

# SHAPING THE DIOCESES OF ASIANA AND AFRICA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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List of Abbreviations:

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| <i>AE:</i>              | Année Épigraphique                                  |
| <i>BSA:</i>             | Annual of the British School at Athens              |
| <i>CIL:</i>             | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum                      |
| <i>FIR<sup>2</sup>:</i> | Fontes Iuris Romani Ante-iustiniani, edition altera |
| <i>ILAlg:</i>           | Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie                   |
| <i>ILS:</i>             | Inscriptiones Latinae selectae (Dessau)             |
| <i>IRT:</i>             | Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania                  |
| <i>MAMA:</i>            | Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua                     |
| <i>OGIS:</i>            | Orientis Graecae inscriptiones selectae             |
| <i>SEG:</i>             | Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum                   |
| <i>TAM:</i>             | Tituli Asiae Minoris                                |

## Introduction

When the Roman Empire was faced by many difficulties in the third century, which were affecting the internal stability of the realm, drastic reforms were needed in order to overcome the prevalent crisis. Although there were emperors who tried to reform the state, none of them could reign long enough, since they were targets of usurpers and their assassins. The first emperor who succeeded to regain internal stability was emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305). Under his rule attempts were made to reform the stagnated economy, to reclaim lost territory and to revise the political system which had ruled the Empire for centuries.

The installation of the diarchy in 286, which was expanded into a tetrarchy in 293, is most likely Diocletian's most famous reform.<sup>1</sup> Instead of the Empire traditionally being ruled by one emperor, it was now governed by a college of two senior emperors, *Augusti*, and by two junior emperors, *Caesares*. Each emperor had to govern roughly a quarter of the Roman realm, which increased the attention that an individual emperor could give to one region. Since almost every predecessor of Diocletian was assassinated by rivals, reforms were executed to reduce the chance of a new coup d'état. Therefore, a strict distinction was made between military and civil offices which made the provincial governors less powerful. In order to make governors less threatening and to make provinces more manageable, provinces were divided into smaller units.<sup>2</sup> Diocletian was not the first emperor who did this, for instance the emperor Aurelian (r. 270-275) made provincial changes in Italia and Moesia Superior.<sup>3</sup> Diocletian, however, did this more extensively than his predecessors. The increase in the number of provinces expanded the imperial bureaucracy significantly.

The imperial administration was further enlarged by the installation of the dioceses, although it is not sure if it was Diocletian or his successor Constantine the Great (r. 306-337) who created them. However, scholars believe that the dioceses were probably inaugurated between the years 293 and 314.<sup>4</sup> The dioceses were in fact groups of bundled adjacent

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<sup>1</sup> The term tetrarchy has not been used to address Diocletian's new political system until the nineteenth century when Hermann Schiller (1839-1902) introduced it in 1887. See: Hermann Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 2 vol. (Gotha, 1887), II: 199; Bill Leadbetter, *Galerius and the will of Diocletian* (Abingdon, 2009), 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Karl L. Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese als Mittelinstanz des spätrömischen Verwaltungssystems', *Historia* 31 (1982), 70-81, here 71.

<sup>3</sup> Daniëlle Slootjes, 'Late antique administrative structures: On the meaning of dioceses and their borders in the fourth century AD', in: Lee Brice and Daniëlle Slootjes (ed.), *Aspects of ancient institutions and geography: Studies in honour of Richard J.A. Talbert* (Leiden 2014) 177-195, here 186.

<sup>4</sup> For the argumentation to attribute the creation of the dioceses to Diocletian and his co-emperors see: William Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris, 1946), 336; Arnold H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: a social, economic and administrative survey*, 3 vol. (Oxford, 1964), I: 373; Timothy D. Barnes, *The new Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Harvard, 1982), 224-225; Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy c.300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 373-374; Elio Lo Cascio, 'The new state of Diocletian and Constantine: From the tetrarchy to the reunification of the empire', *The Cambridge Ancient History* 12 (2002), 170-183, here 181; Michael Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its cities* (Baltimore, 2004), 72; Javier Arce, *El último siglo de la España Romana, 284- 409* (Madrid, 1982; revised edition 2009), 43-46. For the argumentation to attribute the creation of the dioceses to Constantine and his co-emperors see: Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese', 75; Joachim Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter. Prätorianerpräfektur und Vikariat in der Regionalverwaltung des Römischen Reiches von Konstantin bis zur Valentinianischen Dynastie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 54; Constantin Zuckerman, 'Sur la liste de Vérone et la province de Grande Arménie, la division de l'Empire et la date de création des diocèses', in: Vincent Déroche (red.), *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron, Travaux et Mémoires* (Paris, 2002), 617-637, here 636.

provinces, which created a larger geographical, but most of all an administrative unit. Originally there were twelve dioceses at the time of creation: Africa, Asiana, Britanniae, Galliae, Hispaniae, Italia, Moesiae, Oriens, Pannoniae, Pontica, Thracia, Vienensis. The names of these dioceses were enlisted in the *Laterculus Veronensis*, which was merely a list of the dioceses and their provinces, presumably written in the first quarter of the fourth century.<sup>5</sup>

The head of a diocese, the *vicarius*, was responsible for the general functioning of the diocese. Nowadays scholars believe that *vicarii* were intermediate officials between the lower in rank provincial governors and the higher in rank praetorian prefects. However, there were exceptions in this hierarchy since proconsuls could bypass the *vicarius* and go straight to the praetorian prefect or the emperor. In addition, there were some cases in which governors had to report directly to the praetorian prefect or the emperor. Therefore, caution is required in order to not make a strict hierarchy of governor, *vicarius*, praetorian prefect and emperor.<sup>6</sup>

Although the dioceses were an integral part of the late antique administrative structures, it is still a topic which has not received proper scholarly attention. For instance, the exact function of the *vicarius* remains unclear and it is still unknown who made the decisions concerning the creation of the dioceses. Even more important to know would be what factors played a role in the creation process of these dioceses. Since every diocese differed in size and in cultural and historical background, it is plausible that some dioceses needed a different approach than others in order to create them. When we take a closer look at the dioceses of Africa and Asiana, it becomes evident that these two dioceses differed greatly from each other in terms of culture, history and geography. Africa, which provinces are a combination of arable lands and desert, was only urbanised around the coastline and near areas that rendered sufficient agricultural yield. In addition, various semi-nomadic desert tribes lived within or around Africa's border which required a different approach concerning the taxation of these groups. Asiana on the other hand did not have to deal with nomads as it was one of the most urbanised parts of the Empire with a long history of Greek influence. It probably had the highest population density of the Roman Empire, disregarding the region of Rome itself, of course. Both dioceses had a proconsular province within their limits, making them unique since there were no other proconsular provinces when the dioceses were created. Another similarity between these two dioceses is the way the regions were conquered. The provincial borders created during the Republican era and the early principate were established by annexing former client states. These provinces therefore were based on pre-Roman states which kept playing a role during late antiquity. Cultural, geographical and historical factors were important during the creation of the first Roman provinces and seem to have played a role in the process of setting up the dioceses.

Research on such factors has been done only by a few scholars. Although there are some studies concerning the reasoning behind the creation of the dioceses, there are almost

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<sup>5</sup> Timothy D. Barnes, 'The unity of the Verona list', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 16 (1975), 275-278, here 276; Barnes, *The new Empire*, 201-208.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 374-375; Slootjes, 'Late antique administrative structures', 181.

none which examine dioceses in-depth. Forthcoming, however, are two articles authored by Daniëlle Slootjes which will be published at the end of this year and in 2017.<sup>7</sup>

This study will therefore be in line with these forthcoming studies and has the aim to be a stepping stone to a better understanding concerning the potential factors in the decision-making process. In order to do so, an overview will be presented on the exact state of affairs concerning the dioceses. The aim of this study is to show that several factors were influential in the decision-making process and tries to answer the central research question: Why were particular factors influential in the decision-making process behind the creation of the dioceses of Asiana and Africa?

By answering this question a hypothesis will be created which will at least provide a nuanced idea of the obstacles that had to be faced by the Romans in order to create the administrative layer of dioceses and will hopefully be of value for the debate concerning the dioceses.

## Status Quaestionis

From the nineteenth century onwards, several studies concerning the dioceses have been published.<sup>8</sup> Until the 1980s scholars connected emperor Diocletian's reform program with the creation of the dioceses. This connection became the traditional view on why and by whom the dioceses were created. Although this notion has an important common feature, many of its followers disagree with each other about when they were inaugurated exactly. The source on which much of the traditional point of view is based is the hagiography of Saint Marcellus of Tangiers called the *Acta Marcelli*.<sup>9</sup> In this tale, a centurion was brought to justice by Aurelius Agricolanus who was an *agentem vice praefectorum* on 30 October 298 in Tingi (modern Tangiers).<sup>10</sup> This vice agent of the praetorian prefect is seen by many historians as another name for the *vicarius*, especially after the study of Michael Arnheim which seems to have created a general consensus among scholars who support the traditional view.<sup>11</sup> If the *agentem vice praefectorum* and the *vicarius* were the same office, which is contested, then there is evidence that the dioceses or at least the diocese of Hispaniae existed in late 298.

The traditional view of Diocletian as the mastermind behind the dioceses was contested for the first time in 1982 by the study of Karl Leo Noethlichs in which he stated that

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<sup>7</sup> Daniëlle Slootjes, 'The decision-making process behind the anchoring of provinces and dioceses into a new Late Roman administrative system: a case study of the diocese of Hispaniae', in: Michael Jursa, Bernhard Palme, Sven Tost (eds.), *Land, Labour and Power: Governing Ancient Empires. Proceedings of the 3rd to 5th International Conferences of the Research Network Imperium and Officium* (Vienna, forthcoming 2016); Eadem, 'The effects of Diocletianic and Constantinian provincial reforms on provinces, governors and dioceses in the age of Constantine's sons', in: Nicholas Brian-Baker and Shaun Tougher (eds), *In the Shadows of Constantine and Julian: The Roman Empire AD 337-361*, (Cambridge, forthcoming 2017).

<sup>8</sup> The creation of the dioceses had already been described by Edward Gibbon in 1781. However, it was only mentioned briefly and can therefore not be seen as a real study concerning the dioceses. See: Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vol. (London, 1776-89), II: 36-37.

<sup>9</sup> For the original text and the English translation see: *Acta Marcelli*, translation, introduction and commentary by Herbert A. Musurillo, *The acts of Christian martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), 250-259.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Acta Marcelli*, 250; Arnold H. M. Jones, John R. Martindale en John Morris, *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, 3 vol. (Cambridge, 1971; reprinted 1975), I: 31, 1080.

<sup>11</sup> Michael T.W Arnheim, 'Vicars in the later Roman Empire', *Historia* 19 (1970), 593-606.

there is only contemporary evidence for the itemisation of the provinces, however, not for the creation of the dioceses.<sup>12</sup> Although in Lactantius's *De mortibus persecutorum*, a *vicarii praefectorum* is mentioned, there is no suggestion that there was a link between this official and the dioceses.<sup>13</sup> This *vicarii praefectorum* was a deputy of the praetorian prefect and both offices probably had no corresponding territory of jurisdiction at the time of Diocletian.<sup>14</sup> The first notion of the word *vicarius* alone can be found in a law, issued in 314, of the Codex Theodosianus; a fifth century law codex which compiled laws from the fourth and fifth century.<sup>15</sup> Noethlichs argues that this *vicarius* too did not have a corresponding territory of jurisdiction since in the title of this law none is mentioned, while most of the later laws also mention the specific diocese to which the *vicarius* belonged.<sup>16</sup>

In agreement with Noethlichs's scepticism is Joachim Migl, who disagrees with the general idea that a *vicarius* and an *agentem vice praefectorum* were exactly the same. The latter one is in Migl's view less independent from the praetorian prefect than the *vicarius*.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the precise function of both offices is largely unknown and at the beginning of the fourth century, the system of dioceses was probably still in a trial phase since some laws were issued to overcome the adaption problems, of especially governors, which arised after the installation of the new administrative hierarchy.<sup>18</sup>

Both Noethlichs and Migl contest the traditional view and believe that the dioceses were created during the reign of Constantine instead of Diocletian. This idea can be strengthened by the contribution of Constantin Zuckerman in which he made clear that the original twelve dioceses were mentioned for the first time on the *Laterculus Veronensis* which he dated to the summer of 314.<sup>19</sup> The *Laterculus Veronensis* had also been dated by Theodor Mommsen in the nineteenth century in which he claimed it was crafted in 297.<sup>20</sup> Although Mommsen's dating is proved to be out-dated, it served until the 1950's and backed the argument that it was Diocletian who created the dioceses.<sup>21</sup>

If Zuckerman's dating is correct, then the first notion of the dioceses as well as the first notion of a *vicarius* can be dated at the year 314. If this is the case, Noethlichs's argument that the *vicarii* did not have an assigned territory of jurisdiction in 314 becomes quite problematic and untenable since there are twelve laws which do also not mention the diocese to which the *vicarius* was assigned but all these laws are dated after the summer of 314.<sup>22</sup> The arguments favouring Diocletian, have been deconstructed from the 1980's onwards and have proved that this traditional view is problematic and might even be false.

<sup>12</sup> Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese', 72. Noethlichs is referring in this case to: Lucius Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, translated by Alfons Städele, Fontes Christiani 43 (Turnhout, 2003), 7.4, 104-105.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 7.4, 106-107.

<sup>14</sup> Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese', 72.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, [2.7.1 of 314], translated by Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1969).

<sup>16</sup> Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese', 75.

<sup>17</sup> Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 58-59.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, [1.15.3 of 353, 1.15.4 of 362, 1.15.17 of 377].

<sup>19</sup> Zuckerman, 'Sur la liste de Vérone', 628.

<sup>20</sup> Theodor Mommsen, *Verzeichniss der römischen Provinzen: aufgesetzt um 297* (Berlin, 1863), 493.

<sup>21</sup> John B. Bury, 'The provincial list of Verona', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 13 (1923), 127-151; Arnold H.M. Jones, 'The date and value of the Verona list', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954), 21-29; Barnes, 'The unity of the Verona list', 275.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, [1.22.1 of 316, 2.15.1 of 319, 4.16.2 of 379, 8.8.7 of 379, 9.29.1 of 374, 9.36.1 of 385, 9.38.6 of 381, 9.38.7 of 384, 10.19.9 of 378, 11.13.9 of 319, 14.6.3 of 365, 16.5.1 of 326 ]. The law to which

Besides the debates that are going on concerning the question when the dioceses were created and if a *vicarius* and an *agentem vice praefectorum* are the same office or not, there are more questions that remain problematic or have been poorly investigated. For instance, it is assumed by almost every scholar that the emperor created the dioceses, however, this has never been proven. Although it is very plausible that emperors were involved in such important decisions and reforms, it is not unlikely that various other officials were involved in the decision-making process. To make this matter more complex: was it only one emperor who made decisions or were all emperors of the ruling tetrarchy involved in this process? In almost every study concerning the creation of the dioceses, only Diocletian and Constantine are named which, in my opinion, is wrong. During the tetrarchy, no emperor could have taken such an important reforming decision without cooperation of the other tetrarchs. However, the members of the first tetrarchy rarely ever met and campaigned near the borders in order to regain lost territory and to strengthen the fortifications along the Empire's boundaries, while the second tetrarchy was more preoccupied with internal warfare to increase their influence in the Roman realm.<sup>23</sup> Due to the lack of contemporary evidence, we simply do not know how the decision-making process worked, making its reconstruction almost impossible.

