

COLONIA MARCIANA TRAIANA THAMUGADI: DYNASTICISM IN NUMIDIA

THOMAS H. WATKINS

EARLY IN HIS REIGN TRAJAN ORDERED the foundation of a *colonia* at Thamugadi at the foot of the northern slopes of the Aurès mountains in the Numidian frontier region of southwestern Africa Proconsularis. Now Timgad in Algeria, it was a small city¹ approximately the same size as the imperial bath complexes in Rome, of which Trajan's was the first.² This tiny nucleus became the major urban center of a wide area and has come to occupy a special place in the history of Roman colonies. The regularity of its street grid with its *kardo* and *decumanus*, often taken to typify the methodical town-planning that was a hallmark of Roman imperialism, indicates that it was a *colonia deducta*. If so, it probably possessed *ius Italicum*.³ Trajan's adherence to the ritual *deductio* was part of a concerted effort designed to link him to his Flavian predecessors and behind them to Augustus and the Republican past.⁴

The colony has always been thought to have been named in honor of Trajan's sister Ulpia Marciana. The inference is so attractive and obvious that no one has considered alternatives. This study advances a different hypothesis, that Trajan selected a title which made a dynastic proclamation at the onset of his reign. The colonial name honored his parents, Marcia and M. Ulpius Traianus, as well as his sister. "Marciana Traiana" pointed back to the preceding Flavian emperors, whose policies had been popular with the army and beneficial to the province

¹ Thamugadi must have been close in size to the ancient coastal *coloniae civium Romanorum* such as Terracina. Modern scholars provide varying dimensions: Romanelli (1970: 66–68), 358 x 323 m.; Lassus (1976: 899), roughly 355 m. on a side, close to the figures of LeBohec (1989a: 373), ca 350 x 350 m.; Février (1982: 335–348) and Gros and Torelli (1992: 33) state 317 x 328 m. Whatever the precise numbers, the original area was less than 10.5 ha., not quite half that of a legionary fortress. Glevum (Gloucester) in Britain was closely contemporary and at about 18.5 ha. was less than half the area of Lindum (Lincoln) and Camulodunum (Colchester).

² MacDonald (1986: 25–31, 213) compares the Baths of Caracalla. Coarelli (1995: 212, 285, 373) gives 330 x 315 m. for the Baths of Trajan, 337 x 328 m. for those of Caracalla, and 380 x 370 m. for those of Diocletian. For the number of colonists, see below, n. 18.

³ For the argument that all *coloniae deductae* were *iuris Italici* and that the doctrine is Vespasianic in date, see Watkins 1983 and 1989.

⁴ Trajan's government rewarded the development of the older portion of Proconsularis by granting colonial and municipal status to at least ten places. A list illustrates Trajan's policy of continuing the Flavian dynasty's interest in the area. The five new titular colonies were Lepcis Magna (Lebda), Lepti Minus (Lemta), Hadrumetum (Sousse), Chullu (Collo), and Rusicade (Skikhda); the five new *municipia*: Capsa (Gafsa), Cillium (Kasserine), Thubursucu Numidarum (Khemissa), Calama (Guelma), and Milev (Mila). Chullu, Rusicade, Calama, and Milev had been part of the "confederation" around Cirta which Trajan broke up: see Gascou 1972: 28–32, 67–115, summarized 208–213; Gascou 1982: 168–179; Cherry 1998: 75–140; for Lepcis Magna, see Mattingly 1994: 116–122. The presence of Trajan's tribe, the Papiria, is the basis for assigning him the grants of municipal status.

of Africa, and ahead to the intended succession through Marciana. Himself adopted by Nerva, Trajan had no children, so his successor would come from the descendants of his sister. The *optimus princeps* Trajan saw himself continuing the *domus Augusta* just as the Flavians had done after the death of Nero and the civil war. He had a dynastic view of his rule from its commencement.

THE NUMIDIAN SETTING

From the times of Caesar and Augustus, *coloniae* were statements of policy by which the emperors simultaneously demonstrated their close bonds with their soldiers and provided administrative hubs and model cities from which Roman culture was to radiate out to the natives. After Augustus, discharge bonuses became standard and the rare colonial *deductiones* occurred only in provinces under the emperors' control. A colony marked the transition of an area from military control to civilian development and exploitation. Appropriately the colonists received plots on what had been army land (*prata legionis*) and generally the urban cores utilized decommissioned fortresses.⁵

From the reign of Tiberius a single legion, *III Augusta*, and a number of auxiliary units under the command of the legionary legate kept the peace across all of Africa between Cyrene and Mauretania Caesariensis.⁶ Army headquarters were first at Ammaedara (Haïdra), but legionary *vexillationes* and auxiliary *cohortes et alae* were scattered around the countryside. When Caligula transferred the responsibility for military security from the proconsul, chosen by the Senate, to a legate of praetorian rank appointed by himself, Numidia became an anomaly, *de facto* an imperial province.⁷ Technically the legate of *III Augusta* was subordinate to the proconsul in Carthage. However, the combination of distance and expediency led the legate to act independently of the proconsul and conduct a range of administrative business as well as oversee military security throughout

⁵ Trajan's legionary legate presumably carried out the *deductiones* at Thelepte (near Feriana) and Theveste (Tebessa) in the region where Proconsularis fades into Numidia, but these two colonies are poorly known. Two *municipia* in Numidia are Diana Veteranorum (Zana) and Mascula (Khenchela). Woolf (1998) demonstrates the role of the colonies in attracting the Gallic nobles to adopt the Roman way of life and cooperate with the ruling power. Cf. Cherry 1998: 43–44, 124–125: the last elements of *III Augusta* left Theveste “perhaps in AD 115/17” and “shortly after the legion left” the base became a colony. The British colonies Camulodunum, Glevum, and Lindum are particularly well known: see the papers in Hurst 1999a; Webster 1988; Jones and Mattingly 1990; Crummy 1997: 53.

⁶ LeBohec (1989b: 165) gives two *alae*, four or five *cohortes equitatae*, and perhaps one *cohors peditata* in ca 100, with slight changes over the second century; he excludes the Mauretaniae, and the legion would add perhaps another 5,500 men. Cherry (1998: 40, 53–58) has “perhaps 20,000 men in all” outside the Mauretaniae; Shaw (1983: 138–139) estimates that the legate had only some 8,000 men. Daniels (1987: 233–236) includes the legion plus 24,500 auxiliaries spread across Proconsularis, Numidia, and the two Mauretaniae; this is accepted by Rushworth (1996: 297–316).

⁷ Barrett 1988: 115–123, though he gives the legion's number as II and omits its name; cf. xiv. The proconsul had one cohort of *III Augusta* and one urban cohort at Carthage in the second century: LeBohec 1989b: 21–25, 160. Cf. Mattingly 1994: 79. No “vexillation fortresses” are known in Africa, but Ammaedara's fortress was only ca 10–12 ha.

an enormous region.⁸ In effect, he was a governor in all but name. Annexation of Mauretania as two equestrian provinces to the west across North Africa heightened Numidia's provincial status.⁹

In the Flavian period, A.D. 69–96, westward shifts of army headquarters further expanded the legate's duties and increased his separation from his nominal superior. Probably in part because of concern for the security of Mauretania, Vespasian moved the legion a short distance to a new fortress at Theveste (Tebessa), and detachments began to patrol the Aurès mountains.¹⁰ A colony took over the old base at Ammaedara and there was another one at Madauros. There may have been a string of forts in the high steppe and along the north slopes of the Aurès following the line of the later road: likely sites are Sufetula (Sbeitla), Cillium, Mascula, Aquae Flavianae, Vazaivi, Verecunda, Lambaesis, and Diana Veteranorum. Wary of tribal uprisings and uncontrolled movement of peoples, Rome sought to block passes through the mountains and to control oases, perennial springs, and native settlements. The Flavian policy, labeled a "rolling frontier," furthered the evolution of Numidia into a full province.¹¹

Trajan pushed the Flavian advance through to a logical completion. The fortress was moved far to the west: to Lambaesis, roughly twelve miles beyond Thamugadi. A detachment had been stationed here since 81. Precisely when and how this transfer occurred is not clear, though Lambaesis was the fortress by the time of Hadrian's visit in 128.¹² We should probably think of a shift in stages, cohorts occupying the small forts along the trunk road westward and administrative staff remaining at the previous headquarters in Theveste until the new fortress was complete by about 115.¹³ Several cohorts must have been

⁸ LeBohec (1989b: 160) distinguishes three stages in Numidian history: *de facto* a province from Caligula's reign, a geographical entity once the Flavians began to encircle the Aurès, and a province from 197/201. For the delineation of duties between proconsul and legate prior to Severus, see Shaw 1983: 142–143. The *legatus iuridicus* probably appeared in the Flavian period (there is no earlier proof), a judicial officer who assisted the governor: see Thomasson 1960: 1.67–81; Birley 1981: 211–214, 404–407. For provincial status, first attested in 208/10 (*ILS* 9488), see Birley 1985: 143, 147; LeBohec 1989a: 126, 298, 398–400.

⁹ Levick 1990: 48, 149–150.

¹⁰ Mattingly 1994: 79: "the legion was reunited in a single fortress."

¹¹ Mattingly 1994: 77. For Trajan and Hadrian, see the survey in Cherry 1998: 35–74.

¹² Mann (1983: 13) sees a sharper break than do others: "The legion left Theveste not later than A.D. 98, by which time at latest its station was Lambaesis." He adds (168, n. 173): "The legion may have been stationed for a short time at some intermediate point such as Mascula or Thamugadi, since Hadrian implies in his speech of A.D. 128 that the legion had recently moved its station twice (VIII 2532 Ab)." Hassall (Hassall and Hurst 1999: 181) leaves open the possibility "of a preceding legionary fortress—that of *III Augusta* before its transfer to *Lambaesis*"—at Thamugadi. See below, n. 17. For the fort of 81, see LeBohec 1989a: 363–364.

¹³ For a transfer in stages, beginning in 81 and with Hadrian's visit in 128 as the *terminus ante quem*, see Janon 1973: esp. 211–215, followed by Fentress (1979: 94–98), LeBohec (1989a: 369, 410–416), Cherry (1998: 124–125).

at Lambaesis and other forts close to Thamugadi by the time of the colonial foundation, as it is improbable that the colony would occupy an unprotected position.

