climatic effect, namely the cooling air, which emanated from the water that was available everywhere and that cooled down the hot city air of Rome.⁵⁴ Accordingly, the Aqua Marcia was considered the most important of all aqueducts because, thanks to its pure water, it contributed to Rome's health.⁵⁵ The idea of a better health resulting from the availability of fresh water is also present in inscriptions: a benefactor from the Italian city Interamna Lirenas underlined that he gave healthy water, *aqua salutaris*, to his hometown.⁵⁶ *Salubritas* is mostly

50 Vitr. 1.2.3. For the social and political relevance of the concept of *utilitas publica* see especially M. Jehne and C. Lundgreen (eds.), *Gemeinsinn und Gemeinwohl in der römischen Antike* (Stuttgart 2013).

51 Suet. *Claud.* 20.1.

52 Frontin. *aq.* 76.6–7; Tac. *Ann.* 14.22.4 (Nero); *CIL* VI 1252 (Claudius restoring the Aqua Virgo, destroyed by Caligula).

53 Plin. *epist.* 10.98.

54 Rut. Nam. 1.101–106.

55 Plin. *nat.* 31.41–42, using *publica salus* as synonym for water in the same context: *clarissimum aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palma praeconio urbis Marcia est inter reliqua deum munera urbi tributa* (31.41).

56 *CIL* X 5411 = Dessau 5780. See also *CIL* VIII 1828.

accompanied by *pulchritudo* or *decor* of the buildings.⁵⁷ Rutilius Namatianus compares the arches of the aqueducts in their height and lightness even with a rainbow.⁵⁸ It is possible to see these concepts implemented in the building structure itself: The above-ground sections were designed according to deliberate aesthetic criteria, for example by covering them with marble, as can be seen at the above-mentioned Pollio Bridge, a part of the Ephesian Aqua Throessitica. Another alternative was the use of alternating brick patterns, as it was practiced in Merida (Spain).⁵⁹ While these characteristics of aqueducts cannot be associated with Romanization or civic identity and civic pride only, but were used by all actors involved in aqueduct building, the following section will demonstrate, how and why the cities were so proud of building a new water infrastructure and that they were ready to invest considerable financial and human resources into it.

The longest passage regarding this topic has been handed down in the *Antiochikos* of Libanios, an *eulogium* to his hometown Antioch on the Orontes. After underlining that the city did not have to use water springs from the territory of another city, because there is enough water in the surroundings, Libanios writes:

Now our chief advantage is that our city has an abundant water supply. There could possibly be disagreement on other matters, but when we mention our water supply, everyone must yield (...) If anyone has the financial means to build another bath in addition to the existing ones, he can do so confidently and does not need to worry about the water. And he does not need to fear that, when he has embellished it beautifully, it could be called 'dry as a bone', because the nymphs are missing (...) So we have no fights around our public fountains as to who will draw water before his neighbour, which is a nuisance to many a wealthy town.⁶⁰

57 See A. Scheithauer, *Kaiserliche Bautätigkeit in Rom. Das Echo in der antiken Literatur* (Stuttgart 2000), 231. The idea of *pulchritudo*/κοσμός as fundamental characteristic of a city in imperial Asia Minor, which included much more than a fitting urban building ensemble, is discussed in length by I. Maupai, *Die Macht der Schönheit. Untersuchungen zu einem Aspekt des Selbstverständnisses und der Selbstdarstellung griechischer Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 2003).

58 Rut. Nam. 1.97–99; *quid loquar aërio pendetes fornice rivos / qua vix imbriferes tolleret Iris aquas / hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes*. The indication of height was often used for the description of the aesthetics of public buildings, but sometimes exaggerated and not always reliable, see Scheithauer 2000, op. cit. (n. 57), 223–224.

59 See figures n. 8.2–3 (Ephesos) and n. 8.4 (Merida).

60 Libanios' vivid description of how people crowded around wells and could become violent is not exaggerated. Theophanes reports in his chronicle that in November 562 CE

There they push and jostle around the fountain and there is weeping and wailing when bowls are broken and at the injuries received around the springs. (...) Besides, with regard to the purity of the water, you could make a fair test, if you were to fill a swimming pool and then stop its swirls. You would think it to be empty for the floor of the pool stands out so clearly under the water.⁶¹

What is reflected here is the pride of a citizen for the water infrastructure of his hometown, especially for the quantity and quality of the water. Libanios makes a clear difference between water for daily use and for luxurious buildings as baths, stressing the point that Antioch could boast with having enough water for both.

The fact that water remained a limited resource even during the imperial era despite improved technical possibilities is on the one hand often reflected in literary sources. Martial, for example, mocked the fact that water in Ravenna was more expensive than wine and that he therefore preferred the former.⁶² Sidonius Apollinaris' remark about the mud in the water reservoirs fits in with Martials comment.⁶³ Horace also frequently complains about the fact that water in Aequum Tutivum, Canusium or Gnatia, for example, can only be obtained against payment, and wonders whether the bad water in Velia or Salernum is rainwater or well-water.⁶⁴ It comes as no surprise then, that the image of quenching the thirst of a 'dry and thirsty city' was even used in inscriptions until late antiquity.⁶⁵

On the other hand, water infrastructure soon advanced to become a substantial prerequisite for every city, as a much quoted bonmot of Pausanias proves:

a drought broke out in Constantinople and people at the wells were fighting so much for water that some of them died, AM 6055, ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia* (Princeton 1883), 237. See also the description by Malal. 425, 24–25.

61 Lib. *Or.* 11. 244–248, according to the translation from G. Fatouros and T. Krischer, *Libanios. Antiochikos (or. XI). Zur heidnischen Renaissance in der Spätantike* (Wien and Berlin 1992). Archaeological finds show that Libanios' praise is close to reality, see H. Pamir, 'Water supplies of Antioch on the Orontes', *Adalya* 15 (2012), 33–64.

62 Mart. 3.56.

63 Sidon. 5.6.

64 Hor. *sat.* 1.5.88–91; Hor. *epist.* 1.15.15–16.

65 According to Procopius, Emperor Justinian saved the city of Constantinople by building an aqueduct and a cistern (Procop. *Aed.* 1.11.10–15). A honorary inscription for the *comes* Erythrios (5th century CE), who renovated the pipelines to the baths of Amisos, used the term ὑδάτων λίψιν (line 14), although the surroundings of the city are evidently rich of water resources, see C. Marek, 'Der Dank der Stadt an einen *comes* in Amisos unter Theodosius II', *Chiron* 30 (2000), 367–387.

(...) ἐς Πανοπέας ἐστὶ πόλιν Φωκέων, εἴγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ θέατρον οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην.⁶⁶ The supply of drinking water should be part of the self-evident duties of a city, but this was not always the case as in Panopeus where no theater or gymnasium existed, not even water which would be falling into a fountain. Pausanias criticizes several cities that had succeeded in providing the necessary daily water, but not in providing their inhabitants with the convenience of bathing: In Hyampolis in Greece there was only one well for drinking water, for everything else the inhabitants had to use rain water; also in Peloponnesian Pellene one only had drinking wells and had to bath in rain water.⁶⁷ According to a story written by Procop, the inhabitants of Dara in Mesopotamia even left the city, when the aqueduct had become inoperative because they would otherwise have died of thirst.⁶⁸ Andrea Schmölder-Veit rightly notes that it was probably the upper class of Dara who left the city because they were no longer provided with a certain level of quality of life and comfort.⁶⁹

Especially vivid is the connection between a good drinking water supply and *urbanitas* and poor water sources and cultural as well as technological backwardness in Ovid's *Tristia*. He complained bitterly about his exile in Tomi: *o quantum et quotiens non est numerare, beatum, non interdicta cui licet urbe frui*.⁷⁰ The Aqua Virgo is often enough at the center of admiration and is

66 Paus. 10.4.1. (...) to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no local offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain.

67 Paus. 10.35.6; 7.27.4.

68 Procop. *Aed.* 2.3.24–26.

69 A. Schmölder-Veit, *Brunnen in den Städten des westlichen römischen Reiches* (Wiesbaden 2009), 32–33.

70 Ov. *trist.* 3.12.25–26. The concept of *urbanitas* has two important key components: architecture and lifestyle. To be attractive for its inhabitants a city had to offer a set of buildings, including public infrastructure, *gymnasia* etc. Only in a fitting and built-up surrounding *urbanitas* could be practiced, which meant an urban *habitus*, as Martial describes it: *gestatio, fabulae, libelli, campus, porticus, umbra, virgo, thermae*, Mart. 5.20.8–9. The connection of a built-up environment and an urban life style can also be observed in the term ἀστειός itself, meaning not only 'urban', but also 'educated, beautiful'. *Urbanitas* gained importance in imperial times, when the cities instrumentalized their buildings, myths and history against other cities to fight for political and symbolic importance, see especially A. Scheithauer, *Verfeinerte Lebensweise und gesteigertes Lebensgefühl im augusteischen Rom. Urbanitas mit den Augen Ovids gesehen* (Frankfurt 2007), 11–32 and H.-J. Schalles, 'Urbis nostrae miracula. Qualitätskriterien urbaner Räume in antiken Schriftquellen', in J. Lipps, A. Busch and J. Griesbach (eds.), *Urbanitas – urbane Qualitäten. Die antike Stadt als kulturelle Selbstverwirklichung* (Heidelberg 2017), 17–38.

regarded as a symbol for a dignified life.⁷¹ In Tomi, on the other hand, the water supply falls far short of Ovid's bearable standard: *est in aqua dulci non invidiosa voluptas: aequoreo bibitur cum sale mixta palus*.⁷² The water in Tomi is not only salty, but also brackish and interspersed with mud and does not even quench thirst, since there are no springs.⁷³

The other way around was also possible: Villages could become cities by having a good water supply. In Constantinian times the *vicus* Orkistos in Phrygia asked the emperor to become a *civitas* and justified its petition by vividly describing its urban character. Part of its *urbanitas* was an urban building ensemble including baths and the fact that the city had an abundant water supply that could be used for baths and water mills.⁷⁴

4 Summary: Aqueducts and Their Contribution to a New Urbanitas

The arrival of Rome in the politically fragmented landscape of Hellenistic Asia Minor caused many deep changes in the daily life of its inhabitants. For many it opened up new chances as well. One was the widespread building of a new type of water infrastructure, supplying the cities with a new quantity and quality of water not only for daily needs, but also for luxurious commodities such as baths, lavish fountains, wells and toilets. The cities embraced this opportunity with stunning speed. Ephesos built its first Roman aqueduct probably with imperial help already under Augustus, the other *metropoleis* followed at the latest under Claudius. For the building of aqueducts, the cities had to spend and pool a great amount of financial and human resources, which they had to organize mostly without an additional imperial funding. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the cities integrated the cultural code of the aqueducts – which might have had a Roman imprint at the beginning – soon into their civic identity. In doing so, the point of reference of the cultural code were

71 Ov. *ars* 3,38.5–6; Cassiod. *var.* 7.6.3; Mart. 7.32.11–12.

72 Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.73–74.

73 Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.17–18: *nec tibi sunt fontes, laticis nisi paene marini, qui potus dubium sistat alatne sitim.*

74 *CIL* III 352 with the relevant comment edited by A. Chastagnol, 'L'inscription constantinienne d'Orkistos', *MEFRA* 93 (1981), 381–416. See also C. Witschel, 'Sterbende Städte? Betrachtungen zum römischen Städtewesen in der Spätantike', in A. Lampen and A. Owzar (eds.), *Schrumpfende Städte: ein Phänomen zwischen Antike und Moderne* (Wien 2008), 17–78, esp. 29, with the noteworthy remark that Orkistos may not have owned all of these buildings, but made a probably fictional selection of those monuments, the city's elite thought would be standard for a city.

exclusively the cities. Practical or economic aspects like a better water supply for agriculture and the surrounding villages did not play a role. As most of the cities were equipped with aqueducts in the 2nd century CE, an abundant water supply even became a necessary feature, as important as walls, streets, *gymnasia* or baths. If a city wanted to call itself a (true) city and to display a certain *urbanitas*, at least a fountain and a bath, supplied by an aqueduct, was a basic prerequisite for its inhabitants.

Without the presence of the Romans and their impact on the political landscape of Hellenistic Asia Minor, the building and distribution of aqueducts would have been impossible. It was exactly the combination of economically flourishing cities and a strong Roman super-structure in form of provinces, guaranteeing peace, prosperity and fair jurisdiction executed by the governors that led to the sweeping success of this new kind of water supply system.

Let's conclude with some remarks about the connection of Romanization and water infrastructure in general. In contrast to what most of the researchers claimed, this paper aimed to clarify that the building of aqueducts was not instrumentalized by Roman authorities to legitimize their rule, but rather a purely civic phenomenon. These aqueducts served not only public, but also private needs. The local elites took the opportunity to introduce a new category of representation: sophisticated and lavishly decorated private baths, supplied by side branch of the urban aqueduct, for which they probably paid a fee. This kind of water-related representation, including other water-consuming features such as fountains, pools, canals, ornamental ponds and gardens, might have had its roots in Hellenism, but its origin, as Inge Uytterhoeven made clear, were not the Hellenistic monarchies, but Rome.⁷⁵ The elites therefore consciously adopted and imitated Roman social behavior, trying to practice a Roman lifestyle by bathing *more urbico*, as a famous inscription tells us: *In his praediis Aureliae Faustinianae balineus lavatur more urbico et omnis humanitas praestatur.*⁷⁶

75 I. Uytterhoeven, 'A private piece of nature: water display as part of an artificial natural environment in Roman and late antique elite houses of *Asia Minor*', in G. Wiplinger (ed.) *De Aquaeductu atque Aqua Urbium Lyciae Pamphyliae Pisidiae. The Legacy of Sextus Julius Frontinus* (Leuven 2016), 227–242, esp. 236.

76 *ILS* 5720 (Caesarina, 2nd/3rd century CE). On the properties of Aurelia Faustiana there is a bath, where one takes a bath in the manner of the city and every refinement is guaranteed.



FIGURE 8.1 Delikkemer. Aqueduct bridge near Lycian Patara
PHOTO C. SCHULER, KOMMISSION FÜR ALTE GESCHICHTE UND EPIGRAPHIK



FIGURE 8.2 Section of the Aqua Throessitica, Ephesos
PHOTO G. WIPLINGER, © ÖSTERREICHISCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
AN DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN



FIGURE 8.3 Detail with inscription (IK Ephesos 12, 402) of a section of the Aqua Throessitica, Ephesos

PHOTO G. WIPLINGER, © ÖSTERREICHISCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT AN DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN



FIGURE 8.4 Acueducto de los Milagros, Mérida, España

PHOTO MARLENE VD, BY CC BY-SA 3.0 ES

PART 3

Measuring the World à la romaine



Changing Landscapes Under Roman Impact: Interdisciplinary Research in Northern Etruria

Günther Schörner

1 Introduction: Landscape and Landscape Archaeology¹

In the last 30 years, studies with a focus on landscape archaeology were mushrooming and *landscape* became one of the determining concepts in archaeological research. A quick search in the bibliographical database Dyabola revealed unambiguous results:² While between 1956 and 1999 only 289 studies in the field of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History had the word “landscape” as part of their title it was used by already 458 in only ten years from 2000 till 2009. This already impressive number is nearly doubled by the 883 landscape titles in the last decade (2010–2019).

Although landscape archaeology is one of the most productive fields of archaeology, there is no strict definition of what landscape archaeological studies are or should be.³ The recently proposed description of a popular German introduction to landscape archaeology defines it as follows: “Landschaftsarchäologie betreibt der, der sich mit landschaftsarchäologischen Fragestellungen auseinandersetzt – also mit noch zu beschreibenden Methoden Erkenntnisse zur Kulturlandschaftsgenese gewinnt”. This definition shifts the problem towards the methods applied and to geography and social sciences.⁴ Although such a pragmatic and narrow definition has its advantages, most

1 I thank the organizers of the conference “The Impact of Empire on Roman Landscapes” for inviting me to this most interesting and productive event. I thank all the discussants in Mayence for useful suggestions and thought-provoking questions. Finally, I thank Jonas Breßler for editing my English text.

2 <http://www.db.dyabola.de>; accessed on July 11, 2020. See also the compilation in B. David and J. Thomas, ‘Landscape archaeology: introduction’, in B. David and J. Thomas (eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek [CA] 2008), 29, tab. 1.1 (citations in current archaeological journals in the UK and the USA). The term “landscape archaeology” appears for the first time in the title of M. Aston and T. Rowley, *Landscape Archaeology: An Introduction to Fieldwork Techniques on Post-Roman Landscapes* (London 1974).

3 For example K.F. Anschuetz, R.H. Wilshusen and C.L. Scheick, ‘An archaeology of landscapes: perspectives and directions’, *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9 (2001), 158.

4 P. Haupt, *Landschaftsarchäologie. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt 2012), 11.

researchers see *landscape* as the crucial term insofar as *landscape* emphasizes different aspects of the environment in a general sense.⁵ As B. Bender has shown, landscape is used in various terminological combinations and various meanings. These include landscape as solid geology (karst landscape), landscape as land form (desert landscape), landscape as land-use (arable landscape), landscapes of settlement (villa landscape).⁶ It is, however, noticeable that most of the landscape concepts developed refer to a nature-culture-continuum and make the dynamic interactions of humans with their physical setting subject of discussion.⁷

The aim of most studies is to investigate and interpret the ways in which different historic peoples shaped the environment, and the ways, in which these peoples were influenced, inspired, or confined by the environment. Thereby, the recognition that the natural setting – the landscape – played an active role was particularly innovative. In an already classical statement A.B. Knapp and W. Ashmore put it as follows: “That what was once theorized as a passive backdrop or forcible determinant of culture is now seen as an active and far more complex entity in relation to human lives.”⁸

Although the recognition of the mutual influence and interdependency between humans and environment is highly symptomatic for landscape archaeology, there are other features which can be seen as characteristic for

5 Here lays one of the differences between Anglo-American (including Dutch) *landscape archaeology* and Central European (mostly German and Austrian) *Landschaftsarchäologie* where post-processual approaches were never intensively applied and the constructed dimension of landscape dominates, see below. That comparison is simplified as it disregards the differences between landscape archaeology in the UK and that in the US and as it omits completely French and Italian versions of *archéologie du paysage* and *archeologia del paesaggio*; for a history of American landscape archaeology: T.C. Patterson, ‘The history of landscape archaeology in the Americas’, in B. David and J. Thomas (eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek [CA] 2008), 77–84; for *archeologia del paesaggio* see M. Bernardi (ed.), *Archeologia del paesaggio* (Florence 1992); F. Cambi, *Archeologia dei paesaggi antichi: fonti e diagnostica* (Rome 2003); for *archéologie du paysage* see P. Leveau, ‘L’archéologie du paysage et l’antiquité classique’, *Agri centuriati. An International Journal of Landscape Archaeology* 2 (2005), 9–24; G. Chouquer, *Quels scénarios pour l’histoire du paysage ? Orientations de recherche pour l’archéogéographie* (Coimbra and Porto 2007).

6 B. Bender, ‘Time and landscape’, *Current Anthropology* 43 (2002), 103.

7 Fundamental: D.E. Cosgrove, ‘Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10 (1985), 45–62; Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001, op. cit. (n. 2) 158; with another conception: K. Walsh, ‘Mediterranean landscape archaeology: marginality and the culture–nature ‘divide’, *Landscape Research* 33 (2008), 547–564.

8 A.B. Knapp and W. Ashmore, ‘Archaeological landscapes: Constructed, conceptualized, ideational’, in A.B. Knapp and W. Ashmore (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary perspectives* (Malden [MA] 1999), 2.

the *landscape* paradigm: *Landscape* is primarily a spatial category insofar as a landscape occupies a physical space but it is not identical with neutral Cartesian space or the natural or built-up environment.⁹ The decisive concept is *place* since places are meaningful human products which are created out of spaces through daily routines and events, but also ideas, and systems of values and beliefs. Thus, for example, any spring can be given specific meaning and become a place when it is the daily visited water source for my household, when it is the place I saw my spouse for the first time or when I believe it is the dwelling place of nymphs. In that sense landscape is made of places and is itself a place. Landscape is not only a product of human activities and perceptions but also their stage.¹⁰ That implies a necessary shift from the study of single sites to a much broader regional approach. In his seminal work on *The Archaeology of Place* L. Binford stated the importance of site-patterning in both within-place and between-place contexts.¹¹ In consequence, landscape archaeology indicates (and requires) non-site and off-site approaches because traditionally recognized site types have not longer be seen as reliable units of spatial analysis although landscapes do not need to have a definite, exact dimension.¹² H. Chapman sees “an approach where the unit is the artefact rather than the site” more appropriate for landscape archaeology since it “recognizes that many of the material consequences of human behavior are ephemeral and will not conform to standard definition of sites.”¹³ Therefore

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- 9 For the relationship of space and place see *e. g.* Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 160–161. For a more in-depth treatment: M. Hunziker, M. Buchecker and T. Hartig, ‘Space and place – two aspects of the human-landscape relationship’, in F. Kienast, O. Wildi and S. Ghosh (eds.), *A Changing World: Challenges for Landscape Research* (Dordrecht 2007), 47–62; E.S. Casey, ‘Place in landscape archaeology: a western philosophical treatment’, in B. David and J. Thomas (eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek [CA] 2008), 44–50; fundamental: Y. Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis [MI] 1977).
- 10 For the centrality of the concept ‘place’: J. Thomas, ‘Archaeologies of place and landscape’, in I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today* (Cambridge 2001), 165–186; Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 161; J. Kantner, ‘The archaeology of regions: from discrete analytical toolkit to ubiquitous spatial perspective’, *Journal of Archaeological Research* 16 (2008), 58.
- 11 L. Binford, ‘The archaeology of place’, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1 (1982), 6.
- 12 L. Wandsnider, ‘Regional scale processes and archaeological landscape units’, in A.F. Ramenofsky and A. Steffen (eds.), *Unit Issues in Archaeology: Measuring Time, Space, and Material* (Salt Lake City [UT] 1998), 87–102, esp. 94; Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 171–172; M.P. Heilen, *An Archaeological Theory of Landscapes* (Ann Arbor [MI] 2005), 113–119.
- 13 H. Chapman, *Landscape Archaeology and GIS* (Stroud 2006), 11. He is cited by A.-J. Wijnstok, ‘Who would have GISsed? Influences on the interpretation of landscape in

the site-less or off-site survey is one of the particularly suitable methods for landscape archaeology.¹⁴ Furthermore all methods that are apt to investigate larger areas, not only sites, like aerial photography, LIDAR scanning, and geophysical prospection methods, are widely used in landscape archaeological projects.¹⁵ Especially the use of GeoInformationScience which enabled the establishment of a GeoInformationSystem and by that to store, capture, analyze and visualize spatially referenced data is indispensable and allows to better understand past behavior.¹⁶ The opposite, however, is not necessarily the case: the application of these methods does not make all archaeological projects with a wider spatial focus, like regional settlement pattern studies, become landscape archaeology projects.

From the outset of landscape studies in a narrower sense, landscape has been seen as a “palimpsest” because the landscape is like “a document that has been written on and erased over and over again.”¹⁷ Thus landscapes represent not only multiple places, but also multiple times. That palimpsest nature of the landscape allows for the analytical investigation of single phases by

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- landscape archaeology’, in D.C.M. Raemaekers (ed.), *Past Landscapes. Questioning Function and Meaning* (Groningen 2016), 2.
- 14 Recent bibliography: T. de Haas, ‘Beyond dots on the map: intensive survey data and the interpretation of small sites and off-site distributions’, in P. Attema and G. Schörner (eds.) *Comparative Issues in the Archaeology of the Roman Rural Landscape. Site Classification between Survey, Excavation and Historical Categories* (Portsmouth [RI] 2012), 55–79; H. Forbes, ‘Off-site scatters and the manuring hypothesis in Greek survey archaeology: an ethnographic approach’, *Hesperia* 82 (2013), 551–594; G. Schörner, ‘Der Survey am Sineketepe: Methoden und erste Ergebnisse’, in B. Dreyer and S. Aybek (eds.), *Die Surveys im Hermos- und Kaystrostal und die Grabungen an den Thermen von Metropolis (Ionien) sowie am Stadion von Magnesia am Mäander* (Münster 2014), 38–97.
- 15 Short overviews on methods: Kantner 2008, op. cit. (n. 9), 47–55; Haupt 2012, op. cit. (n. 3), 28–87; M. Doneus, *Die hinterlassene Landschaft – Prospektion und Interpretation in der Landschaftsarchäologie* (Vienna 2013), 135–274.
- 16 The bibliography is ample. Fundamental are: Chapman 2006, op. cit. (n. 12); J. Conolly and M. Lake, *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology* (Cambridge and New York 2006); J. Conolly, ‘Geographical Information Systems and landscape archaeology’, in B. David and J. Thomas (eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek [CA] 2008), 583–595; history of GIS in archaeology: P. Verhagen, ‘Spatial analysis in archaeology: moving into new territories’, in C. Siart, M. Forbriger and O. Bubenzer (eds.), *Digital Geoarchaeology. New Techniques for Interdisciplinary Human-Environmental Research* (Heidelberg 2018), 11–25; an instructive comparison of pre-GIS and GIS driven interpretations in the archaeological research of a particular landscape: Wijnstok 2016, op. cit. (n. 12), 1–6.
- 17 O.G.S. Crawford, *Archaeology in the Field* (London 1953), 51. The palimpsest metaphor is commonplace in landscape archaeological studies, see as one of the latest examples S. Turner, L.-M. Shillito and F. Carrer, ‘Landscape archaeology’, in P. Howard et al. (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies* (London and New York 2018), 156.

disentangling the traces and “scripts” piled up in the course of time.¹⁸ These time slices of landscapes are created by day-to-day routines like ploughing as well as by one-time events like road construction or land distribution. In order to express this close connection, the term “temporality of landscape” has been coined.¹⁹ This time-related quality is especially relevant for the present workshop and gives significance to the question of a landscape being ‘Roman’. Therefore, landscapes embody not only continuity and continuous usage but also change and transformation.²⁰ That close relationship between landscape and time is not neutral with respect to the perceptive meaning of landscape. It has to be noted that time manifests itself in different ways as the notion of time in landscapes ranges from timeless landscapes to historical landscapes with more or less time-depth.²¹

The word *landscape* originally belonged to art history since it was a term for the view on natural scenery or its painted representation.²² Considering this etymology, *landscape* has always had a strong perceptual aspect, which is evident in the definition of landscape given by G. Fairclough: “Environment changes into landscape in the eyes of the beholder who constructs landscape from the material environment.”²³ After the change from processual archaeology to post-processual archaeology, the phenomenology of landscapes became the fastest growing direction in landscape archaeology.²⁴ As this approach generally aims to perceive the landscape as past people have perceived it and is based on the perception of those people, the prime example were the landscapes of Neolithic megaliths in the British Isles. It has been – quite

18 Knapp, Ashmore 1999, op. cit. (n. 7), 18.

19 For example T. Ingold, ‘The temporality of the landscape’, *WorldA* 25 (1993), 152–174.

20 See the title: N. Christie (ed.), *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 2004).

21 Bender 2002, op. cit. (n. 5), 103–112.

22 F. Förster et. al., ‘What is landscape? Towards a common concept within an interdisciplinary research environment’, *eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies, special issue* 3 (2012), 169–170.

23 G. Fairclough, ‘The long chain: archaeology historical landscape characterization and time depth in landscape’, in G. Fairclough et al. (eds.), *The Heritage Reader* (London and New York 2008), 409; see also K. Karro, M. Mägi and H. Palang, ‘Studying past landscapes: lived, reconstructed and animated’, *Living Reviews in Landscape Research* 8 (2014), 5.

24 C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (Oxford 1994); S. Hamilton and R. Whitehouse, ‘Phenomenology in practice: towards a methodology for a “subjective” approach’, *European Journal of Archaeology* 9 (2006), 31–71; C. Tilley, ‘The neolithic sensory revolution: monumentality and the experience of landscape’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 144 (2007), 329–45; M.H. Johnson, ‘Phenomenological approaches in landscape archaeology’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012), 269–284; J. Wylie, ‘Landscape and phenomenology’, in Howard et al. 2018, op. cit. (n. 16), 127–138.

rightly – criticized that it is not possible to understand what humans several thousand years ago thought and how they perceived and experienced their environments.²⁵ It is important to stress that Roman archaeologists and Classicists are in a much better situation when they investigate Roman landscapes since – in contrast to prehistory – written evidence can be used which provides emic statements on how the landscape has been seen and valued.²⁶

The post-processual phenomenological approach entailed two aspects that are important for landscape studies in general: it highlighted the bodily experience of landscapes, which is the theoretical basis for the development of analyses like *least path analysis* or *view-shed analyses*, and emphasised landscapes in order to replace the neutral Cartesian space by bodily experienced space.²⁷ Further, it helped to understand that the perception of individuals is central for the interpretation, the generation and the attribution of meaning to landscapes – the most evident examples for that processes is the research field concerning “landscapes of memory”.²⁸

Landscape is a transdisciplinary concept since it falls along the nature-culture-continuum.²⁹ In consequence, landscape archaeology absorbs influences from the humanities (*e. g.* history), but also from the natural sciences (especially various earth sciences) and social sciences (primarily anthropology and geography). Therefore landscape archaeology has no single valid method and approach. This can be seen as weakness when landscape archaeology is considered “a fashionable umbrella”, “an empty shell containing everything yet nothing” or – still worse – a “junk drawer because of the lack of directed

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- 25 J. Brück, ‘Experiencing the past? The development of phenomenological archaeology in British prehistory’, *Archaeological Dialogues* 12 (2005), 45–72; A. Fleming, ‘Post-processual landscape archaeology: a critique’, *CambrAJ* 16 (2006), 267–280; J.C. Barrett and I. Ko, ‘A phenomenology of landscape: a crisis in British landscape archaeology?’, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 9 (2009), 275–294. Meanwhile an ‘enhanced version’ of the phenomenological approach has been developed: D. Crystal, ‘Postphenomenology and archaeology: towards a temporal methodology’, *Time and Mind. The Journal of Archaeology, Consciousness and Culture* 11 (2018), 297–304.
- 26 For example: G. Shipley and J. Salmon (eds.), *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity – Environment and Culture* (London and New York 1996); D. Spencer, *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity* (Cambridge 2013). Much interdisciplinary work is still to be done.
- 27 C. Tilley, ‘Mind and body in landscape research’, *CambrAJ* 14 (2004), 77–80; P. Rainbird, ‘The body and the senses: implications for landscape archaeology’, in B. David and J. Thomas (eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek [CA] 2008), 263–270.
- 28 Important case studies: S.E. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscapes, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge 2002); summarizing: R.M. van Dyke, ‘Archaeology and social memory’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (2019), 207–225, especially 213–214.
- 29 See above fn. 6.

methods'.³⁰ In total, that conceptual ambiguity, however, is more often deemed useful,³¹ as the openness of the landscape paradigm allows to adopt different theoretical perceptions. The better understanding of a specific landscape may serve as a superordinate aim for different approaches like settlement archaeology.³² In general, landscape archaeology has to be seen as a field where scientific disputes may be bridged.³³

2 Research in Northern Etruria: The Vienna Orme and Pesa Valley Project

In the first session of the conference on the impact of Roman rule on landscape, a decisively landscape archaeological approach is chosen. This case study is one of my own projects, the *Vienna Orme and Pesa Valley Project* (*VOPP*), augmented by the results of a further fieldwork project in the neighboring Chianti region.

The research area of *VOPP* is the territory along the valleys of the Orme and Pesa, two tributaries of the Arno. The region lies at the junction between the surroundings of Empoli in the Arno plain and the more hilly inland territory to the south. As it is typical for landscape archaeological projects, a collaborative and holistic approach is pursued, which combines a broad range of methods in a multi-stage and multi-scalar fieldwork scheme. Data are systematically collected from a diversity of sources, namely excavations centred on one especially promising site, Molino San Vincenzo. These excavations were supplemented by a wide range of scientific analyses like geophysical prospections (geomagnetics and georadar), geoarchaeological investigations and systematic on-site surveys at Molino San Vincenzo and at various other places at different distances from the most important Roman town of that region, present-day Empoli. This more site-oriented research is embedded in a broader regional context, provided by off-site surveys of the valleys of Pesa and Orme, and larger scale agricultural modelling, geoarchaeological studies and remote sensing.³⁴

30 All citations: S.A. Kowalewski, 'Regional settlement pattern studies', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 16 (2008), 253.

31 C. Gosden and L. Head, 'Landscape – a usefully ambiguous concept', *Archaeology in Oceania* 29 (1994), 113–116; W. Ashmore, 'Social archaeologies of landscape', in L. Meskell and R.W. Preucel (eds.), *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Malden [MA] 2005), 255–256.

32 Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001, op. cit. (n. 2), 176.

33 For example: B. Tress et al., 'Bridging human and natural sciences in landscape research', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 57 (2001), 137–141.

34 For a more detailed presentation of the methods and results: G. Schörner (ed.), *The Vienna and Orme and Pesa Valley Project. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Vienna 2018. Roman Rural Landscapes Monograph Series 1* (Vienna 2020).

In historical perspective, one especially interesting period is the time from the more intense contact of local communities with the expanding political organisation of the Roman Empire starting in the Middle Republic to the developments in the Late Republic and to the conciliation with the Roman administration in the early Empire. In Italian literature, that period is designated as *romanizzazione* but often the term is taken not only chronologically but is understood as the cultural process of adopting Roman culture – similar to the English term *romanization* – leading to *piena romanità*. That approach is highly problematic – to say the least – but things are getting even worse since the two chronologically distinct phases are often connected with two distinct cultural entities, Etruscan and Roman, whereby culture often seems to be defined by ethnic identity.³⁵

Apart from the higher order concepts of *romanizzazione* or *romanization* some lower order questions remain useful in order to pragmatically describe landscapes in a provincial setting. As an example, the study of J.C. Edmondson may be cited, who investigated the impact of Rome on the rural landscapes in Hispania using the following terms for categorisation:³⁶

- the pattern of rural settlement
- the nature of land use and agrarian exploitation
- the ways in which the landscape was perceived and thought about

Although they are providing functional steps, these questions miss the specific approach of landscape archaeology, which sees landscape not only as a purely constructed object of human actions but also as conceptualized and ideational.³⁷

3 In or Out: Centuriated Landscape and Lifestyle

Next to the urban settlement of Empoli, the Roman name of which is still debated,³⁸ traces of a *centuriatio* have been identified. Even if a more refined investigation is pending there is no doubt that a *centuriatio* in the Middle Arno

35 Critics: G. Schörner, 'La Valdelsa tra romanizzazione e prima età imperiale II: Looking for romanization in the Valdelsa senese', in G. Baldini and P. Giroladini (eds.), *Dalla Valdelsa al Conero. Ricerche di archeologia e topografia storica in ricordo di Giuliano de Marinis. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Colle di Val d'Elsa, San Gimignano, Poggibonsi, 27–29 novembre 2015* (Florence 2016), 89–104.

36 J.C. Edmondson, 'Creating a provincial landscape: Roman imperialism and rural change in Lusitania', in J.G. Gorges and M. Salinas de Frias (eds.), *Les Campagnes de Lusitanie romaine. Occupation du sol et habitats* (Madrid 1994), 13–30.

37 See Knapp 1999, op. cit. (n. 7).

38 W. Maiuri, 'La città, il territorio, il porto: Empoli in età romana', *Milliarium* 6 (2006), 28–39.

valley existed. It was probably established in the context of the founding of colonies in Northern Etruria in the second half of the 1st century BCE together with the *centuriatio* of the lower Elsa Valley or the Arno plain near Florence as attested in the *liber Colontiarum*.³⁹

The *centuriatio* signifies a radical change of the rural world in the vicinity of towns that was connected with a profound re-organization of the agricultural production system, but it is still more than that because it relates not only to practicalities but also to the perception of landscape: It is obvious that the landscape can be conceptualized as *centuriated* or *not centuriated* in a very clear-cut dual system.⁴⁰

It has rarely been asked what it meant to live in a *centuriated* landscape. That is a question which was investigated in the Vienna Orme and Pesa Valley Project by conducting targeted on-site surveys and geophysical prospections on various sites. Especially interesting were research on two sites, Molino San Vincenzo outside the *centuriatio*-grid and Il Cotone within the – or at least on the fringe of – the checkerboard of the limitation (fig. 9.1).

Molino San Vincenzo has been targeted by repeated on-site surveys, geophysical measurements and stratigraphical excavations. The research activities applied provide information on the complex history of the site that spans from an ancient settlement to a modern, intensively used agricultural area.⁴¹ Through those investigations, a quadrangular architectural complex erected on solid, multi-phased foundation walls has been discovered. At least two phases were observed at the site, the younger phase of which can be dated after the 1st century BCE. Research undertaken in Il Cotone consisted of two on site surveys and geophysical measurements. Two small buildings have been detected there, whereby the densest concentration of sherds is located above structure B which only measures 10 × 9.5 m.⁴²

Here, the focus shall be on the pottery found because by emphasizing the functional aspects of different shapes and types of ceramic vessels it is possible to understand the pottery as an expression of important social practices of

39 M. Ristori, 'Le divisioni agrarie romane nel Valdarno: la centuriazione di Empoli', *L'Universo* 60 (1980), 91–928; G. Ciampoltrini, 'Note sulla colonizzazione augustea nell'Etruria Settentrionale', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 31 (1981), 41–55.

40 See H.A. Orengo and J.M. Palet Martinez, 'Methodological insights into the study of centuriated field systems: a landscape archaeology perspective', *Agri Centuriati: An International Journal of Landscape Archaeology* 6 (2009), 171–185; T. de Haas, 'Managing the marshes: an integrated study of the centuriated landscape of the pontine plain', *JASc: Reports* 15 (2017), 470–481.

41 Preliminary report: D. Hagmann and V. Schreck, 'L'insediamento rurale romano di Molino San Vincenzo a Montespetoli', *Milliarium* 12 (2018), 42–59.

42 K. Freitag, 'The diversity of sites: results of the geophysical prospections 2016 and 2017 in the valleys of Pesa and Orme', in Schörner 2020, op. cit. (n. 33), 159–170.

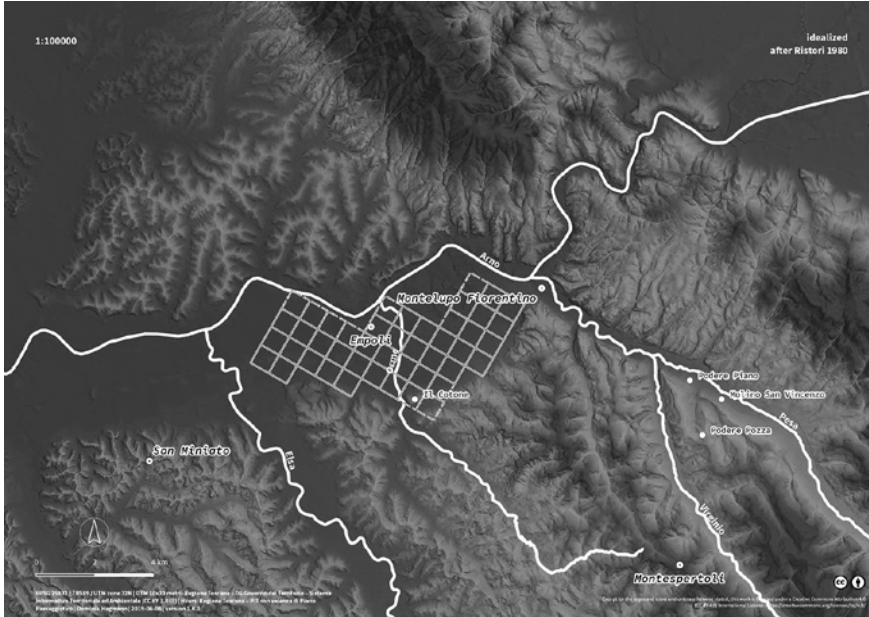


FIGURE 9.1 The research area with indication of the *centuratio* in the Arno plain near Empoli
 DESIGN D. HAGMANN (DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY,
 UNIVERSITY VIENNA) (AFTER RISTORI 1980)

everyday life: being largely unaffected by taphonomic deterioration, relatively well datable and available in large quantities, pottery represents the medium to study social diversity, especially in light of the possibility of pottery-analysis to follow a bottom-up approach for nearly all strata of society.⁴³ That is, of course, especially important when we try to study non-elite rural inhabitants.

Based on the sherds found, activity and especially agricultural production is proven at Molino San Vincenzo already for the period from the 4th to the 2nd century BCE. Agricultural activity and human activity in general at Il Cotone started considerably later. Aside from a few sherds from the 1st cent. BCE the largest part of the material stems from the Imperial time.⁴⁴

Most interesting is a comparison of the assemblages found during the on-site surveys as we can detect a considerably distinct composition (fig. 9.2). The

43 For example: M. Pitts, 'Regional identities and the social use of ceramics', in J. Bruhn, B. Croxford and D. Grigoropoulos (eds.), *TRAC 2004: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 2004* (Oxford 2005), 50–64.

44 Pottery found at Il Cotone: H. Schörner, 'The rural site of "Il Cotone": results of the on-site-survey 2016', in Schörner 2020, op. cit. (n. 33), 171–186.

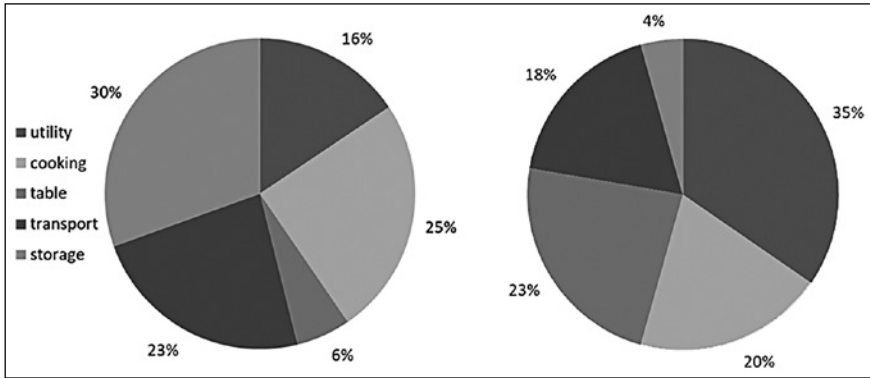


FIGURE 9.2 Quantitative distribution of pottery found at Molino San Vincenzo (left) and Il Cotone (right)

DESIGN H. SCHÖRNER (DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY VIENNA)

shares of utility pottery – a term used mostly for medium-sized vessel forms like dishes, bowls, large jugs for preparing, serving, or storing solid and liquid foodstuff in a fine-grained fabric – and of transport amphorae are roughly comparable. Marked differences relate to the shares of table wares – of which much more has been found in Cotone – and large vessels for storage (*dolia*), which are more common at Molino San Vincenzo. Both assemblages hint at a residential and also agricultural function of both places, but it can be presumed that life at Il Cotone was different to that of Molino San Vincenzo, particularly in terms of consumption: especially the much larger amount of table wares allows the supposition that the eating and drinking habits were more differentiated and elevated, even if the building found at Il Cotone was much smaller than that at Molino San Vincenzo. That impression is corroborated by the fact that Il Cotone yielded significantly higher percentages of imported Italian *terra sigillata* and other imported wares like African cooking wares or African table wares and imported amphorae, while Molino San Vincenzo has been provided mostly with locally or regionally produced wares, as has been proven by archaeometrical investigations.

It is probable that the position of Il Cotone in the centuriated hinterland of Empoli and – relating thereto – the ownership of the estate is the explanation for that marked difference to Molino San Vincenzo because the geographical distance is not a satisfying answer, especially as transport of goods to Molino San Vincenzo is easier to accomplish and cheaper due to the navigable waterways of Arno and Pesa. Therefore, a *centuriatio* was not only a means to rationally reorganize land, but it also had strong effects on consumption and social life in general which itself had implications how the landscape was seen and perceived.

4 Agrarian Practices and the Appearance of the Tuscan Landscape

Landscape in Roman times has also been altered through changes in the nature of land use and agrarian exploitation. Here, especially archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological studies are useful and promise more and deeper insights for the future.⁴⁵ The Vienna Orme and Pesa Valley Project has conducted palynological studies at Molino San Vincenzo. It greatly benefited from an approach in which pollen were extracted directly from archaeological layers.

The Roman samples of pollen from Molino San Vincenzo correlate with a phase of strong human activity characterized by the development of an agrarian system on the site consisting mainly of crop fields and grasslands.⁴⁶ Diverse cereals were cultivated, represented in the spectra by *hordeum*, the *avena-triticum* group and *secale*. The high percentages of so-called local pastoral pollen indicators suggest that also pasture/breeding activities on pasturelands were of economic importance at the site.

Moreover, *leguminosae*, especially *fabaceae*, various clover species and true grasses (*poaceae*), are attested. These finds mostly consist of species that may have been cultivated for fodder. They have the propriety to enrich soils with nitrogen and have been traditionally employed in agriculture to rotate fields. Therefore, the cereal fields grown alternated with areas of lawn/pasturelands in a clearly human-shaped landscape. All this hints at an agricultural system which is called ley farming or convertible husbandry, the invention of which has been presumed only in late medieval or early modern Brabant, Flanders and Netherlands more than 1000 years later.⁴⁷ Thus, the results of the Vienna

45 See, for instance, the transition in Rome through archaeozoological evidence: J. De Grossi Mazzorin and C. Minniti, 'Changes in lifestyle in ancient Rome (Italy) across the Iron Age/Roman transition: the evidence from animal remains', in U. Albarella et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Zooarchaeology* (Oxford 2017), 127–146; transition in a provincial setting: S. Trixl, B. Steidl and J. Peters, 'Archaeology and zooarchaeology of the Late Iron Age: Roman transition in the province of Raetia (100 BC–100 AD)', *European Journal of Archaeology* 20 (2017), 431–450; archaeobotany: L. Sadori, A.M. Mercuri and M. Mariotti Lippi, 'Reconstructing past cultural landscape and Human impact using pollen and plant macroremains', *Plant Biosystems – An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology* 144 (2010), 940–951; transition in a provincial setting: J. Wiethold, 'Late Celtic and early Roman plant remains from the oppidum of Bibracte, Mont Beuvray (Burgundy, France)', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 5 (1996), 105–116.

46 Short summary of the results presented by: E. Rattighieri and A.M. Mercuri, 'Palynology from the Molino San Vincenzo Site in Tuscany: the plant landscape from the Roman layers', in Schörner 2020, op. cit. (n. 33), 99–112,

47 E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution* (London 1967); H. Kitsikopoulos, 'Convertible husbandry vs. regular common fields: a model on the relative efficiency of medieval field



FIGURE 9.3 The (not so) timeless Tuscan landscape near Molino San Vincenzo (prov. Florence)

PHOTOGRAPH G. SCHÖRNER (DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY VIENNA)

Orme and Pesa Valley Project have had a major impact on our knowledge of the vegetation history of Roman Etruria and by consequence on the appearance and conception of the landscape.⁴⁸ Especially astonishing was that there were no indicators for growing vines and olives near Molino San Vincenzo. Consequently, the present-day landscape around Molino San Vincenzo, which is characterized by the alternation of vineyards and olive groves, differs greatly from the Roman landscape. Our idea or mental picture of a timeless Tuscan landscape (fig. 9.3) – how Tuscany has to look like – has to be abandoned.

systems', *The Journal of Economic History* 64 (2004), 462–499. Ley-farming in Roman times has been postulated by G. Kron based on written evidence: G. Kron, 'Roman ley-farming', *JRA* 13 (2000), 277–287.

48 Also in southern Tuscany, ley farming has been proven by pollen analysis of archaeological layers: K. Bowes et al., 'Peasant agricultural strategies in southern Tuscany: convertible agriculture and the importance of pasture', in T.C.A. de Haas and G.W. Tol (eds.), *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy. Rural Communities in a Globalizing World* (Leiden and Boston 2017), 170–199.

5 Cetamura and the Changing Bodily Experience of Landscape

The cultivation of vine was part of the Roman agrarian landscape in other parts of Etruria. Detailed evidence for the cultivation history in northern inland Etruria stems from Cetamura in Chianti at a distance of 35 kms from Molino San Vincenzo where a rock-cut well has been excavated between 2011 and 2014.⁴⁹ Seven chronological phases were detected, suggesting that it has been in use for around 370 years, from Late Etruscan I to Early Roman Empire II (300 BCE till 70 CE). Integrating the results of the biometric and molecular analyses of 454 grape pips found, it has been proposed that the sudden increase in pip size that occurred starting from around 200 BCE was caused by a change in cultivation techniques rather than by the introduction of new varieties. Indeed, it is assumed that Etruscan viticulture did not include grafting or regular pruning.⁵⁰ In contrast, the literary sources attest that viticulture in and around Rome was influenced by adopting innovative elements from Greek and/or Punic viticulture, like planting vines in regular rows, grafting and pruning. In consequence, it can be assumed that the increase in pip size was probably due to the introduction of new – Roman – management practices. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence at Cetamura indicates that in this period Roman amphorae for transporting wine (Dressel 1 and Lamboglia 2 types) replaced those from Massalia and southern Italy.⁵¹

Even if the primary motivation for the adoption of new techniques for growing vines was mostly economic, it is clear that it affected both the constructed and perceived landscape. The altered cultivation procedures profoundly changed the appearance of vineyards but we can go a step further: if we follow T. Ingold, it is the “practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life” – what he calls *taskscape* – what structures the perception of landscape. Therefore, the much higher work load and the greater need to take care for the vines would result in new ways to look at and understand the Chianti region at that time.⁵²

The Cetamura example shows that the changed landscape in late Republican times started as an economic and cultural process and was independent of direct political or administrative inventions – in contrast to the *centuriatio*,

49 R. Aversano et al., ‘Dating the beginning of the Roman viticultural model in the western Mediterranean: the case Study of Chianti (Central Italy)’, *PLOS one* 12 (2017), 1–15 (accessed July 14 2020); the research was part of a larger field work project: N.T. de Grummond, *Cetamura del Chianti* (Austin 2020).

50 Aversano et al. 2017, op. cit. (n. 48), 11.

51 Aversano et al. 2017, op. cit. (n. 48), 11.

52 Ingold 1993, op. cit. (n. 18), 158.

which, of course, follows historical decisions and governmental regulations. Furthermore, we have to think of the pronounced regional differences which leave the general picture very ‘patchy’, thereby perfectly fitting the concept of a landscape consisting of places.

6 Some Final Theses

Instead of a conclusion some theses shall be put forward: firstly there is of course an *Impact of Empire* on the rural environment, but the direction in which the development is headed is not determined from the outset. The changes in Roman times do not all go in one direction, to more productivity or to more well-being. In the case of Molino San Vincenzo we could observe a contrary development: In relative terms, elaborate table-wares such as *bucchero*, gray ware and *vernice nera* vessels were more numerous in the early phase of Molino San Vincenzo, while the simple, locally and regionally produced tableware starts to dominate from the 2nd century BCE onwards.⁵³ The next settlement, Ponterotto, only 5 kms upstream the Pesa, however, shows a marked increase in the quality of material culture in the same period of time⁵⁴ These results prove the very fragmented and localized developments which allows – in terms of landscape archaeology – for the conceptualisation of various meaningful places.

Secondly, in contrast to former studies I argue that this impact should not be called “romanization of landscape” because the term romanization assumes both a conscious policy and a fixed goal for landscape transformation, which was surely not the case.⁵⁵ If we understand – following Knapp and Ashmore – landscape not only as constructed but also as conceptualized and ideational, northern Tuscany may similarly be understood as a landscape of “Etruscan memory”.⁵⁶

Thirdly, it is to be questioned if there are any regions and landscapes, at least in Italy, that were not affected by Roman impact. That may be true for ownership structures (which are hard to investigate archaeologically), but it

53 V. Schreck, *Die wirtschaftlichen Interaktionen im mittleren Arno-Tal am Beispiel der Keramik aus dem urbanen Zentrum von Empoli und den Siedlungen im Hinterland* (PhD thesis, Vienna 2018).

54 L. Alderighi and A. Pittari, ‘San Casciano in Val di Pesa (FI), l’insediamento rurale romano di Ponterotto’, *Notiziario della Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana* 9 (2014), 45–68.

55 See, for instance, Edmondson 1994, op. cit. (n. 35).

56 Knapp and Ashmore 1999, op. cit. (n. 7).

seems to be ruled out that the agricultural techniques and the crops cultivated remained unaltered given the integration into the developed economy of Roman Italy since the 1st cent. BCE at the latest.⁵⁷ As all inhabitants of a particular region were affected by living in the Roman Empire, their perception of the landscape they lived and worked in or travelled through was influenced by that fact even if they focus on decidedly non-Roman features. That applies, however, to the opposite as well: Although there is an impact of the Roman Empire on landscapes, it has to be negated that there was ever a (single type of) Roman landscape *per se*.⁵⁸

57 See the essays in Haas and Tol 2017, *op. cit.* (n. 47).

58 A classical case is Pausanias' description of Greece: J. Elsner, 'Pausanias: a Greek pilgrim in the Roman world', *P&P* 135 (1992), 3–29; W. Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge 2005).

Des territoires Celtiques aux cités Romaines en Gaule septentrionale

Xavier Deru et Rémi Auvertin

Par les listes de *ciuitates* gauloises septentrionale que nous livrent Pline ou Ptolémée, ou les référence à des *ciuitates*, *nationes* ou *pagi* mentionnés sur des inscriptions, apparaît une ambiguïté : la plupart des noms qui qualifient ces territoires sont des noms ethniques, déjà présents dans les *Commentaires* de César, et témoignant ainsi d'une continuité territoriale entre la fin de l'Âge du Fer et le Haut Empire. C'est pourquoi certains chercheurs prennent l'organisation territoriale romaine comme fond géographique à leur enquête sur la Gaule chevelue¹. St. Fichtl plaide lui-même pour une continuité forte : « À l'arrivée de César en Gaule, les différents peuples étaient organisés en *ciuitates* », *ciuitas* « dont une notion territoriale existe bel et bien », dès l'Âge du Fer². Le fait que César localise les peuples les uns par rapport aux autres ou en prenant des éléments naturels (rivières, forêts, etc.) et que cette localisation sommaire se comprend par rapport aux *ciuitates* du Haut Empire, plaide également en ce sens. Au contraire, Strabon indique que les « divisions administratives établies par les chefs d'état, varient selon l'opportunité ».

Faute de sources décisives, nous écarterons l'hypothèse d'une continuité stricte des territoires gaulois aux *ciuitates* romaines et partirons d'un postulat où les communautés indigènes ne s'identifient pas à un territoire, mais correspondent à des clans et des lignages, ayant une langue, des pratiques sociales, religieuses, productives et de consommations communes. Les territoires que ces communautés occupent ne sont *a priori* ni limitrophes, ni distincts, ni distants.

Si l'on rejette la posture d'une continuité, notre raisonnement reposera, lui aussi, sur plusieurs présupposés que l'on justifiera, sans pouvoir les prouver. Ainsi notre enquête reposera premièrement sur l'hypothèse de la transmission des territoires romains aux territoires ecclésiastiques médiévaux.

1 S. Hornung, *Siedlung und Bevölkerung in Ostgallien zwischen gallischem Krieg und der Festigung der Römische Herrschaft* (Francfort 2016).

2 S. Fichtl, *Les peuples gaulois. III^e-I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 2012), 5 ; 20.

Deuxièmement, on considèrera comme valide une série d'attributions de monnaies de la fin de l'Âge du Fer à des peuples particuliers et ensuite, en troisième lieu, sur la concordance entre les aires de circulation de ces monnaies et des territoires occupés par ces peuples. L'acceptation de ces trois présupposés nous permettra alors de comparer les territoires de la fin de l'Âge du Fer et ceux de la période romaine. Cette démarche fera apparaître l'impact faible ou fort, causé par Rome sur l'identité territoriale de ces peuples.

1 Les présupposés

1.1 *Les ciuitates romaines et les diocèses médiévaux*

La première étape de notre démarche comparative entre les périodes laténiennes et romaine passe par la restitution des limites des cités romaines de Gaule Belgique et de Germanie. En l'absence d'une documentation antique directe, le tracé de ces limites repose traditionnellement soit sur l'application de modèles spatiaux (principalement celui des polygones de Thiessen³), soit sur une démarche régressive. C'est cette dernière que nous avons retenue, s'appuyant sur le postulat d'une continuité territoriale entre cités antiques et diocèses médiévaux⁴. Ce postulat de continuité repose pour partie sur les actes conciliaires tardo-antiques : le concile de Nicée en 325 pose le cadre provincial comme référence pour l'installation des évêchés (Nicaen. Canon. 4) ; le concile de Sardique en 343 permet la formation de nouveaux diocèses, centrés sur les grandes villes de l'Empire (Conc. Sard. a. 343, can. 2.1.2) ; enfin, les conciles mérovingiens et carolingiens affirment à plusieurs reprises la stabilité des limites diocésaines face aux découpages territoriaux promulgués par les rois ou aux tensions entre évêques (par exemple Conc. Epaon. a. 517, can. 9 ;

3 La méthode est habituelle dans la recherche néerlandaise, de J.H.F. Bloemers, «Engels drop. Een poging tot ontleding van het romanisatieproces in Nederland», *Westerheem* 29 (1980), 152-173 à N. Roymans, *From the Sword to the Plough. Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul* (Amsterdam 1996). Pour une application récente, F. Vermeulen et D. Mlekuz, «Roman towns and the space between them: a view from northern *Picenum*», dans F. Vermeulen et al. (éds.), *Urban Landscape Survey in Italy and the Mediterranean* (Oxford 2012), 207-222.

4 L'approche régressive a pu être appliquée, ces dernières années, aux cités des Bituriges, des Éduens, des Arvernes, des Trévires, des Atrébates ou des Nerviens. Voir notamment la discussion de la méthode au sujet de la cité des Bituriges : F. Dumasy, «Les limites de la cité des Bituriges», dans C. Batardy, O. Buchsenschutz et Fr. Dumasy (éds.), *Le Berry antique : Atlas 2000* (Paris 2001), 21-23 ; C. Gandini et al. (éds.), «Limites et marqueurs du territoire. L'approche de la *ciuitas* des Bituriges Cubes», *Caesarodunum* 45-46 (2011-2012), 275-309.

Conc. Lugd. a. 518, can. 3 ; Conc. Aruern. a. 535, can. 10). Ce principe de continuité, régulièrement soutenu ou mis en doute par la recherche, constitue de fait le seul levier permettant la cartographie, même approximative, des cités antiques et constitue l'axiome soutenant la majorité des cartes employées par les archéologues et historiens de la Gaule romaine.

Alors que la cartographie des cités romaines s'est longtemps appuyée sur les cartes de diocèse établies à partir du XVI^e s. et sur l'histoire diocésaine, notre propre démarche repose sur la confrontation de trois niveaux de données au sein d'un système d'informations géographique intitulé « Atlas des provinces romaines de Belgique et de Germanie ». Le diocèse médiéval peut être précisément cartographié à partir du XIII^e s. et peut être comparé aux rares données antiques disponibles (routes, miliaires, sanctuaires, etc.). Considérant la rupture chronologique entre la période romaine et le Moyen Âge central et finissant, nous avons également ajouté, à la suite de B. et de R. Delmaire, une étape intermédiaire, celle du diocèse mérovingien⁵. Ce territoire, plus proche de la cité antique, n'est pas directement cartographiable mais peut être appréhendé à l'aide d'une autre catégorie territoriale mérovingienne, le *pagus*.

La confrontation des trois jeux de données, antique, mérovingien et médiéval, au sein du SIG, permet dès lors de proposer une restitution hypothétique des limites de cités antiques, fondée sur les plus anciennes sources disponibles (fig. 10.1 et 10.2). Par commodité et par habitude cartographique, par la suite, nous figurons ces limites sous forme de traits continus, bien que nous soyons conscients de l'existence de zones grises.

L'argumentation complète de la démarche régressive et la discussion des résultats pour la restitution des territoires antiques et alto-médiévaux, objets d'une communication au cours du colloque « Far West » tenu à Caen en 2018, seront abordés dans un article indépendant⁶.

5 R. Delmaire et B. Delmaire, « Les limites de la cité des Atrébates (nouvelle approche d'un vieux problème) », *Revue du Nord* 288 (1990), 697-735. Une application de cette étape intermédiaire est proposée dans X. Deru, « Cadres géographiques du territoire des Nerviens », *Revue du Nord* 383 (2009), 179-201.

6 R. Auvertin et X. Deru, « Déterminer les territoires de cités au sortir de la guerre des Gaules : méthodologie d'une enquête entre Seine et Rhin », dans *Far West : la Normandie antique et les marges nord-ouest de l'Empire romain (fin du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. -VI^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, colloque tenu à l'Université Caen Normandie et au musée départemental de Vieux-la-Romaine du 24 au 26 octobre 2018 (à venir).

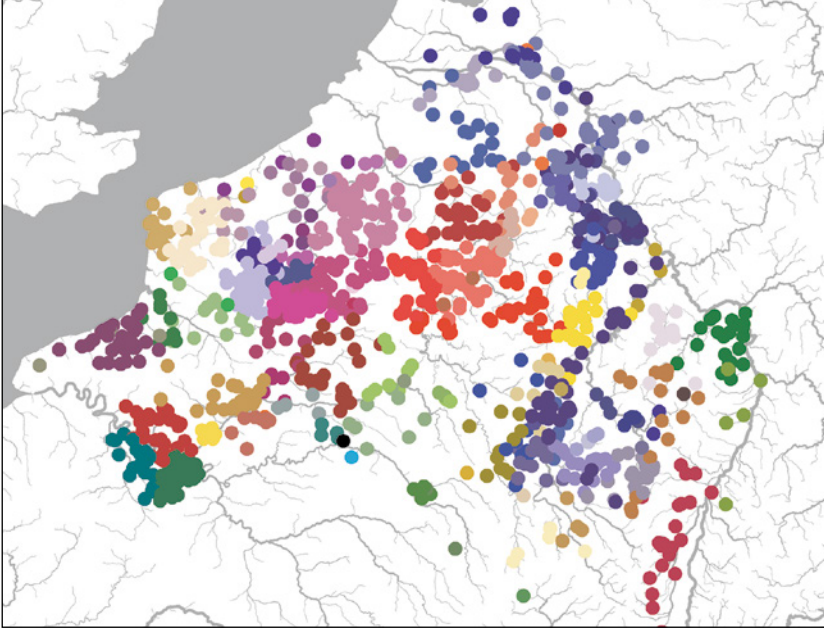


FIGURE 10.1 Localisation des lieux *in pago*, datant du Haut Moyen Âge
(© ABG)

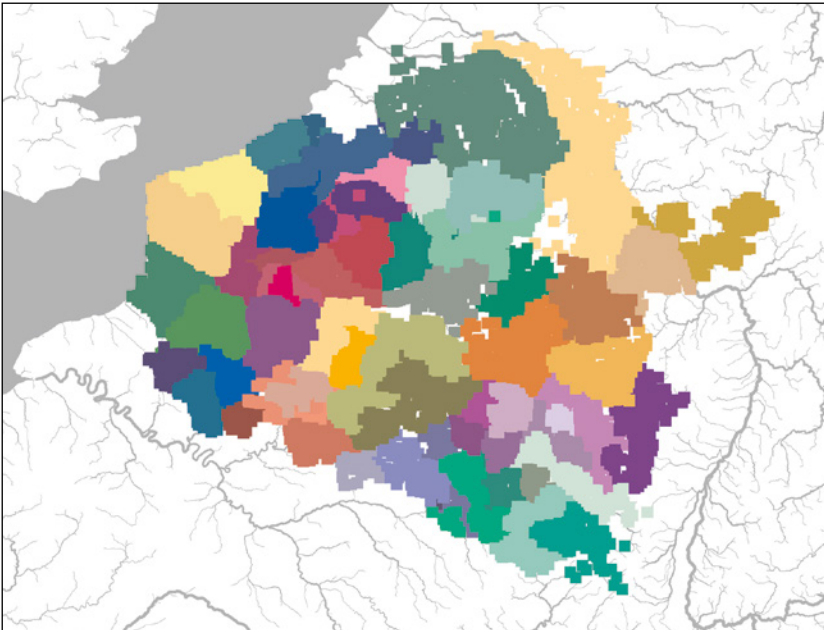


FIGURE 10.2 Localisation des paroisses médiévales par archidiaconé et diocèse
(© ABG)

1.2 *Les monnaies et les territoires gaulois*

Comme nous l'avons indiqué, notre démarche repose sur la similarité entre les aires de circulation monétaire et les emprises territoriales des peuples. Pour certains archéologues, les monnaies gauloises sont avant tout un moyen d'échange et un témoignage de la prospérité économique⁷. A l'Âge du Fer, l'économie restait cependant peu monétisée, mais quoi qu'il en soit, son rôle dans les échanges, s'il existait, ne porte pas préjudice à notre démarche, mais pourra être souligné ponctuellement.

Les monnaies gauloises ont fait l'objet de classification typologique à une date ancienne, mais pour la Gaule septentrionale, correspondant à la Belgique, la typologie de S. Scheers (Sch.) constitue la référence-clé⁸, malgré les mises à jour de G. Depeyrot ou de L.P. Delestrée et M. Tache (DT)⁹. L'attribution des types monétaires à un peuple nécessite une bonne représentativité de l'effectif et une répartition cohérente avec une *ciuitas* romaine. Il convient d'admettre que notre raisonnement est ici circulaire ; nous verrons qu'il s'agit seulement d'une étape qui ne nuit pas à l'enquête, ni à l'objectif poursuivi.

L'aire de circulation des monnaies peut cependant dépasser le territoire du peuple ou du prince qui les a émises. Des critiques justifiées sur la validité de la répartition des monnaies comme témoignage d'un territoire ethnique ont été formulées notamment par K. Gruel¹⁰. En réalité, comme l'a mis en perspective St. Martin, la production et la circulation monétaire dans le Centre-Est de la Gaule diffèrent de celles de la Belgique, qui se caractérisent par son morcellement¹¹.

On ignore évidemment si des lois fixent la circulation monétaire, comme dans certaines cités grecques, où règne l'exclusivité de l'usage de la monnaie locale¹². Toutefois, une règle générale veut que les monnaies de faible valeur intrinsèque, en bronze ou en potin, gagnent en valeur fiduciaire, mais

7 Hornung 2016, op. cit. (n. 1), 263.

8 S. Scheers, *Traité de numismatique celtique. II. La Gaule Belgique* (Paris 1977).

9 G. Depeyrot, *Numéraire celtique. VI. De la Manche au Soissonnais* (Wetteren 2005); G. Depeyrot, *Numéraire celtique. VII. La Gaule orientale* (Wetteren 2005); « Chronique numismatique », *Revue du Nord – Archéologie*, jusqu'à aujourd'hui ; *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* avec une liste : <https://www.aibl.fr/publications/collections/carte-archeologique-de-la-gaule/?lang=fr> (dernier accès : 23 mars 2021) ; L.P. Delestrée et M. Tache, *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloise. De la Seine au Rhin* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye 2002).