This lack of evidence does not mean, however, that it is impossible to investigate which topics were discussed during this decision-making process, since some general guidelines concerning the dioceses can be established. For instance, the size of a diocese was not a guiding principle since Noethlichs showed that for instance the diocese of Africa was ca. 400.000 km<sup>2</sup> while the diocese of Asiana was only ca. 200.000 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>24</sup> In addition, dioceses did not have to belong geographically to each other. Slootjes brought up the example of the diocese of Hispania which had six provinces; however, the province of Mauretania Tingitana was separated by the Strait of Gibraltar from the other five Iberian provinces.<sup>25</sup> This example shows that other factors were more influential than a geographical connection. These two short examples show that there were various factors which were influential for the decision-making process.

Therefore more research is needed in order to reveal more influential factors which this study tends to do. During this research concerning the dioceses of Asiana and Africa it became evident that the historical and cultural backgrounds of both territories have played a large role in the decision-making process. Since there were almost none available, this study is accompanied by a collection of new maps which will represent the administrative changes which occurred before, during and after the installation of the dioceses. Although there are some issues with mapping the Roman world, it is still valuable to create such maps since it provides a strong visual image of the changes which the administrative structures underwent from the third century onwards.

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Noethlichs is referring *Codex Theodosianus*, [2.7.1 of 314] is dated before the summer of 314 since it was issued in March.

<sup>23</sup> For the known locations of the emperors during their reign, see: Barnes, *The new Empire*, 49-56 for Diocletian, 56-61 for Maximian, 60-61 for Constantius and 61-64 for Galerius.

<sup>24</sup> Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese', 73-74.

<sup>25</sup> Slootjes, 'Late antique administrative structures', 183.

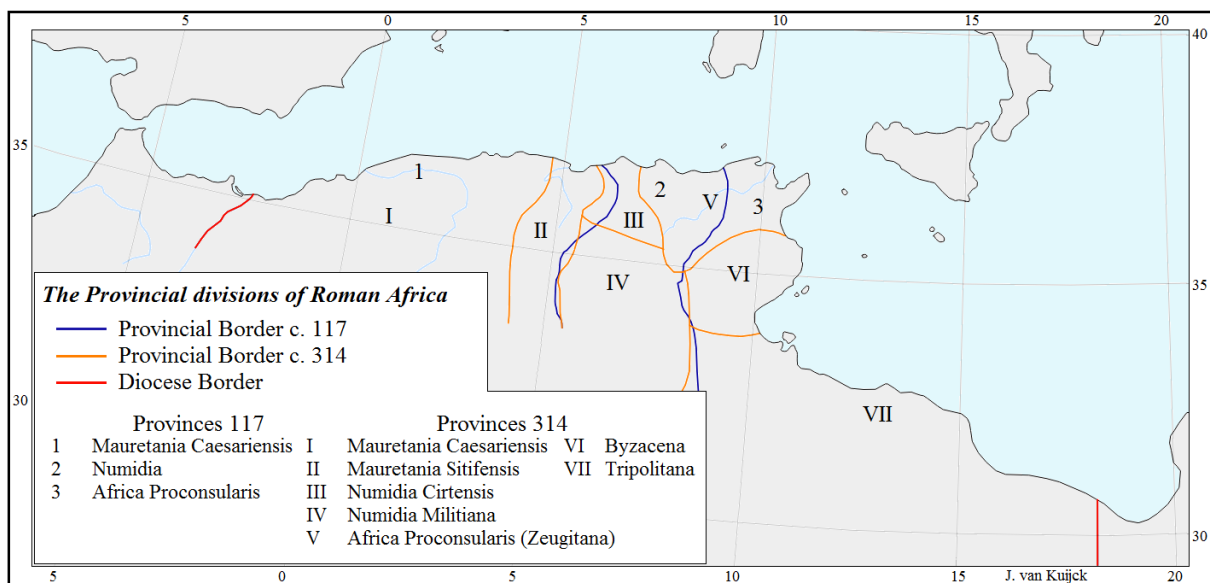


## Chapter One

### *Establishment and Transformation of the Traditional African Provinces*

This chapter will elaborate on the situation of Roman Africa before the installation of dioceses with a strong focus on the final decades of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century. Examining this period is crucial in order to understand the reasoning behind the creation of new provinces and boundaries on which the African diocese would be based later on. The traditional African provinces, founded before or at the very beginning of the Empire, were: Mauretania Caesariensis, Mauretania Tingitana, Africa Proconsularis and Numidia. Although Numidia had a different status and Mauretania Tingitania became part of the diocese of Hispaniae, they still can be regarded as traditional provinces of Africa.

The *Laterculus Veronensis* shows that the number of provinces in Africa had increased. Most of these provinces were created in the late third century or early fourth century, a common feature in this period which was done in order to make provinces more manageable.<sup>26</sup> When we take a closer look at map 1 on which the provincial changes of the first tetrarchy are portrayed, it becomes evident that the external borders of the diocese of Africa, were already used by the Romans as borders for the traditional African provinces.<sup>27</sup>



**Map 1**

The western boundary was the river, Oued Moulouya or Malva, which nowadays is the border between Algeria and Morocco. The eastern boundary was originally established by Carthage and Cyrene, long before Roman occupation. The historian Sallust gave the establishment of this border a mythical explanation.<sup>28</sup> Both states agreed to a running contest

<sup>26</sup> Brian H. Warmington, *The North African provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal conquest* (Cambridge, 1954), 1; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 46; Slootjes, 'Late antique administrative structures', 185-186.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000), maps 100-101. All maps in this thesis were made by the author with Quantum GIS, which is open source software and available for download at: [www.qgis.org](http://www.qgis.org).

<sup>28</sup> Richard G. Goodchild, 'Arae Philaenorum and Automalax', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 20 (1952), 94-110, here 94-96; Sallust, *The Jugurthine War*, translation, introduction and commentary by William W.

in which two champions of each city would run to the other city. On the exact location where they would meet, the border between the two states was to be established. The Carthaginian Philaeni brothers covered most ground and were accused by the Cyrenians of foul play. The brothers consented to be killed on the place where they met the Cyrenian champions. The spot of this sacrifice became the border and was marked by the “Altars of the Philaeni”. Remarkably, to this present day, this location remains the provincial border between the Libyan districts of Sirte and Al Wahat. The southern boundary was probably a frontier zone instead of a sharply defined border since there was only desert which acted as a natural boundary zone between Roman occupied arable land and barren wasteland.

At the beginning of the third century, the territory of the later African diocese only contained three provinces: Mauretania Caesariensis, Africa Proconsularis and Numidia.<sup>29</sup> Their provincial borders (the so-called *termini provinciae* or *fines*) were the result of Roman expansion and politics. Northern Africa, or the Maghreb, was not conquered during one single campaign but instead took several centuries to be occupied in its entirety.<sup>30</sup> The rivalry between the Romans and the Carthaginians led to several Punic wars during which the Roman Republic seized an opportunity to create a foothold on African soil by annexing the Carthaginian heartlands in 146 B.C.E.<sup>31</sup> The first African colonies were founded near Carthage and formed the province of Africa Vetus which was governed by a proconsul. This office remained in function until Africa was conquered by the Vandals in 429-439. The remaining Carthaginian territory was handed over to the client kingdom of Numidia with the *Fossa regia* or *Fosse Scipio* as the border between them.<sup>32</sup> However, when the Jugurthine War broke out between the Numidians and the Romans in 112 B.C.E., the Berber kingdom of Mauretania joined forces with Numidia but later negotiated peace with the Romans, betraying their former ally. When the war ended with the execution of the Numidian leader Jugurtha in 104 B.C.E., Mauretania was rewarded with western Numidia. Eastern Numidia, also including Tripolitana, became once again a client kingdom of the Republic until its king Juba I (d. 46 B.C.E.) rebelled against Rome. After his defeat in 46 B.C.E. by Julius Caesar (100 - 44 B.C.E.), Juba was punished for his brutality and eastern Numidia and Tripolitana became a new Roman province called Africa Nova. Augustus (r. 27 B.C.E. - 14 C.E.) unified this province with Africa Vetus, eventually becoming the province of Africa Proconsularis.<sup>33</sup>

The last unconquered territory in North Africa was the kingdom of Mauretania which became a client kingdom of the Roman Empire in 25 B.C.E when Juba II (r. 29 B.C.E. - 24 C.E.) was installed on the throne.<sup>34</sup> Juba was succeeded by his son Ptolemy (r. 24 - 40) who was later killed by the emperor Caligula (r. 37 - 41). Caligula divided the kingdom of

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Batson, Sallust: Catiline's Conspiracy, The Jugurthine War, and Histories (Oxford, 2010), LXXIX, 102-103; Pliny the Elder, *The natural history*, translated by John Bostock and Henry T. Riley (London, 1855), V, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, map 100.

<sup>30</sup> The Maghreb is a toponym for North Africa excluding Egypt.

<sup>31</sup> Julia Hoffmann-Salz, *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der römischen Eroberung: Vergleichende Untersuchungen der Provinzen Hispania Tarraconensis, Africa Proconsularis und Syria* (Stuttgart 2011), 154.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Pliny the Elder, *The natural history*, V, 3.

<sup>33</sup> David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (London, 1994), 89.

<sup>34</sup> Duane W. Roller, *The world of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal scholarship on Rome's African frontier* (New York, 2003), 3.

Mauretania into two Roman provinces called Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis with the Oued Moulouya as natural border.<sup>35</sup>

This brief overview concerning the Roman conquests of the Maghreb clarifies how the traditional African provinces were created and that the provincial boundaries seem to be merely those of the previous client states, though this cannot be proven since the exact borders of the client states and those of the later provinces remain largely uncertain.

Originally Northern Africa or the Maghreb contained three provinces: Mauretania Tingitana, Mauretania Caesariensis and Africa Proconsularis. Around 198/199, this latter province was the first African territory to be divided into two smaller provinces; Numidia in the west and Africa Proconsularis in the east.<sup>36</sup> However, the separation of these two provinces was only a formality. Already at the time of Caligula, Numidia functioned as a *de facto* semi-independent region, being ruled by the imperial legate of the Legio III Augusta.<sup>37</sup> Officially, this *de facto* region was part of Proconsular Africa which was governed from faraway Carthage. The legate, however, acted independently from the proconsul presumably since distance was an obstacle in the communication. In addition, Caligula needed his own legate in the border region of the kingdom of Mauretania to overthrow its ruler, Ptolemy, a few years later.<sup>38</sup>

During the reign of the Flavian Emperors the independency of Numidia increased. The legate of Legio III Augusta was given more authority in order to respond to tribal uprisings in Mauretania.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the third legion got an own military headquarter in Theveste (modern Tébessa) from which the legate could govern his territory of jurisdiction. Until the reign of Hadrian (r. 117-138), colonies were founded in Numidia and were governed from Theveste. During the reign of Hadrian the headquarter of the third legion was transferred to Lambaesis (near modern Tazoult) which became the permanent base of operations and residence of the legate.<sup>40</sup>

Numidia, however, remained a *de facto* province until the 198/199 when Septimius Severus (r. 193-211) transformed it into a *de iure* province and installed Quintus Anicius Faustus as first governor of Numidia.<sup>41</sup> Although Numidia was now ruled by a governor, the office of *praeses* was combined with that of the previous imperial legate until at least 270-275.<sup>42</sup> After the reign of Aurelian it appears that the office of legate has disappeared from the titulature of the governor which makes it evident that the offices were no longer combined.

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Pliny the Elder, *The natural history*, V, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Michael P. Speidel, 'The singulares of Africa and the establishment of Numidia as a province', *Historia* 22 (1973), 125-127, here 127; Hans-George Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens von Gallien bis Konstantin: 268-320* (Berlin, 1962), 1; Robert Bruce Hitchner, 'Introduction: Map 32 Carthago and Map 33 Thevesta-Hadrumentum', in: Richard J.A. Talbert (red.), *Map by map directory to accompany Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000), 493-494, here 493; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 93.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas H. Watkins, 'Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi: Dynasticism in Numidia', *Phoenix* 56 (2002), 84-108, here 85-86; Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Watkins, 'Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi', 85.

<sup>39</sup> Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 93-94; Watkins, 'Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi', 86.

<sup>40</sup> Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens*, 1; Inge Mennen, *Power and status in the Roman Empire, AD 193-284* (Leiden, 2011), 68-69, 86; Pat Southern, *The Roman Empire from Severus to Constantine* (London, 2001), 45.

<sup>42</sup> Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 179, 1086. Cf. Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens*, 1, 78. Kolbe claimed that the last legate was C. Julius Sallustius Saturninus Fortunatianus which was in function from 260-268. Kolbe, however, did not succeed in discovering Fortunatianus's successor. Two inscriptions discovered

After the creation of Numidia and the expansion of the African frontiers to the south by Septimius Severus, it took nearly a century until new provincial changes occurred in Africa which ended the period of traditional Roman Africa. The division of the Empire into smaller provinces by Diocletian, which is described by Lactantius, seems to have happen in North Africa as well. The *Laterculus Veronensis* is, however, not very clear about the provinces of the diocese of Africa in the fourth century as can be seen in the list below.

|                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Proconsularis             | Numidia Militiana       |
| Byzacena                  | Numidia Cirtensis       |
| Zeugitana                 | Mauretania Caesariensis |
| Mauretania Tabia Insidana |                         |

In this list the province of Tripolitana is clearly missing, since the province already existed before 308.<sup>43</sup> One reason might be that the omission of Tripolitana is a result of textual corruption. A second reason could be that Zeugitana had to be Tripolitana since Proconsularis and Zeugitana were one and the same area. The last reason could be, although unlikely, that Tripolitana was not a province during 310s-324 since there are no sources who attest the existence of a province during these years.<sup>44</sup> Besides the omission of Tripolitana there is also a problem with the name Mauretania Tabia Insidana. Mommsen assumed that Tabia Insidana referred to the province of Mauretania Sitifensis and that Tabia was a textual error which had to be deleted.<sup>45</sup> This was, however, proven wrong as Camille Jullian made it clear that Tabia is a scriptural error and should have been Zabia.<sup>46</sup> The sixth century historian Procopius used the name Zabe for the entire province and it is therefore likely that Tabia should have been Zabia.<sup>47</sup> This makes a lot more sense than Mommsen's explanation. Insidana could have been Tubusuctitana which is another toponym for the area of Sitifensis.<sup>48</sup>

Another factor which is interesting is the fact that Numidia Militiana and Numidia Cirtensis are both named on the list. Zuckerman dated the *Laterculus Veronensis* to the summer of 314 which is around the same time that the Numidia's were reunited, since there are two sources which can both be dated to 314; one mentions two Numidia's and the other mentions only one. The first source is the *De schismate Donatistarum* by Saint Optatus of Milevis at the end of the fourth century which included a copy of an imperial letter from

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in Lambaesis made it evident that L. Ovinus Pudens Capella was legate and governor (c. leg. Aug. pr. pr.) in all likelihood around the reign of Aurelian (r. 270-275), which would close the gap in Kolbe's chronology.

