

Impact of Empire

6

Impact of Empire

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VOLUME 6

The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC – AD 476)

Economic, Social, Political, Religious
and Cultural Aspects

Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop
of the International Network
Impact of Empire
(Roman Empire, 200 B.C. – A.D. 476)
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Edited by

Lukas de Blois & Elio Lo Cascio

With the Aid of

Olivier Hekster & Gerda de Kleijn



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PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the sixth workshop of the international network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 BC–AD 476), which, under the chairmanship of Lukas de Blois (until June 2006), Olivier Hekster (from June 2006), and Gerda de Kleijn (all three from the Radboud University of Nijmegen), brings together ancient historians, archaeologists, classicists and specialists on Roman law from some 28 European and North American universities. The proceedings of the first five workshops, held at Leiden, June 28–July 1, 2000, Nottingham, July 4–7, 2001, Rome, March 20–23, 2002, Leiden, June 25–28, 2003, and Münster, June 30–July 4, 2004, have been published in this series as *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2001), *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2002), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2003), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2004), and *The Impact of Imperial Rome on Religions, Ritual and Religious Life in the Roman Empire* (Brill, Leiden/Boston 2006). J.C. Gieben, who previously published the proceedings, died in April 2006, and his company has now been taken over by Brill. The sixth workshop, on the impact of the Roman army, was held on the Isle of Capri, March 29–April 2, 2005. A series of further workshops has been planned by the Academic Board of the network, in a meeting held at Nijmegen, on June 22, 2006, during the seventh workshop of the network (June 20–24, 2006). From this date onwards the network has a management team that also operates as the editorial board of a series Impact of Empire, which will be published by Brill. The series will contain proceedings of workshops, other edited volumes and monographs (including high-quality dissertations), in English or—if necessary—in another language which is in current use in the field of classics, ancient history, archaeology and Roman law.

The sixth workshop of the network was funded by the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO), the Research School of Classics in The Netherlands (OIKOS), the Radboud University of Nijmegen, the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, the Università

Federico II, Naples, and its Dipartimento di Discipline Storiche ‘Ettore Lepore.’

Lukas de Blois (from the Radboud University of Nijmegen), Elio Lo Cascio and Dina Storchi Marino (both from the University Federico II of Naples) acted as organizers for the workshop and wish to thank the staff of the Naples Chair of Ancient History, the Centro dei Congressi on the Isle of Capri, and the Nijmegen Chair of Ancient History as well as the British colleagues who kindly corrected the English of some of the contributions in this volume. The sessions of the workshop were chaired by Anthony Birley, Lukas de Blois, Hannah Cotton, Vincenzo Giuffrè, Elio Lo Cascio, Paolo Malanima, Giovanni Salmeri, and Tullio Spagnuolo Vigorita.

Lukas de Blois and Elio Lo Cascio edited this volume, with the aid of Olivier Hekster and Gerda de Kleijn.

The editors,
Nijmegen/Rome, December 2006

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Acts | Acts of the Apostles |
| AE | Année épigraphique, eds. R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> (Paris 1889–) |
| AJ | Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaearum</i> |
| AMUGS | Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine (Berlin 1969–) |
| ANRW | Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, W. Haase & H. Temporini, eds. (Berlin/New York 1972–) |
| AntJ | Antiquaries Journal |
| BGU | Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden |
| BJ | Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i> |
| BMC | Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, eds. H. Mattingly <i>et al.</i> (revised edition, London 1976) |
| BSNAF | Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France |
| CAH | Cambridge Ancient History |
| Ch.LA | Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, eds. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal (Olten 1954–) |
| CIIP | Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae |
| CIL | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum |
| CJ | Codex Iustinianus |
| Comm. in Es. | Jerome, Commentary on Isaiah |
| CTh | Codex Theodosianus |
| Dig. or D. | Digesta |
| DNP | Der Neue Pauly (Stuttgart 1996–2003) |
| FIRA | Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusiniani, S. Riccobono <i>et al.</i> (1940–1943, 2nd ed. 1968) |
| IG | Inscriptiones Graecae |
| IGR(R) | Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes, eds. R. Cagnat, <i>et al.</i> |
| ILLRP | Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, ed. A. Degrassi (2nd ed. Florence 1972) |
| ILS | Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau (Berlin 1892–1916) |
| Inscr. Ital. | Inscriptiones Italiae |
| JRA | Journal of Roman Archaeology |
| JRS | Journal of Roman Studies |
| JThS | Journal of Theological Studies |
| MH | Museum Helveticum |
| Mish. Ked. | Mishnah Kedoshim |
| O. Bu Njem | Ostraca de Bu Njem |