10 K. Gruel, « Monnaies et territoires » dans D. Garcia et F. Verdin (éds.), *Territoires celtiques. Actes du XXIV^e colloque de l'AFEAF, Martigues juin 2000* (Paris 2002), 205-212.

11 S. Martin, *Du statère au sesterce : monnaie et romanisation dans la Gaule du Nord et de l'est, III^e a.C.-1^{er} s. p.C.* (Bordeaux 2015).

12 C. Lauwers, *Production et usages monétaires en Gaule du Nord (III^e s. avant J.-C.-IX^e s. après J.-C.)* (Bruxelles 2018).

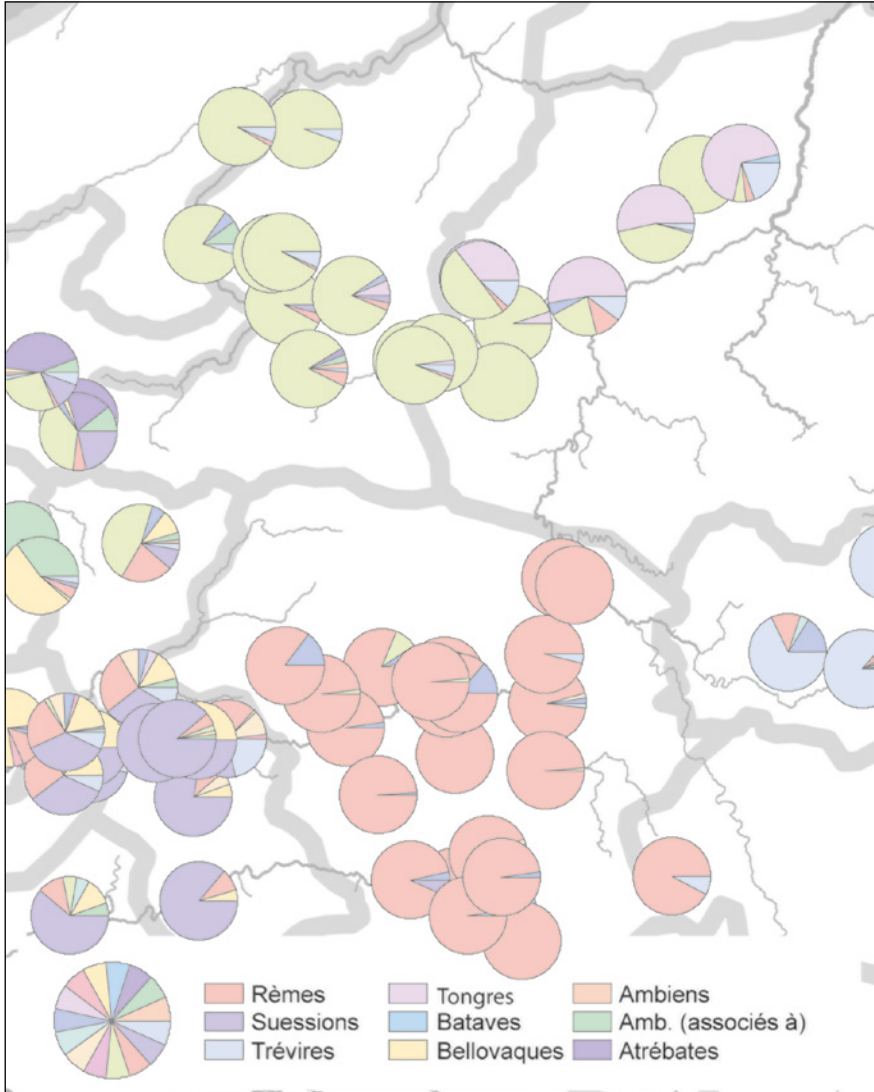


FIGURE 10.3 Effectifs monétaires par peuple pour les sites les mieux dotés
(© ABG)

uniquement dans le territoire du pouvoir émetteur. Pour cette raison, nous privilégierons celles-ci au détriment de l'or et de l'argent. De plus, la division des peuples devait entraver les échanges entre leur territoire. Sur la première carte est illustré le centre de la Belgique avec les sites ayant livré plus de vingt-quatre monnaies (fig. 10.3). On observe la nette majorité des monnaies soit rèmes, soit suessionnes, soit nerviennes, etc. sur des sites regroupés dans des régions

circonscrites, ce qui témoigne de la faible circulation des monnaies d'un peuple à l'autre.

Les aires de circulation monétaires seront donc principalement appréhendées par les monnaies de faibles valeurs, nombreuses et bien réparties ; des frappes d'une même période, de la fin de l'indépendance ou postérieure à la Guerre sont associées. Ces monnaies sont répertoriées au sein notre SIG dans une table typologique et une autre d'inventaire. 50 033 monnaies sont ainsi répertoriées, cet inventaire a débuté par le dépouillement critique des volumes de G. Depeyrot et d'autres volumes synthétiques¹³ ; nous citerons ensuite quelques publications-clés liées à des peuples particuliers. Pour chaque peuple, nous en avons projeté les trouvailles individuelles et fusionné celles-ci par site ; les effectifs sont repris dans tableau 10.1; ensuite, nous avons calculé l'aire de densité des lieux de découverte selon la méthode des noyaux (spatial Analyst, ArcGis) selon l'optimisation statistique du logiciel, enfin ces aires de densité sont illustrées par des isolignes. Toutes les cartes sont à la même échelle et présentent en filigranes l'emprise des cités et le réseau hydrographique. Sur chacune d'elles, une aire de densité principale apparaît sur une zone géographique cohérente, mais il est évident que des aires résiduelles demeurent à cause de sites où le monnayage est très volumineux, mais qui, à cause de cela, compte toujours quelques monnaies exogènes.

2 Les aires de circulations monétaires

Un premier cas illustre la validité de notre démarche, puisque les Rèmes ont frappé des monnaies sur lesquels l'ethnique est donné : REMO. Par cela, trois types sont assurément attribuées à ce peuple¹⁴. La monnaie REMO REMO (Sch. 146) est le type le plus abondant et celui qui présente l'aire de distribution la plus vaste et la plus dense, notamment parce que sa circulation se poursuit au début de la période romaine (fig. 10.4A). L'aire de circulation s'inscrit dans le territoire de la cité romaine, en débordant dans la vallée de l'Aisne, soit pour des raisons économiques, soit à cause des relations de clientèles entre les Rèmes et les Suessions.

13 J.L. Dengis, *Trouvailles et trésors monétaires en Belgique. VI. Les monnaies gauloises* (Wetteren 2010) ; Depeyrot 2005, op. cit. (n. 9). « Chronique numismatique », *Revue du Nord – Archéologie*, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, op. cit. (n. 9) ; *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*, op. cit. (n. 9) pour les trouvailles monétaires.

14 J.-M. Doyen, *Structure et dynamique des flux monétaires chez les Rèmes : modélisation d'un traceur socio-économique entre 275/250 av. et 68 apr. J.-C.*, Habilitation à Diriger les Recherches, Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis, 11 décembre 2014.

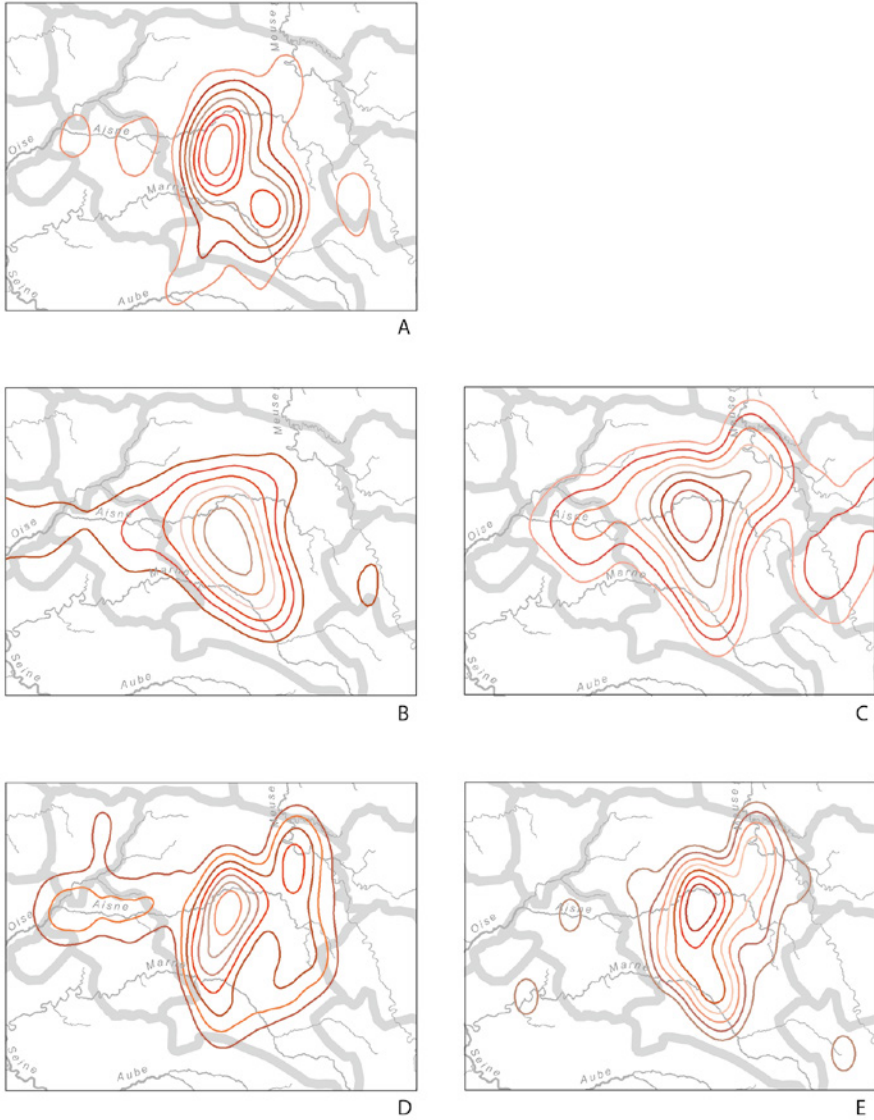


FIGURE 10.4 Densité de la répartition des monnaies des Rèmes (A. Sch. 146 ; B. Sch. 191 ; C. Sch. 194 ; D. Sch. 147 ; E. Sch. 151)
(© ABG)

Si l'on prend les monnaies rèmes les plus communes, antérieures à la Guerre des Gaules (Sch. 191/192 et Sch. 194/195 ; fig. 10.4B/C) ou postérieures à celle-ci (Sch. 147 et Sch. 151 ; fig. 10.4D/E), la distribution est identique dans les lignes générales et couvrent les deux tiers de la cité romaine. Il convient de noter que le nord-ouest et le sud-est de la cité ne sont pas recouverts, point sur lequel nous reviendrons plus tard.

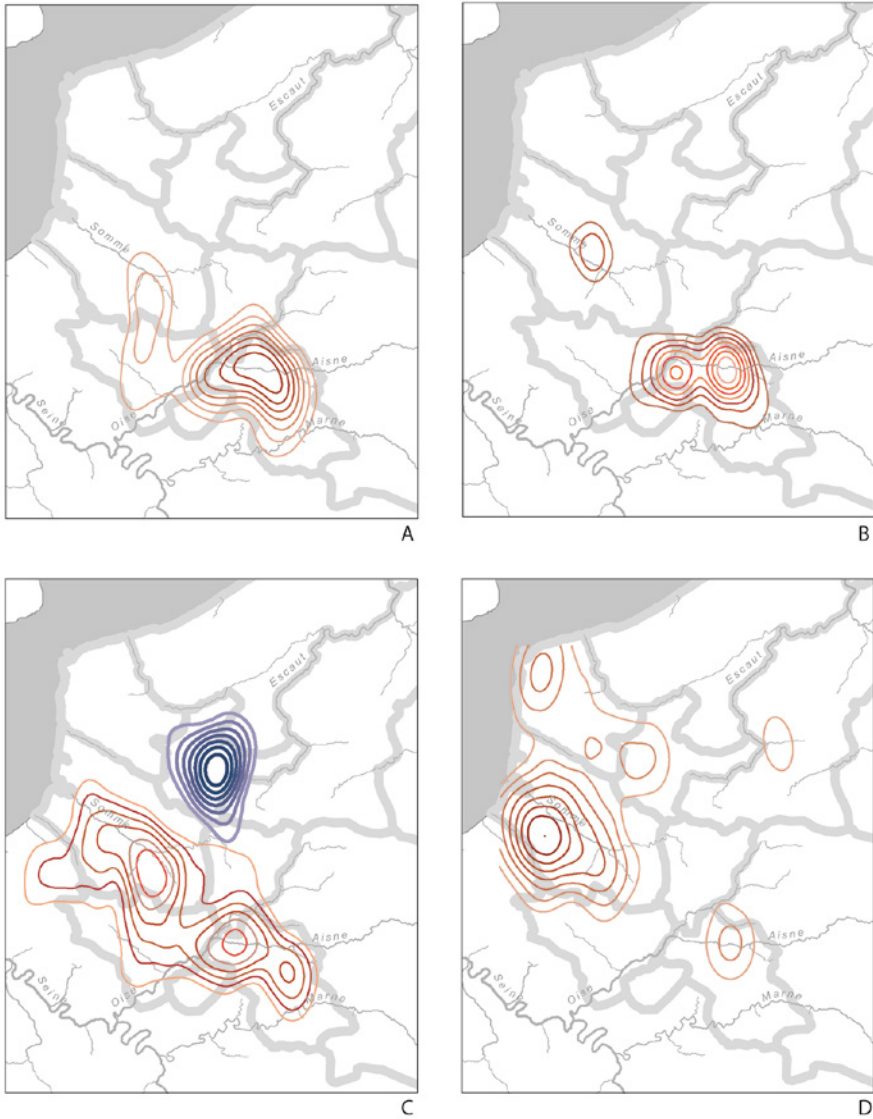


FIGURE 10.5 Densité de la répartition des monnaies des Suessions (A. Sch. 27A ; B. Sch. 196), des Bellovaques et des Atrébates au nord (C) et des Ambiens (D)
(© ABG)

Des Suessions, trois types ont été sélectionnés à partir du nombre d'occurrences. Les monnaies de Cricironus (Sch. 27 ; fig. 10.5A) et celles de Diviciacos (types Sch. 155/157, non ill.) sont antérieures à la Guerre, les types Sch. 196/197 sont, quant à eux, postérieures (fig. 10.5B). L'aire majeure des découvertes se circonscrit à l'Aisne ; elle ne s'étend pas au territoire rème, ce qui va à l'encontre des relations de clientèle, alors que son débordement en aval, sur le territoire

des Bellovaques s'explique par le sens du courant. Un fait particulier est l'absence de ces monnaies au sud de la Marne que César avait d'ailleurs donné comme limite à la Belgique.

Les monnayages en bronze des Bellovaques (Sch. 120-130/135/163 ; fig. 10.5C) ont été rassemblés sur une seule carte. A moins qu'il y ait des erreurs d'attribution, ce que nous ne croyons pas, car pris séparément, chaque type présente la même répartition, les monnayages s'étendent largement sur le territoire des Suessions et celui des Ambiens.

De même, nous avons sélectionné plusieurs types monétaires en bronze qui appartiennent vraisemblablement aux Ambiens et qui datent d'avant la Guerre : Sch. 24 cl.7, 80d ; DT245/246/384/389/395/415/468/472-475 (fig. 10.5D). Ces monnaies recouvrent la *ciuitas* romaine, mais s'étendent aussi vers le nord, sur le territoire des Morins, dans l'arrière-pays de la Manche.

Plus à l'est, les Atrébates ont une série monétaire intéressante¹⁵. En particulier, les monnaies au nom de Commios (Sch. 45/47), leur roi, tantôt allié, tantôt ennemi de César, se localisent sur le territoire de la cité et plus au nord (non illustré). Toutes les monnaies antérieures à la Guerre des Gaules, qu'elles soient en or, en argent et en bronze ont été réunies pour des raisons statistiques : Sch. 11, 45-47 et 136 (fig. 10.5C). Elles montrent aussi la densité la plus forte sur l'emprise de la cité romaine.

Plus que les Atrébates, les Nerviens ont été fortement affectés lors de la Guerre. C'est pour ce peuple que notre démarche a été pour la première fois appliquée¹⁶. La distribution des monnaies en potin et en bronze (Sch. 145 and 190 ; fig. 10.6A/B) semble se concentrer dans le Hainaut, alors que le Cambrésis au sud et le plateau brabançon au nord en sont dépourvues. La limite entre le Hainaut et le Cambrésis est marquée par la Selle, un affluent de l'Escaut identifié au *Sabis*, rivière où s'est tenue la terrible bataille de 57 avant J.-C. Au contraire, si les monnaies dépassent les limites de la cité, elles se distribuent sur un axe est-ouest, dans la partie méridionale de la cité des Ménapiens et chez les Atuatuques, jusqu'à la Meuse.

Comme les statères en or, les monnaies en bronze (Sch. 58, 217 and 165 ; fig. 10.7A) présentent deux cœurs, l'un sur le Waal, dans le territoire des Bataves, l'autre plus en amont sur la Meuse, chez les Eburons, les Atuatuques ou les Tongres selon la datation des monnaies.¹⁷

15 D. Gricourt, « Les monnayages tardifs des Atrébates, témoins de la destinée éphémère d'un royaume celto-romain », dans J. van Heesch et I. Heeren (éds.), *Coinage in the Iron Age. Essays in honour of Simone Scheers* (Londres 2009), 123-153.

16 Deru 2009, op. cit. (n. 5).

17 S. Scheers, « Frappe et circulation monétaire sur le territoire de la future Civitas Tungrorum », *RBelgNum* 142 (1996), 5-51 ; N. Roymans, G. Creemers et S. Scheers (éds.), *Late Iron Age gold*



FIGURE 10.6 Densité de la répartition des monnaies des Nerviens (A. Sch. 145 ; B. 190)
(© ABG)

Les monnayages des Trévires bénéficient du travail de Loscheider¹⁸. Les monnaies en bronze et en potin du premier horizon (Sch. 199-201 ; fig. 10.7B) se répartissent sur l'ensemble de la cité romaine et au-delà jusqu'au Rhin. Les monnaies en or et en argent montent également vers le nord, au travers des Ardennes, ce qui correspond au texte de César qui indique d'une part, que les Trévires sont voisins du Rhin et d'autre part, que les Condruses et les Pémanes vivent sous leur protection¹⁹. A la différence des monnaies anciennes, les monnaies postérieures à la Guerre (Sch. 30A et 162 ; fig. 10.7C/D) montrent une réduction de leur circulation, limitée à l'emprise de la *ciuitas*. Cette rétraction peut s'expliquer par la militarisation du Rhin dans la seconde moitié du 1er s. avant J.-C.

Pour terminer ce tour de la Belgique, nous pouvons remonter le cours de la Moselle et aborder le massif vosgien. Ce territoire devait être occupé par les Médiomatriques et les Leuques, peuples pratiquement absents des

hoards from the low countries and the Caesarian conquest of Northern Gaul (Amsterdam 2012) ; N. Roymans et J. Aarts, « Coin use in a dynamic frontier region. Late Iron Age coinages in the Lower Rhine Area », *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 1 (2009), 5-26.

18 R. Loscheider, « Untersuchungen zum spätlatènezeitlichen Münzwesen des Trevererlandes », *AMosel* 3 (1998), 63-225. Complété par F. Reinert, « La numismatique celtique au Luxembourg. Une réactualisation après 30 ans de fouilles et prospections archéologiques », dans J. van Heesch et I. Heeren (éds.), *Coinage in the Iron Age : Essays in Honour of Simone Scheers* (Londres 2009), 337-361. D. Wigg, *Koblenz : Der Martberg bei Pommern (Ehem. Cochem)* (Mayence 2005) ; D. Wigg-Wolf, « The coin finds from the Donnersberg, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany », dans Heesch et Heeren 2009, op. cit. (n. 18), 399-419. D. Krausse, *Eisenzeitlicher Kulturwandel und Romanisierung im Mosel-Eifel-Raum: Die keltisch-römische Siedlung von Wallendorf und ihr archäologisches Umfeld* (Mayence 2006).

19 Hornung 2016, op. cit. (n. 1), 267-269 ; Scheers 1996, op. cit. (n. 17).

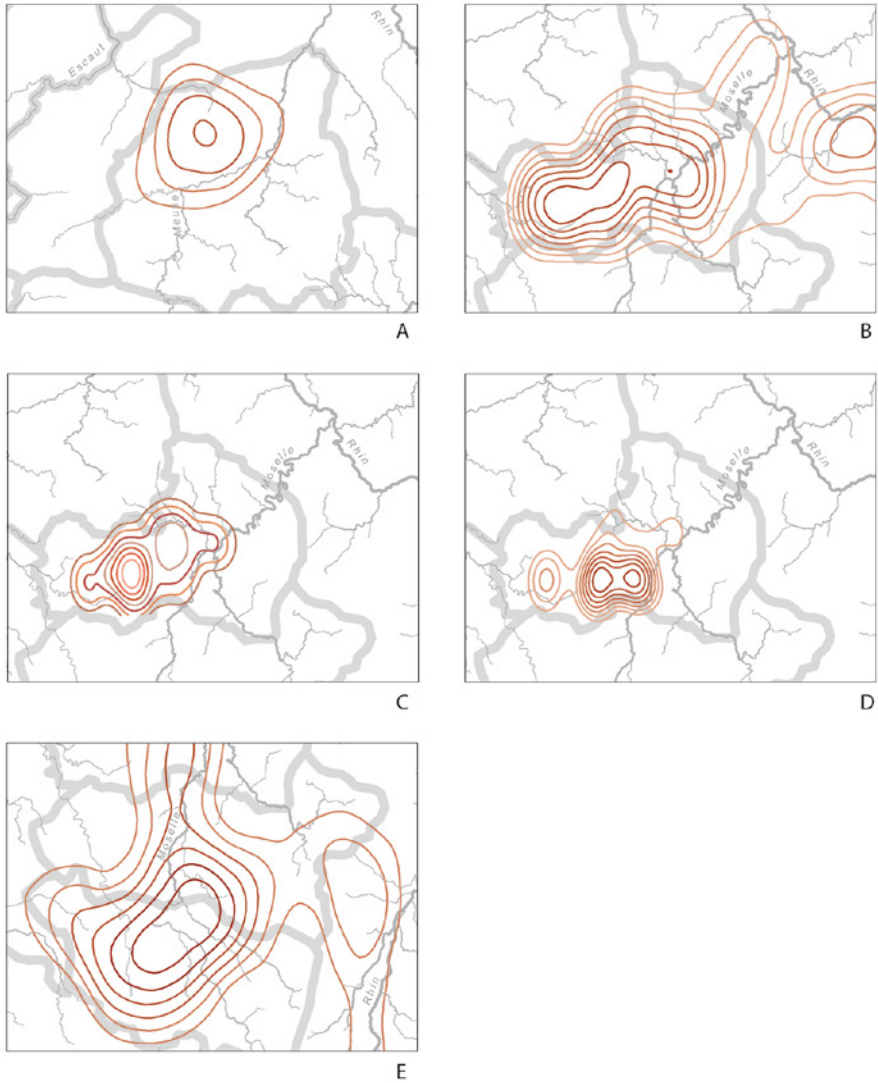


FIGURE 10.7 Densité de la répartition des monnaies des Eburons/Tongres (A. Sch. 58, 165 et 217), des Trévires (B. Sch. 199 ; C. Sch. 162 ; D. Sch. 30A) et des Médiomatriques/Leuques (E. Sch. 186)
(© ABG)

commentaires de César et qu'il est donc difficile de caractériser²⁰. Comme Cl. Féliu²¹, nous pouvons utiliser le potin « au sanglier » (Sch. 186 ; fig. 10.7E),

20 Hornung 2016, op. cit. (n. 1), 375-428.

21 C. Féliu, « Monnaies et frontières dans la vallée du Rhin supérieur à La Tène finale », dans M. Schönfelder et S. Sievers (éds.), *L'Âge du Fer entre la Champagne et la vallée du Rhin*.

une monnaie antérieure à la Guerre, comme indicateur du territoire de ces peuples. La circulation couvre un territoire cohérent qui s'étend ensuite vers le nord, suivant le cours de la Moselle. On retrouve également cette monnaie chez les Rèmes, peut-être à cause d'une similarité typologique²².

3 Leçons

Au préalable de la cartographie des peuples de la Belgique, il faut rappeler que faute de données statistiques fiables, les Morins, les Viromanduels ou les Silvanectes n'y ont pas été figurés, comme également, les peuples clients auxquels on n'a pas pu attribuer de monnaies. De plus, tous les peuples n'ont pas émis ou utilisé de monnaies.

Débarassé d'une croyance en une continuité stricte qui permettrait de restituer les territoires de la fin de l'Âge du Fer à partir de la période romaine, mais en posant, il est vrai d'autres présupposés, nous pouvons proposer quelques éléments nouveaux pour la restitution de ces territoires ou pour comprendre comment l'impérialisme romain a réorganisé les territoires et les peuples conquis.

La carte synthétique tend à montrer que la totalité du territoire de l'Âge du Fer n'est pas partagée entre chaque peuple (fig. 10.8), que de vastes zones, comme la plaine maritime, l'Argonne ou le massif des Ardennes sont peu densément occupés et que les placer sous l'autorité d'un peuple particulier est sans doute inutile. La contiguïté des territoires et la présence de frontières ne sont donc pas, à l'Âge du Fer, des éléments nécessaires. Il est toutefois certain que dans les zones où l'occupation est plus forte, les territoires pouvaient avoir des populations mêlées, ou des frontières marquées dans le paysage, par tel relief, rivière ou zone humide.

Dans la partie occidentale, dans le *Belgium*, la création des *ciuitates* témoigne d'une grande continuité, en particulier pour les Atrébatés, les Ambiens, les Bellovaques et les Suessions. Pour ces derniers, il semble que leur territoire ait été élargi vers le sud, au-delà de la Marne. Cet accroissement du territoire se voit également pour les Nerviens qui ont également obtenu le statut de cité libre, en vue peut-être d'y restaurer un développement démographique et économique. La cité fédérée des Rèmes est également plus large que l'aire de circulation monétaire, notamment au sud et au nord. Il convient de signaler que

Actes du XXXIV^e colloque de l'AFEAF, Mai 2010 (Mayence 2012), 459-467 ; J.P. Lagadec, « La circulation monétaire celtique en Lorraine », *Archaeologia Mosellana* 3 (1998), 9-60 ; E. Mériel, « La circulation monétaire celtique en Alsace », *RAE* 51 (2001-2002), 215-250.

22 J.-M. Doyen, commentaire personnelle.

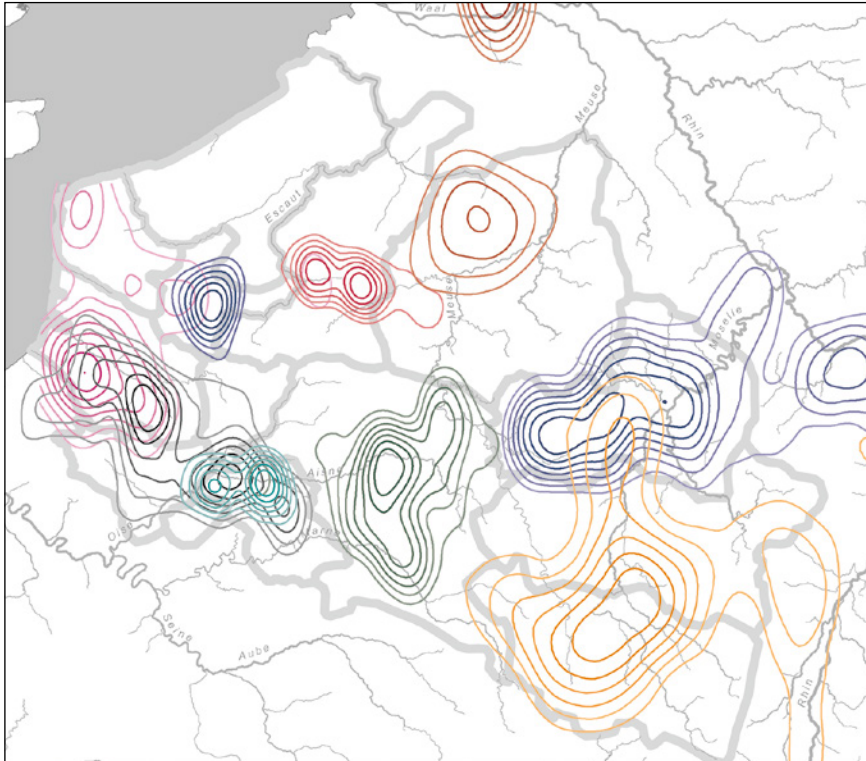


FIGURE 10.8 Synthèse des cartes 4-7
(© ABG)

la partie sud, dans l'Antiquité tardive, constituera une cité propre, celle des Catuvelaunes et la partie nord, deviendra au Ve s. un diocèse particulier, celui de Laon. On pourrait considérer que pour des raisons opposées, Nerviens et Rèmes ont bénéficié de la politique romaine de reconstruction.

A l'est, les ruptures semblent plus significatives. Les Eburons ont été exterminés pendant la Guerre et bien que le chef-lieu, Tongres, s'appelle Atuatuca, les Atuatuques, eux-mêmes, n'ont pas nommé la cité. La *ciuitas tungrorum* intègre les territoires de ces peuples, mais également ceux au sud de la Meuse, le Condroz et la Famenne, qui étaient auparavant sous l'influence des Trévires. Nous sommes peut-être dans une situation proche, mais plus accentuée, de celle des Nerviens. Les Trévires apparaissent comme ceux ayant perdu le plus grand territoire : au nord, nous venons de l'indiquer, mais aussi à l'est, puisque la zone rhénane leur a été retirée au profit de l'autorité militaire. Malgré cette perte, la *ciuitas* est devenue l'une des plus puissante de Belgique, devenant une colonie, le siège du procurateur et un pôle économique clé sur la Moselle.

4 Conclusion

Bien que Rome ait nommé les nouveaux territoires en se référant aux peuples indigènes, le degré de continuité doit être discuté. Rome a apporté une division globale et totale du territoire, avec des entités limitrophes, ayant un statut juridique spécifique. Le paysage est maintenant divisé et borné. Rome a recréé ces territoires au cas par cas, en jouant sur la continuité, la recomposition ou la négociation, en privilégiant certains au détriment d'autres. L'identité auparavant fondée sur la généalogie, la religion, la langue et la coutume, se définit maintenant par rapport à la cité ; c'est en son sein, comme entité de l'empire, que les communautés vont redéfinir leur culture.

TABLE 10.1 Effectif des monnaies par peuple et par type. Nombre total de monnaies, Nombre maximum de monnaie sur un site ; Nombre moyen de monnaies par sites ; Nombre total de sites

Peuples	Types (Scheers, DT)	Total	Max.	Moyen.	Sites
Ambiens	24 cl.7, 8od; DT245/.../472-475	50	7	1,6	31
Bellovaque	120-130/135/163	1153	221	8,8	131
Rèmes	146	1144	187	6,6	173
	191/192	1860	195	5,5	337
	194/195	825	142	7,3	112
	147	652	134	9,8	66
	151	906	191	14,3	63
Suessions	27 (AE)	1490	1084	19,8	75
	196/197	569	496	14,2	40
Atrébates	11, 45-47, 136	170	25	2,1	79
Nerviens	145	166	24	2,5	67
	190	1367	237	5,4	253
Trevires	199-201	798	451	8,7	91
	30A cl. 2-5	2098	1540	33,3	63
	162	810	727	22,5	36
Eburons	58, 165 et 217	1557	382	11	141
Médiom., Leuques	186	2903	561	13,6	212

Adluvionum ea natura est, ut semper incerta possessio sit: Picturing and Regulating Alluvial Lands in Nov. Theod. 20

Francesco Bono

Around 214 CE, Aurelius Hierax and the heirs of Aline, habitants of Hermopolis, petitioned to the basilikogrammateos of the Hermopolites.¹ The petition concerned their vineyard, which was situated near the Nile.² The river had eroded part of their property and the owners asked the official to estimate the size of the field once more because they did not want to pay taxes for the surface destroyed by the overflow of the Nile. We do not know from the papyrus whether or not the petition found favour with the magistrate and was approved, but we can be sure that such a tax-related situation was rather common in Egypt.

It is not surprising that in the Padus valley, soil erosion as a consequence of the flooding of the river caused harm to the land of landholders. Agennius Urbicus, a Roman land surveyor (*gromaticus*),³ mentioned that the Padus river could cause different types of damages. For example, when it left its bed, it could burst through the middle of someone's farm and create an island between its old and new course. The landholder now had a river flowing in the middle of in his land and consequently he suffered a loss of arable land.⁴

From Egypt to Gallia Cisalpina, rivers showed their power. In some cases, they could be destructive, in other cases, they could increase the area of arable land. Clearly, water resources involved a great number of regulations and had a great impact on the daily of Roman citizens: from the management of land and relations between neighbours, to legal disputes caused by the river's course.⁵

Natural phenomena, in general, were taken in consideration by Roman jurists. They seemed to be very conscious of the different ways in which water

1 On this administrative office see, D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993), 247.

2 P. Lond. 3.934 p. XLVII. Cf. G. Bastianni, 'La corrente del Nilo', *Tyche* 1 (1986), 5–11.

3 G. Chouquer and F. Favory, *Les arpenteurs romains. Théorie et pratique* (Paris 1992); G. Chouquer, *L'arpentage romain. Histoire des textes, droit, techniques* (Paris 2001); B. Campbell, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary* (London 2000).

4 Agenn. 82.21

5 E.g. C.J. Bannon, *Gardens and Neighbors: Private Water Rights in Roman Italy*. (Ann Arbor 2009) and n. 6 and 10 below for further references.

modified the landscape and how many consequences resulted from the change of a river's course. Gaius, the author of the most famous introduction to Roman law, carefully describes several legal problems that rivers could create.⁶ For the following discussion, some definitions are needed, similar to what Gaius did. Especially the terms *alluvio*, *avulsio*, *insula in flumine nata* and *alvei mutatio* need precision.⁷ Not only Gaius, but also jurists in general, asked themselves the delicate question of the instability of river courses and how to translate this instability into rules of law.⁸

Similar to jurists, emperors paid much attention to alluvial lands.⁹ The Flavian emperors had initiated a very extensive revision of the cadastral system, which would then continue under the Antonini. The imperial government dealt with the problems connected to the assignment or possession of lands near the rivers and with the questions related to the registration of these lands in the cadastral plans. The problem, however, was not solved and in late antiquity such regulations would continue. It is these late-antique regulations that I have chosen to analyse.¹⁰ In particular, I will focus on *Novella*

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- 6 On alluvial increments: P. Maddalena, *Gli incrementi fluviali nella visione della giurisprudenza classica* (Napoli 1970); L. Maganzani, 'I fenomeni fluviali e la situazione giuridica del suolo rivierasco: tracce di un dibattito giurisprudenziale', *Jus* 44 (1997), 343–390; L. Maganzani, 'Ripae fluminis e dissesti idrogeologici a Roma: fra indagine geomorfologica e riflessione giurisprudenziale', *Jus* 57 (2010), 175–193; C. Masi Doria, 'Droit e nature: *inundatio, mutatio alvei et interitus rei*. Un cas entre *ius Romanorum* et *tradition romain*', in M. Clavel Leveque and E. Hermon (eds.), *Espaces integres et ressources naturelles dans l'empire romain* (Besancon 2004), 201–218; P. Castillo Pascual, 'El rio y sus paisajes: los genera per alluvionem de agrimensores y juristas', *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 79 (2013), 221–233; S. Barbati, 'Riflessioni sull'alluvione e sugli altri fenomeni fluviali, anche a margine della riforma apportata dalla l. 37/1994', *Index* 43 (2014), 218–293.
- 7 Dig. 41.1.7pr-5 (Gai. 2 *rer. cott.*), but also Gai. *inst.* 2.70–72 (text and translation below n. 21).
- 8 Dig. 6.1.34 (Iul. 7 *Dig.*); Dig. 6.2.11.7 (Ulp. 16 *ad Ed.*); Dig. 7.1.9.1–6 (Ulp. 17 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 7.1.9.4 (Ulp. 17 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 7.1.33.1 (Pap. 17 *Quaest.*); Dig. 7.4.24pr. (Iav. 3 *ex post. Lab.*); Dig. 12.6.15pr. (Paul. 10 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 13.7.18.1 (Paul. 29 *ad Ed.*); Dig. 18.6.7pr. (Paul. 5 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 19.1.13.14 (Ulp. 32 *ad Ed.*); Dig. 21.2.15pr. (Paul. 5 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 21.2.64.1–2 (Pap. 7 *Quaest.*); Dig. 23.3.4 (Paul. 6 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 38.2.44.2 (Pomp. 5 *Quaest.*); Dig. 41.1.12pr. (Call. 2 *inst.*); Dig. 41.1.16 (Flor. 6 *inst.*); Dig. 41.1.29 (Paul. 16 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 41.1.30 (Pomp. 34 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 41.1.38 (Alf. 4 *dig. a Paulo epit.*); Dig. 41.1.56pr-1 (Proc. 8 *Epist.*); Dig. 41.1.65 (Lab. 6 *pithanon a Paulo epit.*); Dig. 41.10.2 (Paul. 54 *ad Ed.*); Dig. 43.12.3 pr-2 (Paul. 16 *ad Sab.*); Dig. 43.12.1 (Ulp. 68 *ad Ed.*); Dig. 43.20.3.2 (Pomp. 34 *ad Sab.*).
- 9 Cod. Iust. 7.41.1; Cod. Iust. 7.41.2.
- 10 S. Barbati, 'Brevi note su natura ed effetti giuridici dell'alluvione in una *lex* di Teodosio II del 440', *Jus* 2 (2014), 349–378; S. Tarozzi, *Alluvioni e paludi: strategie d'intervento dell'amministrazione tardo antica*, in *Ravenna capitale. Il diritto delle acque nell'Occidente tardo antico: utilità comune e interessi privati* (Santarcangelo di Romagna 2018), 51–52.

Theodosiana 20 of 21st September 440,¹¹ an imperial *epistula* addressed to Cyrus, Praetorian Prefect.¹²

Impp. Theodosius et Valentinianus aa. Cyro praefecto praetorio et consuli designato.

Suggestionibus tui culminis semper magnum aliquid rei publicae conferendi materia ministratur, semper nobis aliquid porrigitur emendandum. Quanta itaque magnitudinis tuae provincialium cura est, per eas quoque non dubie declaratur.

Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian Augustuses to Cyrus, Praetorian Prefect and Consul Designate.

By the reports of Your Eminence the material is always afforded to Us for conferring some great advantage upon the State; something is always presented to Us for correction. It is therefore undoubtedly made manifest through these reports also how great is the solicitude of Your Magnitude for the provincials.

11 The importance of this *Novella* is further attested by the fact that some of its parts are inserted in the *Codex Iustinianus*: Cod. Iust. 7.41.3 *Ea, quae per adluuionem sive in Aegypto per Nilum sive in aliis provinciis per diversa flumina possessoribus adquiruntur, neque ab aerario vendi neque a quolibet peti nec separatim censerī vel functiones exigi hac perpetuo lege valitura sancimus, ne vel adluuionum ignorare vitia vel rem noxiam possessoribus videamur indicare.* 1. *Similiter ne ea quidem, quae paludibus antea vel pascuis videbantur adscripta, si sumptibus possessorum nunc ad frugum fertilitatem translata sunt, vel vendi vel peti vel quasi fertilia separatim censerī vel functiones exigi concedimus, ne doleant diligentes operam suam agri dedisse culturae nec diligentiam suam sibi damnosam intellegant.* 2. *Cuius legis temeratores quinquaginta librarum auri condemnatione coerceri decernimus: inter quos habendum est officium quoque tuae sedis excelsae, si aliquid eiusmodi suggesserit disponendum vel si preces instruxerit petitoris.* Transl. by B.W. Frier: "We ordain by this perpetually valid law that property which is acquired by possessors through alluvium, whether in Egypt because of the Nile or in other provinces because of various rivers, shall not be sold by Treasury nor claimed by anyone, nor shall it be separately assessed or compelled to obligations. In this way We will not seem to overlook the defects of alluvial lands or to impose something injurious on possessors. Similarly, We do not permit even those lands formerly assigned to swamp or pasture but which have been made agriculturally productive through the outlays of possessors to be sold or claimed or separately assessed or compelled to obligation as fertile lands, lest the diligent lament the efforts they expended in cultivating them and witness their diligence turned into loss. We decree that violators of this law shall be punished by a fine of 50 pounds of gold. Among them are to be considered the members of your official staff if they suggest any such disposition or prepare a petition of a claimant."

12 *PLRE* II, 336–339.

1. *Adluvionum, quae contingere solent in praediis quae ripis quorundam fluminum terminantur, ea natura est, ut semper incerta possessio, incertum sit eius dominium quod possessori per alluvionem adcrecit. Nam quod hodie possidemus nonnumquam altero die vicini fundi dominio in alteram fluminis ripam translatum acquiritur nec tamen apud quem adcrecit semper remanet acquisitum, sed plerumque redit ad priorem dominum cum augmento, saepe nec ad posteriorem manet nec ad priorem redit, sed in harenam fluminis inundatione dissolvitur.*

2. *Ideo suggestionem tui culminis admittentes non Aegyptiis solis nec de Nili tantum adluvionibus loquimur, sed quod salubre est orbi terrarum atque omnibus provinciis promulgamus. Et ea, quae per adluvionem possessoribus adquiruntur, neque ab aerario vendi neque a quolibet peti nec separatim censi vel functiones exigi hac perpetuo lege valitura sancimus, ne vel adluvionum ignorare vitia vel rem noxiam possessoribus videamur indicere.*

1. The nature of alluvial lands, which customarily arise in the case of the landed estates that are bounded by the banks of certain rivers, is such that possession of such lands is always uncertain, and the ownership is uncertain of that land which accrues to a landholder through alluvion. For what we possess today is sometimes transferred the next day to the other bank of the river and to the owner ship of a neighboring farm and is thus acquired by such farm. However, such land does not always remain in the possession of the person to whom it accrued and by whom it was acquired, but it often returns with an increase to the former owner. Often it does not remain with the later owner nor return to the former owner, but it is dissolved by the inundation of the river into the sands of the river.

2. Therefore We accept the report of Your Eminence, and We are not speaking of Egypt alone or only about the alluvial lands of the Nile, but what We promulgate is salutary for the world and for all the provinces. We sanction by this law which shall be valid forever that those lands that are acquired by landholders through alluvion shall neither be sold by the treasury nor petitioned for by any person whatever, and they shall not be separately assessed nor shall compulsory public services be exacted of them. Thus We shall not appear to disregard the disadvantages of the alluvial lands nor to impose a regulation that is hurtful to the landholders.

3. *Similiter nec ea quidem, quae paludibus antea vel pascuis videbantur adscripta, si sumptibus ac laboribus possessorum nunc ad frugum fertilitatem translata sunt, vel vendi vel peti vel quasi fertilia separatim censeri vel functiones exigi concedimus, ne doleant diligentes operam suam agri dedisse culturae nec diligentiam suam sibi damnosam intelligant.*

4. *Huius legis temeratores quinquaginta librarum auri condemnatione coerceri decernimus. Inter quos habendum est officium quoque tuae sedis excelsae, si aliquid eiusmodi suggesserit disponendum vel si preces instruxerit petitoris, Cyre, parens karissime atque amantissime.*

5. *Inlustris itaque et magnifica auctoritas tua, suggestionem tui culminis hac dispositione non admissa tantum, sed etiam conlaudata, legem hanc edictis propositis ad omnium notitiam perferri praecipiat.*

Dat. XI. kal. oct. Constantinopoli, d.n. Valentiniano a. V. et Anatolio vc. cons.

3. In a similar manner, We grant that those lands which appeared formerly to have been assessed as swamps or pasture lands, if they have now been transformed by the expenditures and labors of their possessors to fertility and fruitfulness, shall neither be sold nor petitioned for, they shall not be assessed separately as fertile lands, nor shall compulsory public services be exacted of them. Thus the diligent shall not grieve that they have given their labours to the cultivation of the land, nor shall they learn that their diligence is a loss to them.

4. We decree that rash violators of this law shall be punished by a fine of fifty pounds of gold. Among these must be considered the office staff also of your exalted office if they should suggest that anything of the kind should be arranged or if they should draw up the requests of petitioner, Cyrus, dearest and most beloved Father.

5. Therefore Your Illustrious and Magnificent Authority by posting edicts shall command this law to be brought to the knowledge of all, since because of the report of Your Eminence this regulation was not only admitted but also was lauded.

Given on the eleventh day before the kalends of October at Constantinople in the year of the fifth consulship of Our Lord Valentinian Augustus and the consulship of the Most Noble Anatolius. – September 21, 440. (transl. by C. Pharr)

This text is full of details for modern readers in a double perspective. On one hand, the constitution shows how the late-antique legislator imagined these peculiar kinds of land, and, in a wider sense, how he described the relation between nature and law. On the other hand, the constitution confirms the emperors' attention to regulating alluvial lands and swamps. Theodosius's II guiding thread seems to be the optimization of the use of these lands, the promotion of new cultivations and the reclamation of unproductive spaces. As for this second aspect, the constitution deals with important issues and consequences for the formation of a Roman political landscape.¹³ Insofar, this paper focuses on the spatial transformation caused by the legislative action of late-antique emperors.

1 Picturing a Landscape

The constitutions were composed of fixed components: prologue, narration, *dispositio*, epilogue.¹⁴ This structure is maintained in the *Novellae Theodosianae* and the starting point of my text analysis is the *exordium* of the imperial constitution.

Theodosius sums up his definition of alluvial lands in the following sentence: *natura adluvionum, quae contingere solent in praediis quae ripis quorundam fluminum terminantur*. According to this, he is referring to estates bordered by the banks of rivers. The peculiarity of these lands is the mobility of the border: *flexuosa linea est multiformis, velut arborum aut iugorum aut fluminum* – says another *gromaticus*.¹⁵ In fact, the border is subject to the phenomenon of the *alluvio*, that is the erosion or the growth of the river bank.¹⁶ These types of

13 In opening a discussion involving the category of *political landscape*, we should reflect on the significance of these terms. We can assume that the word *landscape* can be understood as land that humans have modified or build on and that the adjective *political* refers to the exercising of power of the administrators of Roman institutions.

14 On the structure of the imperial constitution: J. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (New Haven and London 2000), 121–167; E. Romano, 'Constitutiones in cerca di uno stile: lettura della *Constitutio Sirmondiana* 2', in D. Mantovani (ed.), *Le strutture nascoste della legislazione tardo antica* (Bari 2019), 267–284. The style of the late antique legislator is also studied in G. Vidén, *The Roman Chancery Tradition. Studies in the Language of Codex Theodosianus and Cassiodorus' Variae* (Gothenburg 1984).

15 Balb. *grom.* p. 99.6 (ed. Lachmann).

16 By metonymy, *adluvio* can indicate the land brought by the river due to its increase: Dig. 7.1.9.4; Dig. 7.1.33.1.

lands are well described in many sources:¹⁷ for example, in the *liber colonarius*, *agri limitati* with rivers as their borders – lands which are assigned by measurement and artificial boundaries – but also the *agri arcifinii*¹⁸ – lands which are bounded by natural limits.¹⁹ But even papyri show how the annual flood of the Nile in the Egyptian region caused vast changes to the coastal lands.²⁰

The emperor noted that possession was uncertain in lands bounded by riverbanks. Clearly, Theodosius II is not discussing the relationship between alluvial impact and property rights in a technical way.²¹ The *exordium* instead has a rhetorical purpose. The emperor opens his discourse by describing a situation of legal insecurity: who is the owner of these lands? Then, to communicate more efficiently a feeling of temporariness to the readers, he emphasizes not only spatial precariousness, but also temporal instability. The emperor in fact says that one day is enough to modify the situation that has been created: *hodie possidemus nonnumquam altero die vicini fundi dominio in alteram fluminis ripam translatum adquiritur*.

Therefore, the instability of the alluvial lands is not considered by the legislator as a natural fact only, but also as a *topos*, a cleverly constructed description

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- 17 The existence of cultivated land bordering a river is attested in the cities of Faliscus (*Lib. colon.*, ed. Lachmann, p. 217,5), Sutri (*Lib. colon.*, ed. Lachmann, p. 217,17), Veio (*Lib. colon.*, ed. Lachmann, p. 220,13), Aternus (*Lib. colon.*, ed. Lachmann, p. 253,15), Aminternum (*Lib. colon.*, ed. Lachmann, p. 228,4); borders formed by the banks of rivers are also described in *Liber coloniarum* (ed. Lachmann, p. 253,21; 256,10) and in *Casae litterarum* (ed. Lachmann, p. 314,8; 321,4; 326,20; 333,23).
- 18 J. Castillo Pascual, 'Ager arcifinius: significado etimológico y naturaleza real', *Gerion* 11 (1993), 145–151; P. Botteri, 'La définition de l'*ager occupatorius*', *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 3 (1992), 45–55.
- 19 Cassiodorus refers to the same image: Cassiod. *Var.* 2,32–33. See, A. Giardina, *Cassiodoro politico* (Rome 2006), 73–99.
- 20 D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil. Incidences des irregularites de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine* (Paris 1971); K. Blouin, *Triangular landscapes. Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule* (New York 2014).
- 21 If we compare this part of the constitution to the Gaius' doctrine of accretion, we understand how far apart the two texts are: Gai. *inst.* 2,70–71 *Sed et id, quod per alluionem nobis adicitur, eodem iure nostrum fit: per alluionem autem id uidetur adici, quod ita paulatim flumen agro nostro adicit, ut aestimare non possimus, quantum quoquo momento temporis adiciatur: hoc est, quod uolgo dicitur per adluionem id adici uideri, quod ita paulatim adicitur, ut oculos nostros fallat. Itaque si flumen partem aliquam ex tuo praedio resciderit et ad meum praedium pertulerit, haec pars tua manet*. Transl. by F. de Zulueta: "Alluvial accretions to our land become ours, again by natural law. That is held to be an accretion by alluvion which a river adds to our land so gradually that is impossible to estimate how much is being added at any particular moment; whence the common saying, that an addition is by alluvion if it is so gradual as to be invisible. Accordingly, if a river tears away a piece of your land and carries it down to mine, that piece remains yours."

of a landscape. Theodosius II was not discussing a specific situation: he did not give details of places or he did not mention any particular rivers. The emperor was speaking abstractly of the situation of alluvial lands.

If we want to understand if this narration was written by Theodosius's chancery itself or is referring to a previous text, we can match Theodosius's words to a chapter of the book written by Agennius Urbicus – the same writer already mentioned before – who was paraphrasing a previous land surveyor, Frontinus:

*Controversia est status effectivi. Efficitur enim subinde, et per tempora mutatur. In hac controversia plurimum sibi vindicat ius ordinarium; agitur enim de eo solo quod alluat flumen, et subtiles introducuntur quaestiones, an ad eum pertinere debeat cui in altera ripa recedente aqua solum crevit; hic qui aliquid agri sui desiderat, transire, et possidere illud debeat quod flumen reliquit. Nisi quod illud subtilissime profertur, quod is solum amisit, non statum transire in alteram ripam, sed abductum esset et elotum; et illud contra, vicinum longe dissimilem agrum habere, quod hic forte cultum et pingue solum amiserit, apud illum autem harenae, lapides et limum abluvio invectum remanserit. Illud praeterea, quod finem illis semper aqua fecerit, et nunc quoque facere debeat.*²²

The investigation of disputes was a significant part of a surveyor's activities, and Agennius is opening his tract on disputes about alluvial land.²³ His *exordium* refers to the many legal problems associated with rivers. An example of these complicated questions is the change in a river's course; it is very difficult to establish who is the owner of the lands while the river ran his old course, and it is unclear if the landholders, who lost part of their property to the changed course of the river can now cross the river and farm the land that was created on the opposite side of the bank of the river. In this case, Agennius explains that the volatility of the course of the river must be considered, because the

22 Agenn. 82.7–21 (transl. by B. Campbell): “The dispute concerns the soil that a river deposits, and complex questions are thereby produced, namely, whether it should belong to the person on the opposite bank whose land has been augmented on the retreat of the river water, or whether the men who lost some of his land should cross over and take possession of that soil that the river deposited. But against this is raised a very subtle point, that namely, that the soil that one man lost does not immediately cross over to the other bank, but is removed and washed away (by the river). And, on the other hand, the neighbour receives a very different type of soil, because, while the former lost soil that perhaps cultivated and fertile, the latter was left with a residue of sand, stones, and mud washed up by the flood water.”

23 P. Castillo Pascual, ‘Die *Controversia de alluvione* bei Gromatikern und Juristen’, *eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies*, 2 (2012–2013), 1–23.

soil deposited in a field stops to exist because the waters of the river have already taken away.

Agennius is stressing the instability of this natural landscape, which can change its aspect very quickly. He wants to convey the idea that it is precisely the instability of the land that causes uncertainty in the world of law. The sudden and indeterminable change of nature gives rise to disputes between private individuals.

If we compare the text of Agennius to the *Novella*, we might suppose that they are using the same image for alluvial lands. A common aspect between these texts is that Agennius and Theodosius put this description in an introductory part of their discourse: both want to communicate that the condition of the lands is temporal. Both introduce their discourse by referring to the legal questions that the *alluvio* poses: the first problem to solve is “who is the owner of the land deposited by the river”? Also, both describes the same phenomenon, even if the *gromaticus* is more precise than the chancery: the land that a river adds to the fields near its bank can augment the territory of the estate on the side on which the addition takes place, but after a short period the same addition can be removed by the flowing of the river.

All these elements could point to a relationship between the two texts. At the moment, I cannot say if the chancery is relying on the text of Urbicus, who probably lived a century before, but it should be clear that they are imagining alluvial lands by referring to the same concept.

2 Imperial Regulation on Alluvial Lands

But why is Theodosius II depicting the intrinsic instability of the alluvial lands to change? The emperor wanted to strengthen the sense of certainty of his decision, because he was the only one who could regulate what was until now without rule.²⁴

Theodosius II enacted that alluvial lands were not to be sold by the treasury nor petitioned for by anyone, and they should not be separately assessed nor should compulsory public services be exacted of them. The emperor also specified that his decision was to be applied not only to the province of Egypt, but to all the territories of the empire.²⁵ A first reading of the Theodosian provision

24 G. Bassanelli Sommariva, *L'imperatore unico creatore ed interprete delle leggi e l'autonomia del giudice nel diritto giustiniano* (Milan 1983); S. Puliatti, *Il diritto prima e dopo Costantino*, in *Costantino I* (Rome 2013), 599–613.

25 Nov. Theod. 20: *non Aegyptiis solis nec de Nili tantum adluvionibus loquimur, sed quod salubre est orbi terrarum atque omnibus provinciis promulgamus* (We are not speaking of

could suggest that the emperor considered the uncertainty of the condition of alluvial lands and therefore established that these should not be taxed. Theodosius II would thus have innovated the previous regime: in 402, addressing the case of the inundations of the Nile, Arcadius on one hand imposed taxation on the increase of properties caused by the river an, on the other hand he reduced the tax levy for those who suffered a decrease in land.²⁶ However, the provision of Theodosius implemented a wider protection, given that alluvial lands were also to be exempted from the cadastre²⁷ and could not have been confiscated by the *fiscus*²⁸ or petitioned for by private parties.

Egypt alone or only about the alluvial lands of the Nile, but what We promulgate is salutary for the world and for all the provinces.)

- 26 Cod. Iust. 7.41.2 *Imppp. Arcadius, Honorius et Theodosius AAA. Caesario pp. Hi, quos inundatio Nili fluminis redsidit ditiores, pro terris quas possident tributorum praestationem agnoscant. Et qui suum deplorant patrimonium imminutum, alieno saltem functionis onere liberentur et nostrae serenitatis largitate defensi, locorum etiam possessione contenti, pro agitandi census examine respondeant devotioni. D. III id. Iun. Theodosio A. et Rumorido cons. (a. 402)*. Transl. by B.W. Frier: "Persons whom the inundation of the river Nile makes richer must pay tribute for the land which they possess. But those who lament the diminution of their property should at least be relieved from the burden of an obligation owed by another, and, protected by bounty of Our Serenity and content with the land they possess, they should devotedly pay their tribute according to the adjustment made." On this constitution, see, Barbati 2014, op. cit. (n. 10), 366; Tarozzi 2018 op. cit. (n. 10), 50. Actually, traces of a provision similar to the one of Theodosius II could be found in an edict of prefect Tiberius Iulius Alexandrus (*OGIS* 669), dated to July 6, 68 BCE. The edict (ll. 59–62) established that in the region of Alexandria, called Menelaite, the growth of land caused by the flooding phenomena of the Nile (προσγενήματα) maintained the same privileges enjoyed by the lands to which they were added (ἀρχαία γῆ). In other words, alluvial lands were exempted from taxation and could not be included in the land register, on which see, G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander. Étude historique et exégétique* (Olten and Lausanne 1964); K. Blouin, 'Représentation et gestion des "atterrissements alluvionnaires" (προσγενήματα) dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine', in Y. Tristant and M. Ghilardi (eds.), *Landscape Archaeology. Egypt and the Mediterranean World* (Cairo 2018), 137–150. However, considering the content of Cod. Iust. 7.41.2, it is very difficult to affirm that the continuity of the regulation of alluvial lands in Egypt was maintained until the constitution of Theodosius II. A plausible indication of a change in imperial legislation may be taken from what the legislator says in the *principium* of the constitution. In fact, the emperor says that "something is always presented ... for correction" (*semper nobis aliquid porrigitur emendandum*). In this sentence, Theodosius II could allude to the decision to correct the legal regime of alluvial lands introduced by Arcadius.
- 27 The edict of Tiberius Iulius Alexandrus and the papyri show that the alluvial lands in Egypt were inscribed in the cadastre in order to be taxed, see Chalon 1964 op. cit. (n. 26); Blouin 2018 op. cit. (n. 26). The same situation, however, is pictured in the *Tabula Veletis* see M.P. Pavese *Fundus cum vadis et alluvionibus: gli incrementi fluviali fra documenti della prassi e riflessione giurisprudenziale romana* (Rome 2004), 56.
- 28 P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley. A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Cambridge 2011), 312 supposes that the real concern of Theodosius is to not make periodic

The emperor seemed to make a reference to a situation of fact as a precondition for his decision: someone had occupied²⁹ some lands added by sedimentation or deposited by a river,³⁰ with the intention to hold them as property. Of course, the emperor knew that the land addition would have attracted also various other interests: the *fiscus* would have considered them as belonging to no one (*bona vacantia*),³¹ and thus would have tried to confiscate them; private parties would have petitioned to have these lands assigned to them.

The emperor granted the occupants something equivalent to effective legal ownership³² and he gave them a very large degree of legal protections, like the prohibition for the *fiscus* to sell these lands and the prohibition for private parties to make petitions. This aspect was clearly understood and affirmed in the *Basilica* by the byzantine jurists who defined the occupants δεσπότηαι.³³

revisions to the cadaster. B. Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome* (Chapel Hill 2012), 115 proposes that Theodosius aimed to prevent any financial exaction on the land until it had become productive even if the constitution doesn't show it clearly.

- 29 See J. Cujas, *Paratitla In Libros IX Codicis Iustiniani Repetitae Praelectionis* (Paris 1579), 166; Thonemann 2011 op. cit. (n. 28), 311. For C.A. Cannata, *Possessio, Possessor, Possidere nelle fonti giuridiche del basso impero. Contributo allo studio del sistema dei rapporti reali nell'epoca postclassical* (Milan 1963), 159 the word *possessor* specifies the condition of the owner after the abolition of the different regimes of property.
- 30 The *Interpretatio* of Nov. Theod. 20 in the *Breviarium Alaricianum* instead considers a specific situation: *si fluvius abveum suum paulatim in aliam partem contulerit, terram ille acquirat, cuius finibus spatium terrae dignoscitur contulisse*. The *Interpretatio* refers to the *alvei mutatio*, that is when a river transfers its bed into another part of the landscape. In this case – says the late antique author – the land now belongs to the person who owns the land to which the land was added. However, the constitution of Theodosius seems to be more abstract and used the expression *ea, quae per adluvionem possessoribus adquiruntur* in order to indicate all the natural manifestations of *adluvio*. See also, Barbati 2014 op. cit. (n. 10), 368.
- 31 I.D. Ritter, *n. k. ad De alluvionibus*, in *Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis Iacobi Gothofredi*, VI (Leipzig 1743), 34; P. Voci, *Nuovi studi sulla legislazione romana del tardo impero* (Padua 1989), 198. More generally on the *fiscus*, R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome 1989).
- 32 A different interpretation of the constitution is proposed by Barbati 2014 op. cit. (n. 10), 366. The scholar believes that in Roman law there was no doubt that the landlords of the land near the river became the owner of alluvial land. However, the beginning of the constitution – and the texts of the *gromatici* – would seem to affirm the opposite: *incertum sit eius dominium quod possessori per alluvionem adcrecit*. In my opinion, it is precisely the uncertainty over the ownership of *alluviones* that drives the legislator to intervene.
- 33 Bas. 50.16.3 in H.J. Scheltema and N. van der Wal (eds.), *Basilicorum libri LX*, A, 6 (Groningen 1969), 134: Ἐάν τινες ὀπουδήποτε διὰ προσχώσεως προσκλήσωνται γήν, δεσπότηαι αὐτῆς γίνονται καὶ οὔτε δημόσια ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς συντελοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἦν τόπος ὑπό

If so, the constitution could represent one of the very few testimonies of how alluvial lands were defined in Roman history. For a parallel, one must go back to the Principate and to an enactment of Diomitanus, the existence of which is recorded in many writings of land surveyors.³⁴ The constitution of Domitianus could be connected to *subseciva*, which are the land that remained unallocated in the *centuria*. We know also that *subseciva* included land that was not allocated in the distribution on the banks of the river (which are *res publica*), and that this land is considered of little value and very difficult to cultivate.³⁵

Even if the text of the constitution of Domitianus is not known in its entirety, we learn that the emperor freed the people that had occupied *subseciva* in Italy from losing these lands. In fact, past emperors like Vespasianus exploited the uncertainty of the legal status of these lands and claimed them and forced their cultivators to surrender or to buy them as they were property of the Roman state.³⁶

λίμνης κατεχόμενος ἢ εἰς βοσκήν ἀπεγράφῃ, δαπανήμασι δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων νῦν κάλλιστος ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου χρή συντελείας ἀπαιτεῖσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδὲ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι δύνανται. Ἔστι δὲ πρόστιμον κατὰ τοῦ παραβαίνοντος τὸν νόμον πεντήκοντα λιτρῶν χρυσίου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ τάξις τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως, εἰ ἀνάσχηται τοιοῦτου τινὸς γινομένου ἢ ἐὰν τοιαύτας δεήσεις ὑποβάλλῃ, ὑποκείσθω καὶ αὐτῇ ἐπιτιμίῳ. Latin transl. by K.W.E. Heimbach, *Basilicorum libri LX*, 5 (Leipzig 1850), 84: *Si quidam ubicunque per alluvionem acquisierint terram, domini eius tiunt, neque publica pro ea conferunt. Sed etsi ante locus fuit a palude obrutus, aut in pastionem descriptus, sed impensis possessorum nunc optimus est factus: nec pro eo collationes exigi debent: neque enim vendi a fisco, nec peti possunt. Est autem poena adversus transgressorem huius legis quinquaginta librarum auri. Similiter etiam officium Praefecti urbis, si quid huiusmodi patiatu fieri, aut si tales preces subiiciat, subiaceat etiam ipsum mulctae.*

34 Svet. *Dom.* 9.7; Front. *grom.* p. 41.24–25 (ed. Lachmann); Hyg. *grom.* p. 97.4–5 (ed. Lachmann); Sic. Flacc. *grom.* p. 128.1–2 (ed. Lachmann).

35 On the link between *subseciva* and rivers: J.-G. Gorges, 'La vie au bord de l'eau en moyenne vallée du Gaudiana sous le Haut-Empire', *Caesarodunum* 41–42 (2007), 43–74; G. Chouquer, 'Les fleuves et la centuriation: l'apport des catégories gromatiques', *Jus* 2 (2014), 379–406; J. Hettinger, 'Neues zum Kataster von Lacimurga. Die Darstellung der *subseciva* entlang des Ana', *Chiron* 47 (2017), 189–212; B. Brugi, *Le dottrine giuridiche degli agrimensori romani comparate a quelle del Digesto* (Verona and Padua 1897), 395; Pavese, 2004 op. cit. (n. 27), 93–97.

36 Abusive occupations of public land – such as the one which is close to rivers – have been attested in sources since the Republican age. Herodianus (*Hdn.* 2.7) describes the occupation of the *ager publicus* by the most important families in Italy. Tacitus (*ann.* 14.18) reports the same situation in the provinces. For a particular hypothesis of abusive occupation concerning the territory of Lusitania, near the river Ana, see Brugi 1897 op. cit. (n. 35), 395; Hettinger 2017 op. cit. (n. 35), 189–212.

The constitution of Domitianus could be connected to the alluvial lands, because it might suggest that the emperor affirmed the rights of the cultivators of the river banks, who seized the *subseciva*.³⁷ Even nearly four hundred years later, and in a very different context, Theodosius II could, probably, have made the same choice to allocate the lands that were subject to the flooding of the rivers to those who had occupied them.

At first glance, modern scholars might argue that the emperor made a concession, shown by the motivation of his decision: “Thus We shall not appear to disregard the disadvantages of the alluvial lands nor to impose a regulation that is hurtful to the landholders”. But the emperor explicitly enacts this law in perpetuity (*hac perpetuo lege valitura sancimus*). Therefore, the constitution was not be an act of liberality, but is a perpetual permission to the occupants to use and cultivate *adluviones*.

3 An Overview on Swamps and Pasture Lands

Of course, one of the consequences of the imperial decision would have been a great exploitation of alluvial lands to prevent the abandonment of these areas by the population. The incentive to cultivate alluvial land would in fact have increased the production of agricultural materials able to provide for the population's livelihood. In addition, the exemption from taxation would have resulted in a higher income from the land.

The same objective seems to have been pursued when, after considering the flood lands, Theodosius II refers to swamp lands³⁸ and pastures³⁹ in the second paragraph of the constitution.

Just like alluvial land were occupied to be converted in plantations, swamps and pasture lands were used for breeding livestock. Therefore, Theodosius II decreed that the regulation introduced for the alluvial lands should be applied

37 According to another interpretation of Domitian's edict, the emperor only guaranteed possession of the lands, but did not attribute the property: L. Solidoro Maruotti, *Studi sull'abbandono degli immobili nel diritto romano. Storici, giuristi, imperatori* (Naples 1984), 245–249; Maganzani 1997 op. cit. (n. 6), 368.