<sup>43</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 212; Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 329; Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens*, 54-55, 66-67; Bury, 'The provincial list of Verona', 144. Aurelius Quintianus was governor of Tripolitana and finished a building which construction was started by Valerius Vibianus. *CIL* VIII 22763. See Appendix I, inscription III, on page 36. Quintianus was in 303 governor of Numidia. Therefore it is likely that before or after 303, Quintianus was governor of Tripolitana. See: Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 956, 1088. In addition, *IRT* 465 = *AE* 1946, 149 mentions two names; emperor Maxentius (r. 306-313) and governor of Tripolitana Volusius Donatianus, who was in office around 306-308. See Appendix I, inscription IV, on page 37; See: Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 268, 1088.

<sup>44</sup> Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 1088.

<sup>45</sup> Mommsen, *Verzeichniss der römischen Provinzen*, 515.

<sup>46</sup> Camille Jullian, 'Corrections à la Liste de Vérone: provinces africaines', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 2 (1882), 84-93, here 84-85.

<sup>47</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, translated by Henry B. Dewing, 8 vol. (London, 1916), IV: XX, 30, 393; Jean-Pierre Laporte, 'Zabi, Friki: Notes sur la Maurétanie et la Numidie de Justinien' *An Tard* 10 (2002), 151-167, here 152-161.

<sup>48</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 220.

Constantine which is dated to the year 314.<sup>49</sup> Constantine addressed this letter to Aelafius, who was instructed by the emperor to arrange the public conveyance of the bishops of all the African provinces in order to meet at the council of Arles.<sup>50</sup> In this letter a reference is made to the provinces of Africa which are: Byzacena, Trispolitanae, Numidiarum et Mauritaniarum.<sup>51</sup> The latter two are plural which means that probably Numidia was not reunited at that time.

The council of Arles started on the first of August 314, so the letter had to be sent some months earlier in order to give the Aelafius the opportunity to arrange everything and to make it possible for the bishops to travel from Africa to Arles. Since the bishops travelled over land and took a route through Spain, they had to travel around 3000 km to reach Arles if they had departed from Carthage and took a boat to cross the Strait of Gibraltar. So it takes at least two months to travel such a distance in a group by foot, shorter of course if they took a boat from Portus Divinus (modern Mers El Kébir) to Tingi which apparently was a much used sea route to travel.<sup>52</sup> Therefore the letter had to be sent at least around April-May 314, probably earlier, in order to give Aelafius enough preparation time and the bishops enough travel time.

The other source is an inscription which refers to Valerius Paulus who was governor of Numidia (*praeses provinciae Numidiae*) and was dated by Hans-George Kolbe to the second half of 314 and by Timothy Barnes to September of that same year.<sup>53</sup> The reunification date of the Numidia's therefore has to be middle to late 314 and would fit Zuckermans thesis that the *Laterculus Veronensis* was crafted in the summer of 314. In that case, the *Laterculus Veronensis* was crafted and was almost directly followed by the reunification.

The new African provinces on the *Laterculus Veronensis* were probably all created during the period of the first tetrarchy, since there is epigraphic evidence for every provincial division, except for Tripolitana. The first change that occurred was probably the creation of the province of Mauretania Sitifensis or Mauretania Tubusuctitana between or before the years 290-293.<sup>54</sup> An inscription found in Saldæ (modern Béjaïa) refers to Caesariensis and Sitifensis as two separate regions that fought against rebellious tribes under command of T. Aurelius Litua who was the governor of the province of Mauretania Caesariensis from 290-293.<sup>55</sup> In addition, the inscription refers only to the *Augusti* and does not mention the *Caesares*, providing a second argument to assume that the division took place before or

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. Optatus of Milevis, *Against the Donatists*, translation, introduction and commentary by Olivier Rodie Vassal-Phillips (London, 1917), App. III, 382-387.

<sup>50</sup> Aelafius/Aelafio is probably a textual error which, if we follow Duchesne's vision, had to be Aelius Paulinus, who was *agentis vicariam praefecturam* of Africa in August 314, probably from 313 until 314/315, and could have been the only person who had the power to arrange the public conveyance of the bishops of all the African provinces. Louis Marie Duchesne, 'Le dossier du donatisme', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 10 (1890), 589-650, here 645-646; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 678, 1079.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, App. III, 386.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum*, red. Gustav F.C. Parthey and Moritz Pinder (Berlin, 1848), 4. It says: "a Tingi litoribus navigator usque Ad Portus Divinus".

<sup>53</sup> *CIL* VIII 18905. See Appendix I, inscription II, on page 36. Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens*, 59, 70-17; Barnes, *The new Empire*, 222.

<sup>54</sup> Warmington, *The North African provinces*, 1.

<sup>55</sup> *CIL* VIII 8924. See Appendix I, inscription I, on page 36. Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 511, 1087.

during the years in which Litua was governor. Barnes, however, is not certain if the provinces were divided at that time since Saldae is situated in Sitifensis while Litua was governor of Caesariensis.<sup>56</sup> If Barnes is right there would still have been a division between Caesariensis and Sitifensis which was not official yet. In addition, it could also be that Litua was the main force who fought against the invaders and that he is honoured also in Sitifensis. Barnes might have a point since some aspects are favouring his thesis.

Remarkably, if we disagree with Barnes's theory, an official division must have taken place during a time of war. Until 298, Roman Africa was constantly fighting against tribes who invaded the Roman lands, which had the consequence that various territories were for some years not controlled by the Empire. For instance in Mauretania Tingitana the southern lands were lost to the Baquates and other tribes which probably invaded it around 282-284.<sup>57</sup> When the emperor Maximian (r. 286-305) started his Africa campaign he did not reclaim the southern lands. Instead he probably made the rivers Oued Laou and Oued Loukos the natural defences for the *limitanei* garrisons which were stationed there.<sup>58</sup> Mauretania Caesariensis was invaded by tribes as well, although most of them were driven off Roman land by the emperor. To divide a province while being occupied seems unlikely since managing a province which is not under control of your own forces and administrators is impossible. In that case Mauretania Caesariensis was regained from the tribes who invaded the region, when the provinces were divided. There is, however, another plausible scenario. As can be seen from the inscription found in Saldae, Litua was both a governor and a military commander. The separation between military and civil offices did not seem to have happened in Africa until 310's. It is not unusual to divide a territory into military zones during a war, in order to proficiently manage all available resources in that area. If this did happen, then a military division could have been created between Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Sitifensis, instead of an official province division. In that case the inscription of Saldae would make sense since the governor of Mauritania Caesariensis had been victorious with military involvement from the forces of the region of Caesariensis and Sitifensis (*tam ex parte Caesariensi quam etiam de Sitifensi*), and would fit Barnes's thesis that the inscription is not evidence for the division of the two provinces.<sup>59</sup>

The second provincial change happened in the province of Africa Proconsularis. The boundary between Numidia and Africa Proconsularis had shifted to the west since the *Acta Maximiliani* described that Theveste is a city under jurisdiction of the Proconsul in March 295, while it was part of Numidia before.<sup>60</sup> When exactly this change occurred remains unknown since this hagiography is the first time that this change is attested. Presumably at the same time in Africa Proconsularis, the province of Byzacena was created. This probably happened after July 294 since various inscriptions address proconsul M. Aurelius Aristobulus

<sup>56</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 220.

<sup>57</sup> Jérôme Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique* (Paris, 1943), 244-254, 267. This idea is strengthened by the fact that there is almost no archaeological evidence of Roman settlement after 282-284. See: Noé Villaverde Vega, *Tingitana en la antigüedad tardía, siglos III-VII: autoctonía y Romanidad en el extremo occidente mediterráneo* (Madrid, 2001).

<sup>58</sup> *Notitia dignitatum: accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum*, red. Otto Seeck (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), 177.

<sup>59</sup> *CIL* VIII 8924. See Appendix I, inscription I, on page 36.

<sup>60</sup> *Acta Maximiliani*, translation, introduction and commentary by Herbert A. Musurillo, *The acts of Christian martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), 244-249; Warmington, *The North African provinces*, 1; Barnes, *The new Empire*, 212.

as constructor of several building projects in the cities of Mididi, Mactar and Kairouan in 290-294.<sup>61</sup> These cities were part of the latter province of Byzacena which can be seen as evidence that during the reign of proconsul Aristobulus, Byzacena was not yet a province since these cities were still governed by the proconsul. Therefore Byzacena could only have been created after the time that he abdicated which is July 294; however, governors of Byzacena are attested before 305.<sup>62</sup>

Some scholars, Ginette Di Vita-Evrard and David Mattingly, believe that the division of Africa Proconsularis occurred in 303, together with the division of Numidia, and not shortly after July 294.<sup>63</sup> Di Vita-Evrard argued that the division of Africa Proconsularis into the provinces of Byzacena, Tripolitana and Africa Proconsularis (Zeugitana) must have been a single act.<sup>64</sup> Politically Tripolitana was governed by a Proconsul. Militarily it was governed by the legate of Legio III Augusta whose headquarter was located in Numidia. If Tripolitana had become a separate province together with Byzacena and Africa Proconsularis (Zeugitana), then it would be logical that the military organisation of this province was reformed at the same time. Because the division of Numidia, into the provinces of Numidia Cirtensis and Numidia Militiana can be dated exactly to 303, Di Vita-Evrard therefore concludes that it would be likely that the provinces of Byzacena, Tripolitana, Africa Proconsularis (Zeugitana), Numidia Cirtensis and Numidia Militiana were created at the same time.<sup>65</sup>

Although this is a hypothesis with many uncertainties, it fits the time gaps in which the separation of the Byzacena (between 294 and 305) and Tripolitana (around 303 but before 308) had to occur. Di Vita-Evrard's thesis has one issue which remains vague. Africa Proconsularis abandoned the *Fossa regia* as provincial border c. 295 and extends the jurisdiction of the proconsul to the west by including Theveste, which made Africa Proconsularis only larger and probably more difficult to manage. After this enlargement which lasted almost a decade, the province was parted into three making the jurisdiction of the proconsul smaller again. Why would the tetrarchs first want to enlarge a province if they are going to diminish it almost ten years later? At the moment there is no satisfying answer on when exactly the division of Africa Proconsularis took place and only new epigraphic evidence can prove Di Vita-Evrard's thesis right or wrong. Until that time it would be wise to follow certainties that we have for dating the division of Africa Proconsularis namely: c. 294-305 for Byzacena and c.303-308 for Tripolitana.

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<sup>61</sup> Warmington, *The North African provinces*, 1, 31; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 106, 1073.

<sup>62</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 212; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 344, 1088.

<sup>63</sup> Ginette Di Vita-Evrard, 'L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, légat du Proconsul d'Afrique T. Claudius Aurelius Aristobulus, et la creation de la province de Tripolitaine', in: Attilio Mastino (red.), *L'Africa romana : atti del II convegno di studio, Sassari, 14-16 dicembre 1984* (Sassari, 1985), 149-177, here 171, 177; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 270-272.

<sup>64</sup> Di Vita-Evrard, 'L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, légat du Proconsul d'Afrique', 164; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 270. The name Africa Proconsularis (Zeugitana) will be used for the lands around Carthage and Africa Proconsularis for the former stretched province.

<sup>65</sup> Di Vita-Evrard, 'L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, légat du Proconsul d'Afrique', 168-175, 177; Hans-George Kolbe, *Die Statthalter numidiens von Gallien bis Konstantin: 268-320* (Berlin, 1962), 2, 46, 67.

## Chapter Two

### *The reasoning behind the division of Roman Africa*

The previous chapter provided an overview on how the provinces of North Africa were established and more importantly, how their borders changed up to the early fourth century. This framework will help to analyse the provincial changes in Africa since there is a fair bit of logic behind them. Especially historic-cultural, geographical and economical aspects have played a crucial role which is worthwhile to investigate more in-depth. Since the provinces were the backbone of a diocese, research concerning them will give insight into the administrative structure before the creation of the dioceses and may even explain functions of a diocese regarding its provinces.

As discussed in the previous chapter the first tetrarchy abdicated when Africa Proconsularis (Zeugitana), Byzacena and Tripolitana were three separate provinces. The division of these three provinces, at least in name already existed in the late first century C.E. Pliny the Elder described Africa Proconsularis as an area which consisted of Zeugitana, Byzacium, Lesser Syrtis and Greater Syrtis.<sup>66</sup> The latter two refer to the areas which became the later province of Tripolitana. Apparently Pliny and probably the population of Africa Proconsularis knew that there was a territorial division and where the borders were situated.

Pliny has quite a focus on geographical factors as he describes the rivers and promontories of Zeugitana, the high fertility of the lands in Byzacium and the endless deserts and oases in the two Syrtes. The geographical situation of the Syrtes or ‘quick sands’ has been extensively described by Mattingly in 1994. In his study, Mattingly claimed that the geographical situation was a reason in itself for differentiating Tripolitana as a province in its own right.<sup>67</sup> Before starting to discuss this statement it is necessary to make evident that there is a difference between the Syrtes, the province of Tripolitana and Tripolitana the urban region. Tripolitana the urban region was the area located in the Gefara, which is a coastal plain situated between the Mediterranean Sea and the Gebel hill chain. In the Gefara there were three towns Lepcis, Oea and Sabratha which were known as the three cities (Tri-poleis) or Tripolis.<sup>68</sup> The province of Tripolitana, as has been said before, was created in the early fourth century and its western boundary was the city Tacapae (modern Gabés) while its eastern boundary was marked by the “Altars of the Philaeni”. The Syrtes comprises the entire province of Tripolitana but also regions beyond the “Altars of the Philaeni” including parts of Cyrene. The southern boundary of the province of Tripolitana as well as that of the other African provinces cannot be established for certain if there ever was one and can better be seen as a frontier zone instead of a sharply demarcated border.

Maps from the nineteenth century as well as modern maps often exaggerate the size of Roman Africa. The main reason for this exaggeration is that the first maps were produced by subjects of Western colonial empires with a focus on imperialism. These colonial powers, especially France and Italy, considered their countries heir of the Roman past, they claimed North Africa as being an integral part of their realm and history.

