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News and Frontier Consciousness in the Late Roman Empire

Graham, Mark W.

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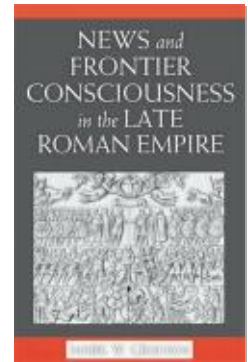
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Notes



INTRODUCTION

1. *De Civ. D.* 4.29, 5.21; see also 4.23. For the narrative of events leading up to the loss of Nisibis, see most recently Potter, *Roman Empire*, 467–522.

2. Hadrian's concessions, interestingly, were “forgotten” by Ammianus Marcellinus, the foremost historian of the later Roman Empire and a contemporary of St. Augustine. See *Amm. Marc.* 25.9.9.

3. *De Civ. D.* 4.29.

4. Very few events in imperial Roman history provoked such responses. See *Amm. Marc.* 25.8–9; Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 7.31; Eutropius 10.7; Festus 29; Socrates Scholasticus 3.22; Gregory Nazianzus, *or.* 5.8–13; Libanius, *or.* 19.49, 23.278, 24.9; Malalas 13; *Artemii Passio* 69–70; *Cedrenus I*, pp. 538, 16–23, 539, 16–21; *Chronicon ad A.D. 724 (Liber Calipharam)*, CSCO 6, p. 133; *Chronicon Ps.-Dionysianum*, CSCO 91, pp. 179, 23–180, 8; Ephrem Syrus, *Hymni contra Julianum* 2:15–22, 27, vol. 3; CSCO 174, pp. 78, 23–82, 14; CSCO 83, 11–85, 8; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 43; Jerome, *Chronicon s. aa.* 363–64; John Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla contra Julianum et Gentiles XXII*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), 569–70; Ps. Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 7; Zonaras 13.1–14.6. For a brief study, see R. Turcan, “Abandon.”

5. Zosimus, 3.32; Agathias, *Historiarum Libri Quinque* 4.25.6–7: μέχρι καὶ νῦν τῆ Ῥωμαίων λυμαινέσθαι πολιτεία, περιστέλλον ἑστά ὀπίσω καινοῖς ὄριοις καὶ ὑποτεμνόμενος τῆς οικείας ἀρχῆς τὸ περαιτέρω ἐκβαίνον.

6. Lee, in his work on late Roman foreign relations, defines “background knowledge” as “long-term stocks of information (and assumptions) about the geography, environment, and socio-political character of neighboring states and peoples” (*Information*, 2).

7. On images of frontiers and imperial strategy held by Romans of the Principate, see S. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

8. Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, 28. The idea is reflected from Isaac, *Limits*.

9. See Frezouls, "Fluctuations."
10. Previous studies that compare North Africa and the East include Chapot, *Frontière*; Rushworth, "North African Deserts"; Shaw, *Rulers*, 19.
11. There is much debate here. For the view that the Roman Empire should be viewed as a cultural unity, see Ando, *Imperial Ideology*; G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For the other side of the debate, see Mattingly, *Dialogues*.
12. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, xiii.
13. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 272.
14. Brown, *World of Late Antiquity*, 13.
15. Some historians of Late Antiquity begin it as early as the second century, some extend it into the eighth century, and some consider it only the fifth and sixth centuries. See the introduction to Clover and Humphreys, *Tradition*.
16. See Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 122.

CHAPTER I

1. Wells traces Roman frontier studies back to the sixteenth century in "Profuit Invitis," 436.
2. For a complete listing of *Limeskongress* publications, published at various places, see Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 320–21. Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity volumes to date are Ellis and Kidner, *Travel, Communication, and Geography*; Burns and Eadie, *Urban Centers*; Mathisen and Sivan, *Shifting*. See also Rousselle, *Frontières*.
3. Works on Ammianus include Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus*; Austin, *Ammianus on Warfare*; T. D. Barnes, "Ammianus Marcellinus and His World," *Classical Philology* 88 (1993): 55–70; Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus*; B. Croke and A. M. Emmett, eds., *History and Historians in Late Antiquity* (Sydney: Pergamon, 1983); J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*; Rike, *Apex Omnium*; Drijvers and Hunt, *Late Roman World*.
4. See Sack, *Conceptions*, 95; D. Gregory and D. Urry, *Social Relations and Spatial Structures* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), 3.
5. Lee, *Information*.
6. See Shaw's critique of Fentress, *Numidia*, in "Soldiers and Society: The Army in Numidia," in Shaw, *Rulers*, 133–59.
7. M. Kearney, "Worldview," in *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, ed. D. Levinson and M. Ember (New York: Holt, 1996), 4:1381. See also H. Lefevre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).
8. Millar, "Emperors."
9. Nicolet, *Space*, esp. 2.
10. Nicolet, *Space*, 3.
11. See D. Braund, "Coping"; D. Braund, "Caucasian Frontier."
12. Whittaker, *Frontiers*.
13. Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, 32.
14. *Ibid.*, 28.
15. Isaac, *Limits*. See also Isaac, "Eusebius."
16. See discussion of Luttwak, who popularized the Grand Strategy idea, later in this chapter.
17. Mann, "Power," a critique of Luttwak's Grand Strategy.

18. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*.
19. Febvre, *Terre*, proposed that rather than serving as natural frontiers, rivers in fact link groups together for common activities such as trade and communication.
20. See Hitchner, “Image and Reality”; Alföldi, “Moral Barrier”; Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 11.
21. See Kennedy and Riley, *Rome’s Desert Frontier*; Riley “Archaeological Air Photography.” See Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 105, for a presentation that employs modern methods while not ignoring ancient ideology and value systems.
22. Wells, *German Policy*; Isaac, *Limits*, 410–13; Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 27, 61; Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 110.
23. Nicasic, *Twilight of Empire*, 121–25; D. Braund “River Frontiers.”
24. “River Frontiers,” in Kennedy, *Roman Army*, 43–47.
25. *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
26. See the contrasting conclusions, for example, in Millar, “Emperors,” and Lee, *Information*. Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, aligns with Millar.
27. A crucial exception is Achard, *Communication*.
28. Initial positive reviews include P. A. Brunt, “Power and the Pax Romana,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 February 1978, 154–55; G. D. P. Jones, “Concept and Development.”
29. Mann, “Power.”
30. Millar, “Emperors,” 1, 2.
31. Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*.
32. Ellis and Kidner, *Travel, Communication, and Geography*. Publishing constraints have prevented me from giving this work the consideration it deserves.
33. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*.
34. Summarized by A. Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, A.D. 284–430* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 128. Cameron acknowledges, somewhat tongue in cheek, the danger of Late Antiquity being seen as the abode only of “wild monks and excitable virgins.”
35. Mathisen and Sivan, *Shifting*, 2. They refer in this instance to a similar critique made by Isaac in “Meaning.”
36. See Rousselle, *Frontières*; Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 8; D. Braund, “River Frontiers.”
37. E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 3.
38. Stephens, *History of News*, 9.
39. See McQuail, *Media Performance*; McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory*; McLuhan, *Understanding Media*.
40. See, for example, the use of such models for the ancient Greek world in Lewis, *News*. Lewis criticizes modern writing on ancient news, which tends to be preoccupied “with the military, and the consequent overvaluing of certain visible institutions” (6). See also Lee, *Information*; Mendels, *Media Revolution*.
41. Lewis, *News*, 2, 5.
42. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 122. Cf. Augustine’s description of the surrender of Nisibis as “almost in living memory.” *De Civ. D.* 4.29.
43. Kearney, “Worldview,” 4:1380–84.
44. Bourdieu, *Outline*, 80, 83.
45. See Naugle, *Worldview*, for the best recent exploration of the concept.

46. See Dilthey, *Introduction*, 28–29.

47. See Kearney, *World View*; and Kearney's helpful overview at "Worldview," 4:1380–84.

48. For previous application of this concept to Late Antique studies, see Enßlin, *Zur Geschichtschreibung*, 83–96. Ridley, "Zosimus," uses the concept as a way of analyzing the thought world of Zosimus, a late-fifth-century historian. D. Braund, "River Frontiers," has argued that in frontier studies it is helpful to look at psychology and worldview. E. Jeffreys proposes the concept as a way to study a sixth-century world chronicle in E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, and R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, preface.

49. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 195, referencing Kopytoff, *African Frontier*, 13. For an anthropological analysis, see Geertz, "Ethos."

50. Mattern recently supplies an answer for the Principate in terms of the "image of Rome," an image of force it was eager to wield far and wide (*Rome and the Enemy*, 108).

51. Bourdieu, *Outline*, 167.

52. Ober analyzes the emergence of a "democratic political culture" in Greece by combining the *Annales* vision of mentality of ordinary people and literary theory, which views texts as "symbol systems that must be understood in relationship to their receptors" (*Mass and Elite*, xiv). His approach, which presents community as assuming a "minimal level of shared values," is not perfectly applicable to the Roman Empire, but it is instructive here in that it suggests a reading of shared meaning even in highly rhetorical texts.

53. D. Braund, "River Frontiers," 43–47.

54. Cameron, "Remaking the Past," 4.

55. References to the Euphrates as a frontier or boundary include Genesis 15:18, Deuteronomy 11:24, II Samuel 8:3, I Chronicles 5:9. See chap. 3.

56. Popular belief, such as in portents and divination often associated with prophecy, was on the rise across the board in the later Roman Empire. Chapter 6 explores this phenomenon and the connection it had to frontiers. My guides for the historical use of prophecy write on other contexts. Chief among them are Niccoli, *Prophecy*; Lerner, *Powers*; P. J. Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*; and a much-neglected older work, Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*.

CHAPTER 2

1. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 12–18, provides a helpful introduction to cosmology for the Republic and early Empire. For a useful definition of *cosmology*, see Martin, *Hellenistic Religions*, 13. See also Sambursky, *Physical World*, chap. 6, "The Unity of Heaven and Earth."

2. Nicolet, *Space*, 189. See also Kong, "Geography and Religion." Kong analyzes the overlap between geography and religion, briefly addressing ancient cosmology and assessing trends in geographical study that have tended to ignore or highlight "religious geography" or "the geography of religion." She writes that "among other questions that merit attention, there is certainly a need to try and understand the processes through which specific environmental objects . . . are invested with meaning of a religious kind" (367).

3. On the sacralization and desacralization of space in Late Antiquity, comparing pagan and Christian processes, see B. Caseau, “Sacred Landscapes,” in *LA*, 21–59.

4. Kearney, *World View*, 92.

5. See Beagon, *Roman Nature*, 53; Pliny, *Natural History* 7.1; Gospel of St. John 1:10, 3:17, 7:7, 12:13, 14:17, 22, 15:18, 19, 17:4, 21.

6. Beagon, *Roman Nature*, 189, in reference to Pliny, *Natural History* 27.2–5.

7. Ptolemy’s is the formal expression of changes in thought long preceding him. See Martin, *Hellenistic Religions*.

8. On the centrality of the Ptolemaic cosmology to the Hellenistic world, see M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1961–67), 2:702–11; E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (New York: Norton, 1970); Martin, *Hellenistic Religion*. Among commonly cited New Testament examples is Colossians 1:17, where St. Paul presents Christ in terminology powerfully reminiscent of the Ptolemaic cosmic system. Christian thought was neither cosmologically innovative nor highbrow—such references point to a wide and popular diffusion of the Ptolemaic cosmology.

9. Isidore, *Etymologies* 3.30.1. Isidore, *Etymologies* 13.5.2, presents the *sphaero caelo* as a globe surrounding the seven planets, with earth at its center. For further analysis of the cosmological thought of Isidore, see Brandt, *Shape*, 2–11. On the classical background of the idea of Ocean surrounding Earth, see Romm, *Edges*. See Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, chap. 2, “The Image of the World,” for more discussion of early Imperial thinking about these matters.

10. For depictions of the sphere on coins and statuary, see Nicolet, *Space*, figs. 5–10, 12. In the later Empire, visual and verbal sources associate emperors with the sphere. Numerous coins depict emperors (Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Maximian) holding onto or associated with a globe. See MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 128–29, 166, 174, 177. Maguire, *Earth*, also notes the connection of the globe with imperial power and universal dominion on coinage and elsewhere. See also Grabar, *Empereur*, 204, for a discussion of the globe-shaped throne of Christ and its relation to imperial imagery in the apse mosaic at San Vitale. For analysis of the connection between the temporal and celestial realms as pictured by spheres, see Bakhouché, “Limites.”

11. Amm. Marc. 21.14.1.

12. Procopius, *De Aedificiis* 1.10.16–19, quoted in MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*. See also chap. 6.

13. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 166, 174. For further discussion of the connection of the globe to imperial power on coinage, see Maguire, *Earth*, 64.

14. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 128–29. For a description of the mosaic, see Grabar, *Empereur*, 204; see also Maguire, *Earth*, 78.

15. Potter, *Prophets*, 97.

16. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, ed. E. O. Winstedt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 12:345.

17. Julian, or 4.132C (Loeb trans., throughout); Amm. Marc. 25.9–10. See chap. 6 for a much more detailed analysis of this episode as it relates to Roman cosmology and divination.

18. Yet note the debate about Roman “map consciousness” laid out in Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 41, n. 61. I tend to side with Nicolet, *Space*, here in seeing the Romans as more sophisticated in their imagining of space.

19. R. M. Downs, "Geographic Space Perception: Past Approaches and Future Prospects," *Progress in Geography: International Reviews of Current Research* 2 (1970): 84–85 (with a visual of this process).

20. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 70–71, note on plate 22; see also plates 20–21.

21. See Sack, *Conceptions*, 95; D. Gregory and Urry, *Social Relations*, 3. Whittaker introduces these same divisions in *Frontiers*, 11–12. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 77, presents a moderate behaviorist view.

