TWO NOTES ON ROMAN GERMANY

Denis Saddington
University of the Witwatersrand

1. Drusus and Bonn

During his Gallic wars Caesar had to resort to naval warfare on several occasions. He also crossed the Rhine twice (BG 4.16-17; 6.9). Although the Ubians, then on the east bank, offered him ships to transport his army across the river, he declined, deciding to construct a bridge for the purpose, not only for greater safety, but also for prestige.

Much was made of the role of the fleet when Drusus the Elder (PIR² C 857) was placed in charge of operations east of the Rhine some 40 years later. As Augustus said (RG 26), classis mea, 'my fleet', reached the land of the Cimbrians (i.e. Jutland). But at this stage there was no permanent Roman fleet in northern waters, such as the later Classis Germanica. The ships used during wars in the north were built for the occasion: they belonged to what may be called 'invasion fleets'.

The second-century historian, Florus, describes Drusus' actions in the area briefly. He is a highly stylized author, given to elaborate antitheses and parallels. At this point in his narrative the crossing of challenging fluvial barriers seems to be the centre of his interest. He has just described the crossing of the frozen Danube under Augustus (2.28 [4.12] 18) before recalling (from 1.45 [3.10] 14) Caesar's bridging of the Rhine. He then turns to Drusus' naval activity and bridge-building in the Rhine (? at Bonn). Unfortunately the text is corrupt at this point (2.30 [4.12] 26-28). In the Teubner edition of O. Rosbach (1896) it reads as follows:

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* It is indeed an honour and a pleasure to contribute to a volume dedicated to Professor Atkinson. I should like to thank various colleagues who made helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.


in Rheni quidem ripam I. amplius castella direct. Bormam et Georiatricum pontibus iuxta classibusque firmavit. ... Hercynium saltum patriæcit.

Bonam C caesoria cum B genosiam cum I.

Little difficulty has been found in identifying the BORMAM of the Codex Bambergensis (B) and the BONAM of C with Bonna, the Roman military site now known as Bonn.

The Georiatricum of the Teubner text is an emendation of the MS Caesoria cum and Genosiam cum (apparently both so separated). Georiatricum is one of the names of Boulogne on the Channel, also known as Bononia. Pliny the Elder (NH 4.106) speaks of a pagus Georiatricus in Morinian territory: one MS, however, reads Cersiacus. This reading is supported by the existence of a Roman auxiliary regiment called the Coh. I Morinorum et Cersiacorum, but it still remains unclear whether the pagus can be identified with Boulogne. Certainly the form is closer to the reading of B in Florus.

Georiatricus has proved a popular emendation because of the importance of Boulogne as a base for the Classis Britannica. W. Hartke, for example, suggested that Tiberius intended to use the 'channel port' there, which he says was built by Drusus, as one of his bases for his invasion of Germany in AD 4-5. But the evidence for the presence of Tiberius in Boulogne is the address on a letter he sent from there to the community of the Aezani (Çavdarhisar) in Asia Minor, and Drusus' involvement is based on the emendation under discussion. Strategically, a base so far north and west would seem unlikely for Drusus' thrust from the Rhine to the Elbe.

In fact, it has always seemed improbable to understand pontibus in Florus to mean that Drusus joined Bonn all the way to Boulogne by a sort of corduroy causeway, like the pontes longi which Tiberius built in the marshy areas of Germany on the left bank of the Rhine.

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3 Known from a single inscription from Italy recording the career of one of its prefects, AE 1972, 148, discussed by A. Donati, Epigraphica 33 (1971) 70-74.
5 ILS 9463 (lamb Bεροβίας τῆς ἐν Γαλλία), in the decade after AD 4.
6 Tac. Ann. 1.63.3.
In an illuminating analysis of the passage under discussion, A. Rösger and W. Will\(^7\) have shown that the 'Hercynian Forest' in Florus included the area east of the Rhine from Xanten to Mainz. They accepted *Bormam/Bonam* as Bonn, and suggested that the second site must be another of the 50 *castella* which Florus says Drusus built along the Rhine (on the west bank). They further suggested that Drusus built two bridges from the left to the right bank of the Rhine and protected them with fleets.

However, K. Neuhäusen\(^8\) has proposed reading *Glaesaria* for the *Caesoria* of B. This is the amber island off the north coast described by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4.97). But although Drusus did operate in the North Sea, the distance from Bonn is enormous and *Glaesaria* is not palaeographically close to the reading of B.