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. Pliny the Elder, *The natural history*, V, 3-4.

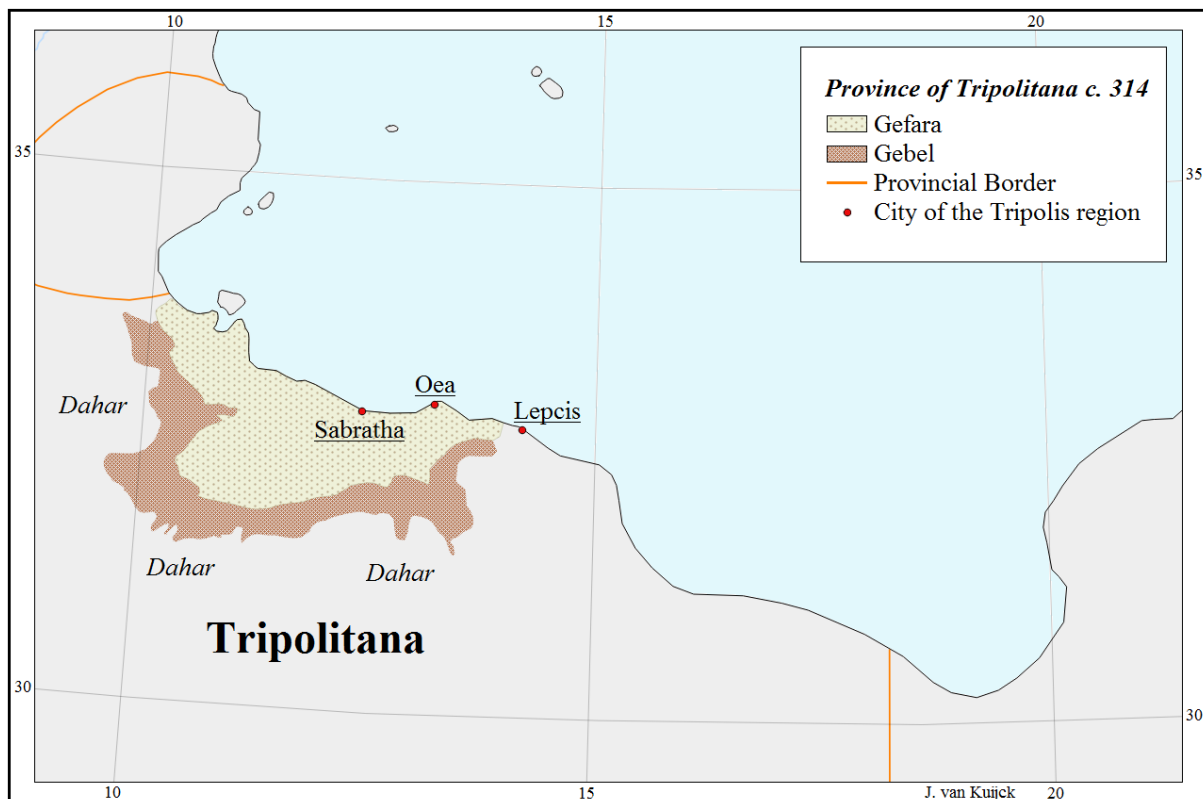
<sup>67</sup> Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 1.

<sup>68</sup> From now on when I refer to Tripolis, I refer to the urban region of Tripolitana situated in the Gefara.



Tripolitana can geologically be divided into the Gefara and the Dahar with the Gebel hill chain as natural boundary between them. The Dahar is a desert plateau which eventually changes into the Sahara desert. One could ask how much of Tripolitana actually was controlled by the Romans since most of the lands were not arable. Although there is archaeological evidence of forts which might have formed a *limes*, it is unlikely that there was a sharply defined imperial demarcation. First of all, the only legion in North Africa was Legio III Augusta which had to defend the longest border of the entire Empire, making it impossible to have real and sharply defined territorial borders since it could not be defended from raids or serious attacks. Secondly, the Roman state tried to bind native tribes in the area, resulting in a peaceful border with tribes living partly within and without the Roman borders, making it impossible to know which area's belonged to Rome.

The only areas that were certainly controlled by the Empire were the regions around the cities in Tripolitana, which were almost all situated near the coastline. Most of these cities had a Phoenician origin and were thriving centres of commerce. Lepcis for instance was after Carthage the greatest and wealthiest city of Roman Africa.<sup>69</sup> Large cities like Lepcis, however, were exceptions since there was almost no urban activity in in Tripolitana. Only the area of Tripolis was arable enough to develop into an urban centre. The other parts of the province were too arid, making it useless for any kind of agriculture. Pliny describes the lands outside Tripolis as empty, nothing but sand and full of serpents.<sup>70</sup> On map 2, the geographical situation of Tripolitana is described with its borders, nature and cities.<sup>71</sup>



**Map 2**

<sup>69</sup> Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, XIV.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Pliny the Elder, *The natural history*, V, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 7, 11; Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, maps 35-37, 101.

The geographical factors isolate the region of Tripolis from the rest of Roman Africa. There was only one land route from Byzanca to Tripolis which was long, hot and with very few opportunities to make a stop.<sup>72</sup> Communication between Tripolis and the rest of the Empire and especially North Africa therefore took place mainly by sea routes. Before Tripolitana became an independent province, it was governed by the Proconsul in Carthage, but its military jurisdiction was under the legate of the third legion in far Numidia. All in all, this made governing Tripolitana far from ideal and this was probably the reason, together with the geographical factors, for separating it from Africa Proconsularis.

The other two provinces of Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena and Zeugitana, were more similar to each other: fertile, very urbanised for Roman standards and well connected to other parts of the Empire. The reason why these two provinces were separated from each other can probably not be found in a geographical explanation. If the tetrarchs were splitting provinces in order to make them more manageable, then there has to be a logical reason why the two provinces could not remain together.

Although uncertain, it could be the case that administrating the two provinces combined was inefficient and separating them would make this more manageable. Since both provinces were extremely urbanised, it could have been that the administration of justice was harder if Africa Proconsularis remained a single province.

To prove this hypothesis it is interesting to compare Zeugitana and Byzacena with the provinces of Nile delta and the provinces of the diocese of Asiana. The Nile delta was the most urbanised region of the entire diocese of Oriens. During the principate, the entire delta was governed as one single province, Aegyptus. In 314/315, however, the province was divided into Aegyptus Iovia, Aegyptus Herculia and Arabia Nova.<sup>73</sup> Aegyptus Iovia was by far the smallest province of those three but had the highest population density since it had cities like Alexandria within its limits. More inhabitants in a region means more court trails for the governor, making it more efficient if a highly urbanised region was parted into smaller provinces, thereby relieving the governor's administrative burden.

When taking a closer look at the provinces of Asiana a similar approach can be found. The diocese of Asiana contained nine provinces while it is one of the smallest dioceses of the Empire. The ancient Greeks already brought urbanisation to these lands and at the beginning of the fourth century it was one of the most highly urbanised areas of the Empire. By tripling the number of provinces in western Asia Minor, the number of officials increased as well, making it easier to govern such a densely populated area. Although this would not have been the only reason why provinces were divided, it is remarkable that regions with a high number of inhabitants were divided into smaller territories, while relatively empty provinces like Tripolitana remained vast.

Another reason why the more densely populated regions were divided into smaller provinces was proposed by Migl in 1994, who made a connection between the collecting of taxes and the creation of dioceses. Migl made it clear that there is a large resemblance between the multiple provinces that were the jurisdiction of the *procuratores* and the later

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium Antonini*, 27-29. For an extensive overview of the road system in Tripolitana see: Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 102-111.

<sup>73</sup> Barnes, 'The unity of the Verona list', 276-277.

dioceses.<sup>74</sup> Roman Africa for instance was divided into two taxation regions; Numidia and the Mauretaniae on one side and the provinces which once belonged to Africa Proconsularis on the other.<sup>75</sup> A problem, also noted by Migl, is that the taxation region was never completely identical to the area of a diocese, making his thesis weaker. Although it is not possible to say that tax regions were the forerunner for the later dioceses, it is certain that *vicarii* and *procuratores* had to collaborate constantly since both areas of jurisdiction overlap.<sup>76</sup> In fact from 331 onwards there is evidence that a *rationales Asianae* existed, which would mean that the designated territory of a diocese would have become the same as the tax collection region.<sup>77</sup> In addition, in 330 it is for the first time that also the military official *comes dioeceseos Asianae* is attested.<sup>78</sup> This can be seen as proof that at the end of the reign of Constantine the Great both the military, tax collection and the jurisdiction of the *vicarius* all were assigned to the same geographical area and administrative unit; the dioceses of Asiana.

Yet Migl's thesis has another problem besides the fact that the territory of the dioceses did not completely correspond in the beginning with those of the *procuratores*. Tax collection was not done by a governor but was the task of *procuratores* or *susceptores* or *rationalis*. Slootjes made it evident that these officials worked as groups, each being in charge of an individual product which was collected by an assigned team of tax collectors which worked for the *procuratores*.<sup>79</sup> The *procuratores* therefore did not operate in only one province but in larger areas of multiple provinces.<sup>80</sup> So why should a province be divided into smaller ones if tax collection was done by *procuratores* whose jurisdiction was transgressional? It makes no sense to divide provinces into smaller ones if the *procuratores* already operated in large areas containing multiple provinces. Surely, the increase of provincial officials resulting from provincial divisions, made it also a bit easier for *procuratores* to operate since these provincial officials could share information with them. This does, however, not explain why the provinces were divided into smaller units, making Migl's thesis less plausible.

Let us return to the main discussion of this chapter which was the debate why the provinces of Africa were divided and in particular why Africa Proconsularis was divided into three pieces. As stated before, the exact reasoning behind the division of Byzacena and Zeugitana is unclear, though administration efficiency definitely increased after the division took place.

Another factor that might have played a role concerns the changes which were made by the first tetrarchy concerning the office of proconsul. This office changed significantly during the tetrarchy. Although the office remained exclusive for men of senatorial rank, it transformed into an elective annual position, though some proconsuls could maintain their position for several more years.<sup>81</sup> The number of proconsular provinces was reduced to only two: Africa Proconsularis (Zeugitana) and Asia. The Proconsul was higher in rank than the

<sup>74</sup> Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 55-58.

<sup>75</sup> Delmaire, *Largesses sacrees et res private*, 182-184.

<sup>76</sup> Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 57.

<sup>77</sup> MAMA VII, 305 table III = *FIR*<sup>2</sup> I, 952.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, [2.26.1 of 330].

<sup>79</sup> Daniëlle Slootjes, *The governor and his subjects in the later Roman Empire* (Leiden, 2006), 37.

<sup>80</sup> Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 55; Roland Delmaire, *Largesses sacrees et res private: l'aerarium imperial et son administration du 4. au 6. Siecle* (Rome, 1989), 178, 182-184.

<sup>81</sup> Timothy D. Barnes, 'Proconsuls of Africa, 337-392', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 144-153, here 144; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 45

provincial governor, the *praeses*, and reported directly to the emperor and not to a *vicarius* or praetorian prefect.<sup>82</sup> In fact, the *vicarius* was not even allowed to visit the proconsular province, even if it was in its own diocese.<sup>83</sup> Therefore this office is often regarded as one of high prestige, though in fact its jurisdiction was diminished. As mentioned, the proconsul of Africa lost jurisdiction of Byzacena and Tripolitana. The proconsul of Asia, however, lost even more territory since the province Asia before the tetrarchy contained jurisdiction over the later provinces of Lydia, Caria, Phrygia I. These three provinces, which were enlisted on the *Laterculus Veronensis*, became separate provinces all administrated by a *praeses*. The declining number of proconsular provinces, losing territorial jurisdiction and the fact that the proconsul generally could only hold office for one or a few years, suggest that the power and prestige of this office were reduced. The division between Byzacena and Zeugitana could therefore be part of the reforms of the proconsular office instead of the other mentioned factors.

The reasons why Numidia and the Mauretaniae (the African provinces not governed by the proconsul) were divided are even more obscure. These provinces troubled by rebelling barbarian tribes during the 280s-290s. Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Sitifensis are for the first time separately attested in the inscription which informs about the victory against the hostile tribal neighbours.<sup>84</sup> The division of the Mauretaniae could have been a reform to enable a more adequate reaction on hostilities, though there is no evidence that can prove this statement. In addition, Mauretania Sitifensis had a high level of urbanisation. When comparing it with the urbanisation of Mauretania Caesariensis it becomes evident that Sitifensis was much more developed and had a higher number of inhabitants. This would strengthen the suggestion that some of the Roman provinces were divided in order to improve administration of justice, the governor's most important duty.

The division of Numidia cannot be connected to geographical, cultural or economic reasons. Its division took place in 303 and the province was united again eleven years later in 314. Therefore, it is likely to suggest that in theory the division of Numidia occurred to make the region more manageable, however, in reality it did not work.

Although all reasons for the division of Africa proposed in this chapter are hypothetical, one definite thing can be said which is that some provinces already were *de facto* divided into regions. In addition, there does not seem to be a universal set of criteria used to determine how a province had to be divided since in some cases geography was a leading factor, while in other provinces it seems that geography played no role. In some provinces it is plausible that they were created in order to increase the juridical efficiency. In the following chapters, Asiana will be investigated and compared with Africa in order to determine if similar reasons can be found for the division of the Asian provinces.

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<sup>82</sup> Slootjes, *The governor and his subjects*, 18-20.