An impressively monumental inscription over the city gates at Thamugadi provides some vital data but also contains a hitherto unnoticed perplexity. Analysis of this puzzle yields a new avenue of approach to the dynastic policies of Trajan's reign.¹⁴

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAIANVS AVG GERMANICVS
PONTIF MAX TRIB POT III COS III P P COL MARCIANAM TRAIANAM
THAMVGADI PER LEG III AVG FECIT L MVNATIO GALLO LEG AVG PROPR

The emperor Caesar (son of the deified Nerva) Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus, in the fourth year of his tribunician power, consul for the third time, Father of the Country, established the Colony Marciana Traiana Thamugadi through the work of the Third Augustan Legion. [Done when] the imperial propraetorian legate [was] Lucius Munatius Gallus.¹⁵

The inscription is deceptively simple. It begins with Trajan's imperial titles and provides the date: the fourth year of his tribunician power and third consulship is A.D. 100. More precisely, the *decumanus maximus* points to sunrise on September 18: the foundation was thus a few weeks after Pliny delivered the *Panegyric* oration on September 1—a proximity of some relevance. Skipping over the title for the moment, let us move to the last phrases: Trajan “established” the colony “through the Third Augustan Legion” when the legion was under the command of L. Munatius Gallus.¹⁶ The army did the construction¹⁷ and a few hundred discharged legionaries with their families were the colonists.¹⁸

¹⁴ *CIL* VIII.17842–43 = *ILS* 6841. The division of the lines differs slightly in the identical texts over the north and west gates.

¹⁵ I choose to render *fecit* as “established” and withhold “founded” as the proper translation of *deduxit*.

¹⁶ *Fecit* is evidently to be understood as the equivalent of *deduxit*, “founded.” *Fecit* was also used in the foundation inscription at Sarmizegetusa: see below, n. 24. Gallus' name and office in the ablative indicate agency, so readers should understand that he supervised the foundation.

¹⁷ Fentress (1979: 126–132) notes that “the extreme regularity of the plan” makes it certain that the army did the construction and asserts that there is no evidence for a fort preceding the colony; cf. 166; LeBohec 1989a: 372–374: the colony was “construite, semble-t-il, sur sol vierge, et non sur un ancien camp abandonné, comme on l'a cru.” See also LeBohec 1994: in Numidia the army did most layout of towns and construction of such major public necessities as roads, gates, aqueducts, and baths but not the economic and religious infrastructure (granaries, temples) or “extras” such as theaters and libraries. Lepelley (1979–81: 2.444–445) interprets *per leg. III* to mean the army did the work.

¹⁸ Broughton 1929: 119 is well on the high side, estimating “some 2000 men”; Lassus 1976: about 200 colonists; Fentress 1979: 128–132: perhaps 900 colonists; Witschel 1995: 287–288: 500 to 700 veterans with their families and a few natives; cf. 308 for the colonists' origins. Modern writers are often not clear: do their numbers refer only to the veterans or their families as well? See Mann 1983: 14 and Cherry 1998: 43, 54, 98 for veterans. (Cherry [1998: 44, 54, 98] incorrectly regards *Diana Veteranorum* as a colony, citing Broughton [1929: 134–135] for “a Trajanic or Hadrianic foundation,”

It is particularly interesting to observe, moreover, that the proconsul of Proconsularis was not involved in the foundation: the assignment fell to the legate, presumably because it was in the imperial portion of the province, close to the fortress, and the colonists were peculiarly the beneficiaries of the emperor's largess. At Thamugadi the *deductio* demonstrates the increasingly provincial nature of Numidia and gubernatorial duties of the legate.

Gallus' precise contribution cannot be determined: he or previous legates may well have sent in recommendations of specific sites, but Trajan with his *consilium* determined the timing and, of special importance to this study, the colonial title. Gallus is unfortunately not well known.¹⁹ He received an epigram from Martial,²⁰ was possibly once at Corinth as quaestor or legate of the governor of Achaëa,²¹ and had apparently been legate of the *legio XI Claudia* at Vindonissa on the upper Rhine.²² He seems to have been Trajan's initial appointee as *legatus* of *legio III Augusta*, and in this capacity was assigned the task of implementing the new policies. Other inscriptions attest his activities in Numidia until 102/3. Legates of *III Augusta* regularly proceeded straight to the consulship.²³ Gallus apparently did

but Broughton [202–203] says it did not become a *municipium* until 162; cf. 184–185.) Gascou (1972: 100–101) argues that the Papiria tribe, that of Trajan, indicates Diana Veteranorum was a Trajanic *municipium*; cf. above, n. 4.

¹⁹ Nothing is recorded of parents, wife, son, or siblings. *CIL* XIII.11500 (below, n. 22) indicates his father was a Marcus and that he was in the Teretina tribe—thus probably from southern Latium or Arelate (Arles) in Narbonensis. See Taylor 1960: 55–59 (map facing 47), 275, 278, 292; Garzetti (1950: 144, no. 103) inclines toward Venafrum; cf. Jones 1979: 113, no. 205: Italy or “Narbonensis (Arles)”; Burnand (1982: 2.414) rejects Arles, proposed by Alföldy (1967: 21, no. 28).

²⁰ Mart. 10.33. The poem tells us Gallus had a daughter about to marry a senator's son (*claros penates*), but no more. Many of the Galli encountered in Martial (and Pliny) are unidentifiable. Cf. Sullivan 1991: 170. The poem may have originally been sent independently to Gallus in hopes of patronage and subsequently incorporated into the tenth book: White 1974: 40–61, esp. 56–57; 1975: 265–300 at 197, n. 46; accepted by Sullivan (1991: 4–6). Neither White nor Sullivan lists Gallus among Martial's patrons. See Sullivan 1991: 44–52, 58, 218 for chronology: Book 10 was first issued in 95 and a revision appeared in 98.

²¹ For his possible presence at Corinth we have two very fragmentary inscriptions: West 1931: 44, no. 63: L / M. F. TER GALLO / [X VIR ST]LITIB IVDIC[ANDIS] and Kent 1966: 55, no. 122: [L MVNATIO M. F. TER] / GALL[O] . . . / IMP[E]RATO[RIS] . . . / ET DI[VI] / [P]ROQ[AESTORI]. The inscription as printed omits the “u” in *proquaestori*, and only the tops of the letters of the last line are preserved. If the Q is to be read as a C, one might restore PROCONSULL, i.e., the provincial governor. Whether the individual in these two inscriptions is our Gallus is very uncertain, but accepted by Groag (1939: 49) and Alföldy (1967: 21).

²² *CIL* XIII.11500: APOLLONI L MVNATIVS M. F. TER GALLVS. When the garrison of Germania Superior was reduced from four legions to two soon after 100, Vindonissa was closed: Gallus may have been the (pen-)ultimate commander at this fortress. Alföldy (1967: 21, no. 28) dates Gallus' command to 98–99; Eck (1985: 247) puts it a bit earlier, “Ende Domitian oder Nerva.” The dedicant may have been not the legionary commander but the senatorial *tribunus laticlavus*.

²³ See Garzetti 1950: 144, no. 103: “console probabilmente nel 103 o 104,” but with no evidence. Gallus' predecessor, Acutius Justus, also disappears without trace, apparently without becoming consul; Q. Fabius Barbarus was legate in 97 and *cos. suff.* 99. No suffectus are known for 104, which is the most likely year for Gallus on the assumption he stayed in Numidia into 103. His successors

not. There are gaps among the *suffecti* of 104–107, but unless his name surfaces on a piece of the *Fasti Ostienses*, a military diploma, or a building inscription, the command of the *legio III Augusta* remains his final attested position. The readiest assumption is that he died in Numidia and if this is correct, the early death of a man probably marked for promotion to the consulship and further commands is a minor tragedy of the times.

For only one other of Trajan's colonies do we know much about the actual foundation. Within a decade of Gallus' supervision of the *deductio* of Thamugadi, D. Terentius Scaurianus, second imperial legate of Dacia, performed a similar task at Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa.²⁴

COLONIA MARCIANA TRAIANA: A NEW SUGGESTION

At first sight there is no question about the formal title, Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi. In a gesture of affection Trajan named the place for his sister Ulpia Marciana, who seems to have been a model matron. Few emperors had had living sisters during their reigns, and Marciana was arguably the first since Octavia *soror Augusti* to be worthy of this honor. Pliny speaks politely of her and the empress Plotina in the *Panegyric* oration,²⁵ and they may well have been paragons of rectitude. Marciana was even *univira* since she never remarried after the death of her first husband. To judge from the silence of our literary sources, Marciana and Plotina did not participate openly in politics, and any influence they may have

L. Minicius Natalis (103/4–106) and A. Larcus Priscus (106–109) were consuls in 107 and 110. Larcus may be the first known patron of Thamugadi: Warmington (1954: 44) dates *CIL* VIII.17891 to the period 117/138, which could be earlier than Metilius Secundus in 122/123 (*CIL* VIII.2357) or the two anonymous patrons in 124 and 126 (*AE* 1920.121 and *CIL* VIII.17845). Several senators received second (Licinius Sura, a third) consulships in 102–107, and one of them could have bumped the less distinguished Gallus. LeBohec (1989a: 125, 371–373) says nothing of a possible consulship for Gallus.

²⁴ See Piso 1993: 13–18. Piso analyzes the problems attending his career and inclines to 104 as the year of his consulship. Scaurianus is now known to have been the second legate of Dacia, superseding Julius Sabinus in 107–109 (Piso 1993: 10–13); he is last attested in diplomas issued in July and August 110, but may have stayed on until 112. It has long been held on the basis of *CIL* III.1443 and 1445 that in 117/8 Hadrian changed the name of the colony from Colonia Dacica to Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa. It is now certain, however, that the name was C.V.T.A.D.S. from the start. *CIL* III.1443 has been revised to give the fuller name; more importantly, Stan (1999: 169–171, at n. 1) provides the text of an inscription set up at the foundation which Piso discovered at Sarmizegetusa in 1994 (Piso and Diaconescu 1997): IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI NERVAE FILIVS NERVA TRAIANVS AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS DACICVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE [...] IMPERATOR VI CONSVL V PATER PATRIAE COLONIAM VLPAM TRAIANAM AVGVSTAM DACICAM SARMIZEGETVSAM FECIT.