22. Isaac, "Eusebius," 153–54.

23. Roman traditions of geography have been well explored, especially for the early Empire. Nicolet, *Space*, is now the starting point, with some significant additions in Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*. Other works include Janni, *Mappa*, 58–65, 79–90, 147–58; Purcell, "Creation"; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 250–66; F. Cordano, *La Geografia degli Antichi* (Rome: Laterza, 1993); M. Sordi, ed., *Geografia e Storiografia nel Mondo Classico* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1988); Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*; Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*; Lee, *Information*, 81–90; Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 10–30. See also Isaac, "Eusebius," 153–54, 157; Dilke, "Culmination"; Nicolet, *Space*, 71.

24. See in particular Sherk, "Roman Geographical Exploration." See also Isaac, "Eusebius," 154; Lee, *Information*, 83–84; Whittaker, *Frontiers*, chap. 1, p. 63.

25. Libanius, *or.* 18.246 (Loeb trans., throughout). Libanius records that Julian also relied on captives to supplement his knowledge.

26. See Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 113–20, for descriptions of the *Tabula* and notes to current debates over the date and purpose of it. Some skepticism that there was a Roman original seems now to have been laid aside by the recent discovery of an important new map of Spain from the first century; see Gallazzi and Kramer, "Artemidor im Zeichensaal."

27. See Dilke, "Itineraries and Geographical Maps"; Dilke, "Maps in the Service of the State." Roman *itineraria* from the Christian period are collected in CC 175 along with other geographical works from the later Empire.

28. Nicolet, *Space*, 70–71, 125. He has been challenged here by Mattern, Bekker-Nielsen, Purcell, and Talbert. See Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 41.

29. Gallazzi and Kramer, "Artemidor im Zeichensaal."

30. Janni, *Mappa*, 62–64, translated and cited in Lee, *Information*, 87. See also Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 41; Isaac, "Eusebius," 157.

31. Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* 3.6, ed. C. Lang (Leipzig: Teubner, 1885). Trans. in Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 163–64.

32. See the detailed description of *Tabula Peutingeriana* in Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 39–40.

33. Pliny, *Natural History* 3.16–17 (Loeb trans., throughout). See Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 41–53, for a description of this particular map.

34. See Wolska-Conus, "Carte." The translation is from Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 169–70. For the Latin, see A. Riese, ed., *Geographi Latini Minores* (1878; Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964). See chap. 3 for more description of these maps in relation to natural frontiers.

35. *Panegyrici* N&R, 9.21.

36. Geography was not recognized as a discrete subject in Roman education but could be a valuable subsidiary to a variety of subjects such as geometry, astronomy,

and literature. For education in antiquity, see H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (New York: Mentor, 1956). For a brief discussion of ancient geographical handbooks, see Lee, *Information*, 82–85.

37. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 120–21. For further discussion of this map and illustrations of it, see F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos, 1922–1923* (Paris: Geuthner, 1926), 323–37, plates 109, 110; R. Uhden, “Bemerkungen zu dem Römischen Kartenfragment von Dura Europos,” *Hermes* 67 (1932): 117–25.

38. Gallazzi and Kramer, “Artemidor im Zeichensaal.”

39. D. Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, 32.

40. Isaac, “Luttwak’s ‘Grand Strategy,’” 233.

41. See D. Braund, “Caucasian Frontier,” 34, 39.

42. For the change in meaning in *limes*, see Isaac, “Meaning.” These examples use *limes* in a way unknown before the fourth century.

43. Malalas, *Chronicon* 139.30 (Jeffreys trans., throughout).

44. *Carus* 9.1: *hanc ego epistulam idcirco indidi quod plerique dicunt vim fati quandam esse, ut Romanus princeps Ctesiphontem transire non possit, ideoque Carum fulmine absumptum quod eos fines transgredi cuperet qui fataliter constituti sunt* (D&L 114).

45. Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 38.3; Festus, *Breviarium* 24; Eutropius 9.18.1; Jerome, *Chronicon s.a.* 284; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 38.1; Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* 7.24.4; Sidonius Appollinaris, *Carmina* 23.91–96; Jordanes, *Historia Romana* 294; Syncellus 472, all record outright that Carus was killed by lightning, although none of these mention the element of fate. Cedrenus I, p. 464, 6–9, records that he was killed by plague. Zonaras 12.30 records the lightning story but also adds that some accounts say that Carus was killed fighting the Huns.

46. Amm. Marc. 18.1.6.

47. Amm. Marc. 22.9.11.

48. Malalas, *Chronicon* 143, 231.

49. Alternately recorded in the sources as Eutheria, Aetheria, and Silvia, she is from either Spain or Gaul. See E. D. Hunt, “St. Silvia of Aquitaine: The Role of a Theodosian Pilgrim in the Society of East and West,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 23 (1972): 351–73; H. Sivan, “Who Was Egeria? Piety and Pilgrimage in the Age of Gratian,” *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988): 59–72; Natalucci, *Egeria*.

50. “The Letter in Praise of the Life of the Most Blessed Egeria Written to His Brethren Monks of the Bierzo by Valerius,” 1, in Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels*, 201.

51. See Romm, *Edges*, esp. chap. 1, “The Boundaries of the Earth.”

52. Orosius, *Historiae ad Paganos* 6.14 (*The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. R. J. Deferrari, Fathers of the Church ser., Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964).

53. “Letter of Valerius,” 1, in Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels*, 200. Valerius was a seventh-century Galician monk. On his life, see Maravel and M. Díáz y Díáz, *Égérie*.

54. *Egeria, Itinerarium Egeriae*, trans. J. Wilkinson. 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999). 19.5.

55. Diodorus Siculus 40.4.

56. For the early Empire, see in particular Dyson, *Creation*.

57. Appian, *Praefatio* 7.25–28 (Loeb trans., throughout).

58. The need for studying the peaceful periods has been hinted at in J. W. Eadie’s review of Lee, *Information*, in *American Historical Review* 100 (1995): 883–84.

59. See Panegyrici N&R, 34.

60. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, esp. 2, 268.

61. Panegyrici N&R, 10.7.2–4: *Quod autem maius euenire potuit illa tua in Germaniam transgressione, qua tu primus omnium, imperator, probasti Romani imperii nullum esse terminum nisi qui tuorum esset armorum? Atqui Rhenum antea uidebatur ipsa sic Natura duxisse, ut eo limite Romanae prouinciae ab immanitate barbariae uindicarentur. Ecquis umquam ante uos principes non gratulatus est Gallias illo amne muniri?*

62. Panegyrici N&R, 10.9.1: *uirtute Romanum limitem uictoria protulit; Panegyrici N&R, 7.14.1: te, iuuenis, indefessum ire per limites qua Romanum barbaris gentibus instat imperium; Panegyrici N&R, 8.1.4: <tot> prolati limites; Panegyrici N&R, 8.3.3: qui Romanae potentiae terminos uirtute protulerunt; Panegyrici N&R, 7.14.1: te, iuuenis, indefessum ire per limites qua Romanum barbaris gentibus instat imperium.*

63. Panegyrici N&R, 8.13.3: *Tu enim ipse, tu domine Maximiane, imperator aeternae, nouo itineris compendio aduentum diuinitatis tuae accelerare dignatus repente Rheno institisti, omnemque illum limitem non equestribus neque pedestribus copiis des praesentiae tuae terrore tutatus es; Panegyrici N&R, 9.18.4: Nam quid ego alarum et cohortium castra percenseam toto Rheno et Histri et Eufratae limite restituta; Panegyrici N&R, 12.2.6: Rhenum tu quidem toto limite dispositis exercitibus tutum reliqueras.*

64. Panegyrici N&R, 11.3.9: *non enim in otiosa aliqua deliciisque corrupta parte terrarum nati institutique estis, sed in his prouinciis quas ad infatigabilem consuetudinem laboris atque patientiae fracto licet oppositus hosti, armis tamen semper instructus limes exercet, in quibus omnis uita militia est, quarum etiam feminae ceterarum gentium uiris fortiores sunt.*

65. Panegyrici N&R, 4.4, 6.6.

66. Libanius, *or.* 17.32 (Loeb trans., throughout).

67. See Eadie, “Transformation.”

68. Panegyrici N&R, 8.11.5, 13.1.

69. Isaac, *Limits*, 395.

70. For the opposing view—that the Romans had a definite sense of the space they occupied and of space that was not theirs—see Nicolet, *Space*.

71. The example here is drawn from Isaac, *Limits*, 396, quoting Appian, *Praefatio* I. Cf. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 175.

72. See Nicolet, *Space*, 15, for discussion of the semantic links between power and territory.

73. See A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 59–61; W. T. Arnold, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration to the Accession of Constantine the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), 8–9.

74. See E. Albertini, *Les Divisions Administratives de l’Espagne Romaine* (Paris: Boccard, 1923); J. J. von Norstrand, “The Reorganization of Spain by Augustus,” *University of California Publications in History* 4:1 (1916); A. Tranoy, *La Galice Romaine: Recherches sur le Nord-Ouest de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l’Antiquité* (Paris: Boccard, 1981).

75. Libanius, *or.* 18.300.

76. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.1.9–12: *fore ut breui exercitum in Romanorum finibus sisteret* (D&L 270).

77. Libanius, *ep.* 334 (Loeb trans., throughout). See also Basil, *ep.* 1, for a reference to the road to Persia (*epi Persas*).

78. 20.12: *Illud etiam requisitum a sancto episcopo, ubinam esset locus ille Chaldeorum ubi habitauerant primo Thara cum suis. Tunc ait mihi ipse sanctus episcopus: “Locus ille,*

flia, quem requiris, decima mansione est hinc intus in Persida. Nam hinc usque ad Nisibin mansiones sunt quinque, et inde usque ad Hur, quae fuit ciuitas Chaldeorum, aliae mansines sunt quinque; sed modo ibi accessus Romanorum non est, totum enim illud Persae tenent. Haec autem pars specialiter orientalis appellatur, quae est in confinium Romanorum et Persarum vel Chaldeorum (trans. Wilkinson, *Itinerarium Egeriae*).

79. *Theodosianae Novellae* 24.1. Trans. in C. Pharr, *Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952).

80. Isaac, “Luttwak’s ‘Grand Strategy,’” 223; cf. Isaac, *Limits*.

81. Amm. Marc. 25.9.9.

82. *De Civ. D.* 4.29.

83. A similar procedure was followed with the surrender of Dacia under Aurelian. The inhabitants were moved to the other side of the river and a new Dacia, called Cis-Danubian Dacia, was founded.

84. *De Civ. D.* 4.29: *nisi placito pacis illic imperii fines constituerentur, ubi hodieque persistunt*; 5.21: *Romani imperii termini moverentur*. Zosimus 3.32 also mentions the loss of territory, specifically that which was established as the limits of empire, the Tigris and the Euphrates.

85. Agathias, *Historiarum* 4.25.6–7 (D&L 238).

86. Libanius, *or.* 18.205–7, 19.49.

87. Zonaras 12.19 (D&L 47).

88. See Watson, *Aurelian*.

89. Julian, *Satire on the Caesars* 392 (Loeb trans., throughout).

90. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 7.23.

91. See especially *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.1–2, 3.11.5.4, 6.6, 7.1, 4.8.3.

92. Zosimus 1.7, 2.34.

93. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum*, preface.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.21. For extended commentary on this passage, see the notes at *Panegyrici N&R*, pp. 145–50, 172–77.

2. *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.20.2.

3. The specific historical situations and contexts, all very recent, referred to by Eumenius are Galerius’ defeat of the Persian Narses in Mesopotamia (298): “twin rivers of Persia”; Maximian’s defeat of the Moors in North Africa (297?): “thirsty fields of Libya”; Constantius I’s campaign against Carausius and Allectus (296): “recurved horns of the Rhine”; and Diocletian’s quelling of Domitianus in Egypt and resettling of the extreme southern frontier (298): “many-cleft mouth of the Nile.” For more specific historical commentary on this panegyric, see Nixon and Rodgers’s notes at *Panegyrici* 9.

4. *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.20.2.

5. *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.20.1. On the role of geography in Roman education, see chap. 2.

6. *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.21.2.

7. Herodian 2.11.5 (Loeb trans., throughout).

8. See Augustus, *Res Gestae*; for a geographical analysis of this work, see Nicolet, *Space*.

9. Mann, "Frontiers," 139. V. Maxfield concurs in "The Frontiers: Mainland Europe," 137–97 in *The Roman World*, ed. J. Wachter (London: Routledge, 1987), vol. 1, part 4, 139, as does Wells, *German Policy*, 24: "Historically, rivers are not natural frontiers; they join rather than separate, and serve more readily as highways than as barriers. They are convenient lines of demarcation, if two powers wish to negotiate a frontier."
10. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 61, 26–27, quoting Febvre, *Terre*, 325–31.
11. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 61.
12. See in particular the critiques at Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*, 173–84; Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 121–25.
13. See Isaac, "Luttwak's 'Grand Strategy,'" 233.
14. See Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 73–74.
15. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 69.
16. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 1.1. The geography section extends throughout 1.2; it describes the world from a late Roman vantage. On Orosius' geography, see Janvier, *Géographie*.
17. See Mendels, *Media Revolution*.
18. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 1.2: *nunc quidquid Danubius a barbarico ad Nostrum secludit, expeditiam*.
19. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 7.22.
20. See B. Isaac, "The Meaning of *Limes* and *Limitanei* in Ancient Sources," in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 362.
21. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 432 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–38).
22. For a chronological history of the use of the Greek term from Homer to John Chrysostom, see Casevitz, "Sur *Eschatia*."
23. Cf. Zosimus 34.1–2. See also the reference in Berchem, *Armée*, 115.
24. Herodian 11.2.5.
25. Themistius, *or.* 16.206d–207a, trans., "Initium Mali Romano," Lenski, 143; *Amm. Marc.* 18.9.2.
26. Procopius, *Gothicus* 8.13.5; see D. Braund, "Coping."
27. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 170.
28. *Expositio Totius Mundi*, 59.
29. Seneca, *Suasoriae* 1.1–16. See Beagon, *Roman Nature*, 185–87.
30. On imagery of Ocean in Late Antiquity, see "Ocean," in *LA*, 617.
31. Libanius, *or.* 18.205–7.
32. *ILS* 754.
33. *Panegyrici N&R*, 11.6.6.
34. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, in *Eusebius: Life of Constantine, Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. and trans. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). See Romm, *Edges*. For further references to emperors and Ocean in Eusebius, see 1.25.1, 4.9, 50.
35. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (P. Schaff, trans.; slightly modified).
36. Augustine, *ep.* 199.47 (*Fathers of the Church*, trans., throughout).
37. Isidore, *Etymologies* 14.2.1.
38. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 1.2.
39. See Maguire, *Earth*.
40. Mosaic and text pictured in E. Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics, I: Mosaics at Nikopolis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 100.