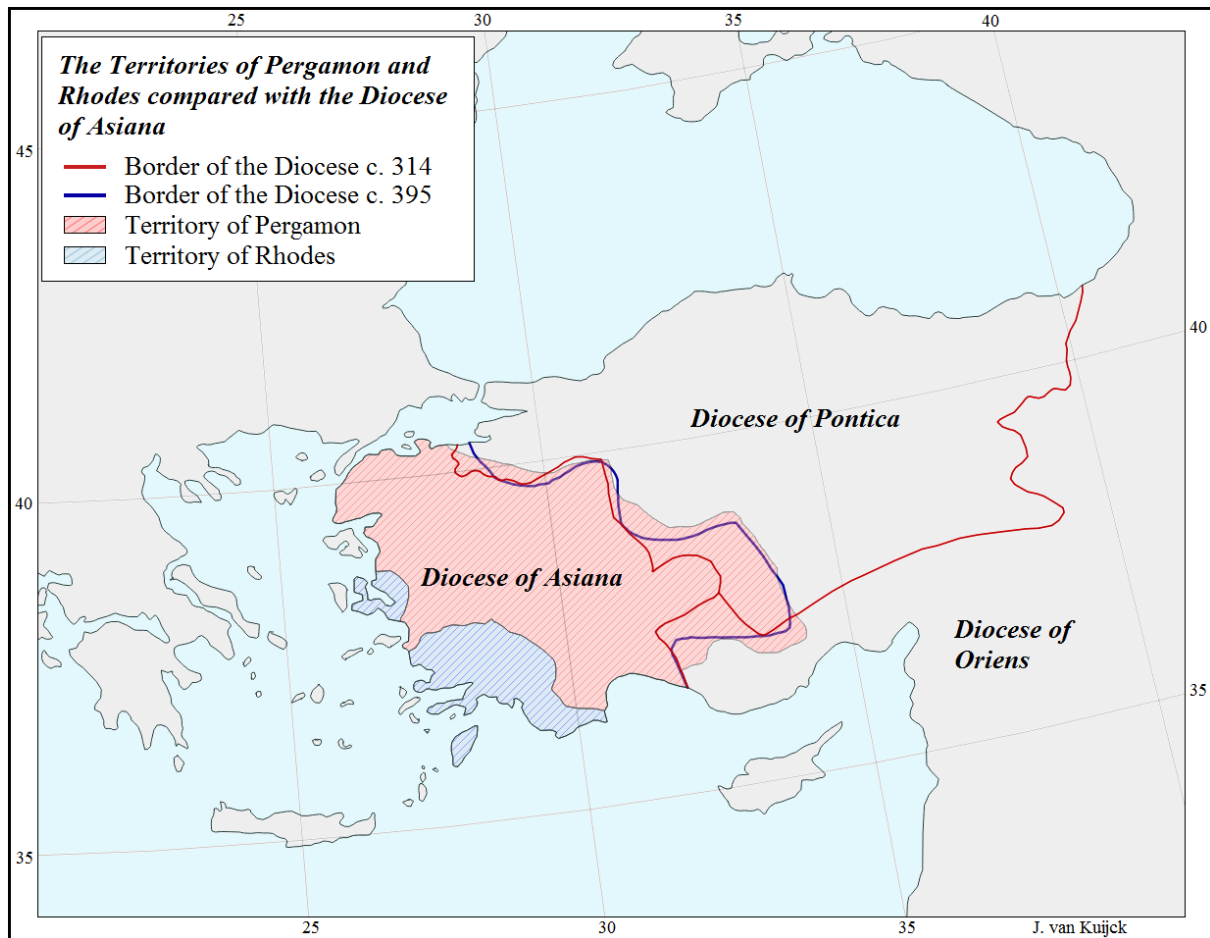
<sup>83</sup> Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, [I.15.10 of 379]. Though it could be that it was only after 379 that the *vicarius* was not permitted to enter the proconsular province.

<sup>84</sup> *CIL* VIII 8924. See Appendix I, inscription I, on page 36.

### Chapter Three

#### *The Kingdom of Pergamon, the Seleucids and the diocese of Asiana*

When the last member of the Attalid dynasty, King Attalus III (r. 138-133), died in 133 B.C.E. Rome inherited the kingdom of Pergamon and controlled western Anatolia. Pergamon, however, was already indirectly being ruled by the Romans after the treaty of Apamea in 188 B.C.E. after which it became a Roman client kingdom. At that time Pergamon, together with the allied republic of Rhodes, comprises roughly the same territory as the early fourth century C.E. diocese of Asiana. The resemblance between both the diocese of Asiana and the allies Pergamon and Rhodes is striking. When we take a closer look at map 3, it becomes evident that many of the boundaries are the same.



**Map 3**

This map was created by combining maps from the Barrington Atlas and the Historical Atlas.<sup>85</sup> Although the map of the Historical Atlas is nearly a century old and therefore has some problems regarding accuracy, it still provides a general idea on how far the borders of Pergamon and Rhodes stretched. Keeping this notion in our mind, it is still convincing to see that Pergamon together with Rhodes comprised roughly the same territory as the dioceses of Asiana and it might even have been the same. On this map, however, the eastern border of

<sup>85</sup> Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, map 101; William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York, 1923), 33; Charles Colbeck, *From the Public Schools Historical Atlas* (London, 1905), 5.

Asiana does not correspond with the former kingdom. The problem lies in the fact that on the *Laterculus Veronensis*, on which the provincial borders of this map are based, one province is left unmentioned: Lycaonia. This province was created probably around the early 370's and had as capital Iconium.<sup>86</sup> The province is mentioned for the first time in a letter from bishop Basil of Caesarea to bishop Eusebius of Samosata which is dated to the year 373.<sup>87</sup> Lycaonia became part of Asiana, extending the diocesan boundaries further to the east. From the 370s onwards, the diocese of Asiana therefore comprises the entire territory of the former kingdom of Pergamon and the republic of Rhodes.

This brings up the question if the boundaries of Pergamon and Rhodes were used as a blueprint for the later diocese of Asiana. Since it took around 60-70 years until Asiana was transformed to its final form, Pergamon and Rhodes probably did not function as a blue-print. The borders of Pergamon, however, could have served as an initial concept for most parts of Asiana. Therefore, it would be wise to take a close look at Pergamon's history since it might provide clues which could help to determine why certain boundaries were (re)used.

The first reference to the city of Pergamon was from Xenophon (c.430-354 B.C.E) in his *Anabasis*.<sup>88</sup> The city became part of Alexander the great's Empire and when he died in 323 B.C.E. his generals divided his realm causing internal instability. At the end Lysimachus (r. 306-281 B.C.E.) which was one of Alexander's bodyguards, gained power over Thrace, western Asia Minor and Macedon, making him the ruler of Pergamon. When Lysimachus went on a military campaign in the east, he left the state treasury in Pergamon and when he died in 281, his trusted governor of Pergamon, Philatauerus (r. 281-263 B.C.E.) appropriated the money.<sup>89</sup> Philatauerus founded a highly independent city state which became part of the Seleucid Empire. When Philatauerus died in 263, he was succeeded by his nephew Eumenes I (r. 263-241 B.C.E.) who declared complete independence and seized surrounding territories.

In this first phase of conquest, Eumenes established fortified military posts in order to protect his city state. One camp was founded north of Pergamon, at Philetaeria near the base of Mount Ida and the other at Attalea, beyond the source of the river Caicus.<sup>90</sup> The port city of Elaea became the southern boundary of Pergamon.<sup>91</sup>

Although Pergamon expanded its territory, none of these new borders came even close to the borders of the later diocese. Therefore we have to take a closer look at Pergamon during the period before the treaty of Apamea, signed in 188 B.C.E. At that time the kingdom of Pergamon and the republic of Rhodes were at war with Antiochus III the Great (r. 222-187 B.C.E.) of the Seleucid Empire. Both Pergamon and Rhodes were allied to the Roman Republic and eventually turned to the Romans for help. Responding to the request, the Roman senate dispatches general Scipio Asiaticus and his army to Anatolia. In 190 B.C.E. the Seleucid army was decisively defeated by the Romans at Magnesia, forcing Antiochus III to

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<sup>86</sup> Although the creation date of Lycaonia is uncertain, it is possible that it occurred together with the division of Cappadocia in 371/372. See: Peter Thonemann, 'Amphilochius of Iconium and Lycaonian Asceticism', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011), 185-205, here 186-187.

<sup>87</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *Letters*, translated by Agnes Clare Way, notes by Roy J. Deferrari, 2 vol. (Washington, 1951-1955), I: 138.2; Thonemann, 'Amphilochius of Iconium', 186-187.

<sup>88</sup> Xenophon, *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, translated by Carleton L. Brownson, 7 vol. (London, 1921; reprinted 1968), VII: 8.8.

<sup>89</sup> Roger B. McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamun* (Champaign, 1964), 30.

<sup>90</sup> McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamun*, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem, 55.

sign the treaty of Apamea and to hand over all his territory northwest of the Taurus Mountains.<sup>92</sup> These territories were given by Rome to their allies in Asia Minor: Pergamon and Rhodes. The kingdom of Pergamon gained the most from this treaty and, combined with Rhodes' territories, now controlled entire western Asia Minor.

Pergamon's borders in 188 were likely the same as those of the previous Seleucid Empire. Although examining the establishment of the Seleucid borders is beyond the scope of this study, it has become clear that during antiquity it was common to reuse borders. Both dioceses which have been analysed in this study appear to have used already existing boundaries. The diocese of Africa used the former borders of Carthage, while Asiana did the same with the borders of Pergamon.

In 2014 Slootjes replied and agreed with Noethlichs's statement that provinces of dioceses did not have to make geographical sense in order to belong to each other.<sup>93</sup> Slootjes came with the example of the provinces of Cilicia and Isauria which geographically also could belong to Asiana or Pontica instead of Oriens.<sup>94</sup> Geographically these provinces could definitely belong to Asiana, though Pontica would be less logical since the Taurus Mountains would otherwise divide the diocese into two parts. Historically, however, Isauria and Cilicia could not belong to Asiana or to Pontica as has been stated above.

The exact border between the provinces of Asiana and those of Oriens is situated near the city of Coracesium (modern Alanya). This brings up the question, why was this city an ideal location for borders between kingdoms, provinces and dioceses? I have had the opportunity to pay numerous visits to the place, sixteen to be exactly. During these visits, three aspects of Coracesium caught my attention: the location, the fortress and the closeness of the Taurus Mountains towards the sea. The city was built on a small peninsula, providing an excellent defensive position, but maybe more importantly very recognisable. Since the land between the Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea is only six to eight kilometres wide, travellers by land and also by sea would always have recognised the location, making it a perfect landmark for the establishment of a border. Although the suggestion that Coracesium was the border because of its strategic defensive location and recognisability as a landmark cannot be proven with stronger evidence, it does seem plausible.

The other borders of Asiana seem, just like the one near Coracesium, to be historical. The most western province of the diocese of Pontica, Bithynia, was an independent kingdom prior to its Roman occupation in 74 B.C.E. It was Herodotus (c. 484-425 B.C.E.) who explained that Bithynia was inhabited by Bithynians (Βιθυνοί), which migrated at the end of the second millennium from Thrace to north-western Anatolia.<sup>95</sup> It was one of the few kingdoms in Anatolia which was never conquered by Alexander the Great or during the Hellenistic period. When Bithynia was bequeathed to Rome in 74 B.C.E. it became ten years later a together with a region of western Pontus a province, called Bithynia et Pontus. Although the eastern part of the province changed in size various times, its western part did

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<sup>92</sup> Richard E. Allen, *The Attalid kingdom: A constitutional history* (Oxford, 1983), 86-87; Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, men and gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vol. (Oxford, 1995), I: 23.

<sup>93</sup> Noethlichs, 'Zur Entstehung der Diözese', 73.

<sup>94</sup> Slootjes, 'Late antique administrative structures', 183.

<sup>95</sup> Herodotus, *The history of Herodotus*, translated by George C. Macaulay (London, 1890), VII: 75.

not and the border remained near the Rhyndacus River.<sup>96</sup> This border between Bithynia and Hellespontus was the same as the one separating Asiana and Pontica. Since this border has been reused for several centuries, it can without any doubt be said that the Rhyndacus was a historical natural border.

The eastern border of Asiana is, however, more problematic to analyse. Although the province of Phrygia always bordered Galatia, the border was more a boundary and shifted several times. During the Hellenistic period, Galatia was a region and a kingdom and became Rome's ally after the first Mithridatic war (89-85 B.C.E.). As ally of Rome, Galatia lost much of its independence and its ruler was kept on the throne by Roman support. When the last Galatian king Amyntas (r. 37-25 B.C.E.) died, he bequeathed his kingdom to Augustus, who made it a province.<sup>97</sup> The transformation from kingdom to province, described by Strabo is evidence for the thesis that Roman provinces were based on pre-Roman states.

Amyntas's kingdom comprised the region of Galatia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, parts of Pamphylia and Cicilia Tracheia.<sup>98</sup> The latter region was added to the province of Cicilia, the other regions remained together as a single province. During the reign of Trajan (r. 98-117), in 112 to be more precisely, Galatia was reduced in size and again during Severan rule.<sup>99</sup> At the end of the first tetrarchy, Galatia was only a fraction of the kingdom it once was. Its southern parts had become the province of Pisidia, while the northern part had been combined with some territory of Bithynia et Pontus in order to form the new province of Paphlagonia.<sup>100</sup> Apparently the territory which formed Pisidia was no longer seen as part of Galatia since it was also divided, not only in two provinces but also in two dioceses. The exact location of these borders remains uncertain, since they shifted various times. The regions, however, give a rough indication where borders were situated and modern maps, portraying these borders, are based only on a handful of discovered milestones and inscriptions. Therefore the borders in this region should at the moment be seen as boundaries and not as sharply defined borders.

To conclude, this chapter gave an overview how the diocese of Asiana reused various exterior borders and boundaries, which can be dated back to the Hellenistic period and after the 370's C.E. it occupied all the territories of the former kingdom of Pergamon. Although the eastern boundary of Asiana is problematic to address, it is a fact that it was located where Phrygia ended and Galatia began.

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<sup>96</sup> Cf. Pliny the Elder, *The natural history*, V, 40.

<sup>97</sup> Strabo, *The geography of Strabo*, translated by Horace L. Jones (London, 1924), XII: 5, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Robert K. Sherk, *The legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian* (Baltimore, 1951), 14-15.

<sup>99</sup> Robert K. Sherk, 'A chronology of the governors of Galatia: A.D. 112-285', *The American Journal of Philology* 100 (1979), 167-175, here 167.

<sup>100</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 217.



## Chapter Four

### *Asiana and the logic behind its provincial changes*

Since the exterior borders of Asiana can be called historical, this chapter will analyse how the provinces of Asiana transformed, starting from their establishment until the installation of the diocese. Were those borders also historical or were they chosen for other reasons? In chapter two the suggestion was made that the administration of justice was a key factor for the division of the Empire into smaller provinces. The diocese of Asiana was already briefly mentioned as an example of this jurisdiction hypothesis and will be expanded further in this chapter.

The provinces of Asia Minor were, just as those of Africa, created at different times. The oldest province was Asia, created in 129 B.C.E. from parts of the territory of the kingdom of Pergamon, which was bequeathed to Rome by king Attalus III four years earlier.<sup>101</sup> Rome did not turn the entire kingdom into one province. Only Asia became a province and the remaining territory was divided into new protectorates. Asia was by far the largest province of western Anatolia and comprised approximately seventy percent of the former lands of Pergamon.

Until the first Mithridatic war (89-85 B.C.E.), the Roman presence in Asia Minor remained unchanged. After the first war, Mithridates VI of Pontus (r. 120–63 B.C.E.) had to cede some of its territories to client kingdoms of Rome. However, when Nicomedes IV (r. 94-74 B.C.E.) king of Bithynia and ally of Rome died in 74 B.C.E. and bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, Mithridates declared war in order to halt further Roman influence. During this war Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 B.C.E.) fought against Mithridates and his ally the kingdom of Armenia. At the same time Pompey had to get rid of pirates in southern Anatolia which threatened the local Roman trade. When the pirates were defeated in 67 B.C.E., forces were sent north to assist the campaign against Mithridates whose army was subsequently crushed in 65, ending the bloodshed. Although the war continued, Pompey turned the southern region of Anatolia into the province of Cilicia in 64 B.C.E. with Tarsus as its capital.<sup>102</sup> One year later, Mithridates committed suicide, thereby losing all his territory to Rome as a protectorate.