38 On marshy lands see G. Traina, ‘Paesaggio e “decadenza”: la palude nella trasformazione del mondo antico’, in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardo antico*, III (Rome 1986), 711–730; 905–917; G. Traina, *Paludi e bonifiche del mondo antico. Saggio di archeologia geografica* (Rome 1988); G. Traina, *L'immagine imperiale delle paludi pontine*, in *La valle pontina nell'antichità. Atti di convegno* (Rome 1990), 39–44.

39 It is not surprising that the legislator connected these kinds of land. In the context of pasture, the late-antique writer Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus tells us that *agri palustri* were a perfect environment where pigs could be reared: see Pallad. 3.26.3.

to them as well. The emperor recognised the right of property of those people who transformed unproductive lands into fertile and fruitfulness ones by their expenditures and labours. Theodosius II rewarded diligence and effort to occupy these territories, which have always been considered infertile and fruitless.⁴⁰

The emperor furthermore decreed that violators of his law should be punished with a fine of fifty pounds of gold to ensure that these lands did not become the object of the desire of both private individuals and imperial officials. He also ordered that the office staff of the Pretorian prefect should be considered as transgressors, if they should suggest that any administrative procedures like taxation or inclusion in the cadastre should be arranged or if they should draw up the requests of petitioner.⁴¹

4 A Theodosian policy on Use and Development of Lands

The *Novella* attests to the keen attention that Theodosius II paid to the recovery of lands that otherwise would have remained untapped. It can perhaps be said that Theodosius II had planned to implement a policy of land exploitation throughout his reign. The *Novella* 20 is therefore the first piece of a more complex and rich legislative mosaic. At least two other provisions, which I will briefly mention, must be added.

The first one is the *Novella Theodosiana* 24, addressed to the *magister officiorum* Nomo. It concerns a corrupt solicitation and the parcel of land that was given to the border militia (*limitanei*).⁴² In the fourth paragraph of this long constitution, Theodosius recognised to the border militia's right of ownership of the fields at the border, including the swamp lands, which, according to the ancient regulation, the *militia* was accustomed to care for and to cultivate for their own profit. The precondition imposed by the legislator in order to protect

40 The same justification was invoked by Cassiodorus while answering to the Senate (Cass., *Var.* 2,32) and to Decius, a *patricius*, who was recognized as owner the of the *palus Decennonii*, Cass, *Var* 2,33: *Aequum est enim ut unicuique proficiat labor suus, et sicut expendendo cognoscit incommoda, ita rebus perfectis consequatur augmenta*. See Giardina 2006 op. cit. (n. 19), 81.

41 *Novell. Theod.* 20.4.

42 On *limitanei*, B. Isaac, 'The meaning of limes and limitanei in ancient sources', in: B. Isaac (ed.), *The Near East Under Roman Rule. Selected Papers* (Leiden 1998), 345–387; L. Minieri, *Excepta annonae limitaneorum*. Una riflessione sulla condizione dei limitanei in età tardoantica, in *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. XXI. Frontiere della romanità nel mondo tardo antico. Appartenenza, contiguità, alterità tra formazione e prassi* (Spello, 18–20 settembre 2013) (Naples 2016), 333.

this right is that such fields are to be cultivated by *limitanei* at the time of the constitution.⁴³

The emperor is ready to defend the right of property of the *limitanei* as long as they continue to cultivate the land: the risk that the emperor wants to avoid is the abandonment of lands that, if cultivated, are able to guarantee the sustenance of many people in these remote areas of the empire.

The second one is the *Novella Theodosiana* 26,⁴⁴ addressed to the praetorian prefect of the Orient Hermocrates, titled *DE RELEVATIS, ADAERATIS, VEL*

43 Novell. Theod. 24.1.4 (= Cod. Iust. 11.60.3): *Imperatores Theodosius, Valentinianus AA. Nomo mag. off. Agros etiam limitaneos univrsis cum paludibus omnique iure, quos ex prisca dispositione limitanei milites ab omni munere vacuos ipsi curare pro suo compendio atque arare consueverant, et si in praesenti coluntur ab his, firmiter ac sine ullo concussionis gravamine detineri, et si ab aliis possidentur, cuiuslibet spatii temporis praescriptione cessante ab univrsis detentoribus vindicatos isdem militibus sine ullo prorsus, sicut antiquitus statutum est, conlationis onere volumus adsignari: in his etiam contra eos, qui praeceptionibus nostris obviam venire temptaverint, eadem poenarum acerbitate, quae adversus ducum aviditatem prolata est, valitura. Nam si quis forte, quod minime audere debuerat, emptionis titulo memorati iuris possidet praedia, competens ei actio contra venditorem intacta servabitur. D. Prid. Id. Sept. Constantinopoli Maximo II et Paterio cons. (a. 443).* Transl. by C. Pharr: "It is Our will that the fields of the borders also, together with all the swamp lands and every right of ownership, which according to the ancient regulation the border militia themselves were accustomed to care for and to cultivate for their own profit, free from every compulsory public service, shall be held by them firmly and without any annoyance of extortion, if such fields are being cultivated by them at the present time. If such fields should be possessed by other persons, the prescription of any space of time whatever shall cease for all such holders, and it is Our will that such fields shall be vindicated to the aforesaid soldiers and shall be assigned to them without any burden at all of tax payment, as was anciently established. In such cases, the same severity of punishment as was published against the greed of the dukes shall be valid against those persons who attempt to contravene Our regulations. For if any person perchance should obtain possession of the landed estates of the aforesaid ownership under the title of purchase, a thing which he must not dare to do, the right of action which is available to him shall be preserved intact against the seller." On this constitution see, S.J.B. Barnish, 'Taxation, land and barbarian settlement in the Western Empire', *BSR* 54 (1986), 186 n. 147; P. Tedesco, '*Sortes Vandalarum*: forme di insediamento nell'Africa post-romana', Y. Rivière and P. Porena (eds.), *Expropriations et confiscations dans l'Empire tardif et les Royaumes Barbares* (Rome 2012), 207; W. Kaiser, 'Spätantike Rechtstexte in agrimensorischen Sammlungen', *ZSav* 130 (2013), 318–321.

44 Novell. Theod. 26.4 (= Cod. Iust. 11.59.17): *Imperatores Theodosius et Valentinianus AA. Hermocrati pp. Verum et si quis ex auctoritate nostri numinis vel praeceptis amplissimae praefecturae de fundis patrimonialibus steriles sub certi canonis pollicitatione suscepit, firmiter eum volumus possidere sub eiusdem tantum canonis solutione, quem nostrae maiestatis auctoritas aut praeceptum magnificae tuae sedis per annos singulos solvendum esse praescrispit, nullamque eos discriptionem aut adiectionem aut innovationem in posterum sustinere, quoniam nimis absurdum est eos, qui nobis hortantibus aut magnifica praefectura fundos inopes atque ieiunos magno labore inpenso aut exhausto patrimonio vix forte*

DONATIS POSSESSIONIBUS.⁴⁵ Theodosius decreed that if someone were to receive infertile lands from patrimonial farms, with the promise to pay a fixed tax, he would firmly possess them. The emperor also stated that there would be no tax increases for these lands. But the motivation that the legislator presented is important: it is too absurd that those people, who are neither able to improve infertile and unproductive farms with manpower and high expenses nor maintain the farm relying only on their own capital, should take on an unexpected burden. Theodosius wants in every way to favour the cultivation of infertile lands, to the point of committing himself to not increase the tax burdens on *agri deserti*. The emperor considers himself compensated by the work and the hardships of those who are cultivating the land, the lost revenue from these lands, once made fertile.

All these constitutions, including the *Novella* on alluvial lands and marshy lands, were issued within a few years, from 440 to 444. The intensity with which Theodosius intervenes in the problem of land exploitation therefore seems to suggest a focussed policy. The emperor aimed at improving the conditions not only for maintaining the cultivated land but also for extending the productive agricultural areas, while using different instruments and taking into account the different local circumstances.

These provisions also testify to the fact that generations of men fought the harshness of nature with work and daily fatigue, while at the same time the hardest battles against the invasions of barbarians appeared on the frontiers of the empire.

meliorare potuerint, utpote deceptos inopinatum onus sustinere illudque velut quadam circumventionem deposci, quod si se daturos praescissent, fundos minime suscipere aut etiam colere paterentur. D. XII K. Dec. Constantinopoli Theodosio a. XVIII et Albino cons. (a. 444). Transl. by C. Pharr: "But if any person by the authority of Our Divinity or by the regulations of the Most August prefecture should receive sterile lands from Our patrimonial farms, under the promise of paying the fixed regular tax, it is Our will that he shall possess them firmly by the payment of the aforesaid regular tax only, which the authority of Our Majesty or the regulation of your Magnificent office has prescribed must be paid each year. Such lands shall sustain no tax assessment or addition or innovation in the future, since it is too absurd that those persons who by Our urging and that of the Magnificent prefecture could perhaps scarcely improve the barren and unproductive farms by great labor and expense or even by exhausting their patrimony, should accept a burden that was unexpected, inasmuch as they had been deceived, and that this burden should be demanded of them, as if by some circumvention." On this constitution see, S. Tarozzi, 'Riforma dello Stato e gestione della terra. La questione degli agri deserti nella prospettiva dei Codici tardo antichi. Alcuni spunti di riflessione', MEFRA 125 (2013), URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/mefra/1861> (last accessed on March 26, 2021).

45 Landholdings relieved of taxes or having their taxes commuted into money or having been conferred as grants.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the analysis of the text of the *Novella* 20 by Theodosius II has demonstrated the following points:

Firstly, the emperor constructs an image of alluvial lands that does not refer to any specific situation. The emperor then creates an abstract image, almost an ideal, that may find common aspects with the writings of the surveyors, in particular Agennius Urbicus. The description corresponds to what happens in nature, but at the same time the legislator modifies the description of natural reality according to the function it must perform in his provision.

Secondly, the emperor describes the instability of alluvial lands and the legal consequences of this uncertainty. The emperor therefore wants to put an end to doubts over the ownership of alluvial lands and establishes that the occupants shall obtain the right of ownership. This also holds true for the cultivators of marshes. This interpretation of the imperial constitution is important because it provides new important information on the regulation of alluvial lands in Late Antiquity, hitherto neglected by historiography.

Thirdly, through *Novella* 20, Theodosius II primarily intended to guarantee legal – and therefore political – stability in the regions concerned by his decrees. He wanted on one side to affirm the rights of riparian *possessores*, who seized alluvial lands and swamps, and on other side to prevent migration and rural depopulation (ἀναχώρησις). Certainly, these two aspects are strictly connected because securing ownership of alluvial land is one important supporting measure for the demographical stability of the countryside. But the enactment of Theodosius II is not the only constitution in which he wants to regulate land management. In other subsequent provisions, like *Novella* 24 and *Novella* 26, issued within a few years, the emperor himself demonstrates a very keen attention to the recovery of less fertile lands and he decides to reward the work of those who have cultivated them.

Auxiliary Forts and Rural Economic Landscapes on the Northern Frontier

Eli J.S. Weaverdyck

1 Introduction

The impact of the Roman Empire on the physical landscapes of the northern frontier provinces is clear even today.¹ The infrastructure of Roman military occupation, the forts and fortresses, roads, walls, and palisades – known collectively as *limes* – remain powerful reminders that lands from Great Britain to the Black Sea were once ruled by Rome.² In the socio-political context of the late 20th and early 21st century, these ancient, artificial features of the physical landscape and the history they embody are considered so important that they have been combined into a single transnational UNESCO world heritage site.³ The influence on the physical landscape of the northern frontier provinces was profound and durable, but in antiquity, the physical infrastructure was only part of a broader impact that included not only power relations, but demographic and societal shifts. Thousands of soldiers were stationed along the frontiers in bases that became increasingly stable and permanent, and thousands of civilians traveled with them. The Roman army was an institutional network that moved people and goods across great distances. Tax revenues in kind, forced purchases, and conscripts were mobilized through state coercion, officials made contracts with individuals for supplies, and the concentration of money and power attracted entrepreneurs. Thus, the Roman Empire also had a profound impact on the social landscape of the northern frontier provinces.

1 This paper received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement no. 742645).

2 The *limes* have long been the subject of a specialized research tradition, well-represented by the *Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, held triennially since 1949.

3 "Frontiers of the Roman Empire." UNESCO world heritage property ref. 430, listed since 1987 (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list430/>; last accessed on March 23, 2021). D.J. Breeze and S. Jilek (eds.), *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The European Dimension of a World Heritage Site* (Edinburgh 2008). See R. Hingley, 'Frontiers and mobilities: the frontiers of the Roman Empire and Europe', *European Journal of Archaeology* 21.1 (2018), 78–95 for a discussion of the contemporary socio-political context.

Finally, by altering both the physical and social landscape, the Roman Empire affected the way that people interacted with their surroundings. Using quantitative analysis of rural settlement locations, this paper investigates the perception of the landscape by the people living in the countryside in the frontier zone. It asks how Roman military demand changed the way rural people valued environmental features, and what role auxiliary forts played in their local cultural-economic landscapes.

Within landscape archaeology, human perception is a key part of what constitutes a landscape. Tim Ingold defined the landscape as “the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them.”⁴ The landscape emerges from the relationship between inhabitants and physical surroundings, depending as much on the situated perspective of the dweller as on the physical form and properties of the environment. It consists of places – meaningful locations where tasks are performed – and the paths that people travel between them. Ingold’s definition of ‘place’ intentionally dissolves the boundary between natural and cultural so that, on the Roman frontier, the Danube and the forts that line it are analytically parallel entities rather than parts of distinct ‘natural’ and ‘built’ environments. Ingold also coined the term ‘taskscape’ to describe the intertwined ensemble of actions that agents carry out in their everyday lives, and considered the landscape to be the embodiment of the taskscape.⁵ For example, the temporal relationship between harvesting and threshing is affected by and affects the distance between the field and the threshing floor.

The theory of affordances, first developed in ecological psychology but increasingly applied in landscape archaeology, also centers on the dialectic between perceiving inhabitants and their surroundings.⁶ In brief, an affordance is an opportunity for or constraint on action that emerges from the relationship between a strategic actor and features of the environment with particular properties. For agriculturalists wishing to separate chaff from grain, a hilltop exposed to the sun and breeze might offer the affordance of effective threshing. The sun would dry the grain, making it easier to break up, and the breeze would carry the chaff away during winnowing. Because of this confluence of strategic actor and environmental feature, and because of the close interlocking of the tasks of threshing and winnowing, the hilltop might become a place

4 T. Ingold, ‘The temporality of the landscape’, *WorldA* 25.2 (1993), 152–174, esp. 156.

5 Ingold 1993, op. cit. (n. 4), 158–161.

6 J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Boston 1979); M. Gillings, ‘Landscape phenomenology, GIS and the role of affordances’, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 19.4 (2012), 601–611; E. Rietveld and J. Kiverstein, ‘A rich landscape of affordances’, *Ecological Psychology* 26.4 (2014), 325–352.

categorized as a threshing floor. Absent the agriculturalists, the breeze and sun still exist, but the affordance of easy threshing does not.

This relational, emergent conception of the landscape invites certain questions: what did different features of the landscape mean to those within it, and how did that change over time? These questions are useful in themselves, but also because the meaning of landscape features and places is contingent on the broader social context of the inhabitants. Studying the changing meaning of landscape features provides an avenue for learning about changes in the broader context. Here, the broader context is the impact of Roman militarization on the rural economy of two areas: the Lower Rhine (Netherlands) and the Lower Danubian plain (Bulgaria). Specifically, I investigate the question of agricultural intensification and the role of auxiliary forts as market places for rural produce.

The presence of thousands of soldiers and associated civilians required increased surplus production. Although the military population could have eaten food imported over long distances, logistical pressures must have encouraged the acquisition of at least some supplies from the frontier zone.⁷ Even in a marginal zone like the Lower Rhine that regularly imported grain, there is also evidence for increased surplus production locally.⁸ This increase in surplus production could have come about through extensification (cultivating more land than before) and/or intensification (investing more labor and capital in cultivation). Intensification in particular implies a certain perspective on the landscape. If the goal is to increase production through the application of one's labor or capital, then the cultivator would seek out places in the landscape that respond particularly well to such an investment. Therefore, evidence that people were sensitive (or more sensitive than before) to local differences in agricultural suitability could be taken as evidence for agricultural intensification.

Beyond increased surplus production, the army is often seen as promoting economic development more generally.⁹ However, serious questions remain about the nature of the army's role in frontier economies and societies.¹⁰ Some

7 M. Reddé, 'The impact of the German frontier on the economic development of the countryside of Roman Gaul', *JRA* 31 (2018), 131–160 argues that the Rhine army acquired supplies from throughout the Gallic provinces at least through the late first century CE and in some cases even longer.

8 M. Groot et al., 'Surplus production for the market? The agrarian economy in the non-villa landscapes of Germania Inferior', *JRA* 22 (2009), 231–252.

9 D. Cherry, 'The frontier zones', in W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R.P. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007), 720–740.

10 For an overview of recent scholarship on the economic impact of the army in the Lower Rhine frontier, see P. Verhagen, J. Joyce and M.R. Groenhuijzen 'Finding the limits of the limes: setting the scene', in P. Verhagen, J. Joyce and R. Groenhuijzen (eds.), *Finding the*

see the military as a distinct community, separate from the people who lived beyond the military *canabae* and *vici* that surrounded the camps.¹¹ The long-held idea that soldiers' salaries played a key role in monetizing the northern provinces is also being called into question.¹² Examining the meaning of Roman military bases as 'places', their relationship to other places, and the affordances they might have offered, is one way to make progress on these issues. Here, I ask whether auxiliary forts were seen as market places by rural producers. I focus on auxiliary forts rather than legionary fortresses because, while the latter were larger and wealthier, auxiliary forts were much more common. If they regularly afforded marketing opportunities, the vast majority of people living in the frontier zone would have had access to the soldiers' money and the economic benefits of military occupation would have been widely dispersed. If they did not, any benefits would have been spatially concentrated at legionary fortresses or cities, and probably also socially concentrated in the hands of *negotiatores* who had close relationships to the army.

In this paper, I describe a method for accessing ancient, emic perspectives on landscape using targeted, quantitative spatial modeling.¹³ Using this

Limits of the Limes: Modelling Demography, Economy and Transport on the Edge of the Roman Empire (Cham 2019), 1–19. For the Lower Danube, see M. Duch, *Economic Role of the Roman Army in the Province of Lower Moesia* (Gniezno 2017). General contributions on frontier economies include C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore 1994); C.R. Whittaker, *Rome and its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire* (London 2004); H. Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (London 1996); P. Erdkamp (ed.), *The Roman Army and the Economy* (Amsterdam 2002); L. de Blois and E. Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476): Economic, Social, Political, Religious, and Cultural Aspects* (Leiden 2007). For military supply, see J.P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 BC–AD 235)* (Leiden 1999); F. Mitthoff, *Annona militaris: Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten* (Florence 2001).

- 11 B.D. Shaw, 'Soldiers and society: the army in Numidia', *Opus* 2 (1983), 133–160 described the legion as a 'total institution'. More recently, D. Cherry, *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1998) and E.M. Greene, 'Conubium cum uxoribus: wives and children in the Roman military diplomas', *JRA* 28 (2015), 125–159 have identified a pattern of endogamy in military communities. N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Ann Arbor 2000) argued that military and civilian communities in Dura-Europos were segregated, but cf. S. James, *The Roman Military Base at Dura-Europos, Syria: An Archaeological Visualization* (Oxford 2019).
- 12 C. Katsari, 'The monetization of Rome's frontier provinces', in W.V. Harris (ed.), *The Monetary Systems of the Greeks and Romans* (Oxford 2008), 242–266; C. Howgego, 'The monetization of temperate Europe', *JRA* 103 (2013), 16–45.
- 13 I first developed this method in E. Weaverdyck, *Isolation or Integration? A Spatial Analytical Approach to the Local Impact of the Roman Army on the Northern Frontier* (PhD thesis, Berkeley 2016) and developed it further in E. Weaverdyck 'The role of forts in the local market system in the Lower Rhine: toward a method of multiple hypothesis testing

method, I have found evidence for increased sensitivity to local landscape features that suggests agricultural intensification, but the evidence is stronger for the Lower Danube than the Lower Rhine. The results varied even within each study area, showing that the responses to Roman occupation could be highly localized. I found evidence that *some* forts were market places at certain times but rural people did not consistently see them as markets. I also found one surprising result. The rural inhabitants of the Lower Danube in the fifth and sixth century were very sensitive to local landscape features, but their relationship to the landscape was not based on the affordance of agricultural productivity. Rather, it seems to have been based on defense.

2 Methods

My analysis relies heavily on models, strategic simplifications of reality. By ignoring certain details, the model builder highlights those that are relevant to their purpose. In ancient history, models are most commonly used in what Neville Morley has called ‘theoretical history’, which inclines toward the social-scientific rather than humanistic side of the discipline in focusing on general, underlying processes rather than the complex, detail-rich variety of human behavior.¹⁴ Ideally, this difference in focus enriches all of history, providing context for the detailed understanding of human experience and enriching our generalized explanations with examples of processes might play out at an individual scale. On the other hand, the simplification inherent to model building can seem jarringly reductionist, since the analyst appears to be working with ‘facts’ that are empirically unfounded. There are two common responses to criticism in this vein: that the critic has identified an exception that does not vitiate the fit of the model with the majority of cases¹⁵ or the precise discrepancy between model and reality is irrelevant because the logical relationship between the pieces of the model still holds.¹⁶ A less common response is to rework the model to account for the discrepancy.¹⁷ Because they are simplifications, all models are ‘wrong’ to some extent. The questions to ask

through comparative modeling’, in P. Verhagen, J. Joyce and M.R. Groenhuijzen (eds.) *Finding the Limits of the Limes: Modelling Demography, Economy and Transport on the Edge of the Roman Empire* (Cham 2019), 165–190.

14 N. Morley, *Theories, Models and Concepts in Ancient History* (London 2004), 7–25.

15 E.g., M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley 1973), 37–38.

16 E.g., K. Hopkins, ‘Rome, taxes, rents, and trade’, in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds.), *The Ancient Economy* (Edinburgh 2002), 190–230, esp. 193.

17 E.g., Hopkins 2002, op. cit. (n. 16), 208–228.

of a model are: is it useful in generating new insights and questions, and are there alternative models that fit the available evidence better?

The latter question highlights the utility of a specific type of model: the quantitative, statistical model. The analysis described below contains a wide variety of types of models, all combined in a digital environment and explored using statistical analysis. There are conceptual models about how people in the countryside might have interacted with people in auxiliary forts and higher-level conceptual models about how space mediates such interactions. There are also very low level models about archaeological data. Observed remains are taken as examples of ‘settlements’, ‘cities’, and other types of places. Both types become digital models in a geographic information system (GIS), in which concepts are represented as points, lines, polygons, and raster surfaces with numeric and categorical variables. I also use logistic regression, a statistical modelling technique common in some fields of archaeology, but rarely used in history.¹⁸ Logistic regression in its current form is an automated, iterative technique in which a computer attempts to create a curved line to function as a model of a dataset. Given a set of data points that contain one dependent variable and many independent variables, it writes an equation in which all the independent variables combine to produce the dependent variable. It then iteratively adjusts the weights of the independent variables to bring the curved line closer and closer to the data points. Because the mathematical model (equation) and the data model are quantified in terms of the dependent variable, one can measure precisely how well the model fits the data. Of course, models never fit exactly, but by quantifying that lack of fit the analyst can try to create a new mathematical model using variables that represent a different conceptual model. By translating data models and conceptual models into digital models, and then analyzing the digital models using a mathematical modeling technique, I can determine precisely which conceptual model fits the available evidence better. Keith Hopkins wrote, “Historians are forced to impose plausible and simplifying fictions on a complex and largely irrecoverable past”, and “one of the persistent problems in each generation is how to choose between competing fictions.”¹⁹ Statistical modeling is a powerful way to choose.

18 K.L. Kvamme, ‘Analysing regional environmental relationships’, in M. Gillings, P. Hacıgüzeller and G. Lock (eds.), *Archaeological Spatial Analysis: A Methodological Guide* (London 2020), 212–230, esp. 220.

19 K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge 1978), 215 for the first part of the quote, p. x for the second.

The measurements in this statistical analysis describe the spatial relationship between rural settlements and various features of the landscape. I take the locations of settlements as strategic choices reflecting the relationship between ancient people and their surroundings.²⁰ In a sedentary, agrarian economy, most people spend most nights in their homes. Settlements anchor the paths people travel in their daily routines and provide us with an ancient perspective for viewing the landscape in terms of affordances by measuring the prevalence and proximity of various landscape features to settlements. By comparing these with similar measurements taken in relation to randomly distributed points representing the entire set of locations available for settlement, we can tell which features influenced settlement location, and therefore draw conclusions about the affordances that were important to the inhabitants.

My conceptual model of the spatial aspect of agricultural intensification comes from cross-cultural ethnographic work synthesized by M. Chisholm, who compared the amount of labor invested in cultivation to the distance between settlement and field.²¹ He found that labor investment declined quickly between one and two kilometers, so I investigate the prevalence of landscape features within 1.5 kilometers of settlements. I assume that cultivators whose taskscapes involve frequent trips to their fields will choose to live near the most productive fields. Therefore, if features conducive to agricultural production are more prevalent in this 'settlement territory', I take this as evidence for agricultural intensification. I resist defining such features *a priori* because the impact of the environment on production depends heavily on technology, technique, and crop varieties. Rather, I inductively assess the prevalence of features to determine whether observed settlement preferences are consistent with agricultural intensification. However, conceptual models do inform the factors that I test. In the Lower Rhine, where agriculture is heavily constrained by the meandering river and its alluvial soil, I use a simple landform classification based on a modern understanding of agricultural potential.²² For the Lower Danube, agriculture is less tightly constrained by the landscape. I use the Roman agricultural writers to identify the types of significant factors but do not adopt their opinions on the precise impact of each factor. I examined slope, topographic land form, sun exposure, aspect

20 This is not only true of new settlements. The decision to remain in or reoccupy an older settlement is also related to the local landscape, though in this case the history of occupation might also have played a role.

21 M. Chisholm, *Rural Settlement and Land Use: An Essay in Location* (London 1979).

22 P. Verhagen et al., 'Now you see them, now you don't: Defining and using a flexible chronology of sites for spatial analysis of Roman settlement in the Dutch River Area', *JASc: Reports* 10 (2016), 314–315.

(which relates to wind exposure), soil, and water supply. For the sake of brevity, I focus here on topographic landform, which showed the largest impacts on settlement location.

These conceptual models must be translated into digital models of the ancient environment. For the Lower Rhine, I use a palaeogeographic reconstruction in which the study area is divided into mutually exclusive units consisting of a single landscape category (fig. 12.3). This reconstruction was built by Mark Groenhuijzen as part of the project “Finding the Limits of the Limes”, led by Philip Verhagen, which also used digital spatial analysis to understand economic relations between the Roman army and the local population.²³ Therefore, the scale and categorization are well-suited to the current study, and my results are comparable to those of that project. No such reconstruction was available for the Lower Danube, but because the terrain in this region is less dynamic than in the Lower Rhine, modern topography is an adequate approximation of ancient topography. I derived topographic landforms from a digital elevation model (DEM). For each cell, the algorithm calculates a topographic position index, which is the ratio between its elevation and the average elevation in a neighborhood around the cell. Then the user specifies cutoff values to divide the terrain into ridges (where the elevation is much higher than average), upper slopes (higher), mid-slopes (similar), lower slopes (lower), and valleys (much lower). The addition of slope data separates mid-slopes into plains, gentle slopes, and steep slopes.

My conceptual model of marketing is based on the idea that people who frequently sell their produce at a market place will try to reduce the time they spend transporting goods to market.²⁴ Large-scale landowners who sell their crops through middlemen, might be less sensitive to the precise distance between their estate and the market place. But in this case, the auxiliary fort does not offer the affordance of ‘market place’ to the producer but functions as an abstract, distant market with little immediate importance in their experienced landscape. The purpose of my larger, analytical model is not to test whether forts acted as markets, but as market places. Multiple market places in a region constitute a market system, and while people are likely to travel most often to the closest market, they also have the option of using a more distant market. To represent marketing affordances, I use a ‘Market Potential’ (MP)

23 M.R. Groenhuijzen, *Palaeogeographic Analysis of the Dutch Part of the Roman Limes and Its Hinterland: Computational Approaches to Transport and Settlement in the Lower Rhine Limes Zone in the Netherlands* (PhD thesis, Amsterdam 2018).

24 This idea has support from ancient literary evidence, where peasants selling their produce are described as hastening back to their fields as quickly as possible: Pl. *R.* 2.371c; Apul. *met.* 9.32; Lib. *or.* 50.25–26; *Dig.* 50.11.2.

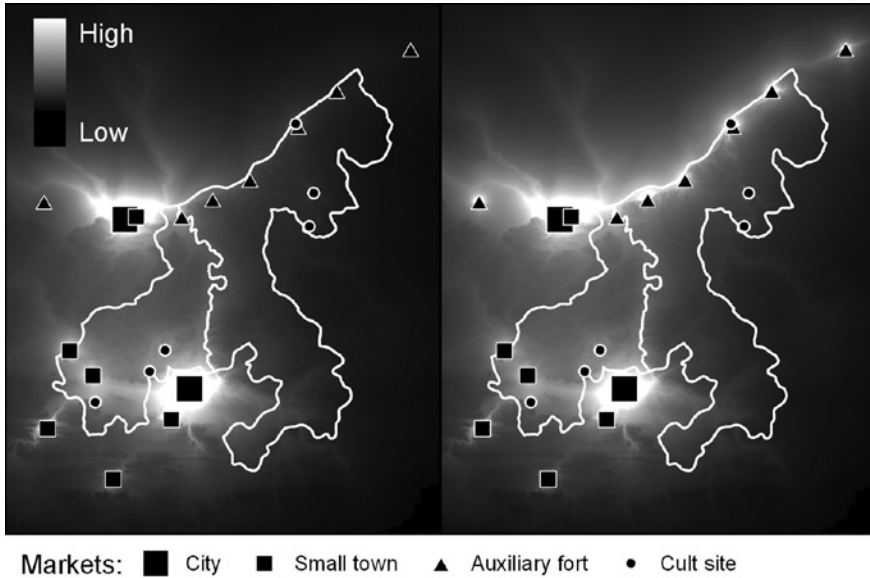


FIGURE 12.1 Two versions of the Market Potential variable for the Middle Roman period in the Lower Danube study area. The variable on the left includes cities (including the legionary fortress at Novae), small towns, and cult sites, while the one on the right includes these places as well as auxiliary forts

variable.²⁵ The market potential of a given place is the sum of the purchasing power of each market place divided by its distance from that place. Because we have no good data on actual purchasing power, I assign each type of market a weight according to a scheme designed to highlight the role of auxiliary forts. Cult sites, which might have hosted periodic markets, are given a weight of 1; small towns, with some resident consumers, a weight of 5; and large market centers, including cities and legionary fortresses with many consumers, a weight of 25. When they are included, auxiliary forts with their surrounding settlements are given a weight of 5.²⁶ These weights are a necessary, simplifying assumption that allow me to test hypotheses about the role of auxiliary forts in the marketing system. I create two versions of the MP variable, one that includes the forts and one that excludes them (fig. 12.1). Neither MP variable is a fully accurate representation of the marketing system experienced

25 The MP variable was inspired by the concept of urban potential used by J. De Vries, *European Urbanization: 1500–1800* (Harvard 1984), 154–156.

26 Note that this scheme varies from that used in Weaverdyck 2016; 2019, *op. cit.* (n. 13), where the goal was to understand the economic impact of the army as a whole.

in antiquity, but by comparing how well the models built using them fit the data, I can decide which variable is a closer approximation. Closer and closer approximations might be achieved by iteratively tweaking the weights of each market place, but my present goal is to understand the role of auxiliary forts, and for that goal, these two versions of the MP variable are enough. Neither will be ‘right’, but one might be more right than the other.

To test these conceptual models as represented in digital models, the archaeological data must also be represented digitally. The spatial scale of my analysis makes points appropriate representations for all archaeological sites. The sites are categorized by chronology and type. The typology used here is meant to highlight economic roles: sanctuaries, small towns, cities, and forts all represent exchange and consumption at varying scales and rural settlements represent agricultural production. I compiled the archaeological dataset for the Lower Danube using the Bulgarian national archaeological database supplemented with published material. It contains 325 sites from the Late Iron Age through the 6th c. CE scattered across 345,975 ha (fig. 12.2). The Lower Rhine archaeological dataset comes from the “Finding the Limits of the Limes” project. It was derived largely from the Dutch national registry of archaeological sites and contains 1,151 sites dating from the Late Iron Age through the mid 5th c. CE across 249,631 ha (fig. 12.3). Verhagen and his team used aoristic dating techniques to refine the chronological precision of their dataset, so there are many more closely dated sites in the Lower Rhine than the Lower Danube.²⁷ Periodization and site numbers for each study area are presented in table 1. The chronological precision and range, and the size of the datasets differ greatly, which influences how we interpret the results of analysis, but since each area is analyzed separately, it does not influence the analysis itself.

TABLE 12.1 Periodization and numbers of rural settlements in the Lower Rhine and Lower Danube study areas. Rural settlement numbers are divided by analytical zone (see below): E = East, W = West, C = Central

	Period	Date range	Rural settlements
Lower Danube	Pre-Roman	Ca. 500 BCE–50 CE	W: 23/E: 75
	Early Roman	50 CE–100 CE	W: 1/E: 1
	Middle Roman	100–275 CE	W: 31/E: 21
	Late Roman	275–475 CE	W: 45/E: 22
	Late Antique	475–600 CE	W: 8/E: 15

²⁷ Verhagen et al. 2016, op. cit. (n. 22).

TABLE 12.1 Periodization and numbers of rural settlements (*cont.*)

	Period	Date range	Rural settlements
Lower Rhine	Late Iron Age	250–12 BCE	C: 137/E: 123
	Early Roman A	12 BCE–25 CE	C: 131/E: 97
	Early Roman B	25–70 CE	C: 153/E: 116
	Middle Roman A	70–150 CE	C: 222/E: 177
	Middle Roman B	150–270 CE	C: 237/E: 208
	Late Roman A	270–350 CE	C: 153/E: 118
	Late Roman B	350–450 CE	C: 170/E: 133

In addition to the archaeological evidence, the quantitative analyses require comparison datasets. For agricultural intensification, I use univariate analytical techniques that determine if samples are representative of larger populations. I compare the prevalence of landscape features in settlement territories to their prevalence in territories surrounding points that represent all of the places people could have settled. In the Lower Rhine, this was the entire study area.²⁸ For the Lower Danube, I created a comparison dataset that would be biased in a similar way as the archaeological data set. The northern Bulgarian countryside has not been subjected to the same level of archaeological research as the Dutch countryside, and most of the Lower Danube dataset was compiled in a relatively compressed period in the 1980s and early 1990s.²⁹ Therefore, I

28 I used the Zonal Statistics tool in ArcGIS Pro 2.4 to calculate the area of each landform within 1.5 km of each cell in the study area.

29 Excellent archaeological investigation in the Bulgarian countryside is ongoing, but it is more site focused, deepening our knowledge of particular sites more than expanding the number of sites known. Most of the sites in the Bulgarian National Database were recorded during extensive surveys carried out as part of a country-wide effort to document the archaeological heritage of the nation (Weaverdyck 2016, op. cit. [n. 13], 102–105). More recent surveys include the site-focused survey of villas around Nicopolis ad Istrum led by Andrew Poulter (A. Poulter, ‘The field survey: sites and their interpretation’, in A. Poulter [ed.], *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Lower Danube: Excavations and Survey at Dichin, a Late Roman to Early Byzantine Fort and a Roman Aqueduct* [Oxford 2019], 683–777) and the survey of the countryside between Novae and Sexaginta Prista led by Sven Conrad. To date, the latter has only been published in summary form, S. Conrad and D. Stančev, ‘Archaeological survey on the Roman frontier on the Lower Danube between Novae and Sexaginta Prista. Preliminary report (1997–2000)’, in P. Freeman et al. (eds.), *Limes XVIII: Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)* (Oxford 2002), 673–684; S. Conrad, ‘Archaeological survey on the Lower Danube: results and perspectives’, in P.G. Bilde and V.F. Stolba (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora: Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*

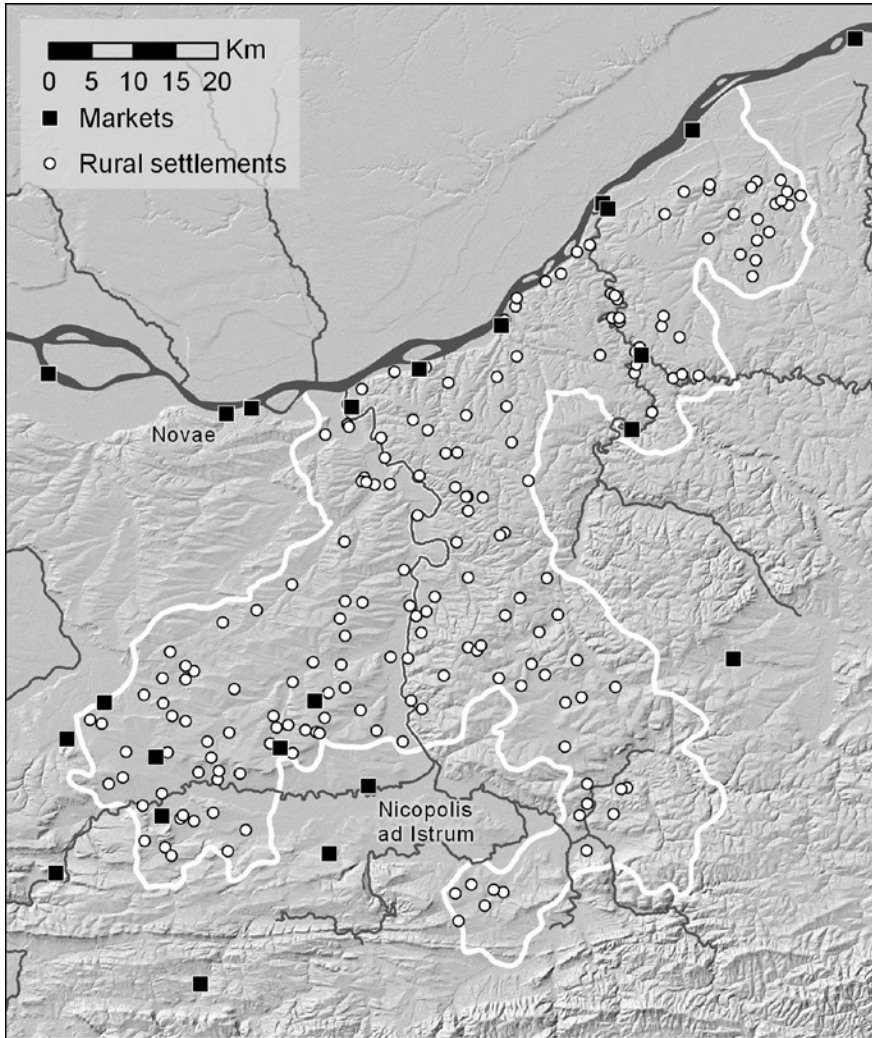


FIGURE 12.2 Digital model of the archaeological data in the Lower Danube study area, including rural settlements from the Late Iron Age through Late Antiquity and markets from the Mid-Roman and Late Roman periods

compared the distribution of archaeological sites to land cover data from 1990 and to the locations of modern population centers and found that forests and

(Aarhus 2006), 309–331; S. Conrad, 'Die Besiedlung zwischen Iatrus und Novae an der unteren Donau', in R. Ivanov (ed.), *Rimski i Rannovizantiiski Selishta v Bulgariya/Roman and Early Byzantine Settlements in Bulgaria* (Sofia 2008), 68–81.

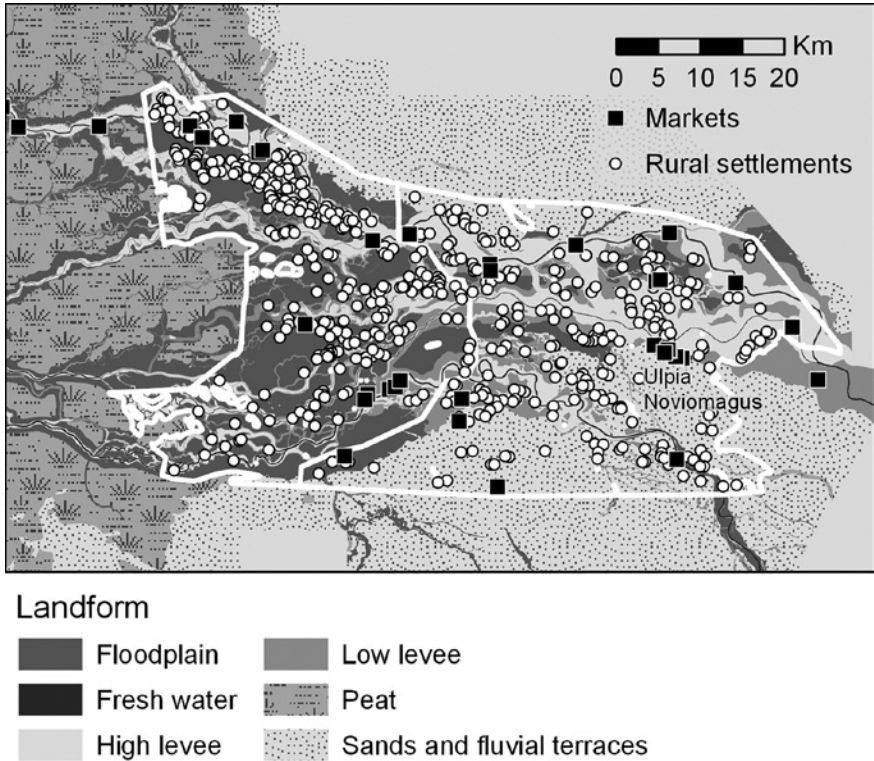


FIGURE 12.3 Digital model of the archaeological data in the Lower Rhine study area including rural settlements from the Late Iron Age through the Late Roman B periods and markets from the Early Roman A through Late Roman B periods

areas farther than 3 km from a modern village each contained approximately half as many sites as expected given their area.³⁰ The comparison dataset of randomly distributed points is weighted accordingly.

To study marketing, I rely on multivariate logistic regression analysis, which sorts observations into two, mutually exclusive categories. Therefore, the appropriate comparison dataset is not all locations that could have been chosen for settlement, but locations that – as far as we know – were not chosen. Non-settlements are locations distributed at random so as not to coincide with settlements. Because logistic regression analysis requires roughly similar numbers of settlements and non-settlements, the comparison dataset must be smaller than the one used in the univariate analysis. I therefore run the entire

30 Weaverdyck 2016, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 125–129.

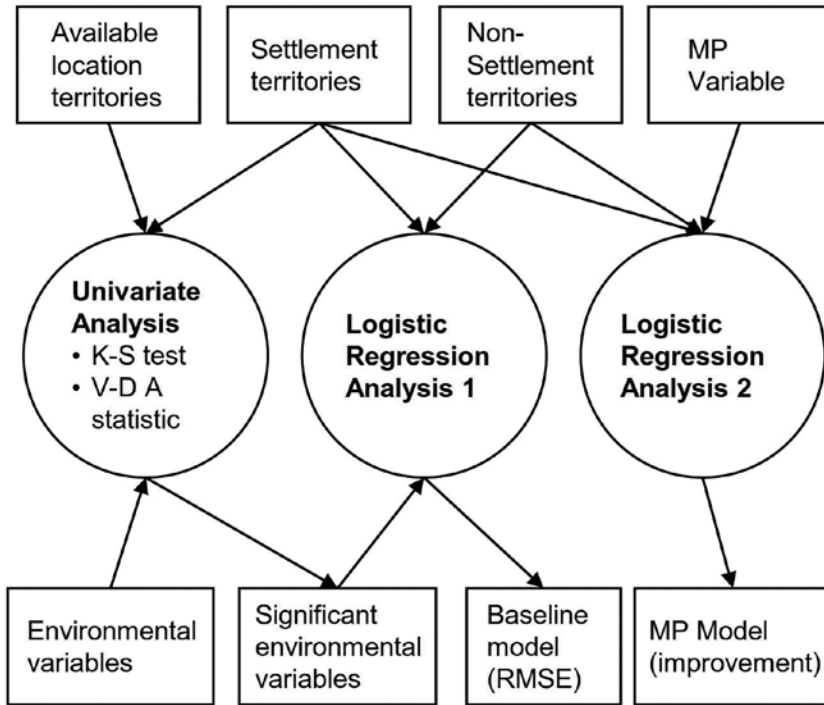


FIGURE 12.4 Schematic representation of the statistical analytical method. Rectangles represent variables and values used as inputs to and outputs of analytical processes, represented by circles

multivariate analysis five times using different sets of non-settlements. Results that are consistent across these datasets reflect the impact of the settlements rather than the varying non-settlements.

After the various models are represented digitally, and the variables measured, I apply a multi-step process of statistical analysis (fig. 12.4). First, I compare the prevalence of various environmental variables within settlement territories to a comparison dataset. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S) test identifies variables that differ significantly between the two datasets. Vargha-Delaney's A statistic (V-D A) shows the size and direction of the difference by estimating the likelihood that a randomly selected case from one dataset (settlements) will have a higher value of a certain variable than a randomly selected case from another dataset (the area as a whole). High values of V-D A indicate that most settlement territories contain more of a certain landscape feature than the comparison dataset, and low values mean the opposite.

In the next step, I use a multivariate technique, because it seems unlikely that rural inhabitants of the ancient world would prioritize access to markets

over basic productivity. Multivariate analysis allows me to control for the landscape features influencing production when I assess the importance of proximity to market centers. I select the environmental variables that were identified as most significant by the K-S test and combine them into a smaller set of composite variables using Principle Component Analysis because the environmental variables are often correlated with each other. These Principal Components are used to create a logistic regression model that attempts to distinguish between locations chosen for settlement and those that weren't on the basis of environmental variables alone. The resulting model is called the baseline model and has a certain level of error, quantified as the Root Mean Square Error or RMSE. The lower the RMSE, the better the model fits the data. Next, I calculate a second model using the same environmental variables but with the addition of an MP variable. If the MP variable improves model performance relative to the baseline model, we might be able to infer the impact market potential had on settlement locations and conclude that people traveled frequently to these market places. If the MP variable including forts improves model performance more than the one without them, this would suggest that people saw forts as part of their market system.

It is important to keep in mind that statistical analysis like this does not produce answers, but figures that summarize and quantify aspects of data that are otherwise opaque. Like an excavator's trowel, it is a tool that produces evidence, which must be interpreted. This analysis identifies overarching trends that are common to most rural settlements in a dataset. Diversity in the way that people perceived and interacted with the landscape will mute the statistical significance of the results, so the method is well-suited to understanding generalized, underlying processes.

3 Case Studies

The Lower Rhine and Lower Danube frontiers are both riverine frontiers with a linear arrangement of military forts along the banks. Both areas also contain one legionary fortress and several auxiliary forts. They differ in their history of occupation. The Lower Rhine was heavily militarized during the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, after which the number of soldiers was reduced. The Lower Danube was first occupied under Claudius and was not heavily fortified until the Flavian and Antonine periods. Both areas experienced violence in the 3rd c. and efforts at pacification by the Constantinian emperors during the 4th c., although success came earlier in the Lower Danube than the Lower Rhine. The power of the Roman Empire was challenged in both areas again in

the late 4th c. and early 5th c., but in the Lower Danube, the state continuously attempted to reestablish control throughout the 5th c. and 6th c., whereas it abandoned the Lower Rhine.³¹

The landscapes also differed. Both study areas contain enough local variation that they were each divided into analytical zones to maximize environmental homogeneity. In the Lower Rhine, the eastern zone contains large areas of sandy soil interspersed with levees while in the central zone, the levees are surrounded by floodplains and peat land. The western zone is unsuitable for analysis because large parts of it were uninhabitable. The major centers in this area – Oppidum Batavorum followed by Ulpia Noviomagus and the legionary fortresses of the Augustan and Flavian periods – were found at Nijmegen in the eastern zone. The Lower Danube study area is divided by the river Yantra, which flows along a fault line. To the west, the lower land contains gentle hills and broad valleys. The eastern part is uplifted, undulates irregularly, and is incised by deep river gorges. Major centers here are the legionary fortress and city at Novae and the city of Nicopolis ad Istrum.

4 Results

The graphs below show the V-D A statistic for variables identified as significant by the K-S test in at least one time period ($p < 0.05$ indicated by squares, $p < 0.10$ indicated by circles). For ease of interpretation, 0.5 has been subtracted from the A statistic so that values above zero indicate the variable was favored, while those below zero indicate avoidance.

We begin with the examination of agricultural intensification in the Lower Rhine region (Figs 12.5 and 12.6). First, the strength and stability of landscape preferences remain consistent over time. Most landforms analyzed showed significant differences in prevalence between settlement territories and the study area as a whole in most time periods. Levees were consistently favored, and the marginal landforms (floodplains, peat, and fresh water in the central zone, sands and fluvial terraces in the eastern zone) were also consistently avoided throughout antiquity. However, there is some variation. In particular, the preferences for low levees in the central zone and high levees in the eastern zone increased in the Early Roman A period, suggesting arable land was more highly valued in this period than it was in the Late Iron Age.

31 Weaverdyck 2016, op. cit. (n. 13), 69–77 for the Lower Danube; W.J.H. Willems, *Romans and Batavians: A Regional Study in the Dutch Eastern River Area* (Amsterdam 1986) for the Lower Rhine.

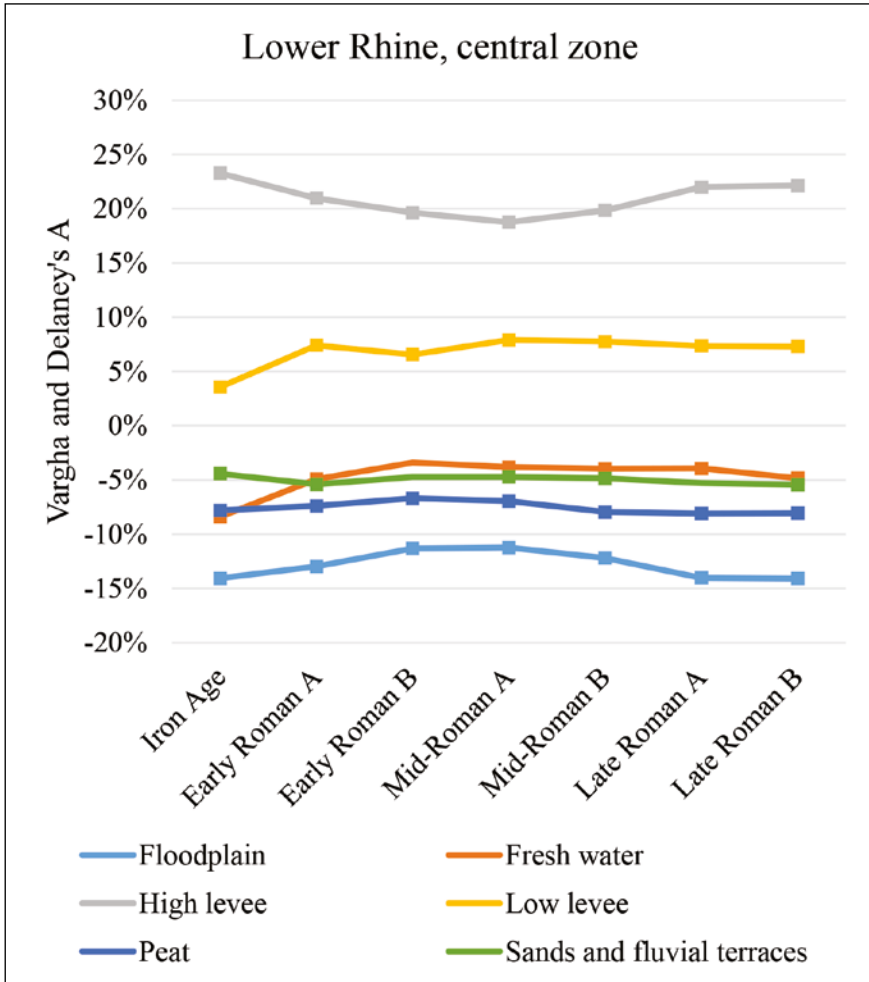


FIGURE 12.5 The relative prevalence of landforms in settlement territories in the central zone of the Lower Rhine. Periods when the prevalence of the landform is statistically significantly different from the comparison dataset are marked with a square ($p < 0.05$) or a circle ($p < 0.10$)

In the Lower Danube, perceptions of the landscape varied more across time but are also subtler (Figs 12.7 and 12.8). Fewer variables show statistically significant differences. This could be the result of a smaller sample size, a greater diversity of perspectives on the landscape surrounding settlements, or a less-constrained set of options as compared to the Lower Rhine. Nevertheless, some conclusions are possible. In the western zone, gentle hill slopes became more attractive in the mid-Roman period than they were in the pre-Roman period,

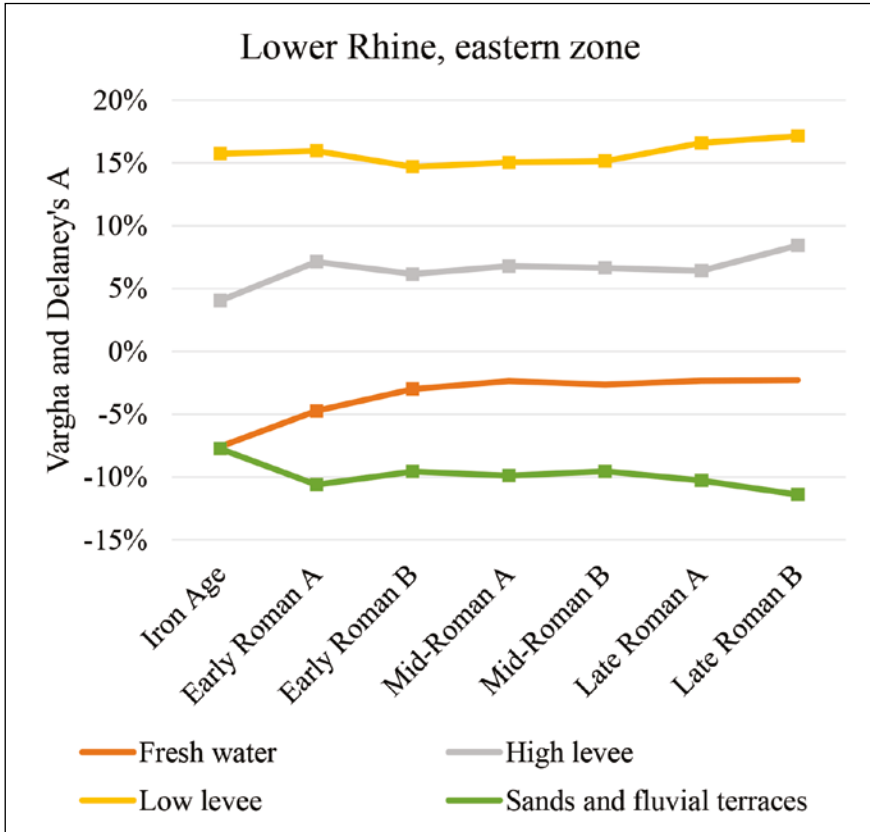


FIGURE 12.6 The relative prevalence of landforms in settlement territories in the eastern zone of the Lower Rhine. Periods when the prevalence of the landform is statistically significantly different from the comparison dataset are marked with a square ($p < 0.05$) or a circle ($p < 0.10$)

and valleys and upper slopes of hills became less attractive (the number of Early Roman sites is too small to analyze). Roman agronomists recommend gently sloping land for grain production because it drains well but is fairly easy to plow, while valleys can become waterlogged and upper slopes are exposed to wind. In the Late Roman period (4th c.), these preferences are less acute. In the eastern zone, settlements show no clear preferences in the mid-Roman period, but in the Late Roman period they favor gentle hillsides, as their eastern neighbors had before. Thus, there is some evidence for agricultural intensification in the Roman Lower Danube, but it occurred earlier in the zone west of the Yantra and later in the zone to the east.

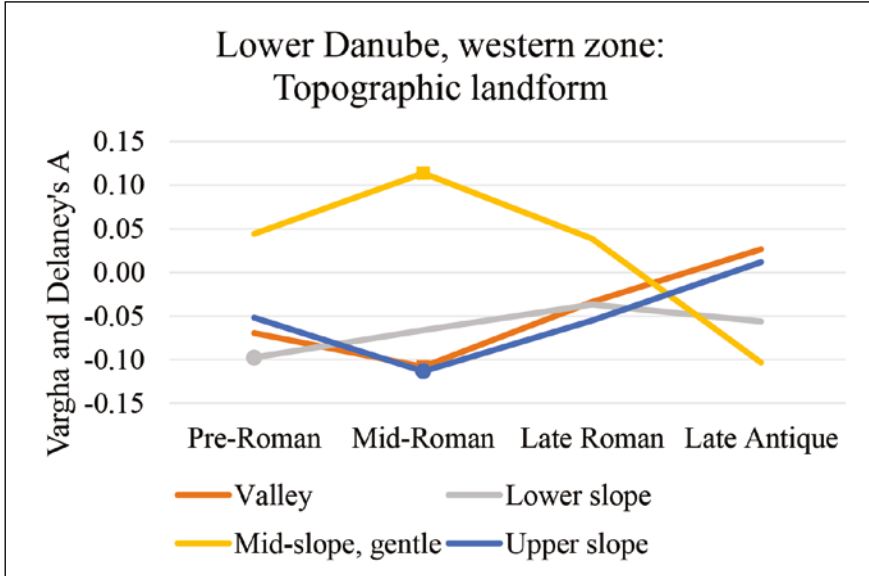


FIGURE 12.7 The relative prevalence of topographic landforms in settlement territories in the western zone of the Lower Danube. Periods when the prevalence of the landform is statistically significantly different from the comparison dataset are marked with a square ($p < 0.05$) or a circle ($p < 0.10$)

The clearest locational tendencies in the Lower Danube area are exhibited by the Late Antique (5th–6th c. CE) settlements of the eastern zone, and they are the polar opposite of what came before. In a dramatic shift, gentle hillsides fall out of favor and people prioritize valleys, ridges, upper slopes, and steep hillsides. The same shift in priorities is visible in the western zone, but the preferences are less significant. These landscape features are not conducive to agriculture, but they are good for defense. The rivers flowing through the eastern zone of the Lower Danube incise steep, meandering valleys into the bedrock, producing defensible promontories surrounded by cliffs. The settlements studied here were not fortified themselves, but they achieved a measure of security by ensuring that defensible locations were close by. For the inhabitants of the Lower Danube in Late Antiquity, the overriding priority in choosing a place to live was no longer agricultural production, but security. This was a landscape shaped by fear.

The economic context of the militarized frontier and, in the Lower Danube, the insecurity of the 5th and 6th c. affected how people perceived the landscapes surrounding their settlements, but how did they perceive the auxiliary

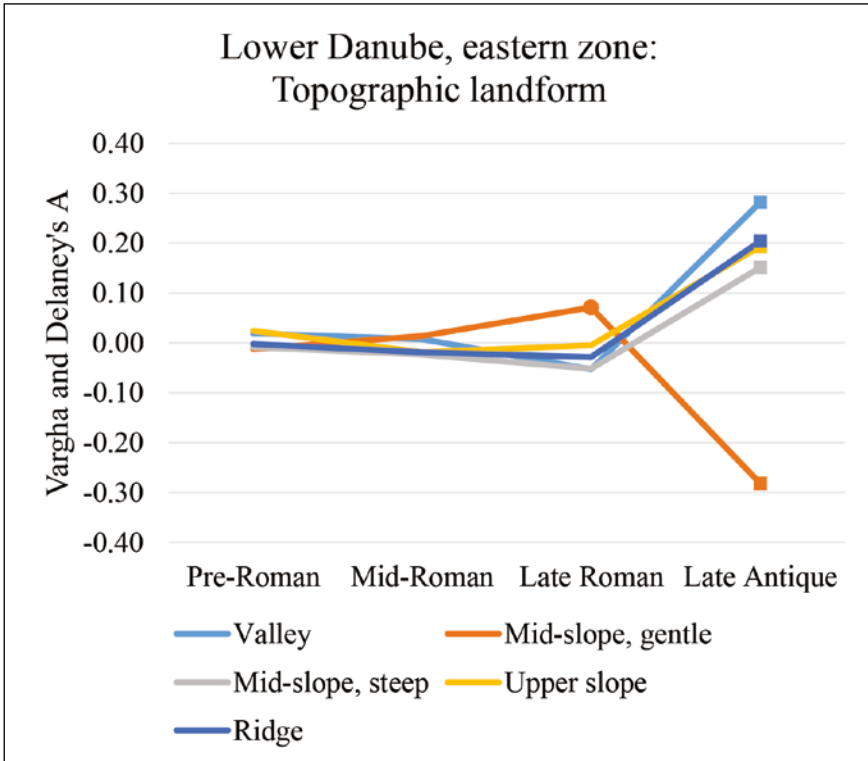


FIGURE 12.8 The relative prevalence of topographic landforms in settlement territories in the eastern zone of the Lower Danube. Periods when the prevalence of the landform is statistically significantly different from the comparison dataset are marked with a square ($p < 0.05$) or a circle ($p < 0.10$)

forts themselves? The tables below (Tab. 12.2 and 12.3) present information about three statistics from the comparative multivariate modeling process. The number is the improvement in model performance attributable to the Market Potential variable. This is calculated as a percentage of the baseline Root Mean Square Error. The larger improvement is written in bold. Within a logistic regression model, each variable has a p-value indicating the statistical significance of its contribution to the overall model. MP variables with a p-value less than 0.1 are starred. Finally, each variable also has a coefficient, indicating the strength and direction of its contribution to the model. When the MP variable's coefficient is negative – indicating that the chance of a location being a settlement actually decreases as market potential increases – I've bracketed it in parentheses. The five rows represent the five different sets of non-settlements used.

TABLE 12.2 Improvement over baseline model from the addition of an MP variable in the Lower Rhine area

	Without forts	With forts		Without forts	With forts
Early Roman A					
Central zone	0.01%	0.07%	Eastern zone	0.00%	(0.00%)
	0.01%	0.00%		0.30%	0.18%
	(0.15%)	(0.13%)		0.00%	(0.00%)
	(0.06%)	(0.02%)		0.27%	0.18%
	0.01%	0.04%		(0.00%)	(0.02%)
Early Roman B					
Central zone	(0.21%)	(0.01%)	Eastern zone	0.01%	(0.00%)
	(0.82%)*	(0.48%)*		(0.00%)	(0.00%)
	(0.04%)	0.01%		0.68%*	0.42%*
	0.01%	0.06%		0.07%	0.03%
	(0.01%)	0.15%		0.24%	(0.01%)
Middle Roman A					
Central zone	(0.08%)	(0.07%)	Eastern zone	0.20%	0.22%
	0.15%	0.06%		0.47%*	0.35%*
	(0.00%)	0.06%		0.04%	0.05%
	(0.04%)	0.08%		0.73%*	0.46%*
	(0.04%)	(0.03%)		1.02%*	1.11%*
Middle Roman B					
Central zone	(0.04%)	(0.13%)	Eastern zone	0.25%	0.30%
	(0.12%)	(0.08%)		0.52%*	0.24%
	0.02%	0.02%		0.17%	0.23%
	0.00%	0.00%		1.80%*	2.07%*
	0.07%	0.04%		0.69%*	0.59%*
Late Roman A					
Central zone	0.01%	(0.00%)	Eastern zone	0.42%	0.65%*
	(0.00%)	(0.00%)		0.21%	0.65%*
	(0.15%)	(0.11%)		0.00%	0.01%
	(-0.01%)	(-0.01%)		(0.00%)	0.04%
	0.11%	0.08%		(0.02%)	0.02%

TABLE 12.2 Improvement over baseline model from the addition of an MP variable (*cont.*)

	Without forts	With forts		Without forts	With forts
Late Roman B					
Central zone	(0.01%)	(0.08%)	Eastern zone	0.94%*	1.38%*
	(0.12%)	(0.15%)		0.60%*	0.41%
	(0.03%)	(0.01%)		0.61%*	0.87%*
	(-0.02%)	(-0.03%)		0.20%	0.45%*
	(0.17%)	(0.23%)		0.74%*	1.02%*

We begin again with the Lower Rhine. The first statistically significant MP variables appear in the Early Roman B period. In the eastern zone, the MP variable without auxiliary forts improves model performance more than the one that includes them four out of five times, and one of these is statistically significant. In the central zone, one combination produces significant MP variables, and here the variable without forts again performs best, but with a negative coefficient. When the MP variable including forts performs best, the coefficient is positive. This would seem to suggest that settlements in the eastern zone were attracted to civilian market centers but not forts, while those in the central zone might have avoided civilian market centers, but may have been attracted to some forts. To understand this result, it helps to visualize the two MP variables along with settlements and non-settlements (fig. 12.9). In the map on the left, showing the MP variable that excludes forts, there are two broad patches of high values, and these mostly contain non-settlements. When forts are included in the MP variable, as in the map on the right, the northern patch extends to cover a cluster of settlements. In the former case, high MP values are primarily associated with non-settlements, whereas in the latter, both settlements and non-settlements have high MP values, making the variable less useful for distinguishing between the two. This result suggests that the fort at De Meern, Hoge Woerd I might have been seen as an attractive center at this time.

In the Middle Roman A and B periods, MP variables are more often significant in the eastern zone, but never in the central zone. Settlements in the east seem to favor proximity to markets but, since neither variable consistently outperforms the other, it is difficult to say how they viewed forts. The results are clearer in the Late Roman periods. In the eastern zone, the MP variable with forts outperforms the one without every time in the Late Roman A period and four times in the Late Roman B period, and they are often statistically significant. The market centers in the central zone did not attract settlements in the

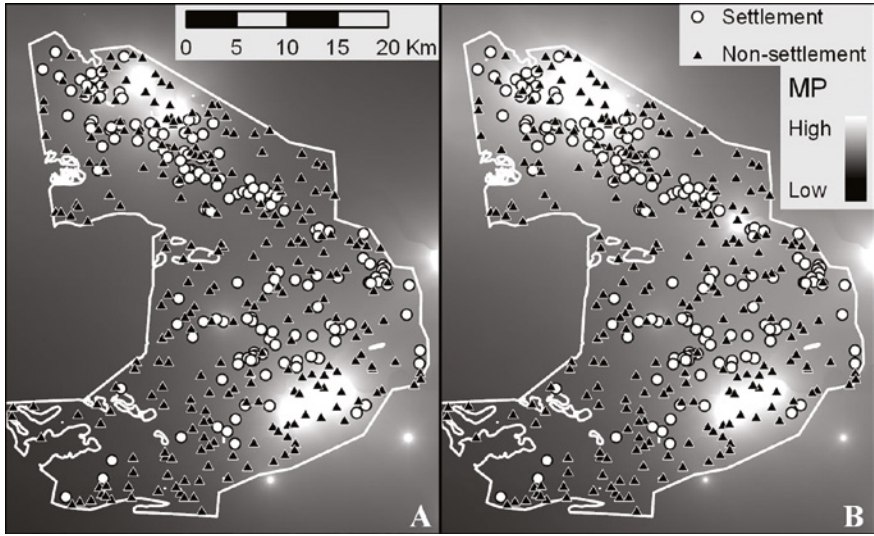


FIGURE 12.9 Early Roman B MP variables in the central zone of the Lower Rhine study area. A: MP variable containing only civilian centers. B: MP variable containing civilian centers and forts

same way; in most cases, the coefficients were negative, although the variables were never significant.