| | |
|------------------|--|
| OGIS | Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1903–1905, repr. Hildesheim 1960 and 1970) |
| P. Dura | The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report V 1, The Parchments and Papyri, ed. C. Bradford-Welles <i>et al.</i> (1959) |
| P. Fay. | Fayum Towns and their Papyri, eds. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt and D.G. Hogarth (London 1900) |
| P. Oxy. | The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, eds. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt <i>et al.</i> (London 1898–) |
| P. Yadin | The Documents from the Bar-Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri, eds. N. Lewis <i>et al.</i> (Jerusalem 1989) |
| PIR ² | Prosopographia Imperii Romani (2nd ed., Berlin 1933–) |
| PSAS | Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland |
| PSI | Papiri Greci e Latini. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto (Florence 1912–) |
| RGA | Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde (Berlin 1911–) |
| RE or PWRE or PW | Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft |
| RIB | The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, eds. R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright (Oxford 1965; repr. With addenda by R.S.O. Tomlin, Gloucester and Stroud 1990–1995) |
| RMD | Roman Military Diplomas I–III, ed. M. Roxan and P.A. Holder (London 2005–2006) |
| SEG | Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, eds. J.J.E. Hondius <i>et al.</i> (Leiden 1923–) |
| (S)HA | Scriptores Historiae Augustae = Historia Augusta |
| Sylloge | Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. W. Dittenberger (4th ed., Hildesheim 1960) |
| ZPE | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik |

For other abbreviations see J. Marouzeau, *L'année philologique*.

INTRODUCTION

LUKAS DE BLOIS

To many inhabitants of the Roman Empire the army was undoubtedly the most visible and concrete representation of imperial power. Roman troops were the embodiment of imperial control. Military installations and buildings, the imperial guard, other troops, fleets, and militarily tinged works of art brought home the majesty of Rome to anybody who saw them, in Rome itself as well as in other parts of the Empire. To anyone who may not yet have understood the possible impact of Roman military forces this was also made clear by explicit messages. In an inscription from Aphrodisias from the early days of Octavian we read:¹

Imperator Caesar, son of divus Julius, designated consul for the second and the third time, (one) of the Tresviri Reipublicae Constituendae, to the magistrates, council and people of the Plarasians and Aphrodisians, greetings. If you are well it would be good; I too am in good health, together with the army.

With Roman armies came administrators, taxes and requisitions in cash and kind, traders, permanently residing veterans and military personnel, useful relations between local notables and Roman military cadre, and chances of upward social mobility for Italian and provincial *curiales* via Roman armed forces. Roman armies and fleets gave provincials an opportunity to enlist, have a career and rise to functions in the imperial administration. During a long period of service they became thoroughly acquainted with Roman ways.

Roman soldiers and officers spread foreign cults to many parts of the Empire. Just one example: at Woerden, at the Dutch part of the

¹ See J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome. Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias* (London 1982), 41–44, document 6: [? Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ] | [? θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱός,] | [ὑπάτος ἀποδεδει]- | γμένος τὸ β' καὶ [τὸ γ',] τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς | τῶν δημοσίων πρα- | γμάτων διατάξεως, | Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἄφρο- | δεισιέων ἀρχουσιν, | βουλῆι, δήμωι χαίρειν | εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔ| χοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ | αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ στρα- | τεύματος.

Roman border, the Syrian sun-god Elagabalus was venerated by some military men.²

Legions and *auxilia* needed food, goods, services and transportation, and their demands could have a profound impact on regional economies within the Empire, particularly in thinly populated areas that did not have developed monetized market-oriented economies. Soldiers received their pay in bronze or silver money, which they changed for small coins to pay for anything they bought from workshops or at regional and local markets.³ Roman military units also needed weapons, other equipment, building materials, pottery and other goods that could only be produced by specialized craftsmen and so brought new skills and economic activities to the regions where Roman troops were stationed. Military detachments that were on the move needed transportation. The *angareia* (requisitioning of means of transport) became a heavy burden to many towns and villages in military provinces and their direct hinterlands, particularly to those communities that were situated along military transit routes.

Already in republican times the impact of warfare, recruitment and military forces was heavy. There are important discussions going on in modern scholarship about the demographic consequences of Roman warfare in Italy and Rome, and about cultural, economic and demographic effects of Roman expansion in regions that were conquered by Roman armies.