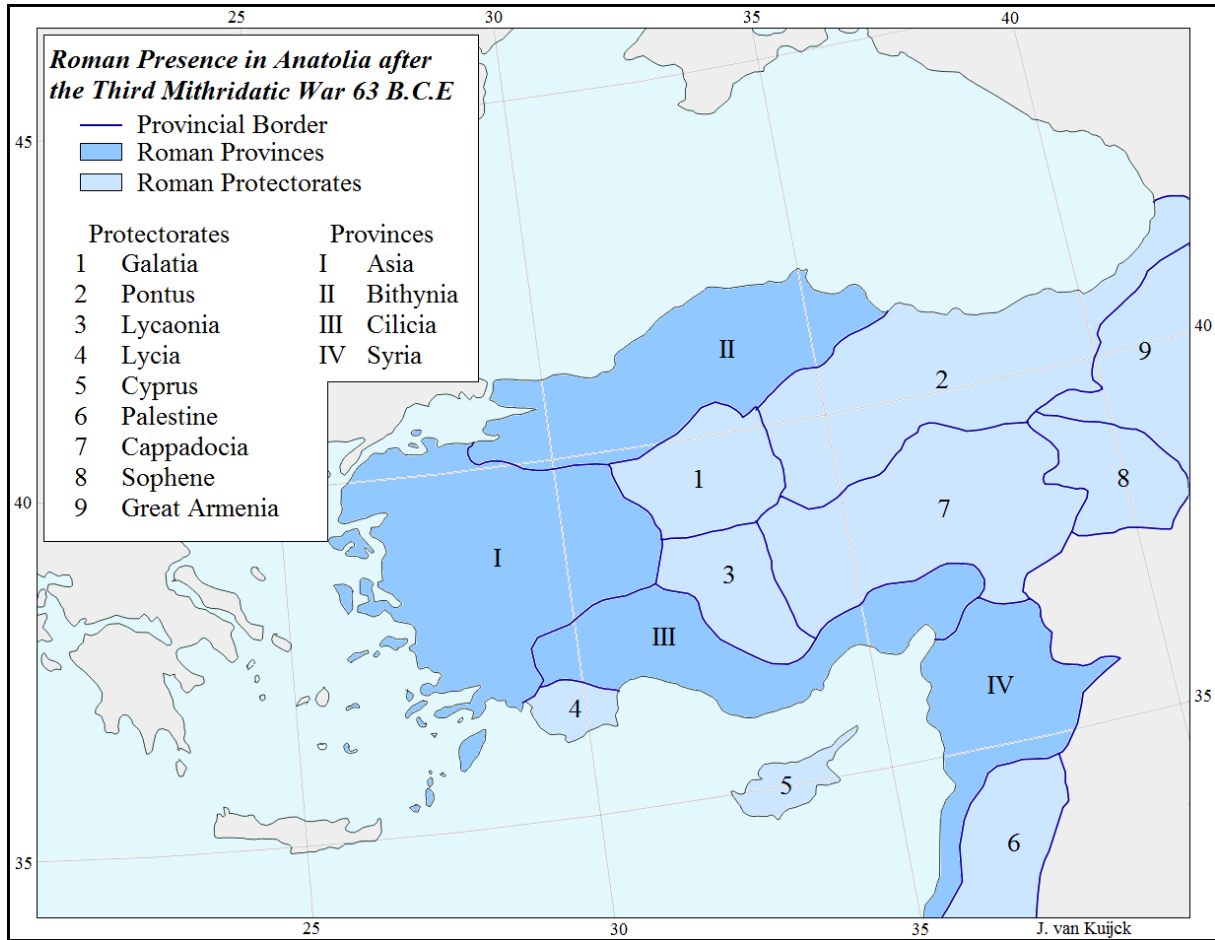
At that moment, Rome controlled all of Anatolia though most of the regions were still protectorates and not provinces. The territory of the later diocese of Asiana was now divided into four: the province of Asia, the province of Cilicia, the protectorate of Lycia and the protectorate Lycaonia. During the creation of the provinces of Anatolia, borders were generally based on those of previous client states. An exception to this general rule is the province of Asia which was only partly situated within the limits of the former kingdom of Pergamon. On map 4, the Roman conquest of Anatolia is shown together with the provincial changes which occurred at the end of the third Mithridatic war.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Kent J. Rigsby, 'The Era of the Province of Asia', *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 39-47, here 40.

<sup>102</sup> Clifford Edmund Bosworth 'The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle 'Abbāsid Times', *Oriens* 33 (1992), 268-286, here 269.

<sup>103</sup> Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 33; Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 100.



**Map 4**

From 90 until 63 most of the borders in western Anatolia remained the same except for the creation of Cilicia as a province which incorporated some territory from the northern region of Lycaonia. Striking are the similarities between the borders of the kingdom of Pergamon and those of the Roman provinces and protectorates created in 63 B.C.E. by Pompey. The suggestion that the provinces of 63 were based on those of the kingdom of Pergamon seems plausible. The situation at the end of the third Mithridatic war has a great resemblance with that of the diocese of Asiana around the 370's. The borders of 188 B.C.E., 63 B.C.E. and those of c. 370 C.E. were likely the same, making them historical.

The next provincial change occurred several decades later during the reign of Augustus. The province of Cilicia, created at the time of Pompey, was reduced since the western region of Pisidia was transferred to Galatia. The Pisidia region was already placed under control by the Galatian king from 39 B.C.E. onwards in order to respond more adequately to bandits in the Taurus Mountains. When the king of Galatia died, the kingdom was transformed into a Roman province, incorporating Pisidia. Probably around the same time, the protectorate of Lycaonia was incorporated into the province of Galatia. Besides the provincial changes in the Cilician-Galatian region of Pisidia and the incorporation of Lycaonia, Augustus changed the status of Asia. The oldest province in Anatolia was placed under the jurisdiction of a proconsul which had to report directly to the emperor. The cities of Asia changed from autonomous provincial Greek Poleis cities into imperial administrative

centres, all under the jurisdiction of the proconsul. Cities were the backbone of the Roman Empire and emperors either had to rely on pre-existing communities or had to create new ones, often military colonia's. These communities provided an administrative framework for the provinces.<sup>104</sup>

Lycia in the south remained a protectorate until it was annexed by emperor Claudius (r. 41-54) in 43 and turned it into a province. The borders of Lycia probably remained the same as those of the previous protectorate until the reign of emperor Vespasian (r. 69-79). During his rule, Lycia was enlarged to the east and was renamed as Lycia et Pamphylia. This territory was taken from the neighbouring province of Cilicia, changing the border near Coracesium. Again, a border was established at this place making it definite that the Romans were accustomed to reusing borders.

After Vespasian's provincial changes, the western provinces of Anatolia remained the same and for a long time it was believed that this situation remained static until the reign of Diocletian and the first tetrarchy. Charlotte Roueché's article in 1981, however, changed this view, stating that in proconsular Asia most likely a division occurred in the 250's.<sup>105</sup> During this decade, the joint province of Phrygia et Caria was created before 259, reducing the size of proconsular Asia.<sup>106</sup> The argumentation behind this division is slightly complicated since the information of several inscriptions and a coin has to be combined. The first Greek inscription (I), discovered during an excavation near the temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias in 1904, included two names: Publius Licinius Valerianus, son and brother of the Augusti and Antonius Nicomachus, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Nicomachus.<sup>107</sup> Publius Licinius Valerianus was the son of emperor Valerian (r. 253-260) and brother of the co-emperor Gallienus (r. 254-268). Since the inscription refers to both emperors, the inscription can be dated to 254-260.

In the second Greek inscription (II) was discovered more recently in 1975 in the city wall of Aphrodisias, including again two names: Marcus Aurelius Diogenes and once again to Antonius Nicomachus, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Nicomachus.<sup>108</sup> This inscription can therefore be dated around the same time as the first one, since in both is being referred to Antonius Nicomachus. The name Marcus Aurelius Diogenes is being repeated once again in the third Greek inscription (III) which was found near the second inscription. M. Aurelius Diogenes, however, is now being attested as governor, while Aphrodisias was part of proconsular Asia.<sup>109</sup> This was the first clue which suggested that a new province was created during 254-260. Besides M. Aurelius Diogenes, another person is mentioned, Marcus Antonius Venidius Apella. This might be the same Apella who was named on a coin issued in Aphrodisias during the reign of Gallienus.

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<sup>104</sup> Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, men and gods in Asia Minor*, I: 198.

<sup>105</sup> Charlotte Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias in the Third Century', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 71 (1981), 103-120; Barnes, *The new Empire*, 215; Sviatoslav Dmitriev, 'The end of "Provincia Asia"', *Historia* 50 (2001), 468-489, here 468-471; Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, men and gods in Asia Minor*, I: 228.

<sup>106</sup> Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 103.

<sup>107</sup> *MAMA* VIII, 509. A. See Appendix II, inscription I, on page 39.

<sup>108</sup> Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 106. See Appendix II, inscription II, on page 39.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibidem*, 107. See Appendix II, inscription III, on page 40.

In a fourth Greek inscription (IV) found in 1977, Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus is attested as governor of the province of Phrygia et Caria.<sup>110</sup> Some letters in the inscription were exaggerated, like the K, Ω and Γ. These indications suggest that it was carved out in the middle of the third century.<sup>111</sup> The last two Greek inscriptions, number five (V) found in Hierapolis and the number six (VI) in Laodicea ad Lycum, one *anonymous* person is being attested.<sup>112</sup> His name was later erased, however, in both cases he was ἡγεμόνα (one who leads) which is the same epithet as those of both Diogenes and Asclepiodotus. The inscription of Laodicea also speaks of the anonymous person as a legate of plural Augusti. Although John G.C. Anderson stated in 1932 that both inscriptions could be dated to the reign of Diocletian, Roueché proved that this was false.<sup>113</sup> During the tetrarchy only *praesides* of equestrian rank were assigned to provinces while legates of senatorial rank were generally being excluded. It therefore makes more sense to date the *anonymous* person to the reign of Valerian and Gallienus instead to the tetrarchy. Although the combination of these inscriptions and the coin of Apella does not provide the most solid evidence, it does suggest that during reign of Valerian and Gallienus a new province named Phrygia et Caria was established.

When Diocletian ascended the throne in 283, the territory of the later diocese of Asiana contained the provinces: Proconsular Asia, Phrygia et Caria, Lycia et Pamphylia and a small part of the province of Galatia. The *Laterculus Veronensis* shows that in 314 the number of provinces had increased to from four to nine, containing the following provinces:

|                |       |             |
|----------------|-------|-------------|
| Phanfilia      | Assa  | Insulae     |
| Frigia Prima   | Lidia | Fisidiaie   |
| Frigia Secunda | Caria | Ellespontus |

When exactly the provincial division took place is uncertain, though it is likely all divisions occurred after the installation of the tetrarchy in 293. The large proconsular province of Asia was already reduced in size in the 250s and its remaining territory was further divided into the provinces of Asia (Assa), Lidia (Lydia), Hellespontus (Ellespontus). The islands in the Aegean Sea, which were part of former Asia, were bundled together as the province of Insulae, being attested for the first time on August 294.<sup>114</sup> The capital and administrative centre of this province was Rhodes. The exact reason why the Aegean islands were merged into a single province is uncertain, though it might be possible that such a division was done in order to relieve the proconsul's administrative burden. In that case the proconsul did not have to travel over sea anymore and he could focus more on his duties on the mainland.

Proconsular Asia on the mainland was already divided into different regions before Roman presence in the area. All names of these new provinces derive from the names of previous existing regions, a phenomenon which we also encountered in proconsular Africa. The most northern region of proconsular Asia became the province of Hellespontus between

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, 108, See Appendix II, inscription IV, on page 40.

<sup>111</sup> Ibidem, 109.

<sup>112</sup> John G. C. Anderson, 'The genesis of Diocletian's provincial re-organization', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 22 (1932), 24-32, here 24. See Appendix II, inscription V and VI, on page 41.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson kicked ass by Roueché.

<sup>114</sup> The province of Insulae has been attested several times during the first tetrarchy (for instance *CIL* III, 450 and *AE* 1947, 57). The oldest reference to the independent province of Insulae can be found in the *Codex Justinianus*, dated to August 284. See: *Codex Justinianus*, [3.22.5 of 284], translated by Samuel P. Scott (Cincinnati, 1932).

at least 293 and 305.<sup>115</sup> Hellespontus, however, only remains an independent province for several decades since c. 330 the province was combined with Asia forming the Asia et Hellespontus, enlarging the jurisdiction of the proconsul.<sup>116</sup> Retrieving the exact reason behind the division and reunion of Hellespontus is problematic. It might be that governing Hellespontus as a separate province could not function efficiently. In addition, during the reign of Constantine the Great the office of proconsul was slightly gaining power since new proconsular provinces were created and the number of equestrian *praeses* was shrinking.<sup>117</sup> The exact reason therefore remains unknown.

To the east, Asia lost territory to the newly created province of Lydia. This province was created during the first tetrarchy and its northern and southern borders were rivers; the Maeander in the north and the Maeander in the south. The capital of the province was Sardis (modern Sart), one of the largest cities of the Empire at that time. Little is known about the exact western and eastern borders since inscriptions or milestones are rare. In addition, there are only two known governors of Lydia, both in office during the end of the fourth century.<sup>118</sup> This lack of information therefore makes it hard to say anything about the establishment of the province.

The province of Phrygia et Caria, created in the 250s, saw some changes during the rule of the first tetrarchy. Phrygia et Caria was parted into three after the winter of 301/302 and subsequently, before May 305, into the provinces of Caria, Phrygia Prima and Phrygia Secunda.<sup>119</sup> The border separating Caria from Asia and also Lydia became the Maeander River. Apparently the province of Caria was enlarged since it had the city of Miletus within its limits. From 286 until 293, however, Miletus was still part of Asia since various inscriptions refer to proconsul T. Flavius Festus.<sup>120</sup>

The other regions of the later diocese of Asiana, which did not belong to former territory of the Asian proconsul, were Pisidia and Lycia et Pamphylia. The toponym Pisidia was already used during the first millennium B.C.E. and remained in use by the Romans and Byzantines. The region, however, was far from static and changed various times. The difficulties of establishing the exact location of the Pisidia region during antiquity have already been described by William Ramsey in 1902/1903 and remain problematic even today.<sup>121</sup> During the principate, the region of Pisidia was part roughly part of the larger province of Galatia. The capital of Galatia was Ancyra (modern Ankara) while the capital of the later province of Pisidia was Pisidian Antioch, 340 kilometres to the south-west.<sup>122</sup> By creating the new province of Pisidia with a new capital, the governor of both Galatia and

<sup>115</sup> The Greek inscription: *BSA* 1962, 10 (Side B), 183-185, refers to Julius Cassius as governor of Hellespontus during the reign of Augustus Diocletianus and his Caesar Galerius. See Appendix II, inscription VII, on page 42.