TABLE 12.3 Improvement over baseline model from the addition of an MP variable in the Lower Danube area

	Without forts	With forts		Without forts	With forts
Middle Roman					
Western zone	0.30%	0.16%	Eastern zone	0.00%	0.18%
	0.01%	(-0.01%)		(0.01%)	(0.03%)
	0.37%	0.19%		0.01%	0.59%
	0.38%	0.18%		(0.00%)	0.00%
	0.02%	(-0.02%)		0.25%	0.60%
Late Roman					
Western zone	0.33%	0.06%	Eastern zone	0.95%	0.19%
	0.18%	(0.00%)		1.30%	0.53%
	0.93%	0.02%		0.70%	1.23%
	0.44%	(0.02%)		0.77%	0.31%
	0.80%	(0.00%)		1.88%	1.14%

In the Lower Danube, no MP variable was ever significant, probably a result of the sparser data as compared to the Lower Rhine. At the same time, the relative performance of MP variables was more consistent. In the Middle Roman period in the western zone, the variable without forts performed best, while in the eastern zone, closer to the frontier, the one with forts performed best. In the Late Roman period, though, the variable without forts performed best in both zones, with a single exception in the eastern zone. Given the lack of statistical significance and the very small size of the improvement, we should treat these results with caution. Nevertheless, they do seem to suggest that auxiliary forts might have been attractive to some settlements in the eastern zone in the 2nd to 3rd c. but not in the 4th c.

5 Conclusion

This analysis shows that there is no definitive answer as to whether people living in the northern frontier zone saw Roman auxiliary forts as market places according to the models and data sets used. In some times and places, some forts did attract settlement and therefore probably functioned as markets, in other places they did not. In the middle of the 1st c. CE, the people in the central zone of the Lower Rhine probably sold their goods at at least one fort, but their neighbors in the eastern zone did not. Similarly, in the eastern zone of the Lower Danube, forts functioned as markets in the mid-Roman period, but not in the late Roman period. This means that our categorization of these places as 'auxiliary forts' is inadequate for economic questions. 'Auxiliary fort' is itself a model of an ancient place designed to highlight its role in the Roman military structure, but it obscures variation in the meaning that such a place could hold for people living in the countryside around it. The economic roles of auxiliary forts must be examined on a case-by-case basis.

The investigation of agricultural intensification has also demonstrated the complexity of the Empire's impact on landscapes. There is indeed some evidence that people generally preferred to settle in locations where they could access the affordance of good agricultural land. Levees were more attractive to the people living in the Lower Rhine area during the earliest phase of Roman rule than they had been during the Late Iron Age. In the Lower Danube, gently sloping hills took on greater significance, but the timing of this change differed between the eastern and western zones of the study area. The impacts of Rome on landscapes could vary even on a local scale. The most dramatic impact of the Empire on landscapes, however, came not as a result of occupation, but as

a result of collapse. In Late Antiquity, especially from the late 4th c., the Lower Danube was subject to wars, and Roman imperial officials adopted a different perspective on this landscape than they had before. In the late 3rd and early 4th c., emperors invested heavily in frontier defense along the river, and tetrarchic building inscriptions explicitly emphasize their intentions to bring peace and security.³² But during the Gothic wars of the 370s, the Roman government abandoned the countryside of the Danubian plain to the Goths. After this, the Empire invested in fortifications at various places, including supply depots set back from the river itself.³³ It seems the Empire's strategy was focused on controlling nodes within a military network rather than defending the territory of the Lower Danube plain. The people living in the countryside responded by living in locations that afforded them the opportunity of flight and defense. In the 4th c., the Lower Danube was a landscape of production, but in the 5th and 6th, it was a landscape of fear.

Glossary

K-S test The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is a statistical method of determining if two sets of continuous, numerical values are drawn from the same population. It is useful in that it can compare datasets with very different sizes.

Logistic Regression Analysis A statistical method that creates a model predicting a dependent variable on the basis of multiple independent variables. It is useful because the independent variables can be continuous numbers, categories, or other types, and it can predict a binary dependent variable.

MP Market Potential is a quantitative representation of the marketing opportunities available at any location within a market system. It is the sum of the purchasing power of each market divided by the distance to that market from the location in question.

Principle Component Analysis A technique to summarize multivariate data using a smaller set of variables. By design, the resulting principal components are uncorrelated with each other.

RMSE The Root Mean Square Error is a measure of goodness of fit between a model and a dataset. It is the square root of the sum of the squared differences

32 A. Poulter, 'The transition to Late Antiquity', in A. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond* (Oxford 2007), 30.

33 Poulter 2019, op. cit. (n. 29).

between the actual value of each data point and the value predicted by the model.

V-D A Vargha and Delaney's A statistic is a statistical measure of effect size. Given two sets of data with continuous values, it is the likelihood that a value randomly selected from one set will be higher than a value randomly selected from the other set.

Imperial Cult Processions and Landscape in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire: The Case of The Demosthenia of Oenoanda

Elena Muñiz Grijalvo and Fernando Lozano

The famous epigraphic dossier on the creation of the Demosthenia by C. Iulius Demosthenes in the city of Oenoanda is for many reasons an extraordinary testimony.¹ It comprises of several documents: following a letter in which Demosthenes offers an account of how he has defrayed the cost of organising a new pentaeteric festival in 124 CE (to which Hadrian gives his seal of approval in the dossier's first document), there is a third document in which the city of Oenoanda undertakes to organise the emperor cult in the framework of a new imperial festival.² Among the sea of details that the document contains, we will dwell in this paper on the information that it provides on the situation of this specific territory of Lycia during the Imperial Age.³

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- 1 This paper has been written with the support of the research projects “Discursos del Imperio Romano: Las procesiones y la construcción de la comunidad imperial” (PGC2018-096500-B-C32) and “Discursos del Imperio Romano: Palabras y Rituales que Construyeron el Imperio” (PGC2018-096500-B-C31), financed by the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades.
 - 2 The dossier includes two more documents: “iv. The formal resolution of the council and people of the Termessians at Oenoanda, in the light of Demosthenes' benefactions, to provide a testimonial for him to the provincial governor and to request confirmation of the various tax privileges which had been agreed. v. The subscript of the governor, probably simply attached to the decree rather than to an elaborated petition”, see S. Mitchell, ‘Festivals, games, and civic life in Roman Asia Minor’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990), 187. The complete dossier in M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Munich 1988) (with translation; cf. *SEG* 38.1462). A complete discussion of the text in Wörle; Mitchell with translation; C.P. Jones, Review of M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest*, *JRA* 3 (1990), 484–88; F. Gascó, *Evergetismo* (unpublished); P. Guinea, ‘Las Demostenias de Enoanda y los bueyes ciudadanos’, in F. Presedo et al. (eds.), *Chaire. Homenaje al profesor Fernando Gascó* (Sevilla 1997), 463–471.
 - 3 Lycia was a rather mountainous region, with a shortage of arable land and a relatively limited population. It only became a Roman province in 43 CE. Although more research has been conducted on its cities, the countryside is also relatively well known: there were “numerous small plains surrounded by mountains, most easily exploited by means of small nucleated settlements”, J.R. Patterson, ‘Settlement, city and elite in Samnium and Lycia’, in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London 1991), 147–68. For

Surprisingly, the document describes the active participation of Oenoanda's territory (its villages and *monagria*)⁴ in the imperial cult ceremonies held in the city. In this respect, it is an all but unique testimony. These types of inscriptions dealing with the organisation of religious life in the Greek cities of the Empire did not usually contain references to their territories or constituencies. Normally, the population was classified according to other criteria, such as the possession of citizenship (citizens/*metoikoi*/foreigners) or the affiliation to a tribe.⁵ In the case of Oenoanda, however, the epigraphic document states that on the days set aside for the rituals in honour of the emperor a procession through the city's theatre, including a joint sacrifice by the city and the territory, was supposed to be organised. This procession apparently consisted of the sacrificial animals provided by the chief magistrates and priests, and was followed by the processions furnished by the villages, whose names, sometimes in pairs and sometimes in groups of three, appear in the inscription, too.

This testimony is evidently exceptional and, therefore, should not simply serve to provide a general overview of the relations between the Greek cities and their territories in the Imperial Age. Instead, it begs the question of why the assembly and council of Oenoanda decided to include the villages in

an overview of Lycia in Roman times, see A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire* (Oxford 1937), 96–110; T.R. Bryce, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources* (Copenhagen, 1985); Patterson 1991, op. cit. (n. 3); R. Haensch, *Capita Provinciarum. Statthalterstze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1997), 290–297; M. Harrison, *Mountain and Plain: From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period* (Ann Arbor 2001); H. Brandt and F. Kolb, *Lycia et Pamphylia: Eine römische Provinz im Südwesten Kleinasiens* (Mainz 2005). As for the city of Oenoanda, its first flourishing under the early Empire and its prosper situation in the late second and early third centuries, see Wörrle 1988, op. cit. (n. 2); J.J. Coulton, 'Termessians at Oenoanda', *AnSt* 32 (1982), 115–121; J.H. Coulton, 'Two buildings of Oinoanda', *PCPhS* n.s. 29 (1983), 1–20. See also the important bronze stele which contains the treaty between Rome and Lycia of 46 BCE (*SEG* 55.1452) and the commentary on the inscription in S. Mitchell, 'The treaty between Rome and Lycia of 46 BC', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Papyri Graecae Schøyen I* (Florence 2005), 163–258. Mitchell suggests that the Lycians had been at war with the people of Oenoanda and the treaty sanctioned a diminishment of the city's territory.

4 For the meaning of *monagria*, see *SEG* 38.1462C (p. 448); Wörrle 1988, op. cit. (n. 2), 140. Patterson 1991, op. cit. (n. 2), translates it as 'estate centre', and Mitchell 1990, op. cit. (n. 2), 186, as 'farmstead'.

5 A. Chankowski, 'Processions et cérémonies d'accueil: une image de la cité de la base époque hellénistique?', in P. Fröhlich and C. Müller (eds.), *Cityenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique* (Geneva 2010), 185–206 and S. Paul, 'Sharing the civic sacrifice: Civic feast, procession, and sacrificial division in the Hellenistic period', in F. van den Eijnde, J. Blok and R. Strootman (eds.), *Feasting and Polis Institutions* (Leiden and Boston 2018) analyse several Hellenistic examples; see also Guinea 1997, op. cit. (n. 2), 469, n. 19.

the organisation of the imperial cult in such an extraordinary fashion.⁶ Some scholars, including Michael Wörrle, Fernando Gascó and Stephen Mitchell, have underscored Oenoanda's desire to foster integration by forging stronger links with its villages, the Hellenic community and even the Empire. Gascó defines this as an authentic "act of political engineering".⁷ Others have preferred to put the emphasis on the initiative's possible tributary character, whose ultimate purpose would have been to burden the villages with a new tax, and on the subordination of the territory that was implicit in that ritual representation of the city.⁸

The aim here is to put forward a third explanation for the noteworthy appearance of the villages in the dossier of Oenoanda which relates to the involvement of the city's territory in the dynamics of imperial cult festivals. It should be noted that the document in question deals precisely with the organisation of the imperial cult festivals: once the creation of the new games had been approved, the city's intention was that "the festival should be adorned in every way" and that "devotion towards the emperor who has supported it should be completely fulfilled" (III. 56–57).⁹ Thereinafter, the text consists in a description of the ceremonies and their participants and principal actors (ll. 58–87). This is therefore the context in which the villages appear. Let us take a look at the description of the procession:

6 As a point of fact, this was the issue that would give rise to greater controversy in the years following the publication of the inscription as well as in the comprehensive study by Wörrle 1988, *op. cit.* (n. 2).

7 Wörrle 1988, *op. cit.* (n. 2); M. Wörrle, 'La festa' in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società* II.3 (Turin 1998); F. Gascó, *Evergetismo* (unpublished: Gascó's untimely death in 1995 prevented the completion of this seminal work. We would like to thank E. Falque's generosity in allowing us to consult Gascó's project). Special mention must be made of Mitchell's idea about the integration of the villages, that in his opinion might have been due to the gratitude of the villages and the magistrates of Oenoanda for the generosity of Demosthenes, cf. S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor* I (Oxford and New York 1993), 210, n. 73.

8 Guinea 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 2). From the little that is known about the city-territory articulation in Roman times, it can be deduced above all that the variety of situations is almost infinite; but the subordinate character of the villages, which almost always appear as tributaries, is usually emphasised: cf. D.Ch. 40.10; M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain* (Paris 1991); M. Corbier, 'City, territory and taxation', in Rich and Wallace-Hadrill 1991, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 211–240; Patterson 1991, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 169 extends on the impact of the Roman empire on Lycia, stressing how the size of rural properties continued to grow in order to cope with "the increased level of competition within the towns".

9 III. ll. 55–56: ἵνα δὲ συνκοσμηθῆ ἕκ παντὸς ἡ πανήγυρις κα[ὶ πλη]ρυστάτη γένηται ἢ πρὸς τὸν κεκυρωκ[ό]τα ἀ[ὐτήν] Αὐτοκράτορα εὐσέβεια ἐψη φίσαιο τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα.

(ll. 61–63) ten *sebastophoroi* should also be chosen by him who, wearing white clothing and a crown of celery leaves, will handle and bring forward and escort the images of the emperors and the image of our ancestral god Apollo, and the previously mentioned holy altar.¹⁰ (ll. 68–74) The following will process through the theatre and will sacrifice together during the days of the festival: The *agonothete* himself, one bull; the civic priest of the emperors and the priestess of the emperors, one bull; the priest of Zeus, one bull; the three panegyriarchs, one bull; the secretary of the council and (70) the five *prytaneis*, two bulls; the two market supervisors of the city, one bull; the two gymnasiarchs, one bull; the four treasurers (*tamiai*), one bull; the two *paraphylakes* [rural police-officers], one bull; the *ephebarch*, one bull; the *paidonomos*, one bull; the supervisor of the public buildings, one bull; of the villages, Therseno with Armadu, Arissos, Merlakanda, Mega Oros, [---]lai, Kirbu, Euporoi, Oroata, [...]ake, Valo, and Yskapha, with their associated farmsteads (*monagriai*), two bulls (this is followed by a list of at least 25 villages, some with associated *monagriai* [farmsteads]).¹¹

In an attempt to explain why Oenoanda decided to organise a procession with the explicit and prominent participation of the villages, we will focus on the organisation and significance of the processions. This perspective has not been fully explored before, even though the procession was probably one of the most eye-catching parts of the festival, and one of the most unequivocal ways to (re)present civic identity. In some respects, imperial cult processions were a ritual novelty where tradition and innovation converged and offered new semiotic and performative possibilities. We will therefore employ a dual approach: firstly, we will take into account the ritual logic of processions, that is, that only the people participating in them had a share in their benefits. In this

10 III. ll. 61–63: ὁμοίως αἰρεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σεβαστοφόρους ἰ', οἱ[τι]νες φοροῦντες ἐσθήητα λευκὴν καὶ στέφα[νον σε]λίνινον βασιτάσουσι καὶ προάξουσι καὶ προπομπεύσουσι τὰς σεβαστικὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν [τοῦ] | πατρῷου ἡμῶν θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸν π[ροδ]ηλούμενον ἱερὸν βωμόν.

11 Transl. by Mitchell 1990, op. cit. (n. 2). III. ll. 68–74: πομπεύς [ου]σι δὲ διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ συνθύσουσι ἐν ταῖς τῆς παν[ηγύ]ρειως ἡμέραις, καθὼς ἂν ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης δι' ἀπολόγου ἐκάστην συνθύσιαν τάξῃ, αὐτός ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης βούν α', ὁ πολιτικός ἱερεὺς Σεβαστῶ[ν καὶ ἡ] ἰ[ε]ρεία Σεβαστῶν βούν α', ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς βούν α', πανηγυριάρχαι γ' βούν α', γραμματεὺς βουλῆς χ[αί] | πρυτάνεις ε' βούς β', πολιτικοὶ ἀγορανόμο[ι] β' [βούν] α', γυμνασιάρχου β' βούν α', ταμίαι δ' βούν α', παραφύλακες β' βούν α', ἐφήβαρχος βούν α', παιδονόμος βούν α', ἐπιμελητὴς δημοσίων ἔργων [βούν] α', τῶν δὲ κωμῶν Θερσηγῶς σὺν Ἀρμαδου καὶ Ἀρισσῶ καὶ Μερλακάνδοις καὶ Μεγάλω Ὅρει καὶ [---]λαῖς καὶ Κίρβου καὶ Εὐπόροις καὶ Οροάτοις κα[ὶ] [---]ραχη καὶ Οὐάλω καὶ Ὑσκαφοῖς σὺν ταῖς ἀκολουθούσαις μοναγρίαις βούς β', Ὀρπεννα Σιέλια σὺν τα[ῖς] | ἀκολουθούσαις μοναγρίαις βούν α', ΟΓΑΡΣΑΝ[...]ΑΚΗ σὺν Λακιστανούνδοις.

case, we will see how the imperial cult procession at Oenoanda offered a new framework of participation in civic life. Secondly, imperial cult also brought with it new opportunities for social and political promotion. In this light, we will examine the interest that Demosthenes and the city of Oenoanda might have had in offering an impressive spectacle, to which end it was desirable to involve the territory as a whole. It was precisely the new ritual involvement of the territory what fostered a stronger perception of unity between town and country, and probably of the importance of the town and its monumental buildings. The impact of the Roman empire on landscape was not necessarily due to an actual physical reshaping of the territory, but rather due to landscape as a social product, as an ideologically burdened image which weighed heavily on reality.¹²

1. The processions that were organised in honour of the emperors were, in some respects, a significant ritual novelty. Traditionally, the major processions in which the civic institutions intervened involved escorting (*pompeuo*) the sacrificial animals destined to be offered to the gods to the place of sacrifice.¹³ There are several excellent examples, especially from the Hellenistic Age,

12 A useful survey of the multiplicity of interpretations of landscape in P. Howard et al. (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies* (New York 2019, 2nd ed.).

13 The most complete overview of Greek and Roman processions continues to be F. Bömer, s.v. 'pompa', *RE* 42 (1952), 1878–1994; a more general overview may be found in the first volume of the *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (Basel and Los Angeles 2005). Literature on Graeco-Roman processions usually focuses on particular aspects or different types: for instance, the *pompa triumphalis*, among the huge amount of bibliography on *triumphus*, for the *pompa* itself see T. Itgenshorst, *Tota illa pompa. Der Triumph in der römischen Republik* (Göttingen 2005); I. Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford and New York 2009), or the *pompa circensis* (which has benefited from some recent important work, see P. Arena, *Feste e rituali a Roma. Il principe incontra il popolo nel Circo Massimo* [Bari 2010]; J. Latham, *Performance, Memory, and Processions in Ancient Rome: The pompa circensis from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity* [New York and Cambridge 2016]). For more general reflections on processions, see F. Graf, 'Pompai in Greece', in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis. Proceedings of the Third International Seminar of Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute of Athens, 16–18 October 1992* (Stockholm 1996), 55–65; A. Chaniotis, 'Processions in Hellenistic cities: Contemporary discourses and ritual dynamics', in R. Alston, O.M. van Nijf and C.G. Williamson (eds.), *Cults, Creeds and Contests* (Louvain 2013), 21–47; S. Estienne, 'Aurea pompa venit. Présences divines dans les processions romaines', in S. Estienne et al. (eds.), *Figures de dieux. Construire le divin en images* (Rennes 2014), 337–349; D. Viviers, 'Quand le divin se meut. Mobilité des statues et construction du divin', in Estienne et al. 2014, op. cit., 27–38; I. Östenberg, S. Malmberg and J. Bjørnebye (eds.), *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome* (London and New York 2015).

which leave no room for doubt that only those people participating in the procession were eligible to receive all of the benefits, that is to say not only the meat for the subsequent sacrificial banquet, but also their symbolic inclusion in the civic body and ranking in the real or idealised civic hierarchy.¹⁴ For this reason, the participants were normally divided into citizens and non-citizens (who, in principle, were excluded from civic rites)¹⁵ and organised in groups according to their civic status: council members, magistrates, priests, youths, *neoi* and *paides*.¹⁶ It was also customary to specify that the city would bear the cost of the most important sacrificial animals, a significant note which gave the sacrifice its public character. Public funds were used to purchase the animals that would subsequently be consumed by the procession's main actors. But participating in the procession was so important that, on occasion, people were encouraged to do so voluntarily, paying for sacrifices out of their own pockets.¹⁷ And exceptionally, for reasons that will be discussed below, the city was even willing to sponsor the participation of the *metoikoi* in the procession and the sacrifice,¹⁸ making it quite clear, nonetheless, that they were non-citizens and would only consume those sacrificial animals reserved for them and would do so on their own. Therefore, these processions were opportunities for the *sympompeountes*, "those who united in procession", to express their belonging to the city and symbolise their social position.¹⁹

14 As stated by Östenberg 2009, op. cit. (n. 13), 36: "the ideal pattern of social life".

15 Cf. S. Krauter, *Bürgerrecht und Kulturteilnahme* (Berlin and New York 2004).

16 Some instances: *IMagnesia* 98 = *LSAM* 32; *SEG* 12.511 = *LSAM* 81 (Antiocheia ad Pyramum).

17 *IG XII* 9.89 (Eretria); *IMagnesia* 100 = *LSAM* 33A–B (Magnesia on the Meander).

18 See *SEG* 45.1508B (Bargyilia, end of second cent. BCE), lines 4–7: Πρυτανέων γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ συνκρίνει|ται βουθυτήσαι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, δοῦναι ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θεᾶς χρημάτων δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους, ἵνα καὶ ὑ|πὸ τούτων ... κοσμηθῆ|ι ἡ θυσία καὶ ἐπισημοτέρα γίνηται βουτροφούντων καὶ τούτων καὶ | [ὑπὸ τούτων θύηται]: A proposition made by the Prytaneis: since it had been decided that for the sacrifice to Artemis it was necessary to add 100 drachmas to the monies of the goddess for the metics, in order that the sacrifice [should be performed by them] and because it would be more magnificent if the metics also offered sacrificial animals.

19 For example in *IMagnesia* 98 = *LSAM* 32 (Magnesia, early second cent. BCE), Lines 46–59: Παριστανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκονόμοι ἐν | τῷ μηνί τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ἱερεία τρία, | [ἄ] θύσουσι τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Σωσιπόλει καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι | [τ]ῇ Λευκοφρυνῆι καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ, τῷ μὲν | [Δι] κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα, τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλ[ω]νι ἀττηγόν, θύοντες τῷ μὲν Διὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διό[ς] | τοῦ Σωσιπόλιος, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ τ[οῦ] | βωμοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· λαμβάνειν δὲ τὰ γέρα τὰ εἰθισμέν[α] | τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν τούτων· τὸν δὲ βῶν ὅταν θύσωσιν| [δ]ιανεμέτωσαν τοῖς συμπομπεύσασιν, τὸν δὲ κριὸν καὶ τὴν αἶγα καὶ τὸν ἀττηγόν διανεμέτωσαν τῷ τε στεφανηφό|[ρ]ω καὶ τῇ ἱερεία καὶ τοῖς πολεμάρχους καὶ τοῖς προέδροις | [κα]νι νεωποῖαις καὶ εὐθύνοις καὶ τοῖς λητουργήσασιν, διανε|[μέ]τωσαν δὲ ταῦτα οἱ οἰκονόμοι. The *oikonomoi* shall provide on the 12th of Artemision three animals, which they will sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis, Artemis Leukophryene, and Apollo Pythios; to

At first glance, the processions linked to the imperial cult were organised following the same principles: only those participating could enjoy their benefits, which is why it was still important to specify who had done so and who had paid for the sacrificial offerings. But, apparently, the chief objective of these new civic processions was not only to evince the civic pecking order, but also to consolidate the new imperial political order. Imperial processions involved the community as a whole to glorify the everlasting reign of the emperors and to state clearly the allegiance of the city to this power which encompassed the whole of the Mediterranean.

Let us now examine the matter in detail. The imperial cult processions that are known followed a very similar pattern.²⁰ As with the major processions in honour of the Hellenistic kings and the great figures of the Republican period, this new kind of processions displayed the image of the emperor among the gods. The intention now was not only to escort the sacrificial offerings, but also the emperors to the place where the public at large awaited them.²¹ These processions departed from a sanctuary before passing through the streets to a public space with a recreational function (such as a theatre or amphitheatre),

Zeus the most beautiful ram, to Artemis a goat, and to Apollo a billy goat, and they shall perform the sacrifice to Zeus on the altar of Zeus Sosipolis, to Artemis and to Apollo on the altar of Artemis. The priests of these gods shall receive the honorary portions as usual. They shall divide the ox, once they have sacrificed it, among those who participated in the procession, and they shall divide the ram, the goat, and the billy goat among the *stephanephoros*, the priestess, the *polemarchoi*, the *proedroi*, the *neopoioi*, the public examiners and those who served in liturgies; the *oikonomoi* shall be in charge of the division. (transl. by S. Paul).

20 See for example the cases of Gythium, Naples, Messene, Sparta, Ephesos or Akrephias. For Gythium see F. Lozano, *La religión del poder. El culto imperial en Atenas en época de Augusto y los emperadores Julio-Claudios* (Oxford 2002), 66–72; M.E. Gorrini and E. Calandra, 'Cult practice of a pompé in the Imperial Age: S.E.G. XI.923', *Sparta* 4 (2008), 3–22. For Gythium, Naples and Messene, see A. Lo Monaco, *Il crepuscolo degli dei d'Achaia* (Rome 2009). For Ephesos see G. Rogers, *The sacred identity of Ephesos* (London and New York 1991). See also D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II 1 (Leiden 1991), 532–566; B. Edelmann, 'Pompa und Bild im Kaiserkult des römischen Ostens' in J. Rüpke (ed.), *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Tübingen 2008), 153–167. For Imperial festivals in Achaia in general, see F. Camia, 'Between tradition and innovation: Cults for Roman emperors in the province of Achaia', in A. Kolb and M. Vitale (eds.), *Kaiserkult in den Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. Organisation, Kommunikation und Repräsentation* (Berlin and Boston 2016), 255–283 (esp. 259–265); F. Lozano, 'The imperial cult in Achaia', in F. Camia (ed.), *Emperor Worship in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Empire* (forthcoming).

21 As was customary in the traditional *pompae circenses*, see Arena 2010, op. cit. (n. 13), N.T. Elkins, 'The procession and placement of imperial cult images in the colosseum', *BSR* 82 (2014), 73–107; Latham 2016, op. cit. (n. 12).

where the rest of the rites envisaged in honour of the imperial house were performed.²² The aim was to make the most of the huge audience capacity of theatres, amphitheatres, stadiums or circuses in order to cause the greatest impression possible on the audience. Imperial processions and festivals provided the ideal stage for flaunting not only the emperor's power, but also that of the cities that hosted them and that of the *evergetai* who helped to fund them.²³ The citizens gathered in those public spaces as members of the audience had ceased, to a great extent, to be active participants in the rites and had become instead mere spectators.²⁴ The inscriptions make almost no reference to the citizens' participation in the different civic bodies, which are mentioned far less frequently anyways for they had yielded much of their ritual space to the great public figures.

This general trend is perfectly illustrated in the case of Oenoanda, where the procession, which only passed through the theatre, was formed solely by magistrates and priests. No other civic body had a place in it, except for the villages whose inhabitants probably were not citizens at all or at least not full ones. The participation of the villages was therefore probably due to the desire that they should also share the benefits of the procession. Thus, of the at least 27

22 P. Gros, 'Théâtre et culte impérial en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans la Péninsule Ibérique', in Trillmich and P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadtbild und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium in Madrid vom 19. bis 23. Oktober 1987* (Munich 1990), 381–390; P. Gros, 'Les theatres des provinces occidentales. Le problème des modes architecturaux et idéologiques', in C. Márquez and A. Ventura (eds.), *Jornadas sobre teatros romanos en Hispania* (Córdoba 2006), 15–27; E. Rosso, 'Le message religieux des statues divines et impériales dans les théâtres romains: approche contextuelle et typologique', in J.-C. Moretti (ed.), *Fronts de scène et lieux de culte dans le théâtre antique* (Lyon 2009), 89–126.

23 On royal processions in Hellenistic times, see E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983); Chaniotis 2011, op. cit. (n. 13). On social promotion and imperial cult, see F. Lozano, 'La promoción social a través del culto a los emperadores: el caso de Tiberio Claudio Novio en Atenas', *Habis* 38 (2007), 185–203; F. Camia, 'Imperial priests in second century Greece: A socio-political analysis', in A.D. Rizakis and F. Camia (eds.), *Pathways to Power: Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire* (Athens 2008), 23–41; F. Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi. Il culto degli imperatori romani in Grecia (Provincia Achaia) nel secondo secolo D.C.* (Athens 2011), 181–188; F. Camia, 'Political Elite and Priestly Posts in Athens During the Roman Imperial Period: Some Considerations', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 188 (2014), 139–148.

24 Remarkable exceptions to this general picture are, for example, the case of Gythium where magistrates were meant to foster the sacrifices by groups of citizens in the Agora (*SEG* 11.923, l. 30), and the altar of Narbona in which provisions were made for its private use: *si quis tergere ornare reficere volet, quod beneficii causa fiat, ius fasque esto; sive quis hostia sacrum faxit, qui magmentum nec protollat, idcirco tamen probe factum esto; si quis huic arae donum dare augereque volet, liceto* (*CIL* XII 4333B, ll. 11–18).

bulls offered in sacrifice, 14 were escorted by the representatives of the villages. But rather than being purchased with city funds, the cost of the latter had to be defrayed by the villages themselves or, in all likelihood, by the *demarchoi* and *archidecanoï* who were appointed for the occasion.²⁵ As was the case in Bargylyia,²⁶ it seems reasonable to contend that the bulls of the ‘non-citizens’ were consumed exclusively by ‘non-citizens’, namely, by the villagers who did not mix with the rest of the city’s inhabitants at the banquet.

Hence it seems improbable that the city materially benefited from the villages’ contribution to the sacrifice, which also allows us to doubt the merely tributary nature of their involvement in the procession. If the villages did indeed have a notable presence, there must be another explanation. The intention might have been to allow those participating in the procession to have unrestricted access to its main purpose, at which we can glimpse in the lengthy inscriptions from Oenoanda: a 22 day-long festival, including one day exclusively given over to the market and which presumably gave rise to an uninterrupted exchange of merchandise and services during three long weeks. Judging by the decree of the assembly and the council, only those people participating in the procession would have been authorised to trade in the market free of taxes. This was not only the case for the villages, but also doubtlessly for the neighbouring cities that were invited to form part of the procession as a precursor before being allowed to trade in the market with such advantaged conditions.

The importance of the market appears to be paramount in the case of Oenoanda. For in the dossier’s second document (the letter in which Demosthenes offers a detailed account of the creation of the new games in the city), it is Demosthenes himself who stresses as his main merit that he is the guarantor of “fair prices in the market” (l. 9) and has built “a food market with three stoas facing it” (ll. 10–11). The third document, whose chief aim was the organisation of the imperial cult in the context of the new games, also lays emphasis on the holding of the market: the chief magistrate of the games was the *agonothetes*, who was supposed to choose three *panegyriarchontes* among the members of the council, whose main task was to take charge “of the market and the supply of provisions at the festival, with the power to write up the prices for the purchase of provisions and to inspect and organise the things which are offered for sale, and to punish those who disobey” (ll. 59–62). A little further on, just after referring to the obligatory participation of the villages in the procession and in the joint sacrifice (under the penalty of a fine for those

25 For the meaning of *demarchoi* and *archidecanoï*, see Wörrle 1988, op. cit. (n. 2), 145–150.

26 For the case of Bargylyia, see below (p. 261).

who failed to comply) and the bureaucracy that should be set in motion to ensure the correct participation of other cities in both events, there is a significant passage that reads as follows: “There should be no taxes imposed on any of the purchases sold, sacrificed, imported, introduced or exported during all the days of the festival” (ll. 88–89). The inscription ends with the order to erect a stela, displaying all of these measures, which should be placed before the statue of Demosthenes which, needless to say, was located “in the stoa in front of the food market” (l. 96).

As a coda, the document stipulates that the city should contact the provincial governor to request him to authorise the tax exemption during the festival (l. 99). The fourth document in the dossier is actually the request sent by the city to the governor in this regard: “tax-free status for items which are imported, introduced, sold, exported, and put up for sale during the days of the festival” (ll. 109–110). In the context of the new games and the imperial cult, the city of Oenoanda was presented with a fresh opportunity to become the mercantile capital of the territory and its surroundings, at least during those weeks. That also appears to have been the priority for Demosthenes, who had dedicated his energetic energies to consolidating the city’s trading potential and who now, by establishing these new games, was taking things to the next level. Accordingly, the ritual logic explains the necessary participation of the main actors of this major festive and economic event in the procession. The villages and neighbouring cities must have occupied a prominent place in the rites because they would then play a leading role in what was to follow.

2. In addition to the foregoing, the development of the imperial cult had other interesting consequences for the territory. In his seminal work on Asia Minor, Price has demonstrated that the imperial cult was mainly urban and that it was embedded in traditional civic religion.²⁷ The cult’s propagandistic and representative objectives meant that it made itself felt mainly in the Empire’s cities where the rituals consecrated to the Caesars obviously had a greater impact and echo. Therefore, according to Price, “the life of the countryside, and especially rural cults, formed a different world from that of the communally organized, Greek urban settlements [...] There was another world of local culture, especially in the countryside, to which the imperial cult remained alien.” Following this line of reasoning, Alcock has noted on his study on Roman Greece that the places dedicated to the imperial cult were built mainly in the centre of the *poleis*.²⁸ Recent analyses performed on the

27 S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 78–100, here 79.

28 S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993), 180–189.

type of places consecrated to emperor worship, such as those by Evangelidis, confirm the cult's centrality as well as its principally urban nature.²⁹

Be that as it may, the truth is that the establishment of the imperial cult and festive events, like the new festival at Oenoanda, together with the processions that necessarily had to end in the city's principal recreational spaces, must have also altered the relations between the town and its territory for several reasons. Oenoanda would thus have become the focus of attention, at least during a number of days during which ritual activities and, as has been observed, economic life revolved around its centre. The imperial cult festivals were ideal occasions for self-promotion for the Greek cities and their elites who vied with each other to put on the most magnificent show. This is a very well-known issue that has given rise to interesting studies of the feverish building and agonistic activity in which these cities indulged.³⁰ Classical authors also broached this matter in their writings: for Dio Chrysostom, "all these things make it natural for the pride of the cities to be enhanced and the dignity of the community to be increased and for it to receive fuller honour both from the strangers within their gates and from the proconsuls as well" (40,10). So, the festival had to have the largest number of participants possible in order to attract the public in droves, as Menander suggests when referring to the topic as a way of paying tribute to a city (365,30–366,13).

The desire that the new civic festival should have the greatest possible impact might have been one of the reasons why the city of Oenoanda decided

29 V. Evangelidis, 'The architecture of the imperial cult in the agoras of the Greek cities', *Egnatia* 12 (2008), 125–144; V. Evangelidis, 'Agoras and fora: Developments in the central public spaces of the cities of Greece during the Roman period', *ABSA* 109 (2010), 335–356. It seems, however, that it is becoming increasingly clear that many of the major rural sanctuaries continued to attract the attention of *euergetes* and emperors alike. Here, we are referring to rural sanctuaries that were, in any case, clearly connected with civic religion, so they do not contradict Price's main argument as stated in 1984, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 91–100. See for instance: Lozano (forthcoming), *op. cit.* (n. 20), 51–53; 79 (Rhamnous); T. Mavrojannis, 'Apollo Delio, Atene e Augusto', *Ostraka* 4 (1995), 85–102 (Delos); K. Clinton, 'Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius', in M.C. Hoff and S.I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens* (Oxford 1997), 161–181 and F. Camia 'Cultic and social dynamics in the Eleusinian sanctuary under the empire', in E. Muñiz, J.M. Cortés and F. Lozano (eds.), *Empire and Religion. Religious Change in Greek Cities under Roman Rule* (Leiden and Boston 2017), 45–66 (Eleusis).

30 On this activity and the conflict that it created between Greek cities, see: F. Gascó, *Ciudades griegas en conflicto* (Madrid 1990); B. Burrell, *Neokoroí. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden and Boston 2004), 351–354, and A. Heller, 'Les bêtises des Grecs'. *Conflicts et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine (129 a.C.–235 p.C.)* (Bordeaux 2006); F. Lozano, 'Emperor worship and Greek leagues: The organization of supra-civic imperial cult in the Roman east', in Muñiz, Cortés and Lozano 2017, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 163–169.

to include the villages in its celebration. After all, as Wörrle recalls, it was not a very important city. In addition, the festival of the Demosthenia was probably a rather mediocre affair, but nonetheless an opportunity to improve the city's position in the Lycian League in particular and in the Empire in general.³¹ To that end, a festival typical of the Imperial Age was organised: a procession, a sacrifice, a public banquet, the distribution of cash, agones, concerts, plays and, of course, a market. To guarantee its success, the aforementioned activities had to attract the largest crowds possible and the involvement of the villages and the neighbouring cities perhaps had something to do with this. Such was the desire to organise a multitudinous and glittering event that the organisers went so far as to include *perioikoi* and foreigners in the public rituals.

Yet the participation of non-citizens in a festival paid for by the public purse was no trivial matter. Several studies have concluded that *perioikoi* and foreigners were excluded, by definition, from the distribution of meat and the banquet following the procession and sacrifice.³² Things changed when it was a privately funded celebration, in which case it was customary to extend the invitation to all those present in the city at a given time. There are, indeed, documented cases in which foreigners were invited to participate, provided that they paid for their own sacrificial victims.³³ In contrast, public funds were used to purchase animals that were intended solely for the consumption of citizens.

31 Wörrle 1998, op. cit. (n. 7), 1171. On the *Koinon* of Lycia see J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich and Berlin 1965), 73–81; S. Jameson, 'The Lycian league: Some problems in its administration', in W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds.), *ANRW* 2.7.2 (Berlin 1980), 832–855; Burrell 2004, op. cit. (n. 30), 253–256; E. Guerber, *Les cités grecques dans l'Empire romain. Les privilèges et les titres des cités de l'Orient helléno-phoné d'Octave Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rennes 2009), 100–101; D. Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester. Repräsentation der kaiserzeitlichen Elite in Lykien* (Berlin 2011) (high priest) and D. Reitzenstein, 'Agonistik und Kaiserkult in Lykien', in Kolb and Vitale 2016, op. cit. (n. 20), 133–155; D. Campanille, 'Specificità delle origini e dello sviluppo del culto imperiale in Licia', in Kolb and Vitale 2016, op. cit. (n. 20), 79–95.

32 P. Schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet* (Paris 1992), 383–384; N. Deshours, *L'été indien de la religion civique. Étude sur les cultes civiques dans le monde égéen à l'époque hellénistique tardive* (Bordeaux 2011), 272–274.

33 As for example *IG XII 9.189* (Eretria, ca. 340), ll. 35–40: τὴν δὲ πομπὴν καθιστάν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐν τρεῖ ἀγορεῖ, ὅποι τὰ ἱερεῖα πωλεῖται, πρῶτομ μὲν τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὸ καλλιστεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ κριτά, ἔπειτα | τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἐάν τις βόληται συμπομπεύειν· συμπομπευόντων δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς μουσικῆς ἀγωνισταὶ πάντες, ὅπως ἂν ὡς καλλίστη ἡ πομπὴ καὶ ἡ θυσίη γένηται. The demarchs shall organize the procession in the agora, where the sacrificial animals are sold; first (come) the animals financed by public funds and the beauty prize, then the chosen animals, and afterwards, the animals provided by individuals, if they wish to join in the procession (συμπομπεύειν). All the contestants in music contests shall join in the procession, so that the procession and the sacrifice will be as beautiful as possible (transl. by S. Paul).

However, as already noted above, there is a very thought-provoking exception to this rule. This involved the participation of metics in the festival of Artemis Kindyas, held in the Carian city of Bargylia. Following the hardships experienced in the wake of the revolt of Aristonicus at the end of the second century BCE, Bargylia reorganised the festivals held in honour of its goddess Artemis Kindyas, who was merited with having saved the city. Such was its gratitude towards the goddess – who had even appeared during the crisis – that the city wished to bestow even greater honours on her. To this end, it meticulously regulated the sacrifices that should be offered to the deity. Among other things, it was decided that the city should set aside a sum to pay for the bulls that the metics, i.e. the foreigners residing in the city, could offer in sacrifice to her and consume. But what is of real interest here is the reason that was given to justify this exceptional measure: “it has been decided that for the sacrifice to Artemis it is necessary to add 100 drachmas to the monies of the goddess for the metics, in order that the sacrifice [should be performed by them] and because it will be more magnificent if the metics also offer sacrifices”.³⁴ Namely, to make the event as memorable as possible, the city of Bargylia was willing to include non-citizens with an eye to swelling the numbers of those offering sacrificial victims to the goddess and was even willing to pay for the victims out of public funds.

Oenoanda did not go to that extreme. As has been seen, the villagers' bulls were probably paid for out of their own pockets. Nor were the reasons for involving non-citizens revealed, as was indeed the case in Bargylia. Naturally, both texts also differ in other aspects: while in Bargylia the text per se and the topos of aggrandisement (“[the sacrifice] will be more magnificent”) formed part of the honours that the city wished to bestow on Artemis Kindyas,³⁵ the purpose of the text of Oenoanda was to praise the euergetes and the cult's regulation. But the determined efforts of both cities to consolidate their position in the area was supposed to culminate in the most lavish festival possible, according to the canons of the period. Accordingly, it was necessary to employ all the resources available, i.e. the participation of the villages and also that of the neighbouring cities.³⁶

To conclude briefly, the case of Oenoanda illustrates a situation that must have been fairly commonplace at the time: the imperial cult offered new opportunities for an encounter between the countryside and the city which

34 *SEG* 45.1508 B, ll. 5–6; see also *LSCG* 92.40, IV a.C. (Eretria).

35 For the use of superlative vocabulary in Hellenistic inscriptions, see Chaniotis 2013, op. cit. (n. 13).

36 In a subordinated position, for “syntax is semantics too”, Östenberg 2009, op. cit. (n. 13), 11.

benefitted both. Emperor worship provided a new framework of coexistence between the town and its territory. More than a form of integration or imposition, the participation of the villages seems to have been a result of the new possibilities that the imperial cult offered the city, its rulers, and its territory. In this example, the impact of Rome did not change the countryside physically, but it definitely generated a new landscape.

*Post hos nostra terra est: Mapping the Late Roman Ecumene with the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium**

Nikolas Hächler

This paper studies the landscape of the Late Roman ecumene as depicted by the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (*Expos. mundi*),¹ written by an anonymous author in the middle of the 4th century CE. It will first contextualise the text and assess its structure, language and genre. The contribution will then focus on the distinction between Rome, the Sasanids and utopic societies in the east near Eden, the political and military organization of the *Imperium Romanum* as well as its economic framework and varying expressions of its culture. As this paper will show, the anonymous author does not present detailed descriptions of Rome's geographical landscape. Instead, the primary focus is on material resources of the Roman Empire, their potential for economic exploitation and the trading opportunities resulting from it. Rome's cultivated landscapes are thereby regarded as important preconditions for its success on an economic, political and cultural level.

1 Comment on the Source's Editions

Two Latin translations of a now lost Greek original are known (Fig. 14.1).² The former is a slightly more elaborate account titled "*Expositio totius mundi et*

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- 1 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et commentaire par J. Rougé (Paris 1966). A contribution by the author about the representation and functions of Roman cities in the *Expos. mundi* has been published in the journal *Museum Helveticum* under the title 'Et divites et omnibus bonis ornati sunt: The depiction of Roman Civitates in the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* in the middle of the 4th century CE.' Parts of the present findings – especially with regard to the edition and nature of the source text as well as considerations about its author – is treated there as well.
 - 2 Fig. 14.1 based on Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 104–118; 128–134; for the translations see *ibid.*, 89–103 based on L. Hahn, *Die Sprache der so genannten Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* (Bayreuth 1898); A. Klotz, 'Über die *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*', *Philologus* 65 (1906), 97–127. Compare T. Sinko, 'Die *Descriptio orbis terrae*', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 13 (1904), 531–571; E. Wölfflin, 'Bemerkungen zu der *Descriptio orbis*', *Archiv*

1878 with some smaller corrections. Thereafter, G. Lumbroso released two additional editions of the *Expositio mundi* in 1898 and 1903, followed by another one by T. Sinko in 1904.⁶ The last complete issue of both texts – accompanied by a French translation – has been presented by J. Rougé in 1966, who took a third manuscript (M) from the 12th/13th century into account for [D] as well, today treasured in the “Biblioteca Nacional de España” in Madrid (BN A 16). A final text (L) from the 15th century, accessible in the “Bibliothèque Nationale de Luxembourg” (BN 236), includes a transcript of the *Descriptio* [D], which has been analysed and edited by J. Rougé in 1973 as a supplement to his publication from 1966.⁷ Other translations have been presented by A.A. Vasiliev in English, S.V. Poliakova and J.F. Felenkovskaia in Russian and H.-J. Drexhage in German.⁸

Although it is fortunate that the *Expositio* [E] and the *Descriptio* [D] have been preserved, one has to be aware of some uncertain factors due to their literary transmission: It is unclear how many versions of the now lost Greek text existed as well as whether and how frequently they were copied and distributed. We also do not know how much of the original has been lost or changed during that process. Furthermore, it is unaccounted for where and when exactly the Greek text has been translated into Latin. Hahn assumes that the document’s transmission into Latin took place in Gaul; Sinko and Klotz propose the 7th century as a *terminus post quem* for this process, Rougé, however, suggests that this has already happened during the 6th century.⁹

2 Authorship, Structure and Genre

All information about the *Expositio mundi* and its author has to be extracted from the document itself. According to text-immanent references, it has been

6 A. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn 1878), 104–126; G. Lumbroso, ‘Expositio totius mundi et gentium’, *Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei, anno CCXCV* (1898), 124–168; G. Lumbroso, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (Rome 1903); Sinko 1904, op. cit. (n. 2). See as well *RE* 6,2 (1909), 1693–1694; Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 89–91; 128–130.

7 J. Rougé, ‘Une version gauloise de la ‹Descriptio totius mundi›’, *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 308–316.

8 A.A. Vasiliev, ‘Expositio totius mundi: an anonymous geographic treatise of the fourth century A. D.’ *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8 (Prague 1936), 8–28; S.V. Poliakova, J.F. Felenkovskaia, ‘Anonimnyi geografičeskij traktat ‹Polnoje opisande vseleňnoj I naradov›’, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 8 (1956), 277–305; H.-J. Drexhage, ‘Die ‹Expositio totius Mundi et Gentium›’, *MBAH* 2 (1983), 3–41.

9 See Hahn 1898, op. cit. (n. 2), 82; Sinko 1904, op. cit. (n. 2), 537–538; Klotz 1906, op. cit. (n. 2), 125–126; Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 102.

drafted between 346–361.¹⁰ Since the writer presents a rather detailed account of Tyre, it seems probable that he lived on-site or was at least an inhabitant of a Syrian province.¹¹ Even though we find biblical allusions in the preserved texts,¹² the author was surely a pagan.¹³ His actual profession remains unknown. However, he appears to have been engaged in trade or to have been at least well-informed about commercial activities in the Roman world.¹⁴ At the beginning of the *Expositio mundi*, he briefly states the objectives and structural composition of his ambitious venture:

[D] §2: Since we desire to write, we must first of all determine [...] which peoples (*gentes*) were appointed from the east to the west; after that, how many barbarian nations (*genera barbarorum*) there are; thereupon, concerning all the land of the Romans (*Romanorum terra*), how many provinces there are in the whole world and what sort they are in respect to their wealth and power; what cities are found in each province; and what is remarkable in each province or city. Such a work seems to me fruitful and interesting for study.¹⁵

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- 10 The text alludes to the reign of Constantius II, who died on November 3 361, and his building activities in Seleucia in the year 346 (§28). For further discussions regarding the date of composition see Lumbroso 1904, op. cit. (n. 6), 5 (metà del secolo); Rougé, op. cit. (n. 1), 19 (359/360); Drexhage 1983, op. cit. (n. 8), 4 (350 or 359/360). Note that the author mentions the rebellious behavior of the inhabitants of Isauria (§45), which may refer to the plundering raids in the region around Seleucia around 350 depicted by Amm. Marc. 14,2–8, ed. W. Seyfarth, *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt* (Leipzig 1978).
- 11 Vasiliev 1936, op. cit. (n. 8), 33; Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 27–38; N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin and Amsterdam 1969), 47; 49–50; T. Grill, 'Expositio totius mundi et gentium', in Z. Csabai and T. Grill (eds.), *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas* (Budapest 2014), 633.
- 12 See §§2–4. These references are considered as later interpolations only found in [D].
- 13 Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 48–55; Grill 2014, op. cit. (n. 11), 638–639; G. Marasco, 'L'expositio totius mundi et gentium e la politica religiosa di Costanzo II', *AncSoc* 27 (1996), 183–203. He repeatedly reports on important pagan places of worship in the text, but does not address church buildings or bishop's seats.
- 14 Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 34; Drexhage 1983, op. cit. (n. 8), 4–6; C. Molè, 'Le tensioni dell'utopia. L'organizzazione dello spazio in alcuni testi tardoantichi', in M. Mazza and C. Giuffrò (eds.), *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità. Atti del convegno tenuto a Catantia, Università degli studi, 27 sett.-2 ot. 1982* II (Rome 1985), 705; Grill 2014, op. cit. (n. 11), 634–637 propose a variety of possible occupations, ranging from rhetor and sophist, (textile) merchant and entrepreneur to (literate) *vir rusticus*.
- 15 Translation by Vasiliev 1936, op. cit. (n. 8), 19 (with minor modifications), based on [D] §2: *Quaerentes autem scribere, debemus dicere primum [...] quae gentes ab oriente usque ad occidentem constitutae sint; post hoc quanta sint genera barbarorum, deinde omnem*

After a short introduction (§§1–3), the author presents his readership with a description of the world beyond the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire. He starts with the depiction of different fantastic/utopic communities near Eden and ends his portrayal with the Persian Empire (§§4–21).¹⁶ In the subsequent segment, he focuses on various locations within the *Imperium Romanum* (§§22–68).¹⁷ Whereas §§63–67 feature Mediterranean islands, §68 concludes the *Expositio mundi*.

The text's emphasis on places of trade and merchandise, not unlike the *Periplus Maris Erythrei* from the 1st century CE, led Sinko to describe it as a product of "commercial geography" ("Handelsgeographie").¹⁸ However, the unnamed author does not explicitly denote his writings as a geographical account, nor does he locate his oeuvre within a specific literary tradition.¹⁹ He presents many commercial centres within the Roman world but does not always state distances between possible *emporía*. In addition, he does not systematically indicate the value of traded goods. Since the text also contains some mistakes,²⁰ the *Expositio mundi* in its current form would not have proven useful for merchants wishing to engage in trading activities within the Roman Empire.

Romanorum terram, quot sint in omni mundo provinciae, vel quales in substantia ac potestate; quae civitates in singulis provinciis habeant et quid in unaquaque provincia aut civitate possit esse praecipuum. Munificum enim hoc opus et studiosum mihi esse videtur.

- 16 These passages broadly correspond with a Christian text titled "Ὁδοιπορία ἀπὸ Ἐδέμ τοῦ παραδείσου ἄχρι τῶν Ῥωμαίων", edited with a French translation and a commentary by Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 56–69; 350–355, which depicts the way from Eden to the Roman Empire.
- 17 The portrayal starts with Mesopotamia and continues with Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Asia Minor and Achaia, proceeds to the Dalmatian coast, followed by Italy, the Danube Region, Gaul, Spain and North Africa, see F.P. Mittag, 'Zu den Quellen der *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*', *Hermes* 134 (2006), 344 for a non-technical map. It is remarkable that the author uses the terms "*provincia*" and "*civitas*" in a generalising manner to denote various types of regions and cities within the Roman Empire, see G. Traina, 'La prefazione alla *Descriptio* [*Expositio*] *totius mundi*', in C. Santini and N. Scivoletto (eds.) *Prefazioni, prologhi, proemi di opere tecnico-scientifiche latine III* (Rome 1998), 61.
- 18 Sinko 1904, op. cit. (n. 2).
- 19 Apparently, he does not refer to specific geographical sources, for instance, by Eratosthenes, Herodotus, Ptolemy, Polybius, Posidonius, Diodorus, Strabo or Pliny the Elder. Regarding literary traditions in geographical writings see A. Podossinov, 'Die antiken Geographen über sich selbst und ihre Schriften', in M. Horster and C. Reitz (eds.), *Antike Fachschriftsteller* (Wiesbaden 2003), 91–103; J. Engels, 'Geography and history', in J. Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Oxford 2007), 542–546; D. Dueck, *Geographie in der antiken Welt* (Darmstadt 2013), 29–80.
- 20 The province of Noricum and Italian Tuscia are depicted as cities (§§55; 57). The author misplaces Arabia (§38) and seems to be unaware of the Black Sea (§45).

These preliminary considerations leave open the question what the objective of this specific text might have been. I would like to argue that it revolves to a great extent around the demonstration of personal (geographical) knowledge and education.²¹ According to [D]’s introduction, we have to conclude that it was *prima facie* designed as an instructional summary for the education of the anonymous writer’s son:

[D] §1: After all the advice (*ammonitiones*) that I have recommended to you concerning the conduct of your life (*studium vitae tuae*), my dearest son, I now wish to begin by telling you many wonderful stories (*historiae plurimae et ammirabiles*): some of them I have seen myself, others which I have heard from learned men, and some I have discovered by reading. Thus, by retaining them in your mind you will not only know many useful things but you will also succeed in adorning your wisdom (*tuam ornare sapientiam*) with varieties of such things.²²

The author depicts himself as a learned and experienced man – even as a *philosophus* as indicated by [D]’s title –, perhaps in order to establish his own position among leading members of his home town by exhibiting his expertise in a renowned field of intellectual prowess.²³ As is well known, the acquisition and the display of classical education (*παιδεία*) was an opportunity for social distinction.²⁴ It therefore does not seem far-fetched to argue that the writer yearned to be perceived as an intellectual, despite or perhaps even because

21 The author’s high regard for knowledge and education becomes apparent when one looks at his portrayal of the inhabitants of Berytus (§25), who act as guardians of the provinces (*custodes provinciarum*) by interpreting the law as *virī docti*, as well as those of Egyptian Alexandria (§37), *in qua invenitur plurima genera philosophorum*. In the provinces of Paphlagonia et Pontus (§44), we find rich, educated and highly distinguished men as well.

22 Translation by Vasiliev 1936, op. cit. (n. 8), 19 (with minor modifications) based on [D] §1: *Post omnes ammonitiones quas tibi commendavi de studio vitae tuae, carissime fili, incipiens nunc volo tibi exponere historias plurimas et ammirabiles quarum quidem aliquas vidi, ceteras vero ab eruditis auditu percepi, quasdam lectione didici. Haec igitur sensibus comprehendens non solum multa utilia cognoscebis, sed et tuam ornare sapientiam ex huiusmodi rerum varietatibus praevalēbis.*

23 As pointed out by Str. 1.1.1, ed. S. Radt, *Strabons Geographika*, mit Übersetzung und Kommentar (Göttingen 2002–2011) geographical treatises were perceived as a part of practical philosophy. However, senators and knights did not necessarily write such texts themselves (Cic. *Att.* 2.4; 6–7, ed. H. Kasten, *Atticus-Briefe – Epistulae ad Atticum* [Berlin, Boston 2013, 3rd ed.]). In addition, the subject was considered to be rather difficult (Mela 1.1, ed. C. Frick, *De chorographia libri tres* [Stuttgart 1968, 2nd ed.]).

24 Regarding the social contexts of writers of specialised literature (“Fachliteratur”) during the Principate, see M. Horster, ‘Literarische Elite? Überlegungen zum sozialen Kontext

he did not receive a classical formation. This thesis can be supported by an analysis of his use of language.²⁵ Nonetheless, the text remains an impressive testimony indicating a perhaps not unusual intellectual phenomenon among *virī humiliores* after 300 CE, who possibly sought to distinguish themselves from their peers by means of literary production, thereby occasionally imitating members of the Roman Empire's socio-intellectual elite.

According to his own statements (§1), the author relied on three types of sources, *i.e.* his own experiences, the stories and travel reports by learned people (*eruditi*) and documents he seemingly acquired himself.²⁶ On the one hand, the writer's own experiences might have played the most important role in the comparatively detailed descriptions of cities within Syria and of Egyptian Alexandria. For many regions of Asia minor, on the other hand, he might have used the knowledge gained by interacting with travellers and merchants instead of relying on his personal experiences. For the Danube region, Gaul, Spain and North Africa as well as the eastern parts of the world, he appears to have reverted to his own education.²⁷ This would explain why the depiction of these regions seems comparatively superficial.

3 Characterisation of the Roman Landscape

3.1 *Distinctions between Rome and the Eastern Realms*

The inhabited world is divided into three distinctive parts by the author of the *Expositio mundi* (Fig. 14.2). In the farthest regions of the East, near Eden, we encounter different utopic cultures (§§4–18). Further westwards, he locates the *Persae* and the *Saraceni* (§§19–20), followed by the regions, provinces and islands of the Roman Empire (§§22–67). Both, the paradisiac cultures as well

lateinischer Fachschriftsteller in Republik und Kaiserzeit', in Horster and Reitz 2003, op. cit. (n. 19), 170–195.

25 See Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 89–103. For an assessment of the source text's language see the author's contribution mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

26 In §3, he lists Moses (probably an interpolation from later periods), Berossus, Manetho, Flavius Josephus, Menander of Ephesus, Herodotus and Thucydides. Following §§42; 52; 61, he also read Homer and Vergil. F. Martelli, *Introduzione alla "Expositio Totius Mundi". Analisi etnografica e tematiche politiche in un'opera anonima del IV secolo* (Bologna 1982), 16; Mittag 2006, op. cit. (n. 17), 340–341 propose that the author might have included these intellectuals in order to appear more literate.

27 Regarding the dissemination of geographical knowledge in Late Antiquity see C. Krumeich, 'Schule. Elementar- und Grammatikunterricht Spätantike', in J. Christes, R. Klein and C. Lüth (eds.), *Handbuch der Erziehung und Bildung in der Antike* (Darmstadt 2006), 111–113; Dueck 2013, op. cit. (n. 19), 134–138.

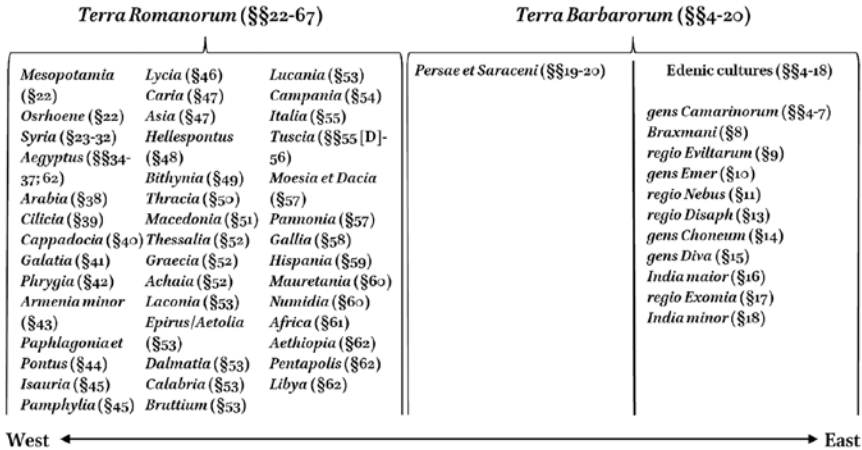


FIGURE 14.2 Schematic depiction of the division of the inhabited world (without the author's depiction of the Mediterranean islands in §§63–67)

as the Sasanids and their allies stand in stark contrast to the Roman Empire and its landscape. In order to characterise the nature of the Edenic cultures, the following paragraphs will treat the *gens Camarinorum* as *pars pro toto*,²⁸ because their description as an utopian society is the most extensive one and serves as a template for subsequent societies.

According to the *Expositio mundi*, the *Camarini* lead a blessed existence. Because they live near paradise, they appear completely freed from the need to work for food or clothing. Instead, they are provided with such items at regular intervals. Bread, for instance, repeatedly rains down from the sky like biblical manna (§4). In addition to the fact that they do not have to take care of agricultural matters, the *Camarini* appear to be in possession of an abundance of natural resources. Of great interest to the author are deposits of valuable ores and gems, which they apparently mine themselves and which provide them with great wealth (§6). These goods, however, are not used for any commercial transactions. Because of nature's generosity as well as their natural felicity (*felicitas*), the *Camarini* refrain from emotional arguments (§7). They govern themselves autonomously and do not need elaborate state structures.²⁹ Besides that, they possess an extraordinary physical condition and are not affected by plagues (§5). They even know the time of their own death and are therefore able to prepare themselves accordingly for their final moments (§7).

28 The Indian city Camara appears as well in *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* 60, ed. L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei, Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton 1989).

29 Martelli 1982, op. cit. (n. 26), 37–56; Molè 1985, op. cit. (n. 14), 731–733.

It is remarkable that the landscape depicted by the *Expositio mundi* overall remains rather abstract and lacks specific geographical features (§6). It primarily serves as a stage for the depiction of the *Camarini* and their particular way of life.

It is within the society of *Nebus* further westwards that one finds governmental structures for the first time (§11). Still farther in the west, we encounter communities which had to invent agricultural techniques in order to grow food (§12). The inhabitants of *Axoum* are depicted as brave in war and capable of defending the residents of *India minor* against the Persians (§17). Approaching the Roman Empire, eastern cultures exhibit more and more aspects of sophisticated state systems, in relation to the production and distribution of food, self-government as well as the public organization of military power. Following the *Expositio mundi*, the conditions for communal life forms thus gradually become more inhospitable with increasing distance from Eden, so that societies require forms of self-government and agricultural techniques.

As mentioned before, the landscape itself does not play a major role within the passages alluded to. It is depicted as an ideal – albeit often vague – frame for utopic societies to live in. As such, it is not characterised in a tangible physical or geographical manner, e.g., by accurate depictions of mountain ranges or rivers. Thus, it remains an undetermined background for paradoxographical and ethnographical reports. According to the *Expositio mundi*, eastern societies near Eden are neither renowned for their constructional or commercial activities nor create impressive monuments nor are famous for their cities – notable features and accomplishments of societies of the *Imperium Romanum* –, since they do not need them in order to lead a prosperous life. The land apparently provides these communities miraculously with all the necessities without any need for physical labour, the invention of artisanal techniques nor the establishment of governmental structures.

In stark contrast to the usually peaceful utopian societies, the Persians are depicted as gruesome enemies of the Romans in rather stereotypical terms. Bold and strong in war, they are constantly attacking their neighbours. In addition, they commit incestuous acts (§19) since they do not understand the dignity of nature (*non cognoscentes dignitatem naturae*).³⁰ Just like their Persian neighbours, the *Saraceni* spend most of their lives waging war. Furthermore, they are impious (*impij*), perjuring (*periuri*) and unable to uphold oaths

30 The concept of human dignity bestowed upon humanity by nature was widely known in the Graeco-Roman world. Based on reason and freedom of will, it set men apart from animals, as expressed by Cic. *off.* 1.106–107, ed. R. Nickel, *Vom pflichtgemässen Handeln. De officiis* (Berlin 2011, 2nd ed.).

(*sponsiones non custodientes*). Finally, it is said that they are ruled by women, thereby subverting Roman ideals of government and gender (§20). As far as the anonymous writer is concerned, both the Persians and the Saracens are neither fond of agricultural nor of artisanal techniques. Instead, they are portrayed in a simplified manner as robbers, who sustain themselves by attacking wealthy communities like the Roman Empire. However, they appear to be in possession of many valuable goods, thus becoming precious trading partners of Roman merchants.³¹ Again, the geographical landscape is sketched in a rather superficial manner in the featured passages.

The portrayal of eastern cultures and the characterizations of the Persians and their allies contrast sharply with the way of life in the *Imperium Romanum*. While people near paradise do not have to work and lead a wondrously prosperous, independent and autonomous life, the Sasanids and the Saracens appear as a plundering force working against civilization. It is only within the *Imperium Romanum* where fruitful labour, peaceful commercial activities, sophisticated cultural achievements and balanced political rulership enable its inhabitants to live self-sufficiently. Furthermore, its abundant resources allow for a successful defence against the Persians, their allies, as well as other barbaric and often pillaging peoples around its borders, such as the *Gothi* (§58), the *Sarmates* (§57), the *Mazices* (§62) or the *Aethiopiai* (§62). The Roman landscape, impacted and formed by imperial structures of government, is thus clearly distanced from those communities mentioned on a political, military, economic and cultural level. Additionally, it appears to be the only place in the world where mankind realised the value of natural dignity. This stands in contrast with utopian societies, whose members lead lives full of godlike felicity, or the perverted ideals of the Persians, who behave like animals. This distinction is highlighted in the text's structure itself; the depiction of the Roman world is proudly introduced in [D] §22: *Post hos nostra terra est*.

3.2 *Landscape as Territory – Military and Political Organization of the Imperium Romanum*

The Roman ecumene is characterised by the terms “*terra Romanorum*” (§§2; 21–22), “*omnis mundi provinciae*” (§2), “*terra nostra*” (§§21–22) and “*orbis terrarum*” (§§ 23; 25; 31; 34). Its inhabitants are subject to the rule of two emperors, who organise the Roman territories with regard to political and military matters in particular. Although the *Expositio mundi* presents no detailed accounts of campaigns, it still considers martial realities to a certain extent. For instance,

31 See M. Raschke, ‘New studies in Roman commerce with the east’, in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *ANRW* 2.9 (Berlin and New York 1978), 677–679.

we find sporadic references to armed disputes for strategically and economically important cities, which affected local trading activities in the context of the violent conflicts between the Sasanids and the Roman Empire under Constantius II (§22). In this way, the document also refers to the existence of liminal spaces near the borders of Empire, where Roman dominion must be confirmed again and again against external threats, if necessary with military force. Additional conflicts at Rome's borders are hinted at in the depiction of Gaul (§58).