²⁵ Plin. *Pan.* 21, 84.6; see also the platitudes of Dio Chrysostom (*On Kingship* 3.122). Temporini (1999: 45–53) points to the importance of four women in Trajan's dynasty: his wife Plotina; his sister Marciana (whose *fecunditas* made her the agent of imperial succession); his niece, Marciana's daughter, Matidia; and Matidia's daughter Sabina. My thesis adduces the importance of a fifth woman: Trajan's and Marciana's mother Marcia, apparently dead before the start of the reign.

had behind the scenes cannot be calculated.²⁶ But that same silence means we cannot determine whether she deserved the honor of a prestigious *colonia deducta* named for her. Was it sufficient to be the emperor's sister and an embodiment of decorum? This seems improbable, as Plotina did not have a corresponding award. Nobody seems to have noted the inherent weaknesses in the theory that Trajan named Thamugadi for his sister, and consequently nobody has advanced an alternative hypothesis.

A decision to name a colony simply for Marciana would have been unwise, and closer inspection indicates that Trajan had other, more complex considerations in mind. In the first place, "Marciana Traiana" does not ring true: we should expect the imperial *nomen* Ulpia. The colonies of the previous dynasty are all *Flaviae*, not *Vespasianae*, *Titianae*, or *Domitianae*. In Africa we find Col. Flavia Augusta Aemerita Ammaedara, Col. Flavia Aug. Veteranorum Madaurus, Col. Nerviana Sitifis, and Col. Nerviana Cuicul; in Thrace, Col. Flavia Pacis Deultensium; in Britain, Col. Ner(via/viana) Glevum.²⁷ Claudius founded Camulodunum in Britain as Col. Claudia Victricensis, and in Pannonia he founded Col. Claudia Savaria.²⁸ Where their names are known, Trajan's other colonies are *Ulpiae Traianae*: Xanten on the lower Rhine, closely contemporary to Thamugadi and like it not far from a legionary fortress (Vetera),²⁹ Ratiaria in the Danube valley but poorly known, and Sarmizegetusa in Dacia.³⁰

²⁶Plotina is said to have been Hadrian's primary supporter all along: she—and not Marciana or Matidia, the bride's grandmother and mother—was the primary advocate of Sabina's marriage to Hadrian in 100; and then to have ensured his succession during Trajan's deathbed illness: SHA *Hadr.* 3.1, 4. How much of this is only rumor is unknowable. Cf. Birley 1999: 37–45, 76–80.

²⁷Ammaedara (Haidra): *CIL* VIII.308, where "[A]emerita" refers to the discharged veterans (*emeriti*); Madaurus (M'daourouch): *I.L.Alg.* 1.2152, 2828; Sitifis (Setif): *CIL* VIII.8441, 8472; Cuicul (Djemila): *CIL* VIII.20144, 20152; *I.L.Alg.* 2070, 2064 *bis*. For discussions, see Romanelli 1959: 309; Gascou 1972: 32; Fentress 1979: 66–69, 76; Watkins 1983: 330–331; Cherry (1998) does not treat them. Deultum: *ILS* 6105, discussed at Mann 1983: 36 and Watkins 1983: 333. In Britain as in Africa Nerva was almost certainly completing the colonization program of the Flavians. Glevum: *CIL* VI.3346 (= *ILS* 2365); for recent examinations, see the papers by Reece, Hurst, and Fulford in Hurst 1999a: 73–87, 152–160, and 177–180. In Pannonia Siscia and Sirmium are probably to be seen as *coloniae Flaviae*: see Mócsy 1974: 43, 85–86, 112–115.

²⁸Mócsy 1974: 76–79, 118 with Plin. *NH* 3.147 for Savaria (Szombathely). See Crummy 1997: 53: "Since the colony was founded during the reign of Claudius, it is likely to have incorporated his name into its official title. Thus, although there is no record as such, the colony may have been called something like 'Colonia Claudia Victricensis.' Thus 'Colonia Victricensis' may itself be an abbreviation." For Col. Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, see below, nn. 32–33.

²⁹See Precht (1999), who cites dendrochronological evidence for a foundation in 106; Horn (1987: 629–632, 636) argues that the foundation occurred before Trajan departed to Pannonia in July 98, perhaps on July 1 (commemorated in an inscription of July 1, 239). At 73 ha., it was six times the area of Thamugadi. Cf. Galsterer 1999: 261–267. The colony replaced the *vicus* of the Cugerni.

³⁰For Sarmizegetusa, see above, n. 24 and Bennett 1997: 163–172. The *legio IV Flavia* was then in residence at nearby Berzobis. Bennett discusses the possibility that Castra Traiani in the Red Tower pass was a colony. He calls Dierne a *municipium*, but it was a colony: "In Dacia quoque Zernensium colonia a divo Traiano deducta iuris Italici est" (*Dig.* 50.15.1.8).

More important, neither of the two most prolific colonizers of the past, Caesar and Augustus, named colonies for his sisters or wife. Nor did the Flavian emperors, though since both Vespasian and Titus were not married at the time they were emperors and Vespasian's daughter was dead, the Flavians admittedly had little opportunity to do this. Domitian was, however, apparently genuinely fond of his wife Domitia Longina, but he did not name any city for her.³¹ The one exception to this pattern proves the rule.

In 49 Claudius founded a *colonia* in a former double legionary fortress on the lower Rhine and named it for himself and his niece-wife Agrippina Minor: Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Cologne).³² The persistent rumors that she murdered both her second and third husbands and was at least partly responsible for her son Nero becoming one of Rome's worst emperors made her a terrible precedent.³³ Surely Trajan would not have permitted any implication that Marciana was another Agrippina. Scholarly opinion has too eagerly concluded that "Marciana" is primarily a compliment to the *soror principis*, however admirable a person she may have been.

"Marciana" is also the adjectival form of Trajan's mother's name, Marcia. If we understand "Marciana" and "Traiana" as allusions to Trajan's parents, we gain a different understanding of imperial policy. By naming the colony for his mother and father, Trajan referred comprehensively to his family's association with, and prominence under, the Flavians, implied that his policies would continue those of his predecessors, and alluded to his dynastic intentions. Soldiers were his particular target, as they were the chief beneficiaries of foundations since most colonists were veterans, and the troops had deeply resented the violent end of the Flavian dynasty when Domitian was assassinated. "The removal of the Flavian dynasty cleared the way for its clients" and "a powerful group in the governmental hierarchy" put forward its candidate—Trajan.³⁴

Trajan, who "prided himself on his devotion to his family," evidently displayed busts of his father and mother in a "sort of national ancestral gallery" of some sixty portraits "high on the attic of the colonnade" in his Forum at Rome.³⁵

³¹For the imperial couple, see Jones 1992: 33–38 (she "was at least moderately fond of her husband"); Southern 1997: 28, 41–42, 118–125 (pointing out that she was still devoted to his memory in 123).

³²Tac. *Ann.* 12.27; cf. *Germ.* 28; *Dig.* 50.15.8.2. See Horn 1987: 460–462; Levick 1990: 154–155.

³³Barrett 1996: 114–116. The colony illustrates the "parity between Agrippina and her husband [Claudius] in an important political act" and is "a good example of Agrippina and the emperor working in partnership." Much the same is argued in Bauman 1992: 181–184. For the Roman dislike of women in politics, cf. L'Hoir 1994.

³⁴For Syme (1958: 45, 598), Trajan is "the candidate of the generals." See now Strobel (1999: 17–29), who denies that Trajan was of the first rank in terms of military importance. In this case, the prestige of the father must have influenced the thinking of those who advanced his cause.

³⁵Wood 1988: 424–425. Although I accept much of what Wood says about Trajan's relations with imperial women, her argument that a head of Agrippina the Elder was included in this gallery (accepted by Barrett [1996: 195]) is apparently wrong: see nn. 37 and 38. I wish to thank Professor

Prominent Romans had always boasted of their descent in the male line, but from Augustus on emperors steadily emphasized the women of the imperial house in art and propaganda. Older women, even ancestresses, "could be evoked by a ruling emperor as a demonstration of his bloodlines." Living women, wives and mothers, manifested continuity and the succession. And thirdly, women of the *domus* could be used to embody whatever virtues the emperors wished to emphasize.³⁶ These points harmonize well with the argument in this paper. A monumental female head found in Trajan's Forum at Rome has long been identified as that of Agrippina Minor, though arguments to explain why Trajan should have commemorated her have never been convincing. A recent analysis of this head argues that the woman was his mother Marcia.³⁷ Another monumental head, unfortunately missing its nose, ears, and top third, may well have been of Trajan's father.³⁸ Although there can be no certainty in either case, one can at least admit that portrait statues of his parents would not be out of place in this "national ancestral gallery."

Trajan *pater*, hereafter styled Traianus to avoid confusion with the emperor, was one of Vespasian's most prominent colleagues from 66 through the 70s.³⁹ When legate of *legio X Fretensis* in the Jewish War, he had tactfully invited Vespasian's elder son Titus to win the honor of leading the conquest of Japha in Galilee.⁴⁰ He was suffect consul in 70, imperial legate of Syria 73–78, and

James Packer of Northwestern University for answering several questions and supplying details about these portrait busts in personal communications. See also Packer 2001: 33, 65.

³⁶ Wood 1988: 409. Men of distinguished lineage displayed the *imagines* (wax funerary masks) of ancestors on both their fathers' and mothers' side in the atrium of their houses and instructed mourners to parade them at their funerals. See Flower 1996: 59, 103, 201–202, 276; Rose 1997: *passim*.

³⁷ See Boschung and Eck 1998. Iconographical and historical considerations lead to the conclusion that the identification of the head as Agrippina Minor "höchst unwahrscheinlich ist, ja sogar ausgeschlossen" (473). Trajan had no reason whatsoever to display a portrait of Agrippina Minor.

³⁸ Stucchi (1956) identifies the person with the subject of a better preserved portrait statue from the agora in Athens and another from Italica (the Ulpian family home), now in Seville. See Harrison 1953: 28–30, pl. 13; Garcia y Bellido 1951: no. 9. Stucchi (1956: 538) also believes the female head from the Forum of Trajan is of Trajan's mother.