<sup>116</sup> Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus iunior's career is described on *CIL* VI, 1682 which can be dated to 334. Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 679, 1101.

<sup>117</sup> Slootjes, *The governor and his subjects*, 22.

<sup>118</sup> Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 1099.

<sup>119</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 215.

<sup>120</sup> *AE* 1938, 127; *SEG* IV 467; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 335.

<sup>121</sup> William M. Ramsay, 'Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 9 (1902/1903), 243-273. Still today the exact borders of Pisidia are unclear. Even the map concerning the situation of Pisidia during the principate in the Barrington Atlas is vague. See: Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, map 100.

<sup>122</sup> The original name of the capital of Pisidia is Antiochia Colonia Caesarea near modern Yalvaç. I added the word Pisidian to Antioch in order to prevent confusion with the more well-known city of Antioch in the Levant.

Pisidia had more time to deal with matters in their own district since the travel time between the regions was greatly reduced. This might therefore be the reason why Galatia was parted into new provinces. The exact date of the creation of this new province Pisidia is unclear, though the first attested governor of Pisidia was Valerius Diogenes during persecutions of Christians in May 311.<sup>123</sup>

Bordering Pisidia to the west was the province of Lycia et Pamphylia. This province was created during the reign of Vespasian and remained a joint province during the rest of the principate and the first tetrarchy. There are only two known *praeses* of Lycia et Pamphylia and only one can be exactly dated to June 311.<sup>124</sup> The *Laterculus Veronensis*, however, is only mentioning Phanfilia and no references are made to Lycia. Barnes made the suggestion that Lycia was omitted by the copyist of the original document since there are no clues that the province was divided during June 311 and the summer of 314.<sup>125</sup> The first time that the two provinces are attested separately is during the 350's in a letter from the teacher Libanius to governor Quirinus.<sup>126</sup> Quirinus was governor of Lycia and later of Pamphylia. It could be that Lycia already was a separate province during the reign of Constans as caesar (r.333-337) since a milestone is mentioning Aurelius Fa. Faustinus as governor.<sup>127</sup> The inscription, however, refers to him as governor of single province and not of joined province: *Aur.Fa-. Faustinus v.p. praes. provinciae*. The inscription on the milestone does not say which province, though it was situated near Choma (modern Hacimusalar), which is Lycia. On map five, the situation of 314 is visualised, showing the provincial and diocesan borders.<sup>128</sup>

The reason why the provinces of western Anatolia were parted into smaller units might be the same as in Africa; to increase the administration of justice and the decline of the office of proconsul. The densely populated provinces of western Anatolia could be governed more efficiently if the number of governors was increased. By increasing the number of provinces from four to nine, the number of governors and their staff increased as well, making it easier to govern highly developed provinces of Asiana. Since almost every province in western Anatolia changed from a proconsular status into an ordinary province, we can say that the power and prestige of the proconsul was reduced in Asia. Many of the provinces (Hellespontus, Asia, Lydia, Caria and Lycia et Pamphylia) had rivers that determined parts of their borders. Although geography was probably not a principle factor, it did seem to play a role in the decision-making process. The external border of the provinces, later becoming the border of the diocese of Asiana, seems to be historical since it was already being used before Roman conquest. On map 5, the situation of 314 is visualised, showing the provincial and diocesan borders.

<sup>123</sup> MAMA I 1170; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 257.

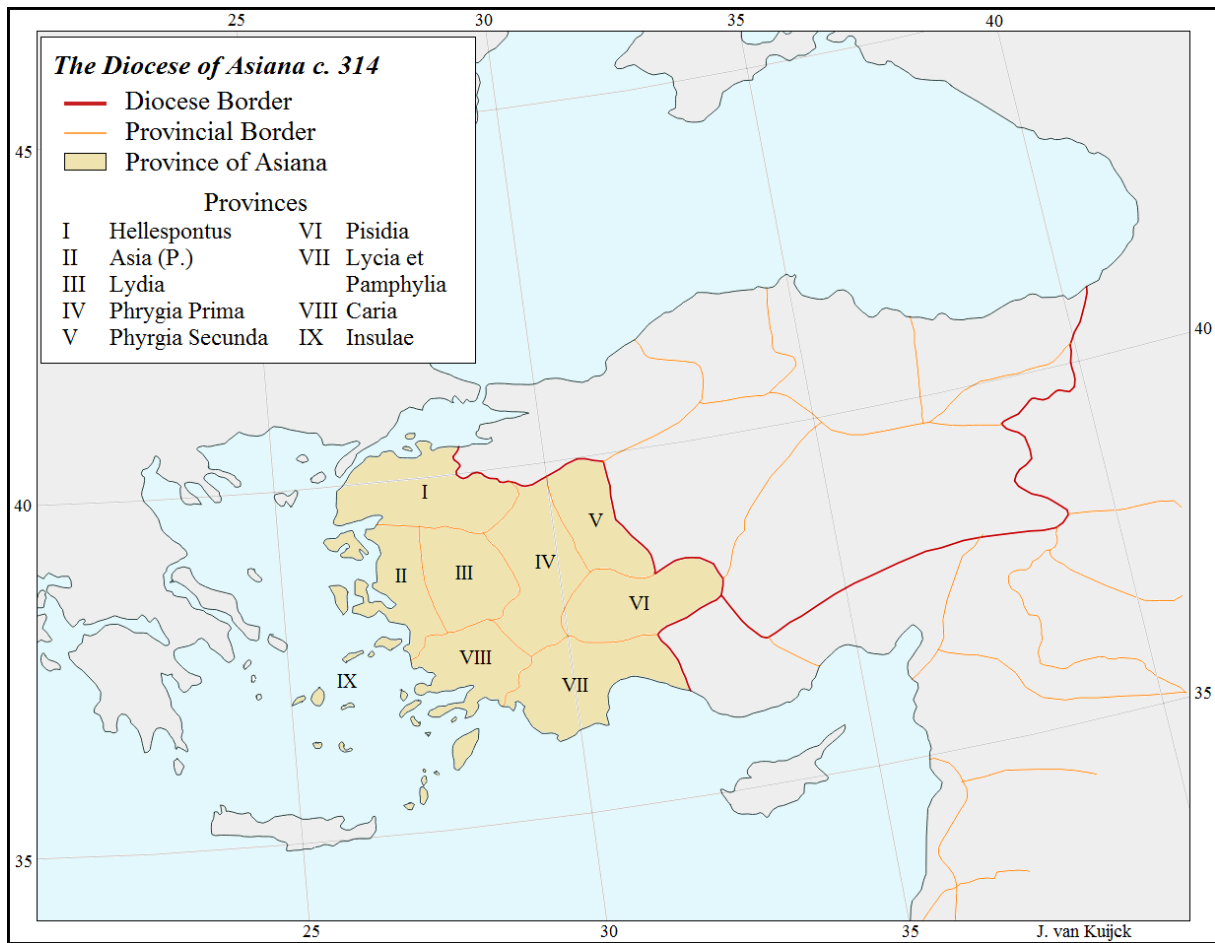
<sup>124</sup> CIL III 12132 = OGIS 569 = TAM II 3.785; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 1100.

<sup>125</sup> Barnes, *The new Empire*, 219.

<sup>126</sup> Libanius, *Die Briefe des Libanius*, translated by Otto Seeck (Leipzig, 1906), letter 366; Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 760-761; Barnes, *The new Empire*, 219.

<sup>127</sup> Jones, Martindale and Morris, *The prosopography*, I: 328, 1100; George E. Bean and Roy M. Harrison, 'Choma in Lycia', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 57 (1967), 40-44, here 44, plate 11.

<sup>128</sup> Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, map 101.



**Map 5**

## Chapter Five

### *Administrating Asiana and Africa*

In the previous chapters the provincial divisions, mostly implemented during the first tetrarchy, have been discussed and it has become evident that there were factors which played a role in the decision-making process of both provinces and dioceses. At first glance, the territory of the dioceses of Africa and Asiana had little in common and were depicted by various historians (including myself) as two entirely different regions. In my opinion, the reason for this common idea derives from the fact that both territories differ greatly from each other in terms of geography, culture, language et cetera. Africa had, and still has, territories which can be described as arid, or in Pliny's words as: "empty, nothing but sand and full of serpents". Western Anatolia on the other hand is mostly arable, making it capable to supply the enormous population which has lived in the region for centuries. Although geographically the regions differ greatly from each other, administratively they are not so different.

The traditional provincial framework, which foundations were laid from the second century B.C.E. onwards, remained largely intact until the rise of the first tetrarchy. In both northern Africa and western Anatolia, this was done in quite a similar way. The creators of provinces of the Roman Republic, principate and late antiquity, knew the history of the newly conquered lands very well. In most cases, the borders and boundaries of the Roman provinces

had already been created before Roman rule. In Africa the Carthaginian Empire, the Numidian realm and the kingdom of Mauretania already determined the borders, which were in most cases reused by the Romans. Africa was conquered in different stages from 146 B.C.E. until 40 C.E., creating new borders after every war. The acquired ‘allies’ and client states, which Rome created in order to gain territorial hegemony, were eventually annexed and ruled as a province. In (western) Anatolia we can see the same phenomenon. Its conquest started with the third Punic war and was done in a similar fashion as in Africa. The kingdom of Pergamon, the Republic of Rhodes, the kingdom of Galatia and the league of Lycia are only a few of the client states which were bequeathed to Rome and transformed into provinces.

Clear examples of reusing existing border are the peninsular fortress of Coracesium and the “Altars of the Philaeni”. Both of them divided pre-Roman realms such as the Carthaginians and Cyrenians in Africa and the Greeks and Seleucids in Anatolia. Under Roman rule they became *termini provinciae* or internal borders and ultimately became the diocesan demarcations in the early fourth century.

During the principate, many emperors, including: Vespasian, Septimius Severus, Valerian and Aurelian, tried to improve the administrative efficiency by splitting larger provinces into smaller ones. In this way, Diocletian and his co-rulers were not different from their predecessors and continued this development on a large scale. The first tetrarchy, besides wanting to improve imperial administration, faced the threat of potential usurpers. By dividing the Roman realm into smaller provinces, the administrative efficiency increased which reduced the chance of a coup d’état. Parting the provinces into smaller units was probably not done according to a universal set of criteria. For instance, in some cases geography and demography were leading factors, while in others they most certainly were not. History, in some cases, played no role, even though it was one of the leading factors for the establishment of the traditional system of provinces. For example, the *Fossa regia* or *Fosse Scipio* between Proconsular Africa and Numidia was completely abandoned. When, however, the dioceses in the early fourth century make their entrance, history is once again a leading factor, at least for Asiana and Africa. Map 1 and 3 of this study provide a very strong visual argument, favouring the suggestion that the borders of these two dioceses were based on pre-Roman borders. Although Asiana had problems with its eastern border around 314, by c. 370 these problems were solved and the similarities between Asiana and the former kingdom of Pergamon are striking.

Noethlichs and Slootjes already explained that dioceses did not necessarily have to belong to each other geographically. Historical-cultural geography, however, seem to have served much more as a guiding principle. The territory that Asiana comprised was already in some way a cultural-historical block just as the diocese of Africa was during the heydays of the Carthaginian realm. It is, however, remarkable that these two dioceses were based on cultural-historical borders, while some of its internal provinces were not. Why did the first tetrarchy decide to abandon the almost ancient previous provincial borders? Were they too outdated to remain efficient? If so, why did the dioceses reuse historical borders? Presumably the provinces of the Empire could not be controlled efficiently and were posing a threat to the ruling emperor if left unchecked. It remains crucial to keep in mind that Diocletian first and



foremost had to secure his personal security and that most of his reforms, of which the provincial divisions are one, were enacted in order to secure his rule.

In order to increase the administrative efficiency of the Empire, Diocletian and later the tetrarchy changed the provincial borders, however, the cultural-historical blocks were almost left unchanged. These reorganised provinces were later grouped together into dioceses which followed in the case of Asiana and Africa the almost unchanged border of the cultural historical blocks.

Every administrative inefficient province had its own difficulties and needed an individual approach in order to increase the efficiency. Therefore the division of provinces during the first tetrarchy were not done by a universal set of criteria. Northern Africa, for instance, had the problem with the province of Africa Proconsularis which was simply too large, even when Septimius Severus reduced its size by transforming *de facto* Numidia into a *de iure* province in 198/199. Remarkable is the fact that already during the life of Pliny, Africa Proconsularis was unofficially divided into the regions of Zeugitana, Byzacena and Tripolitana. These regions became independent provinces during the reign of the first tetrarchy making the borders between them historical. There are various reasons why these provinces were divided into smaller already existing regions.

Mattingly's study on Tripolitana made clear that the Tripolis area, the heartland of the province, was difficult to govern since it was geographically isolated from the rest of Proconsular Africa. This problem already played a role during the Republican era and principate. The regions of Zeugitana and Byzacena, however, were not divided because of geographical reasons. The reason of this division had to be sought elsewhere and was eventually found in demographics. Densely populated regions within the Roman Empire such as the territories in Anatolia, the Nile delta as well as the regions of Zeugitana and Byzacena, have in common that they were divided into smaller provinces, smaller than most other provinces. By dividing densely populated regions into smaller units, the number of provinces as well as the number of governors increased, improving administrative efficiency. Since the number of subjects that had to be governed in a province was reduced, a governor had more time to address difficulties and to carry out his main responsibility more efficiently: the administration of justice.

It could therefore be postulated that Zeugitana and Byzacena, as well as the provinces of western Anatolia, were divided into smaller regions in order to increase the administration of justice, resulting in a more efficiently administrated Empire. The creation of the dioceses, following the provincial divisions would then be a logical next step in order to attempt to even further increase the Empire's administrative efficiency. One of the principle duties of the head of a diocese, the *vicarius*, was to be an intermediate judge between the governors and the praetorian prefects. In addition, he was involved in trial cases which were considered too significant to be done by an ordinary governor. The creation of prefectures during the mid or late fourth century, could in that case be seen as a next and final step to increase the administration of justice and with that the administrative efficiency of the entire Empire.

The dioceses, however, turned into more than just a layer of supreme judges. When taking a closer look to Asiana, the territory in which imperial tax collectors, the *procuratores*, had to operate was changed some time after the installation of the dioceses since in 331 there was a *rationalis Asianae* in function who operated within the diocesan borders of Asiana.