As political and administrative centres, *civitates* play a fundamental role in the *Expositio mundi*, especially if they are treated as imperial residences.³² Syrian Antiochia is seen as an outstanding imperial domicile, overflowing with amenities and various people from all over the Empire (§23). Besides Syria, Pannonia and Gallia play an important role in imperial politics as well (§57). Treveris features quite prominently as a central hub of military and economic activities in the region. Although the text does not clarify the policy of the residing ruler, the author of the *Expositio mundi* seems to be informed about the large number of soldiers stationed in Gaul as a defending force against the Germanic peoples. The text additionally mentions Thracian Heraclea as an imperial city, whereas Constantinople is given a surprisingly brief treatment (§50). Finally, the emperors themselves actively shape the landscape of individual provinces and subsequently their mercantile activities. In order to provide his subjects with enough supplies and to improve trading conditions in general, Constantius II ordered the expansion of the harbour facilities of Seleucia in 346 (§28).³³ Trading activities in Gaul overall appear to benefit from the presence of the ruler, although the prices of certain goods seem to be higher in comparison to the rest of the Roman Empire (§58). In conclusion, the *Expositio mundi* characterises the *Imperium Romanum* on the whole as a very stable political and military entity around 350, whose general prosperity does not seem to be affected by external aggressors at all.

32 An in-depth assessment of the role of various *civitates* as economic, political, military and cultural centres of the Roman Empire according to the *Expositio mundi* is provided by the author in the paper mentioned at the beginning of this contribution. This results in some recapitulations of the used examples with regard to the economic situation of the Roman ecumene as well as the depiction of cities as nodes of Roman culture.

33 It is noteworthy that the author mentions fiscal transports (§28: *onus fiscale*) probably as part of the military *annona* to combat the Persians under Constantius II, as well as the distinction between public and private taxation (§28: *fiscales species et privatas*), see Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 128; 248–249; W. Ball, *Rome and the East* (New York 2007, 3rd ed.), 157–159.

3.3 *Connections between the Roman Landscape and the Economy of Empire*

While portraying economic aspects of the *Imperium Romanum*, the *Expositio mundi* primarily focuses on the role of cities. These are not depicted as separated entities, but share an important connection with their respective surrounding landscape. Fertile lands bring forth and sustain wealthy cities, as may be observed in the following cases: Syria (§33), thanks to its balanced climate, Egypt (§34), due to the Nile, Caria (§47), mainly because of its advantageous connections to the sea as well as the Hellespont (§48), Bithynia (§49), Thracia (§50) and Italia (§55) since they all provide the means for productive agricultural activities.

If there are no favourable climatic or geographical conditions, the population of provinces and subsequently cities must somehow adapt to these harsher conditions. Otherwise, they remain poor entities on an economical level in particular. In the case of Cappadocia, for instance, the cool climate does not allow similar farming practices (§40). Instead, the inhabitants had to invent new techniques (*artificium*) in order to adapt to the harsher weather conditions (*frigora maxima*),³⁴ leading the inhabitants of Caesarea to become specialists in the trade with furs and coats (§40). The regions of Achaia, Graecia and Laconia present their denizens with comparable problems (§52). Because of their small dimensions and their mountainous character, there is not enough space for agricultural activities within the named regions. With the exception of Corinth, which is portrayed as a busy trading town, their value is, however, not primarily based on their commercial activities but on their famous history and their distinguished schools, specialised in the rhetoric arts (*fama doctrinarum et orationum*). There are, finally, regions that do not feature favourable physical characteristics or important cultural achievements, for instance the deserts of Libya (§62). Contrary to Egypt, where the Nile brings agricultural abundance and economic growth (§36), the Libyan wastelands apparently lack such an advantage – it apparently rains only rarely there – and are therefore not known for their cultural or economic products. However, the author attests the inhabitants of the region a wise, pious and friendly character, which is considered as a divine gift in the environment of these harsh living conditions.

Although favorable climatic conditions and the general fertility are indeed an important factor for welfare in general, it does not guarantee commercial success *per se*. The text appears to present us with the implicit hypothesis that

34 Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 271.

the production of and the trade in different goods is only possible through the access of the land's resources and their transformation through traditional agricultural customs and craftsmanship practised by the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Cities play an important role in this regard since their inhabitants were mainly responsible for manufacturing various articles of trade. In certain cases, some towns specialised in fabricating unique goods, based on their natural resources and artisanal traditions. A telling example can be found in the creation of paper (*charta*) in Egyptian Alexandria (§36). Their position on important trading routes further allows for an efficient exchange of goods; many of the urban dwellings mentioned in the *Expositio mundi* had access either to the sea or to a river.³⁵ Thus, they form a dense mercantile network within the Roman Empire. Thanks to its port and the resulting accessibility, Arelatum easily receives all different kinds of items from all over the Roman Empire. From here, these goods are then distributed further North to the imperial residence in Treveris (§58). We find similar constellations in Syria. Here, Laodicia and Seleucia (§28) actively support Antiochia through trading profits. In addition, Alexandria, Nisibis and Edessa provide the opportunity for further trade relations with foreign peoples (§§22; 34).

Regarding the landscape of the Roman ecumene in particular, it often seems to be reduced to its potential for commerce: on the one hand, the writer is mostly interested in the land's various resources, which in turn function as a material basis for the production of different commodities. On the other hand, he presents specific properties of the landscape with regard to the possibilities for trade with other urban centres. Overall, mercantile activities result in a homogenization of the Roman commercial landscape, thereby contributing to the consistent form of its political organisation and becoming an important basis for a unified Roman culture.

3.4 *Aspects of Roman Culture in the Context of Urban Landscapes*

When depicting aspects of the Roman way of life in the middle of the 4th century, the *Expositio mundi* focuses on the characterization of outstanding urban spaces and the thereby resulting cultural offerings for a town's inhabitants. Although the writer seems to be intrigued by imposing buildings, he does not depict these in a comprehensive manner. His selection of monumental structures appears to be quite eclectic as well. Nevertheless, his representation provides us with important information about the shape of the Roman cultural landscape on an urban level.

35 See, for instance, §47 for the position of cities in Asia minor along the coastline.

The author presents two marvellous *tetrapyla* in Caesaraea and Bostra (§§26; 38).³⁶ Alexandria is well-known for its *museion* and the temple of Serapis (§§34–35).³⁷ Additionally, there is a famous *basilica* in Nicomedia, which had to be rebuilt under Constantine I after a fire (§49). In Heraclea, a theatre as well as an imperial palace can be marvelled at (§50), since the emperor used the city as his imperial residence in 326 and 329. Athens appears to possess a triumphal arch (§52) – perhaps a translator’s misconception, who was not familiar with the acropolis, misconception.³⁸ In Rhodes, visitors apparently spot the remains of the famous colossus after its destruction during an earthquake in 226 BCE (§63).³⁹ Finally, Rome’s outstanding history is clearly reflected in its numerous monuments (§55). The anonymous writer is especially astonished by the Circus Maximus in all its imperial glory.

It is worth pointing out that the author is a great advocate of circus games (*ludi circenses*). Again and again, amphitheatres in particular feature very prominently in the *Expositio mundi*.⁴⁰ §32 states different types of athletes and artists from Syrian urban settlements, providing important opportunities for spectacular shows: Tyre displays the best actors, Caesarea features prominent pantomimes and Laodicia brings forth the most talented charioteers in the world. The wrestlers of Ascalon appear always victorious and the rhetors of Gaza are apparently able to convince even their most stubborn opponents. The same town exhibits excellent fighters in vicious *pankration*-contests as well. Heliopolis and Castabala, on the other hand, present more peaceful flautists and trapezists. The author’s interests also include pagan cults. He appears to be quite impressed by the adoration of Venus in Heliopolis (§30), thus referring to the cult of the *dea Syria* described by Lucian;⁴¹ in Rome he is amazed

36 Note that J. Mühlenbrock, *Tetrapylon* (Münster 2003) does not mention *tetrapyla* in Arabia.

37 See C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity* (Baltimore and London 1997), 146–148; R. Bagnall, ‘Alexandria: library of dreams’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146 (2002), 257–262; H.-G. Nesselrath, ‘Das Museion und die Grosse Bibliothek von Alexandria’, in T. Georges, F. Albrecht and R. Feldmeier (eds.), *Alexandria* (Tübingen 2013), 65–90.

38 Rougé 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 292.

39 Regarding this wonder of the ancient world see U. Vedder, *Der Koloss von Rhodos* (Mainz 2015).

40 Repeatedly, the author mentions amphitheatres in Antiochia, Laodicia, Tyre, Berytus, Caesaraea, Nicomedia, Gortyna and Syracuse. He highlights the *ludi circenses* additionally in Constantinople (§50). Further references are to be found in the description of Corinth (§52) and Carthage (§61).

41 Luc. *Syr.D.*, ed. J.L. Lightfoot, *On the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford 2003).

by the cult of Vesta (§55). People pray to Serapis in Alexandria (§37) where the *Expositio mundi* also locates centres for philosophy and medicine.

Finally, the author occasionally presents his readership with aspects of cultural geography, *i.e.* depictions of the landscape together with its (often religious) history. Alexandria is presented as the chosen city of Asclepius (§37) and in Cyzicus the deity Venus is said to have bestowed her beauty on all women with Cupid's arrows (§48, only in [E]). In describing Achaia the author mentions Mount Olympus, considered as the seat of the gods (§52), in Carthage he recalls the trickery of Dido during the founding of the city described by Virgil (§61). When depicting Tuscia (§§55–56), he reminds his readers that the origin of the art of divination (*haruspicia*) is to be found there. Among the Cyclades, finally, Delos is highlighted in particular because of the associated myth about the birth of the deities Diana and Apollo (§63). Such accounts are comparable to anecdotes, for instance, found in Strabo, who often enriched his geographical descriptions with historical, mythological or even paradoxographical references, thereby further shaping the image of the Roman ecumene in space and time.

In addition to the political and economic interconnectedness of the Roman Empire the author records various manifestations of a highly unified Roman culture throughout the Mediterranean. Local differences between individual provinces, regions and cities still exist and are usually presented as specific achievements, advantages and benefits over others or highlighted as remarkable peculiarities. However, it is ultimately the interconnected relationship of all these individual cultural landscapes with each other that creates a comprehensively Roman *modus vivendi*.

4 Conclusion – The Landscape of the Later Roman Empire

The Roman ecumene is portrayed as a very prosperous entity by the *Expositio mundi*. Its landscape is essentially characterised by the relations between the (fertile) land and its (adaptive and versatile) inhabitants, the interconnectivity of economic and cultural hubs and a strong mainstream culture linking far apart regions to form one coherent Roman landscape. These developments are enabled by distinct political structures headed by two emperors, who continually organise provinces and cities. Thus, they order the land as well as its resources as a whole, in order to keep up the continuous existence of the Empire while fighting against foreign forces. The landscape is often reduced to its productive possibilities and commercial prospects. The unnamed writer is

not so much interested in the geographical components of different regions – thereby generally omitting typical landmarks such as mountain ranges, rivers or valleys – but in the general possibilities of agricultural and artisanal production, the latter usually located in greater cities within individual *provinciae*. Because all regions, provinces, and cities are connected to each other due to political structures, trading routes, and cultural habits, the political, economic and cultural landscape of the Roman ecumene takes a rather homogenous and unified shape. Ultimately, all regions profit from each province's individual contributions.

In addition, the *Expositio mundi* compares the structure, organisation and functionality of the *Imperium Romanum* with other communities inhabiting the world. In contrast to the Persians and the *Saraceni*, who are depicted as reprehensible, but wealthy societies, the Roman Empire does not wage war against its neighbours, but uses its resources to successfully defend itself against incoming attacks. In comparison with utopic societies, inhabitants of the Roman world lack the advantages of miraculous generation of food, longevity or immunity to maladies. Furthermore, its inhabitants are in need of governmental structures in order to lead a peaceful communal life. Thanks to the application of reasonable planning and purposeful work, however, Roman societies are able to adapt to their landscape in the western parts of the world, thus mirroring the fortunate existence of Edenic cultures at least to a certain extent. While peoples like the *Camarini* automatically led prosperous lives due to their place of residence near paradise, the inhabitants of the Rome Empire, however, had to actively deal with and learn about their landscape over time, thereby laying the foundation for their own existence far beyond Eden.

Appendix: Depiction of Utopian Cultures

Paragraph	People	Moral qualities/cultural habits	Lifestyle/material resources
4–7; 12	<i>gens Camarinorum</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Very pious – Do not get emotional or judgmental – Blessed in body and soul – Require no form of government – Do not get sick and usually die between 118–120 years of age – Know the date of their death 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Do not have to labour, since bread rains daily from the sky – Drink a beverage mixed with honey and pepper – In possession of precious clothes which do not get dirty by normal means and may be purified by fire – In possession of precious gems
8	<i>Braxmani</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lead a prosperous and fulfilled life – Do not need any form of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – In possession of similar goods like their neighbours – Eat fruit (<i>pomis</i>), pepper (<i>pipere</i>) and honey (<i>melle</i>)
9	<i>regio Eviltarum</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lead a prosperous and fulfilled life – Do not need any form of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Eat fruit (<i>pomis</i>), pepper (<i>pipere</i>) and honey (<i>melle</i>)
10	<i>gens Emer</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lead a prosperous and fulfilled life – Do not need any form of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Eat fruit (<i>pomis</i>), pepper (<i>pipere</i>) and honey (<i>melle</i>)
11	<i>regio Nebus</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – First governmental structures (<i>regitur a maioribus</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Eat fruit (<i>pomis</i>), pepper (<i>pipere</i>) and honey (<i>melle</i>)
13	<i>regio Disaph</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Well governed – Morally righteous 	
14	<i>gens Choneum</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Well governed – Morally righteous 	

(cont.)

Paragraph	People	Moral qualities/cultural habits	Lifestyle/material resources
15	<i>gens Diva</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well governed - Morally righteous 	
16	<i>India maior</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well governed - Morally righteous 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deal in all kinds of commerce and function as a hub-point between western and eastern societies
17	<i>regio Exomia</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well governed - Morally righteous - Potent in war 	
18	<i>India minor</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well governed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In possession of many elephants

PART 4

The Semantics of Roman Landscape Representations



Making and Unmaking Roman Landscapes in Cicero and Caesar

Isabel K. Köster

Landscapes become Roman in a process of transformation.¹ They are divided up and acquire new markers and features.² Urban settlements expand or shrink as necessary in order to meet the needs of the population. The lifestyle of the people living on the land also changes as Roman and local identities fuse into hybrid cultures. The visibility of these processes in the archaeological record is explored in other papers in this volume. This contribution, by contrast, focuses on literary texts and the question of how foreign landscapes are transformed into Roman ones. More specifically, it explores what Cicero and Caesar tell us about the characteristics of a Roman (or potentially Roman) landscape and how it can be differentiated from other spaces.

For Cicero and Caesar, I argue, the physical features of a landscape are indicative of its ideal function. Humans can either use the landscape in a way that matches its purpose or they can violently intervene in order to put it to a different use.³ As Diana Spencer has argued, a landscape is created by the

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- 1 I am grateful to the organizers and participants of Impact of Empire 14 for a stimulating workshop and to the editors of this volume for their feedback. The Latin texts follow the Oxford Classical Text editions for the *Verrines* and Caesar and L. Grillo, *Cicero's De Provinciis Consularibus Oratio* (Oxford 2015). Translations are my own.
 - 2 The bibliography on how the Romans transform foreign landscapes is extensive. A few examples will suffice: C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1991); G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998); F. Carlà-Uhink, *The "Birth" of Italy as a Region, 3rd–1st Century BCE* (Berlin 2017); C. Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity* (Baltimore 2018).
 - 3 For Cicero, E. Römisich, 'Umwelt und Atmosphäre. Gedanken zur Lektüre von Ciceros Reden', in G. Radke (ed.), *Cicero. Ein Mensch seiner Zeit* (Berlin 1968), 117–135 and A. Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Berkeley 1993) offer pioneering studies of how landscape descriptions function as persuasive tools. Since the publication of these studies, there has been considerably more work on landscapes in Latin literature. A significant body of scholarship focuses on the interplay between foreign landscapes and notions of ethnicity (see also Vasaly 1993 op. cit. [n. 3], 131–155; 191–244), with the general idea that a landscape and the people it produces share characteristics (the Roman work on the topic owes a debt to F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the*

interplay between humans and space: the term “[l]andscape’ ... foregrounds the cultural context and emphasizes the relationship between humankind, nature, and the inhabited world.”⁴ A landscape, then, is a space with an identity and a purpose that is accorded to it by humans. Ideally, a landscape’s perceived purpose and its human use are in harmony. When they are not, the most extreme consequence is the creation of an “anti-landscape,” a term coined by the environmental historian David Nye in order to describe landscapes that, often as a result of human actions, cannot be inhabited.⁵ In this chapter, I use Nye’s concept of anti-landscapes as a lens on Cicero’s and Caesar’s descriptions of Gaul. After setting anti-landscapes in dialog with more traditional notions of landscapes in Roman texts, I turn to Cicero’s *On the Consular Provinces* and Caesar’s *Gallic War* in order to explore whether these two texts treat Gaul as a space that has the potential to become a Roman landscape.

1 Landscapes and Anti-landscapes

In order to explore anti-landscapes, it is useful to first look at a case where a landscape’s identity and its use by humans are not in conflict. An illustrative example comes from in Cicero’s *Verrines*. Gaius Verres, the defendant, according to Cicero, is entirely unfamiliar with Roman cultural norms.⁶ He has consistent difficulties grasping the intended purpose of objects and spaces and does not know how to behave in a particular environment. As a result, Verres’ actions regularly lead to destruction and suffering. The sanctuary of Ceres at Henna in central Sicily offers an example of what happens when Verres misunderstands the purpose of a space. He should have easily recognized it as a sanctuary within a wider sacred landscape (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.106–107):

It is a long-held view, judges, which is affirmed by the oldest Greek works of literature and by monuments, that the island of Sicily as a whole is consecrated to Ceres and Libera. [...] Henna [...] is built on a very high

Writing of History (Berkeley 1988), esp. 112–141, which pioneered these notions for the study of Herodotus). As I aim to show in this chapter, the idea of a correspondence between people and landscape can also be unstable.

4 D. Spencer, *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity* (Cambridge 2010), 1.

5 D.E. Nye, ‘The anti-landscape,’ in D.E. Nye and S. Elkind (eds.), *The Anti-Landscape* (Amsterdam 2014), 11–26.

6 See, e.g., S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980), 113–115; J.M. May, *Trials of Character: The Eloquence of Ciceronian Ethos* (Chapel Hill 1988), 31–47.

spot, the top of which is flat and always has water; all approaches are sheer and steep. Around it are many lakes and groves and copious flowers at all times of year so that it seems to identify itself as the very place from which the maiden [Libera] was snatched, which we have already learned about [*accepimus*] since childhood. Indeed, there is a certain cave nearby, open to the north, incredibly deep, from which they say Father Dis suddenly emerged with his chariot, took the maiden from that place and carried her off with him. And quickly, not far from Syracuse, he plunged under the earth, and a lake suddenly appeared in that place, where until today the Syracusans hold an annual feast day with throngs of men and women.⁷

The description of the landscape is central to Cicero's rhetorical strategy. It authenticates the sacred importance of the location: a visitor to the site (or, with some imagination, someone reading or listening to the speech) can see the cave from which the god of the underworld emerged, can verify that this is a location where Persephone could have been picking flowers and so on. Therefore, although Cicero started by affirming that the site is sacred because of its place in Greek mythology, the description of the landscape introduces a further element: it is a space that Romans also know about from childhood stories.⁸ With the shift to the first-person plural verb *accepimus* in the middle of the passage, Henna becomes the common property of Greeks and Romans and Verres has attacked a universally sacred space: for those who know their mythology, the physical features of Sicily's landscape authenticate the island's connection to the gods. The festivals underscore the sacred function of the landscape and oral tradition – the tales that all somewhat educated Romans have been told since childhood – further confirms it. Henna, in Cicero's

7 *Vetus est haec opinio, iudices, quae constat ex antiquissimis Graecorum litteris ac monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae consecratam. [...] Henna [...] est loco perexcelso atque edito, quo in summo est aequata agri planities et aquae perennes, tota vero ab omni aditu circumcisa atque directa est; quam circa lacus lucique sunt plurimi atque laetissimi flores omni tempore anni, locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis quem iam a pueris accepimus declarare videatur. etenim prope est spelunca quaedam conversa ad aquilonem, infinita altitudine, qua Ditem patrem ferunt repente cum curru exstitisse, abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse, et subito non longe a Syracusis penetrasse sub terras, lacunque in eo loco repente exstitisse, ubi usque ad hoc tempus Syracusani festos dies anniversarios agunt celeberrimo virorum mulierumque conventu.*

8 This is not the only instance in which Cicero blames Verres' lack of education for his crimes. At Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.47–48 the orator mocks the defendant for not having learned that Delos is a sacred island.

rhetoric, is a landscape naturally suited to being sacred to the Romans and has always been so.

Passages such as this raise a number of questions about landscapes in Roman rhetoric and historiography: Sicily, after all, was conquered by the Romans, so how can it have a landscape that was always ideally suited to its Roman use? Land is conquered, but does Roman military action and imperial ambition also change how a space is written about? What features does a Roman landscape need to have to be recognizable as Roman and how do those qualities differ from those of a non-Roman space? Cicero's vision of Henna as an ideal Roman sanctuary also asks us to contemplate the relationship between humans and landscapes. In the passage above, human action enhances the function of the landscape. It is equally possible, however, especially in the context of military conquest, to imagine humans and landscapes working against each other: land can be suited for use by the Romans, but its inhabitants may resist conquest. By the same token, a landscape may resist those that try to inhabit it.

The concept of an anti-landscape offers a framework for exploring the complex interplay between landscapes and their inhabitants. As David Nye defines the concept, "[a]nti-landscapes are spaces that do not sustain life. They may arise from natural causes but are often the consequence of human action."⁹ Anti-landscapes have all the regular features of a landscape (such as roads, houses, and elements of topography), but are uninhabitable either because of a natural disaster or because of some destructive human action. They can have clearly defined geographical boundaries or they can be amorphous or even spread to adjacent spaces. For Nye, an important characteristic of anti-landscapes is what he calls their 'narrative': an inhabitable landscape is rendered hostile and useless, but can, with time and effort, be recovered for human use.¹⁰ Central to the notion of an anti-landscape, then, is the importance of an outside influence and the impermanence of the space's hostility to human life.

Nye's anti-landscapes are useful because they shift the focus to developments and transitions and thematize the hostility of a space. They ask us to contemplate what the opposite of a landscape would look like. In order to use the concept to explore Cicero and Caesar, however, two adaptations are necessary. First, the anti-landscapes are to be understood as hostile only to Roman life. Secondly, narratives of transformation are rare in these two accounts: except for occasions where Caesar destroys a landscape in the course of a

9 Nye 2014, op. cit. (n. 5), 11.

10 Nye 2014, op. cit. (n. 5), especially 20–25; D.E. Nye, 'Superfund sites as anti-landscapes', in S. Hartman (ed.), *Contesting Environmental Imaginaries: Nature and Counternature in a Time of Global Change* (Leiden 2017), 283–305.

campaign, landscapes are either hostile or they are not. Human agency can either enhance the inherent hostility of the landscape (and hence create a Roman anti-landscape) or create a conflict with a landscape that is willing to become Roman. Unlike in Nye's model, therefore, the landscapes have their own characteristic preferences and are not merely the passive recipients of outside forces.¹¹

2 Cicero on Gaul

When we turn to Cicero and Caesar, we are faced with the question of whether Gaul is an anti-landscape without potential to transform into a productive part of the Roman world or whether it is only the human population that tries to resist the Romans. Cicero's response suggests that although it is possible to conquer Gaul militarily, it is at best uncertain whether it will ever be a productive part of Rome. This ambiguity is an important element of *On the Consular Provinces*. Cicero delivered the speech in favor of extending Caesar's extraordinary command in Gaul in 56 BCE, a couple of years into the campaigns. His fellow senators, according to Cicero, are faced with a choice: they can either allow Caesar to consolidate the conquest of the territory or they can assign the province to someone else and have it slip from their grasp. Neither the landscape nor the people in Gaul are naturally suited to being Roman: there is no possibility of holding on to the new territories without the use of force.

If Rome loses control, this would undo a long series of Roman achievements. According to Cicero, the world has already effectively been conquered.¹² As he puts it: "There are no people who have not either been so destroyed that they just barely continue to exist, or so subdued that they keep quiet, or so disposed towards peace that they are happy about our victory and dominion."¹³ These, then, are the three approaches for dealing with the inhabitants of

11 My thoughts regarding the agency of ancient landscapes owe a debt to L. Van Broeck, 'Wily wetlands: imperialism and resistance in Tacitus's Batavian revolt', in D. Felton (ed.), *Landscapes of Dread in Classical Antiquity: Negative Emotion in Natural and Constructed Spaces* (London 2018), 145–162.

12 For the vision of world domination that Cicero articulates in the speech, see A.M. Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words* (Austin 2006), 21–24.

13 *Nulla gens est, quae non aut ita sublata sit, ut vix exstet, aut ita domita, ut quiescat, aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra imperioque laetetur* (Cic. prov. 31). I follow M. Lavan, 'Peace and empire: *Pacare, pacatus* and the language of Roman imperialism', in E.P. Moloney and M.S. Williams (eds.), *Peace and Reconciliation in the Classical World* (London 2017), 102–114, in translating *pacata* in a way that does not suggest violent Roman pacification, but rather a more cooperative process.

conquered territories: near-annihilation, active suppression, and persuasion. Caesar employs all three strategies and knows exactly what is required in every situation.¹⁴

Gaul is a military problem, not an administrative one. This point becomes especially clear in the comparison between Caesar's assignment and the tasks given to L. Calpurnius Piso and Aulus Gabinius, the governors of Macedonia and Syria respectively. An extension of Caesar's extraordinary command in Gaul would generate a shortage of provinces to assign to the next set of consuls. As a solution, Cicero proposes that Piso and Gabinius should be recalled. They, according to the orator, were assigned two provinces that were ideally suited to Roman rule, but proved so incompetent that they have pushed those territories to the brink of unrest. By linking the political fates of Caesar, Piso, and Gabinius, the speech therefore provides an insight into what Cicero considers to be the characteristics of an ideal Roman province.

Whereas Gaul is still the site of active conflict, Macedonia and Syria used to be peaceful provinces that are now being destabilized by their governors. Cicero's short description of the situation in Macedonia is illustrative (Cic. *prov.* 5):

And we used to keep this [province of] Macedonia secure, once it was quiet and peaceful of its own accord [*per se*], after the neighboring people had been subdued and the foreign threat had been contained, with a small garrison and a meagre number of soldiers even without *imperium*, through legates, by the name of the Roman people itself.¹⁵

There is a sharp contrast between Macedonia itself and neighboring regions. Whereas those living around the province have to be conquered, very little military force is needed to deal with Macedonia. It is willingly and naturally (*per se*) peaceful. Furthermore, the boundaries of the province are clear: Macedonia is not a place where Romans have to engage in military action because that would go against the nature of the province.¹⁶ When governed competently, Macedonia is a stable and peaceful province that covers a clearly defined territory.

¹⁴ Cic. *prov.* 33.

¹⁵ *Atque hanc Macedoniam domitis iam gentibus finitimis barbariaque compressa pacatam ipsam per se et quietam tenui praesidio atque exigua manu etiam sine imperio per legatos nomine ipso populi Romani tuebimur.*

¹⁶ Cicero's vision of Macedonia is a fantasy since the province saw regular military conflicts. For an overview of the strategic situation, see See Grillo 2015, op. cit. (n. 1), ad 5.10 and 5.12.

Rome's enemies, by contrast, have no respect for provincial spatial demarcations. Looking back at the Mithridatic Wars, Cicero pictures the king's forces as "boiling over and erupting into Asia."¹⁷ The motif that the inhabitants of Roman provinces stay quietly within their territories, whereas enemies constantly look to transgress their boundaries runs throughout the speech.¹⁸ It is particularly prominent with the Gauls. They, in Cicero's argument, have no sense of borders. Caesar is the only one who can stop regular incursions into Italy (*Cic. prov.* 32):

A Gallic War, Senators, has been conducted under the general C. Caesar. Before this we only repelled the Gauls. The distinguished C. Marius, whose divine and outstanding courage brought relief to the great calamities and disasters of the Roman people, stopped the enormous hordes of Gauls streaming into Italy, but did not himself press into their cities and dwellings.¹⁹

The language of the passage is vivid with the Romans trying to stand their ground by repelling invaders who simply flow over them. The Gauls disrupt and destabilize the integrity of Roman space.

The growing unrest in Macedonia and Syria illustrates what happens when Roman territories are not properly protected. The lack of respect for boundaries can be contagious. Here we can return to the concept of the anti-landscape. Anti-landscapes, too, need not have fixed boundaries, but can spread and infect surrounding territory.²⁰ Landscapes that border on anti-landscapes, then, can potentially be rendered unfit for human use just by nature of their geographical location. By being fluid and ill-defined and threatening to take over Roman territory, the spaces bordering Macedonia and Syria and the entirety of Gaul are, in effect, Roman anti-landscapes.

To be sure, the fluidity of Rome's foreign neighbors is primarily a problem of people and not territory. The physical space, however, also poses a threat

17 *Effervescentem in Asiam atque erumpentem* (*Cic. prov.* 6).

18 On this point see also Grillo 2015, *op. cit.* (n. 1) *ad* 5.10: "Throughout *Prov.* barbarians constitute a potentially overflowing danger that must be subdued." Riggsby examines the speech from an 'insider/outsider' model where "a peaceful interior [is] rigidly distinguished from a dangerous exterior," Riggsby 2006, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 21–24, quotation from 21. Roman and non-Roman spaces are fundamentally different.

19 *Bellum Gallicum, patres conscripti, C. Caesare imperatore gestum est, antea tantum modo repulsum ... ipse ille C. Marius, cuius divina atque eximia virtus magnis populi Romani luctibus funeribusque subvenit, influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit, non ipse ad eorum urbes sedesque penetravit.*

20 Nye 2014, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 19–20.

because it does not conform to Roman patterns of habitation. Although the Gauls also have urban settlements, these, in contrast to Macedonia and Syria, do not show any evidence of cultural or artistic activities (Cic. *prov.* 29):²¹

For why is it that Caesar himself wishes to stay in his province unless it is to hand over to the state as accomplished the things that he has aimed for? I suppose that the pleasantness of the place, the beauty of its cities, the culture and refinement of those people and their tribes, the desire for victory, and the extension of the boundaries of the empire keep him there. What is more hostile than those lands, what more uncultured than those towns, what more wild than those tribes, what, moreover, more distinguished than those victories? What can be found to be further away from the Ocean?²²

With this negative characterization of Gaul, Cicero attempts to address concerns that Caesar may not give up the territories he conquered at the end of the campaign. There is nothing attractive or desirable about the territory: the threat to Roman space must be dealt with, nothing more. And it is not just human life that presents a problem: the land itself is hostile and the cities are not centers of refinement, but symbols of its absence. Then there is the reference to the Ocean and the idea that Caesar's campaigns extend to the edge of the world. It is a common trope in Greek and Latin literature that the further away one goes from the known world, the stranger things get: one can reach paradisiacal landscapes or strange lands where markers of space have ceased to have their regular meaning.²³ The latter is the case with Cicero's Gaul – the landscape has no features except for cities that are not really cities. It follows that the territory can perhaps be subdued, but that it cannot be transformed into a peaceful province like Macedonia.

The Alps are the most notable topographical feature of Gaul in Cicero's speech, but the Gauls are constantly in danger of transgressing them. Once

21 As shown in E. Ndiaye, 'L'image du *barbarus* gaulois chez Cicéron et César,' *Vita Latina* 177 (2007), 87–99, the idea that the Gauls are entirely lacking in culture is a trope in Cicero's works, especially in his speeches.

22 *Nam ipse Caesar quid est cur in provincia commorari velit, nisi ut ea, quae per eum adfecta sunt, perfecta rei publicae tradat? amoenitas eum, credo, locorum, urbium pulchritudo, hominum nationumque illarum humanitas et lepos, victoriae cupiditas, finium imperii propagatio retinet. quid illis terris asperius, quid incultius oppidis, quid nationibus immanius, quid porro tot victoriis praestabilius, quid Oceano longius inveniri potest?*

23 On this literary trope, see J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton 1992), esp. 20–26; A. Purves, 'Unmarked space: Odysseus and the inland journey,' *Arethusa* 39 (2006), 1–20.

Caesar has conquered the territory, there is no longer a need for the mountain range. As Cicero tells his audience: “Let the Alps sink. For there is nothing beyond the peak of those mountains up to the ocean that Italy must fear.”²⁴ After all, Gaul, in the orator’s conception, is not a clearly defined geographical space, but simply the area where Gauls come from. Once they have been crushed, everything is in order. It follows that Gaul is not a territory with the potential to become part of the Roman world: it is either the home of invaders or it is nothing.

Cicero’s Gaul is an anti-landscape inhabited by people who do not respect Roman boundaries. With its lack of clear features or recognizable patterns of urban settlements, the physical space mirrors the mobility of the population: like some anti-landscapes, it threatens to take over and destabilize surrounding territories. Without Caesar’s intervention, the territory is not only unsuitable for Roman habitation, but a constant danger to Roman space. Cicero’s speech therefore reflects the threatening potential of anti-landscapes.

3 Caesar on Gaul and Germany

Julius Caesar himself has a different outlook on the issue of whether Gaul can become Roman. As scholarship on Caesar’s account of the Gallic War has shown extensively, when it comes to the general’s description of Gaul, he looks at the territory thinking about how it can be divided up and turned into Roman land.²⁵ Unlike Cicero, he carefully differentiates between the territory (which is suitable for Roman habitation) and the people (who are largely uncooperative and unwilling to stay within their naturally given boundaries). There is nothing uncivilized about Caesar’s Gaul: it is densely settled with tribes that can be neatly separated from each other. The land is fertile and suitable for sustaining large settlements: when it is not, then it is often because of destruction caused by humans. Therefore, although Caesar and Cicero refer to the same physical territory when they talk about Gaul, the two authors have fundamentally different conceptions about the nature of the space.

24 *Quae [=Alpes] iam licet considant. nihil est enim ultra illam altitudinem montium usque ad Oceanum, quod sit Italiae pertimescendum* (Cic. prov. 34).

25 M. Rambaud, ‘L’espace dans le récit césarien’, in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique: mélanges offerts à Roger Dion* (Paris 1974), 111–129; Riggsby 2006, op. cit. (n. 12), esp. 24–45; C.B. Krebs, ‘The world’s measure: Caesar’s geographies of *Gallia* and *Britannia* in their contexts and as evidence for his world map’ *AJPh* 139 (2018), 93–122.

At the beginning of Book 1 of the *Gallic War*, Caesar finds himself in conflict with the Helvetii. A prominent leader named Orgetorix compelled this tribe to cross its boundaries even though such a move went against the very nature of the territory (Caes. *Gall.* 1.2.3–4):

The Helvetii are contained on all sides by the nature of the place: on one side by the very broad and deep Rhine River, which divides the land of the Helvetii from the Germans; on another side [they are hemmed in] by the very high Jura Mountains, which are between the Sequanii and the Helvetii; on the third side by Lake Geneva and the Rhone, which separate our province from the Helvetii. Because of these circumstances, they do not roam very far.²⁶

This is an orderly world in which every tribe has a designated space. The move on the part of the Helvetii is a violation of the natural order.²⁷ A few chapters later, after Orgetorix is killed, the Helvetii decide to go on an all-out offensive (Caes. *Gall.* 1.5.2–4):

When they considered themselves to be ready for this endeavor, they set on fire all their towns, in number about twelve, about forty villages, and the remaining private buildings. They burned all their grain, except what they would carry with them, so that, because the hope of a return home had been taken away, they would be more ready to face any danger. They ordered each person to bring with them a supply of grain for three months. They persuaded the neighboring Rauraci, Tulingi, and Latobrigi to take the same advice and set out together with them once they had burned their towns and villages.²⁸

26 *Undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. his rebus fiebat ut et minus late vagarentur.*

27 As has been well-recognized, Caesar's efforts to give a such a neat and orderly picture of the physical landscape result in significant geographical distortions and inaccuracies, see G. Walser, 'Zu Caesars Tendenz in der geographischen Beschreibung Galliens,' *Klio* 77 (1995), 217–223; C.B. Krebs, "Imaginary geography" in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, *AJPh* 127 (2006), 111–136. For distortions in Caesar's ethnographic narratives, see A. Johnston, 'Nostris and "the other(s)"', in L. Grillo and C.B. Krebs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Writings of Julius Caesar* (Cambridge 2017), 81–94. On Caesar's rhetorical distortions more broadly, M. Rambaud, *L'art de la déformation historique dans les Commentaires de César* (Paris 1953) is fundamental.

28 *Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt; frumentum omne, praeterquam*

In order to motivate themselves for the campaign, the Helvetii effectively destroy their civilization and inspire others to do the same. Once Caesar wins a decisive victory, his first order of business is to compel the defeated to undo as much of the damage as possible so that orderly life can resume. The only hostile element in passages such as this is Gaul's human population. They have to work against the physical landscape in order to fight the Romans.

In the case of the Helvetii, the landscape itself is not hostile. Elsewhere in the *Gallia War*, however, Caesar and his troops regularly find themselves confronted with swamps, woods or ravines that make operations difficult and give some advantage to the enemy's battle tactics.²⁹ An extended example of this pattern is Caesar's confrontation with the Nervii (*Gall.* 2.16–28). While the Romans identify a suitable space to make camp, they quickly find themselves attacked by enemies hiding in the surrounding woodlands (*Gall.* 2.18–19). In his description of the ensuing battle, Caesar repeatedly points to the difficult nature of the territory, which prompts the Romans to adjust their tactics.³⁰ In the end, the general's leadership and the skill of his soldiers win the day, but the episode illustrates a victory over both a fierce enemy and a territory that does not conform to Roman preferences. From a military point of view, the land of the Nervii is almost a Roman anti-landscape: it is hostile to them, but can be adapted to, if with difficulty.

The confrontation with the Menapi and Morini in Book 3 illustrates a different approach to potential anti-landscapes.³¹ The territory is covered with woods and swamps, which the inhabitants think will shield them from the Romans. This is, after all, a terrain that has proven to be hostile to the invaders: it is a Roman anti-landscape, but a useful space for the Gauls. In response, Caesar orders his men to chop down the woods, which they initially do easily and at a rapid pace.³² When a storm interrupts the operation, an even more radical approach is called for and the general orders much of the territory to be

quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensum molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre iubent. persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis suis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum eis proficiscantur.

29 On these spaces and the dangers that they pose, see Riggsby 2006, op. cit. (n. 12), 25–27. As Riggsby points out, while these spaces slow down and threaten the Romans, they can still move in them and frequently also manage to successfully fight in them.

30 For example, “Since the army had taken up a formation that was dictated more by the nature of the territory, the slope of the hill, and what was necessary in the moment than it was by military tactics and order [...]” (*Instructo exercitu magis ut loci natura deiectusque collis et necessitas temporis quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, [...]*. *Caes. Gall.* 2.22.1).

31 *Caes. Gall.* 3.28–29.

32 The trees are removed “with incredible speed” (*incredibili celeritate*, *Caes. Gall.* 3.29.2).

set on fire. The decision to end the conflict through slashing and burning illustrates that Caesarian anti-landscapes are not hostile to all human life. When the area was friendly to the Gauls, it was unsuitable for Roman use. Through violent intervention, however, the land is transformed into a space hostile to the Gauls and can thereby be added to Caesar's conquests. It would of course take significant effort to restore the burnt landscape to human use, but such considerations are beyond the general's concerns. Creating an anti-landscape has helped advance the military objective.

Caesar's Gaul therefore presents three variations on the idea of anti-landscapes: some territories are easily adapted to Roman occupation even though their inhabitants try to resist, others need to be overcome by military skill and ingenuity, yet others have to be destroyed and made unusable for their Gallic inhabitants in order to suit Roman plans. None of the spaces that Caesar encounters in Gaul therefore fully meet Nye's criteria for anti-landscapes: The Romans face difficulties, but the environment does not make their existence impossible.

Britain and Germany present a rather different picture. Caesar's campaigns take him there, too, but not with a view to staying. As most notably has been argued by Christopher Krebs, the lands of Britain and Germany are cast as entirely unsuitable for Roman conquest.³³ It is therefore no surprise that not only the people, but also the landscape is hostile. In Britain the ships struggle to find a safe space to anchor, and frequent storms throw off Roman efforts.³⁴ Furthermore, impenetrable forests cover the land. Although there are no cities, this space is reminiscent of Cicero's Gaul.³⁵ It, too, presents a featureless landscape and offers the Romans nothing except resistance. Whereas Gaul has to be conquered for reasons of Roman security, it is enough to persuade the Britons to no longer foment unrest among different Gallic factions.

When we get to Caesar's Germany, it becomes even more obvious that there is little beyond the boundaries of Gaul that resembles civilization in Roman eyes. As discussed above, the Helvetii burned their settlements in order to motivate themselves to go to war. The destruction was an undesirable necessity. In Germany, however, wastelands are objects of prestige. One of the most

33 Krebs 2006, op. cit. (n. 27); Krebs 2018, op. cit. (n. 25).

34 See especially *Caes. Gall.* 4.28–29.

35 While it is likely that Caesar shaped Cicero's views of Gaul as a coherent geographical space (see, for example, Krebs 2006, op. cit. (n. 27), 115–116), the lack of repeated phrases and similar linguistic markers makes it difficult to determine whether Caesar specifically projected Cicero's view of the nature of Gaul onto his characterization of Britain and Germany. It is more probable that the two authors are simply employing the same broad views of what a complete absence of civilization looks like.

remarkable features of the German tribes, according to Caesar, is that they like to surround themselves with uninhabitable spaces (Caes. *Gall.* 6.23.1–2):³⁶

It is the greatest glory in these lands to surround oneself with the widest possible extent of empty spaces [*solitudines*] by laying waste to the borderlands. They consider this a characteristic of valor: to have their neighbors withdraw having been driven from their lands and to have no-one dare to settle nearby.³⁷

The Latin word that Caesar uses to describe the space between tribes is *solitudo*, which signifies any sort of uninhabited and hostile space such as a desert.³⁸ Whereas in Gaul people constantly transgress their boundaries, Caesar's Germans are keen on demarcating their territory.³⁹ A land covered in woods where hostile emptiness is a desired boundary marker is indeed no space for Romans. Caesar, then, indicates clearly what territories he means to conquer and what territories he considers unsuitable for the Romans. Gaul's land is either portrayed as already friendly to the Romans or as territory that can be overcome by force or ingenuity. Fully hostile anti-landscapes lie beyond the borders of potentially Roman space.

4 Conclusion

Cicero and Caesar have different perspectives on Gaul's future as a Roman landscape. For the orator, who is arguing for the continuation of a war, there is little in Gaul that resembles Roman space. There are some settlements and topographical features such as rivers, but for the most part the landscape is ill-defined and difficult to contain. Humans and space work together to resist the Romans: people transgress boundaries such as the Alps and the supposedly imposing mountain range facilitates their moves. This is territory that the

36 See also Caes. *Gall.* 4.3, which also mentions that the German tribes surround themselves with empty space.

37 *Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere, neque quemquam prope audere consistere....*

38 *Solitudo* is also the term that Tacitus' Calgacus uses at Tac. *Agr.* 30 to describe what land looks like after it has been conquered by the Romans.

39 As also noted in Riggsby 2006, op. cit. (n. 12), 64–65, there is a significant inconsistency in Caesar's portrayal of the Germans. Elsewhere in the *Gallie War*, especially in Book 1, they are clearly nomadic. Book 6, too, contains references to frequent movement. *Gall.* 6.23.1–2, however, depicts them as static and hostile.

Romans can conquer if Caesar is in charge of the campaign, but not land that is naturally suited to becoming Roman. Caesar, on the other hand, offers a more complex approach to the landscape of Gaul. While there are some hostile spaces, the most common impression is of an orderly landscape that is ready for the Romans, but is inhabited by people who try to work against nature in their efforts to resist conquest. Although Cicero and Caesar are describing the same territory and the conflict, one author looks at Gaul with a view to turning it into fully Roman space, but the other one does not.

When Nye's concept of the anti-landscape is applied to these two authors, broader implications for how we read rhetorical descriptions of foreign spaces emerge. Anti-landscapes are hostile to human life, can spread, and can be transformed back into regular landscapes. The anti-landscapes in the two texts that I have discussed do not exclude all human life, but only the Romans. Whether we are dealing with a landscape or an anti-landscape is therefore a matter of perspective – a forest may be an anti-landscape for a Roman, but not for a German. The threat of an anti-landscape spreading presents a real concern, especially for Cicero. Most importantly, however, neither Cicero nor Caesar engage with the idea that anti-landscapes are transformable. Instead, they both offer a vision of land that is either already behaving like Roman territory or has to be destroyed through conquest. There is little possibility for rehabilitating anti-landscapes, and the gradual processes of transformation that make spaces Roman are not of interest to the authors. A landscape is either Roman by nature or it is not.

Paysages et *otium* au début du Haut-Empire

Anne Gangloff

Là, tout n'est qu'ordre et beauté, luxe, calme et volupté

BAUDELAIRE, *L'invitation au voyage*



Le phénomène culturel des villas de luxe, qui est né de l'afflux des ressources apportées par la conquête de la Grèce et du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, et qui connaît son épanouissement de la première moitié du 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du 11^e siècle ap. J.-C., surtout le long du littoral près de Rome, autour de la baie de Naples et en Toscane, est si étroitement associé à l'idéal aristocratique de *otium* que ces villas sont couramment qualifiées par les archéologues de « villas à *otium* ». Cette notion d'*otium* n'est cependant pas univoque : elle ne se fixe qu'au 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C., pour désigner la tranquillité de l'existence privée, rendue possible par un détachement temporaire des activités politiques et tournée vers les activités culturelles¹. Cicéron est le premier à faire apparaître, de manière explicite, ce que J. Bodel appelle la « Villaculture », en ayant fait des villas des aristocrates de l'époque tardo-républicaine le cadre de ses dialogues littéraires².

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- 1 Je remercie, pour leurs relectures et remarques, J. Alerini, M. Fuchs, G. Gorre, N. Haechler, M. Horster, S. Lefebvre et J. Trinquier, ainsi que, pour leurs suggestions, R. Auvertin, F. Carlà-Uhink et S. Wylér. Sur la notion d'*otium*, voir l'ouvrage classique de J.-M. André, *L'Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine, des origines à l'époque augustéenne* (Paris 1966). Les principales éditions et traductions utilisées sont les suivantes : Pline le Jeune, *Lettres*. Tome I, Livres I-III, texte établi, traduit et commenté par H. Zehnacker (Paris 2009); tome II, Livres IV-VI, texte établi et commenté par H. Zehnacker, traduit par N. Méthy (Paris 2011); tome III, Livres VII-IX, texte établi et commenté par H. Zehnacker, traduit par N. Méthy (Paris 2012). Sénèque, *Lettres à Lucilius*. Tome III, Livres VIII-XIII, texte établi par F. Préchac, traduit par H. Noblot (Paris 1957).
- 2 J. Bodel, « Villaculture », dans J.A. Becker et N. Terrenato (éds.), *Roman Republican Villas. Architecture, Context, and Ideology* (Ann Arbor 2012), 45-60, part. 53-54.

L'objectif de cette contribution est d'étudier les rapports entre la notion d'*otium*, elle-même fondamentalement liée à la contemplation³, et les paysages intégrés dans la villa – paysages naturels ou paysages peints. Nous employons le terme de paysage dans un sens proche de sa conception courante, en le considérant comme une « étendue de pays » (qui est le sens premier du mot quand il apparaît en 1549) offerte à la vue d'un spectateur⁴, ce qui permet d'englober aussi bien le paysage naturel – plus ou moins marqué par l'intervention humaine – que le paysage artialisé des tableaux. Il s'agit d'examiner, à partir d'exemples précis, l'évolution des interactions entre *otium* intellectuel, appréhension du paysage et architecture de la *villa urbana* au début du Haut-Empire.

On peut partir de la lettre 86 dans laquelle Sénèque décrit sa visite de la villa de Scipion l'Africain à *Liternum* en Campanie, villa qu'il évoque aussi dans la lettre 51. C'était une villa bien connue, mentionnée aussi dans d'autres sources et devenue à l'époque de Sénèque un lieu de tourisme en raison de la gloire attachée à son propriétaire qui était un *exemplum*⁵. Il s'agit aussi d'une des premières *villae urbanae* que l'on connaisse – mais pas archéologiquement –, qui fut construite au tout début du 11^e siècle av. J.-C.

J'ai vu cette villa toute en pierres de taille, le mur enfermant la forêt, les tours de défense des deux côtés de l'entrée ; en contrebas des constructions et des massifs de verdure, masquant une citerne qui suffirait aux besoins d'une armée entière, le cabinet de bain étroit, ténébreux, selon la coutume du vieux temps. Il fallait l'obscurité à nos ancêtres pour qu'ils se sentissent bien au chaud. Je pris un très vif plaisir à considérer la manière de vivre de Scipion par rapport aux habitudes d'aujourd'hui. Dans ce réduit la terreur de Carthage, le héros à qui Rome doit de n'avoir été qu'une fois prise, baignait son corps fatigué de rustiques travaux ; car il peinaux champs et, comme un citoyen des âges antiques, conduisait lui-même la charrue. Le grand homme a tenu sous ce plafond sordide ;

3 Sen. *dial.* 8 (*De otio*), 5.3-8.

4 Voir les définitions courantes tirées du dictionnaire Robert que proposent A. Rouveret, « *Pictos ediscere mundos* : perception et imaginaire du paysage dans la peinture hellénistique et romaine », *Ktèma* 29 (2004), 325-344, part. 342 (à partir de la description que fait Pline le Jeune de la vue panoramique depuis sa villa de Toscane, que nous verrons plus loin), et J.-M. Croisille, *Paysages dans la peinture romaine. Aux origines d'un genre pictural* (Paris 2010), 12.

5 Liv. 38.52.1 ; Sen. *epist.* 11.86 ; Val. Max. 2.10.2 ; l'*otium* de Scipion l'Africain est aussi mentionné, également à titre d'exemple, par Cic. *off.* 3.2.1. Voir J. Henderson, *Morals and Villa's in Seneca's Letters : Places to Dwell* (Cambridge, 2004), part. 93-117, 158-170.

voici le vil pavé qu'ont foulé ses pas ! À présent, qui souffrirait de se baigner dans de semblables conditions ? On se regarde comme pauvre et crasseux, si les parois de la salle de bain ne diffusent l'éclat de grands miroirs ronds, de prix, si les marbres humides ne s'incrument, pour un effet de contraste, dans ceux d'Alexandrie, si l'on ne voit régner autour de ces plaques de marbre un filet d'émail dont la mosaïque savante rappelle le pinceau du peintre [...]. **Dans ce bain de Scipion il y a, au lieu de fenêtres, des meurtrières taillées en plein mur pour laisser entrer la lumière sans nuire à la défense du castel. Aujourd'hui on appelle trous à mites les bains qui ne sont pas agencés de façon à recevoir par d'immenses fenêtres le soleil toute la journée, qui ne permettent pas de se tremper et de se hâler la peau dans le même temps, où l'on n'a pas vue, de sa baignoire, sur la campagne et la pleine mer⁶.**

Sénèque présente donc la villa de Scipion l'Africain comme une sorte de ferme fortifiée, dont il souligne la modestie. Ce qui est intéressant est qu'on a pu montrer, tout au contraire, que cette villa fut luxueuse en son temps, d'une part parce que son plan paraît correspondre au type de plan *tetrapyrgos*, qui est un plan rectangulaire fermé, caractérisé par la présence de quatre tours angulaires et d'espaces organisés autour d'une cour centrale entourée d'un péristyle. Ce type, rare dans le paysage romain, était celui d'un palais hellénistique (par exemple celui de Démétrios Poliorcète à Démétriade), ce qui en faisait un cadre bien approprié à un *imperator* romain⁷. Le caractère luxueux est impliqué, d'autre part, par la présence d'un *balneum*, alors que celui-ci n'a

6 Sen. *epist.* 11.86.1-9: *Vidi uillam extractam lapide quadrato, murum circumdatum siluae, turres quoque in propugnaculum uillae utrimque subrectas, cisternam aedificiis ac uiridibus subditam quae sufficere in usum uel exercitus posset, balneolum angustum, tenebricosum ex consuetudine antiqua: non uidebatur maioribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum. Magna ergo me uoluptas subiit contemplantem mores Scipionis ac nostros: in hoc angulo ille 'Carthaginis horror', cui Roma debet quod tantum semel capta est, abuebat corpus laboribus rusticis fessum. Exercebat enim opere se terramque (ut mos fuit priscis) ipse subigebat. Sub hoc ille tecto tam sordido stetit, hoc illum pauimentum tam uile sustinuit: at nunc quis est qui sic lauari sustineat? Pauper sibi uidetur ac sordidus nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt, nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt, nisi illis undique operosa et in picturae modum uariata circumlitio praetexitur [...]. In hoc balneo Scipionis minimae sunt rimae magis quam fenestrae muro lapideo exsectae, ut sine iniuria munimenti lumen admitterent; at nunc blattaria uocant balnea, si qua non ita aptata sunt ut totius diei solem fenestris amplissimis recipiant, nisi et lauantur simul et colorantur, nisi ex solio agros ac maria prospiciunt.*

7 L. Romizzi, *Villa d'Otium dell'Italia antica (II sec. a. C.-I sec. d. C.)* (Naples 2001), 120-121, cat. 64 pour l'exemple concret de la villa de Mazara del Vallo en Sicile (11^e siècle av. J.-C.).

été couramment intégré à l'architecture de la villa qu'au début de l'époque impériale⁸.

La description de Sénèque est idéologique, comme le montre l'association qu'il fait, par exemple, entre Scipion l'Africain et Caton l'Ancien, autre propriétaire d'une fameuse *uilla rustica*⁹. On peut faire le parallèle avec Varron qui, dans les *Res rusticae*, a opposé *uilla urbana* et *uilla rustica* d'une manière artificielle – qui ne correspondait pas à une réalité beaucoup plus complexe – pour mettre en avant les traditions romaines dans le contexte troublé de la fin de la République¹⁰. Sénèque aussi fait retour à un idéal traditionnel du soldat-paysan, par opposition au luxe des villas à *otium* et des jardins, dont le premier promoteur – certes atypique – fut naturellement, à son époque, l'empereur Néron. En faisant construire la *Domus Aurea*, celui-ci introduisit à Rome même la plus luxueuse des villas à *otium*¹¹. Sénèque a écrit les *Lettres à Lucilius* un peu avant la construction de la *Domus Aurea*, à partir de 63, dans la semi-retraite où il s'est tenu dès la deuxième moitié de l'année 62, contre le gré de l'empereur d'après Tacite.

Dans sa description de la villa de Scipion, le philosophe ne s'attache pas au paysage : il se contente d'évoquer plus loin, rapidement, des éléments du paysage agricole puisqu'il ne s'intéresse qu'à la *pars rustica* de la villa et à sa fonction de lieu de production agricole. Il souligne l'aspect fermé de l'architecture,

8 Romizzi 2001, op. cit. (n. 7), 39 ; X. Lafon, « Les bains privés dans l'Italie romaine au II^e siècle av. J.-C. », dans *Les thermes romains : actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome : Rome, 11-12 novembre 1988* (Rome 1991), 97-114, part. 99-100, 102, 112 ; X. Lafon, *Villa maritima. Recherches sur les villas littorales de l'Italie romaine* (Rome 2001), 43-47 sur la villa de Scipion.

9 Sen. *epist.* 5.51.11-12 : sont aussi mentionnés les grands *imperatores* tardo-républicains, Marius, Pompée et César, propriétaires de villas à caractère « militaire ».

10 Varro *rust.* 1.13.6-7, déplore également le luxe et les extravagances des villas contemporaines, par opposition aux villas du passé, construites pour exploiter les campagnes. Mais à côté de cette opposition idéologique, il établit aussi, à l'intérieur même de la villa, une distinction fonctionnelle entre *pars urbana* et *pars rustica*, entre partie résidentielle d'une part, partie productive et partie de stockage de l'autre. Voir A.F. Wallace-Hadrill, « The villa as a cultural symbol », dans A. Frazer (éd.), *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana* (Philadelphia 1998), 43-53 ; M. Zarmakoupi, *Designing for Luxury on the Bay of Naples. Villas and Landscapes (100 BCE-79 CE)* (Oxford 2014), 5. Sur la persistance de la *pars rustica* dans la *uilla urbana* et sur le caractère non fondé de l'opposition entre *uilla rustica* et *uilla urbana*, voir J. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge [MA] 1970), 351-383. Voir aussi N. Purcell, « The Roman *uilla* and the landscape of production », dans T.J. Cornell et K. Lomas (éds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London 1995), 151-179.

11 Suet. *Nero* 31 ; Tac. *ann.* 15.42. Voir N. Purcell, « Town in country and country in town », dans E.B. MacDougall (éd.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (Washington 1987), 187-203 ; sur la critique par l'élite romaine des maisons de luxe : C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1993), 137-172.

le caractère sombre de la pièce qu'il décrit, le *balneum*, mettant en évidence, *a contrario*, l'importance de la vue sur la campagne et la mer au sein de la villa à *otium*. Ces éléments peuvent être mis en rapport avec d'autres remarques formulées par le philosophe quand il évoque des villas à *otium* : les voluptés du paysage de Baïes sont perturbantes et nuisent à l'*otium* du sage¹² ; il reconnaît l'influence du pays, de l'environnement sur l'esprit¹³, ce qui va à l'encontre de l'indépendance du sage, qui doit pouvoir, par l'esprit, aller librement d'un lieu à un autre¹⁴. Le discours de demande de congé à l'empereur que Tacite a attribué à Sénèque est cohérent avec la position exprimée par le philosophe dans ses lettres¹⁵. Sénèque considère en effet dans ce discours ses propriétés suburbaines et les jardins qu'il a fait aménager comme des possessions inhérentes à son rang social et à sa proximité avec Néron : ils font partie des bienfaits (*beneficia*) de l'empereur. Le soin consacré aux jardins et aux villas n'est donc pas envisagé comme un élément de l'*otium*, mais, au contraire, comme un sujet de préoccupation pour l'esprit. L'*otium* du sage se vit dans la solitude et le repli sur soi¹⁶, il n'est pas compatible avec le cadre de la villa à *otium*.

À la fin du 1^{er} siècle ou dans les premières années du 11^e (probablement entre 97 et 107/108), un autre riche sénateur proche du pouvoir impérial – mais dans un contexte de rapprochement entre celui-ci et l'élite sociale et intellectuelle –, Pline le Jeune, fait la description dans ses lettres de deux de ses villas à *otium*, celle des Laurentes et celle de Toscane. La villa toscane a été localisée sur le site de San Giustino, dans la haute Vallée du Tibre, à la limite nord de l'Ombrie, à la frontière de la Toscane et des Marches, mais il n'est pas possible à l'heure

12 Sen. *epist.* 5.51.11. Sur Baïes comme symbole et comme lieu de villégiature privilégié, notamment par les Julio-Claudiens, voir Lafon 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 187-204, 243-246 et 257-259.

13 Sen. *epist.* 5.51.11 (dans la lettre, mer et ville sont opposées à deux éléments positifs de l'environnement que sont la montagne et la campagne) ; 11.86.14.

14 Sen. *epist.* 5.55.8.

15 Tac. *ann.* 14.53-54, part. 53.5: *Ubi est animus ille modicis contentus ? tales hortos exstruit et per haec suburbana incedit et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato faenore exuberat ? una defensio occurrit, quod muneribus tuis obniti non debui*, « Où est cette âme satisfaite de peu ? Est-ce elle qui aménage de tels jardins, qui se pavane dans ces villas suburbaines, qui regorge de domaines aussi vastes, d'un revenu aussi étendu ? » ; Tac., *ann.* 54.3: *Nec me in paupertatem ipse detrudam, sed traditis quorum fulgore praestringor, quod temporis hortarum aut uillarum curae seponitur, in animum reuocabo*, « Sans me réduire moi-même à la pauvreté, j'abandonnerai des biens dont l'éclat m'éblouit, et le temps consacré au soin des jardins ou des villas, je le rendrai à mon esprit » (trad. par P. Wuilleumier). Sénèque semble répondre aussi aux attaques de ses ennemis, qui sous-entendaient dans le passage précédent qu'il allait bientôt surpasser l'empereur par le luxe de ses villas et de ses jardins : Tac. *Ann.* 14.52.2.

16 Sen. *Dial.* 8 (*De Otio*), 1.1 ; 2.1.

actuelle de retracer le plan complet de la résidence du propriétaire¹⁷. Divers sites ont été proposés pour la villa des Laurentes : la villa Plinio ou Palombara à Castel Fusano, au sud-ouest de Rome dans l'Agro Romano ; la villa Grotte di Piastra ou Villa Magna à Castel Porziano, dans la même zone mais un peu plus à l'est que la précédente. Au contraire de ce qu'on a vu pour Sénèque, les descriptions de Pline font émerger une notion de l'*otium* qui concilie à la fois le luxe architectural de la *uilla urbana* et des jardins et l'étude intellectuelle¹⁸.

Les descriptions de Pline relèvent de l'exercice littéraire¹⁹ : elles s'apparentent à des visites guidées de la *uilla urbana*, dont la partie *rustica*, bien développée au moins dans la villa de Toscane puisqu'on sait par sa correspondance que Pline en tirait des revenus²⁰, est gommée, sauf comme élément de la beauté du paysage²¹. Il s'agit donc de descriptions codifiées, révélatrices de valeurs et de goûts communs à l'élite aristocratique de son temps, à laquelle Pline s'adresse : ainsi L. Domitius Apollinaris, auquel était destinée la description de la villa de Toscane dans la lettre 5.6, qui fut consul suffect en 97 et fut peut-être le patron de Martial, et Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, le protégé de Pline, auquel est expliquée l'organisation de l'*otium* littéraire dans la villa de Toscane, dans la lettre 9.36 ; Fuscus était le neveu d'Hadrien et il fut consul en 118 avec l'empereur²².

Or, ces descriptions de villas sont caractérisées par l'importance accordée au paysage, sur lequel est ouverte l'habitation. L'interaction entre architecture des villas à *otium* et paysage naturel a été soulignée par M. Zarmakoupi

17 Villa de Toscane : *CIL* XI 8113, 16 (tuiles trouvées à Tifernum Tiberinum, avec l'inscription *C. P[lini] C[aecili] S[ecundi]*). Voir P. Braconi et J. Uroz Sáez, *La villa di Plinio il Giovane a San Giustino : Primi risultati di una ricerca in corso* (Pérouse 1999) ; P. Braconi, « La villa di Plinio il Giovane a San Giustino », dans F. Coarelli et H. Patterson (éds.) *Mercator placidissimus. The Tiber Valley in Antiquity. New Research in the upper and middle River Valley (Atti del Convegno, Roma, British School at Rome, 27-28 febbraio 2004)* (Rome 2008), 93-108 : jusqu'à présent les archéologues n'ont pu fouiller qu'une partie qui ne correspond pas à la résidence de Pline, telle que celui-ci l'a décrite dans sa lettre 5.6.

18 Comme l'a souligné Edwards 1993, op. cit. (n. 11), 142, 163, à la fin du 1^{er} siècle, pour la première fois, on trouve des textes littéraires poétiques (chez Stace et Martial), qui louent le luxe des villas et ne le condamnent plus. Désormais, celui-ci semble « faire partie du paysage ».

19 Plin. *Epist.* 5.6.40-44 ; A.-M. Guillemin, « Les descriptions de villas de Pline le Jeune », *BAGB* 19 (1928), 6-15, qui renvoie aussi à *Stat. Silv.* 2.2.

20 Plin. *Epist.* 4.6 ; 9.36.6, où Pline écarte justement les doléances de ses fermiers comme étant incompatibles avec son *otium*.

21 Voir sur ce sujet Purcell 1995, op. cit. (n. 10).

22 Pour le premier, voir *Mart.* 4.86 ; 7.26 ; 11.15 ; *PIR*² D 133. Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator : *PIR*² P 200. L'identification du Gallus auquel était adressée la description de la villa des Laurentes (Plin. *Epist.* 2.17) est incertaine : *PIR*² G 59.

dans son livre *Designing for Luxury on the Bay of Naples. Villas and Landscapes (100 BCE-79 CE)*, à partir d'une étude de cinq villas campaniennes datées entre la fin du 11^e siècle av. J.-C. et la fin du 1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.²³. L'auteure a mis en avant, pour expliquer ce phénomène nouveau, propre aux luxueuses villas romaines, aussi bien des innovations techniques comme l'élargissement de la taille des structures en terrasses et la réorganisation du portique et du jardin, qui permettait d'intégrer des paysages naturels au sein-même des villas, que l'apparition d'un goût nouveau pour le paysage, visible notamment dans la poésie bucolique, dès Virgile²⁴. Cette ouverture de la villa sur le paysage est manifeste dans les descriptions des villas des Laurentes ou de Toscane, dans lesquelles Pline souligne de manière répétée les vues offertes par les différentes pièces ou structures²⁵.

Le goût pour le paysage naturel est également évident, surtout dans la description de la villa de Toscane, où le paysage environnant est décrit de manière continue, comme un panorama ayant sa propre unité, et non comme une succession de *topia*, comme c'était le cas dans les célèbres définitions du paysage données par Vitruve et Pline l'Ancien²⁶ – c'est d'ailleurs cette description qui a contribué à la localisation de la villa de Pline à San Giustino²⁷ :

Le pays est d'une grande beauté. Figure-toi un amphithéâtre immense, et tel que la nature seule peut en créer. Une plaine vaste et étendue est entourée de montagnes. Les montagnes, **dans leur partie supérieure**, portent de hautes et antiques futaies, le gibier y est abondant et varié. Ensuite, des taillis descendent suivant la pente de la montagne. **Au milieu**, de gras coteaux de terre riche (il n'est pas facile de trouver la roche en aucun endroit quand bien même la chercherait-on) ne le cèdent pas en

23 Zarmakoupi 2014, op. cit. (n. 10), sur la villa des Papyri, la villa Oplontis A à Torre Annunziata, les villas Arianna A et B et San Marco à Stabies. Voir aussi, dans une perspective centrée sur la période tardive, É. Morvillez, « 'Avec vue sur jardin': vivre entre nature et paysage dans l'architecture domestique, de Cicéron à Sidoine Apollinaire », *Cahiers « Mondes anciens »* 9 (2017), mis en ligne le 16 mars 2017, consulté le 29 mai 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/1926> ; DOI: 10.4000/mondesanciens.1926.

24 Zarmakoupi 2014, op. cit. (n. 10), 19-20, 114-122 et 122-139. Sur les liens entre paysages peints et poésie, voir W.E. Leach, *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton 1988).