³⁹ For the career of the elder Trajan, see now Alföldy 1998, superseding all earlier studies; cf. Caballos Rufino 1990: 305–313; Bennett 1997: 11–19; Birley 1997: 12–20. Traianus was suffect consul in the autumn of 70 but apparently did not hold another office until the Syrian governorship in 73. Alföldy (1998: 391–392) believes Traianus may have suffered an (unattested) wound in the Jewish War and spent late 70 to early 73 recuperating. That he did not hold a second consulship seems to indicate a death not long after the end of his Asian proconsulship, not that he was out of favor with Titus or Domitian.

⁴⁰ Jos. *BJ* 3.298; cf. 3.449–501 for Trajan reinforcing Titus at Tarichaeae in the summer of 67. See the discussion at Jones 1984: 34–41. Titus' commands were "purely nominal" and "superficial." Traianus may have had rather more in mind than simply giving his commander's brilliant son a chance to win glory, for at the time Titus was perhaps only two years removed from being his brother-in-law: see below. Analogously, on 1 January 70 Frontinus stepped aside as praetor urbanus to allow Vespasian's younger son Domitian to hold the post: Tac. *Hist.* 4.39; cf. 4.3 and Suet. *Dom.* 1.

proconsul of Asia 79–80.⁴¹ We do not know when his death occurred, but he outlived Vespasian (who died June 24, 79) as he was *sodalis Flavialis*, a priesthood established by Titus. Death in the early 80s seems probable.

Traianus was dead by 100, for when Pliny delivered the *Panegyric* on September 1 he imagined him in heaven proudly looking down on the successes of his son. Pliny undoubtedly modelled the scene on a famous passage in Cicero's *De republica* wherein Scipio Aemilianus' adoptive grandfather Scipio Africanus the elder and father Aemilius Paullus appear to him in the *Somnium Scipionis*.⁴² Pliny deftly paralleled the military man Traianus to one of Rome's greatest heroes and the man who provided a place for his veterans to settle in southern Spain: Italica, the home of the Ulpian Traiani. Perhaps one of Trajan's ancestors was among the original settlers. By defeating Hannibal and ending the Second Punic War three centuries earlier Scipio had earned the *cognomen* "Africanus"; now Traianus' son was founding a colony in Africa. The Traianeum which shortly rose in the Hadrianic *urbs nova* at Italica is in part a memorial to the continuity of the imperial *domus* by the Ulpian and Aelii in their home town.⁴³

Traianus' wife is barely more than a necessary entry on a genealogical chart. Her obscurity may, however, reflect the paucity of the surviving sources rather than historical reality. That is to say, she may not have been as obscure to her contemporaries as she is to us. Alternatively, Trajan may have conferred on her for his own reasons a posthumous prominence she never possessed in life. That she was named Marcia is inferred from the name of her daughter Ulpia Marciana. This has led to the deduction that she was either the daughter or niece of Q. Marcius Barea Soranus, one of Nero's victims in the purge following the Pisonian conspiracy. That in turn makes it probable that she was the considerably older sister—or half-sister—of Marcia Furnilla, second wife of Titus.⁴⁴ She evidently accompanied her husband to Asia in 79/80, as an inscription mentions

⁴¹ Birley (1997: 14) has suggested that when Traianus was proconsul of Asia he selected as one of his three *legati* Hadrian's father P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer, who died in 85: SHA *Hadr.* 11.4; Dio 69.3. If this is so, it adds meaning to Afer's selection of his former superior's son as guardian for Hadrian. They were also uncle and nephew, as Traianus's sister was Afer's mother: Birley 1997: 12, 309.

⁴² Plin. *Pan.* 89; Cic. *Rep.* 6.10–14. See also Mattingly 1936: 3.100, no. 498: an *aureus* with facing busts of *Nerva et Traianus pat(res)*. Deification of Traianus apparently only came ca 113–114: *CIL* VIII.8316.

⁴³ For Italica: Bennett 1997: 1–3; León 1988; Richardson 1996: 36–38, 77–82, 215–233; Fear 1996: 170–226 *passim*, esp. 190 for the Traianeum.

⁴⁴ Champlin 1983. Birley (1999: 41) seems to accept Champlin's argument, though he notes Raepsaet-Charlier's skepticism. The genealogical details are uncertain but the principal point remains valid. Marcia was the daughter of either Soranus (*cos.* 52; executed 66) or his brother Sura. In the latter case the two Marcias were cousins. Soranus may have been married twice: the earlier wife was the mother of Marcia *coniunx Traiani* (married ca 50), and the later wife was the mother of Marcia Furnilla *coniunx Titi* (early 60s). See Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 521 with stemma XI; Caballos Rufino 1990: 408–409 on the Marcii Bareae.

the governor's wife.⁴⁵ She can be assumed dead well before her son became emperor, or Pliny and Dio Chrysostom would have mentioned her. But what were Trajan's policy goals in naming Thamugadi?

Trajan cleverly advertised dynastic stability by presenting the Ulpii as a continuation of the Flavii: a single *domus*. Emperors had long sought to portray themselves as the legitimate successors to those of their predecessors with whom they desired to be associated. The modern tendency to group emperors by dynasties based on distinct *familiae* and to emphasize the breaks between them is misleading, as it overlooks the emperors' policy of minimizing those breaks. We should rather think in terms of *domus*, "the broad kinship group, including agnates and cognates, ancestors and descendants."⁴⁶ This definition allows us to recognize and incorporate the role of the women of the imperial family.

Three recent studies highlight the origins of the *domus Augusta*, a term which first appears late in the reign of Augustus, and emphasize the role of Livia in it.⁴⁷ Several passages in Ovid's poetry of exile reveal that Livia, whom Augustus made *Augusta* in his will, had become the vehicle of transmission of the *domus Augusta*, which was itself to be eternal. "Livia was the linchpin that held the family together" and she occupied a "unique structural place in the dynasty While Livia had acquired no constitutional position in the Roman state by virtue of her new name, it gave her unmatched personal prestige and created an honorific position for a mother in public life that was . . . recognized by the Senate."⁴⁸ Livia was unique, a special case in part because of her longevity—she outlived Augustus by fifteen years—and in part because of her open participation in politics in the first part of Tiberius' reign. After Livia's death the Senate voted her an arch commemorating her many services to the state; Tiberius effectively blocked this unprecedented honor by simply never carrying through on the construction.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ MW 264, from Myndus, mentions but does not name Traianus' *gynē*. From the time of Tiberius provincial governors regularly took their wives with them: see Marshall 1975: 109–127.

⁴⁶ See the remarks of Saller (1994: 80–101) on *domus* as opposed to *familia*; the quotation is on 80. Saller's discussion of *pietas* is equally relevant (105–114), for the various building projects and the title of Thamugadi are examples of this esteemed Roman virtue. Moderns have customarily overemphasized "duty rather than affection or compassion" (105). He offers a corrective: "*Pietas*, the Roman family virtue, was not merely filial obedience, but more broadly affectionate devotion among all family members" (131, cf. 220–221).

⁴⁷ Millar 1993; Flory (1996: 292) concludes "that the phrase *domus Augusta*, a new term coined in the final years before Augustus' death, had a prospective view, looking to the future." See also Flory 1988 [1997]; and 1999: esp. 492, where she observes that from A.D. 17 if not before the women of the *domus Augusta* were on public display in triumphs so as to advertise "dynastic continuity" and the principle that "the succession could move through the female line."

⁴⁸ Flory 1996: 297, 298–299. *Mutatis mutandis* the passage is applicable to Marciana. Both Millar and Flory cite Ovid: *Pont.* 2.2.69–74 is perhaps the most relevant to our discussion of Marciana; perpetuity of the *domus Augusta* at *Tr.* 4.2.10; *Fast.* 1.721. It is unfortunate that we lack a Trajanic era counterpart to Ovid, someone who appeals to the imperial wife and/or sister for help.

⁴⁹ Flory 1996: 300–301; Dio 58.2.3. Cf. the *SC de Pisone Patre* lines 115–123.

Claudius was not a Julian, but he built ties with the preceding rulers. His two daughters were born before he became emperor: he named the elder Antonia (after his mother) and the younger Octavia (after Antonia's mother, the sister of Augustus). Soon after he became emperor he saw to the deification of Augustus' widow Livia, his paternal grandmother.⁵⁰ He also made his mother Antonia *Augusta*, and Vitellius did the same for his mother Sextilia.⁵¹ Nero honored his wife Poppaea on the birth of a daughter by making her *Augusta*. Domitian made his wife Domitia Longina *Augusta* within two weeks of becoming emperor; she was the first to have the title simply because she was married to the emperor.⁵² Vespasian made strenuous efforts to portray himself as the rightful successor of the defunct Julio-Claudians and another Augustus. The famous *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* passed at the very beginning of his reign in late 69 or early 70 granted him the rights and powers which Augustus and Claudius had enjoyed, and throughout his ten years as emperor he modeled both his policies and personal conduct on those of the first *princeps*.⁵³ His younger son Domitian constructed the Templum Divorum on the Campus Martius as a glorification of the Flavians, containing as it did temples to Vespasian and Titus.⁵⁴

Emperors came and went, but the imperial *domus* endured. In Asia Minor a number of temples to emperors contained statues of the emperors and their wives in sequences which overlapped our conventional dynasties. "This desire for continuity and stability is a major feature of the Roman empire. On the one hand cults and dedications asserted that the rule of any given emperor would last for ever, while the successive erection of statues of new emperors implied the durability of imperial rule."⁵⁵

Marciana predeceased her brother by five years and evidently avoided politics. On the other hand, she must have been aware of her role in the imperial succession. By 105 she was honored as *Augusta*.⁵⁶ All successive empresses were *Augustae*, and

⁵⁰ Antonia was born to Aelia Paetina, Octavia to Messallina: Bauman 1992: 166–167.

⁵¹ For Antonia, see Suet. *Claud.* 11.2; Flory 1998: 122–125; for Sextilia, Tac. *Hist.* 2.89–90; Flory 1988 [1997]: 128–129: "elderly, morally upright, and old-fashioned, she recalls Livia and Antonia."