41. *Panegyrici* N&R, 9.20.2. For other mosaics picturing Ocean, see K. Dunbabin, “*Baiarum Grata Voluptas*: Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57 (1989): 26–27; Voûte, “Notes.”

42. See in particular C. Wells, “The Problem of Desert Frontiers,” in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989, 15th International Congress*, ed. V. Maxfield and M. Dobson (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1991), 478–81, with references.

43. Daniels, “Frontiers: Africa,” 265. Interestingly, Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 1.2 describes the “boundary line of the whole of Africa” without mentioning desert frontiers. He mentions mountains, oceans, and rivers as boundaries throughout the world, but for the desert areas he names only the local peoples.

44. See Wells, “Problem of Desert Frontiers,” 24; Maxfield et al., “Frontiers: Mainland Europe,” 139.

45. Febvre’s thesis on rivers, in fact, recently has been claimed as one of the most enduring contributions of his work. See A. Marwick, *The Nature of History*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Lyceum, 1989), 78.

46. Trends in frontier studies, thanks in part to the Oklahoma Comparative Frontier Symposia, tend to transcend any given historical context. See Wells, “*Profuit Inventus*,” 438, for a discussion of how comparative studies have shaped his work. The comparative nature of the Oklahoma symposia shows why questions about Hadrian’s wall, for example, tend to follow the same trends as questions on the Great Wall of China. On the Great Wall, see P. R. Gaubatz, *Beyond the Great Wall: Urban Form and Transformation on the Chinese Frontiers* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

47. Especially helpful is D. Braund, “River Frontiers.”

48. Gregory Nazianzus, *or.* 5.9 (D&L 249).

49. Procopius, *Wars* 2.12.4; Libanius, *or.* 59.103, 114.

50. That rivers do, in fact, constitute divisions (not exactly the focus of this study) receives some support from the modern situation along the Euphrates. The late Toni Cross, former on-site director of the American Research Institute in Turkey at Ankara, shared with me a conversation she had with an epidemiologist in Turkey just before the construction of the Atatürk Dam. This epidemiologist was concerned that the dam would allow peoples separated by the river to come into contact for the first time ever, thereby spreading diseases for which each group had little if any immunity. The multiplication of disease along the Euphrates River today suggests that this fear was well founded. The “swift-flowing” Euphrates has, until very recently, separated some peoples even as it has aided the contact of others.

51. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 201. Communication presumed only small-scale crossings of rivers by trained experts. This is a different matter from crossing whole armies, the difficulties of which are highlighted in multiple ancient sources.

52. D. Braund, “River Frontiers.”

53. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 123. Although Nicasie argues that rivers and mountains served as boundaries of empire, all of his plethora of examples are drawn from references to *internal* boundaries; his point is well taken but lacks support from references to these as actual or perceived boundaries of empire.

54. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 110.

55. Isaac, *Limits*, 410–13.

56. Dio, *Roman History* 69.9.6, 60.20; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.8; Tacitus, *Historia* 2.17. One of the swimmers is memorialized in *CIL* 3.3676. See specifically M. P. Speidel,

“Swimming the Danube under Hadrian’s Eyes: A Feat of the Emperors’ Batavi Horse Guard,” *Ancient Society* 22 (1991): 277–82.

57. Note, however, the problems faced by the Goths in settling across the Danube in 376 at Amm. Marc. 31.4.5. Earlier, Valens unsuccessfully tried until late autumn to cross “extensive floods” of the Danube (Amm. Marc. 27.5.5). He tried again the subsequent year with boats and forced “his way into barbarian territory.”

58. Isaac, *Limits*, 411, referring to Dio, *Roman History* 71.3, which describes the technique.

59. On the Romans’ general reluctance to build bridges, see Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*, 174–77.

60. For this date, see A. Cameron, “The Date of the Anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis*,” in *De Rebus Bellicis*, ed. and trans. R. Ireland (Int. ser. 63, BAR, 1979), part 1, 1–7.

61. *De Rebus Bellicis*, ed. and trans. Ireland, part 2, vi, 28.

62. Isaac, *Limits*, 411–12.

63. The very few times barbarians are recorded as building bridges, they are helped by Roman captives; see John of Ephesus, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia* 6.24 (Avars). Lee (*Information*, 96–97) believes that the Huns’ efforts (Priscus frag. 6,2/7) also relied on captive Roman craftsmen. Lee further points out that barbarians are recorded as crossing only tributaries rather than the Danube. He gives a very specific assessment of the difficulties of crossing the Danube as well as some exceptions.

64. References to the Danube freezing over are at Dio, *Roman History* 71.7.1; Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.6; Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2.26; Agathias, *Historiarum* 5.11.6 (refers to the phenomenon as regular). See Lee, *Information*, 96, for a listing of incursions that occurred in the summer and fall. For the Rhine and Danube, see Ovid, *Tristia* 3.10; *From Pontus* 1.2.79–80, 4.7.9–10, 10.32–34; Pliny, *Panegyric* 12.3, 82.4–5; Herodian 6.7.6–7; Amm. Marc. 19.11.4. For a reference in panegyric to an emperor being so strong that not even a freezing or drying river frontier would be of any consequence, see *Panegyrici* N&R, 10.7.4.

65. Even worse for the barbarians, rivers could thaw unexpectedly, as with the Chatti, who were prevented thus from crossing the Rhine in A.D. 89 (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 6.2), and the “huge multitude of Germans” who were caught in the center of the Rhine on an island, cut off by a sudden thaw (6.6.4).

66. The “*neque enim iam*” suggests that such was the case before this particular glorious emperor appeared.

67. Procopius, *Wars* ii.21.21. Libanius, *or.* 59.103, also speaks of Persian bridge-making skills.

68. See, in particular, Trouset, “Notion.” See also Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 201, with references; P. Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy and Romanization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1985), 271–72.

69. Tacitus, *Agricola* 41.2: *nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hiberniis legionum et possessione dubitatum*; quoted in Isaac, “Meaning,” in Isaac, *Near East*, 350. As Isaac points out, Tacitus is distinguishing land and river boundaries here (*limes* versus *ripa*).

70. *In pluviiis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit* (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrian*, 12, quoted in Isaac, “Meaning,” in Isaac, *Near East*, 351). Again, only the land, not the river boundary, is known as *limes* at this early stage.

71. One must take seriously Whittaker's contention (*Frontiers*, 62) that boundaries were always "ethnically confused" and that we should not accept readily an ancient model that sees divisions as so distinct.

72. The direct association of *limes* with rivers reflects a fourth-century and later usage of the term. See Isaac, "Meaning," in Isaac, *Near East*, 350–51. Earlier sources, as Isaac points out with the Hadrian passage in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, distinguish river and land boundaries: "only the latter are called *limites*." Isaac claims that the use of the term for the second century is anachronistic.

73. Amm. Marc. 14.8.5: *Orientis vero limes in longum protentus et rectum, ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili.*

74. *Panegyrici N&R*, 9.18.4: *Nam quid ego alarum et cohortium castra percenseam toto Rheni et Histri et Eufratae limite restituta.*

75. Jerome, *ep.* 123.16: *fracta Danubii limite.*

76. Ausonius, *Gratiarum Actio* 2.7: *Imperatori fortissimo: testis est uno pacatus in anno et Danuvii limes et Rheni.* See Isaac, "Meaning," in Isaac, *Near East*, 358.

77. Festus, *Breviarium* 14: *et per Traianum Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria et Arabia provinciae factae sunt ac limes Orientalis supra ripas Tigridis est institutus; and Mesopotamia est restituta et supra ripas Tigridis limes est reformatus, ita ut quinque gentium trans Tigridem constituarum dicionem adsequeremur* (Isaac, "Meaning," in Isaac, *Near East*, 360).

78. Propertius 3.4.4; similar formulae at Vergil, *Georgics* 4.560–63; Claudian, *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, ed. M. Dewar (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 295.

79. Plutarch, *Sulla* 5; Appian, *Mithridateios* 1057; Livy, *Periochae* 70 (see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:118); this *limes* was recognized later by Vespasian. See also Nicolet, *Rome*, 796–97.

80. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganus Libri VII* 6.13. It seems, at least, that the Parthians had a long memory as well of such an arrangement. Orosius implies that Crassus might have been spared had he not angered the Parthians excessively by breaking the agreement.

81. Festus, *Breviarium* 14; also in Eutropius 8.6.2.

82. The fourth-century sources refer to it as such. On the episode, see Festus, *Breviarum* 25; Amm. Marc. 25.7.9; Petros Patricius, frag. 14. See Eadie, "Transformation," 74–75, on the political boundary of the Tigris. See also Winter, "On the Regulation."

83. Julian, *or.* 1.23d: *tes choras ekeines pros ten hemeteran.*

84. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 18.1.

85. Libanius, *or.* 18.278.

86. See Herodian 6.4.7.

87. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 25.1: *Nam cum fluvium qui Romanorum Imperium a Persarum regno separat traiecisset* (D&L 271); cf. 3.21: "No sooner had the Persians heard of the death of Constantian than they took heart, proclaimed war, and marched over the frontier of the Roman Empire."

88. Zosimus 3.4, 4.11, 1.55, 3.6.

89. Zosimus 3.14. This passage continues with an example that suggests that the space taken up by rivers themselves formed a sort of no-man's-land unless occupied with a fort on an island. Julian besieges such an island fort in the Euphrates and is then

said to have escorted the people “into Roman territory”—that is, ferried them back across to the Roman side.

90. Suetonius, *Iulius* 3; see also Plutarch, *Caesar* 32. The Rubicon continued to be viewed into Late Antiquity as symbolic of separation; see Claudian, *Panegyricus*, 365.

91. Amm. Marc. 24.3.9. Trajan did bridge the Danube in 105, as pictured on his column in Rome. Cf. Pliny’s panegyric to Trajan (in *XII Panegyrici Latini*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964] 16.2): *magnum est, imperator Auguste, magnum est stare in Danubii ripa*.

92. See Galinier, “Colonie Trajan.”

93. Libanius, *or.* 16.52 (March–April 363); Libanius *ep.* 367, 49 (D&L 223).

94. ILS 754: *domino totius orbis / Iuliano Augusto / ex Oceano Britannico / vis per barbaras gentes / strage resistenti / um patefactis adus / que Tigridem una aestate transvec / to, Saturninus / Secundus v.c. [praef.] praet. [d] / n.m. [q.]*. This inscription shows how quickly news could reach Ancyra and how inscriptions served as a form of media, themes to be explored later in this chapter.

95. As already seen, this emphasis can lead to a rhetorical reversal as the emperors of the later Empire are shown protecting the Empire instead of just the rivers (*Panegyrici* N&R, 6.11.1). But when read in terms of worldview, rivers seem to function more strongly as boundaries, which makes them a convenient target for the type of hyperbole on which panegyric thrives.

96. Libanius, *ep.* 1434 (Loeb trans., throughout).

97. Julian, *or.* 1.22C.

98. Libanius, *or.* 18.205–11; D&L 226.

99. Libanius, *or.* 13.73.

100. Libanius, *or.* 13.32.

101. Claudian, *Panegyricus*, 415–19, ed. and trans. M. Dewar (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

102. Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle lines 95–102; complete text in Potter, *Prophecy*. This figure presumably captures the frontier city of Hierapolis, which plays an important role in frontier defense and in prophetic and apocalyptic imaginings of the frontier.

103. Jerome, *ep.* 123.16: *olim a Mari Pontico usque ad Alpes Iulias non erant nostra quae nostra sunt, et per annos triginta fracta Danubii limite in mediis Romani imperii regionibus pugnabatur* (Lanski, “Initium Mali Romano Imperio,” 158).

104. Themistius, *or.* 16.206d–207a.

105. Much of my research in this section has been prompted by D. Braund, “River Frontiers.”

106. See J. Le Gall, *Recherches sur le Culte du Tibre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953); G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich: Beck, 1912).

107. For the cult of the Danube, see *CIL* 3.3416, 5863, 10263, 10395, 11894; of the Rhine, see *CIL* 13.5255, 7790–91, 8810–11. References listed in D. Braund, “River Frontiers,” 44.

108. D. Braund, “River Frontiers.”

109. *Lexicon*, iv.2, *fluvii* 45, 46.

110. See L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae de la Syria* vol. 1 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929–).

111. *Lexicon*, *fluvii* 5.

112. For clear panel depictions of this column and description of its presentations of the Roman frontier, see Galinier, “Colonne Trajane.” For river gods in a Late Antique text, see Claudian, *Panegyricus*, 164–68.

113. Imhoof-Blumer, “Fluss- und Meergötter”; *Tafel XVI*, 16; for river gods in general on coins, see 174–421.

114. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 149.

115. See *Thermae Constantini*, in E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols. (New York: Praeger, 1961); Sidonius, *Carmina* 22.41–45 presents Bacchus leading the river god Ganges in procession, suggesting that the iconography is alive and well in Late Antiquity.

116. Maguire, *Earth*, fig. 16.

117. For the rivers of paradise on mosaics, see Maguire, *Earth*, esp. 23–28, 45–46, 51–52. These present continuity of the classical image of surrounding waters, now imbued with a Christian significance.

118. I use Pliny throughout this study as a benchmark of early Roman Imperial thought generalized. Although Pliny writes at a seemingly rarefied level, Beagon and others have argued that Pliny in fact presents a common low-level elite knowledge of the natural order of things. He was a nonspecialist, generally writing to nonspecialist aristocrats. See Beagon, *Roman Nature*, esp. v, 195–200. Pliny had previously presented the Euphrates as an untamed natural force fighting the rugged Taurus Mountain range.