25 Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.5, 6, 11, 12, 13-15, 20-21 ; 5.6.14, 18, 23, 28, 30. Voir aussi Stat. *Silv.* 2.2, v. 73-81. L'idéal littéraire de l'ouverture sur l'extérieur est sans doute à relativiser, voir sur ce point la réflexion de Lafon 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), sur les « rapports complexes [que les villas maritimes entretenaient] avec l'extérieur : monde clos ou espace ouvert ? », 295-300.

26 Plin. *Nat.* 35.116 ; Vitruv. 7.5.2.

27 Braconi 2008, op. cit. (n. 17), 93.

fertilité aux champs des terrains les plus plats et portent une abondante moisson, qui parvient à maturité seulement plus tardivement, mais non moins bien. **À leur pied**, sur tous les versants, s'étendent des vignobles, dont le maillage crée, sur un vaste espace, un paysage uniforme. **À leur limite**, leur bordure inférieure, pour ainsi dire, apparaissent des bosquets. Puis des prairies et des champs, des champs que seuls peuvent entamer d'énormes bœufs et de très puissantes charrues. Si grosses sont les mottes qui se dressent sur le sol très compact, lorsqu'on l'ouvre pour la première fois, que seul en vient à bout le neuvième labour. Les prairies, remplies de fleurs à l'éclat de pierres précieuses, produisent du trèfle et d'autres herbes toujours tendres et souples comme si elles étaient fraîchement écloses ; toutes, en effet, sont alimentées par des ruisseaux intarissables. Pourtant, aux endroits où l'eau est la plus abondante, aucun marécage, parce que la terre en pente déverse dans le Tibre tout le liquide qu'elle a reçu sans l'absorber. Le fleuve, propre à la navigation, passe au milieu des champs et transporte à la ville toutes les productions de la campagne, mais seulement en hiver et au printemps. En été, il baisse et le dessèchement de son lit lui fait perdre son nom de fleuve immense ; il le retrouve en automne. **Tu auras grand plaisir à contempler le panorama du site du haut de la montagne. Car ce ne sont pas des terres mais un dessin d'une rare beauté que tu auras l'impression de voir. Cette diversité, cette harmonie reposeront ton regard où il se posera.** La maison, située au bas d'un coteau, a la même vue que si elle était au sommet²⁸.

28 Plin., *epist.* 5,6.7-14: *Regionis forma pulcherrima. Imaginare amphitheatrum aliquod immensum, et quale sola rerum natura possit effingere. Lata et diffusa planities montibus cingitur, montes summa sui parte procera nemora et antiqua habent. Frequens ibi et uaria uenatio. Inde caeduae siluae cum ipso monte descendunt. Has inter pingues terrenique colles – neque enim facile usquam saxum etiam si quaeratur occurrit – planissimis campis fertilitate non cedunt, opimamque messem serius tantum, sed non minus percoquant. Sub his per latus omne uineae porriguntur, unamque faciem longe lateque contextunt; quarum a fine imoque quasi margine arbusta nascuntur. Prata inde campique, campi quos non nisi, ingentes boues et fortissima aratra perfringunt: tantis glaebis tenacissimum solum cum primum prosecatur assurgit, ut nono demum sulco perdometur. Prata florida et gemmea trifolium aliasque herbas teneras semper et molles et quasi nouas alunt. Cuncta enim perennibus riuis nutriuntur; sed ubi aquae plurimum, palus nulla, quia deuexa terra, quidquid liquoris accepit nec absorbit, effundit in Tiberim. Medios ille agros secat nauium patiens omnesque fruges deuexit in urbem, hieme dumtaxat et uere; aestate summittitur immensique fluminis nomen arenti alueo deserit, autumno resumit. Magnam capies uoluptatem, si hunc regionis situm ex monte prospexeris. Neque enim terras tibi sed formam aliquam ad eximiam pulchritudinem pictam uideberis cernere: ea uarietate, ea descriptione, quocumque inciderint oculi, reficientur. Villa in colle imo sita prospicit quasi ex summo.*

La beauté du paysage naturel – comparé d'ailleurs à un tableau – et le plaisir qu'il donne à la vue sont explicitement soulignés dans ce passage. Le goût du paysage apparaît aussi dans la sensualité des descriptions : le sens prédominant est celui de la vue, qui met en exergue l'éclat de la lumière et de la mer ainsi que le contraste entre ombre et lumière²⁹, mais le paysage est aussi sonore, car les bruits d'eau, notamment ceux de la mer, sont bien présents et ce paysage devient aussi olfactif, de manière ponctuelle, avec la mention du parfum des violettes sur une terrasse de la villa des Laurentes³⁰. Les descriptions des sols font appel au sens tactile³¹.

L'importance accordée aux paysages réels fait écho à celle des paysages peints dans les décors des villas à *otium*, qui est de plus en plus grande dans la peinture dite du IV^e style, qui se développe à partir du règne de Claude³². Les principales composantes, chez Pline, de ce que l'on pourrait qualifier de « paysage à *otium* », constituent aussi les sujets ou les motifs des tableaux paysagers : la mer et les jardins, naturellement³³, mais aussi la montagne et la plaine³⁴, les éléments architecturaux et les villas, dont le plaisir qu'ils procurent à la vue est explicitement souligné dans les lettres de Pline³⁵. On peut

29 Sur l'importance accordée à l'exposition des différentes pièces, Colum. 1.6.1-3.

30 Sur les bruits de l'eau : Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.22, sur le grondement de la mer et l'agitation des tempêtes ; 5.6.23 : « une pièce d'eau placée en-dessous des fenêtres et en contrebas, qui fait le plaisir des oreilles et des yeux ». Sur l'exploitation de l'eau pour construire une « architecture des sens », et notamment sur l'omniprésence des bruits d'eau, Zarmakoupi 2014, op. cit. (n. 10), 229-235. Parfum des violettes : *Epist.* 2.17.17.

31 Le passage cité de la description du pays autour de la villa de Toscane mentionne les mottes de terre et le sol compact, les herbes tendres et souples : Plin. *Epist.* 5.6.10-11 ; voir aussi, dans la description du paysage autour de la villa des Laurentes, la mention du sol doux et souple sous la tonnelle de vigne : Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.15.

32 Sur l'évolution de la place et de l'importance accordée aux paysages peints dans les décors des villas, voir Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 4), 35-50 ; Zarmakoupi 2014, op. cit. (n. 10), 123, qui renvoie à W.J.T. Peters, « Die Landschaft in der Wandmalerei Kampaniens », dans G. Cerulli Irelli, M. Aoyagi et S. de Caro (éds.), *Pompejanische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart et Zürich 1990), 249-262, part. 261-262. Au sein d'une abondante littérature sur les tableaux de paysage, on peut renvoyer, outre à l'étude classique de W.J. Peters (*Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* [Assen 1963]), à celles d'A. Rouveret, notamment, pour une réflexion sur la notion de paysage : Rouveret 2004, op. cit. (n. 4), 341-343 sur la description par Pline du paysage toscan.

33 P. Zanker, *Roman Art* (Los Angeles 2010), 12. Cf. Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.15, description d'un jardin intérieur : « C'est de cette vue, qui n'est pas moins plaisante que celle de la mer, que jouit la salle à manger à l'écart de la mer ».

34 Voir le passage cité plus haut (Plin. *Epist.* 5.6.7-14). La montagne est surtout présente sous forme de paysages rocheux dans les « paysages mythologiques » : cf. Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 4), 51-55.

35 Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.12 : « qui domine une vaste étendue de mer, une grande longueur de rivage et de charmantes villas » ; § 27 : « Le rivage s'orne en une délicieuse variété d'une suite tantôt ininterrompue tantôt discontinue de constructions qui offrent l'aspect d'une



FIGURE 16.1 Pompéi, maison de M. Lucretius Fronto v 4a, *tablinum*, Villenlandschaft (« paysage à villa »)
PHOTOGRAPHIE © STÉPHANIE WYLER

faire le parallèle entre ce goût pour les paysages comportant des villas et les tableaux de villas du *tablinum* de la maison de L. Lucretius Fronto, ou bien les panoramas de la maison de la Petite Fontaine à Pompéi³⁶. Ces tableaux précèdent de peu dans le temps les descriptions de paysages faites par Pline et par Stace dans les *Silves*. Le *tablinum* de Fronto contient la représentation d'une intéressante villa, dont l'architecture, caractérisée par un vaste portique à deux étages, semble ouverte sur le paysage ; le paysage extérieur est marqué par la présence d'autres constructions (notamment des portiques) et de montagnes à l'arrière-plan (fig. 16.1). Le plus grand panorama peint de la maison de la Petite Fontaine embrasse plusieurs constructions : à gauche, une villa avec un grand portique, derrière lequel on aperçoit la végétation d'un jardin ; sur la droite, un petit port semble être représenté (fig. 16.2).

succession de villes » ; Plin. *Epist.* 5,6,30 : « À l'extrémité une chambre, à laquelle la galerie elle-même, autant que les vignes, donnent une vue charmante » ; § 32 : « L'organisation et la beauté des bâtiments sont, de loin et de très loin, dépassées par celles de l'hippodrome ». Sur les « paysages à villas », ou Villenlandschaften, qui semblent avoir constitué un genre en soi à la fin de la période pompéienne (fin du 111^e style-IV^e style), voir Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 4), 61 et 112-117. Sur l'importance du critère de visibilité dans le choix du site des villas sur la côte sud du Latium.

36 Voir Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 4), 112-113 sur les paysages à villas de la maison de Fronto, et 113-117 sur les panoramas de la maison de la Petite Fontaine (avec des renvois à la bibliographie antérieure).



FIGURE 16.2 Pompéi, maison de la Petite Fontaine VI 8,23, péristyle, panorama
PHOTOGRAPHIE © STÉPHANIE WYLER

Le plaisir propre à l'*otium* n'est pas seulement engendré par la nature aménagée par l'homme, comme on le lit souvent, mais aussi par la nature non aménagée, alternant avec la première³⁷. Chez Pline, la nature non aménagée qui apparaît dans le motif de la montagne aux confins du paysage environnant la villa toscane, ou bien par touches dans la description de la villa des Laurentes, est un élément important de contraste avec la nature organisée par l'homme³⁸, de même que, dans le « paysage à villa » de la maison de Fronto (fig. 16.1), la végétation vert foncé du jardin qui apparaît derrière le grand portique forme un contraste avec la végétation vert clair et les montagnes grises de l'arrière-plan.

Il est clair qu'on ne saurait reconstituer un unique « paysage à *otium* », car c'est la variété de l'environnement qui est mise en avant, comme le montre aussi la description que fait Stace, le contemporain de Pline, de la luxueuse villa à Sorrente de son protecteur Pollius Felix, ancien magistrat et patron de

37 Plin. *Epist.* 5.6.18 : « Puis une prairie, qui doit sa beauté à la nature autant que les parties précédentes à l'art ». Sur l'importance de la nature aménagée par les hommes, voir par exemple P. Zanker 2010, op. cit. (n. 33), 125. Sur le spectacle de la nature : E. Vallette et S. Wyler (éds.), « Le spectacle de la nature. Regards grecs et romains », *Cahiers « Mondes anciens »* 9 (2017), mis en ligne le 16 mars 2017, consulté le 29 mai 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/1926> ; DOI : 10.4000/mondesanciens.1926.

38 N. Purcell, « Alla scoperta di una costa residenziale romana: il *litus Laurentinum* e l'archeologia dell'*otium* », dans M.G. Lauro (éd.), *Castelporziano III. Campagne di scavo e restauro 1987-1991* (Rome 1998), 11-32, part. 18-19.



FIGURE 16.3 Pompéi, 45-79 ap. J.-C., paysage portuaire (Naples, MANN, inv. 9460)
PHOTOGRAPHIE © ANNE GANGLOFF

Pouzzoles et de Naples³⁹. Stace met en exergue un autre élément du paysage, le port, qui est aussi un symbole traditionnel de l'*otium* romain conçu comme un refuge⁴⁰, et qui est également un thème des tableaux peints sur les murs des villas à *otium* (fig. 16.3).⁴¹

Il existait un lien évident entre paysages extérieurs, paysages intérieurs peints et paysage mental de l'*otium*. La notion d'*otium* qui ressort est celle de

39 Cette variété est soulignée dans Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.3 et 27 ; 5.6.13 ; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2, v. 41-44, 72-74. Sur Pollius Felix, *PIR*² P 550. La variété des points de vue était un critère de l'architecture de la villa des Laurentes, comme on le constate à propos des vues offertes par les pièces du pavillon que Pline a fait lui-même construire, voir par exemple Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.21 : « À ses pieds on a la mer, derrière soi les villas, en face les bois : autant de paysages différents qu'il distingue et réunit par un nombre équivalent de fenêtres ». Sur cette recherche de points de vue multiples dans la villa maritime, voir Lafon 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 298-300.

40 Stat. *Silv.* 2.2, v. 140-141 ; Cic. *Off.* 3.2.1 (à propos, justement, de Scipion l'Africain).

41 Sur le port comme élément traditionnel des fresques : Vitruv. 7.5.2. Sur le paysage portuaire de Pompéi (Fig. 3), voir I. Bragantini et V. Sampaolo (éds.), *La pittura pompeiana* (Naples et Milan 2018, 2^e éd.), 411. Voir aussi le tableau bien connu de la villa San Marco de Stabies représentant un port qui a été identifié à celui de Pouzzoles ou d'Alexandrie, mais qui est peut-être fictif : Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 4), 124-125. Sur les équipements portuaires de certaines villas maritimes : Lafon 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 320-322. Sur les *topia* et la description de Stace : B. Bergmann, « Painted perspectives of a villa visit : Landscape as status and metaphor », dans E.K. Gazda et A.E. Haackl (éds.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Décor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula* (Ann Arbor 1991), 49-70, part. 65 sur le port (l'auteur renvoie, n. 40, à C. Bonner, « Desired haven », *Harvard Theological Review* 34 [1944], 49-67, sur le symbolisme du port).

délassement de l'esprit, du corps et des sens, mais elle se concilie très bien, chez Pline, avec la conception de l'*otium* comme étude⁴².

Dans la villa des Laurentes, spécialement dévolue à l'activité littéraire, le sénateur avait fait construire un pavillon isolé par un double mur du bruit de la mer et des esclaves, qui permettait le recueillement propice à l'étude⁴³. La lettre de Pline expliquant à Fuscus comment il organisait son *otium* dans la villa de Toscane souligne l'importance du cadre de l'activité littéraire :

Tu me demandes comment j'organise ma journée en été dans ma propriété de Toscane. Je me réveille quand il me plaît, généralement vers la première heure, souvent plus tôt, rarement plus tard. Mes fenêtres restent fermées. Car c'est extraordinaire : bien isolé, grâce au silence et à l'obscurité, de tout ce qui distrait, libre et livré à moi-même, je laisse mes yeux dépendre de ma volonté, non pas ma volonté de mes yeux, qui voient ce que voit mon esprit chaque fois qu'ils n'ont pas autre chose à voir. Je réfléchis à l'ouvrage que j'ai en train, j'y réfléchis jusque dans sa forme, comme si je l'écrivais ou le corrigeais, rédigeant tantôt moins, tantôt plus, selon que le texte a été difficile ou facile à élaborer et à retenir. J'appelle un secrétaire et, après avoir laissé entrer la lumière du jour, je dicte ce que j'ai composé ; il se retire, est de nouveau rappelé, de nouveau renvoyé. À la quatrième ou cinquième heure (car mon emploi du temps n'est pas précis et calculé), selon ce que suggère le ciel, je me rends sur la terrasse ou dans la galerie, je travaille à la suite de mon texte et dicte. Je monte en voiture. Là encore, mon occupation est la même qu'à la promenade ou sur mon lit ; mon attention se maintient, renouvelée par le simple changement. Je dors de nouveau un peu, puis je me promène. Ensuite, je lis un discours grec ou latin distinctement et avec énergie, moins pour ma voix que pour ma gorge ; mais, du même coup, elle aussi s'en trouve fortifiée. Je me promène une nouvelle fois, je me fais frictionner, je fais de l'exercice, je prends un bain. Pendant mon dîner, si je suis avec ma femme ou quelques amis, on lit un ouvrage. Après le dîner vient un comédien ou un joueur de lyre. Ensuite, je me promène avec mes gens, au nombre desquels il en est d'instruits. C'est ainsi que la soirée se prolonge en

42 Sur la villa des Laurentes consacrée à l'activité littéraire : Plin. *Epist.* 1.9.4-6 ; 1.22.11 ; 4.6 ; 9.36 ; S.E. Hoffer, *The Anxieties of Pliny the Younger* (New York 1999), 29-44 : « Villas : Factories of literature » (à propos d'*Epist.* 1.3) ; P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains* (Paris 1984, 3^e éd.), 423-425, a mis en évidence le lien entre les jardins et l'*otium* consacré à l'étude ; K.T. von Stackelberg, *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society* (London et New York 2009), 125-134, sur les jardins de la villa toscane de Pline.

43 Plin. *Epist.* 2.17.20-24.

conversations variées et que, quand bien même est-il fort long, le jour s'achève vite. Il y a parfois dans cette régularité quelques changements. Car, si je suis resté longtemps au lit ou à la promenade, c'est seulement après ma sieste et ma lecture que je me déplace, non en voiture, mais, ce qui prend moins de temps grâce à une plus grande rapidité, à cheval. Des amis surviennent-ils des villes voisines ? Ils me prennent une partie de ma journée et quelquefois, si je suis fatigué, viennent à mon secours en m'interrompant opportunément. Je chasse de temps en temps, mais sans oublier mes tablettes, pour que, même si je ne prends rien, je ne revienne pas sans rien. Je donne aussi du temps à mes fermiers, pas assez à leurs yeux ; et leurs doléances de paysans me font apprécier davantage nos travaux littéraires et les occupations de citadins qui sont les nôtres. Au revoir⁴⁴.

Pline commence ainsi, dès l'aube, à composer des ouvrages dans la solitude et l'obscurité d'une chambre fermée : curieuse habitude, que permet de comprendre le témoignage de son maître Quintilien sur la conception traditionnelle, grecque – le modèle en est Démosthène –, du travail littéraire.

44 Plin. *Epist.* 9.36, Pline à Fuscus: *Quaeris quemadmodum in Tuscis diem aestate disponam. Euigilo cum libuit, plerumque circa horam primam, saepe ante, tardius raro. Clausae fenestrae manent; mire enim silentio et tenebris ab iis quae auocant abductus et liber et mihi relictus, non oculos animo sed animum oculis sequor, qui eadem quae mens uident, quotiens non uident alia. Cogito si quid in manibus, cogito ad uerbum scribenti emendantique similis, nunc pauciora nunc plura, ut uel difficile uel facile componi teneriue potuerunt. Notarium uoco et die admisso quae formaueram dicto; abit rursusque reuocatur rursusque dimittitur. Vbi hora quarta uel quinta – neque enim certum dimensumque tempus – ut dies suasit, in xystum me uel cryptoporticum confero, reliqua meditor et dicto. Vehiculum ascendo. Ibi quoque idem quod ambulans aut iacens; durat intentio mutatione ipsa relecta. Paulum redormio, dein ambulo, mox orationem Graecam Latinamue clare et intente non tam uocis causa quam stomachi lego; pariter tamen et illa firmatur. Iterum ambulo ungor exerceor lauor. Cenanti mihi, si cum uxore uel paucis, liber legitur; post cenam comoedia aut lyristes; mox cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi. Ita uariis sermonibus uespera extenditur, et quamquam longissimus dies bene conditur. Non numquam ex hoc ordine aliqua mutantur; nam, si diu iacui uel ambulauim, post somnum demum lectionemque non uehiculo sed, quod breuius quia uelocius, equo gestor. Interueniunt amici ex proximis oppidis, partemque diei ad se trahunt interdumque lasso mihi opportuna interpellatione subueniunt. Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut quamuis nihil ceperim non nihil referam. Datur et colonis, ut uidetur ipsis, non satis temporis, quorum mihi agrestes querelae litteras nostras et haec urbana opera commendant. Vale. Voir aussi *Epist.* 9.40, à Fuscus, où Pline affirme qu'il règle son *otium* à peu près de la même façon l'hiver, quand il séjourne dans sa villa des Laurentes.*

L'absence de témoins [...] et le plus profond silence sont, personne n'en doute, les meilleures conditions pour écrire. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'il faille du coup écouter ceux pour qui les bois et les forêts conviennent le mieux à cette fin, sous prétexte que le ciel libre et l'agrément du paysage élèvent l'âme et enrichissent l'inspiration. Pour moi, du moins, cette solitude est agréable plus que stimulante pour l'étude. En fait, ces spectacles, précisément parce qu'ils charment, détournent nécessairement de s'appliquer au travail que l'on a en vue. En effet, l'esprit ne peut s'appliquer consciencieusement tout entier à beaucoup d'objets à la fois, et, où qu'il se tourne, il cesse de fixer le but qu'il s'était proposé. Aussi, l'agrément des forêts et les eaux qui coulent et le souffle des brises dans les branches d'arbres et le chant des oiseaux, et simplement la liberté même de promener largement nos regards autour de nous, tout nous attire, en sorte que, pour moi, ce plaisir me semble plutôt détendre l'esprit que le tendre. Démosthène était plus sage, lui, qui s'enfermait dans un lieu d'où il ne pût rien entendre ni regarder, de peur que ses yeux ne le contraignent à penser à autre chose. Donc, si nous veillons, que ce soit de préférence le silence de la nuit, et une chambre bien close, avec une lampe solitaire qui nous fassent comme un abri⁴⁵.

On retrouve dans cette conception traditionnelle de l'étude la notion de l'*otium* intellectuel défendue par Sénèque, en relation avec le cadre clos et sombre qu'il appréciait dans la villa de Scipion l'Africain. Quintilien, également favorable à cette conception de l'étude, présente aussi une position opposée, dont les partisans défendaient l'idée que le paysage peut inspirer l'activité littéraire, stimulée par le plaisir d'un environnement plein de charme⁴⁶.

45 Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.22-25: *Secretum [...] et quam altissimum silentium scribentibus maxime conuenire nemo dubitauerit. Non tamen protinus audiendi qui credunt aptissima in hoc nemora siluasque, quod illa caeli libertas locorumque amoenitas sublimem animum et beatiorem spiritum parent. Mihi certe iucundus hic magis quam studiorum hortator uideatur esse secessus. Namque illa quae ipsa delectant necesse est auocent ab intentione operis destinati. Neque enim se bona fide in multa simul intendere animus totum potest, et quocumque respexit desinit intueri quod propositum erat. Quare siluarum amoenitas et praeterlabentia flumina et inspirantes ramis arborum aerae uolucrumque cantus et ipsa late circumspectandi libertas ad se trahunt, ut mihi remittere potius uoluptas ista uideatur cogitationem quam intendere. Demosthenes melius, qui se in locum ex quo nulla exaudiri uox et ex quo nihil prospici posset recondebat, ne aliud agere mentem cogere oculi. Ideoque lucubrantes silentium noctis et clusum cubiculum et lumen unum uelut +rectos+ maxime teneat.* (trad. par J. Cousin).

46 Sur le *topos* de la solitude des bois comme lieu de la création poétique, Hor. *epist.* 1.4.1-5, peut-être à propos du poète élégiaque Tibulle. Il s'oppose en tout cas lui-même, dans son

La méthode de Pline constitue une sorte de mixte, par adaptation aux activités aristocratiques de l'*otium* qu'étaient les promenades à pied, en litière ou bien à cheval, au sein de la villa ou bien aux alentours. Une deuxième partie de son travail de composition prend place en effet, selon les conditions météorologiques, sur la terrasse ou bien dans la galerie qui impliquaient des vues variées sur le paysage. Même à la chasse, Pline emportait ses tablettes, ce qui signifie qu'il travaillait aussi dans la nature et les bois⁴⁷. Cette attention portée à l'exercice et à la variété des activités correspond à des règles bien établies de la diététique médicale⁴⁸. Mais la variété, le changement, sont également mis en avant comme ressorts de la méthode de travail de Pline : le changement le stimule intellectuellement et lui permet de maintenir son attention. Dans une autre lettre consacrée à la villa des Laurentes, le rôle inspirateur du paysage maritime est directement évoqué : « Ô mer, ô rivage, ô sanctuaire des Muses, authentique et solitaire, qu'elles sont nombreuses, vos découvertes, que de pensées vous m'inspirez⁴⁹. »

D'un Sénèque exprimant son malaise vis-à-vis des villas à *otium*, lieux où le luxe et les paysages entravent l'étude du sage, à un Pline le Jeune dont les villas des Laurentes et de Toscane constituent non seulement le cadre, mais aussi le moteur et même le sujet de l'activité intellectuelle et littéraire. En explorant les rapports de l'élite romaine aux paysages naturels et peints dans le cadre des

otium sabin créatif, à ce poète qui erre, silencieux, dans les bois salubres : voir Leach 1988, op. cit. (n. 24), 238, qui fait l'hypothèse d'une allusion à l'usage hellénistique et républicain de la nature comme miroir subjectif de l'émotion. Voir aussi Tac. *dialog.* 12.

- 47 Voir déjà Cic. *leg.* 2.1, sur son plaisir de réfléchir, écrire et lire dans l'île du Fibrène sur son domaine d'Arpinum.
- 48 Voir Cels. 1.1.1, sur l'homme en bonne santé : *Hunc oportet uarium habere uitae genus : modo ruri esse, modo in urbe, saepiusque in agro ; nauigare, uenari, quiescere interdum, sed frequentius se exercere ; siquidem ignauia corpus hebetat, labor firmat, illa maturam senectutem, hic longam adulescentiam reddit*, « Ce qu'il lui faut, c'est de la variété dans sa façon de vivre : être tantôt à la campagne, tantôt en ville, et plus souvent aux champs ; naviguer, chasser, prendre parfois du repos, mais plus fréquemment de l'exercice ; car l'inaction alanguit le corps, l'effort l'affermir, la première hâte la vieillesse, l'autre prolonge la jeunesse » (trad. par G. Serbat). Le danger du travail intellectuel qui n'est pas favorable à la bonne santé du corps est souligné par Cels. *praef.* 6 ; 1.2.1. Voir D. C. 71.36.2, imputant l'affaiblissement du corps de Marc Aurèle à l'étude et à l'ascèse. Marc Aurèle, dans une lettre à Fronton (Fronto 5.63, Van den Hout p. 83, 4), affirme dicter en se promenant, comme l'exigeait le soin de son corps.
- 49 Plin. *epist.* 1.9.6 : *O mare, o litus, uerum secretumque μουσεῖον, quam multa inuenitis, quam multa dictatis !* Sur les liens entre *otium*, *studia* et lieux, voir aussi N. Méthy, *Les lettres de Pline : une représentation de l'homme* (Paris 2007), 374-378. André 1966, op. cit. (n. 1), 515-516, a souligné l'existence, chez Virgile, de paysages dans lesquels des éléments de la nature, en particulier la mer et le ciel, sont associés aux notions de calme, de repos et de sérénité.

villas à *otium*, on a donc vu l'évolution des fonctions de ces villas au 1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. Ces changements font intervenir des facteurs aussi bien culturels que politiques : processus d'appropriation du paysage, conceptions de l'*otium* et rapports au pouvoir impérial.

Ainsi, l'évolution de l'architecture et du décor de la villa à *otium*, celle de l'appréhension du paysage et celle de la notion d'*otium* sont allées de pair. Une nouvelle sensibilité à l'environnement s'exprime dans le goût sensuel pour le paysage, qui est intégré à la notion d'*otium* et donne naissance à une nouvelle façon d'envisager l'étude. Le paysage n'est plus seulement conçu comme reflet des sentiments et des émotions, comme c'était le cas à l'époque hellénistique et républicaine (on peut l'observer d'ailleurs dans la correspondance de Cicéron⁵⁰). Il est aussi revendiqué, de façon explicite, comme le cadre et le ressort psychologique de l'activité intellectuelle. D'où une nouvelle manière de concevoir cette activité, dans laquelle l'étude est stimulée par le mouvement et par la variété de l'environnement, et où des éléments naturels deviennent une source d'inspiration revendiquée.

Alors qu'elles étaient auparavant surtout le cadre des conversations érudites, les villas à *otium* sont donc devenues, à la fin du 1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C., le cadre des études personnelles et de la création littéraire, comme on le voit aussi chez Stace (*Silv.*, 2.2) où le paysage maritime de la villa de Pollius Felix est une composante à part entière du cadre des études astronomiques, philosophiques et poétiques de son propriétaire⁵¹. À l'issue d'une longue construction culturelle

50 Leach 1988, op. cit. (n. 24), 138. Sur les paysages de Cicéron qui traduisent ses préoccupations politiques, J.-P. De Giorgio, « Sous l'épopée, la plage », *Cahiers « Mondes anciens »* 9 (2017), mis en ligne le 07 mars 2017, consulté le 29 mai 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/1898> ; DOI : 10.4000/mondesanciens.1898.

51 Voir aussi Plin. *epist.* 1.3. Stace décrit le paysage maritime de la villa comme un paysage à la fois naturel et mythologique, évoquant celui des tableaux peints qui relèvent de la catégorie dite des « paysages mythologiques », où le paysage naturel est le décor évocateur et, plus précisément, le point d'ancrage des épisodes mythiques : voir par exemple les deux tableaux de la villa Boscotrecase représentant, l'un, le mythe de Polyphème et Galatée, l'autre, celui de Persée et Andromède, datés entre 15 av. J.-C. et 10 ap. J.-C. (Croisille 2010, op. cit. [n. 4], 93-98). La fin du poème de Stace (v. 112-121) fait apparaître le lien entre l'activité poétique de Felix et la dimension mythologique du paysage maritime. Stace ne manque naturellement pas d'évoquer les Sirènes de Sorrente ; voir Lafon 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 199-203, sur l'enjeu socio-culturel des références mythiques à propos des villas maritimes, dont les propriétaires souhaitaient se rattacher aux recherches hellénistiques sur la géographie des mythes. Voir aussi A. Rouveret, « Les paysages de Philostrate », dans M. Costantini, E. Graziani et S. Rolet (éds.), *Le défi de l'art. Philostrate, Callistrate et l'image sophistique* (Rennes 2006), 63-76, part. 66-67 sur le paysage et la mémoire ; A. Rouveret, « Retour à Ithaque : peinture du paysage et de l'intimité domestique à Rome du dernier siècle de la République au début de l'Empire », *CRAI* 2013,1, 289-312. Voir également

du paysage⁵², celui-ci apparaît désormais comme un élément à part entière – et un élément dynamique – de la culture et de l'*otium* romains.

Dans ce processus d'appropriation du paysage par l'élite romaine, le 1^{er} siècle semble représenter une étape importante, comme le montre le fait que les villas à *otium* et le luxe ne semblent plus contestés à partir des Flaviens⁵³. L'analyse des réactions de Sénèque et de Pline le Jeune permet de comprendre les différents éléments qui ont interagi dans ce processus : le développement du goût pour le paysage intégré dans l'architecture des villas à *otium*, la « normalisation » des rapports entre l'élite intellectuelle sénatoriale et le prince, la diffusion de nouveaux modèles de *otium*, pour lesquels l'*otium* des villas impériales a sans aucun doute fourni les principaux critères, et de nouvelles conceptions et pratiques de l'étude au sein-même des villas. Ces réactions prennent leur sens dans le contexte de la perte générale de pouvoir politique qu'a vécue l'ordre sénatorial au début du Principat. La réalisation de l'*otium* intellectuel au sein des villas italiennes, dans le cadre d'un paysage familier à l'aristocratie romaine, devient alors un éventuel exutoire pour les sénateurs. Sous Néron et les Flaviens, cette perte du pouvoir politique a engendré des réactions conflictuelles, dont les plus fameuses sont les actes d'opposition des « sénateurs stoïciens ». Sénèque ne faisait pas partie de ce groupe, mais l'*otium* des villas de luxe lui était d'une certaine façon imposé par Néron : il devenait de ce fait (outre des raisons proprement philosophiques) inacceptable, à partir du moment où le sénateur s'était éloigné du pouvoir. La période flavienne a implanté de manière décisive le Principat dans la culture politique romaine. Pline, qui a fait les débuts prometteurs de sa carrière politique sous Domitien, et qui décrit ses villas au début de l'époque antonine, dans une période de compromis politique, n'a plus aucune réticence à exploiter et louer les possibilités d'activités que la villa à *otium* offrait aux membres de l'ordre sénatorial.

dans ce volume la contribution d'A. Walker, *The landscape and nature of the Cyclops in Campanian wall-painting*.

- 52 Sur la construction culturelle et économique du paysage du littoral laurentin, Purcell 1998, op. cit. (n. 38).
- 53 Edwards 1993, op. cit. (n. 11), 142 et 163 ; Lafon 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 285 : « Les obstacles intellectuels à la possession de villas maritimes ont totalement disparu dans la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. Ce retournement complet est inséparable d'une nouvelle approche de l'*otium*, elle-même liée au nouveau système politique ».

The Landscape and Nature of the Cyclops in Campanian Wall-Painting

Abigail Walker

Scholarship on Campanian wall-painting has expressed consistent interest in the appearance of landscape paintings at the end of the first century BCE and their continued presence in domestic decoration throughout the first century CE. As such, landscape has been inserted into a series of grand narratives that relate it to the painted corpus and Roman culture at large. Analysed as part of the wider chronology, it has been a strong indicator of both the influence of the Hellenistic tradition and the rise of Roman innovation.¹ Paintings that show an unfettered natural abundance and which idealise country life have been aligned with the Augustan evocation of the Golden Age and Rome's simple origins.² Landscape has been observed for its establishment of social frameworks within the villa or townhouse: issues such as the patron's verdant luxury and *otium*, their civilising power over nature, and the extension of their estate beyond the solid walls of the home, have all reflected the key role that landscape played in the broader social hierarchical implications of the domestic sphere.³ Finally, landscape has been the subject of various modern

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- 1 See, for example, C. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Paintings* (Yale 1944), 50–79; 136–180; K. Schefold, 'Origins of Roman landscape painting', *ArtB* 42 (1960), 87–96; J.-M. Croisille, *Paysages dans le Peinture Romaine* (Paris 2010), 19–32. See also R. Ling, 'Studiis and the beginning of Roman landscape painting', *JRS* 67 (1977), 1–16, for the key discussion of the first supposed Roman landscape artist.
 - 2 See, for example, B.A. Kellum, 'The construction of landscape in Augustan Rome', *ArtB* 76 (1994), 211–224; S. Carey, 'A tradition of adventures in the imperial grotto', *GaR* 49 (2002), 44–61; Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 1), 138–139.
 - 3 See, for example, M. Rostovtzeff, 'Pompeianische Landschaften und römische Villen', *JdI* 19 (1904), 103–126; B. Bergmann, 'Painted perspectives of a villa visit: landscape as status and metaphor', in E.K. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere* (Ann Arbor 1991), 49–70; N. Purcell, 'The Roman villa and the landscape of production', in T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London, New York 1995), 151–180; J.C. Reeder, *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas: A Study in the Augustan Villa and Garden* (Providence 2001); D. Spencer, 'Roman landscape: culture and identity, Greece and Rome', *New Surveys in the Classics* 39 (Cambridge 2010), 62–134; 135–171; M. Zarmakoupi, *Designing for Luxury on the Bay of Naples: Villas and Landscapes (c. 100 BCE–79 CE)* (Oxford 2013), 122–140; S. Ellis, 'Art

catalogue volumes which have sought to offer an overview of the genre at large, the categories therein, and their chronological developments.⁴

These are the sorts of grand – chronological, political, and social – narratives that have guided much of the study of Campanian landscape painting in the early Roman Empire. Such analyses are of course key for contextualising landscape and placing it within the corpus at large. This paper, however, aims to step away from this broad picture and consider the individual and more case-specific potential that landscape had within the painted corpus. For this close analysis, I take a mythological case study, namely that of the Cyclops, Polyphemus. By focusing in on the use of landscape within this painted narrative, my approach considers the concept of landscape as an important form of and tool for representation in the early Roman Empire.

In the case of Polyphemus, the concept of landscape as representation works on several levels. Firstly, the landscape of the Cyclops reflects many of the themes present in the narrative; it will show how the landscape possesses the power to represent ideas such as Polyphemus' heritage, his wild characterisation, and his incompatible courtship of Galatea. The landscapes will, in Newby's words, be seen to act "as agents within the narrative presented."⁵ Furthermore, this paper will also consider the ways in which Polyphemus' visual landscape tradition engages with the issue of literary representation: it will investigate how the landscape could carry certain generic associations and, therefore, mediate between visual and textual representational forms.

My argument here is that the representation of landscape plays an active role in the interpretation and depiction of Polyphemus, the ambiguous nature of his character, and the myths and literary tradition which surround him. Polyphemus was a pastoral shepherd who fell hopelessly in love with the beautiful sea-nymph, Galatea. But he was also the savage monster who trapped Odysseus and his men in a cave and ate several crewmen. This paper will investigate how the landscape in Campanian paintings of the Cyclops was key to depicting Polyphemus' ambiguity. It will exemplify not only landscape's power of representation, but also its ability to reflect consciously on the Cyclops' own representational tradition.

in the Roman town houses', in B. Borg (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Art* (Malden and Oxford 2015), 375–379.

4 For some notable examples of these catalogue-type analyses see Dawson 1944, *op. cit.* (n. 1); W.J.T. Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen 1963); Croisille 2010, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

5 Z. Newby, 'The aesthetics of violence: myth and danger in Roman domestic landscapes', *CLAnt* 31 (2012), 349–389, esp. 355.

1 The Paintings

There are twenty-one painted panels identified as Polyphemus and Galatea and one which depicts the Cyclops with an epic hero. Twenty of these paintings were found in the Campanian region, mostly Pompeii, but also Herculaneum and the Villa at Boscotrecase, with the other two from Rome and Assisi.⁶

The paintings have generally been divided up into compositional categories:⁷ panels on a dominant landscape background (known as ‘mythological landscape paintings’⁸); those which show Polyphemus in letter correspondence; and a third group which depicts the successful sexual culmination of Polyphemus’ courtship attempts. I will re-focus these categories around their landscape representation, an approach which, although resulting in similar groupings, highlights the unity and continuity of the landscape throughout the corpus. By analysing the scenes by the landscape, we can also incorporate panels, such as the epic hero example, which have so far appeared to be outliers from these figure-focused compositional groups.

My main source of evidence here is *Pompei: pitture e mosaici* (hereafter *PPM*), with additions from other Campanian examples, such as Herculaneum and the surrounding villas.⁹ It should be noted that I have included here panels for which we only have modern reproductions. I acknowledge that these reproductions are somewhat problematic as evidence which is now second-hand; however, this evidence is key for as full a picture of the corpus as possible and, it should be remembered, was intended originally to serve as a record. I will be wary of making arguments regarding the specific minutiae of these images but will use their composition and content as insights to inform my argument.

6 The reader should assume that any painting being discussed is from Pompeii unless stated otherwise.

7 J. Hodske, *Mythologische Bildthemen in den Häusern Pompejis: Die Bedeutung der zentralen Mythenbilder für die Bewohner Pompejis* (Ruhpolding 2007), 196–199; M. Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge 2009), 306–321.

8 Some key studies of ‘mythological landscape paintings’ as a genre include Dawson 1944, op. cit. (n. 1); Schefold 1960, op. cit. (n. 1), 87; 89; R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991), 113–118; B. Bergmann, ‘Rhythms of recognition: mythological encounters in Roman landscape painting’, in F. de Angelis and S. Muth (eds.), *Im Spiegel des Mythos: Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt* (Wiesbaden 1999), 81–107, esp. 81–99; Hodske 2007, op. cit. (n. 7), 97–98; Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 1), 42; Newby 2012, op. cit. (n. 5), 373–380.

9 For discussion of the Herculaneum panels see Squire 2009, op. cit. (n. 7), 313–314; 318. For a specific focus on the Boscotrecase paintings see P.H. von Blanckenhagen and C. Alexander, *The Augustan Villa at Boscotrecase* (Mainz 1990, 2nd ed.), esp. 28–33 for Polyphemus and Galatea. Credit must also go to Hodske 2007, op. cit. (n. 7), 197 and K. Lorenz, *Bilder machen Räume: Mythenbilder in pompeianischen Häusern* (Berlin and New York 2008), 202 for drawing my attention to the Caccia Antica peristyle panel.

First, I will return to the so-called ‘mythological landscape paintings’ where Polyphemus is shown, on a landscape which dominates the panel, singing to Galatea; but let us review here more specifically the depicted setting. Polyphemus is often shown on a central rocky outcrop, which may include sacred or villa structures and is surrounded by a profusion of sea and sky, on which Galatea floats (the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus [1.7.7]; the Casa del Marinaio [7.15.2]; the Casa di Dido ed Aeneas [9.6,d–e]; the Villa at Boscotrecase). In the panel found in Rome, from the Casa di Livia on the Palatine, the Cyclops has left his central rocky promontory and ventured into the waters themselves.

In some examples of these landscape-dominated panels, Polyphemus does not take the central position and the image is instead divided into two, with the sea (and Galatea) on one side and the land (and Polyphemus) on the other (the Casa dei Vasi di Vetro [6.5.5]; Casa dei Capitelli Colorati [7.4.31;51]; Casa di Properzio [9.7.12], Assisi, where masks are used to depict the lovers). The sea, here, can take a variously dominant position, with the panel sometimes divided in half or sometimes favouring the seascape over the land. One remaining example, the painting from the peristyle of the Casa della Caccia Antica (7.4.48), inverts the landscape composition in panels such as the one from Boscotrecase: it places the *sea* at a central position, surrounded instead by the land.

In the second group of paintings, we still see both land and sea depicted, but the prospect focuses in more closely to the figures; we see just a glimpse of the rocky promontory and the water which laps at its shore. This type of landscape is almost exclusively used for the letter-type of narrative, where we see the Cyclops perched on the edge of the landscape and Cupid approaches, by sea, on a dolphin, adopting the marine iconography of the otherwise absent nymph (Casa 5.2,d; Caupona della Via di Mercurio [6.10.1]; Casa di Laocoonte con annessi *taberna* e panificio, (hereafter just Casa di Laocoonte) bottega (c) [6.14.28;33]; Casa di Marcus Lucretius, cubiculum (7) [9.3.5;24]; an unprovenanced panel from Herculaneum [MNN8984]).¹⁰ The other panel that we can include in this group, which is not of the letter-type, is the panel from tablinum (k) of the Casa di Laocoonte. Again, this panel shows Polyphemus standing on the rocky landscape but, instead of carrying either Galatea or Cupid, the sea marks the arrival of a ship and crew. This is the only panel where we see an epic hero depicted with the Cyclops, variously identified as Odysseus or,

10 There are issues with the reproduction and restoration with a few of these panels; however, the panel from Herculaneum is well-preserved and both the seated position of Polyphemus and the arrival of Cupid by dolphin in the less well-preserved panels adhere to the expected pattern.

more often, Aeneas.¹¹ The damaged state of this painting makes interpreting the landscape somewhat problematic; however, the arrival of the ship indicates at least the suggestion, but probably to some extent the depiction, of the sea. Furthermore, the fragmented view of the ship also confirms that there was a landscape form in the foreground, partially blocking it. It seems likely, then, that we have a part-land- and part-seascape.

Finally, we have panels where the land, rather than the sea, dominates, and Galatea has come ashore. Although the sea is almost entirely absent in these panels, in three from this group it is nonetheless still represented through the sea nymph's attribute, the aquatic leaf (two unprovenanced panels from Herculaneum [MNN8983 and MNN9244], and the Casa di Marcus Lucretius, cubiculum (5) [9.3.5;24]).¹² Despite not painting the sea itself, the artist has still found an alternative means of noting its presence. Other examples where Galatea has come ashore depict an erotic narrative where Polyphemus and Galatea are shown in sexual embrace, either with or without her aquatic leaf (Casa della Caccia Antica, area (15) [7.4.48]; Casa delle Pareti Rosse [8.5.37]; and, from compositional parallels with the Casa della Caccia Antica panel, presumably also the Casa del Gallo II [9.2.10]). The lack of even her attribute, in the Pareti Rosse panel, as an allusion to the sea, highlights Galatea's unexpected abandonment of her watery realm.

Although we see variety in the narratives depicted – Polyphemus' courtship song, letter correspondence, sexual intercourse, and the arrival of an epic hero – the landscape of sea and terrain remains consistent, if depicted to a greater or lesser extent. We see the Cyclops seated on a rocky coastline, promontory or outcrop, and the sea present either literally, suggestively (through Galatea's aquatic attribute) or, indeed, conspicuously absent.

The rest of this paper will be divided into two main parts. The first part, *The Idyllic Grove and the Epic Cave*, considers the idealised, pastoral iconography of the Polyphemus panels and the effect of his presence on such a landscape. The second part, *An Elemental Affair*, will consider the distinction set up in the paintings between land and sea. Finally, I will offer some concluding thoughts about what my approach to this case study of Polyphemus can tell us about the idea of landscape in the early Roman Empire.

11 See M. Cadario, 'Signum periturae Troiae, gli "altri Laocoonti" nella pittura Romana', G. Bejor (ed.), *Il Laocoonte dei Musei Vaticani: 500 anni dalla scoperta* (Milan 2007), 45–103, esp. 56–61.

12 Squire 2009, op. cit. (n. 7), 317–318.

2 The Idyllic Grove and the Epic Cave

With the exception of one panel, the Campanian paintings of Polyphemus depict his love affair with Galatea, a narrative brought to focus in Theocritus' pastoral poetry (*Idyll* 11).¹³ However, by Theocritus' Hellenistic period, the Cyclops was already part of a literary tradition that stretched back to Homer's epic, the *Odyssey*. As we will see, both of these genres – epic and pastoral – play a vital role in the Polyphemus depictions found in Campanian wall-painting; rather more crucially here, though, they also have landscape associations which were used in the myth's representation. The absurdity and comedy of the cannibalistic, monstrous Cyclops of Homer's epic placed, via Theocritus, in a pastoral environment and characterised as a pathetic, lovelorn shepherd, was clearly not lost on the first-century audience. In fact, this juxtaposition is playfully employed, in a first-century CE context, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the pastoral Cyclops sings a monstrous courtship song to the nymph.¹⁴ The contradictory undercurrents implicit in this generic interplay were constantly employed in the visual representation of the Cyclops and the landscape in which he was placed.

In 1999, Bettina Bergmann published an article that convincingly argued for the compositional parallels evident between mythological images and non-narrative landscape panels, often called 'sacro-idyllic'.¹⁵ She identifies "patterns which [...] stimulated certain rhythms of recognition in the viewers" between anonymous landscape panels and their mythological cousins.¹⁶ "There, in rustic wooded sanctuaries or along rocky coasts, anonymous figures go about their daily activities of fishing or offering at a shrine. In some scenes, however, the characters carry distinctive attributes and engage in specific, dramatic actions that identify them as mythological."¹⁷

A comparison of the Polyphemus and Galatea panel from the Villa at Boscotrecase (fig. 17.1) with one of the non-narrative panels (fig. 17.2) from the

13 It is widely accepted that Theocritus used Philoxenus as a source, who first told the story of Polyphemus in love (see J.H. Hordern, 'The Cyclops of Philoxenus', *CQ* 49 (1999), 445–455, esp. 445; J.H. Hordern, 'Cyclopea: Philoxenus, Theocritus, Callimachus, Bion', *CQ* 54 (2004), 285; 285–293, esp. 288–290; Squire 2009, op. cit. (n. 7), 301–302). The focus of this earlier text, however, seems still to have been the interaction between Odysseus and the monstrous Cyclops. It is not unrealistic, therefore, to argue that it was Theocritus, in the pastoral genre, which truly revolutionised Polyphemus' love affair from mere plot device in Philoxenus (a means by which Odysseus could trick the monster) to full thrust of the narrative.

14 *Ov. Met.* 13.789–869.

15 Bergmann 1999, op. cit. (n. 8).

16 Bergmann 1999, op. cit. (n. 8), 81.

17 Bergmann 1999, op. cit. (n. 8), 82.

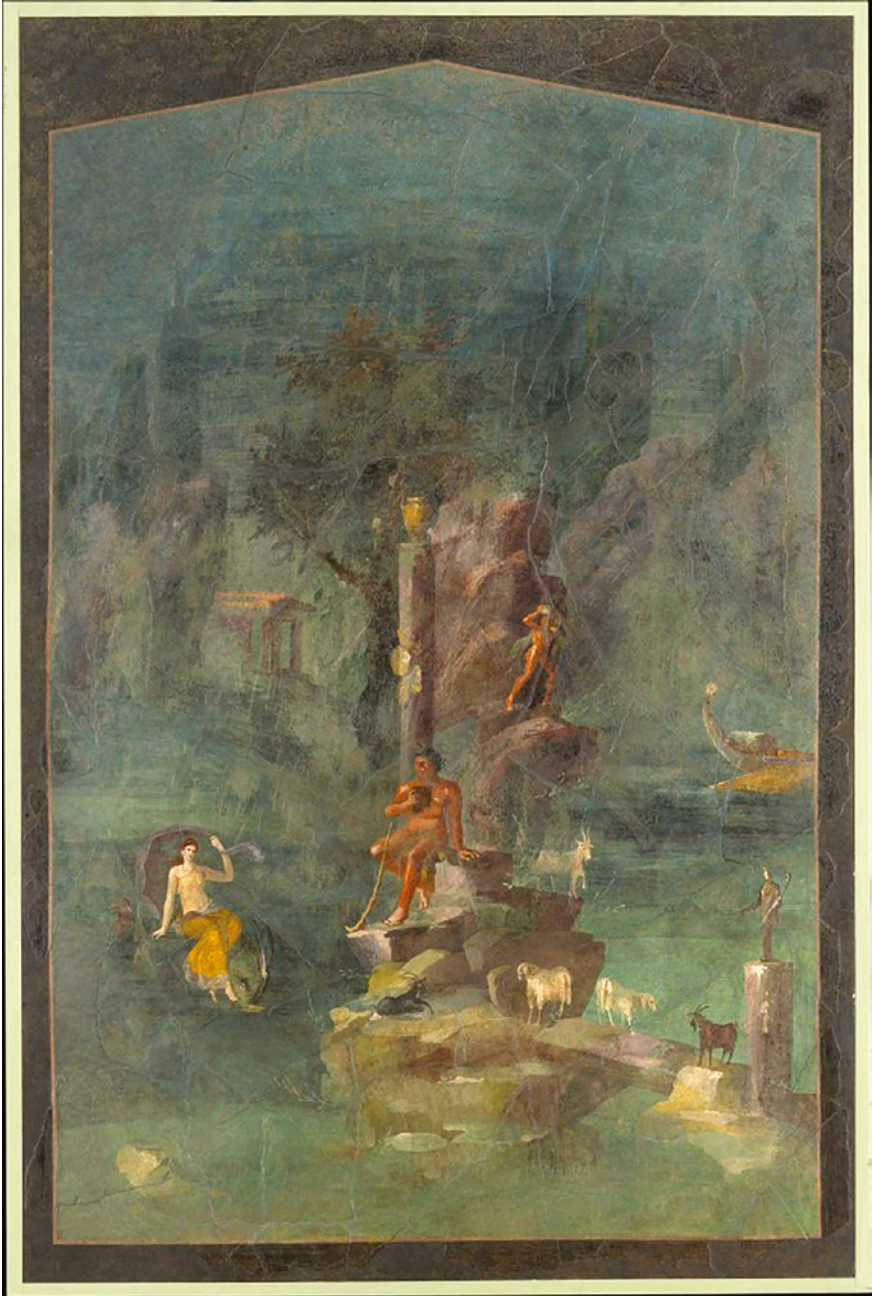


FIGURE 17.1 Panel from the Villa at Boscotrecase
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART ROGERS
FUND, 1920, 20.192.17



FIGURE 17.2 Panel from the Villa at Boscotrecase
 PHOTO BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ
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so-called Red Room of the same villa is exemplary of such “rhythms of recognition”. In these panels, we see exactly the same column, topped with a vessel and adorned by a shield (in almost exactly the same position), with a large central tree behind. The rocky promontory of the Polyphemus panel creates a similar, tapering, composition as the architectural monuments in the anonymous landscape. We even see a bridge, with a cult statue, in the same place in both scenes, and a seated central figure with additional observers and goats. Water runs in a channel in the foreground of both and there is a building in the background of the Polyphemus painting, which echoes the structure on the opposite side in the anonymous panel. Galatea leans back on one arm, just as the figure to the left of the column in the Red Room; their postures and compositional placement are remarkably analogous. Bergmann argues that

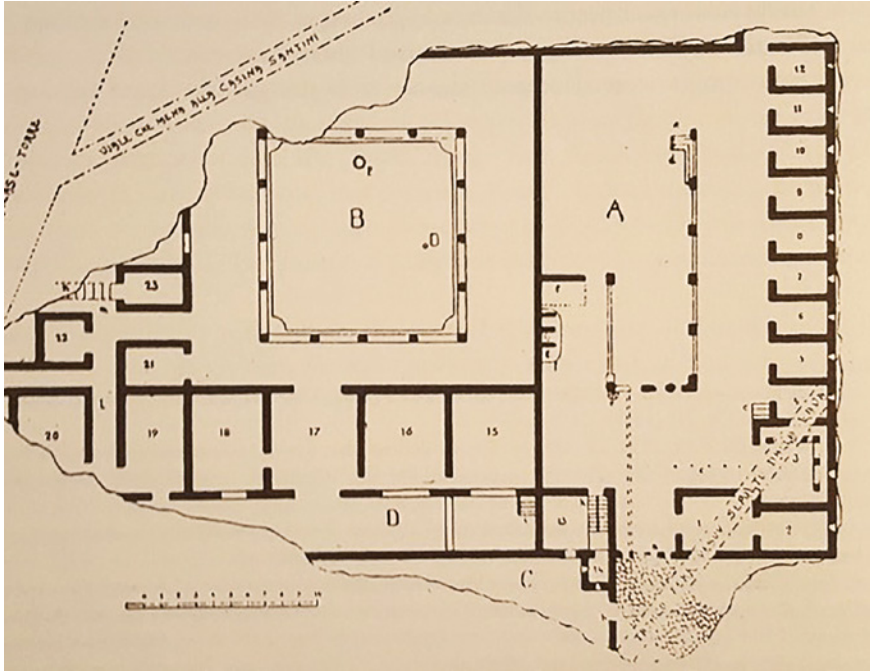


FIGURE 17.3 Villa at Boscotrecase floorplan

PHOTO COURTESY OF P.H. VON BLANCKENHAGEN AND C. ALEXANDER,
THE AUGUSTAN VILLA AT BOSCOTRECASE, (MAINZ 1990, 2ND ED.), 4

this type of anonymous, idealised landscape painting, such as we find in the Red Room, is “the classic *locus amoenus* characterized by Virgil.”¹⁸ Indeed, it has been well-attested in modern scholarship that such paintings evoked the type of rural, peaceful, and pious places that were employed and idealised by pastoral poets.¹⁹ The Polyphemus panel (room 19) clearly asks the viewer to recognise its pendant relationship with the idyllic landscape just a few rooms away (room 15; see fig. 17.3 for the floorplan), and to acknowledge the formula of landscape representation evoked between the two images.

18 B. Bergmann, ‘Exploring the grove: pastoral space on Roman walls’, in J.D. Hunt (ed.), *The Pastoral Landscape* (Washington 1992), 20–46, esp. 32.

19 For discussions of ‘sacro-idyllic’ paintings as idealised rural life see Schefold 1960, op. cit. (n. 1), 90; Peters 1963, op. cit. (n. 4), 191; E.W. Leach, ‘Sacral-idyllic landscape painting and the poems of Tibullus’ first book’, *Latomus* 39 (1980), 47–69; Bergmann 1992, op. cit. (n. 18), 34; E.R. Knauer, ‘Roman wall paintings from Boscotrecase: Three studies in the relationship between writing and painting’, *MMJ* 28 (1993), 13–46, esp. 18 and 20; Croisille 2010, op. cit. (n. 1), 45.

In many ways, then, Polyphemus, depicted in his pastoral narrative and with pastoral attributes such as a shepherd's staff and panpipes, seems well suited to such a landscape.²⁰ And yet, any viewer with even a basic knowledge of the mythological tradition of the Cyclops should know better than to trust the peace and security of the idyllic scene. After all, Polyphemus was a cannibalistic monster of epic proportions, who acts wildly and violently against the crew of Odysseus who enter his domain. It is striking, then, that Bergmann's "rhythms of recognition" draw a parallel, at Boscotrecase, between Polyphemus and the deity seated in the same position on the Red Room panel. The Cyclops is represented as no ordinary pastoral shepherd-bard but is elevated to the status of a rustic god in a sacred landscape. He is seated in an empowered position, reserved usually for the deity or shrine. The pastoral role of the Cyclops is exaggerated here to numinous and 'epic' proportions.

This is made even more explicit by this panel's direct reference to the epic storyline. In the Boscotrecase painting, we also see Polyphemus throwing a boulder at the fleeing ship of Odysseus, a narrative enacted not only in the same panel as the pastoral story but staged on the very same landscape. In the example from the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus (fig. 17.4), too, we see a ship encroaching on the scene. This intrusion alludes to the epic sea-born adventures of – perhaps deliberately ambiguously – both Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* (for in the latter we revisit the Odyssean Polyphemus through the witness account of an abandoned crewman).²¹ Indeed, the approaching ship also reminds us of the only extant epic painting of Polyphemus from the Casa di Laocoonte (fig. 17.5), where again the ship intrudes upon the pastoral idealism of the shepherd Cyclops, complete with panpipes and staff.

We especially see the intrusion of Polyphemus' epic and wild nature and narrative on the pastoral idyll through the suggestion of the cave throughout the corpus. In discussion of the grotto-triclinium of Sperlonga – which also features the Cyclops in his epic story – de Angelis argues that the "association of caves and underground recesses with uncanniness is constant with the inherently frightening dimension of the represented episodes."²² In the

20 For more on the panpipes or syrinx see also Hordern 2004, op. cit. (n. 13), 289; A. Barchiesi, 'Music for monsters: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, bucolic evolution, and bucolic criticism', in M. Fantuzzi and T. Papanghelis (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* (Leiden and Boston 2006), 403–425, esp. 409; Cadario 2007, op. cit. (n. 11), 56; 59–60; D. Creese, 'Erogenous organs: the metamorphosis of Polyphemus' "syrinx" in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.784, CQ 59 (2009), 562–577, esp. 566–571.

21 Virg. *Aen.* 3.613–674.

22 F. De Angelis, 'Roman art and myth', in Borg 2015, op. cit. (n. 3), 569–584, esp. 576. See also H. Lavagne, *Operosa Antra: recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien* (Paris 1988) for an in-depth analysis of the cave in the Roman cultural imagination.



FIGURE 17.4 Panel from the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus
PHOTO COURTESY OF PROFESSOR MICHAEL SQUIRE

context of the Cyclops, therefore, the cave already has significant implications as the stage upon which the gory adventure of the *Odyssey* was set. Although Polyphemus is not shown in his cave in Campanian wall-paintings, I propose that it is in fact not absent, for rocks and rocky landscapes persist throughout the corpus. Two examples are particularly worth highlighting. The first is the panel from the Casa di Laocoonte (fig. 17.5) which shows Polyphemus with epic heroes. Although, as discussed above, the ship here does imply a marine setting, the overwhelming impression of the painting's landscape is undoubtedly mountainous. The wall of rock that faces the viewer denies any



FIGURE 17.5 Panel from the Casa di Laocoonte con annessi taberna e panificio
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FIGURE 17.6 Unprovenanced panel from Herculaneum, MN8983
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 CULTURALI E PER IL TURISMO – MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE
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sense of spatial depth, apart from the small aperture through which the ship approaches; instead, the rockface encloses and dominates the image. The other example is panel MNN8983 from Herculaneum (fig. 17.6), where, instead of a mountainous backdrop, the stone has been shaped into an architectural form, carved with relief decoration. We can only see part of the sculpted image, however it clearly shows a man lunging forward with a spear, a composition which is allusive of the 'Blinding of Polyphemos' motif that can be found throughout Greco-Roman antiquity, most contemporaneously in the sculpture at Sperlonga.²³ The cave stages the blinding of Polyphemos, just as the rock provides the material for its representation in the Herculaneum panel. The representative power of the cave in the Polyphemos narrative, therefore, colours the use of rock and loads it with interpretive potential.

23 Squire 2009, op. cit. (n. 7), 325–329.



FIGURE 17.7 Unprovenanced panel from Herculaneum, MN9244
 PHOTO BY CONCESSION OF THE MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ
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With this in mind, it is noteworthy that Leach identifies a cave in the top right-hand corner of the Boscotrecase panel (fig. 17.1).²⁴ As this panel has seen both damage and restoration, it is difficult to be sure if a cave is really depicted here. A further rocky structure can certainly be seen in this area of the painting, which forms an arched roof, as one would expect of a cavern. The wear here makes it unclear if the darkness is the mouth of a recess or, instead, just the damaged painted surface; however, the rocks and the brushstrokes do seem to angle inwards, as if receding into the mountainside. If the cave is indeed depicted here – and I am inclined to agree with Leach that it is – it is striking that the artist has specifically chosen this feature to provide the background for the miniature allusion to Homer's epic in this painting. Another example, an unprovenanced panel from Herculaneum (MNN9244; fig. 17.7), also alludes to the cave. We see motifs, familiar from idyllic landscape panels such as Boscotrecase Red Room (fig. 17.2) – including cult statues and an aniconic

24 E.W. Leach, 'Polyphemus in a landscape: Traditions of pastoral courtship', in J.D. Hunt (ed.), *The Pastoral Landscape* (Washington 1992), 62–87, esp. 71; E.W. Leach, 'Satyrs and spectators: Reflections of theatrical settings in third style mythological continuous narrative painting', in D. Scagliarini Corlàita (ed.), *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec. a.C.–IV sec. d.C.)* (Bologna 1997), 81–85, esp. 81.

column – but here the landscape again recedes into darkness, as if a cavernous opening in the rockface. The darkness of the cave is not only intimidating and wild but also evocative of the epic undertones present in Polyphemus' tradition, which here loom over the pastoral iconography.

We have seen, therefore, that the landscape and the representational tradition, invoked by Bergmann's "rhythms of recognition", establish a pastoral idealism in the Polyphemus paintings; however, this idyllic atmosphere is constantly undermined by numinous and epic landscape references. This may be a pastoral love story, but it is one that sits in the shadow of the epic cave and the violence that unfolds there.

3 An Elemental Affair

Polyphemus, depicted on his rocky terrain, acts as a landscape counterpart to the seascape inhabited by Galatea and many of the Polyphemus panels make a point of this juxtaposition. For example, in the roundel painting from the Casa dei Vasi di Vetro (fig. 17.8), the boundary line between land and sea cuts a geometric, and rather jarring dividing line across the circle. In two other examples, the water occupies a more dominant part of the panel: in the peristyle of the Casa della Caccia Antica (fig. 17.9), the sea takes a central position and in the painting from the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati (fig. 17.10), it flows diagonally across the panel. In both images, therefore, the Cyclops is pushed not only to the edge of his landscape – in his longing for the sea – but also, visually, to the periphery of the painting itself. This land/sea divide is explicitly teased in the panel, from Rome, depicting Polyphemus attempting to swim to Galatea. In this painting he is shown literally reined and guided into the sea by love in the form of Cupid, an act that receives only mockery from the spectating sea-nymphs.

In the panels showing Polyphemus with a letter (such as fig. 17.11), however, the land/sea divide becomes more than just a matter of habitat. It is somewhat unexpected to see the Cyclops in written correspondence with Galatea, when his courtship is traditionally enacted in a vocalised song. I propose here that the act of sending a love letter, via Cupid, across an insurmountable physical barrier frames Polyphemus in a *paraklausithyron*.²⁵ Whilst the locked-out-lover of a *paraklausithyron* is usually barred from his beloved by the physical barrier of a door, Polyphemus is instead a victim of the landscape. Nowhere

25 Since the preparation of this chapter, Valladares has also published on this theme, H. Valladares, *Painting, Poetry, and the Invention of Tenderness in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2020), 121–128.



FIGURE 17.8 Panel from the Casa dei Vasi di Vetro
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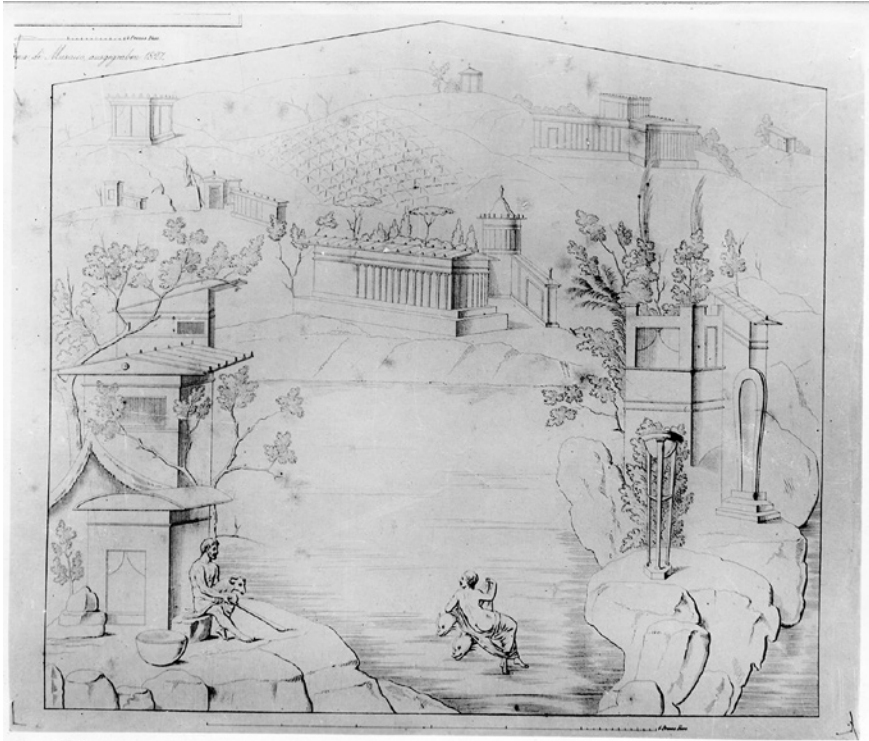


FIGURE 17.9 Panel from the Casa di Caccia Antica
PHOTO COURTESY OF PROFESSOR MICHAEL SQUIRE

in Polyphemus' extant literary tradition do the lovers communicate by letter, so the allusion to epistolary courtship makes a particular display of the lovers' physical, elemental, separation.²⁶ DuQuesnay, in discussion of Theocritus, describes *Idyll* 11 as a Greek *komos*, which he notes is "also called the parclausithyron or song of the locked-out-lover."²⁷ More specifically, he argues for the landscape's role in the formation of the genre's necessary threshold: "The setting is again the countryside and more specifically, the sea-shore. The former serves to reinforce Polyphemus' rusticity; the latter acts as a witty substitute for the threshold of the beloved's house in the conventional urban kosmos."²⁸

26 In Theoc. 6.31–32, the author does mention that Galatea might send him a messenger, but this is merely hypothetical.

27 I. DuQuesnay, 'From Polyphemus to Corydon: Virgil, *Eclogue* 2 and the *Idylls* of Theocritus', in D. West and T. Woodman (eds.), *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge 1979), 45.