Besides assigning a supreme head of taxation to a region which was identical to that of a diocese, a military official was assigned in 330 to a specific diocese, a *comes dioeceseos Asianae*. Since this study focuses on the period of the creation of the dioceses, it goes too far to examine these later reforms connected to the dioceses.

This is only one of the many aspects of the dioceses which deserve more scholarly attention. This study, which should be seen as stepping stone to a better understanding of the dioceses, will hopefully encourage other scholars to conduct research concerning the dioceses and all aspects that are connected to them.

## Epilogue

### *The way forward*

In this last little chapter several points will be addressed in order to provide some ideas which other scholar could use as a starting point for new research. This study made various suggestions and assumptions which should be examined more carefully in order to check their validity. The case studies which were chosen for this study provide arguments, favouring the suggestion that densely populated provinces were divided in order to increase the efficiency of the administration of justice as well as the Empire's administrative efficiency in general. It would therefore be interesting to see if in other dioceses, densely populated provinces were divided for the same reason.

Another point which deserves investigation is the existence of cultural-historical blocks. In Africa and Asiana they are likely to have played an important role in the decision-making process, making us wonder if other dioceses were created based on the same principle. The diocese of Oriens, which was later divided into Oriens and Aegyptus, would be a suitable candidate since it has densely populated areas and a long documented history of previous kingdoms. In addition, it might provide new insights why provinces bordering Africa and Asiana were considered part of Oriens. Were these provinces part of Oriens because they were part of an own cultural-historical block or did other factors play a role?

Questions like these, however, focus strongly on the creation period of the dioceses. Research conducted towards the development of dioceses has received even slighter scholarly attention. Studies concerning the development of dioceses would provide insight in the function of the diocese in different times. Already in this study it is briefly mentioned that in the 330's Asiana was connected with both financial and military offices. Was this only the case in Asiana or did these phenomena also took place in other dioceses?

A last suggestion would be to take a closer look at the end of the dioceses' existence. When the borders of the western part of the Roman Empire were overran by Goths, Vandals, Franks, Sueves, Alans, Huns and by many other groups in the 400's, the dioceses could not maintain to function. When the last western Roman emperor was disposed in 476, Roman authority over this part of the Empire was largely lost ending the existing of the dioceses in the west. During this period, however, a transition took place and dioceses changed into ecclesial administrative structures, which in essence still exist until today. In the eastern part of the Empire, the dioceses could survive until they were abolished in the 530's by emperor

Justinian (r. 527-565). It would be fruitful to conduct research on this period since it is still unclear how this transition of a diocese as secular administrative structure into an ecclesial administrative structure was done.

All in all, we can conclude that there is still a long way to go until we completely understand how the diocese in late antiquity functioned and it will probably take several decades or more.

This thesis will for me be the end of a wonderful time as a student at the Radboud University and is for now the end of my participation in the discussion concerning dioceses. During my time at university I have grown in several ways, which I could have only done with the support of several people. Therefore, I would like to dedicate this final essay to my loving parents, who made it possible for me to go to university and to my partner in everything Ayla. In addition, I want to thank all persons who helped me write this thesis: Adele de Vries, Eleftheria Mitroudi, Anne van den Berg, Daniëlle Sloodjes and especially my very good and old friend Tycho Tromp.

## Appendix I

### Inscription (I)<sup>129</sup>

- I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)  
unoni cetersiq(ue) diis  
immortal]ibus gratum  
referens quod coaduna/tis secum militibus [[d]]d(ominorum) n[[n]](ostorum)  
5 Invictissimorum Aug[g(ustorum)]  
tam ex parte Caes(ariensi) quam  
etiam de Sitifensi adgres/sus Quinquegentaneos  
rebelles caesos multos  
etiam et vivos adpre/hensos sed et praedas  
10 actas repressa desp/ratione eorum victo/riam reportavit  
Aurel(ius) Litua v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) M(auretania)  
Caes(ariensis)

### Inscription (II)<sup>130</sup>

- Imp(eratori) Caes[ari]  
Flavio Valerio  
Constantino  
invicto pio felici  
5 Aug(usto) p(ontifiri) m(aximo) t(rubunica) p(otestate) viiii cons(uli)  
iii imp(eratori) vii p(atri) p(atriae) p(roconsuli)  
Val(erius) Paulus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) N(umidia)  
d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatie) q(ue) eorum d(ecurionum)  
d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) p(osuit)

### Inscription (III)<sup>131</sup>

Centenarium Tibubuci quod Valerius Vibianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) initiari  
Aurelius Quintianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses provinciae Tripolitanae  
perfici curavit.

<sup>129</sup> *CIL* VIII 8924.

<sup>130</sup> *CIL* VIII 18905 = *ILAlg.* II 4673 = *AE* 1890, 21 = *ILS* 8941.

<sup>131</sup> *CIL* VIII 22763 = *ILS* 9352.

Inscription (IV)<sup>132</sup>

[In]dulgentissimo  
ac libertatis re-  
stitutori uic-  
tori{ori}osis-  
5 simoque Impe-  
ratori  
d(omino) n(ostro) Maxentio  
P(io) F(elici) invicto Aug(usto)  
Volusius  
10 Donatianus  
v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Tripol(itanae)  
numini maies-  
tatiq(ue) [e]ius dicatiss(imus)

**Translation:**

To the most indulgent, and moreover restorer of freedom, and most victorious emperor, our lord Maxentius Pius, Felix, unconquered Augustus; Volusius Donatianus, most excellent man (i.e. of equestrian status), governor of the province of Tripolitania, deeply devoted to his divine power and majesty.

Inscription (V)<sup>133</sup>

dd. [n]n.  
Fl.Val.Constantino p.f.  
invicto Aug.  
et Fl.Cl.Constantino  
5 et Fl.lul.Constantio  
et Fl.lul.Constan<ti n>obb. Caess.  
Aur.Fa-Faustinus v.p. praes.  
provinciae Δ

<sup>132</sup> *IRT* 465 = *AE* 1946, 149.

<sup>133</sup> Bean and Harrison, 'Choma in Lycia', 44, plate 11.

Inscription (VI)<sup>134</sup>

- [S]cr(iptum prid.  
 Kal. Iulias  
 [C]onstantinopoli.  
 Imp. Ceas. Consta[n]tinus  
 5 Maximus Guth. Uictor ac trium-  
 fator Aug. et Fl. Clau. Constantinus  
 Alaman. et Fl. Jul. Const(ant)ius nnbb.  
 Caess. S[al]utem dicunt  
 ordini ciuit. Orcistanorum.  
 10 Actum est indulgentiae nos-  
 trae munere ius uobis ciuita-  
 tis tributum non honore modo  
 uerum libertatis etiam priui-  
 leguim custodire. Itaque Na-  
 15 colensium iniuriam ultra in-  
 dulgentiae nostrae beneficia  
 perduranti praesenti re-  
 scibtione remouemus idque  
 oratis uestris petitionique  
 20 deferimus ut pecuniam quam  
 pro cultis anto solebatis in-  
 ferre minime deinceps dependa-  
 tis. Hoc igitur ad uirum prefe-  
 [c]tissimum rationale Asia-  
 25 nae dioeceseos lenitas nostra  
 perscribit, qui secutus for-  
 [mam] indulgentiae concessae  
 uobis pecuniam deinceps pr[o]  
 supra dicta specie expeti a uo-  
 30 obis postularique prohibeb[it.]  
 Bene ualere uos cupim[us].  
 Basso et Ablabio cons.

<sup>134</sup> *MAMA VII*, 305 table III = *FIR<sup>2</sup> I*, 952.

## Appendix II

### Inscription (I)<sup>135</sup>

[ἡ πόλις]  
[...]ον Λι-  
[κίννιο]ν Οὐα-  
[λεριαν]ὸν υἱ  
[ὸν καὶ ἀ]δελ-  
5 [φὸν τῶ]ν Σεβασ-  
[τῶν τ]ὸν ἑαυ-  
[τ]ῆς εὐεργέ-  
την, προνοη-  
σαμένου τῆς  
10 ἀναστάσεω[ς]  
τοῦ ἀξιολο-  
γωτάτου Ἀν-  
τωνίου Νει-  
κομάχου τοῦ  
15 πατρὸς τοῦ πρώ-  
του ἄρχοντος  
Ἀντωνίου Κλαυ-  
δίου Νεικομάχου  
ἀρχιερέων ἐκγό-  
20 scroll νου scroll

#### *Translation:*

[The city (has honoured) ...]us Li[cinius] Va[lerian]us, son and brother of the Augusti, her benefactor; the most worthy Antonius Nicomachus, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, offspring of high-priests, supervised the erection (of the monument).

### Inscription (II)<sup>136</sup>

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ]  
scroll δῆμος scroll  
Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον  
Διογένην πρεσ-  
βευτὴν Σεβασ-  
5 τῶν ἀντιστρά-  
τηγον stor τὸν δίκαι-  
ον καὶ ἀγνὸν  
καὶ ἀνδρεῖον  
καὶ πάσῃ ἀρε-  
10 τῇ κεκοσμη-  
scroll μένον scroll  
προν[ο]ησαμένου τῆς  
ἀναστάσεως Ἀντω-  
νίου Νεικομάχου  
15 τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ πρώ-  
του ἄρχοντος Ἀντω-  
νίου Κλαυδίου Νει-  
κομάχου ἀρχιερέ-  
ων ἐκγόνου τοῦ ἀ-  
20 scroll ξιολογωτάτου scroll

#### *Translation:*

[The Council and the] People (have honoured) Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, legatus Augustorum pro praetore, he (who is) just, and decent, and brave, and adorned with every virtue; the most worthy Antonius Nicomachus, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, offspring of high-priests, supervised the erection (of the monument).

<sup>135</sup> MAMA VIII, 509.

<sup>136</sup> Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 106.

Inscription (III)<sup>137</sup>

[?Ἡ πόλις]  
 Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον  
 Διογένην τὸν λαμ-  
 πρότατον ἡγεμό-  
 να ἔνδοξον ἀν-  
 5 δρεῖον ἀγνὸν φι-  
 λάνθρωπον, διὰ  
 πάσης ἤκοντα ἀ-  
 ρέτης, τὸν ἑαυτῆς  
 scroll εὐεργέτην scroll  
 10 προνοησαμένων  
 τῆς ἀναστάσεως  
 τῶν περὶ Μᾶρκον  
 Ἀντώνιον Οὐενί-  
 διον Ἀπελλᾶν τὸν  
 15 ἀξιολογώτατον ἀρ-  
 scroll χόντων scroll

**Translation:**

[The City (put up the statue of)] Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, the most splendid governor, distinguished, brave, decent, generous, having achieved all virtue, her benefactor; the archons (led by) the most worthy Marcus Venidius Apellas supervised the erection (of the monument).

Inscription (IV)<sup>138</sup>

vac. ἡ πατρίς vac.  
 vac. Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ vac.  
 Τ(ίτον) Ὀππ(ιον) Αἰλιανὸν  
 ν. Ἀσκληπίοδοτον  
 5 τὸν λαμπρότατον  
 ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα  
 Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας  
 ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἐπα-  
 νορθωτὴν Ἀσίας κτί-  
 10 στήν καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ  
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος  
 Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Μαρκιανὸς ὁ  
 πρῶτος ἄρχων

**Translation:**

The Homeland, With Good Fortune, (set up the statue of) T(itus) Opp(ius) Aelianus Asclepiodotus, the most splendid consular, governor of Caria and Phrygia, proconsul and corrector of Asia, founder and saviour also of his own homeland; Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Marcianus the first archon (set this up/was in charge).

<sup>137</sup> Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 107.

<sup>138</sup> Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias', 108.



Inscription (V)<sup>139</sup>

**Side A**

[erased] τόν  
λαμπρότατον  
διά παντός γέ-  
νους ὑπατικό [ν  
5 ἡγεμόνα Φρυγ-  
ίας κε] Καρίας

**Side B**

[erased]  
τον ἀνδ [δρειότα-  
τον και ἀγ [νόν  
καί δίκ[α]ι[ον]  
5 κτλ.

Inscription (VI)<sup>141</sup>

[erased] [ἡγε-  
μ]όνα Φρυγίας τέ καί Κ[αρίας  
πρ]εσβευτήν και ἀντιστρ[άτηγον  
τῶν Σεβαστῶν ὑπατον ἀν [δρ-  
5 εία κέ ἀρετῇ και δικαιο[σύνη  
[erased],

**Translation:**<sup>140</sup>

Side A: ... the most brilliant among all geni,  
magister and ruler of Phrygia and Caria.

Side B: ... the bravest and most pure and just  
etc.

**Translation:**<sup>142</sup>

... ruler of Phrygia and Caria, ambassador  
and lieutenant general of the Sebastii  
(Augusti), magister with gallantry and virtue  
and justice ....

<sup>139</sup> Anderson, 'The genesis', 24.

<sup>140</sup> Translated by my Greek fellow student and friend  
Eleftheria Mitroudi (BA).

<sup>141</sup> Anderson, 'The genesis', 24.

<sup>142</sup> Translated by Eleftheria Mitroudi.

Inscription (VII)<sup>143</sup>

οἱ εὐσεβέστατοι καπρ(φιλ?)ονοητικώτατοι  
 δεσπότες ἡμῶν [Γάιο]ς Ουαλέριος  
 [Διοκλητιανός] {Ε[βας]τός, και Γαλ. Ουάλ.  
 Μαξιμιανός} ἐπ[ι]φ[αν]έστατος Καῖσαρ,  
 5 ἐκ τῆς ἀπαιτηθ[εῖς]ης ὕλης θείας  
 προνοίᾳ τὴν αὐτ[ῶν] δεσπότην ἡμῶν  
 τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ ἀργυροῦ καθιέρωσαν τῇ  
 ἁγιωτάτῃ θεῇ Ἀθηνᾷ Ἀσκληπιόν  
 σταθμισθέντα Λ[Ο] [Η Ιτ] αἰκοῦ σταθμοῦ  
 10 ὀγδοήκοντα [ἔ]ξ, οὐγκιών  
 τριῶν, ἐπὶ Ἰουλι[ο]υ Κασσίου τοῦ δια-  
 σημοτάτου ἡγου[μ]ένου τοῦ Ἑλλη  
 σπόντο[υ].

**Translation:**<sup>144</sup>

The most pious and provident/farseeing masters of ours, Caius Valerius Diocletianus Sebastus (=Augustus) and Gal. Val. Maximianus, the most prominent (like nobilissimus) Caesar, from the necessary timber and with the help of the divine providence of our rulers themselves, they constructed in honour of the most holy goddess Athena, a statue of Asclepius which stood upon a pedestal, weighing 80 and 6 (it doesn't say 86 what? kilos? I don't know), 3 ounces, at the time when Julius Cassius, the most popular leader, ruled in Hellespontus.

<sup>143</sup> BSA 1962, 10 (Side B), 183-185.

<sup>144</sup> Translated by Eleftheria Mitroudi.

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