119. Julian, *Satire on the Caesars* 326, p. 391 (Loeb trans.). The work often uses river crossing as symbolic of greatness. It is a humorous piece depicting emperors arguing with each other and with Alexander the Great over who is the greatest. Each ruler in turn touts his exploits that qualify him for more glory. One of the key elements is how many times a given ruler can claim to have crossed rivers.

120. *Panegyrici* N&R, 10.7.3. The panegyricist continues with reference to the Euphrates serving as a shelter in the East.

121. This panegyric shows the difficulty of reading this genre, for the orator goes on to claim that because of Maximianus, “all that I see beyond the Rhine is Roman.”

122. Basil, *Homily* 4, p. 58.

123. Basil, *Homily* 7.3–4 (*Fathers of the Church*, trans.). Note that both Basil and Julian (*Horos Archaïos*) use similar and strong terms to describe natural frontiers, words that root them in the far distant past if not the order of the universe itself.

124. On Cappadocian civic patriotism, see Kopecek, “Cappadocian Fathers.”

125. Basil, *Homily* 7, p. 111.

126. A further reference to God being in control of rivers occurs in Basil’s *Homily* 4. God, in his creation, gave the signal for rivers to flow. Basil asks his congregation to contemplate them sometime. Theodore of Sykeon, *Life of St. Theodore*, 43, presents God’s control over Nature at one point by praying over a violent river, making it safe and easy to cross. And Gregory of Nyssa suggests that their movement could be the cause of human fate (*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Migne, 45.161a; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1991], 2:1798).

127. Other scriptural references to the Euphrates as a border include Deuteronomy 11:24, repeating the limits of the promised land at “the river, the river Euphrates”; II Samuel 8:3, where David kills the son of a king as he “went to recover his border at the

Euphrates” (cf. I Chron. 5:9); Psalm 72, which promises that the Kingdom of Messiah “shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River [Euphrates] to the ends of the earth” (verse 8). Augustine, however, takes this river to be the Jordan because of Christ’s baptism there.

128. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 18.2–3

129. For the text and notes, see E. O. Winstedt, ed., *Cosmas Indicopleustes: The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909). See Wolska-Conus, *Topographie*.

130. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 176, quoted in Lee, *Information*, 83.

131. *Expositio Totius Mundi* 4.

132. Although the old question of whether Ammianus was a Christian has been long settled (he was not), the question of the extent of Christian influence on him remains open. See Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 63, 82. See also Rike, *Apex Omnium*, 1–7; Hunt, “Christians and Christianity.”

133. Amm. Marc. 14.8.5: *Orientis vero limes in longum protentus et rectum, ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili, laeva Saracenis conterminans gentibus, dextra pelagi fragoribus patens.*

134. On biblical geography in general, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 83, 88. See also J. Matthews, “Hostages,” 44.

135. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae Hadrian* 11.2: *barbaros Romanosque divideret.*

136. For comparison of arguments about Hadrian’s Wall with those of the Great Wall of China, see Gaubatz, *Beyond the Great Wall*. For debates about the role of Hadrian’s wall, see D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Hadrian’s Wall*, (London: Allen Lane, 1976); D. J. Breeze, “Britain,” in *The Roman World*, ed. J. Wachter, vol. 1, part 4, *The Frontiers*, 208.

137. See Whittaker, *Frontiers*, esp. 80–81, 91. See also P. Trouset, “Les Bornes du Bled Segui: Nouveau Aperçu sur la Centuriation Romaine du Sud Tunisien,” *Antiquités Africaines* 12 (1978): 125–77; Trouset, “Signification”; B. Shaw, “Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace and North Africa,” in *Roman Africa/L’Afrique Romaine*, ed. C. M. Wells (Ottawa: Éditions de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1982), 29–50; Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, 62. See also Euzennat, “Frontière.”

138. Procopius, *De Aedificiis* 2.9.3–9, quoted in E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 93.

139. CT 7.15.1: *munitionemque limites atque fossati.*

140. Daniels, “Frontiers: Africa,” 241–42, 246.

141. Rushworth, “North African Deserts,” 309.

142. Rushworth, “North African Deserts,” 309.

143. A related question relates to the problem of boundary stones. If, as Whittaker proposes, Roman boundary stones are found beyond the walls and ditches, then how can the walls be considered boundaries of empire? Many have stated outright that no boundary stones separating Roman from barbarian have ever been found. Ammianus records events “in the region called Capillacii or Palas, where boundary stones marked the frontiers of the Alamanni and Burgundians” (Amm. Marc. 18.2.15: *ad regionem (cui Capillacii vel Palas nomen est) ubi terminales lapides Alamannorum et Burgundiorum confinia distinguebant*). At first glance, this does not seem relevant to the discussion, but Potter contends that the best manuscripts record not *Alamannorum* but *Romanorum* and that these boundary stones, although irrelevant in 359, nonetheless marked Roman from barbarian territory (“Empty Areas,” 272).

144. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 114.

145. Amm. Marc. 23.5.2: *cuius moenia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes . . . muris turribusque circumdedit celsis, cum in ipsis barbarorum confiniis interiores limites ordinaret, documento recenti perterritus, ne vagarentur per Syriam Persae, ita ut paucis ante annis cum magnis provinciarum contigerat damnis* (Loeb trans.).

146. Appian, *Praefatio* 28. See Potter, *Prophecy*, 288–89. Potter writes, “the view of the empire as an area existing within confines provided by a line of fortifications is a radical change from earlier notions that there were *termini imperii* which it was possible to pass beyond. See also Potter, “Empty Areas.”

147. Aristides, *Ad Rom.* 81–84. Cited from J. Oliver, “The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 43 (1953), pt. 4, 895–907. See Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 38, for an alternative analysis to what I am proposing with this and other passages. Mattern, in *Rome and the Enemy*, seems to miss the metaphorical wall here as she questions at one point what literal wall is meant by such a reference (110 n. 135).

148. Herodian 2.11.5. For the development of the theme of the wall of the Roman Empire dividing civilized from barbarian, see J. Palm, *Rom, Römertum und Imperium in der Griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Lund: Gleerup, 1959). Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 37, specifically rejects the idea that these images hint at a mentality of defensive imperialism. He cites another reference in Aristides: “you [Rome] recognize no fixed boundaries, nor does another dictate to you to what point your control reaches” (*Ad Rom.* 10). Whittaker, however, does not account for the fact that Aristides seems to be holding a new ideology with the wall metaphor and that it is perfectly natural that he should not be using it consistently throughout. The weight of tradition is not necessarily cast completely aside with ideological innovation; surely the elements can exist in tension and even ambivalence. See also Whittaker’s refutations in “Where Are the Frontiers Now?” 36–38.

149. Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle line 105. See Potter, *Prophecy*, 288–89n.

150. Seager, “Perceptions.”

151. Amm. Marc. 25.9.3.

152. John Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla contra Julianum et Gentiles*, in *Patrologia Graeca* 50, J. P. Migne, ed. (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), 569–70.

153. Libanius, *or.* 18.278, 12.91.

154. James of Edessa, “Hymns of Severus of Antioch,” 216 (*Patrologia Orientalis* 75.676), cited in E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 46.

155. The fact that only Greek easterners refer to the walls of empire might suggest that in the absence of literal walls like the *fossata* or Hadrian’s Wall, the Greek writers simply preferred to speak of metaphorical frontiers.

CHAPTER 4

1. Emperors also are depicted using meteorological imagery, moving about quickly and appearing suddenly; see Amm. Marc. 21.9.6 on Julian. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 196, cites Pliny, *Panegyric* 80.3 to illustrate the long history of the association. On the altar in Athens, see Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 2.145.

2. See Hesiod, *Works and Days* 763–64: “Rumor which many people spread never dies entirely; Rumor also is some kind of divinity.” For references to Rumor’s divine status in early Imperial sources, see Ovid, *Epistula ex Ponto* 2.1.19; Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.174;

Lucan 4.574; Martial 7.6.4. On the place of Rumor in classical Greece, see Lewis, *News*, esp. 12–13. See also Ober, *Mass and Elite*, chap. 3. On rumor in Roman sources, see the as-yet-unsurpassed Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen*, 235–40.

3. Amm. Marc. 18.6.3; see also 26.1.4, 21.9.3, 22.2.3, 22.2.5. For Rumor in Libanius, see *ep.* 1402.

4. On arguments for the popularization of beliefs among late Roman historians—the rise of *superstitio*—see chap. 6 as well as Momigliano, “Popular Beliefs”; MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, 74–102; J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 249, 424–25. For an attempt to read the Ammianus passages in purely technical and strategic terms, altogether leaving out the religious and belief aspects, see Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 157.

5. Amm. Marc. 19.10.1 characterizes the arena of action near Nisibis and Amida as the “extreme East [*in Orientis extimo*]” from the perspective of the city of Rome (*dum haec per varios turbines in Orientis extimo festinantur, difficultatem adventantis inopiae frumentorum urbs verebatur aeternae*). The association was common. See *De Civ. D.* 4.23, 5.2; John Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla contra Julianum et Gentiles* 22.124, where the city is presented as an “unbreachable wall” at the east of the Empire.

6. Take, for example, the legendary images of peoples beyond the North African frontiers, such as the “outermost Garamantes,” the acephalous Blemmyae, and so forth. See Daniels, “Frontiers: Africa,” 235. A lack of news flow from the North African frontier in general encouraged such images in the late Republic and the early Empire.

7. *Life of St. Daniel the Stylite*, 56; Julian, *Misopogon* 360, pp. 48, 483 (Loeb trans.); Libanius, *or.* 13.32.

8. As does Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 69. See also the critique of Luttwak in Mann, “Power.” The basis for Mann’s critique is that the Romans’ “poor communication” coupled with “distorted notions” of geography and cartography rendered impossible a Grand Strategy. Millar, “Emperors,” addresses the spread of information with a bit more sympathy for Roman perspectives and worldviews.

9. Lewis, *News*, 5, notes two reasons for the lack of studies of ancient news. The first is that our own view of news in the modern world is too rooted in print culture to appreciate or explore its role in more oral societies without hinting at “inadequate media.” The second is that for all of the ancient world, military studies have dominated analyses of communication.

10. Eadie, “One Hundred Years,” 135.

11. Although Bourdieu, to my knowledge, never uses the term *worldview*, his approach is conducive to this type of study. For Bourdieu, the habitus is a “product of history” that affirms and produces individual and collective practices (*Outline*, 82). The habitus becomes the site of negotiation between the “objective structures” of a society and its practices. Practices become legitimate through a process of “universal mediation which causes an agent’s practices to be sensible or reasonable” (75). The product of this mechanism is a “common-sense world endowed with objectivity and secured with a consensus of meaning” (83). New information can challenge and change this system—a heterodoxy challenges doxa, a situation in which there is no dissenting voice. In turn, a defensive orthodoxy emerges that struggles with the heterodoxy.

12. Lewis, *News*, 25.

13. In his analysis of Greek democracy, Ober, *Mass and Elite*, xiii, presents texts as “symbol systems that must be understood in relation to their receptors.” His approach, which presents “community” as assuming a “minimal level of shared values,” is not

perfectly adaptable to analyses of the later Roman Empire, but it is instructive here in that it suggests that texts are not just personal reflections, however strong their potential idiosyncrasies.

14. Bourdieu, *Outline*, 167.

15. The starting point for time of ancient news travel is Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale*. See also Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature*; Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 121–, especially his notes on these pages.

16. For a detailed (and copiously documented) study of Roman intelligence gathering, see Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*, although the work has a heavy emphasis on the earlier Empire. More specific for Late Antique military intelligence is Austin, *Ammianus on Warfare*. On war news, see Chauvot, “Guerre et Diffusion.”

17. McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 84.

18. Potter, *Prophets*, 94–95. For ancient literacy in general see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 272, 329–31. Many scholars would put the estimate higher. For discussion of Harris, see Beard *Literacy*, 285–322. Harris mentions the great variety throughout the Roman world and presents the general factors of decline, dated to the third century and following. These include the decline of urbanization, the dwindling of the city elites, and weakening of the schools.

19. See “Literacy,” in *LA*, 543–44, which provides a helpful list of questions for analyzing literacy in the Roman world. The Roman legal system and tradition of written law presumed a centrality of the written word at all periods of the Empire. Bowman and Woolf, *Literacy and Power*, contains some helpful essays.

20. See G. Sabbah, *La Méthode d’Ammien Marcellin: Recherches sur la Construction du Discours Historique dans les “Res Gestae”* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1978), pt. 2, pp. 115–239.

21. Ando provides the simple but helpful definition here of *contemporary* as “within living memory” (*Imperial Ideology*, 122).

22. *Amm. Marc.* 26.1.1.

23. See in particular C. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 47–90.

24. *Amm. Marc.* 16.1.2–4.

25. These writings are not the same as the official written military records common up until 256 in the East, to be revived under the tetrarchy. Their availability to a civilian suggests that they were more popular in nature than the official reports. See Fink, *Roman Military Records*; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 293. These reports generally consist of name rosters, supply lists, receipts, and the like. They are not narrative accounts but were probably consulted in the construction of historical narratives. From a later context, Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* 2.19 records that “since there are many offices in the legions which require educated soldiers [*litteratos milites*], it is appropriate that those who test the recruits should examine the stature, physical strength and mental alertness of all of them; but in some cases skill in note-taking [*notarum peritia*] and practice in arithmetic is selected” (quoted in Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 294). This passage shows that literacy among soldiers was desirable and elevated some above the rest. On the literacy of soldiers, see Bowman, “Roman Imperial Army.”

26. Libanius, *ep.* 1434 (Loeb trans., throughout). This Philagris is recorded in *Amm. Marc.* 21.4.2 as *comes postea Orientis* and would have been based in Libanius’ Antioch. See also J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 376; *Prosopography of the Later Roman*

Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–). On the role of the *notarius*, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, index entry for “notaries”; “notarii,” in *LA*, 611–12; H. C. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores: An Enquiry into the Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1985).