28 DuQuesnay 1979, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 46.



FIGURE 17.10 Panel from the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati
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By the first century CE, the locked-out-lover belongs in a generic tradition which explicitly engages with the writing of love letters as depicted in these paintings: Roman love elegy.²⁹ Indeed, Simon reads these Polyphemus paint-

29 See S.H. Lindheim, *Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative and Desire in Ovid's Heroides* (Madison 2003), 16–17 and see 81 where she notes that desire is evoked in the *Heroides* “both by the metrical form of these poems (elegy) and by their content (love affairs).”

ings, and the use of Cupid as a “postman”, through the lens of Ovid’s epistolary elegiac poetry, the *Heroides*: “In Ovids *Heroides* existiert zwar kein Brief der Galatea an Polyphem, doch Amor als „Postbote“ lässt sich durch jenes Jugendwerk Ovids besser verstehen.”³⁰

The depiction of letter writing both emphasises the distance between lover and beloved, which is key to the locked-out-lover, and alludes to the genre, namely elegy, particularly suited to this figure. The intention here is not to suggest that these paintings aimed to *illustrate* an elegiac text, but instead that the motif had certain contemporary associations which frame the Cyclops in a *paraklausithyron*. His separation, however, is one caused not by the house but rather by the landscape; he sits on the threshold of land and sea and, therefore, underscores his own elemental incompatibility with the nymph.

Further to this elemental incompatibility, the pair’s bodies also echo the respective landscapes to which they are both bound. Even as far back as Homer, the Cyclops is described as a “wooded mountain peak”³¹ (*Od.* 9.191–192) and this persists through to Philostratus where he is “a mountainous and terrible being” (*Im.* 2.18.3).³² Just as the poets conceived of Polyphemus as an embodiment of his landscape, the Campanian wall-paintings depict him as dark in colour and solid with muscle, like the threatening and rigid mountain upon which he sits. This is especially felt in images where the Cyclops sits directly in front of his mountainous landscape (such as Boscotrecase [fig. 17.1] and the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus [fig. 17.4]), and the contours of his body mirror the contours of the rigid, angular rocks behind him. This is nicely exemplified by the letter panel from Herculaneum (fig. 17.11) where the curve of Polyphemus’ body echoes the curve of the mountainside. In addition, Polyphemus’ bushy and untamed hair in many of the panels (such as panel MNN8983 from Herculaneum, and the panels from the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus, Boscotrecase, Casa 5.2,d, the Caupona della Via di Mercurio, the Casa delle Pareti Rosse, and the letter panel from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius) also reflect the conceptualisation of Polyphemus as a “wooded mountain peak”: his hair is like the shady forest on top of his muscular, mountainous body. The comparison between thick bristly hair and foliage is one that Polyphemus makes himself in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. He boasts about his *coma* (13.844),

See as well M.O. Drinkwater, ‘Which letter? Text and subtext in Ovid’s *Heroides*’, *AJPh* 128 (2007), 367–387, esp. 368, where he states that “[t]he importance of letters in elegiac seduction is well evidenced.”

30 E. Simon, ‘Ovid und Pompeji’, *Thetis* 13–14 (2007), 149–154, esp. 151.

31 Translation: A. Sharrock, ‘Representing metamorphosis’, in J. Elsner (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge 1996), 103–130, esp. 129.

32 Translation: Squire 2009, op. cit. (n. 7), 344.



FIGURE 17.11 Unprovenanced panel from Herculaneum, MN8984
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providing shade for his body, which is *densissimum* (13.846) with bristles, both of which are words that can be used of foliage too.³³

The rigidity and solidity of Polyphemus' body and bristling of his hair are juxtaposed, then, with the softer features of Galatea's feminine physique. Her iconography here is typical of sea-nymph representation elsewhere in Roman art and, as such, her depiction is inherently intertwined with marine landscapes. Furthermore, her body and posture also allude to the sea. The Boscotrecase (fig. 17.1) and Sacerdos Amandus panels (fig. 17.4) nicely exemplify this: Galatea has a soft and fleshy body which undulates like the sea on which she floats, and her drapery *flows* around her, blown, like the surrounding waves, by the breeze. The pair embody the landscapes which they inhabit, and which are themselves physically distinct. This is no ordinary pastoral or elegiac courtship, but it is one that has elemental, perhaps even cosmic, implications.

The land/sea divide, however, has further consequences in the context of Polyphemus' part-Cyclopean/part-Olympian lineage, a juxtaposition which

33 For *coma* see *OLD* (1982), 358, no. 3a; for *densus* see *OLD* (1982), 516, no. 2c.

further illustrates the generic interplay at stake in his representation. The Cyclopes, in various mythological accounts, were a race closely aligned with the idealised, and labour-free, rural life of the Golden Age (see, for example, *Od.* 9.105–111). We have already seen how idealised landscapes were linked with pastoral poetry, but the Cyclopean life was also evocative of the utopian Golden Age, praised most famously by Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* and associated with pastoral landscape idealisation. Moreover, Homer describes the race as being land-bound, with, he says, "no red-sided ships, nor any men, as naval carpenters, who could work on well-benched ships for them."³⁴ It is perhaps ironic, therefore, that Polyphemus – himself one of the Cyclopes – was also the son of the king of the sea, Poseidon, who is heavily involved in the *Odyssey's* epic narrative. Whilst Polyphemus is unable to follow Odysseus' ship into the sea himself, he can still take advantage of his Olympian lineage and it is Poseidon who enacts the Cyclops' curse and plagues Odysseus' *nostos* in the epic. His elemental inability to cross over into the sea is therefore not just a lover's issue but also an irony of his lineage and at stake in his generic duality.

This clash of land and sea in the genre and heritage of Polyphemus is exploited in the paintings themselves, such as the one from the Casa del Sacerdos Amandus (fig. 17.4). Here, the idealised rural world is evoked by Polyphemus' pastoral attributes and landscape; yet the looming image of a ship floating on the sea in the background is enough to threaten the arrival of the epic hero. This clash is also well illustrated by the epic panel from the Casa di Laocoonte (fig. 17.5). The ship looms large in the very centre of this image, with a foreshortened prow that appears to penetrate both the panel and the landscape in its foreground. Polyphemus stands in the front and is shown in a decidedly pastoral guise, with his shepherd's staff, his flock, and his panpipes hung conspicuously around his neck. The ship, therefore, appears as a domineering penetration into Polyphemus' pastoral (ship-less) life.

Through this land/sea divide, therefore, the landscape of Polyphemus engages with the duality and ambiguity that is implicit in his heritage and hopeless infatuation. It undermines the simple, pastoral idealism of the narrative with something far more elemental and epic in both scale and genre.

34 Hom. *Od.* 9.125–126.

4 Conclusion

My paper has looked at the representation of landscape in the myth of Polyphemus from two main angles. I first discussed how parallels with idyllic, non-narrative, paintings were juxtaposed with Polyphemus' epic narrative and threatening cave. The second part of my paper then looked more specifically at the elemental and ancestral divide established through the distinction between land and sea. Both of these angles attempted to exemplify how landscape could be used, in a more specific way, as a tool of representation and as a way of playing with the character of Polyphemus and his mythical, literary, and visual tradition.

I will now close with some thoughts on how this may reflect more broadly on the Roman idea of landscape in the early Empire. It should be noted that this period saw an influx of iconographical inspiration from the Hellenistic world, which inspired innovation in the visual arts, including landscape representation. More specifically, though, the villa environment and its management and construction of the countryside, which evolved in the first centuries BCE/CE, also encouraged reflection on the relationship between the natural world and artificiality, which is key to (and expressed through) painted landscape representation. Within this visual cultural environment, therefore, the potential for landscape to provide more than just atmospheric, natural background was potent. Landscape representation, we have seen, was an active participant in the viewer's interpretation of and interaction with the tradition of Polyphemus in Campanian wall-painting. More than this, however, it was also a platform on which the implications of representing the landscape could be considered, used, and challenged; it could reflect the ambiguity of Polyphemus' own representational tradition; it could conjure up a discourse on various literary genres within the visual medium; and it could consciously play with the expectations and knowledge of the viewer.

Subject	Town/Villa	Chronology	House no.	Casa ...	Room	Accession no. (where applicable)
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Third Style ^a	1.1,7	del Sacerdos Amandus	(b)	
Polyphemus sending a letter	Pompeii	Fourth Style ^b	5.2,d	Unnamed	(m)	
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Fourth Style	6.5,5	dei Vasi di Vetro	(12)	
Polyphemus sending a letter	Pompeii	Fourth Style	6.10,1	Caupona della Via di Mercurio	(d)	
Polyphemus sending a letter	Pompeii	Fourth Style	6.14,28.33	di Laocoonte	(c)	
Polyphemus and a hero (Aeneas?)	Pompeii	Third Style	6.14,28.33	di Laocoonte	(k)	MNN111211
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Third Style	7.4,31.51	dei Capitelli Colorati	(26)	MNN8886
Polyphemus and Galatea in erotic embrace	Pompeii	Fourth Style	7.4,48	della Caccia Antica	(15)	MNN27687
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Fourth Style	7.4,48	della Caccia Antica	(13)	
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Third Style	7.15,2	del Marinaio	(z')	
Polyphemus and Galatea in erotic embrace	Pompeii	Fourth Style	8.5,37	delle Pareti Rosse	(b)	
Polyphemus and Galatea in erotic embrace	Pompeii	Fourth Style	9.2,10	del Gallo II	(g)	
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Fourth Style	9.3,5.24	di Marcus Lucretius	(5)	
Polyphemus sending a letter	Pompeii	Fourth Style	9.3,5.24	di Marcus Lucretius	(7)	
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Third Style	9.6,d-e	di Dido ed Aeneas	(c)	

a Third Style: approximately late first century BCE to mid-first century CE

b Fourth Style: approximately mid-first century CE to the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE

(cont.)

Subject	Town/Villa	Chronology	House no.	Casa ...	Room	Accession no. (where applicable)
Polyphemus and Galatea	Pompeii	Third Style	9.7,12	Unnamed	(5)	
Polyphemus sending a letter	Herculaneum	Fourth Style	unknown	unknown	unknown	MNN8984
Polyphemus and two women	Herculaneum	Possibly Fourth Style	unknown	unknown	unknown	MNN8983
Polyphemus and Galatea	Herculaneum	Possibly Fourth Style	unknown	unknown	unknown	MNN9244
Polyphemus swimming to Galatea	Palatine, Rome	Second Style ^c	N/A	di Livia	tablinum	
Polyphemus and Galatea	Villa at Boscotrecase	Third Style	N/A	N/A	(19)	20.192.17
Polyphemus and Galatea, depicted as masks	Assisi, Umbria	Third Style	N/A	di Properzio	cryptoporticus	

c Second Style: approximately early to late first century BCE

Hercules, Cacus, and the Poetics of Drains in *Aeneid* 8 and Propertius 4.9

Del A. Maticic

Water is a central element in Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, which opens at the mouth of the Tiber, where the Trojans encounter Tiberinus, and ends with the Shield of Aeneas that is encircled by rivers and centered on the Mediterranean Sea, where the Battle of Actium was to take place. It thus comes as a surprise that Evander's account of the battle between Hercules and Cacus (Verg. *Aen.* 8.190–261) is comparatively waterless, and the hero instead fights the fiery, three-headed son of Vulcan whom he finds in a volcano-like cavern beneath the earth.¹ The absence of water here is especially surprising, since Hercules, as one of what Nicholas Purcell has called “the heroes of drainage”, was often credited with transformations in the Greek hydrological landscape through the draining of lakes, the re-direction of rivers, and the excavation of subterranean channels.² One may see this nowhere more clearly than in Propertius' account of the same Herculean episode in Elegy 4.9, which takes Vergil's account as its most important interlocutor but focuses in particular on the flooded valleys and springs of the primeval landscape.³ As this chapter argues, however, Vergil does in fact deploy Hercules as Master of Waters in *Aeneid* 8, but does so by

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- 1 In the episode, the Tiber River appears only once, in what seems to be an aside. See Verg. *Aen.* 8.236–240. On water in Verg. *Aen.* 8, see esp. D. Quint, ‘Culture and nature in Book 8 of the *Aeneid*’, *MD* 75 (2015), 9–47.
 - 2 N. Purcell, ‘Rome and the management of water: Environment, culture, and power’, in G. Shipley and J. Salmon (eds.), *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity: Environment and Culture* (London 1996), 180–212; 205. For discussions of Heracles' role as water-manager in Greek myth, see C. Salowey, ‘Herakles and the waterworks: Mycenaean dams, classical fountains, Roman aqueducts’, in K.A. Sheedy (ed.), *Archaeology in the Peloponnese: New Excavations and Research* (Oxford 1994), 77–95; T. Châtelain, *La Grèce antique et ses marais: Perception des milieu palustres chez les Anciens* (PhD thesis, Sorbonne 2007); K. Walsh, *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes* (Cambridge 2014), 108. For his role as “water master” in Italic myth, cf. J. Bayet, *Les origines de l'Hercule romain* (Paris 1926), 203–236 and V. Martinez, *Etrusco-Italic Herclé: A Study in the Formation of Image, Cult, and Regional Identity* (unpublished PhD thesis, Urbana-Champaign 2009).
 - 3 For other Augustan-era versions of the story, see Liv. 1.7.5–15; D.H. 1.39; Ov. *fast.* 1.543–586; 643–652. See also Macr. 1.12.27. On Greek origins of the myth, see D. Sutton, ‘The Greek origins of the Cacus myth’, *CQ* 27 (1977), 391–393.

focusing not on water but on drainage works. By alluding to the hydrological infrastructure of contemporary Rome, on the one hand, and to Hercules' activities as Master of Waters in Greece on the other, both Vergil and Propertius allegorize not only Rome's cosmic and terrestrial power, but also its subterranean, hydraulic influence in the world, its relationship to the Greek past, and the excesses of its thirst.

Scholarship has shown that the episode is an important device through which the poets foreshadow historical events and explain the transformation of the physical and religious landscape of the city.⁴ In the *Aeneid* especially, scholars interpret the fight as a prefiguration of the conflict between Aeneas and Turnus that in turn anticipates the battle of Actium.⁵ There is also considerable interest in both versions of the episode as etiologies of the important Roman cult of the Ara Maxima.⁶ Finally, more recent readings have shown particular interest in Hercules' associations with transformations and, in

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- 4 For commentaries on Verg. *Aen.* 8, see L.M. Fratantuono and R.A. Smith, *Virgil, Aeneid 8* (Leiden 2018); K.W. Gransden, *Aeneid Book VIII* (Cambridge 1976); P.T. Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII* (Leiden 1975); F. Klingner, *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis* (Stuttgart 1967). An especially thorough commentary on Propertius Book 4 is P. Fedeli, I. Ciccarelli and R. Dimundo, *Properzio. Elegie, libro IV 1–11* (Nordhausen 2015). See also G. Hutchinson (ed.), *Propertius Elegies Book IV* (Cambridge 2006). One concern in scholarship I do not address below is the generic associations of the Propertian Hercules. On this question, see P. Pinotti, 'Propertius IV 9: Alexandrianism and allusion', in E. Greene and T.S. Welch (eds.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Propertius* (Oxford 2012), 116–137; J. Fabre-Serris, 'Explorations génériques au livre IV de Properce. Des voix nouvelles dans l'élegie: quelques réflexions sur les poèmes 7 et 9', in D. van Mal-Maeder, A. Burnier and L. Núñez (eds.) *Jeux de voix. Énonciation intertextualité dans la littérature antique* (Bern 2009), 157–173; S. Lindheim, 'Hercules cross-dressed, Hercules undressed: unmasking the construction of the Propertian "amator" in Elegy 4.9', *AJP* 119 (1998), 43–66; W.S. Anderson, 'Hercules Exclusus: Prop. IV.9', *AJP* 85 (1964), 1–12. Many of the discussions about epic and elegy in 4.9 stem from Anderson's important article on the *paraclausithyron* conceit (i.e., an elegiac trope in which a man is stuck outside his lover's door weeping and begging entry).
- 5 Fratantuono, Smith 2018, op. cit. (n. 4), 16. See esp. Quint 2015, op. cit. (n. 1); L. Morgan, 'Assimilation and civil war: Hercules and Cacus', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Virgil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (Swansea 1998), 175–197; G.K. Galinsky, 'The Hercules-Cacus episode in *Aeneid* VIII', *AJP* 87 (1966), 18–51; V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis* (Vienna 1950), 276. On Propertius 4.9 and Augustus, see M. Berry, 'Political poetics: the Bona Dea episode in Propertius 4.9', *Latomus* 70 (2–11), 391–404; D. Spencer, 'Propertius, Hercules, and the dynamic of Roman mythic space', *Arethusa* 34 (2001), 259–284; U. Huttner, 'Hercules und Augustus', *Chiron* 27 (1997), 369–391. Relatedly, see P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986), 215–219 on Hercules as a champion of Roman religion contrasted with the Lucretian figures of Hercules and Epicurus.
- 6 Pinotti 2012, op. cit. (n. 4) provides a comprehensive account of the complex etiologizing in 4.9.

particular, augmentations of the natural and built environment of Rome.⁷ However, as this chapter will argue, an analysis of the drains in the passage reveals a more complex symbolism. On the one hand, allusions to subterranean channels figure continuities and connections between Augustan Rome and the distant Greek and Italic past. On the other hand, the drains problematize the discontinuity and disruption that attends the disappearance of water beneath the earth. By drawing attention not only to drains themselves but also to desiccated bodies and landscapes, both poets use Hercules and Cacus to expose both the symbolic power of Roman waterworks and also the anxieties about the city's increasingly excessive consumption of water under Augustus and Agrippa.

In what follows, this chapter shall first discuss how the two poems figure drainage through imagery and intertextuality and shall then interpret the function of this poetic drainage in the hydrological environment of early Augustan Rome. Let us first consider the evidence in the poems themselves. In both accounts, the activity of Hercules culminates with bodies and landscapes drying out. In the *Aeneid*, Hercules throttles Cacus' neck and drains his throat of blood (*siccum sanguine guttur*, 8.261). In Propertius' elegy, Hercules' swift dispatching of the monster culminates with him noticing that the exertion left his mouth parched (*sicco torret sitis ora palato*, 4.9.21) and his beard dry (*in siccam congesta puluere barbam*, 4.9.31). This thirst leads him to break into the ritual enclosure to drink dry the fountain in the shrine of the Bona Dea (*at postquam exhausto iam flumine uicerit aestum, / ponit uix siccis tristia iura labris ...* 4.9.63–64), an act which leads to his founding of the *Ara Maxima* cult as an act of retribution against the priestesses who denied him a drink.⁸ These parallel constructions invite a reading of these lines together, though scholars have not explained why, in both encounters, the fight with Cacus ends with Hercules acting as an agent of drainage and desiccation.

This imagery is no less present earlier in the Vergilian account. After running back and forth several times across the Aventine in search of his adversary, Hercules rips a hole in the hill, exposing Cacus' cavernous lair (*Aen.* 8.241–246):

7 On Verg. *Aen.* 8, see M. Loar, 'Hercules, Mummius, and the Roman triumph in *Aeneid* 8', *CP* 112 (2017), 45–62; and L. Crofton-Sleigh, 'The mythical landscapers of Augustan Rome', in J. McInerney and I. Sluiter, (eds.), *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity: Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination* (Brill 2016), 383–407. V. Panoussi, 'Spinning Hercules: gender, religion, and geography in Propertius 4.9', *CW* 109 (2015), 179–194; and Spencer 2001, op. cit. (n. 5) deal with the landscape in Prop. 4.9, though both with mythic and ideological rather than 'natural' or 'environmental' space.

8 All citations of Propertius are taken from S.J. Heyworth, *Sexti Properti Elegi* (Oxford 2007).

*At specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cauernae,
non secus ac si qua penitus ui terra dehiscens
infernus reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis inuisa, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.*

But the cave and the vast uncovered palace of Cacus appeared, and the shady caverns opened deeply, no differently than if the earth, gaping deeply on account of some force unlocks its infernal abodes and discloses the pale kingdom, abhorred by the gods, and above an immense chasm is perceived, and the ghosts are disturbed by the light let in.⁹

One function of this detail is further to associate Cacus with the chthonic realm and, by extension, Hercules with an Apollonian Augustus fighting against the forces of darkness, as he does later in the Actium scene on the Shield of Aeneas.¹⁰ But the passage, and the word *barathrum* in particular, have other connotations as well.

The relatively rare word *barathrum* here translated “chasm” has connotations of gluttony, excess, and the infernal, as Fratantuono and Smith note.¹¹ Its only other appearance comes in *Aen.* 3.421–422, where it refers to Charybdis threatening to swallow up the ships of Aeneas. In Roman poetry, the word is used either to allude to the punishment pits of Athens, called *barathra*, the sewers of Rome, the underworld, or the “bottomless pit” of the human gut.¹² Indeed, the image of the gaping hole in the earth full of smoke that Cacus belches out prefigures the allusion to his *guttur* (throat) in 361, since it can refer either to physical drainage works or to the bodily “drain” of the digestive system. The polyvalence is captured well by Plautus in the *Curculio*, when a slave tells a drunk woman about to drink more wine to “pour it into the pit and drain the sewer quickly” (*effunde hoc in barathrum, propere proluce cloacam*, 124). In Plautus’ *Rudens*, set in Cyrene, when the pimp Labrax muses that he might go to the shrine of Venus, his business partner Charmides snaps that he should rather jump in a hole (LAB. *intro rumpam iam huc Veneris fanum*. CHAR. *In barathrum mavelim*, 570). Viewers would perhaps have been transported

9 All translations unless otherwise specified are my own.

10 See, e.g., Fratantuono, Smith 2018, op. cit. (n. 4), *ad loc.* 245–246.

11 Fratantuono and Smith 2018, op. cit. (n. 4), *ad loc.* 8.245.

12 See C.J. Tuplin, ‘Catullus 68’, *CQ* 31 (1961), 113–139 for a still comprehensive survey of the evolution of the Latin *barathrum*.

mentally to the shrine of Venus Cloacina in the Roman Forum.¹³ Horace may refer to the “abyss of the market”, which gives the greedy stomach whatever it wants (*barathrum ... macelli / quicquid quaesierat, ventri donabat avaro, Ep. 1.15.31–32*).

The word also denotes the human gut. In *De Rerum Natura*, Nature calls the griping old man a “bottomless pit” (*baratre*, 3.955) trying in vain to be satiated. Just ten lines later (3.966), the poet dismisses the afterlife by saying that no one enters into the abyss (*in barathrum*) or Tartarus. The embodied play on the “pit” here is a distinctly Lucretian touch, with hints of satire. These disparate images of physical and bodily drainage works are conveniently brought together in metaphorical characterizations of the drainage works of Rome. As Emily Gowers has shown, Cicero and other Roman authors anthropomorphize the city and identify the Cloaca Maxima with its digestive system.¹⁴ Several Roman myths and historical anecdotes reinforce this, and it captured most succinctly in a fragment of Varro’s *Menippean Satires* in which he identifies the different parts of the urban *corpus*: “the gates are the senses, the aqueducts the veins, and the drains the intestines” (*sensus portae, uenae hydragogiae, clauaca intestini*, fr. 290 Astbury).¹⁵

Vergil’s first-recorded interlocutor, Propertius, makes similar connections between bodies, landscape, and consumption. In his *Elegy* 4.9, Propertius retells the episode and focuses closely on Hercules’ relationship to the waters on the future site of Rome. Propertius recounts how Hercules arrived, defeated Cacus, and established the cult of the Ara Maxima. It opens with his arrival on a once inundated site. See Prop. 4.9.1–6:

*Amphitryoniades qua tempestate iuencos
egerat a stabulis, o Erythea, tuis
uenit ad inuictos pecorosa Palatia montes,
et statuit fessos fessus et ipse boues,
qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quaque
nauta per urbanas uelificabat aquas.*

13 On the religious architecture associated with the Cloaca Maxima, see J.N. Hopkins, ‘The sacred sewer: Tradition and religion in the Cloaca Maxima’, in M. Bradley and K. Stow (eds.), *Rome, Pollution and Propriety: Dirt, Disease and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity* (Cambridge 2012), 81–102.

14 E. Gowers, ‘The anatomy of Rome from Capitol to Cloaca’, *JRS* 85 (1995), 23–32, esp. 26–30.

15 For example, Gowers 1995, op. cit. (n. 14), 26 points out Livy’s (1.55.5–6) connecting of Tarquin’s constructions on the Capitoline (the *caput* of Rome) and his excavation of the Cloaca Maxima. For other examples, see Gowers 1995, op. cit. (n. 14), 29.

In that season when the son of Amphitryon had led his young bulls from your stables, O Erythea, he came to the unconquered hill, the Palatine packed with herds, and rested his exhausted cattle, himself exhausted, where the Velabrum used to be inundated by its own river and where the mariner spread his sails over urban waters.

After his arrival, he meets and kills Cacus within the first twenty lines of the poem. Immediately after the battle ends, the poet causes us to recall the topography the instant he defeats his foe and commands his cattle to moo in the new Forum Boarium (“sanctify the Bovine Fields with a long moo,” *arva ... mugitu sancite Bovaria longo*, 4.9.19). Propertius writes (4.9.21–22):

*Dixerat, et sicco torret sitis ora palato,
Terraque non ullas feta ministrat aquas.*

[Hercules] spoke, and, with his palate dry, thirst roared through his mouth and the teeming earth did not furnish any water.

Three things are to be observed in this passage: it is now Hercules’ mouth and not Cacus’ that is parched; the formerly flooded landscape is now apparently dry; and these two factors are simultaneously signalled and liked through the pun on *palatia* in *palato*. Recently, Pinotti has read the effect of the transition from the lofty landscape depictions and epic heroics to a focus on Hercules’ thirst as one of absurdity, which contributes to the contrast between the Propertian and Vergilian Hercules.¹⁶ The palatal pun, in this case, would merely function to draw attention to a conceit of genre and characterization.¹⁷

It would appear, however, that there is more to the joke. Some fifty lines later, after Hercules finds and is denied a drink by the *Bona Dea* girls, he

16 Pinotti 2012, op. cit. (n. 4), 125.

17 H.E. Pillinger, ‘Some Callimachean influences on Propertius 4.9,’ *HSPH* 73 (1969), 171–199: 186 notes as precedents for Propertius’ version of the myth the Lindian sacrifice and Theiodamus story, which are “both etiological narratives that explain ritual procedure and terminology on the basis of H’s notorious gluttony.” Another important intertext is Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica* 4.1432–1449. D.A. Secci, ‘Hercules, Cacus, and Evander’s myth-making in *Aeneid* 8’ *HSPH* 107 (2013), 195–227: 200 writes: “The selfishness of Hercules’ motives, and the mindless violence he employs are modeled on *Arg.* 4.1432–1449. Hercules, who is described by the Hesperides nymphs as a savage robber, slays the serpent. Then, in his thirst-induced frenzy, he generates a spring by kicking a rock asunder, thus involuntarily saving his fellow Argonauts from dying of thirst.”

subsequently breaks in and drinks his fill. He then opens his mouth to rebuke the women and down dribbles another pun (63–64):¹⁸

*At postquam exhausto iam flumine vicerat aestum,
Ponit vix siccis tristia iura labris ...*

But after he conquered the heat with the river he exhausted, he pronounces his sad decree with barely dry lips.

The striking similarities between lines 21 and 64 reinforce the verbal echo between *Velabra* in line 5 and *labra* in line 64. Ablatives absolute with *siccus* sandwich the consonant phrases *torret sitis ora* and *tristia iura*.¹⁹ Propertius' reworking of the Vergilian account places greater emphasis on the hydrological activity of Hercules than Vergil appears to have done. Propertius subsumes the hero's etiologal function with that of his role as a transformer of environmental space. This is further suggested by 4.9.31, when Hercules is said to address the priestesses of the Bona Dea with a dry beard caked with dust (*in siccam congesta puluere barbam*). The emphasis on Hercules' mouth as drain, moreover, takes the body/landscape connection in Cacus and projects it onto Hercules, with Roman topography, water, and bodies all triangulated, with a focus on the mouth and throat.

Given the connotation of *barathrum* as a physical and corporeal drain, on the one hand, and the connection between drainage works and bodily excretion on the other, it seems quite likely that when Vergil refers to the cave of Cacus as a *barathrum* he is foreshadowing the image of the blood being drained from his throat (*guttur*). A particularly compelling reason to read the *barathrum*-opening as a drain is Hercules' reputation as a so-called Master of Waters in the Greek landscape.²⁰ Many myths exist of his role in opening up the sinkholes (*barathra*) that riddle the karstified landscapes of Arcadia.²¹ Throughout Greek literature, as Connors and Clendenon have shown, there is a pervasive

18 For speculation about the location of the grove of the Bona Dea, see L. Richardson, *Propertius Elegies I–IV* (Norman 1977), *ad loc.* 4.9.23–26.

19 See W.A. Camps, *Propertius Elegies Book IV* (Cambridge 1961), *ad loc.* and Richardson 1977, *op. cit.* (n. 18), *ad loc.*

20 See n. 2.

21 See, e.g., Paus. 8.14.2: “The Pheneations say these sinkholes are artificial and that Herakles made them” (τὰ δὲ βάραθρα οἱ Φενεᾶται ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι χειροποίητα, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλέα).

link between the subterranean channels and imaginings of the underworld.²² These associations, along with the bodily connotations of *barathrum* as well, are all captured in a passage of Catullus in a simile describing Laodamia's love as deeper than the karst sinkholes of Arcadia (107–112; 116–117):

*Quo tibi tum casu, pulcherrima Laodamia,
ereptumst uita dulcius atque anima
coniugium: tanto te absorbens uertice amoris
aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum,
quale ferunt Grai Pheneum prope Cyllenaeum
siccare emulsa pingue palude solum,
quod quondam caesis montis fodisse medullis
audit falsiparens Amphitryoniades,
tempore quo certa Stymphalia monstra sagitta
perculit ...
sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo
qui tamen indomitam ferre iugum docuit.*

By what misfortune, most beautiful Laodamia, was your husband, who was dearer to you than life and soul, snatched away. The tide of love, swallowing you with such a whirlpool bore you into a steep sinkhole, the sort of [sinkhole] the Greeks say, when the rich swamp was dried up, drained the soil near Cyllenaeon Pheneos, the sinkhole which the false-fathered son of Amphitryon is reputed to have once dug, with the mountain's marrow having been cut away, at the time when with sure arrow he destroyed the Stymphalian birds ... But your deep love, which learned to bear the yoke though untamed, was deeper than that sinkhole.

The drain to which Catullus refers was a canal that combined and channeled the Olbios and Aronaios – rivers that flowed in the valley where Pheneus was located – to a karst sinkhole through which the river flowed underground until it became the river Ladon flowing west towards the Ionian Sea.²³

22 C. Connors and C. Clendenon, 'Mapping Tartaros: observation, inference, and belief in Ancient Greek and Roman accounts of karst terrain', *CLAnt* 35 (2016), 147–188.

23 Salowey 1994, op. cit. (n. 2) 87–88 explains these works and their connection to Hercules. He does not refer to the possibly more famous sinkhole through which he drained Lake Stymphalos into a channel that emerges to the east as the Eridanus. But the hydrology of the Stymphalos valley is nevertheless invoked with Catullus' chronological marker when he indicates that the canal at Pheneus was dug at the same time as the extermination of the Stymphalian birds. The battle with the Stymphalian birds (cf. also A.R. 2.1053–1067;

There are numerous signs that this passage exerts influence on Vergil and Propertius. Most evident is the repetition of *barathrum* in the context of Hercules' labors and the use of the rare patronymic Amphitryoniades, which appears again in Propertius 4.9 – the only two appearances of this word in Latin elegiacs. Other verbal parallels between the passage and the proem to Elegy 4.9 further point to connections between Propertius and Catullus. As we have observed in Vergil and Propertius, Catullus' depiction of this scene triangulates topography, hydraulics, and bodies – both in its use of a hydraulic metaphor to describe Laodamia's emotions and in its anthropomorphization of the "marrow" (*caesis ... medullis*) of the limestone mountain. Still more importantly, Catullus specifies that the sinkhole opened near Cyllenaeon Pheneus, which was, according to Vergil, the homeland of Evander, the Arcadian who settled in the site of Rome and who narrated the story of Hercules and Cacus to Aeneas.²⁴ Therefore, it seems highly likely that this passage influenced both versions of the myth of Hercules and Cacus and thus informs our interpretation of the meaning of *barathrum* in Evander's tale.

Given all this, it is clear that both poems develop imagery of drainage of bodies and landscapes that are closely interconnected. However, explaining why this is the case is a more complex question. The most common suggestion made by scholars is that Hercules' drinking up the fountain functions as an etiology for the drying of the Velabrum.²⁵ There are, however, several problems with this argument. For one, in late first-century Rome, the Velabrum still flooded periodically; Cassius Dio records four floods of the Tiber between 32 and 22 BCE, each which would have had some effect on the low-lying area.²⁶ What is more, in neither account is the land flooded while Hercules is there. This is clear in *Aeneid* 8 since Aeneas meets Evander in a place that should have been inundated. Propertius, too, seems to say that the Velabrum is no longer flooded when Hercules arrives.

Str. 8.6.8; Apollod. *Bib.* 2.5.6; Paus. 8.22.4–6), if not as apparent as the defeat of the hydra or the struggle with the Alpheus, is also a hydrological labor.

24 Verg. *Aen.* 8.165.

25 Cf. Camps 1961, op. cit. (n. 19), *ad loc.* 4.9.19; Anderson 1964, op. cit. (n. 4), 11; Richardson 1977, op. cit. (n. 18), *ad loc.* 4.9.19; M. Janan, *The Politics of Desire: Propertius Book IV* (Berkeley 2001), 132, 145n1; Martinez 2009, op. cit. (n. 2) 211–212; Panoussi 2015, op. cit. (n. 7), 189. Although S. Heyworth, *Cynthia: A Companion to the Text of Propertius* (Oxford 2007), 487 notes that the pun *sicco ... palato* might "establish a contrast between the present Rome of chattering fountains and the dry Palatine of the past."

26 See D.C. 50.8.3 (32 BCE), 53.20.1 (27 BCE), 53.33.5 (23 BCE), and 54.1 (22 BCE). For a full list of floods of the Tiber in Roman history before 398 CE, see G. Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 2007), 15. On the susceptibility of the Forum Boarium and Velabrum to floods, see Aldrete 2007, op. cit. (n. 26), 43–44.

A different picture emerges if we read the episode in light of the waters flowing *into* and especially *out of* the city. Steep increases in the water supply and the increased need for drainage works that resulted from it were a core preoccupation of the Augustan regime. Indeed, one may read the Herculean drainage activities in the site of Rome as a commentary on this hydrological activity. First, it is necessary briefly to recap the Augustan hydrological program and the iconography associated with it. Between 33 BCE and 19 BCE, Marcus Agrippa commissioned two new aqueducts – an extension of the *Aqua Tepula* and the brand new *Aqua Virgo* – which most likely increased the amount of water flowing into the city by about 33%.²⁷ Augustus apparently took pride in this, boasting that Agrippa's engineering genius had ensured the Romans would never perish from thirst.²⁸ Besides, many other parts of Agrippa's building program were water-themed, perhaps associated with his naval victories and the *corona navalis* awarded to him by Augustus. Beginning with his aedileship in 33 BCE, he funded *a suo privato* a building program that radically transformed parts of the city.²⁹ Notable here is his complex in the Campus Martius, which Paul Rehak called an "Augustan waterpark", and which contained a pool, an artificial canal, a basilica of Neptune, a portico decorated with paintings of the argonauts, and the Baths of Agrippa, which were the largest baths constructed in Rome up to that point. It was, finally, in 33 BCE that he conducted the storied cleaning of the Cloaca Maxima. According to Pliny (*nat.* 36.28.104) and Dio (49.31), he even sailed through it in something of a triumphant plumber's *katabasis*.

That so many of his public works were water-related is perhaps not coincidental. Before he was an administrator and builder, Agrippa was a general

27 See A.T. Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply* (London 2002), 347 for the details.

28 Ἰκανώτατα ἔφη τὸν Ἀγρίππαν προνενοηθέναι ὥστε μὴ δίψῃ ποτὲ αὐτοῦς ἀπολέσθαι (D.C. 54.11.7); cf. also Suet. *Aug.* 42.

29 For ancient accounts of Agrippa's projects, cf. Str. 5.3.8; Frontin. *aq.* 1.9–10; Plin. *nat.* 36.104–108; 121; D.C. 49.43; 53.27.1–2; 54.11.7. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.27.3) wrote that Agrippa wanted to call the Pantheon the Augusteum. Scholarship on the various aspects of Agrippa's buildings in Rome is unsurprisingly voluminous, though only a handful of studies treat the program as a whole. See the admittedly dated F.W. Shipley, *Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome* (St. Louis 1933). P. Rehak and J. Young, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus in the Northern Campus Martius* (Madison 2006), 20–22 summarizes the works with bibliography. See also G. De Kleijn, 'The emperor and public works in the city of Rome', in L. de Blois, P. Erdkamp and O. Hekster (eds.), *The representation and perception of Roman imperial power: proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C.–A.D. 476)* (Amsterdam 2003), 207–214, who gives evidence for how Agrippa's projects worked as propaganda. J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome 1984), 252–298 is the most thorough survey of the project in the Campus Martius, even if it is a bit dated and theories about the Diribitorium and the Pantheon, in particular, have changed.

whose greatest military victories were naval. His defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE earned him the *corona navalis*, a special honor created specially for him by Octavian.³⁰ Notably, even this victory required waterworks, namely the *Portus Julius* in Cumae, an emergency harbor he had to create in order to train new troops to support Octavian, who was no match for Pompey.³¹ While this not strictly a ‘waterwork’ in the same sense as an aqueduct or *stagnum*, ancient evidence still associates it with water. Consider, especially, the representation of Agrippa and Augustus on the Vergilian Shield of Aeneas, respectively associated with fire and water.³² It is no wonder that later authors speculate that the purpose of the *Porticus Argonautorum* in the Campus Martius complex, so named because it featured paintings from that famous maiden voyage, was to commemorate Agrippa’s naval victories. Numismatic evidence further corroborates the connection between Agrippa’s public identity and the aquatic, as coins survive depicting him with a combined *corona navalis* and *corona muralis*, which had been awarded to the first soldier to scale the walls of the enemy.³³ The designs on the crown’s base resemble the entablature, featuring tritons, dolphins, and scallop shells, of what archaeologists call the Basilica of Neptune. The function of this building is still uncertain, but it was attached to the original Pantheon, and a small part of which still survives on the northern side of the current Pantheon.

Thus, representations of the control of water were an essential aspect of the Augustan/Agrippan imperial building program.³⁴ Throughout the city, this hydrological imagery constituted a coherent theme linking temples, public pools, baths, aqueducts, and drains. Indeed, the twin control of fire and water was important enough to be represented at the very center of the Shield of

30 B. Bergmann, ‘Die *corona navalis*: eine Sonderehrung für Agrippa’, *Jdl* 126 (2011), 77–106 provides an article-length summary of our evidence for the *corona* and its meaning.

31 This construction clearly captured Vergil’s attention. He alludes to it at least twice *portus Lucrinoque addita claustra* (*georg.* 2.161); *portus ... Averni* (*Aen.* 5.813–815). Agrippa’s naval activity is also present on the door of the temple at the beginning of *georg.* 3: *atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas* (*G.* 3.28–29). Cf. P. Fedeli, ‘Agrippa e I letterati augusti’, in Dipartimento di archeologia, filologia classica e loro tradizioni (ed.), *Bimillenario di Agrippa* (Genova 1990), 109–112; Y. Nadeau, ‘Vergil’s Sextus Pompeius Celaeno (and his defeat by Agrippa)’, *Latomus* 66 (2007), 94–98, esp. 95; 97.

32 See Verg. *Aen.* 8.678–684. On the elements of fire and water in *Aen.* 8, see Quint 2015, op. cit. (n. 1).

33 M. Grant, ‘Agrippa’s coins’, in Dipartimento di archeologia, filologia classica e loro tradizioni 1990, op. cit. (n. 31), 9–19, here 12–13. See British Museum R.9242 for the coin type.

34 See also Purcell 1996 op. cit. (n. 2), 205–209 on the extent to which political and economic power shaped control of and discourse concerning Roman waterworks.

Aeneas, just as *Aeneid* 8 as a whole is ringed by rivers submitting to Roman movement. Thus, when read in the context of this distinct increase in the volume of water pumped into Rome, the public arts and buildings that drew attention to that water, and the function of Agrippa as a quasi-Master of Waters, Hercules' gluttonous waterworks take on a new light. The hydrological goal of Hercules in Rome is no longer about clearing space for a settlement beside waters that already exist – it is also about controlling the entire world's waters and managing the thirst of the city and the constant influx of water into it. It is therefore appropriate that Hercules' proto-Actium on the Aventine would allude to waterworks flowing beneath the city and hill, as Romans repurpose the hero's Arcadian hydrological activity. The *barathrum Caci* in Vergil, and the mouth of Hercules in Propertius, both symbolize these hydrological ambitions as an aspect of empire, situating them within a broader symbolism of mythological and ideological drainage works in the Greco-Roman (and Italic) imaginary.

But Hercules' drains do not only channel the readers' minds forward to Rome's hydrological empire – they also channel them backward, to the natural waterways of Arcadia. Thus, these symbols, in different ways, also use the subterranean channel as a metaphor for the connection between the mythic past and the marble present. We have already seen how these effects read new events into the distant past of the Roman landscape and figure Evander's Arcadian nostalgia, since the location near Pheneus, Evander's Greek home in the *Aeneid* (8.165), gives the passage the effect of being a memory of Evander. It is as if Evander's Mediterranean is a landscape of imaginary limestone not unlike that of the porous land of Arcadia, the Homeric Lacedaemonia emphatically "hollow with hollows," in the words of the *Odyssey*.³⁵ In the hydraulic context of Augustan Rome, this connects these ancient, pristine spaces to the brick and marble channels of the modern city. It, therefore, establishes a kind of hydrological continuity that mingles present and past in the subterranean channels of memory, figured as a subterranean waterway.

Nevertheless, these episodes also suggest anxiety about Roman waterworks. In both poems, water is present insofar as it is absent. Cacus, first encountered heaving fire and smoke, has the blood drained dry out of his throat. In Propertius 4.9, a parched hero exhausting a sacred spring swiftly replaces the mirage of watery abundance that opens the elegy. Thus, rather than working to regulate an abundance of water, Hercules' drainage works seem to be, as it were, superfluous, functioning to drain spaces that are already dry and causing

35 Κοίλη Λακεδαίμων κητώεσσα (Hom. *Il.* 2.581). Cf. also κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν (Hom. *Od.* 4.1).

desiccation both in the landscape and in the bodies that move through it. This paradox is perhaps further reinforced by the fact that it is Cacus – the volcanic son of Vulcan associated by Vergil more with fire than any other element – is a symbol for that which Hercules as Roman plumber must overcome.³⁶ Thus, rather than serving only to prefigure the triumphal accomplishments of the Augustan/Agrippan *curatio aquarum*, the hydrological exploits of Hercules also seem to evidence anxiety about Roman thirst and water scarcity as a practical, ethical, or ideological problem. Empires, after all, are thirsty beings, and their *barathra* can be bottomless.

Vergil's emphasis on continuity and discontinuity in the landscape rather than Hercules' domination or 'civilization' of it offers an alternative model for reading Roman attitudes towards their relationship with hydrological environments. As Purcell and others have shown, encounters with and control of waters were important for Roman conceptualization of space, as is shown, for example, by the outsized influence that hydrological features in the environment have on Roman toponomy. For Purcell, the Roman "romance of drainage" is a story of control over the environment, and the enlistment of the "heroes of drainage" like Hercules from the Greek world function to connect Roman environmental management to that of the Greek *polis*.³⁷ But the environmental revelation that comes with the death of Cacus is not new land reclaimed beneath receded water. Instead, it is fixated on the cavities through which water disappears, and the losses and connectivities created by them. It is in this way neither straightforward praise nor censure of the new hydrological regime. Rather, perhaps, Vergil deploys the physical imagery of drainage works as a metaphor for the kinds of ambiguity towards Augustus with which he is so often associated.

To conclude, by ending their accounts of the battle between Hercules and Cacus with imagery of bodies draining or being drained of fluid, both Vergil and Propertius suggest that Hercules' associations with the creation of new waterways and subterranean channels are salient to the episode. The connotations of the word *barathrum* that Vergil uses in reference to the exposed cave of Cacus further confirm this. By importing Hercules as Master of Waters into a Roman context, these two poets both incorporate into the episode commentary on the

36 On the volcanic imagery associated with Cacus, see A. Scarth, 'The volcanic inspiration of some images in the *Aeneid*, *CW* 93 (2000), 591–605. Here one might compare Verg. *Aen.* 3.694–696, which imagines the Alpheus River running under the Ionian Sea, connecting Arcadia with Sicily, and mixing Arethusa with Sicilian waters. Here too there is a confluence of hydrological and volcanic veins materializing a connection between Greece and Italy.

37 Purcell 1996, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 205.

ethics and symbolism of Rome's consumption of water. On the one hand, this allows them to connect Arcadian and Roman waterworks, bridging time and space, karst and *cloaca*. On the other hand, Hercules' waterworks also seem implicitly to criticize the excesses of Rome's water consumption.³⁸

38 Special thanks to David Levene, Alessandro Barchiesi, Michael Peachin, Genevieve Gessert, Jordan Rogers, and Ben Nikota for reading drafts of this paper and offering generous feedback, and to the participants in the 2019 Impact of Empire Network conference in Mainz for the stimulating discussion.

Empire and Italian Landscape in Statius: *Silvae* 4.3 and 4.5

Christopher M. Chinn

Joy Connolly, writing about Vergil's *Eclogues* in 2001, wrote that pastoral characters “walk simultaneously in the bucolic setting of Theocritus and in a ‘real’ sociopolitical Italy of civil war, land confiscations, and rivalry for patronage, and that the actions taken in one realm appear to reverberate in the other.” Connolly continued: “as [Panofsky] saw it, the relation between the referential reality of Roman Italy and the pastoral text is not realism, not symbol, not metaphor, not allegory, but the contiguous and interpenetrating relation of metonymy.”¹ This description of the relationship between literary and actual history may be extended to other genres of Latin literature as well. Horace's Sabine farm is a real place inflected by both Archaic and Hellenistic poetic precedents.² Lucan's world is the site of both civil war and Homeric combat.³ Cicero's Roman statesmen sit in the shade of a Platonic tree.⁴ Statius' *Silvae* also frequently represent an Italian landscape inflected by the literary tradition. Pollius Felix' maritime villa overlooks a Bay of Naples fraught with Vergilian references (*Silv.* 2.2.72–82).⁵ Statius' stroll through the Saepta (*Silv.* 4.6.1–4) echoes Horace's stroll through the Forum in the famous

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- 1 J. Connolly, ‘Picture Arcadia: The politics of representation in Vergil's *Eclogues*’, *Vergilius* 47 (2001), 89–116, esp. 94–95. Cf. M. Leigh, ‘Vergil's second *Eclogue* and the class struggle’, *Classical Philology* 111 (2016), 406–433, esp. 408–411. All Latin texts from OCT series. All translations from the Loeb Classical Library.
 - 2 D. Spencer, ‘Horace's garden thoughts: Rural retreats and the urban imagination’, in R. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds.) *City, Countryside, and Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden 2006), 239–274, esp. 244–245.
 - 3 See e.g. M. Lausberg, ‘Lucan und Homer’, in W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds.), *ANRW* 2.32.2 (Berlin 1985), 1565–1622, esp. 1576–1577 who argues that Caesar and Pompey are influenced by Achilles and Agamemnon.
 - 4 A.D. Leeman and H. Pinkster (eds.), *M. Tullius Cicero, De Oratore Libri III. Band I: Buch 1, 1–165* (Heidelberg 1981), 76–77.
 - 5 See S.E. Hinds, ‘Cinna, Statius, and “immanent literary history”’, in E.A. Schmidt (ed.), *L'histoire littéraire immanente dans la poésie latine* (Geneva 2001), 221–257, esp. 246–249.

pest poem (*Sat.* 1.9).⁶ In all these instances, the troping of the landscape as a metaliterary metaphor poses an epistemological problem for approaching the real historical meaning of the landscape. In terms of the theme of this volume, the impact of Empire on the landscape in literary texts is obscured by these texts' self-referentiality.

As noted, the intertextuality of Statius' landscapes contains elements of pure self-referentiality: Statius' "Bay of Naples" situates the villa description of *Silv.* 2.2 within literary history, while his "Saepta" indicates the genre of satire with which he is playing in *Silv.* 4.6. In such instances, how can we uncover the real landscape in the text? One approach, usefully employed by Francesca Martelli, is to reverse the metaliterary tropes.⁷ Scholars have long noticed that Statius borrows the figure, ultimately derived from Callimachus, of muddy and clear-running rivers: *nitente cursu / tranquillum mare proximumque possim / puro gurgite provocare Lirim* ("I can challenge the smooth sea with my shining course and neighboring Liris with my limpid stream," *Silv.* 4.3.93–94).⁸ Here the appearance of the river stands in for the style of poetry. We may, however, reverse the direction of figuration so that the metaphor says something about the actual referents of the Statian text.⁹ In this way the content of the intertext becomes a figure for the 'real' landscape (at least as perceived by the poet). So Martelli has perceptively shown that Statius reverses the river-poetry trope to illustrate what a river *actually*

6 A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons, and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Liverpool 1983), 139; K. Coleman, *Statius Silvae IV* (Oxford 1988), 176; G. Laguna Mariscal, 'Satirical elements in Statius' *Silvae*: A literary and sociological approach', in R.R. Nauta, H.-J. Van Dam and J.J.L. Smolenaars (eds.), *Flavian Poetry* (Leiden 2006), 245–255, esp. 248–249; R. Nagel, 'Statius' Horatian Lyrics, *Silvae* 4.5 and 4.7', *CW* 102 (2009), 155–156; A. Bonadeo, *L'Hercules Epitrapezios Novi Vindicis. Introduzione e commento a Stat. silv. 4,6* (Naples 2010), 57–59.

7 F. Martelli, 'Plumbing Helicon: Poetic property and the material world of Statius' *Silvae*', *MD* 62 (2009), 145–177.

8 Cf. C. Newlands, *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (Cambridge 2002), 306–308; J.J.L. Smolenaars, 'Ideology and poetics along the *Via Domitiana*: Statius *Silvae* 4.3', in R. Nauta et al. (eds.), *Flavian Poetry* (Leiden 2006), 223–244, esp. 231–232; F. Morzadec, 'Stace et la Sibylle: rivalité littéraire autour de la louange de Domitien la *Silve* 1v, 3', in M. Bouquet et al. (eds.), *La Sibylle: parole et représentation* (Rennes 2004), 85–98, esp. 95 argues that Vulturinus is a metaphor for Statius' poem. A. Loio, 'Commemorating events: the *victoria Sosibii* in Statius, *Silvae* 4.3', *CQ* 62 (2012), 281–285 explores in detail the (metaliterary) intertext between our poem and Callimachus' *Victoria Sosibii*.

9 See D. Goguy, 'Le paysage dans les *Silves* de Stace: conventions poétiques et observation réaliste', *Latomus* 41 (1982), 602–613 on the mixture of reality and literary-historical tradition in Statius' landscapes.

looked like after the channelization.¹⁰ Rather than a ‘pure stream’ standing in for excellent poetry, the non-silted river can be imagined in terms of the aesthetics of Callimachean verse.

We may take this interpretive strategy a step further. Recall the interpenetration of art and politics in Vergilian pastoral, which we saw could be extended to other genres. If the Statian intertext contains traces of the politics *already inscribed* in such writers as Vergil and Horace, then it follows that the trope-reversal strategy may illustrate how politically and socially situated actors *actually viewed such things as the landscape*. This approach could go a long way toward addressing the problem of literary landscapes posed by Connolly and could help us understand the impact of Empire on the landscape. I will proceed by showing how Statius reverses tropes found in Vergil (e.g., the imperial politics of Aeneas’ visit to the future site of Rome) and Horace (e.g., the politics of patronage of the Sabine Farm). We will see that in these tropes the landscape says something about politics (that is, landscape becomes more or less a metaphor). I will then argue that Statius exploits these inscribed politics to say something about the ‘real’ landscape. By focusing on political tropes, I hope to illustrate the impact of empire on the landscape in Statius’ *Silvae*. In this paper, I will examine the presentation of the landscape in *Silvae* 4.3 (on the construction of the *Via Domitiana*) and in *Silv.* 4.5 (a lyric ode honoring the north African immigrant Septimius Severus).

1 The *Via Domitiana*

Silv. 4.3 celebrates the completion of a new highway along the Campanian coast from Sinuessa to Puteoli.¹¹ This long hendecasyllabic poem introduces its subject with a priamel (1–26), then describes the road construction process (27–66). The rest of the poem is largely devoted to two speeches by mythological figures: the River Volturnus (67–94) and the Cumaean Sibyl

10 Martelli 2009 op. cit. (n. 7), 157–158. Cf. C. Chinn, ‘The ecological highway: environmental 4.3’, in C. Schliephake (ed.), *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity* (Lanham 2017), 113–130, esp. 121–122.

11 On this poem see H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (Hildesheim 1968), 108–115; Coleman 1988, op. cit. (n. 6), 102–135; F. Kleiner, ‘The trophy on the bridge and the Roman triumph over nature’, *AC* 60 (1991), 182–192; Newlands 2002, op. cit. (n. 8), 284–325; Morzadec 2004 op. cit. (n. 8), 85–98; Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 223–244; Martelli 2009, op. cit. (n. 7), 156–158; Loio 2012, op. cit. (n. 8); Chinn 2017, op. cit. (n. 10).

(114–end). Both speakers praise the emperor Domitian as the builder of the road. The new road and improved landscape thus stand in for the excellence of Domitian and become figures of praise. The poem is also replete with allusions to Vergil. This fact adds a metaliterary layer to the panegyric presentation of the road (i.e., the “road” becomes the course of literary history). The Campanian landscape, therefore, may be understood as representing praise discourse with an appropriately Vergilian pedigree. Nevertheless, the real landscape of coastal Campania lies behind the poem, and indeed the physical features of the landscape seem to have left their mark on the text.¹² In political terms, Kleiner has shown (via numismatic and epigraphical evidence) that triumphal arches associated with bridges convey a sense of victory over nature (rather than military conquest).¹³ Accordingly, Statius’ poem refers to a triumphal arch adjacent to the bridge over the Vulturnus (*Silv.* 4.3.95–100), while claiming that Domitian is “greater and more powerful than nature” (*Silv.* 4.3.135).¹⁴ Similarly, Smolenaars reports that an inscription from Puteoli suggests that Statius’ language borrows from contemporary propaganda about the time-saving aspects of the new road (*aestuantes / septem montibus admovevere Baias, Silv.* 4.3.26 ~ *colonia ... Puteolana ... Vrbi ... admota, AE* 1973, 137).¹⁵ In both these instances, political messages have been literally inscribed in the landscape. Statius has thus reproduced a contemporary linkage of landscape and politics. I want to look at this linkage in the two speeches and examine how they exploit the political troping of the landscape already present in Vergil’s *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*.

12 E.g., Goguet 1982, op. cit. (n. 9), 604 argues that Statius is more realistic about viticulture around Mt Gaurus than, say, Horace.

13 Kleiner 1991, op. cit. (n. 11), 186–192.

14 Kleiner 1991, op. cit. (n. 11), 184–186. Control over rivers may even have been a codified (in the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*) prerogative of the Flavian emperors (and presumably then a part of their propaganda program): see C. Bruun, ‘Cola di Rienzo and the Lost Clause on Changing the Course of Rivers in the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*’, in F. Nasti and F. Reduzzi (eds.), *Per una comune cultura dell’acqua dal Mediterraneo all’America del Nord* (Cassino 2012), 109–134.

15 Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 227; K. Coleman, ‘Stones in the forest: epigraphic allusion in the *Silvae*’, in R. Nauta et al. (eds.), *The Poetry of Statius* (Leiden 2008), 39–40. Cf. J. Blänsdorf, ‘Drei römische Dichter über Straßenbau und Reiseverkehr’, in J. Blänsdorf (ed.), *Vorträge und Aufsätze zur lateinischen Literatur der Antike und des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main 2015), 379–380.

2 The River Vulturnus

Scholars have long noted that the Vulturnus episode in *Silvae* 4.3 is modeled on the manifestation of Tiberinus to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8.¹⁶ Vulturnus' appearance and posture generally recall the Vergilian Tiberinus. Compare the following passages:

*At flavum caput umidumque late
crinem mollibus impeditus ulvis
Vulturnus levat ora maximoque
pontis Caesarei reclinus arcu
raucis talia faucibus redundant ...*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.67–71

But Vulturnus raises his face, his yellow head and mop of watery hair tangled with soft sedge. Leaning against the mighty arch of Caesar's bridge, he pours from his hoarse throat such words as these ...

*Huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
visus (eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbasus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo),
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis ...*

Verg. *Aen.* 8.31–35

He dreamed that before him the very god of the place, Tiberinus of the pleasant stream, raised his aged head amid the poplar leaves; fine linen draped him in a mantle of grey, and shady reeds crowned his hair. Then thus he spoke to him, and with these words took away his cares ...

Prefatory to delivering a speech to their addressees, both rivers take human form and raise their faces from the water with their hair covered in foliage.¹⁷ Statius' *redundant*, moreover, both acts as a playful metaphor of speaking and

16 Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 94–95; Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 229. See M. Tueller, 'Well-read heroes quoting the *Aetia* in *Aeneid* 8', *HSPH* 100 (2000), 364–371 on the metapoetic and Callimachean aspects of Aeneas' vision of Tiberinus.

17 Additionally, Statius 'corrects' Vergil (whose Tiberinus is clothed in garment described as *glaucus*) by employing the color word *flavus* (line 67) which is more typical of descriptions of the Tiber (cf. the first appearance of Tiberinus in the *Aeneid*, *Aen.* 7.30–34). See

as an 'Alexandrian footnote' (through the prefix *re-*) affirming that we have seen this kind of speaking river before.¹⁸ In addition, several phrases in the Vulturinus' speech echo the Vergilian Tiburinus:

recti legibus alvei ligasti!

[...]

*sed grates ago servitusque tanti est,
quod sub te duce, te iubente, cessi,
quod tu maximus arbiter meaeque
victor perpetuus legere ripae.
et nunc limite me colis beato*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.75, 79–85

[you] who bound me in the law of a straight channel [...] But I give you thanks and my servitude is worthwhile because I have yielded under your guidance at your command, and because men shall ever read of you as supreme arbiter and conqueror of my bank.

ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam ...

[...]

*mihi victor honorem
persolves. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem,
caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.*

Verg. *aen.* 8.57, 61–64

I myself will guide you along the banks straight up the stream [...] To me you will pay your tribute when victorious. I am he whom you see grazing my banks with full flood and cleaving the rich tilth – the blue Tiber, river best beloved of Heaven.

Here the parallels may be seen in the notions of a straight channel, military victory, and the effect of rivers on cultivated land (on these parallels, see below). Overall, when Vulturinus describes the landscape (including himself

Coleman 1988, op. cit. (n. 6), 120 as well as L. Fratantuono and R. Alden Smith. (eds.), *Virgil Aeneid 8. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Leiden 2018), 174.

18 Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 229 points out that *redundat* is used by Cicero to describe practitioners of the Asianist style. Cf. Newlands 2002, op. cit. (n. 8), 307. See Loio 2012, op. cit. (n. 8), 281–282 and Chinn 2017, op. cit. (n. 10), 119–120 on speaking rivers.

qua river), our view is inflected by the Vergilian intertext: the journey down the new road is like Aeneas' journey to Evander's village and to the future site of Rome; hence the road *description* is like Vergilian poetry.

Moreover, scholars have often noted how Vergil figures pre-Trojan Italy as a kind of mythical Golden Age.¹⁹ Indeed, not too long after the Tiberinus epiphany, Evander explicitly refers to the Golden Age of Saturn's exile in Italy (*aurea ... / saecula*, *Aen.* 8.324–325). Statius acknowledges this connection by having his Vulturinus refer to Domitian in terms that allude to *Eclogue* 4 and its heralding of a new Golden Age. Vulturinus proclaims Domitian's leadership by echoing Vergil's address to Asinius Pollio (*te duce, te iubente*, *Stat. silv.* 4.3.82 ~ *te consule ... / [...]* / *te duce*, *Verg. ecl.* 4.8–10).²⁰ Statius understands *Eclogue* 4 as an imperial narrative, since he has substituted the emperor for the consul Pollio and since he has juxtaposed *Eclogue* 4 with the journey to the future site of Rome in *Aeneid* 8. Statius, in other words, tropes the fourth *Eclogue*, and its ideal pastoral landscape, as signaling the Golden Age of "Arcadia" in the (Arcadian) Evander's realm in the *Aeneid*. In the intertext, the Vergilian landscape (Tiber, Rome, and the agricultural ease of the Golden Age) infects Statius' presentation of Campania and may be understood as a figure for the peace and prosperity of the imperial regime. As imperial praise, Statius' poem engages in self-referential response to Vergil's imperial discourse.

What does this intertext mean for Statius' presentation of the actual Campanian landscape? Notice, first of all, that the Vergilian Tiberinus promises to convey Aeneas to Evander's dwelling by means of his "straight flow" (*recto flumine*, *Aen.* 8.57). The adjective *rectus* has been used here in a mildly transferred sense since *recto flumine* plainly means "by the fastest route."²¹ Statius' Vulturinus, on the other hand, praises Domitian for his creation of "straight channel" (*recti ... alvei*, *Silv.* 4.3.75) to prevent destructive flooding. Statius has literalized and physicalized the adjective in response to the Vergilian pretext. In other words, the Vergilian intertext, which figures the journey upriver as a synecdoche for the establishment of Rome and empire, may be read as a figure

19 The classic formulation of this idea is in A. Parry, "The two voices of Virgil's "Aeneid", *Arion. A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 2 (1963), 66–80, here 68. Cf. R. Moorton, "The innocence of Italy in Vergil's *Aeneid*", *AJPh* 110 (1989), 105–130 and C. Perkell, "The Golden Age and its contradictions in the Poetry of Vergil", *Vergilius* 48 (2002), 3–39 on the ambiguity of Vergil's Golden Age. Cf. A. Zanker, "Late Horatian lyric and the Virgilian Golden Age", *AJPh* 131 (2010), 495–516 on Horace's interpretation of Vergil's Golden Age.

20 I cannot find acknowledgment of this intertext anywhere. Strangely, Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 237 sees an allusion in *me duce* (131) to *te duce* in the Fourth *Eclogue* but not here.

21 Fratantuono and Smith 2018, op. cit. (n. 17), 166.

for the physical landscape. The “straight path” to Roman politics and power becomes a straightened river channel *because of* Roman politics and power. In other words, the landscape of the Golden Age became a figure of Augustan politics. Statius, on the other hand, has shown us Domitianic policies inscribed within the literal landscape, and has thus suggested an actualization of the Golden Age.

Second, the Vergilian Tiberinus proclaims his divine status by referring to his ability to irrigate agricultural land (*stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem*, *Aen.* 8.63). As Fratantuono and Smith point out, this is a proleptic reference to “the rich and abundant agricultural life of the future Rome.”²² The landscape thus becomes a figure for the *Aeneid*’s teleological narrative of Roman history. The Statian Vulturinus, on the other hand, has been prohibited from literally destroying cultivated land (e.g., *rapere terras*, 4.3.79) through channelization (*limite me colis beato*, 4.3.85).²³ Likewise, Tiberinus asserts that he will receive honor from Aeneas once he has become a victor in the war against the Latins (*Aen.* 8.61–62). Vulturinus, by contrast, names Domitian as a “victor” over his riverbanks as a way to praise the channelization project. By using *victor* figuratively, Statius has emphasized the physical landscape that Domitian’s project has modified. In Vergil, the physical river and landscape become figures of divine power and imperial history. In Statius, flooding has literally been controlled and farmland preserved on account of the emperor’s power. The Golden Age of the Vergilian pretext (where the ease of agriculture is a figure for Augustan prosperity) thus becomes literalized within the agricultural benefits of Domitian’s improvements to Vulturinus’ river valley. Domitian has physically enacted an agricultural “Golden Age” through the road-building project and, ultimately, the reach of imperial power.

3 The Sibyl

After a brief interlude describing the greatly reduced travel times afforded by the new road (95–113), Statius introduces his second major internal speaker, the Cumaean Sibyl. Scholars have noted that Statius’ Sibyl is manifestly a Vergilian character:²⁴

22 Fratantuono and Smith 2018, op. cit. (n. 17), 173. Tueller 2000, op. cit. (n. 16), 364–366 points out that Tiberinus here quotes Callimachus and his ‘aetiological’ discourse.

23 Notice how Statius seems to answer Vergil’s *culta* with *colis*.

24 Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 236; Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 86–97.

*vates sanctior incipit, tacendum est.
en et colla rotat novisque late
bacchatur spatiis viamque replet!*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.120–122

A holier bard begins, we must be silent. See! She whirls her neck and wanders at large over the new spaces, filling the road.

*tuque, o sanctissima vates,
praescia venturi ...
[...]
at Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro
bacchatur vates ...*

Verg. *Aen.* 6.65, 77–78

And you, most holy prophetess, who foreknow the future. [...] But the prophetess, not yet brooking the sway of Phoebus, storms wildly in the cavern ...

Here, Statius' Sibyl reenacts her prophetic frenzy from *Aeneid* 6. Statius' *sanctior* is an ironic intergeneric footnote, transferring control of the narrative from Statius (the *vates*-poet of the occasional *Silvae*) to the Sibyl (the *vates*-prophetess of epic).²⁵ To emphasize this intertext, Statius' Sibyl compares Domitian to Aeneas:²⁶

*ex quo me duce praescios Averni
Aeneas avide futura quaerens
lucos et penetravit et reliquit*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.131–133

... since Aeneas with me to guide both entered and left Avernus' prescient grove, eager to learn the future.

This 'plot summary' of *Aeneid* 6 again emphasizes Statius' self-referentiality by placing the Sibyl literally in the role of *poeta doctus* and by placing praise of Domitian literally into the epic tradition. Moreover, Françoise Morzadec

25 Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 89.

26 Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 87.

points out that the Sibyl is essentially a feature of the ‘Campanian landscape’ (i.e., Vergilian literary history), appearing as she does “at the end of the road”:²⁷

*Sed quam fine viae recentis imo,
qua monstrat veteres Apollo Cumas,
... cerno?*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.114–116

But who is this that I see at the furthest end of the new road, where Apollo points to ancient Cumae?