⁵² Suetonius (*Dom.* 14.1) and Dio (67.15.2) assert her involvement in the conspiracy against her husband, but moderns are not so sure: see above, n. 31. For *Augusta*, see *CIL* VI.2060 (1 October 81); Jones 1992: 161–162 ("by the end of his second week as emperor"); Southern 1997: 28–29, 36; Suet. *Dom.* 3.1; for an undated coin showing her profile on the obverse with the legend DOMITIAE AVG IMP CAES DIVI F DOMITIAN AVG, and her holding her infant son on the reverse with the legend DIVI CAESAR MATRI, see *BMC* 2.413, no. 501.

⁵³ *Lex de Imperio: ILS* 244 = MW 1. For Vespasian and Augustus, see Levick 1999: 65–78, 124–169, 196–209.

⁵⁴ Richardson 1976; 1992: 111, "Divorum, Templum" with figs. 18 and 26 on pp. 66 and 110. The Divorum linked the Flavians to the early Republic, as it succeeded the ancient Villa Publica.

⁵⁵ Price 1984: esp. 161.

⁵⁶ Boatwright 1988: esp. 513–514: "The institution of the imperial marriage or imperial house . . . was paramount," not the women themselves. Marciana is not included in the images to be carried in the processions funded by C. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus in 103/4, though Plotina is: Rogers 1992: esp. 91–93.

in the case of the childless Plotina it must have meant little more than "empress." But with reference to Marciana, it pointed to the succession. When she died in 112, she became the dynasty's first *diva*.⁵⁷

Since Trajan had no brothers and it was obvious that he and Plotina would not have any children,⁵⁸ dynastic succession would necessarily go through Marciana's line. To be sure, she would never be the mother of an emperor, but she was the primary agent in the intended continuity of the new dynasty. *Augusta* in short had come to stand broadly for dynastic succession and harmony. These qualities were obviously in the general interest and mothers, sisters, and wives were to help ensure them.⁵⁹ *Concordia* was especially important in Trajan's early years, given the weakness of Nerva's brief reign and the rumors that Domitian's wife had been a part of the conspiracy that killed him only four years before the foundation of Thamugadi. Marciana's husband, C. Salonius Matidius Patruinus, had died some years earlier; their daughter (Salonia) Matidia Major was born about 66.⁶⁰

At this point we enter a dynastic thicket from which we emerge with a clearer understanding of Thamugadi's colonial title. The accompanying genealogical table provides guidance. Matidia was married at least two times, perhaps three, and each union produced a daughter.⁶¹ Her earliest certain husband was L. Mindius; their daughter (Mindia) Matidia Minor was born about 82, but as she never married and had no descendants, she is of no further relevance to this discussion. Matidia Major next married L. Vibius Sabinus, who became suffect consul in 97. Their daughter Vibia Sabina was born about 85. We will return to her shortly. It is possible that a husband preceded Mindius, Libo Rupilius Frugi (*cos.* 88), and that by him Matidia was the mother of Rupilia Faustina. If this is true, her

⁵⁷ See Bickerman 1974. The *Fasti Ostienses* 29 for August 112 reads: [*Marciana Aug*]usta excessit *diva*q cognominata . . . [*Mat*]idia *Augusta* cognominata: Smallwood 1966: no. 22; cf. 134. Bickerman denies the suggestion of Calza in 1932 that *eodem die* ("on the same day") belongs in the gap and argues "The apotheosis of a lady of the imperial family was regarded as another, and the highest, reward of the lady's merits. . . the deified princesses were a kind of second class deity." Temporini (1979: 197–201) accepts *eodem die*; so does Price (1987), who points out that in a new development the Senate proclaimed deification *before* the funeral rather than (as previously) after it. Flory (1988 [1997]) notes that to be *Augusta* was to be not so much the wife as the mother of the emperor or at least the transmitter of dynastic power to some male relative. This takes us back to a basic meaning of *augeo*, "to increase," in the form of motherhood.

⁵⁸ See Dio 68.7.4 for Trajan's homosexuality and tendency to drink heavily.

⁵⁹ Levick 1978; Cooper 1992. Imperial mothers and wives represented divine ties between the emperor and his male relatives: *concordia* between them was essential.

⁶⁰ See Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 681, followed by Birley 1987: 241; 1997: 16, 308–309. Matidia probably married the obscure L. Mindius "in the early 80's" when she was 14 or 15. This puts her birth in approximately 66/67. The daughter of Matidia Major and Mindius, Mindia Matidia Minor, the half-sister of Hadrian's wife Sabina, was born by 85 and was still alive under Antoninus Pius: see Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: nos. 533 and 802; Birley 1987: 236, 241, 244; 1997: 308–309.

⁶¹ Birley 1997: 295–296; also 1987: 28–30, 241–244.

dynastic importance increases: Rupilia married M. Annius Verus, and this union ties directly to the succeeding reigns.⁶²

The significance of all this is that shortly after becoming emperor Trajan may have sought to arrange a smooth succession, incorporating contingency plans to allow for failure of children in later generations, through the descendants of his sister Marciana. Precisely in 100 her granddaughter Vibia Sabina married the young Hadrian: in other words, Trajan's great-niece married his cousin once removed. Accepted opinion does not regard Hadrian, formerly the emperor's ward,⁶³ as Trajan's successor at this early date, but at the very least the wedding increased the young man's prominence.⁶⁴ Hadrian's career was certainly progressing very smoothly. Within the first ten years of the reign Hadrian became the first governor of Pannonia Inferior⁶⁵ and then suffect consul in 108 at age 32. As for Matidia, she became *Augusta* on or very soon after the day Marciana died in 112, and Hadrian deified her in 119, a point to which we will return.

Presumably nobody foresaw that Hadrian and Sabina would be both childless and an unhappy couple.⁶⁶ But perhaps taking into calculation the high mortality rate, Trajan may have formulated a back-up plan, whereby the succession might be transmitted through Matidia's descendants by Rupilius Frugi. This may be crediting Trajan with too much contingency planning, but it corresponds with what actually happened from 136 onward. Antoninus Pius' wife was Rupilia Faustina's daughter; their daughter Faustina married her first cousin Marcus Aurelius.

⁶²The Annii were from Ucubi (modern Espejo, prov. Córdoba). It is not inconceivable that they knew the Ulpia and Aelia from Italica, although the two cities were roughly 130 km apart. M. Annius Verus was consul in 97, 121, and 126. Caballos Rufino (1990: 65–67) discusses Annius Verus' marriage to Rupilia Faustina but not the problems surrounding the identification of her mother. His *Stemma* 6 shows Rupilia as daughter of Frugi and Matidia.

⁶³Birley 1997: 14. Hadrian's father P. Aelius Afer was probably praetor about 74 and died in 85, before his son turned ten on 24 January 86 (SHA *Hadr.* 11.4; Dio 69.3). Syme (1958: 45) asserts that "Trajan . . . was neither able nor eager to announce forthwith a dynastic heir to the power from his own family circle, even though he gave to Aelius Hadrianus the hand of his grand-niece Vibia Sabina." Cf. Syme 1958: 601, arguing that had Trajan died soon, "the marshals" would have decided the succession, though Trajan "may have felt (but could hardly enforce) a preference for Licinius Sura," whose family background and political affiliations are uncertain.

⁶⁴Indeed, Trajan may never have named Hadrian his successor. The controversy and Plotina's possible role during Trajan's fatal illness and in guaranteeing the accession of Hadrian are irrelevant here. Syme (1958: 240, n. 7) observes that "the strongest doubt must prevail whether Trajan lived long enough to adopt Hadrian." Plotina evidently overcame Trajan's reluctance about the wedding (SHA *Hadr.* 2.10), which although "everything other than a love-match . . . was indeed a significant further step forward for Hadrian." See Birley 1997: 31–48 for Trajan's favors in Hadrian's early career; but he notes (191) that Hadrian's status was "still . . . ambiguous" in 114. Birley seems to have changed his mind: at 1999: 37–40 he sees Hadrian as "Heir Presumptive" by 108 at the latest.

⁶⁵Hadrian may have built the governor's palace at Aquincum (Budapest): see Nemeth 1994: 141; Póczy 1994: 227.

⁶⁶SHA *Hadr.* 3.1, 11 for feelings about Sabina and his bisexuality.

If Hadrian intended all along that Marcus should become emperor, there seems little reason not to accept the hypothesis that this corresponded to Trajan's dynastic thinking from about 100. Another point follows as well. Succession through Marciana and Matidia may have been designed to exclude succession through Hadrian's sister Domitia Paulina and her husband, L. Julius Ursus Servianus: their daughter Julia married Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator.⁶⁷

Trajan, the new ruling member of the imperial *domus*, shrewdly asserted continuity with the previous branch and harmony within his own by in effect denying that there had been a break. The Ulpii would appear as a continuation of the Flavii and would in turn merge into another branch of the imperial *domus* when Marciana's descendants became emperors. From this angle it certainly looks as though in 100 he already intended P. Aelius Hadrianus to be the next *princeps* and hoped that Hadrian and Sabina would have sons to provide a direct transmission. Trajan's connection by blood to the Flavians was admittedly minimal (his maternal aunt had at one time been the wife of Titus), but Traianus' prominence helped offset that deficiency and Marciana's descendants could perfectly validly be considered members of the Ulpian *domus*. In naming the colony "Marciana Traiana," the new emperor was both manifesting unobjectionable filial *pietas* and carefully letting it be known at the outset of his reign that he intended to continue the development of Numidia which the Flavians had set underway.

Some of this was of course a governmental fiction to cover over a crisis. Nerva had broken too sharply with the policies of Domitian, who had been popular with the soldiers, and the rumblings of discontent had quickly led to his adoption of Trajan. Now Trajan was reversing the Nervan reaction. Since Numidia was a military zone, he pitched his appeal primarily to soldiers.⁶⁸ But while it may have been a charade, it was not an attempt to deceive. He sought to avoid offending senatorial and public opinion, and to prevent a relapse into civil war.