27. Libanius, *ep.* 1220.7. A similar passage records Libanius attempting to get information from eyewitnesses (*ep.* 1434).

28. That it was normal for these writings to be dispersed is hinted at by Libanius’ frustration at not having access to them this time. His access now was limited because people feared for their lives if they had praised Julian.

29. Libanius records news arriving from the eastern frontier to Antioch in *epp.* 758.4, 802, 1220.8, 1402, 1426, 1434. See Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 128.

30. On their use in administration in particular, see Kelly, “Later Roman Bureaucracy.”

31. *Amm. Marc.* 16.12.70; see also 28.1.15, 18.1.15.

32. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 118, further interprets this information as being a part of an “iconographic language through which they could share their emperor.”

33. B. Isaac, “Eusebius and the Geography of Roman Provinces,” in Isaac, *Near East*, 284–306.

34. Eunapius, frag. 17 (Blockley trans., throughout).

35. Eunapius, frag. 25.

36. On the piece, see J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 161–75, 505. The suggestion that Ammianus and Libanius used it comes from F. Paschoud, “Quand Parut la Première Édition de l’Histoire d’Eunape?” in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1979/1981* (Bonn: Habelt, 1983), 149–62.

37. See J. Matthews, “Making of the Text,” 19.

38. *Amm. Marc.* 16.12.69–70. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 117, notes this reference and further cites *CT*, which refers to texts in imperial archives in cities (118).

39. Theodosius II, *Novellae* 24.5, in *CT*.

40. Theodosius II, *Novellae* 24.5, in *CT*.

41. Potter, *Prophets*, 121, suggests that public inscriptions might have become so commonplace that they were forgotten or disregarded altogether. He thinks that the emperors then turned to other, more attractive media, such as eye-catching pictures with brief inscriptions or inscriptions on statues.

42. R. Hammer, *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 62, quoted in S. Lieberman, “Roman Legal Institutions in Early Rabbinics and in the *Acta Martyrum*,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 35 (1944): 6–9; also cited in Potter, *Prophets*, 110–11.

43. For specific examples, see Potter, *Prophets*, 118–19.

44. *ILS* 754.

45. *CIL* 13.8502; J. J. Wilkes, “British Anonymity in the Roman Empire,” in *The Saxon Shore*, ed. D. E. Johnston (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1977), 76. See also Millar, “Emperors,” 14.

46. Malalas 308 (= 12.40). The text is very difficult to make out here. The Latin translation of Malalas reads *stativa*.

47. *Amm. Marc.* 18.2.15. The text of this passage is heavily debated. Potter defends “*ubi terminales lapides Romanorum et Bugundiorum [sic] confinia distinguebant*” on

the basis of what he calls the best manuscripts and other early editions; see his “Empty Areas,” which agrees with the reading in the Teubner text. J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 524, challenges this reading, supporting the reading that appears in *Res Gestae*, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). Loeb Classical Library, “*Alemannorum et Burgundiorum*.” See also Potter, “*Tabula Siarensis*”; Isaac’s challenge in “Meaning,” in *Near East*, 382–83.

48. Bradbury, “Libanius’ Letters,” 74. Bradbury provides a helpful analysis of Libanius and his network of correspondents.

49. Libanius relied on any possible source of information, including military couriers (see *ep.* 1367, to Modestus). Libanius mentions a mixture of truth and falsehood in such reports. Many of Libanius’ letters and orations survive because they came to be used as models. Also, he collected and duplicated them himself for publication (*epp.* 88.5, 1218.2, 1307.1–3). Hence, they would continue “broadcasting” for years to come. See Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 127. See also Libanius, *epp.* 760, 1106.

50. The letter referred to is *ep.* 98. Julian wrote this letter from Hierapolis in mid-May 363, according to accounts of Ammianus (23.2.6) and Zosimus (3.12.1).

51. Libanius, *or.* 1.132–34. The description of what Julian actually did beyond the frontier was pure conjecture, Libanius admits.

52. That Libanius used material from his informants in his orations is almost too obvious to mention, but he does specifically request such information from the *notarius* Philagrius (*ep.* 1434). Libanius did not deliver all of his orations. He himself speaks of some reticence or slowness in speaking or publishing some (*epp.* 33, 283, 916, 877). For the controversy over the date and circumstance of the delivery of *or.* 1, see A. F. Norman’s introduction to Libanius, *or.* 1:xvii.

53. Libanius, *ep.* 1367.

54. Whatever the real threat on the North African frontier, it is clear that the Romans in general perceived the threat as less than elsewhere. Only one legion was stationed there permanently. Whereas the eastern frontier garrisoned some seventy-eight to eighty-five thousand troops, North Africa and Egypt combined had a maximum of between forty-three thousand and forty-five thousand. See Rushworth, “North African Deserts,” 301. It should also be noted that the North African/Egyptian frontier was the longest one in the Empire, measuring some twenty-five hundred miles as the crow flies. See Daniels, “Frontiers: Africa,” 223.

55. Boniface had been disgraced and deposed by a certain Aetius two years before the writing of this letter. Augustine’s point throughout is that the barbarians’ fear of Boniface is now gone and that he is needed once again.

56. Augustine, *ep.* 220.

57. Augustine, *ep.* 199.46.

58. The North African “nomad threat” was inconsistent and remains difficult to trace. The strengthening of the frontier is recorded in a set of inscriptions honoring Commodus’ late-second-century efforts to protect the African provinces. Both record construction of watchtowers near Auzia, on the route between there and Rapidum. CIL 8.20816, 22696 record the building of new towers and the repair of old ones “providing for the security of his provincials” (20816; *Imp. Caesar M. Aurel. Commodus . . . securitati provincialium suorum consulens, turres novas instituit et veteres refecit oper[al] militum suorum*). These are commented on at more length in Rushworth, “North African Deserts,” 302–3. Later inscriptions continue to speak of the strengthening of the

North African frontier. *CIL* 8.5352 records a series of towers raised to protect the empire and aided in their task by Christian martyrs. For a unique approach to the North African barbarian questions, see Shaw, “Fear and Loathing,” 29–50. See also Shaw, “Soldiers and Society,” in Shaw, *Rulers*.

59. Augustine, *ep.* 46, *ep.* 47: *neque enim tantummodo limiti, sed universis provinciis pax conciliatur iuratione barbarica.*

60. “Letter of Valerius.”

61. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 7, 19, in CC 125. Throughout her account, Egeria notes crossing the frontier (*finis*) between provinces and also notes distances from the “frontier of Mesopotamia” (*fines Mesopotamiae*).

62. Egeria, *Itinerarium Egeriae* 20.12. See chap. 2 for complete text.

63. “Letter of Valerius.” The compiler of a glossary of the eighth or ninth century also refers to the pilgrimage, “‘The Ansileubian’: *Liber Glossarum*, either from Spain or France,” in *Glossaria latina iussa Academiae britannicae* (Paris, Société anonyme d’édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1926–), ed. Lindsay and Mountford, 1:110 n. 377. Peter the Deacon, a monk of Monte Cassino and the librarian of the abbey, also mentions Egeria’s travels in his book on holy places (Petrus Diaconus, *De Locis Sanctis*, CC 175, 93–103).

64. See MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*; J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 248–49. Matthews sees Late Antique ceremonial as one of many ways in which popular modes of communication were replacing “at every level the more literary, philosophical debates about freedom and political rights which, within a much narrower social milieu, had characterised these relations in the early empire.” McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, analyzes the phenomenon as well, tracing Late Antique ceremonial into the early Middle Ages.

65. On the connection of the traditional Roman triumph with the Late Antique *adventus* ceremony, see MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 33–35.

66. On captives moving within the Roman world, see Lieu, “Captives, Refugees, and Exiles.” For a wider description concerned largely with Roman views of foreign and exotic lands, see J. Matthews, “Hostages.”

67. Libanius, *ep.* 1220.

68. Pliny, *Natural History. De Civ. D.* 16.8 also describes an unnamed African people with no heads pictured on a mosaic in the harbor of Carthage. Research on the Blemmyae was carried out in the later Empire, and such images slowly were changed. Olympiodorus 35.2 records how he traveled among the Blemmyae specifically for “purposes of research.”

69. *Expositio Totius Mundi* 62.

70. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Probus* 17, 1–6.

71. Bell et al., *Abinnaeus Archive*, section 1.

72. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, in Eusebius, ed. and trans. Cameron and Hall, 4.7.1.

73. Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*, esp. 206, 210.

74. See Ziegler, “Civic Coins.” Ziegler argues that the emperors’ presence led to an influx of visitors as well as the proliferation of bronze coinage. His account traces how numismatic evidence relates to the political upheavals in Asia Minor.

75. Libanius, *or.* 12.40.

76. See T. C. Skeat, ed., *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1964), 1, 2.

77. Libanius, *ep.* 331; D&L 223.

78. Other examples are recorded at Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* 3 (Plotinus trying to travel through Persian territory even to India); Amm. Marc. 25.4.23 (Metrodorus' lies breaking down relations between Rome and Persia).

79. Amm. Marc. 17.5.15. The incident, occurring around 358, is recorded in Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 465–66 as well.

80. On these itinerant intellectuals, see G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

81. Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*, 504.

82. Eumenius, *Panegyric* 9.21. Another map appears in a letter from Julian to Alypius (*ep.* 7), referring to both *geographia* and *diagramma*. Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* 3.6 records an *itinerarium pictum*. See also Sherk, "Roman Geographical Exploration."

83. See Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 113–20, for descriptions of the *Tabula* and notes to current debates over the date and purpose of it.

84. Serious difficulties in dating the *Tabula* present many problems. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 68, suggests that this merely marks a border between a province and a client state. He points to the words *fines exercitus Syriaticae*—or the end of the responsibility of the Syrian legions—to back up this claim. See also Isaac, *Limits*, 398.

85. Potter suggests that these might have been intended to catch the attention of those who had become disinterested in reading honorific inscriptions or history walls. His suggestion is attractive, although it would be difficult to prove (*Prophets*, 121). See also the description in MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 11.

86. Herodian 3.9.12.

87. Herodian 7.2.8. Herodian relates that the picture was destroyed soon after, apparently as part of a *damnatio memoriae*. Whittaker, *Frontiers*, suggests that Herodian's account was based on these pictures.

88. Eunapius, frag. 68, from Blockley, *Fragmentary*.

89. Priscus 22.2.

90. Cf. scenes from the column of Trajan, where preparations for campaign, crossing the Danube frontier, and engaging the enemy form the central narrative. The sense is that the Empire is being extended and projected among foreign peoples. By Late Antiquity, the major image is the glory of the emperor and the defeated barbarians. Such visual depictions suggest images of a solidified and static frontier.

91. For a debate over the propaganda and/or communication value of Roman coinage, see A. H. M. Jones, "Numismatics and History," in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, ed. R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 13–33; and the reply to it in C. H. V. Sutherland, "The Intelligibility of Roman Imperial Coin Types," *JRS* 49 (1959): 46–55. See also a response to both in J. D. Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 1–32.

92. On the visual value of coinage for the historian, see in particular MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 11–12, and plates.

93. Amm. Marc. 26.7.11.

94. Eunapius, frag. 30, from Blockley, *Fragmentary*.

95. *Panegyrici* N&R, 9.21.

96. The Eastern Revolts of 175–272 are well explained and analyzed by Eadie, "One Hundred Years of Rebellion."

97. Libanius, *or.* 18.204–5.

98. Libanius, *ep.* 1367; D&L 257–58.

99. Libanius, *or.* 18.246.

100. Julian, *or.* 2.62B.

101. *Expositio Totius Mundi* 22.

102. Jerome, *Life of Malchus* 3. The whole of this life describes conditions on or near the eastern frontier, complete with local customs and Saracen raids against travelers on the roads. Malchus tells the story to Jerome when they meet near Antioch, thus verbally passing on firsthand news of the frontier.

103. Theodore of Sykeon, *Life of St. Theodore*, 73.

104. In addition to the large number of inscriptions that attest to troop movement (see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:224–25), recent studies have shown how coinage can be used to trace troop movement. Mitchell argues that the presence of imperial coins, minted primarily for soldiers along the eastern frontier and distributed in finds widely across eastern Asia Minor, shows that the troops were far from sedentary and that they engaged in trade throughout (*Anatolia*, 1:242). The presence of imperial coins can be measured against civic coins, which were minted for local spending. Ziegler, “Civic Coins,” also argues that coinage rate can trace troop movement throughout the eastern sector.

105. For veterans returning to native communities, see IGR III. no. 865 = *ILS* 8877; G. E. Bean, “Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia. Part 1,” *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959): 67–117; *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* IV, no. 237. Theodore of Sykeon, *Life of St. Theodore*, gives reference throughout to travelers and military personnel passing the night at the small community on a major trunk road through Anatolia.

106. On the profound impact of military traffic throughout the Anatolian peninsula, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:124–35. The interaction between permanent garrisons and local populations is, however, a bit less clear. Pollard uses a case study to argue that there was very little interaction between army and civilians in Syria (“Roman Army”). This study specifically challenges Fentress, *Numidia*, which presented the army as a mediator between center and periphery. Pollard sides with a study of North Africa by Shaw, which also specifically challenged Fentress by proposing the model of a “total institution,” or institution completely separate from wider society. See Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*; see also Shaw, “Soldier and Society.”

107. J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 378, 284–85.

108. Libanius, *ep.* 818.

109. *Panegyrici* N&R, 2.47.6.

110. Julian, *or.* 2.62B; Libanius 59.101; D&L 181.

111. Libanius, *or.* 59.84.

112. In *Homiliae in Matthaem* 19.9, Chrysostom mentions how his audience gives calm attention and silence—indeed, even upright posture—to the reading aloud of imperial letters. The letters, Chrysostom reveals, would be read in the theater, suggesting a large audience. If someone should disrupt the proceedings, Chrysostom says, it would show disrespect to the emperor himself and would be a capital offense. But when the “letters from heaven” are read in the churches, written by one “greater than the emperor,” “there is constant turmoil everywhere,” he admonishes. The implication here is that the reading of the letters was common and was held in large-capacity places to accommodate all the people. Cited in Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 181.