Once again, Statius has embedded his Campania within a Vergilian intertext and a Vergilian character within the Campanian landscape. The situation resembles Connolly’s formulation of Theocritean characters populating rural Italy in Vergil’s *Eclogues*. And indeed, scholars have noted that the Sibyl’s speech appropriates elements of Anchises’ speech later in *Aeneid* 6:²⁸

*en hic est deus, hunc iubet beatis
pro se Iuppiter imperare terris
[...]
iuravit tibi iam nivalis Arctus,
nunc magnos Oriens dabit triumphos.
ibis qua vagus Hercules et Euhan
ultra sidera flammeumque solem
et Nili caput et nives Atlantis*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.128–129, 153–157

See! He is a god, him Jupiter commands to rule the happy earth in his stead ... Already the snowy north has sworn you fealty; now the east shall give you great triumphs. You shall go where Hercules and Euhan wandered, beyond stars and flaming sun and Nile’s fount and Atlas’ snows.

*hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,*

27 Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 87.

28 Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 237–238; Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 88, 91.

*extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,
et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.
nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit ...*

[...]

*nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.*

Verg. *Aen.* 6.791–801, 804–805

And this in truth is he whom you so often hear promised you, Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will again establish a golden age in Latium amid fields once ruled by Saturn; he will advance his empire beyond the Garamants and Indians to a land which lies beyond our stars, beyond the path of year and sun, where sky-bearing Atlas wheels on his shoulders the blazing star-studded sphere. Against his coming both Caspian realms and the Maeotic land even now shudder at the oracles of their gods, and the mouths of sevenfold Nile quiver in alarm. Not even Hercules traversed so much of earth's extent [...] nor he either, who guides his car with vine-leaf reins, triumphant Bacchus, driving his tigers down from Nysa's lofty peak.

Through the intertext, Statius compares Domitian and Augustus both directly and in terms of the territory over which they rule (via allusive toponyms). Both leaders are depicted, moreover, as having a kind of divine or cosmic power over the universe. Notice that Vergil asserts that Augustus' rule will coincide with a return of the Golden Age (lines 792–793). Statius acknowledges this by having his Sibyl quote Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*:²⁹

magnus te manet ordo saeculorum

Stat. *sibv.* 4.3.147

A great chain of centuries awaits you.

*ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.*

Verg. *ecl.* 4.4–5

29 Smolenaars 2006, op. cit. (n. 8), 240; Morzadec 2004, op. cit. (n. 8), 89.

Now is come the last age of Cumaean song; the great line of the centuries begins anew.

As noted, the Sibyl's *Aeneid* references compare Domitian to Augustus, and the 'future' conquests of Augustus to the actual conquests of Domitian. Here, the allusion activates both the pastoral Golden Age of the fourth *Eclogue* and the rhetoric of the imperial Golden Age presaged in the *Aeneid* 6 passage (*aurea condet / saecula, Aen.* 6.792–793). Just like Vergil, Statius transforms the Golden Age into a narrative of imperial history, this time equating imperial conquest with the return of an easy agricultural existence. The landscape and agriculture, in other words, are figures of this imperial narrative.

Nevertheless, there are two key literalizations in the Sibyl episode. The first may be seen in Statius use of the phrase *magnus ... ordo saeculorum* (*Silv.* 4.3.147). In its own context (i.e., without the Vergilian inflection) these words refer to the (potentially) extraordinary length of Domitian's life: the phrase is glossed two lines earlier by the words "series of ages" (*seriem ... aevi, Silv.* 4.3.145) and later by the mythological exempla of Nestor, Tithonus, and the Sibyl herself (*Silv.* 4.3.150–152). *Ordo* in Statius thus refers to the sequence of years that have been accorded to Domitian by fate. In Vergil, *ordo* is a metonymy for the Golden Age and is linked, through *nascitur*, to the birth and growth of the mysterious child two lines later (*nascenti puero, Ecl.* 4.7).³⁰ To emphasize his trope-reversal, Statius links the *ordo* of Domitian's life to the Vergilian narrator's prayer to live long enough to celebrate the child's accomplishments (*manet ordo, 4.3.147 ~ longae maneat pars ultima vitae, Ecl.* 4.53). Statius thus literalized, albeit with hyperbole, the phrase *ordo saeculorum* as a sequence of years.³¹

The second literalization may be seen in the Sibyl's allusions to *Aeneid* 6, where the Golden Age represents the peace and prosperity resulting from Augustus' military conquest (see above). In Statius' narrative, Domitian's military conquest (again, intertextually linked to Augustus') is paired with conquest over nature.

*natura melior potentiorque.
hic si flammigeros teneret axes,*

30 See R. Nisbet, 'Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*: easterners and westerners', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25 (1978), 59–78, esp. 62 on the *nascitur/nascenti* echo.

31 This literalization may even constitute an intertextual correction of Vergil's notorious mixing of linear and cyclical conceptions of history in the Fourth *Eclogue*. See Nisbet 1978, op. cit. (n. 30).

*largis, India nubibus maderes,
undaret Libye, teperet Haemus.*

Stat. *silv.* 4.3.135–138

Better and mightier than Nature, if he had the flaming sky in his keeping, India would be damp with generous clouds, Libya watered, Haemus warm. (translation modified)

Here Statius baldly asserts Domitian's control over nature through a series of *adynata* (droughts overtaken with rain, deserts flooded, cold climates made warm). These *adynata* obviously echo, at least in a general way, those of the Golden Age in *Eclogue* 4 (very little need for agricultural labor, no snakes, pre-dyed wool, etc.). In addition, however, the toponyms in Statius' list of *adynata* point forward to the 'map' of imperial conquest, based on Vergil's, which appears later in the Sibyl's speech (lines 153–157, quoted above). Both lists refer to the extremes north, south, and east of the empire. In this way, military victory becomes a figure for control over nature,³² which itself is merely a hyperbolic statement of what Domitian has literally accomplished in the road building project. In the Statian Sibyl's speech, then, both the pastoral Golden Age of the Fourth *Eclogue* and the imperial Golden Age of the *Aeneid* are literalized in the construction of the road and its concomitant transformation of the landscape. In simple political terms, Domitian's infrastructure policies have brought into existence the content of Augustan-era propaganda by physically improving the agricultural prospects of coastal Campania.

4 The Ode to Septimius Severus

Silvae 4.5 is the only example of Alcaics in the collection.³³ The poem is addressed to a certain Septimius Severus, possibly an ancestor of the 3rd century emperor.³⁴ Severus hails from Lepcis Magna in North Africa and has become integrated into Roman society as an equestrian. The poem's primary

32 Cf. Kleiner 1991, op. cit. (n. 11).

33 On this poem see D. Vessey, 'Non solitis fidibus: some aspects of Statius *Silvae* IV, 5,' *AC* 39 (1970), 507–518; K. Coleman, 'An African at Rome: Statius, *Silvae* 4.5,' *Proceedings of the African Classical Association* 17 (1983), 85–99, esp. 85–89; D. Spencer, 'Singing in the garden: Statius's *plein air* lyric (after Horace),' in J. Blevin (ed.), *Dialogism and Lyric Self-fashioning: Bakhtin and the Voices of a Genre* (Selinsgrove 2008), 66–83; Nagel 2009, op. cit. (n. 6).

34 See Coleman 1983, op. cit. (n. 33); R. Nauta, *Poetry for Patrons* (Leiden 2002), 218–220.

conceit is the view that Severus does not seem at all like a foreigner but acts like a Roman through and through (see esp. lines 29–47). The poem closely parallels Horace's *Grosphus Ode* (2.16) and its celebration of the simple life.³⁵ Statius' narrator begins by proclaiming, in Horatian terms, his happiness with the simple life of the countryside (*parvi beatus ruris honoribus*, *Silv.* 4.5.1).³⁶ This assertion echoes the Horatian narrator's satisfaction with a small farm (*mihi parva rura* / ... / *Parca non mendax dedit*, *Carm.* 2.16.37–39) and simple living (*vivitur parvo bene*, *Carm.* 2.16.13). Statius then contrasts his own position as a rural smallholder to those with vast estates and enormous flocks of animals (i.e., people like the Horatian Grosphus):³⁷

*non mille balant lanigeri greges,
nec vacca dulci mugit adultero*

Stat. *silv.* 4.5.17–18

[To me] no bleat of a thousand woolly flocks, no lowing of cow for her sweet paramour ...

*te greges centum Siculaeque circum
mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
apta quadrigis equa ...*

Hor. *carm.* 2.16.33–36

All around you a hundred herds of Sicilian cattle low; you have a whinnying mare just right for the four-horse chariot ...

In Horace' list *te* refers to Grosphus, who stands in contrast to the Horatian narrator and his contentedness with his small fields (*Carm.* 2.16.37, quoted above). Statius has appropriated this contrast and placed himself in the position of the Horatian narrator.³⁸ This is further emphasized by the fact that Statius also likens his dwelling to that of Horace in the famous *Soracte Ode*:

*nos parce tellus pervigil et focus
culmenque multo lumine sordidum*

35 Hardie 1983, op. cit. (n. 6), 144 (who sees other sources as well).

36 K.S. Myers 'Miranda fides: poet and patrons in paradoxographical landscapes in Statius' *Silvae*, *MD* 44 (2000), 103–138, esp. 131. Cf. Spencer 2008, op. cit. (n. 33), 68.

37 S. Newmyer, *The Silvae of Statius. Structure and Theme* (Leiden 1979), 43.

38 Spencer 2008, op. cit. (n. 33), 68.

*solantur exemptusque testa
qua modo feruerat Lyaeus.*

Stat. *silv.* 4.5.13–17

To me a patch of land, an unsleeping hearth, and a roof darkened by abundant light bring comfort, along with Lyaeus taken from the jar in which lately he had fermented.

*dissolve frigus ligna super foco
large reponens atque benignius
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota ...*

Hor. *carm.* 1.9.7–8

Thaw the cold by piling logs generously on the hearth, Thaliarchus, and serve the four-year-old wine more lavishly than usual from its Sabine jar ...

Here, the intertext compares Statius' estate and style of living to those of Horace. The straightforward interpretation of the entire Horatian intertext is that Statius is establishing his poetical credentials by comparing himself to Horace, and by embedding himself in a Horatian (figurative) landscape.

The middle section of the poem (21–28) describes the personal relationship between Statius and Severus. Severus is then introduced (29–40) and given the role of Grosphus: he owns three separate estates in the Italian countryside and is involved in politics (41–56; cf. *Carm.* 2.16.9–10 for Grosphus' political interests). Of course, Statius does not criticize Severus as Horace does Grosphus, but instead asserts that, in spite of their economic and political differences, both he and Severus share the same poetical interests (57–60).³⁹

Statius' praise of Severus also contains many Horatian inflections. This is particularly evident in Statius' contrast of Severus' public and private personae:

*est et frementi vox hilaris foro;
venale sed non eloquium tibi,
ensisque vagina requiescit,
stringere ni iubeant amici.
sed rura cordi saepius et quies ...*

Stat. *silv.* 4.5.49–53

39 Nagel 2009, op. cit. (n. 6), 149–150.

Cheerful your voice ever when the Forum roars, but your eloquence is not for sale; your sword sleeps in its scabbard unless your friends tell you to draw it. But more often rest and the countryside is to your mind ...

Stattius' assertion that Severus' oratorical talents cannot be purchased echoes Horace's sentiment that *otium* cannot be purchased even with Grosphus' great wealth: *neque purpura ve/nale nec auro* (*Carm.* 2.16.7–8). Severus' talents remain at rest (*requiescit*, 50) like a sword in its sheath, only brought out (presumably for free) to benefit his friends. Thus, when Stattius asserts that Severus prefers the peace (*quies*, 53) of the countryside, this too has a Horatian inflection. For Stattius as for Severus, then, the rural landscape is a Horatian space. This equivalency seems guaranteed both by the common poetical interests of the two men and by the fact that Severus' very identity as a Roman is implicated in a further Horatian intertext:

*non sermo Poenus non habitus tibi,
externa non mens: Italus, Italus.
sunt Vrbe Romanisque turmis
qui Libyam deceant alumni*

Stat. *sib.* 4.5.45–48

Your speech was not Punic, nor foreign your dress or your mind: Italian, Italian! In the City and Rome's squadrons there are some worthy to be fosterlings of Libya.

Scholars have pointed out that the exclamation *Italus, Italus* echoes Horace's Juno in the third *Roman Ode* when she refers to the destruction of Troy: *Ilion, Ilion* (*Carm.* 3.3.18, in the same *sedes*).⁴⁰ The context of this passage is Horace's version of Juno's 'surrender' speech in which she agrees to stop persecuting the Trojans if they abandon their old identity and become Romans (cf. *Aen.* 12.807–828). Evidently Severus is Roman 'from the beginning' (i.e., since the Trojan conversion). Stattius has thus characterized Severus' lifestyle as properly Horatian in spite of his surface similarities to the (anti-Horatian) Grosphus: Severus has achieved Horace's epicurean *otium* even though he possesses Grosphus-sized estates.

Is it possible to see Stattius reversing these metaliterary figures? In what follows I illustrate how Stattius appropriates an intertext already present in Horace

40 See Nagel 2009, op. cit. (n. 6), 146.

to emphasize the physical landscape of his and Severus' estates. Horace, in the Grosphus *Ode*, echoes Lucretius' criticism of luxury as superfluous to the epicurean good life:

gratius interdum neque natura ipsa requirit
 [...] *nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet*
nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa,
 [...] *nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres,*
textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
iacteris, quam si in plebeia veste cubandum est.
quapropter quoniam nihil nostro in corpore gazae ...

Lucr. 2.23, 27–28; 34–37

... nor does nature herself ever crave anything more pleasurable [...] if the hall does not shine with silver and glitter with gold, if no crossbeams paneled and gilded echo the lyre [...] And no quicker do hot fevers fly away from your body, if you have pictured tapestry and blushing purple to toss upon, than if you must lie sick under the poor man's blanket. Therefore, since treasures [profit] nothing for our body ...

otium bello furiosa Thrace,
otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
nale neque auro.
non enim gazae neque consularis
summovet lictor miseros tumultus
mentis et curas laqueata circum
tecta volantis.

Hor. *carm.* 2.16.6–12

A quiet life is the prayer of Thrace when madness leads to war. A quiet life is the prayer of the Medes when fighting with painted quivers: a commodity, Grosphus, that cannot be bought by jewels or purple or gold. For no riches, no consul's lictor, can move on the disorders of an unhappy mind and the anxieties that flutter around coffered ceilings.

Both poets criticize coffered ceilings, crimson garments, and Persian-style treasure. This of course constitutes an appeal to authority on Horace's part

for his own moralizing against luxury.⁴¹ Statius, for his part, acknowledges the Lucretian background of his Horatian model through his own combinatory allusion to Lucretius. In the description of the coming of Spring at the beginning of his poem, Statius says that “the sea and earth smile” (*iam pontus ac tellus renident*, *Silv.* 4.5.7). This phrase combines two references to *Lucr.* The first is to Lucretius’ famous proem: *tibi suavis daedala tellus / summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti / placitumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum* (*Lucr.* 1.7–9, “for you the wonder-working earth puts forth sweet flowers, for you the wide stretches of ocean laugh, and heaven grown peaceful glows with outpoured light”).⁴² The second reference is to the description of luxury in *Lucr.* 2, itself alluded to by Horace: *nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet* (*Lucr.* 2.27, “if the hall does not shine with silver and glitter with gold”). By juxtaposing the good life of *Lucr.* 2 and the natural world of *Lucr.* 1, Statius reminds his readers that epicurean ethics have their basis in epicurean physics. Statius has thus ‘corrected’ Horace’s moralizing (for which the landscape is a figure) and thereby ‘naturalized’ the Horatian landscape. In Horace, the Sabine Farm is symbolic of epicurean simplicity. In Statius, both his Alban estate and the various estates of Severus exist within physical world: they are all ‘real’ (i.e., material) possessions that have been acquired through real-life means. For Severus, his own wealth has enabled him to purchase, and to rest peacefully in, his many estates. This is quite unlike the Horatian Grosphus, who can evidently find no peace despite all his real estate. For Statius himself, imperial patronage is the source of his livelihood and hence his enjoyment of rural simplicity (see *Silv.* 4.5.23–24).⁴³ Statius reveals Horace’s own privileged position vis-à-vis the imperial regime and connects this to the physical possession of the famous Sabine farm. Statius has, in any case, employed the Horace-Lucretius intertext as a figure for the economics of *quies*, including the possession of pleasant country estates. Severus, like Horace, is a good Roman because he can afford to be. This revelation of the commercial aspects of country living may still mystify the underlying politics of exploitation inherent in the imperial economy taken as a whole,⁴⁴ but it is a long way from the nearly pure aestheticization of the landscape in Horace.

41 Note also that the intertextuality of Horace’s moralizing also problematizes it!

42 Coleman 1988, op. cit. (n. 6), 162 points out that *renidere* can be a synonym for *ridere*.

43 Cf. Nagel 2009, op. cit. (n. 6), 150. Cf. Nauta 2002, op. cit. (n. 34), 335–336, on Domitian’s patronage of Statius generally.

44 Cf. Leigh 2016, op. cit. (n. 1), on economic mystification in Vergil’s *Eclogues*.

5 Conclusion

We have seen how it is possible to catch a glimpse of the impact of imperial politics on the landscape in Statius' *Silvae*. We have examined instances in which Statius has appropriated figured landscapes from his literary predecessors. These landscapes include the pastoral Golden Age, prehistoric Italy in the *Aeneid*, and Horace's rural retreats. In each instance, Statius may be understood as importing the politics that the intertextual landscape represents and reversing the trope so that these politics inform his own representation of the landscape. In Vulturinus' speech the Vergilian Golden Age is an agricultural metaphor that praises the improvements resulting from the channelization of river.⁴⁵ The Sibyl's speech appropriates the imperial history and military conquest of the *Aeneid* as a kind of aesthetic by which we view the (newly accessible) Campanian coast. This time, the figure also appropriates cosmic imagery to explain Domitian's overall control over the landscape. The Severus Ode reveals the economic underpinnings of Horace's rural moralizing by returning the Horatian landscape to the physical world. Obviously, the impact of empire on the Italian landscape is a much more complicated phenomenon than I have outlined here. But I think the principles I have put forth can usefully be employed in making inroads into a better understanding of the phenomenon.

45 This in many ways parallels Statius' praise of Domitian's "Vine Edict" earlier in the poem (*Silv.* 4.3.11–12).

Empire and Landscape in the Tabula Peutingeriana

Silke Diederich

1 Introduction: Maps in the Roman Empire

In the Roman world, maps were perceived as quite exotic.¹ They were rarely used for practical purposes apart from cadastral plans, which were often deposited in temples. One of the few exceptions we know of is Frontinus, who had provided himself with aqueduct plans for organizing maintenance works (*De aquaeductu urbis Roma* 17). But beyond that, maps were not used for administrative matters (as is made clear by the decorative, but geographically incorrect pseudo-maps in the *Notitia Dignitatum*)² or for organizing journeys (for which the Romans rather relied on written itineraries), and it was not before the Theodosian era – right in the time of the alleged last substantial revision of our Tabula Peutingeriana – that landscape sketches were recommended to military commanders for planning marches through hostile territory. The wordings of these sources imply that those practices were far from common.³

Scientific to-scale maps based on astronomic data, like those designed by Eratosthenes or Ptolemaios, were vaguely known among the élites and often admired, but not really understood outside a very small circle of specialists. Even the non-scientific, not-to-scale ‘chorographic’ maps scoffed at by Ptolemaios (*Geog.* 1.1)⁴ belonged to the realms of highly accomplished scholarship, to sacral contexts, and to imperial propaganda, even though they became somewhat more familiar during the Empire and in late antiquity. In spite (or, perhaps, because) of being little understood by the many, maps were highly

1 See K. Brodersen, *Terra Cognita: Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung* (Hildesheim 2003, 2nd ed.). The sources quoted in this paper have been analyzed more fully in S. Diederich, ‘Kartenkompetenz und Kartenbenutzung bei den römischen Eliten – Teil 1’, *Orbis Terrarum* 16 (2018), 55–136 and S. Diederich, ‘Kartenkompetenz und Kartenbenutzung bei den römischen Eliten – Teil 2’, *Orbis Terrarum* 17 (2019), 101–184. The respective literature is quoted there.

2 Paper forthcoming in the conference proceedings by M. Jelusic, A. Kaiser and S. Roggo (eds.), *Ruling an Empire in a Changing World: Studies on Origin, Impact, and Reception of the Notitia Dignitatum*.

3 *Veg. mil.* 3.6.1–4; Anon. *Peri strategias* 20.8.

4 See M. Rathmann, ‘The Tabula Peutingeriana in the mirror of ancient cartography. Aspects of a reappraisal’, in K. Geus and M. Rathmann (eds.), *Die Vermessung der Oikumene* (Berlin 2013), 203–222.

prestigious to a degree that their trustworthiness (*veritas*) became proverbial.⁵ This was partly due to the god-like view on the earth from ‘above’ they were felt to convey.⁶ This reputation naturally rendered a map an ideal medium for imperial propaganda.

It is probably no coincidence that the earliest map we know of in Rome was a votive offering dedicated to Jupiter in the temple of the Mater Matuta, bestowed by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as a gift of gratitude for his recent conquest in 174 BCE.⁷ It consisted of a *forma Sardiniae*, as Livius reports, using the technical term *forma* “land register map” we find, for instance, in the *Corpus Agrimensorum*. This word choice, connoting a document of real estate property, pronounces an official claim on Sardinia as the rightful possession of the Roman people.

Agrippa’s now-lost world map, displayed in the Porticus Vipsania “for Rome to behold”, extended this claim to the whole *orbis terrarum* (Plin. *nat.* 3.17 *orbem terrarum urbi spectandum*). It contained measurements of provinces and cities as well as landscape features, such as waterbodies with their perimeters, rivers with their lengths, prominent mountain ranges and references to fauna and flora (*e.g.*, crocodiles), hereby symbolizing Rome’s domination over both humanity and nature.

The same probably applies for the *Aethiopiae forma* commissioned by Nero in the course of an expedition he conducted in order to explore the sources of the Nile, which contained mileages and information about trees (Plin. *nat.* 12.19), and for the *situs depicti* (either landscape paintings or maps), Nero had him sent from the *Portae Caucasiae*, today Darial Gorge (wrongly labelled *Portae Caspiae* as Plin. *nat.* 6.40 notes). These geographic depictions may also be interpreted as a means of symbolic appropriation of the area depicted, like a kind of trophy.

Propaganda and higher education blend in the map advertised by Eumenius in 297 CE. The Gallic rhetor pleaded with the emperor to let him restore his school in Augustodunum, urging as an argument the display of a world map in its porticus – obviously a rather unique feature – in which his students could see and admire every day the progresses made by the Roman rulers in conquering and pacifying the world. In Eumenius’ map, provinces, seas and landscapes served as a showcase for imperial military and political achievements.⁸

5 *E.g.*, Auson. *Grat. act.* 2.9: [...] *ut qui terrarum orbem unius tabulae ambitu circumscribunt aliquanto detrimento magnitudinis, nullo dispendio veritatis.*

6 Prop. 4.3.37–38; Apul. *mund.* 1.

7 Liv. 41.28.8–10.

8 Eum. *Paneg.* 9.20–21: *Videat [...] iuventus et cotidie spectet omnes terras et cuncta maria et quidquid invictissimi principes urbium gentium nationum aut pietate restituunt aut virtute devincunt aut terrore devinciunt. [...], omnium cum nominibus suis locorum situs, spatia,*

2 The Tabula Peutingeriana

It is important to keep these cartographic traditions in mind in order to understand the Tabula Peutingeriana.⁹ This curious map is a case sui generis in the history of cartography, since it is our only surviving large-size Roman world map, as our copy, the Codex Vindobonensis 324, drawn around 1200 CE, is the replica of a late antique original (with an intermediary copy state in Carolingian times). Even its format is unique: The eleven surviving segments of the parchment scroll (the left-most part having been lost) together are about 6,75 m long, but only 34 cm high (fig. 20.1). Accordingly, the ancient world from Spain to India is represented with extreme distortions. Here we can grasp the above-mentioned otherwise poorly recorded tradition of ancient non-scientific not-to-scale ‘chorographic’ maps, originating from outside the highly elitist schools of the mathematical geography developed by Eratosthenes or Ptolemaios. Therefore, it allows an unparalleled insight into the geographical world view of a non-specialist public among Rome’s educated elites.

For our recent digital reproduction, please follow the following link (last accessed on March 26, 2021): <https://www.arcgis.com/home/webmap/viewer.html?webmap=6354474772a14968a5a201ad3926ee8f&extent=0.2885,-0.0367,0.3202,-0.0194>.¹⁰

The TP has been a riddle for scholars since its rediscovery by the Humanist Conrad Celtis, who bequeathed it to his friend Konrad Peutinger in 1507. There are, for instance, many blatant anachronisms: Pompei, destroyed in 79 CE, is still there, even marked as an important urban center with a double tower

intervalla descripta sunt, quidquid ubique fluminum oritur et conditur, quacumque se litorum sinus flectunt, qua vel ambitu cingit orbem vel impetu inrumpit oceanus. Ibi fortissimorum imperatorum pulcherrimae res gestae per diversa regionum argumenta recolantur, dum calentibus semperque venientibus victoriarum nuntiis revisuntur gemina Persidos flumina et Libyae arva sitientia et convexa Rheni cornua et Nili ora mutifida [...]. Nunc enim, nunc demum iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum.

9 For an annotated bibliography on the Tabula Peutingeriana see Oxford Bibliographies s. v. The most recent state of research has been summarised by M. Rathmann, ‘Die Tabula Peutingeriana: Stand der Forschung und neue Impulse’, in E.N. Akdogu Arca, N. Gökalp Özdil and B. Takmer (eds.), *Vir Doctus Anatolicus: Studies in Memory of Sencer Sahin* (Istanbul 2016), 714–735. See as well M. Rathmann, ‘Neue Perspektiven zur Tabula Peutingeriana II’, *Orbis Terrarum* 18 (2020), 198–251.

10 Further recent editions are E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324, mit Kommentarband* (Graz 1976); F. Prontera, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Le Antiche Vie del Mondo* (Florence 2009, 2nd ed.); M. Rathmann, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Die einzige Weltkarte aus der Antike. Eingeleitet und kommentiert* (Darmstadt 2018, 3rd ed.). For other digital representations see <https://peutinger.atlantides.org/map-a/> and <https://www.tabula-peutingeriana.de/index.html?lang=de> (last accessed on March 26, 2021).



FIGURE 20.1 The *Tabula Peutingeriana* according to the drawn edition by Konrad Miller. Ulrich Harsch, Bibliotheca Augustana, CC-PD-Mark 1.0

pictograph, while Constantinople already appears as *Constantinopolis*, as from 337 CE on. Augustean districts in Italy coexist with province nomenclature from the reforms of Diocletianus etc.

This leads to the conclusion that the TP as we know it is the product of several stages of copying and reworking,¹¹ the prototype possibly dating as far back as the early Hellenistic period according to Rathmann,¹² as the basic physical-geographic structures, mainly the shape of the land masses, largely mirror the state of geographical knowledge in the 3rd century BCE. This basic design has been largely preserved during the different stages of transmission, since it was much more difficult for a copyist to change the overall layout of the continents than to simply add, delete or update single toponyms. Thus, in every copy stage, new items had been supplemented while, due to the notorious conservatism in ancient geographic thought, old entries have also been preserved. Since maps were scarcely designed for practical purposes, up-to-dateness was not essential.

Major re-workings have so far been detected mainly from Augustean/early imperial time, the reign of the Severi, Diocletianus, Constantine, and perhaps Valens (Antiochia). To distinguish these multiple chronological 'layers' of the TP by means of a careful analysis of each of the about 3800 map entries is one of the tasks of our ongoing DFG funded research project "Commentary on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*".¹³ The last substantial making over, however, very likely dates to the reign of Theodosius II, when the map received its present form (except for some minor later alterations and – many – copy errors),¹⁴ as we

11 P. Arnaud, 'L'origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l'archétype de la Table de Peutinger', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1 (1988), 302–321.

12 M. Rathmann, 'Neue Perspektiven zur Tabula Peutingeriana', *GeoAnt* 20–21 (2011–2012), 83–102, referring to F. Gisinger, 'Peutingeriana', *RE* 19,2 (1938), 1405–1412, here: 1408.

13 For further information, please see <https://www.ku.de/ggf/geschichte/altegesch/dfg-projekt-tabula-peutingeriana/> (last accessed on March 26, 2021).

14 E. Albu, 'Rethinking the Peutinger Map', in R.J.A. Talbert and R.W. Unger, (eds.), *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston 2008), 111–119 and E. Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map: Imperial Roman Revival in a German Empire* (New York 2014) argues in a different direction. According to Albu, the TP was the remodeling of a Carolingian map commissioned probably by the medieval Staufer dynasty. Presenting some interesting aspects and observations, however the counterargument for TP being a late Roman map are much stronger, see above *passim* as well as, for instance, the review

learn about a world map commissioned by this emperor on the occasion of his 15th consulate, 435 CE, in a poem transmitted by the Carolingian monk Dicuil. There are robust arguments that the map praised by the anonymous poet was the late antique model of our *Tabula Peutingeriana*.¹⁵ The panegyric tone in this dedication poem is even enhanced in comparison to Eumenius': It extolls Theodosius' superior intellect that accomplished to create such a masterpiece of an all-comprehensive world map with all its seas, mountains and rivers, as well as harbors, fords and cities (all items we also find in the TP).¹⁶ Here, just like in Eumenius's work, we find the blending of the propagandistic and the intellectual aspirations involved in displaying a world map, a demonstration of power as well as of geographical knowledge,¹⁷ fitting perfectly into the cultural and educational policy of Theodosius, who in 425 re-founded the bilingual 'university' of Constantinople, augmented its library, and had an appreciation especially of geographic learning.¹⁸

written by E. Weber, 'Ein neues Buch und das Datierungsproblem der *Tabula Peutingeriana*', *Tyche* 27 (2012), 209–216.

15 A plausible hypothesis since the Venice 1591 edition by Markus Welser; recently, for instance, E. Weber, 'Die Datierungen des antiken Originals der *Tabula Peutingeriana*', *Orbis Terrarum* 14 (2016), 229–258 (with sources and literature).

16 Theodosius II/Dicuil 5,4 = *Geographi Latina Minores* 19–20 (ed. Riese) = *Patrologia Latina Minores* 5 p. 84 Baehrens (435 n. Chr.), ed. J. Tierney, *Diculi liber de mensura orbis terrae* (Dublin 1967):

*Hoc opus egregium, quo mundi summa tenetur,
Aequora quo montes fluvii portus freta et urbes
Signantur, cunctis ut sit cognoscere promptum,
Quidquid ubique latet. Clemens genus, inclita proles
Ac per saecula pius, totus quem vix capit orbis,* 5
*Theodosius princeps venerando iussit ab ore
Confici, ter quinis aperit cum fascibus annum.
Supplices hoc famuli, dum scribit pingit et alter,
Mensibus exiguis veterum monimenta secuti,
In melius reparamus opus culpamque priorum* 10
*Tollimus ac totum breviter comprehendimus orbem:
Sed tamen hoc tua nos docuit sapientia, princeps.*

17 On this 'encyclopedic' aspect of the *Tabula* see M. Schuol, 'Imaginationen: Die *Tabula Peutingeriana*', in W. Crom and S. Jacobs (eds.), *Weltenwandel: Die Karte. Perspektiven, Projektionen* (Frankfurt am Main 2018), 246–258, esp. 255.

18 See G. Traina, 'Mapping the world under Theodosius II', in C. Kelly (ed.), *Theodosius II. Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 2013), 155–171.

3 Maps and Their 'Internal' Semantics

Our ancient sources concerning maps strongly suggest that the TP, too, was not meant for practical use but rather for educational and, above all, propagandistic purposes. Obviously, the smaller the practical use of ancient maps, the more essential was their symbolic meaning, the message they conveyed and the way they 'told' the world to their beholders. So Jacob is right in stating that ancient maps have an underlying "retorica d'una forma", based on a semantics in which their political, philosophical or religious messages were encoded. Maps follow the rules of discourse, as they convert geographic texts into a pictorial representation.¹⁹ Thus map-making may be regarded as a kind of translation, transforming verbal geographical descriptions into dots and lines.²⁰ Its semiotic system consists of certain formulas for describing the world, such as the shape of the oikumene, the continents, the coastlines, and of a repertoire of geometric and metaphoric patterns for describing countries and islands (*e.g.*, Sardinia formed as a footprint), of pictographs for mountain ranges, woodlands or different towns and cities,²¹ many of which are also known from other kinds of topographic depictions, for instance, on coins, mosaics, wall paintings, reliefs and book illustrations like in the *Corpus agrimensorum* and the *Notitia Dignitatum*. So a map resembles a text, based on a sign system similar to a language, in which the single elements, *e.g.*, pictograms and toponyms, are analogical to words, and their arrangement in relation to each other resembles a grammar. It might be not a coincidence that some of the most renowned cartographers in the ancient world, Krates of Mallos, Dikaiarchos and Eratosthenes, have been philologists as well.

4 A Frontier City: Mainz and Its Surroundings on the Tabula Peutingeriana

These short preliminary considerations might help to understand the puzzling way landscape is represented in the TP, starting from the example of the border city of Moguntiacum, before discussing the physical-geographic features in this map in general.

19 C. Jacob, 'Carte greche', in F. Prontera (ed.), *Geografia e geografi nel mondo antico* (Rome and Bari 1983), 47–68, here 52.

20 Jacob 1983, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 60.

21 Jacob 1983, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 53.



FIGURE 20.2 Mainz/Mogontiacum, Germany. The copyright to the images of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in this contribution is held by the DFG-project “Kommentar zur Tabula Peutingeriana/Commentary on the Tabula Peutingeriana” of S. Diederich and M. Rathmann

Mogontiacum (Fig. 20.2, segment 2A2 *Mogontiaco*, here in the separative ablative) is one of the oldest Roman settlements in *Germania*, situated at the river Rhine, which is tilted by approx. 45° in order to fit its full length into the heavily compressed format of the map.

On the right of *Mogontiaco*, there is Bononica (perhaps modern Nierstein?), then follows Borbetomagus (Worms), on the left Binguum (Bingen) and Vosavia (Oberwesel), all with distance figures between them, like generally throughout the TP. Mogontiacum is one station on a long route following the Rhine course, brimming with a chain of settlements, nearly all of them on the left bank (fig. 20.3), making the river appear as a hallmark of civilization and the lifeline of the region.

Mogontiacum is distinguished by a double tower vignette, like Trier (2A1 Augusta Tresvirovum) and Cologne (2A1 Agripina), highlighting, perhaps, its function as the governor’s residence of the Provincia Germania Superior from the reign of Domitianus (81–96 CE). After the middle of the third century, however, Mogontiacum turned back to his former status as a frontier stronghold. Abandoned under Iulianus (361–363 CE) or Valentinianus (364–375 CE), it was conquered in 368 und 406 CE. Here on the TP, however, it is represented

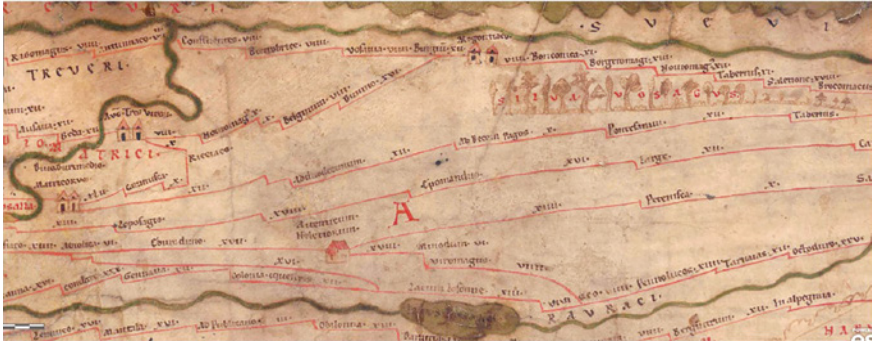


FIGURE 20.3 River Rhine with settlements
COPYRIGHT SEE FIG. 20.2

as in its heydays before the middle of the third century, but at the same time it is already a front-line outpost like after 360 CE and before its destruction in 368. The propagandistic message in Theodosian times (435 CE): Moguntiacum is still standing.

Above Moguntiacum, beyond the river Rhine, there is only a narrow strip of land left, peopled with savage tribes before the icy ocean begins, the life-hostile northern end the world.

The river Main (Moenus), of little use for transport, is missing. But on the right below Moguntiacum one is surprised to find the *Silva Vosagus* (2A2/3), the late antique name for the French mountain range of Vosges. It is depicted as a chain of tree symbols based on the zigzag line that in the TP is the marker for mountainous areas. The Vosges are, of course, misplaced here; they are supposed to be further down and left (they actually lie sw. of Mainz).²² But the map maker obviously considered such woodlands to be a characteristic of *Germania* since no other mountain forests of this kind are recorded on the Tabula, except the German Black Forest (2A5/6 *Silva Marciana*). So, according to the semantics of this map, and ancient geographic thought in general, the Vosagus fits in perfectly here. They underline the map's message, which represents the Rhine and its settlements as an outpost of civilization between savage tribes and deep wilderness.²³

22 Oddly, they are depicted a second time in 2A1 as the unnamed brown mountain symbol, from which the Fluvius Musalla (Mosella, today the river Mosel) springs.

23 The trees that symbolize these woodlands do not seem to represent indigenous fauna, see K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Vienna 1916), 143. They resemble the trees of paradise in some of the early medieval Kosmas-Indikopleustes-maps and some illustrations in the *Corpus agrimensorum*.

5 Some Observations on the Function of Landscape Features in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*

Looking at Mainz, we have already observed some characteristics in the representation on landscape on the TP: Elements of physical geography, such as mountains and rivers, as well as seas and lakes are often not placed where they should be expected, even taking into account the map's elongated and squatted format. That raises the question whether those misplaced landscape features serve merely for decoration, as many scholars suppose, or whether they have a semiotic function.²⁴

6 Seas and Coastlines

Strabo 2.5.17 highlights the importance of physical-geographical features for giving contour to the earth, above all the sea:

The sea more than anything is a geographer and modeler of the land by carefully outlining the gulfs, open waters, straits, and likewise isthmuses, peninsulas, and promontories; but both the rivers and the mountains assist the sea herein. It is through such natural features that we gain a clear conception of continents, nations, favorable positions of cities, and all the other ornaments with which our geographical map is filled.²⁵

And indeed, in the TP the seas both surround the whole oikumene and delineate its inner structure. But conceptualizing a land map, not a sea map, the map maker has shrunk even the vast world-encompassing *oceanos* to almost a non-entity (fig. 20.1). The perilous Mediterranean Sea, too, has been reduced

24 On the landscape features in the TP see K. Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt die Peutingersche Tafel* (Ravensburg 1887), 86–89; W. Kubitschek, 'Karten', *RE* 10.2 (1919), 2022–2149, here 2132–2135; P. Barrière, 'Lignes de terre et lignes d'eau d'après la Table de Peutinger', *REA* 45 (1943), 91–105; L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana. Una descrizione pittoresca del mondo antico* (Rimini 1983), 25–79; P. Arnaud, *La cartographie à Rome* (Paris 1990), 563–580; R.J.A. Talbert, *Rome's World. The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge 2010), 102–108.

25 Translation by H.L. Jones, with modifications: Πλείστον δ' ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν κόλπους ἀπεργαζομένη καὶ πελάγη καὶ πορθμούς, ὁμοίως δὲ ἰσθμούς καὶ χερρονήσους καὶ ἄκρας· προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταύτη καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἤπειροί τε καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεων θέσεις εὐφυῶς ἐνενοήθησαν καὶ τᾶλλα ποικίλματα, ὅσων μεστός ἐστιν ὁ χωρογραφικὸς πίναξ.



FIGURE 20.4A Northern ocean

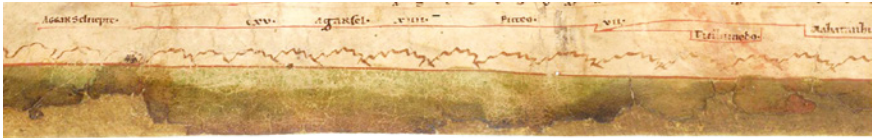


FIGURE 20.4B Northern ocean

to a reassuringly harmless thin slip, controlled by seaports and inhabited islands. Of course, reducing the size of the water bodies is an inevitable result of the map's squatted format – or could it be that this format has actually been chosen because it creates this impression?

The coastline, different from what we would expect after reading Strabo, is symbolized only by a stylized wave pattern, which rarely provides an even approximately realistic depiction of bays and promontories. Namely the northern ocean, which occupies the entire upper rim of the map, is highly simplified into a horizontal wave line (fig. 20.4). That might have been done because every map viewer believed to know anyway what was beyond the northern fringe of the oikumene: Nothing but frozen sea,²⁶ way too cold for human beings to exist.

The southern margin of the map is a different case. In the south of Africa, a mountain range pictogram runs from Segment 1 to the start of 9, and from there onwards to the Red Sea, which leads to the Indian Ocean.²⁷ What lays beyond those wide African mountains, nobody could know for sure, since the scattered reports concerning this *terra incognita* were widely regarded as little trustworthy. So it seemed safest to follow the authority of the renown Stoic philosopher and Homer philologist Krates of Mallos, who taught that along the

26 E.g., Plu. *Thes.* 1.1; Crates *frag.* 34a, ed. H.J. Mette, *Sphairopoia: Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des Krates von Pergamon* (Munich 1936) = Geminus, *Isagoge* 15–16; Cic. *rep.* 6.21; *Macr. Somn.* 2.5.17.

27 See Talbert 2010, *op. cit.* (n. 24), 88.



FIGURE 20.5 Macrobius Map, BL Harley 2772, fol. 70 v.; reprint concession given to DFG-project “Kommentar zur Tabula Peutingeriana/Commentary on the Tabula Peutingeriana” of S. Diederich and M. Rathmann

equator stretched the torrent zone, scorching everyone who dared to cross it.²⁸ In spite of better information by Hanno, Eratosthenes, Strabo²⁹ and other sources, this theory was still enormously influential in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (fig. 20.5). That might account for the map maker’s decision to draw a barrier of mountain symbols here to mark the limits of human access.

28 Crates (*frag.* 34a, ed. Mette op. cit. [n. 26]) = Geminus, *Isagoge* 15–16; cf. Cic. *rep.* 6,21; Macr. *Sonn.* 2,5,17.

29 Geminus, *Isagoge* 16.33.

7 Deserts

Deserts, too, are markers for the limits of civilization in ancient maps.³⁰ On the TP, we read in the far east: *campi deserti et inhabitabiles propter aquae inopiam* (10B2), where probably the Mesopotamian desert is meant, but misplaced here. There are similar entries for the Persian (11B1) and the Arabian deserts (10C3) in the deepest south, and the legend *Solitudines Sarmatarum* in the farthest north (today: Banat, Romania), above the river Danube (5A5–6A1). These kind of entries are well-known from medieval maps, and they were evidently frequent in antique ones, too, for Plutarchos, *Theseus* 1.1 ridicules them as a common ruse of mapmakers to mask their ignorance about these regions.

At the limits of the world we also find a corresponding pair of salt lakes, far in the north (near modern Burukschun) and deep in the south (Sebkha Tauorgha) in Libya.³¹ (fig. 20.6).

8 Frontier Sanctuaries

In Roman thought, borders are precarious places. They separate the familiar ‘within’ from the uncanny ‘without’. Thus, they even have their own god: Terminus. Some limits, however, are adamantly fixed for mankind by the Divine Powers, where trespassing would be hubris. So on the TP we read: (fig. 20.7) 11A3 *Ara Alexandri* and 11B4/5 *Hic Alexander responsum accepit: usque quo, Alexander* (“At this place Alexander received the prophecy: How far, Alexander?”), alluding to a popular legend, which belonged to the standard repertoire of the Alexander histories and novels (Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ἐσχάτη, close to modern Khujand, Tajikistan). These frontier sanctuaries have their own special pictograms. But in the TP, the Roman roads both above and beneath the Alexander altars reach beyond those hallmarks of human conquest, right up to the Okeanos in the farthest East, till the end of the world. The message is clear: On Roman roads it is safe to boldly go where no one has gone before, not even Alexander the Great, the explorer par excellence. What the divine powers denied Alexander they bestowed on the Roman Empire. So Eumenius could

30 Prop. 4.3.39; Plu. *Thes.* 1.1; Eum. *Paneg.* 9.21; *Anydros* Iulius Honorius, *Sphaera* *frag.* A 13 p. 32 *Geographi Latina Minores* (ed. Riese).

31 8A4 *lacus salinarum* ... “Saltpan lake. Here salt is self-generating”. Its southern counterpart lays in 6C4 *Saline immense que cum luna crescunt et decrescunt* “huge salt flats, which rise and fall with the moon”.

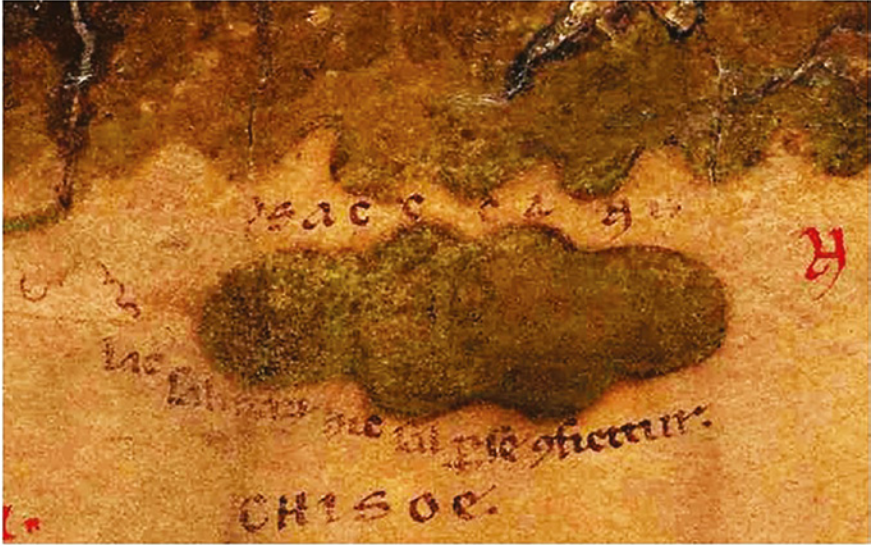


FIGURE 20.6A Salt lake at the northern border of the world



FIGURE 20.6B Salt lake in Libya in south

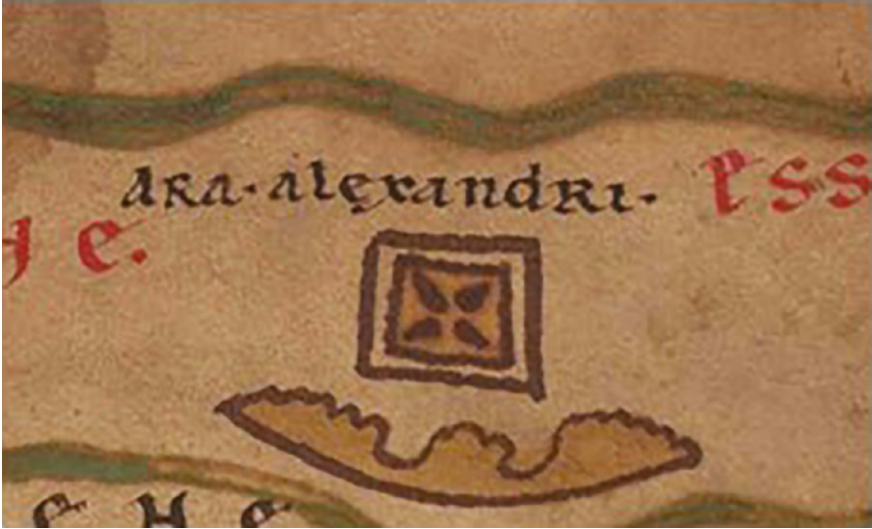


FIGURE 20.7A Alexander's prophecy, part 1



FIGURE 20.7B Alexander's prophecy, part 1



FIGURE 20.7C Alexander's prophecy, part 3

write in in his above-mentioned Panegyricus (*Paneg.* 9,21) *Nunc enim, nunc demum iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum* ("For now, now at last, we take pleasure in beholding a world map, since we see nothing anymore in it that is alien to us"), and the eulogist of the Theodosius map addressed his pious emperor as a genius, *totus quem vix capit orbis* ("whom the whole world cannot comprehend"). This is Rome's legitimate birthright: an *imperium sine fine*, an Empire without limits.³²

32 The only two explicit mentions of the Roman frontiers are in TP 10C2 *Are(a)e fines romanorum*, written in a desert in the middle of nowhere where no sensible person would like to be and *Fines exercitus syriatic(a)e et conuertium Barbaror(um)* at the southern end of the world. For the historical background see E. Weber, 'Areae fines Romanorum', in R. Bollinger and B. Truschnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante* (Stuttgart 2006), 219–227.

9 Rivers and Mountain Ranges as Border Markers

Rivers in general have significance as natural boundaries according to Strabo (15.1.26), and even more so in the TP, where no actual boundary lines are drawn between peoples, countries or provinces. Yet the position of rivers in the TP is in most cases far from being exact,³³ and frequently even their names are missing, although some of them are supposed to be inferred from the names of homonymous travelling posts at their crossings, such as 5B5 *Ponte Avfidi* or 8A2 *Adherbas Fl(umen)*.³⁴ In these cases, rivers, like mountains, are foremost seen as obstacles to be overcome by means of road stations. This apparent nonchalance in drawing rivers does not seem to be unusual for an antique map, as even the one Vitruvius (8.2.6) used obviously contained substantial errors.

Nevertheless, rivers in the TP are not drawn at random. As Ilyushechkina³⁵ and Schuol³⁶ have stated, they often have a semantic function. Parallelisms and symmetries appear between the Rhine in the far north and Nile in the south of the inhabited world, which both are depicted to spring from a lake. Of even greater importance in ancient and medieval geographic thought are Tanais (Don) and Nile because they divide the *oikumene* in its three continents, Asia, Europe, and Africa. Both spring from a mountain symbol, the Nile originating from *Lacus Nusaptis* (perhaps today Tana, source of the Blue Nile) surrounded by a mountain chain. Their analogy is underlined by similar legends: (7A5) *Flum̄ Tanais qui diuidit asiam et europam* and (8C1): *Fl(uuius) Nilus qui diuidit asiam et libiam* (fig. 20.8). A further parallel between these two distant regions is phrased explicitly in 7C5 *Hij montes subiacent paludi simili meotidi per quem nilus transit* (“These mountains skirt a marsh, similar to the Maeotis/Sea of Assov, through which the Nile flows.”) Here, the map maker combines the Nile with a swamp, just like its northern counterpart, the Tanais.

Of the mountain ranges drawn on the Tabula, only 23 out of 138 are labeled, two of them, *Mons Oliveti* (9C1) and *Mons Syna/Sinai* (8C4), are Christian

33 See Bosio 1983, op. cit. (n. 24), 55.

34 L. Bosio and G. Rosada, ‘La fonte nella fonte. L’Italia fisica nella descrizione della Tabula Peutingeriana’, in F. Nicolis and R. Oberosler (eds.), *Archeologia delle Alpi. Studi in onore di Gianni Ciurletti* (Trento 2018), 325–336.

35 See https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-8594?utm_source=hskhtml&utm_medium=email&utm_term=2020-1&utm_campaign=htmldigest&utm_source=hskhtml&utm_medium=email&utm_term=2020-1&utm_campaign=htmldigestand (last accessed on March 26, 2021. An article is forthcoming in the periodical *Orbis Terrarum*).

36 M. Schuol, ‘Indien und die großen Flüsse auf der Tabula Peutingeriana’, *Orbis Terrarum* 14 (2016), 92–154.

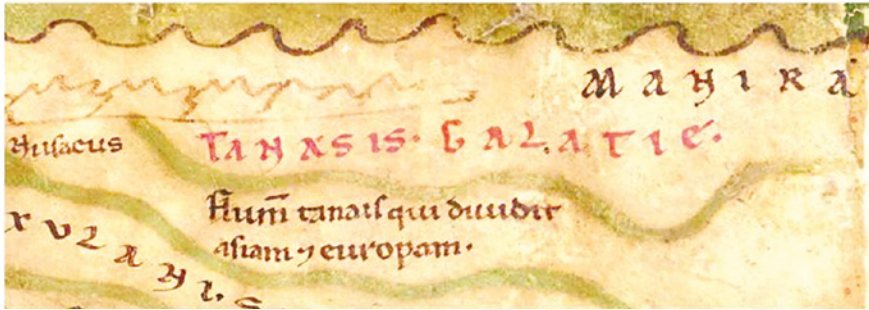


FIGURE 20.8A River Tanais divides Asia and Europe



FIGURE 20.8B River Nile divides Asia and Libya

additions. Many scholars felt that the mountain symbols had been drawn with little care, since their representation in the TP is indeed strongly stylized and unified: Regardless to their true shape, they are reduced to ragged stretches, as it is typical for late antique and medieval maps,³⁷ with variations in form and color for merely decorative purposes.³⁸ The longest of them, *Mons Taurus* (9B1–11B3), is labeled twice, towards its end with the inscription *MONS IMEVS* (11B3–11B5).³⁹ In a long horizontal line (probably an echo of Eratosthenes)

37 For examples see Arnaud 1990, op. cit. (n. 24), 573–574.

38 See Bosio 1983, op. cit. (n. 24), 47–48; Talbert 2010, op. cit. (n. 24), 106–107.

39 See A.V. Podossinov, 'Osteuropa auf der Tabula Peutingeriana. Einige Beobachtungen zu der kartographischen Technik und der geographischen Nomenklatur', *Orbis Terrarum* 17 (2019), 185–240.



FIGURE 20.9 Elephants living near the mountains

it separates the right quarter of the map horizontally in two parts, like the Alps-Apenine-range on the left side divides Italy (2B2–6B2).

The prevailing semantic function of mountain symbols in the TP is the visualization of blockages and barriers, signaled right by the quasi-perspectival shape of their designs, which suggest three-dimensionality.⁴⁰ This might be one reason why they are scarcely named themselves, but more often hinted at in the names of route stops at mountain passes labeled, for instance, *In alpe maritima*, *In alpe iulia* or *In summo pyreneo*, which features them, too, as natural impediments that must be – and can be – overcome.

Sometimes, mountain ranges are eerie places at the rim of the oikumene, infested by strange beasts like elephants (fig. 20.9) “dog-heads” (baboons, 8C5), or scorpions (11C3). The Christian addition *Mons Syna* (8C4/5) is a different case: in Christian thought mountains can be perceived as meeting points between heaven and earth, where revelations might happen: *Hic legem acceperunt i(n) monte Syna* (“Here on Mt. Sinai they received the law”).

A river springing from a mountain-symbol sometimes represents boundary lines. A good example is the river Arsia (*Fluvius Arsia* 4A1), today Raša, in Istria (fig. 20.10). In the TP, the river Arsia is drawn as a left-hand continuation of an unnamed, strongly stylized brown mountain chain symbol, today Čićarija. Together, mountain range and river form a borderline between Istria peninsula and the mainland. In fact, though, the Arsia flows right through Istria from north to south parallel to its eastern coast. How can this deviation be explained? The Arsia was, indeed, the border river between Istria and Liburnia.

40 Bosio 1983, op. cit. (n. 24), 47.



FIGURE 20.10A River Arsia

Moreover, between 18 and 12 BCE, during Augustus' expansion of the *regio decima* to Istria, the Arsia was established as the eastern frontier of Italia. So the mapmaker obviously confounded the physical outlines of Istria peninsula with its political borders, or – he consciously made them coincide, so that this administrative division looks much more like a natural one.

Another example is the river Acheloos (6B4 *Acilovm Fl.*), which springs from Mount Lakmon in the Pindos mountain range. During the Imperial period, the Acheloos separated the provinces Epirus and Achaea (Ptol. 3.13f). In the TP, the (unnamed) Mount Pindos has been extremely elongated to form, together with Acheloos river, a neatly fitting 'natural' borderline. Similar examples are the rivers Drilo (6A1/2), Hippius (5A3), Savus (3A5–5A4), Haliacmon (6B5), Strymon (7B1/2) and many more.

10 Ornamental and Playful Features

In the text passage quoted above (2.5.17), Strabo describes landscape in terms of a painting designed by personified landscape elements like seas, rivers and mountains, which, along with cities, are characterized as 'ornaments' (*ποικίλματα*). In the TP playful embellishments abound, for instance, the Triton's horn (7C4 *f lacus Tritonum*) (fig. 20.11) and the Nile Delta (8C3/4) (fig. 20.12), with sanctuaries inserted like gems between the river branches, or the falciform bay in 7B/C1, shaped in correspondence with the African Syrtis on its right (7C1/2). The islands and archipelagoes, too, are placed neatly in

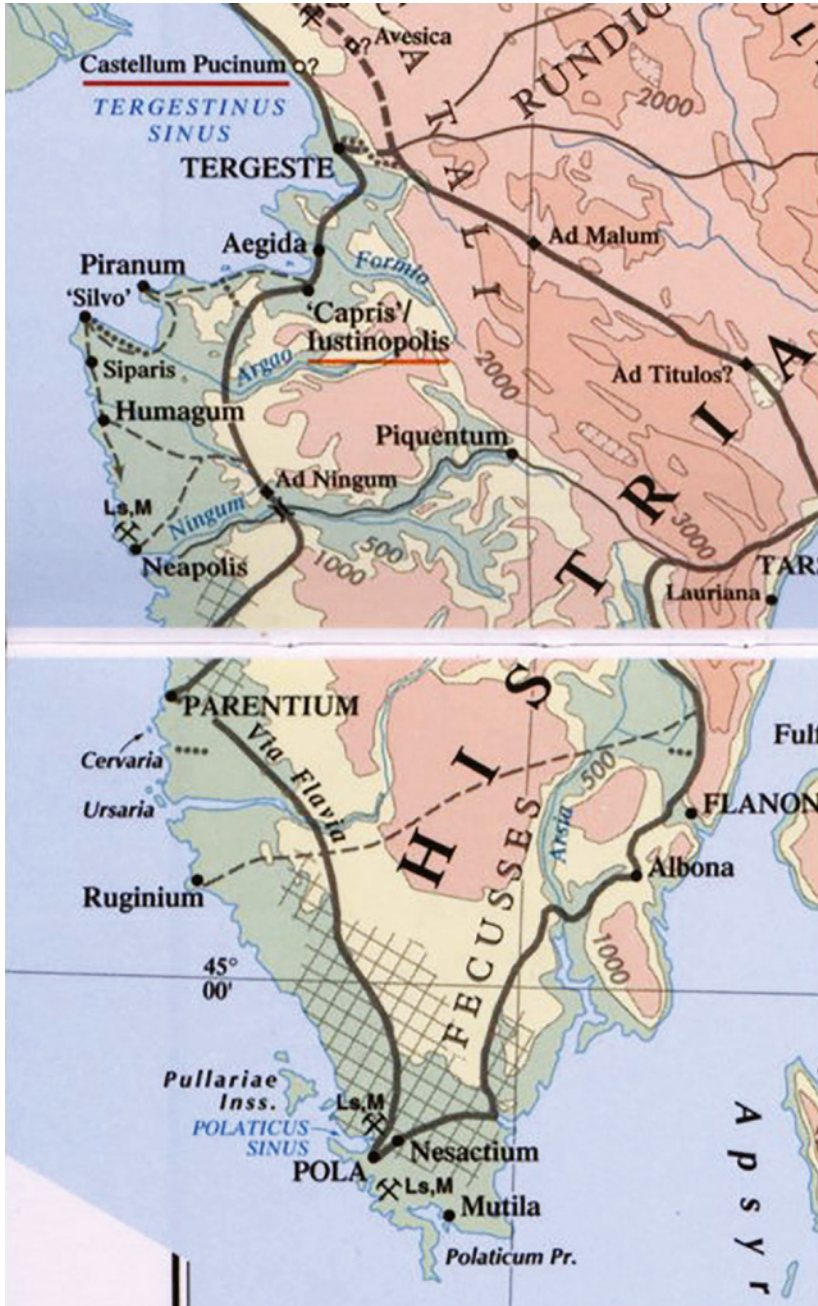


FIGURE 20.10B The River Arsia, in: R.J.A. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton et al. 2000, Map 20; concession was given to DFG-project "Kommentar zur Tabula Peutingeriana/Commentary on the Tabula Peutingeriana" of S. Diederich and M. Rathmann

equal distances like pearls on a chain, with little regard to their natural shape and position.⁴¹ This dissolution of landscape into the ornamental reminds us that the world is a *kosmos*, a *mundus* in the double sense of the word.



FIGURE 20.11 Triton's horn



FIGURE 20.12 Nile delta

⁴¹ Cf. Apul. *mund.* 1.

11 Roads

Roads, being crucial for organizing imperial space, have, accordingly, a prominent place in the TP. Lined out in flashy red, they span the whole *oikumene* from one end to the other, mounted with roughly 3500 road stations with distance figures between them.

This prompted scholars to jump to the conclusion that the TP was meant as a travelling map, an *iterarium pictum*. Recent research, however, has confuted this hypothesis, since micro analyses have evinced that those roads did indeed exist, but not all at the same time. Thus, the elaborate route system outlaid in the TP purports an idealized and anachronistic completeness, which in this form never existed.⁴² Even from this fact alone it is obvious that the map could not have been used as an itinerary, the more so as it is not even always clear whether the measuring unites applied were miles, *stadia*, *leugae* or parasangs.

Nevertheless, all those thousands and thousands of itemized road miles convey a message: of how the world has been diligently measured out by the Roman rulers. As Neopythagorean numerology and number mysticism had deeply influenced ancient thought, both pagan and Christian, this numeration of the world may have had an almost mystical ring, for, according to this wide-spread believe system, numbers are the principle of all things existing, the quintessence of cosmic order. Accordingly, assigning numbers to places means homologizing the uncanny, shapeless wilderness of landscape with this cosmical order.

12 The Axis of Civilization: Roma – Constantinopolis – Antiochia

In the TP, Rome is not placed in the center (even if more than one segment on the left should be missing, which is unlikely).⁴³ Rather, there seems to be a

42 This was one of the results of the conference on the TP in Vienna in September 2019 *Die Tabula Peutingeriana: Aktuelle Forschungsansätze und neue Ergebnisse*. For a conference report see https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-8594?utm_source=hshtml&utm_medium=email&utm_term=2020-1&utm_campaign=htmldigest&utm_source=hshtml&utm_medium=email&utm_term=2020-1&utm_campaign=htmldigestand (last accessed on March 26, 2021. Articles are forthcoming in the periodical *Orbis Terrarum*).

43 Perhaps the missing left sheet was not entirely covered by the western end of map, as Talbert 2010, op. cit. (n. 24), 88 takes into consideration, as there might have been some combination of caption, list, and dedication.

balance between *Roma* (4B5) and *Constantinopolis* (8A/B), both adorned with magnificent vignettes of about the same size, *Roma* positioned slightly below the middle, *Constantinopolis* above, although it actually lies further south than Rome (fig. 20.13). *Constantinopolis*, forming an ensemble with 8A1 Sykas/Sykai and other harbor cities on both sides of a strongly inflated Bosphorus and Golden Horn,⁴⁴ is represented as dominating the sea as Rome dominates the roads.⁴⁵ This balance between the western and the eastern part of the Empire is underlined by the layout of the land bodies: the strongly prolonged Thracia is shaped at its right end (8A1/B1) like the heel of the bootlike Italy in 6A/B1–6A/B2. The hose-shaped Thracia itself has a prolongation in the east of the Bosphorus in a likewise elongate Asia Minor between the squeezed Black and Mediterranean Seas (fig. 20.1), converging with the Island of Cyprus (beginning in 9B/C2) right to the conspicuously decorated Antiochia with a vignette as large and splendid as Rome's and Constantinople's, figuring as the gateway to the east.⁴⁶ Underneath these landmasses, we find four large islands/penisulas of similar size and shape: Sicilia beneath southern Italy (beginning in 5C5), the Peloponnesos under Macedonia (beginning in 6B/C4), *Insula Cretica* (Kreta) beneath Thracia and Asia (beginning in 7B4), and Cyprus. In the horizontal tripartition of the world by the seas, the heartlands of the eastern and the western empire lie, not surprisingly, in the middle.

13 Conclusion: The Empire's Landscape in the TP

Having worked out some of the internal semantics of the Tabula and its 'grammar', we are able to 'read' its narrative of an 'imperial' landscape: In this map, the whole oikumene, from west to the farthest east, appears as an all-accessible, well organized space under the beneficial care of Roman rulers.⁴⁷ It is domesticated and civilized by an elaborate, nota bene, idealized road net and thousands of villages, towns and cities, except for those areas, which are

44 Nearly all parts of the sea are strongly narrowed in the TP, except the Bosphorus, which "is made broader than necessary, and thereby emphasized", Talbert 2010, op. cit. (n. 24), 89.

45 For literature see <https://tp-online.ku.de/trefferanzeige.php?id=1178> (last accessed on March 26, 2021).

46 Residence of Constantius II, Julian, Jovian und Valens, enlarged ca. 438 CE by Theodosius II, see G. Brands, *Antiochia in der Spätantike: Prolegomena zu einer archäologischen Stadtgeschichte* (Berlin 2016), 30–31 (see <https://tp-online.ku.de/trefferanzeige.php?id=1491>, last accessed on March 26, 2021).

47 See Talbert 2010, op. cit. (n. 24), passim who dates the map under the reign of Diocletian.



FIGURE 20.13A Roma

absolutely not worth to be visited. Even forbidding deserts and swamps at the fringes of the world have at least the decency to show a taste for symmetry. As opposed to Agrippa's map, the TP does not display provincial boundary lines. But the mapmaker often hints at them by placing river-mountain systems, modified in their shape for the purpose of making them coincide with administrative borders, as to make them appear completely natural. This implies that Roman rule follows the natural order of things, to the degree that imperial borders seem to merely be the realization of a pattern originally



FIGURE 20.13B Constantinople

inscribed into landscape by Nature herself in her wise foresight, as if landscape was created to answer the needs of imperial organization.

The outlay of the landmasses realizes the bipartite unity of Western and Eastern Rome (just like the contemporary *Notitia Dignitatum*), balancing the greater length of the western part with two large vignettes in the east and a slightly higher position of Constantinopolis. Following the reading direction from left to right as suggested by the map's scroll format, it leads the eye from Rome to Constantinople, visualizing how the center of power shifted from west to east (although Italy, motherland of the empire, remains important). The shapes of landmasses, seas and mountains underline this process as if it all was intended by nature.



FIGURE 20.13C Antioch



FIGURE 20.13D Rome, Constantinople, Antioch

To sum up my hypothesis: The message of the Tabula Peutingeriana is not so much about submitting nature under Roman rule, but it rather tells the story of a Roman Empire ruling the landscapes of the oikumene in concordance with the divine cosmic order.

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