Right from the start of the Principate the impact of the Roman forces was quite strong in the provinces where Augustus had stationed most of the legions and *auxilia*: along Rhine and Danube and in Northern Syria, the Balkans, near Alexandria in Egypt, in Northwestern Spain, and in Numidia.⁴ More so than any other part of the Empire the military border provinces along the Rhine and Danube frontiers underwent important changes as a consequence of the presence of Roman military forces, particularly after Augustus had stationed legions and *auxilia* in *castra stativa* along the Rhine and the Danube. An equally important process of change and adaptation started in Britain after the Romans

² See J.E. Bogaers, 'Sol Elagabalus und die Cohors III Breucorum in Woerden (Germania inferior),' *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 74 (1994), 153–161.

³ See for example F. Kemmers, *Coins for a Legion: an Analysis of the Coin Finds of the Augustan Legionary Fortress and Flavian canabae legionis at Nijmegen* (Nijmegen 2005), 133–137.

⁴ See Tacitus, *Annals* 4.5–7.

had conquered the island in the first century AD and had left there three legions and quite a few auxiliaries. In the East the situation was different. Provinces such as Syria and—from Trajan's times—Arabia harboured ancient cities and villages, and had long-standing infrastructures, which Roman army detachments could use. Most Romans in these parts of the Empire were stationed at or near strategically situated cities.

There was also a noticeable military presence in and near the city of Rome, and in other parts of Italy: the praetorian guard, Germanic bodyguards, urban cohorts, *vigiles*, and the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna, which—together with the praetorians—constituted the central military reserve that could be sent to any part of the Empire. This central reserve became even more important under Septimius Severus, who added his new *legio II Parthica*.

At the end of the Principate, during the third century AD, Roman forces and Roman imperial administration underwent important changes. There is no doubt that the third century AD was a period of rising tensions, and from about 250 even crisis, in the Roman Empire.⁵ Under the emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180), whose reign was characterised by epidemics and warfare against invading tribes from the North and the Parthians in the East, prosperity seemed to have come to an end, although this period of problems and tensions was followed by a few decades of recovery, which lasted until about AD 230. From AD 230, and even more so from about AD 250, the Empire got into serious trouble again. In the East an aggressive, dangerous opponent, the new, well-organised Persian kingdom of the Sassanids, had taken the place of the less well-organised, less aggressive Parthian empire. From 230 to 266 the Romans and their allies fought one Persian war after the other. In the North previously small Germanic tribes had combined into large conglomerates such as Franks, Alamans, Marcomans and Goths, who had learnt much from Roman warfare and had become dangerous, able opponents, who repeatedly invaded Roman territory, more intensively so from about 238 in the Balkans and from 253 on the Rhine frontier.

⁵ On the third century crisis in the Roman empire see for example D.S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay* (London/New York 2004), 3–298; L. de Blois, 'The Crisis of the Third Century AD in the Roman Empire: A Modern Myth?', in L. de Blois and J. Rich, *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Second Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire, Nottingham, July 4–7, 2001* (Amsterdam 2002), 204–217; id., 'The Onset of Crisis in the First Half of the Third Century AD in the Roman Empire', in K.P. Johnes *et al.*, eds., *Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit* (Berlin 2006).

Epidemics returned with devastating force from about 250.⁶ After the death of the last emperor of the Severan house, which had reigned the empire with some success from 193 to 235, there was no longer a generally accepted strong dynasty, so that civil wars between rivalling armies who all wanted to give the imperial throne to their own generals—if only to lay hands on the returns of the imperial estate—were a constant threat. External and internal warfare brought devastation, death and impoverishment to many regions and put a heavy strain on the hinterlands of the war-zones. As a consequence, the imperial administration had to augment its military forces, to diversify and improve military strategy and tactics, and to expand its bureaucratic apparatus in order to raise the necessary extra funds, in many regions from a shrunken and impoverished population.

Part 1 of this volume contains four contributions that focus on Republican topics. Luuk de Ligt writes about Roman manpower resources and the proletarianization of the Roman armies in the second century BC. Nathan Rosenstein asks himself whether Augustan peace was all that advantageous to small farmers in Italy who now lost an outlet for surplus labour and a hazardous, but profitable source of income. Tony Ñaco del Hoyo concentrates on the nature and impact of Roman war efforts in Spain (218–197 BC). Paul Erdkamp analyses how Polybius and Livy describe the functions and roles of Latins and Italian *socii* in Roman warfare from about the later third century BC. It seems that some long-established ideas about second century BC Roman history and demography are to be revised.

Part 2, entitled ‘The Emperor and his Forces, General Issues’, comprises contributions by Olivier Hekster, on the Emperor as a military leader; Armin Eich, about increasing financial problems caused by military expenditure under the Principate; Vincenzo Giuffrè, on some not frequently discussed juridical aspects of military life; Ségolène Demougin, about some new epigraphical findings concerning equestrian officers; Jasper Oorthuijs, on marines and mariners in Roman imperial fleets, and Hans Michael Schellenberg, on Onasandros’ *Strategikos*.