113. Libanius, *ep.* 758.4; see also 802, 1220.8, 1402, 1426, 1434. These are referenced in Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 128.

114. This does not hold true absolutely, however. The presence or absence of cities and passable roads, as will be seen later in the chapter, also could determine the range and intensity of news spread.

115. Libanius, *or.* 17.1.

116. Julian, *or.* 1.13–14.

117. See esp. chap. 6.

118. Libanius, *or.* 13.40. The rest of this passage suggests the proliferation of the news as Libanius, in fine panegyric fashion, declares that the whole world was rejoicing at the news—in the country; in houses, theaters, hills, and plains; and even on rivers, lakes, and the high seas.

119. Amm. Marc. 21.1.6. It is in this immediate context that Ammianus reacts against those who maliciously ascribe Julian's being "learned and devoted to all knowledge" to evil arts for divining future events. He gives a long digression on the power of divination. 21.1.7–14 provides a fascinating overview of a late Roman pagan addressing prophecy and divination.

120. Amm. Marc. 21.1.6.

121. Amm. Marc. 22.2.1–2, 22.2.3. Ammianus borrows the image of Rumor being driven through the sky by dragons from Hyginus, *Fabulae* 147, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.641–43.

122. Libanius, *or.* 1.134. Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen*, 235–40, argues that because the Romans did not develop a relay system like the Persians, the Romans tried to explain rumor in different ways, resorting to divinity. To Riepl, as with many modern writers, divinity itself was the ancients' *deus ex machina* when other more preferred forms of communication broke down. Lenski, "Initium Mali Romano Imperio," 163, also seems to present this position: "despair and breakdown of communication caused people to look to divine intervention." Yet it seems that ancients did not "resort" to divinity but that it formed a natural and accessible part of their worldview.

123. 21.1.14, quoting Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.4.12 and *De Divinatione* 1.52.118.

CHAPTER 5

1. For a helpful analysis of the communication difficulties following the Battle of Adrianople, see Lenski, "Initium Mali Romano Imperio." The translation cited here is Lenski's.

2. For the whole context of human travel in antiquity, Casson, *Travel*, remains standard.

3. Lewis, *News*, 2–3.

4. Lewis, *News*, 2–3.

5. The starting point on all research on Roman roads is Chevallier, *Roman Roads*.

6. *Or.* 1.132–34.

7. On the high cost of maintaining Anatolia's crucial road system, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:126–28.

8. For the earlier imperial context, see Tacitus, *Annales* 1.50; for the later context, see Frontinus, *Strategameta* 1.3.10. See also *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Hadrianus* 12.

9. Isaac, *Limits*, 119–23, 171, 199–206.
10. See Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:132–35. French has done an impressive amount of research on the roads of Anatolia; his publications of the milestones of Asia Minor have been particularly helpful in the study of Roman roads. See his “Study”; “Roman Road-System”; *Roman Roads and Milestones*, parts 1 and 2.
11. Lee, *Information*, 89. Lee borrows the term from K. Lynch. For a discussion of Lynch’s contributions, see Downs, “Geographic Space Perception,” 70–75.
12. Lightfoot, “Survival.” See also Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:84–88.
13. Basil, *ep.* 1 (*Saint Basil, the Letters*, trans. R. J. Deferrari [New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1926–34]).
14. John Chrysostom, *Ad Stagirium* 2.189–201; also cited in Isaac, *Limits*, 183.
15. Amm. Marc. 14.11.5.
16. Eusebius, *Onomasticon*. See B. Isaac, “Eusebius and the Geography of Roman Provinces,” in Isaac, *Near East*, 284–309.
17. Basil, *ep.* 195.
18. Basil, *ep.* 48, 27, 223.
19. Contrary to what we might think, sea travel in the Later Empire is often a concession to problems that keep one from traveling by land, the preferred method. St. Basil complains in *ep.* 215, for example, that the roads going to and from Cappadocia were so bad that the letter carrier would have to proceed by sea. The tone suggests that sea travel was a last resort. In a complaint against Justinian for dismantling the Roman imperial post, Procopius contends that Justinian thereby forced “the couriers to go all the way from Byzantium to Helenupolis by sea, much as they objected” (*Anecdota 30 Secret History*, trans. G. A. Williamson [London: Penguin, 1981]).
20. Basil, *ep.* 231.
21. Basil, *ep.* 268 (trans. Lenski).
22. For the only detailed study of Ancyra for any period of antiquity, see Foss, “Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara.” Foss does much with the limited number of sources available, but his analysis also highlights the paucity of evidence in comparison to other eastern cities. See also the overview at Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:84–95. Bosch, in an expectedly thin volume, provides a brief chronological overview of the history of ancient Ancyra and a compendium of sources (*Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara in Altertum*).
23. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:127.
24. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones*, 1:13.
25. See Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 117. The other cities are Ravenna, Aquileia, Thessalonica, Nicaea, and Nicomedia, all in some sense capitals.
26. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:127–29.
27. Herodotus, *Histories* 5.52–53.
28. On this fact, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:91; Foss, “Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara,” 36–37. The tradition is preserved in a Syriac translation of Athanasius. It should also be noted that Augustus erected a copy of his *Res Gestae* here, the only complete copy extant.
29. Themistius, *or.* 1.
30. Amm. Marc. 22.8.8–14
31. CT 8.5.13.
32. *ILS* 754.

33. Amm. Marc. 25.10.11 (Jovian's complete itinerary is given here), 26.1.5, 26.8.4, 16.8.4, 14.8.3.
34. See Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 55.
35. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:87, notes the ten known Ancyran pupils who went to study with Libanius.
36. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 116.
37. See French, *Roman Roads and Milestones*, 1:13.
38. *Expositio Totius Mundi* 41.
39. Procopius, *Anecdota* 30 (Penguin trans.). The ten-day journey would be about 240 miles. In support of this speed, see John Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* 3.31.
40. See "Agnos in Rebus," in *LA*, 278–79. See also A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 833–34, for a discussion of the economic burden of the post, the reason Justinian had to discontinue it. E. J. Holmberg, *Zur Geschichte des Cursus Publicus* (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1933), remains standard on the subject. A file of movements on the *cursus* was kept by the station leaders; an example survives in B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–2001), 40:4087–88.
41. Libanius, *ep.* 1402.1–3 (D&L 258); Libanius, *or.* 14.13.
42. See W. Sinnigen, "The Roman Secret Service," *Classical Journal* 57 (1961): 65–72; Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*.
43. See Symmachus, *ep.* 1.21, 4.7, 7.48, 105–6, 9.22; A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1346; *CT* 8.5.44, 54, 35; Amm. Marc. 21.16.18; Gregory of Nyssa, *ep.* 2.12; Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Junioris*.
44. See Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 57–58, for a description of the process with pilgrims.
45. Studied for the modern period in P. Bohannon and G. Dalton, eds., *Markets in Africa* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1962), 15–16. On this important function of fairs and markets, see also Lee, *Information*, 176–77. See also Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*. This is the most thorough treatment to date in any language. I leave aside weekly markets, which would have been very local, attracting only people from the surrounding communities.
46. W. G. Lockwood, "The Market-Place as a Social Mechanism in Peasant Society," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 32 (1965): 52–53, quoted in Lee, *Information*, 175–76.
47. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:242.
48. Menander Rhetor ca. 366, in *Menander Rhetor*, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), quoted in Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 229; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *ep.* 70. For an analysis of the importance of this fair as proof of the continuity between the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, see Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 69–70; Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* ca. 32, in *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, CC 175. This passage is cited with this connection in Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 69. On the importance of Cilicia as a region from which frontier news could circulate westward, see Libanius, *or.* 15.45–50.
49. *Expositio Totius Mundi* 22.
50. Procopius *Bellum Persicum* 2.2.3.
51. Terms recorded in Festus, *Breviarium* 25; Amm. Marc. 25.7.9; but most fully at Petrus Patricius, frag. 14 (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Mueller

[Frankfurt: Minerva, 1975] 4.189); see Eadie, “Transformation,” 75. Eadie cites A. Lewin, “Dall’Eufrate al Mar Rosso: Diocletian, l’Esercito e i Confini Tardoantichi,” *Athenaeum* 68 (1990): 147. See also S. Gregory, *Roman Military Architecture*, 216; Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy*, 5–7; Winter, “On the Regulation,” 555–71. Lee, *Information*, 63, doubts that this stipulation should be taken at face value, citing evidence that trade did take place elsewhere along the eastern frontier. His doubt seems well founded: most recent writers just link the two laws, over a half century apart. None of this, it seems, challenges the idea that the terms were relaxed before the mid-fourth century.

52. *Codex Iustinianus* 4.63.4. *Codex Iustinianus* 4.63.6 seems to be a reiteration of this law in 422, a testimony to short memory or disobedient merchants. Even the 408–9 law seems to have been a repeat of earlier enactments.

53. Although Lee, *Information*, 64, claims that “there is no ambiguity about the law of 408/409,” a recent work, in fact, has problematized traditional explanations. French and Lightfoot, *Eastern Frontier*, 3, as well as Lieu, “Captives, Refugees, and Exiles,” 491, interpret this law as a ban on “frontier fairs” in any place except these three areas. The interpretation often follows from analysis of the treaty of 298 and the importance of controlling the movements of merchants as potential spies. Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 53–54, conversely, sees it as a prohibition against exercising any business transaction [*nundinas exercere*] outside of these areas, not as a specific reference to fairs at all. Either way, the importance of keeping a close watch on merchants is clear.

54. Recorded at Lee, *Information*, 64.

55. *Amm. Marc.* 14.3.3, 18.8.13.

56. Procopius, *De Aedificiis* 3.3.9–11, cited in Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 78.

57. Optatus Milevitanus, *Contra Parm. Donat.* 3.4, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna: Academia Litterarum Caesariae Vindobonensis), vol. 26 (1893); see Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 120.

58. Ligt, *Fairs and Markets*, 121.

59. For an analysis of rural markets in Roman North Africa, see “Rural Markets in North Africa and the Political Economy of the Roman Empire,” in Shaw, *Rulers*, 37–83.

60. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 1.20, described in Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 68–69. Whittaker uses the presence of this market as proof that the Peutinger Table does not depict a linear frontier. But the presence of other fairs at the frontiers only further underscores the possibility of it actually being so.

61. *CIL* 4.4508.

62. Casson, *Travel*, 148.

63. With the best treatment in Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, esp. chap. 2, and, using central place theory, in appendix 1.

64. See Kearney, *World View*; Kearney, “Worldview.”

65. Lee, *Information*, 89.

66. A. Siegfried, *Germs and Ideas: Routes of Epidemics and Ideologies*, trans. J. Henderson and M. Clarasó (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 39. See also Lee, *Information*, 151–52.

67. See the discussion by Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Urban Continuity?” in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie and S. T. Lotheby (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), 4–6, for some crucial definitions. See also C. E. Stancliffe, “From Town to Country: The Christianization of the

Tourraine, 360–600,” in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 45, for a discussion of gradations of urbanity and rurality (*oppida*, *vicus*, *pagus*, and so forth).

68. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 714. See also K. Green, *Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 67–97.

69. N. Pounds cautions against an overemphasis on numbers in deciding rural versus urban. For instance, literary sources recognize as cities some areas with presumably no more than five hundred inhabitants. See Pounds, “Urbanization of the Classical World,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59 (1969): 135–52.

70. Based in part on Ward-Perkins, “Urban Continuity?” 4–6.

71. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, vol. 1, introduction.

72. Libanius, *or.* 12.71, 67.20, 18.264.

73. Rushworth, “North African Deserts,” 301.

74. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:116.

75. They also began to challenge or outshine centers of cultural focus even as some gave the impression of being cities with their walled sanctuaries and internal buildings. See Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:117.

76. Lewis, *News*, 39.

77. On eastern pilgrimage, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*. For travel and lodging on the way to and from pilgrimage sites, see Casson, *Travel*, 300–329.

78. On motives, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, esp. 2:116.

79. On the attraction and function of eastern Christian centers, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:116.

80. Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 112. See also Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues*, 258–59, for churches on main military roads.

81. John of Ephesus (507–89) records many examples of such shelter in *Lives of Eastern Saints*; see also Lieu, “Captives, Refugees, and Exiles,” 490.

82. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 6, 8, 23, 7, 20.

83. Theodore of Sykeon, *Life of St. Theodore* 3.

84. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:124.

85. *Life of St. Daniel the Stylite* 57.

86. *Life of St. Daniel the Stylite* 55, 56.

87. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:117.

88. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 23.4. On Isaurian raids in the second half of the fourth century, see Amm. Marc. 14.2.

89. S. Gregory, *Roman Military Architecture*, 97.

90. Basil, *ep.* 9.

91. Such as Theodore of Sykeon’s monastery near a major road. Gregory of Nazianzus also mentions monasteries near road stations. See *ep.* 163, 238. See Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:116, for epigraphic evidence that monasteries tended to follow road networks. See CIL 6660 for an example of the amenities that could be provided at some forts near the eastern frontier, just the type of arrangement a monastery could use.

92. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:116.

93. Cyprian, *ep.* 80.1; *Letters of Cyprian of Carthage*, trans. G. W. Clarke (New York: Newman, 1984).

94. Basil, *ep.* 231.

95. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 120.