As noted above, the immediate context in Florus seems to be one of river crossings. The solution may lie in a name in Tacitus. He says (*Ann.* 1.50) that in AD 15 Germanicus cut a way through the forest and extended the roadway begun by Tiberius (in AD 5?): *siluam Caesiam li mi ti umque a Tiberio coeqtum scindit.* The word *limis* here does not bear its later sense of 'frontier', but has the early meaning of 'military road'.\(^9\) As Goodyear\(^10\) has pointed out, although the wording of the sentence is 'exceptionally difficult', *scindere* can mean 'cut', 'open up', or 'make'. The passage could mean that Germanicus opened up the forest and recommissioned or re-opened (and perhaps extended) a military road (leading to the interior), which Tiberius had first made. At various stages in their operations across the Rhine Drusus, Tiberius and Germanicus had had to clear routes through the forest. The *silua Caesia* is otherwise unknown.\(^11\) But there is the Celto-Germanic name of *Caesorix*, a Cimbrian king who was killed in the battle of *Vercellae* (Vercelli) in 101 BC (*Oros.* 5.16.20; *RE* 3.1319) and *-iacum*\(^12\) is a common termination in Gallo-German place names, as in *Moguntiacum*. It may have been that there was a place *Caesoria* opposite Bonn in the part

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\(^{9}\) B. Isaac, "The meaning of the terms *limis* and *limitiones*, *JRS* 78 (1988) 126.


\(^{12}\) A. Holker, *Alteutscher Sprachschatz* (Leipzig 1896, repr. Graz 1961) s.v. (*Caesaria* as a woman's name appears in Britain [*RIB* 375]).
of the Hercynian forest (mentioned by Florus). Drusus may have linked it and Bonn by a bridge (in successive years, to account for the plural pontibus) and protected the bridgeheads with squadrons of ships.

2. Unusual distinctions for an auxiliary at Mainz

A tombstone of an auxiliary at Mainz (Moguntiacum) has aroused interest on account of the unparalleled distinction he was awarded. It reads as follows:

Antiochus/Antiochi f./Parthus/Anaz/Arabaeus/eques/ala Parthorum/et
Araborum exo/catus/triplicarius/stip.X donis donatus Belisippus/frater
postit.

(Æ 1976, 495 – BRGK 58 [1977] 9)

Antiochus was an exocatus (RE 6.1145), a discharged soldier recalled to the colours, a very rare position in the auxilia. Normally an auxiliary served for a minimum of 25 years (stipendia) before discharge; it is not clear whether Antiochus' ‘10 stipends’ refer (as BRGK takes it) to his service after his re-enlistment, i.e. that they were stipendia exocati, or that they refer to his complete service. A more typical career which may be cited, is that of another auxiliary in the same regiment (Æ 1959, 188 – BRGK 40 [1959] 169). He was Mans Casiti f. (the names are Eastern) and served for 30 stipendia: Unfortunately he does not state his orio.

Antiochus received triple pay. This is unique: soldiers on pay-and-half (sesquiplicarii) or double pay (duplicarii) are common enough, but there appears to be no other case of a triplicarius.

Finally, he received military decorations. Yet it has been clearly established that, unlike legionaries, auxiliares did not receive the dona militaria (RE 5.1528).

Can a context for this be found? Antiochus was a Parthian from Anaarbus in Cilicia (Anaarza Kalesi in Turkey). Not therefore a descendant of a Parthian hostage in Rome, as presumably the officer from the city in an Ala Parthorum recorded in an inscription from Dalmatia (ILS 2532). It is not clear when Antio-

\footnote{For the expression, cf. ILS 2143. But it should be noted that the soldier in that inscription also recorded his previous ordinary service, his stipendia militaria. He also belonged to the Praetorian Guard: from an early date in the Principate exocati seem to have been confined to the urban forces.}


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chus or his forebears settled in Cilicia: it has been suggested\(^\text{15}\) that he may have been part of the entourage of Vonones (\textit{PIR} \(^1\) V 670), a Parthian pretender who was allowed to settle in Cilicia under Tiberius (\textit{Tac. Ann.} 2.58). That his unit contained Arabs as well as Parthians is also of interest: there were equally few Arabian regiments in the Roman army. But there may have been a geographical explanation: there was a group of Arabs settled between Mesopotamia and Syria (round Tektek Dag in Turkey).\(^\text{16}\)

Why should such a unit have been sent to Upper Germany? The explanation probably lies in the expedition there of Gaius Caligula in 39. He prepared special forces for what was to be a great triumph. He is also known for his elevation of client kings at his court. But only Parthia could be regarded as the equivalent of Rome: all other states were inferior. He had taken credit for an act of submission by the Parthian king Artabanus (\textit{PIR} \(^2\) A 1155) and displayed a Parthian prince, Darius (\textit{PIR} \(^2\) D 10 + add.) during his triumphal progress across the bridge which he had built at Baiae (Baia) in the Gulf of Naples (\textit{Suet. Cal.} 19). It may be suggested that the \textit{Ala Parthorum et Araborum} was intended to have a distinctive place in the army on the Rhine, which he had vigorously set about reforming.

Furthermore, while in Germany, Gaius created a new military decoration, the \textit{corona exploratoria} (\textit{Suet. Cal.} 45). It may well be that it was in this context that he awarded Antiochus his unique distinctions.

The peculiar features of the career of Antiochus can perhaps be explained by actions of Gaius on the Rhine.

\(^{15}\) D.I. Kennedy, 'Parthian regiments in the Roman army', \textit{Limes} 11 (1977) 528.

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