Two similar situations are worth recalling. As Trajan undoubtedly knew, Julius Caesar had no children and arranged succession (in civil law, not his offices of state) through his sister Julia: her daughter Atia was the mother of Caesar's adopted son and heir Octavian, the later Augustus. In other words, Marciana and Matidia were related to Trajan in exactly the same way as Julia and Atia had been to Caesar. Then too, Augustus sought to steer the succession in part

⁶⁷ Servianus was *cos.* 90, 102, and 134; his son-in-law Pedanius Fuscus Salinator was *cos.* 118. Birley (1999: 37–40; 1997: 50–51, 78) discusses, first, the possibility that Trajan intended L. Neratius Priscus (*cos.* 97) to succeed him had agents of Decebalus succeeded in assassinating him (Dio 68.11.3), and second, the prominence of Servianus in these years. Bennett (1997: 300) conflates Servianus with his adoptive father L. Julius Ursus (*cos.* 84, 98, 100), so all references must be checked carefully. For Ursus, see Jones 1992: 36, 40–42. The animosity between Hadrian and his brother-in-law is well known and outside the scope of this paper; Birley discusses it in 1997: *passim*. If my hypothesis is correct, however, a part of its origin may lie in Servianus' resentment at being excluded by Trajan.

⁶⁸ Birley (1997: 56) notes that Trajan cultivated "the image of the bluff military man." For Trajan and the soldiers, see Campbell 1984: 37–38, 45–47, and the references in the index.

through his sister Octavia—first by having her son Marcellus marry his daughter Julia, and eventually through Octavia's daughter (by her second husband, Mark Antony), Antonia, whose son was Germanicus. That is to say, Octavia and Antonia (Minor) were analogous to Marciana and Matidia.⁶⁹

Now we return to Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi, the emperor's mother Marcia, and Trajan's Numidian policies. The colony was founded on September 18, Trajan's birthday: that day will have meant much more to him and his mother than to his sister.⁷⁰ Next, whereas a decision to name the new colony for his deceased parents is laudable, to name it for his living sister might lead to the rumor that she had persuaded him to do so—as Agrippina had persuaded Claudius. Further, it would have been awkward to name a prestigious *colonia* for his sister but not to have a corresponding honor for his wife Plotina, who was by all accounts as admirable as Marciana. If people chose to interpret "Marciana" as a compliment to the emperor's sister, there was presumably no problem so long as they did not then compare her with Agrippina and him with the woman-dominated Claudius.⁷¹

In the hinterland of the two militarily crucial Moesian provinces, Trajan upgraded Thrace from an equestrian procuratorial to a praetorian imperial province soon after the Dacian Wars. The process is similar to the growing provincialization of Numidia. To strengthen the administrative structure, he created ten new cities in the interior and imported Greek or Hellenized settlers. They performed many of the duties of *coloniae et municipia* elsewhere, and several achieved municipal rank in the second century. Their names reflected his close relationship with the soldiers, his military victories, and his family: two Nicopolises (*ad Istrum* and *ad Nestum*), Traianopolis, Augusta Traiana, and honoring his wife and sister, Plotinopolis and Marcianopolis.⁷² The largest city in the region, Marcianopolis lay at the hub of several major roads⁷³ and corresponds reasonably closely to Marciana Thamugadi.

⁶⁹The emphasis of Flory (1996) on the role of Livia in the succession is not in opposition to my argument here. Had Octavia lived as long as Livia, or at least into the latter part of Augustus' reign (she died in 11 B.C.), we would doubtless have heard much more of her. Germanicus and Drusus were as much her descendants as Livia's.

⁷⁰See Bennett 1997: 11–12 for Marcia, Marciana, and September 18 as Trajan's birthday. By coincidence, it was also the anniversary of the assassination of Domitian (*ibid.* 34; Jones 1997: 193): the *Fasti Ostienses* read *xiii k. Oct. Domitianus o[ccisus] / eodem die M. Cocceius N[erva] / imperator appellatu[s] est*. Bennett (1997: 116) incorrectly says that Plotina (rather than Marciana) died on August 29, 112; correct at 269, n. 5.

⁷¹One might even wonder if in composing the *Annals* a few years later Tacitus did not emphasize Agrippina's role in the founding of Colonia Agrippinensium as a subtle contrast with Trajan's colonies.

⁷²Bennett (1997: 112) dates the action to ca 105. See Jones 1971: 11, 18, 379, n. 27. Severus may have transferred Marcianopolis to Moesia Inferior. Temporini (1979: 187–194) implies it was in Moesia from the start; cf. *Amm. Marc.* 27.4.12.

⁷³Hoddinott 1975: 154–156; Poulter 1995: 10–17. Its location to the rear of the legionary fortress at Durostorum, like that of Nicopolis *ad Nestum* (or *ad Haemum*) rearwards of Novae, recalls Lindum behind Eburacum, etc.

HADRIAN AND MARCIANA

As noted above, Marciana was deified on her death in 112. No source mentions how she and Hadrian felt about one another, but high politics and dynastic continuity are more important than emotions, and archaeology provides a few clues.⁷⁴ Her daughter Matidia, who became *Augusta* in 112 and mother-in-law of the reigning emperor at Hadrian's accession in 117, is one of only two women for whom Hadrian had deep emotions.⁷⁵ When she died in 119, Hadrian delivered the eulogy and saw to it that she was promptly deified. Thus from 119 the empress Sabina was daughter and granddaughter of *Augustae* who were now *divae*. A half-century ago Oliver argued that Vespasian dropped Livia from the official list of *divi* and that Hadrian

to acquire the necessary prestige . . . was forced to rely on more than the weak legitimization of a widely disbelieved story about an adoption. He more closely connected himself with Trajan by emphasizing another bond which ran through Marciana, Matidia and Sabina. Marciana and Matidia had no real importance for anyone but Hadrian . . . Marciana and Matidia received a place which Livia did not enjoy in the official religion of the Roman state; they received it not because they were more important than Livia but because of their great propaganda value to the new emperor Hadrian of dubious legitimacy.⁷⁶

Just as Trajan's monumental forum linked him to Vespasian and on back to Augustus, so Hadrian's construction projects associated him with Trajan's family and thus through the years to Augustus.⁷⁷ For example, his huge mausoleum echoed that of Augustus across the Tiber, in which most emperors and members of the imperial family through Nerva had been entombed. Emperors from Hadrian through Caracalla were entombed in his mausoleum. Similarly, his Temple of Venus and Rome connects him with Caesar's Temple of Venus Genetrix.⁷⁸

More relevant here, Hadrian built the temple of the deified Trajan and Plotina, placed the ashes of Plotina next to those of her husband in the chamber at the bottom of the great column, and may well have been responsible for the column's frieze "narrating" the Dacian Wars.⁷⁹ While Marciana never received a temple, Hadrian did construct one for her daughter Matidia, and it had flanking basilicas

⁷⁴ Cf. Syme 1958: 601: "conjecture is not in vain when it operates with the solid substance of family politics."

⁷⁵ The other was Plotina. For the affection between her and Hadrian, see Birley 1997: 1, 16, 42, 67–68, 75–77, 145, 109–110, 182, 191, 289.

⁷⁶ Oliver 1949: 35–40, esp. 37 for the passage quoted. Cf. Boatwright 1987: 97.

⁷⁷ See the discussion by Boatwright 1987: 33–73. He rededicated Domitian's *Templum Divorum*.

⁷⁸ For the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian, see Boatwright 1987: 160–175; Richardson 1992: 247–251; Coarelli 1995: 345–347, 420–423. See also Boatwright 1987: 130–132 for the cult of Roma in Rome, described as "an easily intelligible claim of legitimacy for a Roman princeps" and "more national than dynastic."

⁷⁹ Claridge 1993; Davies 1997; Lancaster 1999.

named for her and Marciana.⁸⁰ This temple was adjacent to two Hadrianic rebuildings, the Pantheon to its west and the *Templum Divorum* to its south.

In short, Hadrian did not open an Aelian dynasty so much as he continued the Ulpian line, just as Trajan had smoothed over the rupture at the extinction of the Flavii. When Hadrian established the city of Antinoopolis in Egypt, he named most of the tribes and a few of the demes for members of the imperial family,⁸¹ a policy which seems to reflect the same mentality as Marciana Traiana Thamugadi, and where there was a ward named Marcia.⁸² Significantly, Hadrian's successor constructed the temple to *Divus Hadrianus* in close proximity to Hadrian's temple to *Diva Matidia* and its basilicas. When Antoninus persuaded the Senate to deify Hadrian, he earned the *cognomen* "Pius."⁸³

CONCLUSION

Founded in 100, Thamugadi was earlier than the projects in Rome: the great Baths on the Oppian adjacent to the *thermae Titi* and the massive Forum complex. Just as Nerva had apparently finished the Forum Transitorium, Trajan completed a few building projects left undone at Domitian's assassination and appropriated the credit for himself, most spectacularly on the site which became the Forum of Trajan in 112.⁸⁴ It was the architectural embodiment of his reign and the most spectacular proof of his effort to associate his reign with those of Augustus and Vespasian. The longitudinal axis of the Trajanic complex ran through the Forum of Augustus and was the same as that of the Vespasianic Forum of Peace to the southeast. The *templum Traiani* celebrating Wars of conquest balanced the Vespasianic *templum Pacis* commemorating Peace among citizens and had almost the same dimensions as the nearby Augustan *templum Martis Ultoris*. As the latter avenged the disgrace of Caesar's death, so Trajan's wars avenged Rome's

⁸⁰ Boatwright 1987: 58–62, 88–92, 96–98. See also Nash 1960: 2.36–37; Coarelli (1995: 333–335 [map 314]) remarks that "Hadrian is perhaps the only man in the world who has made a goddess of his mother-in-law . . ." Elsewhere (1997: 287–289 [map 291]) he makes the significant additional comment that the divinization was intended to underline Hadrian's dynastic descent from Trajan and to be the premise of his own deification.

⁸¹ Birley 1997: 249–252. Probably planned to be named Hadrianopolis and renamed when founded in 130, Antinoopolis had ten tribes of five demes each: *Nerouaios* (the tribal deme names mean "founder of the family" and "grandfather" and refer to Peace and Vesta), *Traianos* (demes "founder," "victorious," and "military"), *Aileus*, *Hadrianeios*, *Paulinos*, *Matidios* (demes *Markianos* and *Plotinios*), *Sabinios*, *Sebasteios*, *Oseirantinoeios*, and *Athenaieus*. Cf. Jones 1971: 311 with 477, n. 17.

⁸² *CIL* VIII.17906: *curia Marcia*; cf. 17842.