⁶ On the effects of the Antonine plague, see R.P. Duncan-Jones, ‘The Impact of the Antonine Plague’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 (1996), 108–136. On the plague of about AD 250–280 see E. Lo Cascio, ‘La dissoluzione dell’ impero Romano d’ Occidente: la spiegazione demografica’, in G. Cacciatore, *et al.*, eds., *Filosofia e storia della cultura. Studi in onore di Fulvio Tessitore* (Naples 1997), 168ff. and J.-M. Carrié & A. Rousselle, *L’empire romain en mutation des Sévères à Constantin, 192–337* (Paris 1999), 521ff.

The economic impact of the Roman imperial army is treated in part 3. The first paper, by Elio Lo Cascio, goes into the debate about the mechanisms through which the Roman imperial armies were supplied: were they provided with food and goods by a redistribution of the proceeds of taxes, or was army supply largely based on market mechanisms? Subsequently Karl Strobel shows how consequential the long-continued presence of Roman forces at the Rhine and Danube borders has been: it changed Central European landscape and transport structures for good and created cities which are important still now today. Pierre Cosme's article analyses the impact of the provisioning of Roman soldiers with weapons and other equipment. He tries to establish what the effects were on manufacturing, iron-working and environment. The Romans provided their armies in a rather opportunistic way, depending on private workshops where possible, and on forgeries within the military camps where that was necessary. Military technology is not forgotten. In an elaborate paper Salvatore Martino treats the impact of military technology on civil society. In the last article of this section, on irregular levies and the impact of the Roman imperial army in Egypt, Colin Adams discusses the Chester Beatty papyri from Panopolis in Middle Egypt, which preserve quintessential evidence for military requisitioning and pay, taxation, liturgical service, the dynamics of power between state officials and local administrators, and overall economic effects.

Parts 4 and 5 of this volume offer more regional studies. Part 4, on the impact of the Roman imperial armies on Italy and the West, contains papers by Koenraad Verboven ('Good for Business. The Roman Army and the Emergence of a "Business Class" in the Northwestern Provinces of the Roman Empire, 1st century BCE–3rd century CE'); Alexandra Busch ('*Militia in urbe*. The Military Presence in Rome'); Salvatore Ortisi ('Roman Military in the Vesuvius Area'), Anthony Birley ('The Frontier Zone in Britain: Hadrian to Caracalla'), and Gabriele Weiler ('Römisches Militär und die Gründung niedergermanischer Städte').

In part 5, on the impact of the Roman imperial army in the Eastern and African provinces of the Empire, the reader will find articles by Hannah Cotton, on the impact of the Roman army in the province of Judaea/Syria Palaestina; Ariel Lewin, who—concentrating on the same region—treats the impact of the Late Roman army in the Roman provinces of Palaestina and Arabia; Jonathan Roth, who writes on perceptions and realities in the relationship between Jews and the Roman Army; Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, about the consequences of Roman

rule and military presence in Northern Syria, and Oliver Stoll, who focuses upon transfer of cultic practices and representation at Bostra, the place to which the *legio III Cyrenaica* was transferred from Egypt by the emperor Trajan. In the last article included in this part of the volume Arbia Hilali discusses the many-sided impact of the presence of the *legio III Augusta* in Northern Africa.

The last part of the volume, part 6, contains four papers on third century AD Roman history, particularly on the impact of warfare, military logistics, increasing burdens, and the growing social and administrative importance of military men, the so-called militarization of the Empire. The articles that are published in this section come on top of some important recently published works, such as *Cambridge Ancient History XII. The Crisis of the Empire*, edited by Alan Bowman, Peter Garnsey and Averil Cameron (Cambridge 2005), Peter Eich's *Zur Metamorphose des politischen Systems in der römischen Kaiserzeit: die Entstehung einer 'personalen' Bürokratie im langen dritten Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2005), and Klaus-Peter Johne, Thomas Gerhardt and Udo Hartmann, eds., *Deleto paene imperio. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 2006). The third century crisis has become a frequently discussed topic. In his paper Lukas de Blois analyses the military contribution to the onset of crisis in the first half of the third century. Peter Eich endeavours to put the 'militarization' of the Empire in the third century into perspective. The relative importance of the military may be analyzed on the basis of images, as Jon Coulston shows in his paper on the depiction of soldiers on funerary monuments of the 3rd Century AD. Finally, Fernando López Sánchez—in an article called '*Virtus Probi: Payments for the Battle Cavalry during the Rule of Probus (AD 277–278)*'—brings forward a rather original point of view about the emperor Probus and his elite troops.