96. Pollard, “Roman Army,” 211.

97. Wells, “*Profuit Inuitis te Dominare Capi*,” 441. See also Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 200: “as barbarian and Roman became more alike, the dominant upper-class ideology became more shrill in its chauvinistic refusal to recognize the fact.” Whittaker’s argument here seems to mirror an argument about mimicry set forth by H. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. F. Cooper and A. L. Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 152–60. Bhabha’s argument is based in colonial cultures and analyzes what he calls the “almost but not quite/not white” phenomenon in which the Other is mimicking the dominant but cannot ever be the same—“the reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference.” The Other that provokes the strongest yet most ambivalent response is the one who looks and acts the most like the colonizer. Whittaker’s analysis works well for an ancient Western European context, but I am not so sure about the other frontiers. Persians, for example, did not become more and more like Romans. Furthermore, neither they nor the African “Moors” carved out “sub-Roman” kingdoms after the fall of the Empire. In fact, we are told at one point that “crossing the Euphrates” made “a Roman resemble a Persian,” suggesting a cultural difference in appearance (Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle). The frontiers I am exploring maintained that crucial difference. Therefore, the ideology of frontiers seems not to have been worked out between Romans and barbarians in Europe but most likely along the Eastern frontier in response to heightened news flow.

CHAPTER 6

1. Terminus protected all Roman boundary markers, including those between private properties. Augustine here specifically connects him with the *finis* of the empire, showing that Terminus’ role extended very broadly. Terminus and Iuventas, two aspects of Jupiter, expressed both his military and protector aspects. Whittaker connects these dual aspects, via Dumézil, to polarities running deep in Indo-European culture. See Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 11, 29; see also “Terminus,” in *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894–1972), 781–84.

2. *De Civ. D.* 4.29.

3. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred*.

4. Both Brown, *Authority and the Sacred*, and MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, use the term *thought world* to summarize the Christian and pagan modes of thought.

5. See Chuvin, *Chronicle*.

6. See *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* on the distinguished career of Volusianus. See also Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 300.

7. MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*. See also MacMullen, *Christianizing*; MacMullen, *Paganism*.

8. See Bouche-Leclercq, *Histoire*, 549–76; Parke, *Sibyls*; Potter, *Prophets*; P. J. Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*; Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*; most recently (but rather thinly) Wildfang and Isager, *Divination and Portents*.

9. See the brief but helpful description of this theme in Cameron, “Remaking the Past,” 4–5.

10. Potter, *Prophets*, 2.

11. Although, as will be seen, there were some crucial shifts in presentation of divine and superstitious elements in histories. See MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, for an argument about the proliferation of “superstition” (*superstitio*) prior to and concurrent with Diocletian’s reign (284–305). MacMullen juxtaposes the more “scientific” observers of the earlier empire—Pliny, Plotinus, and Plutarch—with more superstitious types who came into positions of political and cultural power in the later Roman Empire. See also Momigliano, “Popular Religious Beliefs.”

12. Potter, *Prophets*, 213.

13. Examples abound in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eunapius, Zosimus, Photius, Olympiodorus, Philostorgius, and Socrates Scholasticus, among many others. See Momigliano, “Popular Religious Beliefs.”

14. See Momigliano, “Popular Religious Beliefs”; MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*. Not all recent historians have accepted this notion. See in particular, Potter, *Prophets*. Although he sees more continuity between historiography of the earlier and the later Empire than do MacMullen and Momigliano, Potter acknowledges that Ammianus was thoroughly convinced of divination (52).

15. See Beagon, *Roman Nature*, 85–87; MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, 74–102.

16. MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, 83.

17. Amm. Marc. 21.1.8, translation in Rike, *Apex Omnium*, 13–14.

18. Rike, *Apex Omnium*, 13–14; Liebeschuetz, “Ammianus, Julian, and Divination,” is helpful as well.

19. Amm. Marc. 21.1.13.

20. Amm. Marc. 21.1.13, 21.1.8–12.

21. *De Civ. D.* 4.29.

22. Niccoli, *Prophecy*.

23. Lerner, *Powers*, esp. 8.

24. Potter, *Prophets*, 97.

25. See J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 118–22, for a helpful introduction to the context of oracles in Ammianus.

26. McQuail, *Media Performance*.

27. J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 249.

28. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 272, 329–31.

29. Potter, *Prophets*, 94–95. See also Bowman and Woolf, *Literacy and Power*; chaps. 11 and 12 address Late Antiquity. Literacy in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages has been well explored by Petrucci, *Writers and Readers*; McKitterick, *Uses of Literacy*.

30. On the issue of continuity, see Liebeschuetz, “Ammianus, Julian, and Divination”; J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 226.

31. Cameron, “Remaking the Past,” 4.

32. Julian, *or.* 4.152.

33. See D. S. Potter, “Oracles,” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1071–72. The books were deposited from the early days of the Republic in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter and later in the temple of Palatine Apollo and were retained under a special body of priests, the *duoviri sacris faciundis*. The number and thus the designation of this group changed over time. See also Parke, *Sibyls*, 190–215.

34. Amm. Marc. 23.1.7: *imperatorem eo anno discedere a limitibus suis*. Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo* 2.52, records that the books were ultimately destroyed by Stilicho, but Procopius records that they were consulted in Latin as late as 536–37 (*Gothicus* 1.24).

35. Contrary to Athanasius' contention that oracles ceased to exist with Christ (*De Incarnatione* 8.46).

36. *The Shepherd of Hermas* and various interpreters of Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* among them.

37. On the complex question of the church fathers and the Sibylls, see Thompson, "Patristic Use"; Collins, "Development"; Parke, *Sibyls*; Potter, "Sibyls" (review of Parke).

38. Lactantius, *Epitome Institutionum* 68 (73), quoted in Collins, "Development." Other Christian writers who view the Sibylls favorably include Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Justin Martyr, Eusebius, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and St. Augustine.

39. *De Civ. D.* 18.23.

40. For prophecy in the Middle Ages, see Lerner, *Powers*; Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*.

41. See Goffart, "Zosimus," reprinted in W. Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After* (London: Hambleton, 1989), 81–110. See also Mazzarino, *End*; Kaegi, *Byzantium*.

42. Zosimus 1.57. Zosimus makes the first statement after telling a story about the Palmyrenes consulting an oracle about whether they would win the eastern Empire. His view of decreasing divination is probably responding to Christianization. See Zosimus 2.6–7. See also Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 6.19.17, 7.3.5, for examples of the neglect of oracles.

43. Zosimus 2.34.

44. See Liebeschuetz, "Ammianus, Julian, and Divination." For their use in the late Republic and early Empire, see Krause, "Interpretation."

45. MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation*.

46. See MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation*, for an analysis of the incidence and decline of portents in the late Roman Republic. For an analysis of the comparatively scarce early Imperial prodigies and their use, see Bowersock, "Mechanics."

47. See MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation*, for a helpful analysis of these two extremes of interpretation for the later Republic.

48. See Momigliano, "Popular Religious Beliefs." Against this common notion, see R. Scott, *Religion and Philosophy in the Histories of Tacitus* (Rome: American Academy, 1968).

49. Momigliano, "Popular Religious Beliefs," 8. On developments in Roman attitudes toward *superstitio*, see MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism*, 74–102.

50. See also Amm. Marc. 21.1.17, 21.14.3–5. For a discussion of these elements in Ammianus' historical writing, see Enßlin, *Zur Geschichtschreibung*, 83–96. See also Rike, *Apex Omnium*, 8–36; Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 174; Liebeschuetz, "Ammianus, Julian, and Divination"; most recently, Harrison, "Templum Mundi Totius."

51. Amm. Marc. 25.10.1. Libanius records that earthquakes were sent to prove that fate now disfavors the Empire; see *or.* 27 and 28.

52. Amm. Marc. 25.10.2. An alternate view is given in Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.28. Here "the victory of the cross was extolled" at Julian's death, and the

“imposture of the oracles was ridiculed, not only in the churches and in the assembly of the martyrs, but also in the theaters.”

53. Amm. Marc. 25.9.3: *provinciarum muro cessisse, cuius obices iam inde a vetustate innoxiae permanserunt*. Recall, however, Ammianus' faulty knowledge of the past here; his emphasis on the frontiers is instructive, but his knowledge of second- and third-century events seems skewed. The eastern frontier was long a negotiated space between the Roman and Persian Empires.

54. The connection of emperor statues to prodigies and other divination occurs throughout Roman Imperial history. Suetonius records miracles surrounding the moving of a statue of Caligula (*Vita Caligulae* 57.1), and Herodian (2.9.4) explains how portents preceding Severus' rise to power are recorded on his statue. See Price, *Rituals and Power*, 191–95. See also Bowersock, “Mechanics,” 307–8. On “animated” statues that delivered oracles, see J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 118; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 495–96; Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 133–35; Potter, *Prophets*, 121. For a connection of silver statues directly to the defense of the frontiers, see chap. 7.

55. J. Matthews, *Roman Empire*, 126–27, distinguishes Ammianus' account of Julian's eastern campaign by its emphasis specifically on divine elements.

56. Examples of such connections include the story of an old soldier left ill among the Persians by Galerius, when his “beard was just beginning to grow,” who now joyfully greets the Persian expedition of 363 at a ripe old age (Amm. Marc. 24.10.1); negotiations after Julian's death where the Persian king specifically and obstinately demands the lands that “were his and had been taken long ago by Maximianus [Galerius]” (25.7.9; the specific land demanded was “five provinces on the far side of the Tigris: Arzanena, Moxoëna, and Zabdicena, as well as Rehimena and Corduena with fifteen fortresses, besides Nisibis, Singara and Castra Maurorum, a very important stronghold”); negotiations over prodigies before the campaign in which philosophers claim that the prodigies did not doom Galerius' campaign and therefore should not trouble Julian's (23.5.11).

57. Amm. Marc. 23.5.11 (D&L 128).

58. For other references to this episode, see Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 39, 33–36; Festus, *Breviarium* 14, 25; Eutropius 9.24–25, 1; Jerome, *Chronicon* s.a. 302, 304; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* Car. 9.3; Orosius, *Adversos Paganos* 7.25, 9–11.; *Chronicon Paschale* 512, 513; Jordanes, *Getica* 21 (110); Malalas 13; Theophanes, *Chronicon*; Eutychius, *Annales*; Zonaras XII.

59. Festus, *Breviarium* 14.

60. Eadie, “Transformation,” 74.

61. *Panegyrici* N&R, 9.21.1–3.

62. Although this statue of Galerius presumably no longer exists, there is a parallel that still does. The famous colossal bronze statue standing before the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Barletta features a late Roman emperor holding a sphere in his left hand (see fig. 9). The identity of the statue is disputed, although many point to Valentinian I (r. 364–75). It is variously identified as definitely Valentinian (A. Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* [New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986] and Loeb Library Ammianus, vol. 3, frontispiece), possibly Valentinian (Brown, *World of Late Antiquity*), Heraclius (S. Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1967]), Marcianus (R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*

[Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933]), and an “unknown late antique emperor” (MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*). Using parallels from Ammianus, it may be possible to identify this statue more affirmatively. For Ammianus also describes Valentinian as crucial to restoring and maintaining the frontiers of the Empire; hence, he also helped to stabilize the cosmos, in effect, and thus he could be presented as holding it in his own control. His work of restoring the Rhine frontier makes him worthy to bear the sphere as cosmos in hand. Valentinian, perhaps the best emperor-general of the late fourth century, was largely responsible for restoring the Rhine frontier. The parallel, then, is natural.

63. Amm. Marc. 23.5.7.

64. Amm. Marc. 23.5.10–11.

65. Libanius, *or.* 18.297, 27.30.

66. The connection of deformed humans or animals to divine wrath was also prevalent during the Renaissance and Reformation eras. See Niccoli, *Prophecy*.

67. Amm. Marc. 19.12.19–20.

68. “The Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon,” in *Three Byzantine Saints*, ed. Dawes and Baynes, 127, 134.

69. Niccoli, *Prophecy*, xv–xvi.

70. Incidentally, such search for meaning through eschatology is not just a thing of the past. Certain elements of our own “modern” (or “postmodern”) world show a tendency to search for meaning in similar ways. One current example is the extreme popularity of the Left Behind series (ca. 60 million copies now sold). This should show us the potential popularity of attempts to read prophecy in light of the present moment (at least from a crass marketing perspective). Current conservative religious efforts to shape media (*Today in Bible Prophecy*, with Jack Van Impe, is only one of many examples) also show the same tendency as the ancients. The parallels between modern fundamentalist media and Late Antique modes of thought on this point could use further study.

71. See the still useful analysis in Anderson, *Alexander’s Gate*, 9. He references Commodianus’ *Carmen Apologeticum* 803–14. The dates of Commodianus’ life are in dispute, ranging from the third to the fifth century. His provenance also is uncertain, with North Africa and Syria being suggested. His language and tone suggest a work aimed at uneducated Christians. See Fontaine, *Naissance*, 39–52.

72. See Matthew 24:15; Mark 13:14, referring to Daniel 9:27, 11:31, 12:11.

73. Ambrose, *De Fide* 1.137–38: *namque et futuram nostri depopulationem et bella Gothorum Ezechiel illo iam tempore profetavit. . . . Gog iste Gothus est, quem iam videmus exisse. The text continues, de quo promittitur nobis futura victoria, dicente Domino: ‘Et depraedabuntur es qui depraedati eos fuerant, et despoliabunt eos qui sibi spolia detraxerant, dicit Dominus. Eritque in die illa, dabo Gog (hoc est, Gothis) locum nominatum, monumentum Israel multorum virorum congestum, qui supervenerunt ad mare; et per circuitum struet os vallis, et obruet illic Gog et totam multitudinem eius, et vocabitur Ge Polyandrium Gog; et obruet eos domus Israel ut purgetur terra’* (quoted from Lenski, “Initium Mali Romano Imperio,” 157).

74. *De Civ. D.* 20.11.

75. Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem* XI, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), 25.15–490: he writes, “in prophetia difficillima illud breviter ad-monebo, quod vir nostrae aetatis haud ignobilis, ad imperatorem scribens, super hac natione

dixerit: Gog iste Gothus est, cui qua ratione possint omnia quae in ea scripta sunt coaptari, nonest meum sed eorum qui hoc putant dissere."

76. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Auctores Antiquissimi)* (Berlin: Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1877–1919), 11: *Gothi a Magog filio Iaphet nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimae syllabae, quos veteres magis Getas quam Gothos vocaverunt.*

77. For the medieval references, see Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*.

78. For a wide-ranging look at apocalypticism in the ancient Near East, Egypt, Persia, India, and Syro-Palestine, see N. Cohn, *Cosmos, Chaos, and the World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). For discussions of Persian apocalypticism in particular, see G. Widengren, "Leitende Ideen und Quellen der Iranischen Apokalypsic," in *Apocalypticism*, ed. Hellholm, 77–162; A. Hultgård, "Das Judentum in der Hellenistisch-Römischen Zeit und die Iranische Religion—Ein Religionsgeschichtliche Problem," in *ANRW*, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini, II.19.1 (1979): 512–90; A. Hultgård, "Persian Apocalypticism," in *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. Collins, McGinn, and Stein, 39–83; M. Boyce, "On the Antiquity of Zoroastrian Apocalyptic," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 57–75.

79. Although most scholars accept the genre of apocalypse, Potter does not see it as a category distinct from or within prophecy (see Potter, *Prophets*, 3, 215). See also L. Hartman, "Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," in *Apocalypticism*, ed. Hellholm, 329–43.

80. J. J. Collins, ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979). See also Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*.

81. On the Christian and Jewish apocalyptic genre in general, see P. J. Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*; P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*; A. Yarbro Collins, "Early Christian Apocalypses"; D. S. Russell, *Method and Message*.

82. For a very helpful overview of terminology, see C. V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1–18.

83. On the question of pagan historical theory in the later Empire, see Momiigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography."

84. For a basic reference to Jewish apocalyptic literature with abundant further reference and extensive bibliography, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*. See also D. S. Russell, *Method and Message*.

85. D. S. Russell, *Method and Message*, 18, quoted in P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*, 127.

86. On the fascinating question of pagan versus Christian response to crisis, see in particular Alföldy, "Crisis." He writes, "there was no fundamental difference between pagan and Christian attitudes toward actual problems or even toward the fate of the Roman Empire. On the contrary, the symptoms of that crisis and its character as a general transformation and decay were regarded by pagan and Christian authors in a similar manner and sometimes expressed in astonishingly similar terminology; when explaining the causes, they argued against each other, but partly with the same arguments, and in arguing they showed also similar conceptions of history; and their attitudes toward prospects for the future were not unlike" (110).

87. Hippolytus, *In Danielelem*. See Potter, *Prophets*, 106–7.

88. Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 3: *hoc etiam nobis tacentibus . . . mundus ipse iam loquitur et occasum sui rerum labentium probatione testatur*. See also Alföldy, “Crisis,” 95, 103.

89. Cyprian, *ep.* 80.1. On Cyprian’s “intelligence service,” see chap. 4; G. Alföldy, “Der Heilige Cyprian und die Krise des Römischen Reiches,” *Historia* 22 (1973): 479–190. See also Alföldy, “Crisis,” 96.

90. Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 4 (*Fathers of the Church*, trans.).

91. Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 17. *Vt memorias taceamus antiquas et ultiones pro cultoribus Dei saepe repetitas nullo uocis praeconio reuoluamus, documentum recentis rei satis est quod sic celeriter quodque in tanta celeritate sic granditer nuper secuta defensio est ruinis reru, iacturis opum, dispendio, deminutione castrorum.*

92. Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 17.

93. See in particular Alföldy’s analysis of Cyprian’s altered views between 246 and 258 in response to news of changing historical circumstances in “Der Heilige Cyprian und die Krise des Römischen Reiches.”

94. Ambrose, *Ex. Evan. Lucae* 10.10 (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 32): *verborum autem caelestium nulli magis quam nos testes sumus, quos mundi finis inuenit. quanta enim proelia et quas opiniones accepimus proeliorum! Chuni in Halanos, Halani in Gothos, Gothi in Taifalos et Sarmatas insurrexerunt, nos quoque in Illyrico exules patriae Gothorum exilia fecerunt et nondum est finis . . . ergo quia in occasu saeculi sumus, praecedunt quaedam aegritudines mundi* (trans. Lenski “*Initium Mali Romano Imperio*,” 157).

95. Ambrose, *De Excessu Fratris* 1.30: *totius orbis excidia, mundi finem*.

96. See above on Jerome’s and Augustine’s objection to such specific eschatology as cases in point.

97. Burgess, *Chronicle of Hydatius*, 6.

98. See Burgess, “Hydatius and the Final Frontier.”

99. See Potter, *Prophecy*.

100. Potter, *Prophecy*; for a description of each of the thirteen books, see 95–102. Potter bases the “person on the street” contention on the fact that the work was written by a provincial with no obvious connection with the government (vi).

101. Potter, *Prophecy*, 97.

102. Potter, *Prophecy*, 102.

103. Potter, *Prophecy*, 138, 140.

104. That this city itself was viewed as a frontier city can be demonstrated in an exchange of letters between Julian and Libanius. Libanius, *or.* 1.132–34, claims that Julian had written him a letter from the frontier of the Empire. The letter he refers to, Julian, *ep.* 98, was written at Hierapolis.

105. See Chapot, *Frontière*, 338; see also P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*, 338.

106. P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*, 48–65.

107. See P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*, 129–35, for an explanation of how the sixth-century texts revised the fourth-century text to better fit prophecy with present historical circumstances.

108. P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*, lines 141–42.

109. P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*, lines 183–85.

110. I Enoch 100:1–3 records blood reaching the breasts of horses; II Esdras 15:35–36 places it as high as a horse’s belly.

111. P. J. Alexander, *Oracle*.

112. Isaac, *Limits*. On the cities of the East making up the network that formed the eastern frontier, see Isaac, *Limits*; Isaac, “Meaning.”

113. *Baalbek* lines 170–72. The Sibyl (Baalbek) predicted that in the reigns of Valens, Valentinian I, and Jovian, “the barbarians will not harm the cities of the Roman Empire,” 98. It takes a real stretch of the imagination to hold that Jovian did, in fact, secure peace on the eastern frontier. See Zosimus 5.41 for decline of cities and aid of cities by divinity.

114. See Mango, “Heraclius,” 117.

115. Rushworth, “North African Deserts,” 300–301. There is, of course, a great deal of difficulty in analyzing North African frontiers. For a recent overview of debates about where and how to locate North African frontiers, see Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, esp. 28–35. See Daniels, “Frontiers: Africa,” for the suggestion that roads and forts formed the North African *limes*.

CHAPTER 7

1. Julian, *or.* 4.132c; see also 137c, d; Libanius, *or.* 12.91.

2. Olympiodorus, frag. 27, in Blockley, *Fragmentary*.

3. Zosimus 6.

4. See E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, which explores the cult of saints along the eastern frontier, arguing that “we cannot afford to project onto our evidence a separation of religious belief and military or political action” (3).

5. Libanius, *or.* 12.51.

6. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 19:329–42; on these relics, see Mango, “Constantine’s Mausoleum”; cf. E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 46.

7. See Procopius, *De Aedificiis* 4.4, 5.7, 4.11. For cults of military saints, see Orselli, *Santità Militare*. See also E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 4.

8. Theodoret, *Graec. Aff. Cur.* 8, p. 335, quoted in E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 46.

9. Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* 1.1, in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Migne, 82.1304D.

10. E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*.

11. See Zosimus, 2.6–7, 34.

12. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII* 7.22: *solvuntur repente undique permissu Dei ad hoc circumpositae relictaeque gentes, laxatisque habenis in omnes Romanorum fines invehuntur*. See Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.21, for an example of God’s protection being removed from Julian as the Persians cross the frontier.

13. James of Edessa, “Hymns of Severus of Antioch” 216, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin, F. Neu, and A. Graffin. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1907–), 75.676. See chap. 3 for a discussion of the wall metaphor.

14. Theodoret, *Graec. Aff. Cur.* 8, p. 335. See E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 96, 55, 76.

15. E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 96; cf. Theodoret, *Graec. Aff. Cur.* 8, 335.

16. E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 65.

17. Joh. Diakrin, frag. 2.558, p. 157; John Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* 47, quoted in E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 65, n. 25.

18. *Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi* 13. Ed. Ivan de Gheyn in *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895): 371–95. “ἐν τοῖς λιμίτοις πλησιοχώροις οὐσι τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνει”; both quoted in E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 9–10.
19. CIL 8.5352, trans. in E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 47.

CHAPTER 8

1. *Illic enim tibi no Vestalis focus, non lapis Capitolinus, sed Deus unus et verus / Ne metas rerum tempora ponet / Imperium sine fine dabit* (*De Civ. D.* 2.29).
2. *De Civ. D.* 2.29.
3. For an overview of the connection of the City of God idea to Roman civic-mindedness, see Mazzolani, *Idea*.
4. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.
5. The thesis of G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*. Fowden continues by arguing that monotheism is also the Achilles’ heel of empire—insistence on doctrinal rigidity and the consistent demand to separate heresy from orthodoxy tended to break down the universal empire into the reality of commonwealths.
6. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*; see also Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna*.
7. These are well explored in McCormick, *Eternal Victory*; MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*.
8. Amm. Marc. 14.6.3–4.
9. J. Matthews, “Ammianus and the Eternity.”
10. Florus, *Epitome Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC.* 1 pr. 4ff. Some scholars have argued that this Ammianus passage was lifted from Florus. See also MacMullen, *Enemies*, 335.
11. See, for example, Amm. Marc. 14.6.4 (quoted earlier); Augustine, *Sermo* 81.8; Libanius, or. 18.281 (here Julian had restored the world to proper health again, so the decline was not automatic). See MacMullen, *Enemies*, 335 for these and other references; MacMullen, *Corruption*.
12. Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 3–25.
13. Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 3, quoted in MacMullen, *Enemies*, 161.
14. *De Civ. D.* 20.7.1; Augustine, *De Diversis Questionibus Octoginta Tribus* 83.58.2; Augustine, *ep.* 199.1.1. See Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 296. See also Luneau, *Histoire*; Schwarte, *Vorgeschichte*; Markus, *Saeculum*.
15. On the kingdoms topos, see Mendels, “Five Empires”; J. W. Swain, “The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire,” *Classical Philology* 35 (1940): 1–21; S. K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334–31 B.C.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961); D. Flusser, “The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 148–75.
16. See in particular Demandt, *Zeitkritik*.
17. Lenski, “*Initium Mali Romano Imperio*,” 163; cf. J. Matthews, “Ammianus and the Eternity.”
18. For listings of all known references to third-century emperors designated as *restitutor*, *restitutor orbis*, *restitutor saeculi*, *restitutor patriae*, *restitutor orbis totius*, *restitutor orientis*, *restitutor gentis*, *restitutor publicae securitatis ac libertatis conservator*, and *restitutor sacrorum et libertatis*, see Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature*.

19. See Lightfoot, “Trajan’s Parthian War.” Lightfoot argues convincingly that Festus and Eutropius were using Trajan as a prod to Valens. See Barnes, “Constantine,” 132.

20. See Potter, *Roman Empire*, 446–47.

21. *Panegyrici N&R* 2.23.1: *dum ultra terminos rerum metasque Naturae regna Orientis extendis*.

22. On the rhetoric of universal empire, see in particular Cameron, *Christianity*; G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*.

23. Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeorum* 7: *inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita*.

24. Potter, *Roman Empire*, 445–46.

25. See Potter, *Roman Empire*, 444, on this contrast. Constantine “plainly considered the traditions of the ‘barbarians’ across Rome’s frontiers as being less worthy of respect and their lands to be fertile territory for the expansion of the faith.” This point is often made with reference to the Constantinian architecture of Rome. The pagan core of Rome was left largely intact by Constantine as he pushed his own architectural program on the outskirts of the city and in Constantinople.

26. See Barnes, “Constantine.”

27. Wolska-Conus, *Topographie*, 503–5.

28. Barnes, “Constantine.” See also G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 93.

29. On the ostensible free movement of Christians across the eastern frontier, see Lee, *Information*, 55.

30. Lee, *Information*, 445–46.

31. Barnes, “Constantine,” 136.

32. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.24. See Eusebius, ed. Cameron and Hall, 320; D. de Decker and G. Dupois-Masay, “L’Épiscopat’ de l’Empereur Constantin,” *Byzantion* 50 (1980): 118–57, for a variety of views.

33. G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 91–93. Eusebius, ed. Cameron and Hall, 320, challenges Fowden’s interpretation of the title, claiming that it refers only to those outside the church with no reference to those beyond Roman frontiers.

34. Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.8. See G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 91–93. Fowden sees “nothing inherently implausible” about Constantine’s role in this process as building a universal Christian empire by invading Persia (96).

35. On one later effort, see Mango, “Heraclius.”

36. For the complete text of the letter, see Eusebius: *The Life of Constantine* 4.8–13. On the question of Persian Christians, see in particular M.-L. Chaumont, *La Christianisation de l’Empire Iranien des Origines aux Grandes Persécutions du IV^e Siècle* (Louvain: Peeters, 1988).

37. Eusebius: *The Life of Constantine* 4.14.1; cf. the wording of 4.49–50, showing a universal empire with Constantine even ruling over India.

38. Eusebius, *In Praise of Constantine* 16.6, in H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius’ Tricennial Orations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

39. Augustine, *ep.* 199.46. For the full text, see chap. 4.

40. Augustine, *ep.* 199.47: “The Lord did not promise the Romans but all nations to the seed of Abraham. . . . Some nations, not held under Roman power, have received the gospel and have been joined to the Church.” Augustine specifically notes that such was not the case for those beyond the North African frontiers. In passages

such as these, Augustine distances himself from the Kingdom of God = Roman Empire model prevalent in Christian historiography of the mid- to late fourth and early fifth centuries. His emphasis here suggests that he is fighting an uphill battle against this particular Christian ideology.

41. Contrast this with the eschatological reading of the Christianization of Persia noted in Mango, "Heraclius," 117.

42. Potter puts the appointment of Ulfila at 337, just before Constantine died (*Roman Empire*, 444). 341 appears to be the latest possible date; see G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 93 n. 62, for further references.

43. Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, 143.

CONCLUSION

1. See Eger, "Islamic Frontiers."

2. F. J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1893, 199–207.