⁸³ For the temple of Hadrian, see *SHA Ant. Pius* 8.2; cf. *L. Verus* 3.1; Birley 1997: 110–112; Nash 1960: 1.457–461. For the nearby temple of Matidia and its basilicas, see the references in n. 80. Pius moved Hadrian's remains from near Baiae, where he had died, to the mausoleum in Rome, and acquired the name "Pius" for insisting that the Senate deify his predecessor: *SHA Ant. Pius* 2, 5.1–3; cf. *ILS* 322 = Smallwood 1966, no. 124; Birley 1997: 300.

⁸⁴ Lancaster (1995) surveys the evidence and concludes that although Domitian initiated some construction in the area north of the Forum of Augustus, Trajan changed it extensively. Cf. Packer 2001: 4.

honor damaged in the defeats suffered by Domitian's armies in the early 80s.⁸⁵ As Vespasian and Titus repaired the aqueducts built by Claudius, who had emulated Augustus, Trajan built a new one, the *aqua Traiana*, which drew on sources near those of Augustus' *aqua Alsietina*. Trajan's repairs and expansion of the Circus Maximus correspond to Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian's construction of the Flavian Amphitheater. There is every reason to argue that Trajan followed Flavian policies in colonization as in so much else.⁸⁶

Thamugadi is an early instance of Trajan's patterning himself after the two previous emperors who had done the most to colonize and develop Africa: Augustus and Vespasian.⁸⁷ The dynastic naming of Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi in Numidia is an early manifestation of the "official imperial ideology" which appeared in more comprehensive form toward the end of the reign in Asia. On a spectacular site atop the high acropolis of Pergamum, the emperor sponsored construction of the magnificent Traianeum.⁸⁸ This brilliant white marble temple to Trajan and Zeus Philios/Amicalis continued Domitian's policy of the emperor "as Jupiter's chosen representative, destined to rule over the earthly sphere just as the god himself rules over the cosmos." What began at Thamugadi as continuity within the *domus Augusta* became the emperor's promotion of "civic harmony . . . among peoples."⁸⁹

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
WESTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
MACOMB, IL 61455
U.S.A.

TH-Watkins@wiu.edu

⁸⁵ The Forum of Caesar was adjacent and parallel to that of Trajan and the Forum of Augustus at a right angle to them. For the *Templum Pacis*, see Darwall-Smith 1996: 55–68. For the arrangement and comparative dimensions of the temples of Mars Ultor and the Deified Trajan, see Packer 2001: 172–191; cf. Packer 1994 and the works cited there; also Frazer 1993. The architects of the fora employed a construction unit of 400 Roman feet.

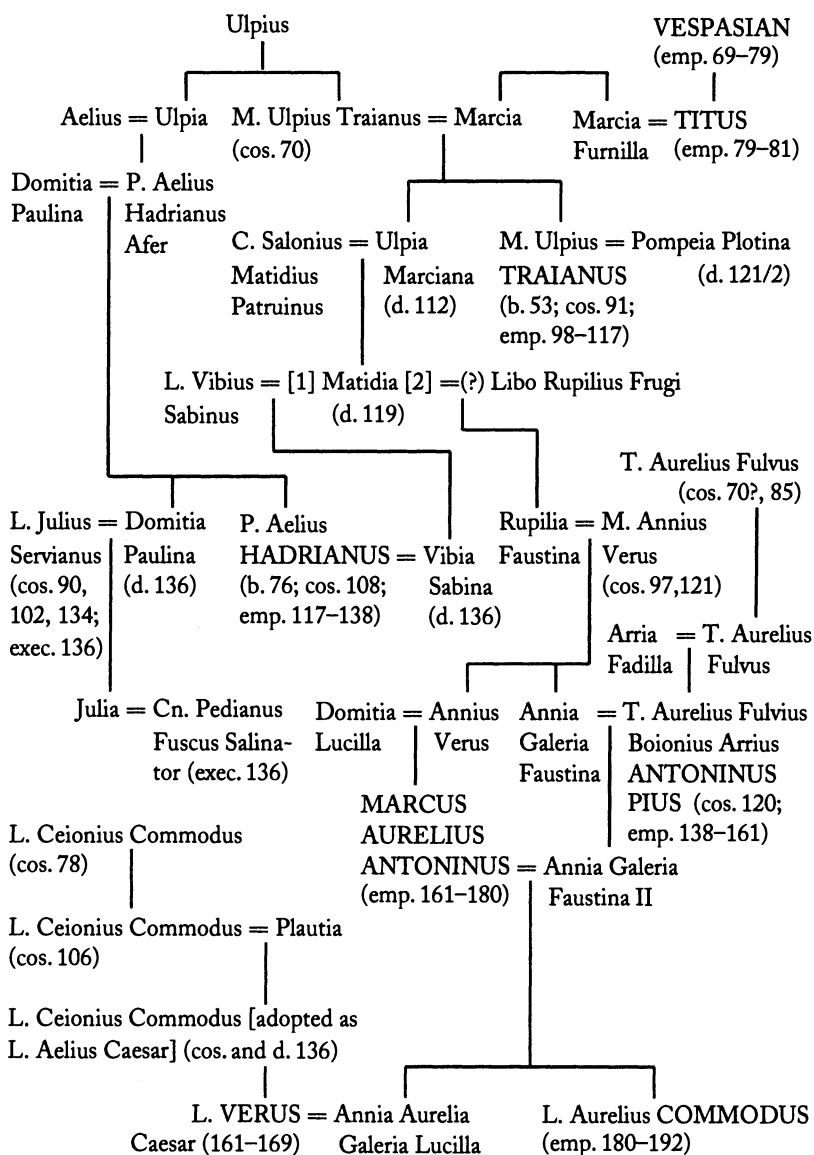
⁸⁶ Waters 1969 and 1982; Devreker 1977: 242–243. Inasmuch as Cuicul and Sitifis were probably Flavian in conception though founded by Nerva, one wonders if Domitian might not have projected the colony at Thamugadi as well. In that case, Trajan's selection of "Marciana"—if it alludes to his mother—takes on additional meaning, as Marcia was briefly Domitian's sister-in-law.

⁸⁷ Thamugadi was near the southern edge of the grain-producing zone of Africa. Accordingly it is appropriate to note that as a *diva* Marciana had been shown on coins as the grain goddess Ceres: Mattingly 1936: no. 655, pl. 21.9. One wonders if she may have been the original owner of the *salus* in Mauretania southwest of Sitifis later owned by her daughter (or granddaughter) Matidia. See Fentress 1979: 134–142 (with a map); Thompson 1987: 556–557, 566; *ILS* 5964, 5965, 6890.

⁸⁸ Bonz 1998; quotations on 256, 263: the study emphasizes Trajan's continuance of Domitian's personnel and policies. See also Schowalter 1998.

⁸⁹ I should like to extend my thanks to several scholars who commented on earlier versions of this paper and strengthened both the argument and the bibliography: Edward Champlin of Princeton University, Jonathan Edmondson of York University and previous editor of *Phoenix*, Elizabeth Fentress of the American Academy in Rome, Fred Mench of Richard Stockton College, and the anonymous readers of the manuscript.

THE ULPII TRAIANI, AELII HADRIANI, AND AURELII ANTONINI



Note: Names of emperors are given in capital letters. This stemma omits the probable marriage of Matidia to L. Mindius and their daughter Matidia Minor, half-sister of Sabina. See above, n. 60.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alföldy, G. 1967. *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen*. Epigraphische Studien 3. Graz and Cologne.
- 1998. "Traianus pater und die Bauinschrift des Nymphaeums von Milet," *REA* 100: 367–399.
- Barrett, A. A. 1988. *Caligula: The Corruption of Power*. New Haven.
- 1996. *Agrippina: Sex, Power and Politics in the Early Empire*. New Haven.
- Bauman, R.A. 1992. *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*. London and New York.
- Bennett, J. 1997. *Trajan: Optimus Princeps*. Bloomington.
- Bickerman, E. J. 1974. "Diva Augusta Marciana," *AJP* 95: 362–376.
- Birley, A. R. 1981. *The Fasti of Roman Britain*. Oxford.
- 1985. *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*². New Haven.
- 1987. *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography*². New Haven.
- 1997. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. London and New York.
- 1999. "Die Nachfolgefrage unter Traian," in Schallmayer 1999: 37–45.
- Boatwright, M. T. 1987. *Hadrian and the City of Rome*. Princeton.
- 1988. "The Imperial Women of the Early Second Century A.C.," *AJP* 112: 513–40.
- Bonz, M. P. 1998. "Beneath the Gaze of the Gods: The Pergamon Evidence for a Developing Theology of Empire," in Koester 1998: 251–275.
- Boschung, D. and W. Eck. 1998. "Ein Bildnis der Mutter Traians? Zum Kolossal Kopf der sogenannten Agrippina Minor vom Traiansforum," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* Heft no. 3: 473–481.
- Broughton, T. R. S. 1929. *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*. Baltimore.
- Burnand, Y. ed. 1982. *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*. Rome.
- Caballos Rufino, A. 1990. *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania*. Tituli 5. Monografías del Departamento de Historia Antigua de Sevilla. Écija.
- Campbell, B. 1984. *The Emperor and the Roman Army*. Oxford.
- Champlin, E. 1983. "Figlinae Marcianae," *Athenaeum* 61: 257–264.
- Cherry, D. 1998. *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa*. Oxford.
- Claridge, A. 1993. "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," *JRA* 6: 5–22.
- Coarelli, F. 1995. *Roma. Guide archeologica Laterza*. Rome.
- Cooper, K. 1992. "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy," *JRS* 82: 150–164.
- Crummy, P. 1997. *City of Victory*. Colchester.
- Daniels, C. 1987. "Africa," in Wachter 1987: 233–263.
- Darwall-Smith, R. 1996. *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome*. Coll. Latomus 231. Brussels.
- Davies, P. J. E. 1997. "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *AJA* 101: 41–65.
- Devreker, J. 1977. "La continuité dans le *consilium principis* sous les Flaviens," *Ancient Society* 8: 223–243.
- Eck, W. 1985. *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen von 1–3 Jhr.* Epigraphische Studien 4. Graz and Cologne.
- Fear, A. T. 1996. *Rome and Baetica*. Oxford.
- Fentress, E. W. B. 1979. *Numidia and the Roman Army*. B.A.R. International Series 53. Oxford.

- Février, P.-A. 1982. "Urbanisation et urbanisme de l'Afrique romaine," *ANRW* II.10.2: 321-396.
- Flory, M. B. 1988 [1997]. "The Meaning of *Augusta* in the Julio-Claudian Period," *AJAH* 13: 113-138.
- 1996. "Dynastic Ideology, the *domus Augusta* and Imperial Women: A Lost Statuary Group in the Circus Flaminius," *TAPA* 126: 287-306.
- 1999. "The Integration of Women into the Roman Triumph," *Historia* 49: 489-494.
- Flower, H. I. 1996. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford.
- Frazer, A. 1993. "The Imperial Fora: Their Dimensional Link," in R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott (eds.), *Eius virtuti studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank E. Brown (1908-88)*. Studies in the History of Art 43; Symposium Papers 23. Washington, D.C. 411-419.
- Fulford, M. 1999. "Veteran Settlement in 1st-c. Britain and the Foundations of Gloucester and Lincoln," in Hurst 1999a: 177-180.
- Galsterer, H. 1999. "Kolonisation im Rheinland," in M. Dondin-Payre and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.), *Cités, municipes, colonies*. C.N.R.S. Histoire ancienne et médiévale no. 53. Paris. 251-270.
- Garcia y Bellido, A. 1951. *Museo Arquelógico de Sevilla. Catálogo de los retratos romanos*. Madrid.
- Garzetti A. 1950. *Nerva*. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica 7. Rome.
- Gascou, J. 1972. *La politique municipale de l'empire romain en l'Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère*. Paris and Rome.
- 1982. "La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord 1: De la mort d'Auguste au début du III^e siècle," *ANRW* II.10.2: 136-229.
- Groag, E. 1939. *Die römischen Reichsamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*. Vienna.
- Gros, P. and M. Torelli. 1992. *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il mondo romano*². Rome.
- Hajmóczy, G. ed. 1994. *Pannonia e l'Impero Romano*. Rome.
- Harrison, E. B. 1953. *The Athenian Agora 1: Portrait Sculpture*. Princeton.
- Hassall, M. and H. Hurst. 1999. "Soldier and Civilian: A Debate on the Bank of the Severn," in Hurst 1999a: 181-189.
- Hoddinott, R. F. 1975. *Bulgaria in Antiquity*. London and Tonbridge.
- Horn, H. G. 1987. *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen*. Stuttgart.
- Hurst, H. 1999. "Topography and Identity in *Glevum colonia*," in Hurst 1999a: 73-85.
- 1999a. *The coloniae of Roman Britain: New Studies and a Review*. Papers of the conference held at Gloucester, 1997. *JRA* Suppl. 36. Portsmouth, RI.
- Janon, M. 1973. "Recherches à Lambèse," *Antiquités africaines* 7: 193-254.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1971. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*². Oxford.
- Jones, B. W. 1979. *Domitian and the Senatorial Order*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 132. Philadelphia.
- 1984. *The Emperor Titus*. London.
- 1992. *The Emperor Domitian*. London and New York.
- Jones, B. and D. Mattingly. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxford.
- Kent, J. H. 1966. *Corinth VIII part III: The Inscriptions 1926-50*. Princeton.
- Koester, H. 1998. *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods*. Harrisburg, PA.

- Lancaster, L. 1995. "The Date of Trajan's Markets: An Assessment in the Light of Some Unpublished Brickstamps," *PBSR* 63: 25–44.
- 1999. "Building Trajan's Column," *AJA* 103: 419–439.
- Lassus, J. 1976. "Thamugadi/Timgad," *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton. 899.
- LeBohec, Y. 1989a. *La troisième légion auguste*. Paris.
- 1989b. *Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique proconsulaire et Numidie*. Paris.
- 1994. "L'armée et l'organisation de l'espace urbain dans l'Afrique romaine du Haut-Empire," *L'Africa romana* 11.3: 1391–1401.
- León, P. 1988. *Traianeum de Itàlica*. Seville.
- Lepelletier, C. 1979 and 1981. *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au bas-empire*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Levick, B. M. 1978. "Concordia at Rome," in R. A. G. Carson and C. M. Kraay (eds.), *Scripta nummaria Romana: Essays Presented to Humphrey Sutherland*. London. 217–233.
- 1990. *Claudius*. New Haven.
- 1999. *Vespasian*. London and New York.
- L'Hoir, F. S. 1994. "Tacitus and Women's Usurpation of Power," *CJ* 88: 5–25.
- MacDonald, W. L. 1986. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal*. New Haven.
- Mann, J. 1983. *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate*. London.
- Marshall, A. J. 1975. "Roman Women and the Provinces," *Ancient Society* 6: 109–127.
- Mattingly, D. J. 1994. *Tripolitania*. Ann Arbor.
- Mattingly, H. ed. 1936. *A Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* 3: *Trajan*. London.
- Millar, F. 1993. "Ovid and the *domus Augusta*: The View from Tomoi," *JRS* 83: 1–17.
- Mócsy, A. 1974. *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*. Boston and London.
- Nash, E. 1960. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*². Rome.
- Nemeth, M. 1994. "Roman Military Camps in Aquincum," in Hajnóczy 1994: 139–152.
- Oliver, J. H. 1949. "The *divi* of the Hadrianic Period," *Harvard Theological Review* 42: 35–40.
- Packer, J. E. 1994. "Trajan's Forum Again: The Column and the Temple of Trajan in the Master Plan Attributed to Apollodorus (?)," *JRA* 7: 163–182.
- 2001. *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments in Brief*. Berkeley.
- Piso, I. 1993. *Fasti Provinciae Daciae I. Die senatorischen Amtsträger*. *Antiquitas. Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte* Band 43. Bonn.
- and A. Diaconescu. 1999. "Testo epigrafico, supporto architettonico e contesto archeologico nei fori di Sarmizegetusa," in *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997. Atti 2*. Rome. 125–137.
- Póczy, K. 1994. "La città di Aquincum sede del luogotenente della Pannonia Inferiore," in Hajnóczy 1994: 221–231.
- Poulter, A. 1995. *Nicopolis ad Istrum: A Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine City*. *JRS Monographs* 8. London.
- Precht, G. 1999. "Die Ursprünge der Colonia Ulpia Traiana," in Schallmayer 1999: 213–225.
- Price, S. R. F. 1984. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge.

- 1987. "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors," in D. Cannadine and S. R. F. Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge. 56–105.
- Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-T. 1987. *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre senatorial (I^{er}–II^e siècles)*. Louvain.
- Reece, R. 1999. "Colonia in Context: *Glevum* and the *civitas Dobunnorum*," in Hurst 1999a: 73–88.
- Richardson, J. S. 1996. *The Romans in Spain*. Oxford.
- Richardson, L. J., Jr. 1976. "The Villa Publica and the Divorum," in L. Bonfante and H. von Heintze (eds.), *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel: Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities*. Mainz. 159–163.
- 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore.
- Rogers, G. M. 1992. *The Sacred Identity of Ephesus*. London and New York.
- Romanelli, P. 1959. *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*. Roma.
- 1970. *Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa romana*. Turin.
- Rose, C. B. 1997. *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*. Cambridge.
- Rushworth, A. 1996. "North African Deserts and Mountains: Comparisons and Insights," in D. L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*. *JRA* Supp. 18. 297–316.
- Saller, R. 1994. *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*. Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 25. Cambridge.
- Schallmayer, E. ed. 1999. *Traian in Germanien. Traian im Reich*. Saalburg-Schriften 5. Bad Homburg.
- Schwalter, D. 1998. "The Zeus Philios and Trajan Temple: A Context for Imperial Honors," in Koester 1998: 233–249.
- Shaw, B. D. 1983. "Soldiers and Society: The Army in Numidia," *Opus* 2: 138–159.
- Smallwood, E. M. 1966. *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*. Cambridge.
- Southern, P. 1997. *Domitian, the Tragic Tyrant*. London and Bloomington.
- Stan, C. 1999. "Die Bedeutung Dakiens in Leben und Werk Traians," in Schallmayer 1999: 169–171.
- Strobel, K. 1999. "Traianus optimus princeps: Reichs- und Grenzpolitik als innenpolitische Dimension seiner Herrschaft," in Schallmayer 1999: 17–29.
- Stucchi, S. 1956. "Il ritratto di *Traianus pater*," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*. Milan. 3.527–540.
- Sullivan, J. P. 1991. *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*. Cambridge.
- Syme, R. 1958. *Tacitus*. Oxford.
- Taylor, L. R. 1960. *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*. Monographs of the American Academy at Rome 19. Rome.
- Temporini, H. 1979. *Die Frauen am Hof Traians*. Berlin.
- 1999. "Frauen im Bild der Domus Augusta unter Traian," in Schallmayer 1999: 45–64.
- Thomasson, B. 1960. *Die Statthalter der römische provinzen Nordafrikas*. Lund.
- Thompson, D. J. 1987. "Imperial Estates," in Wachter 1987: 555–567.
- Wachter, J. ed. 1987. *The Roman World*. London and New York.

- Warmington, B. H. 1954. "The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa," *PBSR* 22: 39–55.
- Waters, K. H. 1969. "Traianus, Domitiani continuator," *AJP* 90: 385–405.
- 1982. "The Reign of Trajan and Its Place in Contemporary Scholarship," *ANRW* II.2: 381–431.
- Watkins, T. H. 1983. "Coloniae and ius Italicum in the Early Empire," *CJ* 78: 319–336.
- 1989. "Vespasian and Italic Right," *CJ* 84: 117–136.
- Webster, G. 1988. *From Fortress into City*. London and Totowa, NJ.
- West, A. B. 1931. *Corinth VIII part II: Latin Inscriptions 1896–1926*. Cambridge, MA.
- White, P. 1974. "The Presentation and Dedication of the *Silvae* and *Epigrams*," *JRS* 64: 40–61.
- 1975. "The Friends of Martial, Statius and Pliny and the Dispersal of Patronage," *HSCP* 79: 265–300.
- Witschel, Ch. 1995. "Die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft von Timgad im 2. bis 4. Jh. n. Chr.," *Klio* 77: 266–331.
- Wood, S. 1988. "Memoriae Agrippinae: Agrippina the Elder in Julio-Claudian Art and Propaganda," *AJA* 92: 409–426.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge.