LAMBAESIS TO THE REIGN OF HADRIAN

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PREFACE

Lambaesis was a Roman Imperial military fortress in North Africa in the modern-day nation of Algeria. Rome originally acquired the territory as a result of the defeat of Carthage in the Punic Wars. Expansion of territory and settlement of surplus population were two ideas behind its Romanization. However, North Africa's greatest asset for becoming a province was its large yield of grain. This province furnished most of the wheat for the empire. If something happened to hinder its annual production level then Rome and its provinces would face famine.

Unlike most instances of acquiring territory Rome did not try to assimilate the native transhumant population. Instead these inhabitants held on to their ancestral lands until they were forcibly removed. This territory was the most agriculturally productive; unfortunately, it was also the area of seasonal migration for the native people.

Lambaesis is important in this scheme because it was the base of the solitary legion in North Africa, the III Legio Augusta. After beginning in the eastern section of the province just north of the Aures Mountains the legion gradually moved west leaving a peaceful area behind. The site of Lambaesis was the III Legio Augusta's westernmost fortress. From there it guarded the primary pass through the mountains against native incursions into the Romanized portion of North Africa. The location gave easy access to all parts of the province by means of an extensive road system. Lambaesis and the men quartered there allowed the northern region

of the African province to be productive both in terms of commodities and the Roman way of life.

Because of its extremely long history of over three centuries, I have only dealt with Lambaesis' establishment period. The Emperor Hadrian marked this change in the territory by ceasing further expansion and consolidating Rome's hold on the previously acquired region.

Unfortunately, the actual site of Lambaesis is not completely excavated. During the French occupation of Algeria a penitentiary was constructed on the location. It is still in use by the Algerian government. However, the ruins that remain and the history they reveal along with other information sources provide an excellent example of a Roman military fortification, its functions, and an insight into the men who served not only in North Africa but in all provinces of the Roman Empire.

Many people have helped in the completion of this work. I wish to express my sincere appreciation and enduring respect for my adviser, Dr. Neil J. Hackett, Jr. His professionalism and enthusiasm for ancient history have provided a standard which I will always strive to emulate. His patient optimism in the midst of anxiety contributed immeasurably to the completion of my degree. Dr. David Baird was always accessible and shared his extensive knowledge of the details and concepts of the frontier and expansion. Dr. John Paul Bischoff's suggestions helped in placing the topic in its proper perspective, and his assistance in research methods saved countless hours of fruitless searching for information.

Special appreciation goes to my husband, Mike, for his understanding and help throughout this work. His constant encouragement and advice enabled me to get through the trying times and late hours. For all these things I am forever grateful.

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

By the time of Augustus Caesar, Roman influence had spread throughout the Mediterranean region and beyond. While politics and war were the primary factors in the spread of Roman dominance, the geography and climate were determinants of the subsequent character of what became the Roman Empire. As advanced as Rome was, nature still affected its movements, goals, and national character. While the people, customs, languages, amd events differed, the natural environment exerted a constant and impartial influence in the history of the region.

The entire Mediterranean region was the product of an enormous upheaval in the land mass during the tertiary age.[1] This action created the mountain ranges which ringed the area. Unlike other ranges in the continents which border the great sea, these mountains were relatively young and retained their steep slopes and jagged peaks. Predominantly limestone, these mountains gave life to the region.[2] They served as water reservoirs and seldom lost their snowcaps before mid-summer. The water drained off the steep slopes when melting began and flowed into subterranean caverns, a characteristic that yielded a great number of springs in the lowland territory.[3] It was also these mountain ranges which gave the lands their great forests of oak, beech, and chestnut.[4] Thus the Mediterranean region was blessed with two of the most important elements necessary to survival--water and fuel.

Ringed by these masses, the lands of the Mediterranean area were joined not only in common terrain but also in climate. Generally the area had only two seasons, summer and winter.[5] It was the summer months that produced the atmosphere for great creativity. Strong sunlight unhindered by cloudy skies and a slight northerly breeze produced the brilliance in scenery and mind for which this area had long been noted. One problem with the sunny climate was the lack of rain. Dryness became severe causing droughts which often lasted up to six or ten months, especially in North Africa.

Winter was just as extreme. Strong westerly winds and short torrential rains of an almost tropical nature were destructive to man and agriculture. This change in seasons affected the natives involved in pastoral industry. A change from summer to winter pastures and back again was and is a regular feature of life in the Mediterranean. Thus it promoted a transhumant way of life.

Not only did the Mediterranean Sea and its surrounding region lend itself to a close grouping in the ways cited above but it also grouped them because it excluded others. Of all the natural fortresses that surrounded this area, the mountains were the easiest to penetrate. The Atlantic side of the empire was never threatened from the west just as the southern side of the empire was never threatened from the area south of the Sahara. However, the Roman imposed African border to the south was challenged by the natives of the area because of their alternating seasonal pastures.

One thread held the Mediterranean world together--it belonged to Rome. It was the empire even though Augustus would have everyone believe the Republic still existed. All people in this vast area were "Romanized"

in some way. Some were actual Roman citizens, others were conquered, and some were just clients, friends, or allies.

Rome began to grow in size during the period of its infancy. It swelled from the banks of the Tiber River, the territory of Romulus, across all Italy, Gaul, Africa, Spain, Greece, Britain and the East. It appeared to have no boundaries except those nature put in its way. The ocean, the desert, and the other wonders of nature halted Rome's advance--all save one, the Mediterranean Sea, Mare Nostrum.[6] Covering 1,145,000 square miles and more than 2330 miles long it gave Rome a major highway.[7] The sea provided the best means of travel throughout the vast empire. Summer trade winds encouraged sailing and the absence of strong currents and tides led it to be used as a great passageway.[8] It became Rome's mass transit system. Men and women were transported primarily by ship to the different regions of Roman power. And it was Rome's primary means of communication for great distances, because letters and messages travelled quickest by ship. The territory immediately around this body of water was what Rome took for its own. The one common denominator for all territory in the empire was the Mediterranean Sea.

On the southern edge of the great lake lay the continent of Africa. Egypt was obtained when the Ptolemaic dynasty died with Cleopatra. The province of Africa was obtained even earlier as a result of the Punic Wars. It too had natural boundaries: the Mediterranean Sea, the mountains, and the Sahara desert. An undulating coastline of 3100 miles had few inlets and almost no islands.[9] In the plateau that led south from the sea lay the most fertile land, and the most abundant sources of water: the sea, the river outlets, and rainfall.

Before Augustus assumed power, Rome changed her granary from Sicily to Egypt. Sicily was overcultivated; the soil was depleted. However, Egypt was a long distance from the empire's capital. Always there was the chance of losing a shipment of the precious grain on the long journey. And in the winter months when a violent storm might suddenly appear, the chance of getting a shipment to Rome was drastically cut. A closer and even more productive area had to be found.[10] This close and productive territory was North Africa.

The province of Africa had three geographical divisions from the sea to the desert: the Tell Atlas, the High Plateau, and the Sahara Atlas.[11] The first, the Tell Atlas, was the closest to the sea. Watered by annual rainfall it was greener and more wooded than the other areas. The High Plateau was approximately 3000 feet above sea level near the Timgad area and served as the granary of Rome. The Sahara Atlas was the last mountain range and the last barrier before the descent into the desert.[12] The whole area belonged to an ancient folded mountain region which culminated in the Aures and Atlas Mountain ranges. The particular area had many names: Carthage, Africa Nova, Africa, and Numidia. It also had many rulers and allegiances. Since its original colonization by Phoenicians, this territory has been significant in the development of the Mediterranean region. An outpost of Phoenicia turned independent, Carthage astounded the Mediterranean world in its fight against Rome. The Berber and Punic people who rallied behind Carthage gave a valiant struggle, yet through the ability of one man in particular, Masinissa,[13] Carthage fell to Rome in 146 B.C. By 111 B.C. a Roman law enabled part of this land to be sold to Roman citizens. An annual quitrent was required but the land was termed as private.[14] This was the beginning of the great estates in North Africa which would play such an important role

in Rome's policy there.

Rome gave Masinissa complete control of Numidia. His control ended however when one of his descendents, Juba I, gave his support to Pompey in the Roman struggle for power. At that time Mauretania, another region in North Africa, was without a king. Caesar gave Mauretania to Juba and took Numidia for himself in 46 B.C.[15] Shortly thereafter, Numidia became a client kingdom under Juba II. Augustus later added it to the province of Africa and by 19 B.C. sent colonists to the area.[16] Part of the land was stipendiary, assigned to non-Romans and subject to taxation in return for use of the land and protection provided by Rome.[17] It was not until four centuries later that this Roman province ceased to exist; in A.D. 428 the Vandals invaded and took control of the area.

Numidia's boundaries were the Ampsaga River, the Zaina River, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Mons Aures, the eastern end of the Atlas Mountains.[18] Although not as fertile as the rest of Roman North Africa, it was nonetheless very productive.[19] Water conservation was critical to survival and production. Stored in cisterns and reservoirs this water quenched thirsts and irrigated fields.[20] Actual watering of the fields was accomplished by an instrument still being used today, the <u>seggia</u>. This was a way of deflecting part of a flowing stream by a barrage through a channel constructed of small boulders or hewn out of the solid rock. The latter was typical of <u>seggias</u> in the Aures region constructed during Roman occupation.[21]

Most of the land discussed lies within modern day Tunisia and Algeria. Little change has occurred since the days of the Roman Empire. Almost all ancient cities are still being occupied in this region and ancient saline lakes still dot the area. Only the names have been changed and some of those

only slightly: Setif is modern Sitifis; Mectaris is Mactar; and Lambaesis is today's Lambese. Berbers still roam the land and cisterns are still used to water the fields. It was on the southern foot of these mountains, the Aurasius or Aures, that Rome built its frontier fortification system, the limes. Limes (limites, pl.) originally meant a road that served as an arbitrary boundary between Romanized and non-Roman territory.[22] As increased protection for this road was needed, the limes expanded. By the end of the second century A.D., it consisted of palisades, ditches, watchtowers, and forts.[23] The true defense line for the southern edge of the empire was the African limes.

On the northern foot of the Aures Mountains Rome placed its forts. The Aures Mountains were less than sixty (60) miles wide but created an impressive barrier with their steep jagged slopes of grey rock and thick forests of juniper and ilex.[24] It was from this setting that Lambaesis sprang. The mountains provided for the fort's defense and water and fuel supply. The northern side of the Aures was not only densely forested, but rainfall was greater here, so water was more abundant. To the north and east of the fort lay a plateau and a brushy area. To the west was the great pass through the mountains, El Kantara. El Kantara, "Foum es Sahara," was a great deep cleft cut into the rock by an age-old stream 1000 feet below the crest.[25] It was for the protection of the pass that the legionary fortress shifted west to Lambaesis. (See Figure 1.)

The location gave Lambaesis its means of survival. Just as North Africa was vital to Rome and the empire, Lambaesis was vital to North Africa. The placement of the fortress aided in the long life of North Africa as a province. From here the legion could regulate the movement

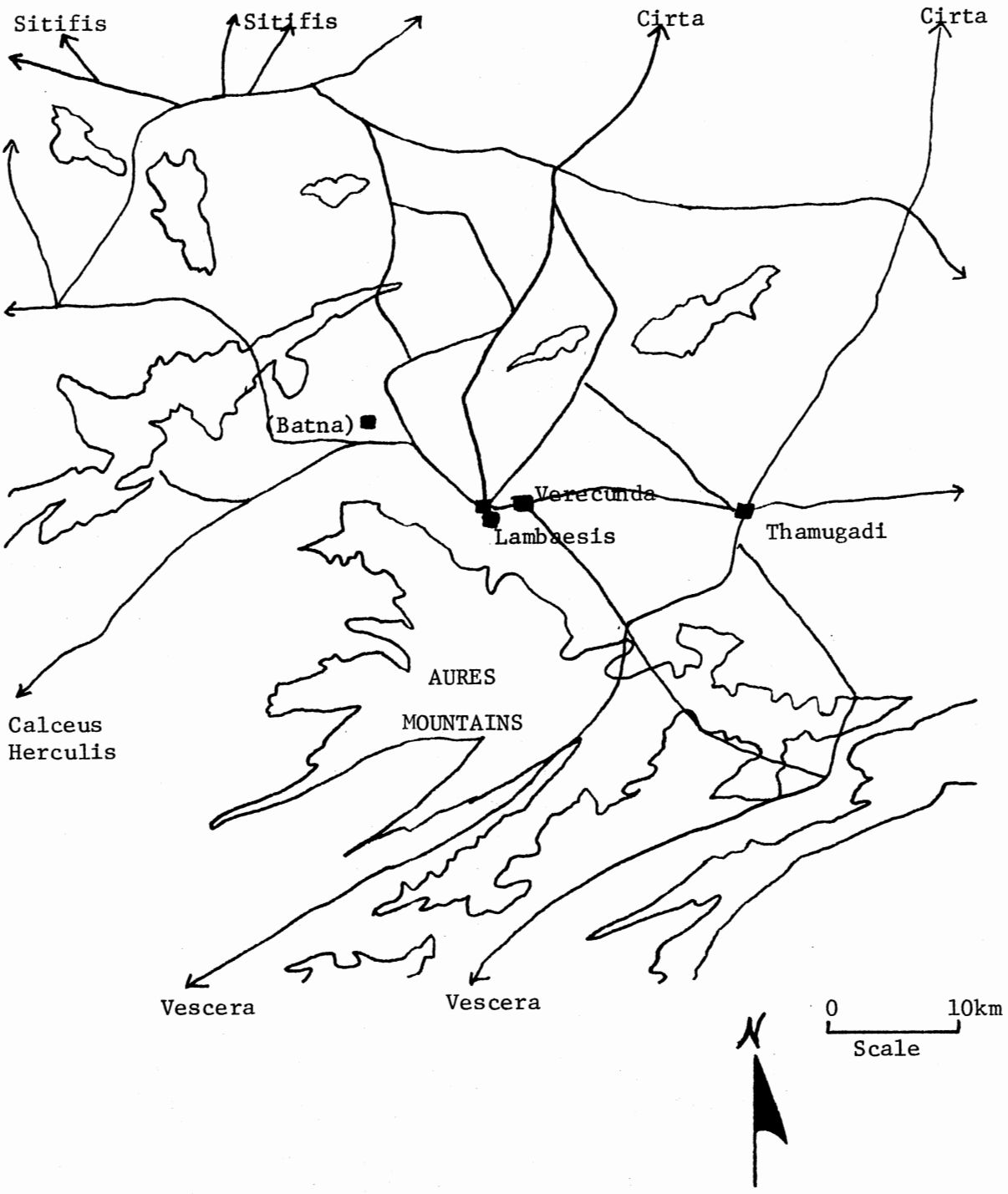

Figure 1. Vicinity of Lambaesis. From a drawing by Michel Janon in "Recherches a Lambese," in Antiquites Africaines 7 (1973).

of the natives, aid in the growing of grain, and contribute in general to the birth and growth of Roman North Africa.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER II

THE NATIVES OF NORTH AFRICA

North Africa was populated by Berber tribesmen when the famed Elissa, or Dido as she is sometimes called, landed at Carthage. As the legend goes this aristocrat from Tyre in Phoenicia fled her homeland and settled not too far from an earlier Phoenician colony at Utica on the North African coast.[1] She chose that location because it promised defense, water supply, fertile land, and limited access to outsiders. The Phoenicians had long before settled the northern shores of the Mediterranean as well as the African coast. Between 1100 B.C. and 800 B.C. they had a line of settlements in North Africa from Leptis Magna to Hippo Regius.[2] By the time Carthage reached its peak, it had attained a population of 7,000.[3] This was a population of both true Carthaginians and "Punicized" Berbers. By the sixth century B.C. the Carthaginian king Malchus went to war against the tribesmen of the area and subdued them.[4] This, the beginning of warfare and skirmishes between outsiders and natives, was the earliest indication of the native resistance to conquest.

The people of Numidia, modern Algeria, were considered transhumant. Even the Greeks designated these people as such and called their territory Metagonitis to reflect as much.[5] Most of the people along the coastal region were Berbers or people with a Phoenician/Carthaginian heritage. This meant that a large number were of Caucasian stock. Lucan noted that these people reminded him of the population of India or Mauretania.[6]

The Greek word maures, from which Mauretania is derived, reveals that some of the natives were dark skinned as can be seen in their names. The modern Kabyle of Algeria closely resemble this grouping of people. They have light to dark brown skin, dark hair, brown or black eyes and abundant body hair.[7]

What the actual racial character of most of the tribesmen in the area was cannot be determined. It is not known how far north the Aithiops, dark skinned natives, lived.[8] There is some evidence that Blacks were in the coastal cities in North Africa during the Roman period, but whether they were visitors, residents, or slaves is not known. This can be seen by examination of the artistic media from that time that has been found during excavations in various North African sites.[9] However, it was not just in Africa that the dark skinned people were found; various other parts of the Greco-Roman world reveal the presence of these people.

There is also evidence of a large mixed population in Northwest Africa. Many of these people were given the classification of "decolor," usually the child of a white mother and an Ethiopian father.[10]

As a transhumant society the natives migrated seasonally. The inhabitants sowed grain in the mountains during the fall, went south to the Sahara for the winter, and returned to the mountains in the spring.[11] The plateau area north of the mountains was the fertile land desired by both natives and Romans. This was the land Rome claimed and began to settle. The people south of the Aures Mountains and those who had been pushed there waited and watched for the chance to pour through El Kantara and take that land.

As Rome began to push farther and farther south it encountered more native tribesmen who wished to keep their land. Sedentary natives encountered north of the Aures were not considered a threat because they

gradually assimilated into the Romanized population. It was the transhumant tribes who resisted the most. Their primary desire was to retain the land so they could continue seasonal migrations and their greatest fear was to be pushed south into the desert region where there would be neither water nor grass enough to graze their animals. The closer Rome pushed to the Aures the less land the natives retained. At first they were pushed back slowly and gently because Rome tried to avoid extermination of the local people; and as Roman control crept into the area some villages and communities became mixed. When that procedure did not work some natives were transferred into unoccupied territory usually, away from their original land. Rome assigned certain amounts of land to them and a type of reservation system began.[12] What had been their land was generally given to a Roman city, divided into estates, or taken by the Emperor.[13] Only a few natives were allowed on their old land not as owners but as laborers or tenant farmers.

Those people who were extracted from their home territory caused the most trouble for Rome. As Roman territory grew so did its opulence and its attraction to the poorer people who tried time and again to penetrate the Roman fortification lines in order to gain its riches. Both the people who originally lived beyond the limes and those who had been placed there threatened the colonies by raids and native revolts.

Little is known of the native political structure. There was no nationality, only individual tribes having their own chiefs.[14] They not only fought the Romans when they came into the area, but they also fought among themselves. When at war they fought only one group at a time; thus, if they were fighting another tribe they would not fight

Rome.[15] This was a blessing to the Roman legionnaires. When Rome gained control of a tribe it allowed them to retain their previous political structure, language, and laws.

Knowledge concerning the various tribes ranges from knowing only their names to understanding some of their activities. Aithiops was one name given to tribesmen by the Greeks. This name occasionally slipped into Roman vocabulary and was generally associated with people who stayed for long periods in the sun and thus had dark skin.[16] The Greeks used it as a synonym for maures.[17] Herodotus mentioned several times the "cave-dwelling Ethiopians" and it is believed that he was referring to the Negroid Tebu of the Tibesti Mountains.[18] Herodotus also mentioned that these people were hunted by another lighter skinned tribe, the Garamantes, who used them as slaves.

Other tribesmen were called Libyans by the Greeks after a single tribe in the vicinity.[19] These men were generally lighter skinned than the Aithiops. Romans rarely gave tribal groups names. Instead they tended to lump all tribes together under the heading of barbarians, a term not only given to the population of North Africa but to anyone outside the Greco-Roman culture.[20]

Regardless of color the people who roamed this territory were Berbers. Even today the population is primarily Berber stock. The Figig and the Shawia are two groups in North Africa who still speak the Berber language.[21] The Shawia are more nomadic and live in the area of the Aures mountains whereas the Figig are mostly settled in or near the oases close to the Sahara.

Several of the tribes are known by their Greek name and only a few by their Roman one. In the west were the Pharusians and the Negrites who controlled a route across Mauretania to Senegal.[22] In the southern

part of Africa Proconsularis were the Nubgenii clustered about their main tribal center, Turris Tanalleni.[23] Going farther east toward Ammaedara were the Numidiae, a large and powerful tribe with their headquarters at Thubursicu Numidarum.[24]

Other tribes included the Natabudes, Capsitani, Sabarbares, Massyli, Nicives, Vamacures, Cinithi, Musuni, Marchubi, Garamantes, and Musulamii.[25] (See Figure 2.) The Massylii were remembered largely for their contribution to irrigation and technology. They diverted the Abigas Riber in central Numidia from the Aures into one of the Shotts and finally distributed the water by canals into the plains. These canals were constructed so that they could be closed and opened at will, a system still being used in some places in North Africa today.[26]

Another group having used a similar type of irrigation was the Garamantes. The racial nature of this group has been discussed at great length.[27] Some believe they were Ethiopians, others say they were Caucasian and yet others believe they were a mixed population. This was the group that hunted the Troglodytes by chariot.[28] In time these people became middlemen for Roman trade in Africa because of their geographical position and because they had been traders for a long time.[29] However many battles were fought to subdue them before this was accomplished.

The Musulamii were truly nomadic and roamed the area north of the Aures mountains between Ammaedara and Madaurus.[30] The original occupants of the area, they were forced out of much of it when the Romans formed their private estates. As time went on they were pressed farther south and by the time Lambaesis was established they had been cut off from their original homeland and forced to occupy poorer land. Some of their land was used to support the legion in Africa.[31] This group along with several

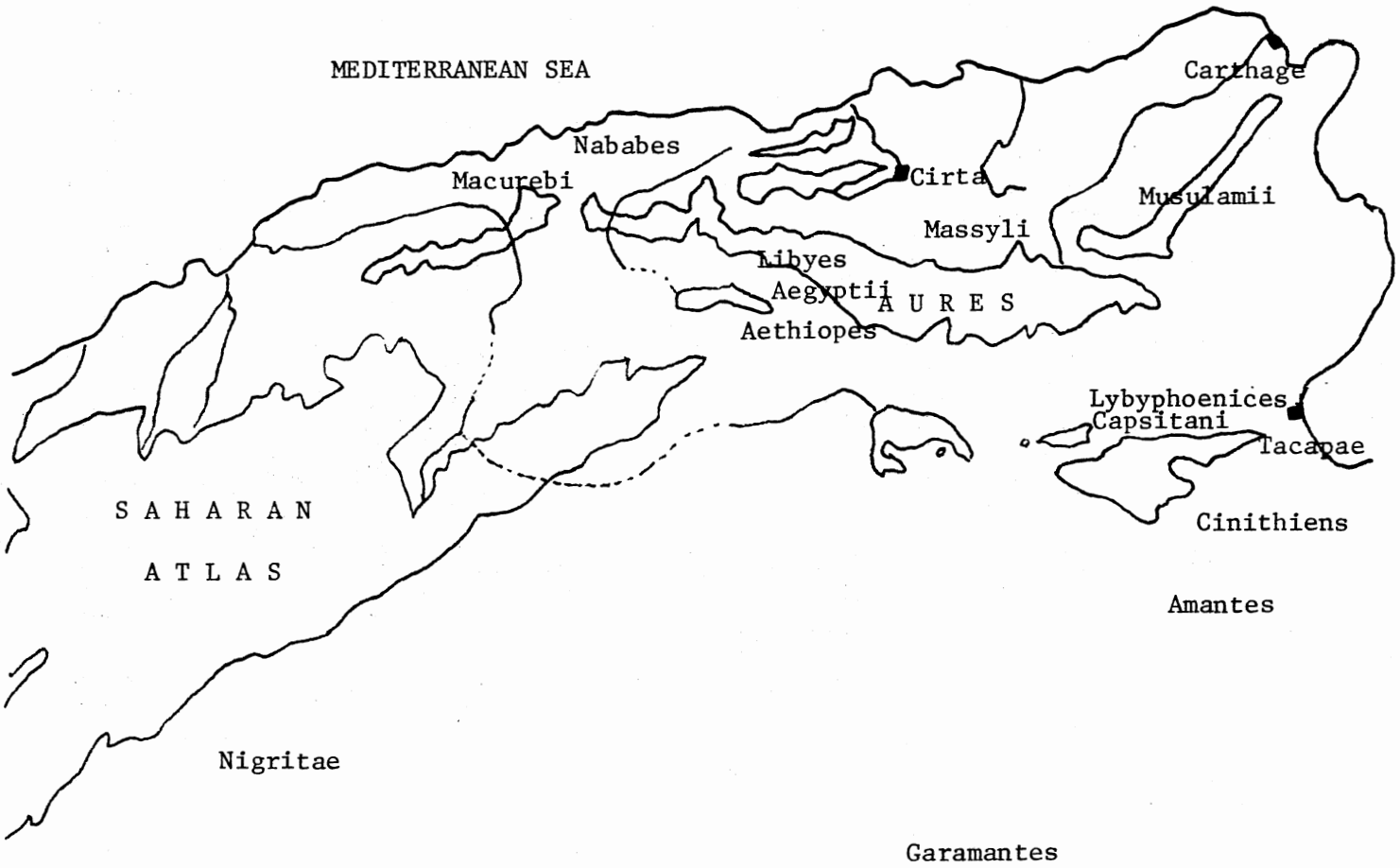

Figure 2. Tribes of North Africa. From Marguerite Rachet's Rome et les Berberes (Bruxelles, Latomus, r. Colonel Chaltin, 60, 1970). Berber tribes and "Ethiopians" at the beginning of the Empire.

other tribes joined in a massive revolt against Rome in later years.

Because Rome built cities and established colonies in Africa it was involved in many military campaigns. Thus its hold on North Africa was essentially military.[32] These experiences brought Rome closer to the tribes than others had ever been. Tribal actions caused Roman reactions; Roman actions caused tribal reactions. In order to create peace for Roman Africa the legion stationed there fought battles and wars with the natives.

Fighting with these individual tribal groups began early in the period of Roman occupation. In 20 B.C. an uprising led primarily by the Garamantes occurred in the southern frontier from Mauretania to Tripolitania.[33] Rome sent its proconsul of Africa, L. Cornelius Balbus, to quell the rebellion. After marching through the Mons Ater (Djebel Soda) he occupied Garama, their capital, but only after further military action did he conquer the Garamantes. For his effort Balbus received a triumph in Rome.

In the time of Augustus tribesmen revolted frequently under the tightening grip of Rome. There were more raids and more military operations. The Musulamii and the Gaetuli rebelled in early first century A.D., but they were stopped by the African proconsul, Cossus.[34] In mid-first century A.D. there was another large revolt, this time led by the Moors.[35] Rome sent Suetonius Paulinus to stop the rebellion, which he did after pursuing the Moors over the mountains and a ten day march. Two years later the Emperor Claudius, because of threats of attacks by the Musulamii, appointed the proconsul of Africa Ser. Sulpicius Galba himself, choosing one of his best generals to stay two years instead of the customary one year appointment in order to try to quiet the tribesmen.[36] Galba

accomplished this task, but the peace was only temporary.

Nero in A.D. 66 was threatened with more raids in Africa. This time it was another tribe, the Albani, who were trying to throw off the Roman yoke.[37] At approximately the same time the Garamantes again rose in rebellion; only to be quieted by Valerius Festus. Afterwards, the Garamantes became a client kingdom.

Most of these punitive expeditions barely penetrated the country. However, two expeditions plunged into the interior of North Africa, of which one was led by Septimius Flaccus while the other was led by Julius Maternus.[38] Flaccus, a legate of the III Legio Augusta, set out from Libya and advanced three months journey into Ethiopian territory. It is not known why the journey was made, although it would appear to have been a military expedition because of his position of legate in the legion. Led by Garamantean tribesmen, Maternus left from Leptis Magna and penetrated as far as the region of Agisymba. It is believed by some that Maternus was a merchant, which accounted for his travel and the use of the Garamantean guides. He acquired the guides during his stop at Garama where he met the king of the Garamantes and requested a joint march.

The natives did not like the pressure of Rome. They felt threatened, crowded and pushed. It appeared that almost all the major tribes rebelled at least once. However long and difficult all these encounters were, none were as trying as the revolt led by Tacfarinus, A.D. 17-24.[39] He, unlike the other tribal leaders, knew Rome and its ways.

Tacfarinus was a Numidian who had served as an auxiliary of the Roman army. When he deserted the army he recruited a following to fight Rome and became leader of the Musulamii. Because of his experience with the Roman army, he adopted Roman military style and equipment, a challenge

Rome had never faced in this area before. Several other tribes joined Tacfarinus and his revolt, the Moors raised light-armed troops to help, and the Mauretanians joined in as did the Cinithians, although some believe that the latter joined only under pressure.

In A.D. 17 the proconsul of Africa, M. Furius Camillus, routed the Numidians in battle. The rebellious tribes later met Decrius near the Pagyda River, but this time the Numidians had perfected their tactics and it was the Romans who broke and fled. The rebels then marched toward the coast and panic swept Rome. Apronius Caesianus marched with the Roman legion, cavalry, and auxilia cohorts against Tacfarinus and pushed his forces south. It was not until proconsul Q. Junius Blaesus arrived and was given the help of the IX Hispana from Pannonia that the native strength began to fail. Although Blaesus broke the tribesmen's spirit, it was left to the next proconsul, P. Dolabella, to defeat Tacfarinus once and for all.

The question of whether racial discrimination existed in Roman North Africa arises when it is remembered that in this region, unlike most other Roman provinces, the idea seemed to be to push the natives away from Roman territory instead of trying to assimilate them. Was this because the natives were Black? The general consensus is that there was no discrimination against Black natives. However, some evidence points to ill feeling about the natives in general.

The first Ethiopians came into the Greco-Roman world by way of Greek colonies or the Persian invasion of Greece.[40] There is no support for the idea that Greece brought in Black slaves by means of military aggression. In all the Greco-Roman world color was not a criteria for the equality of men.[41] No stigma was attached to color.

Both the Greeks and the Romans felt that the cause of darker skin was a geographical accident and not a mark of inferiority. Even though there was no discrimination because of skin color it is generally believed that Rome thought less highly of the Ethiopians than had the Greeks or the Carthaginians.[42] Martial is said to have scorned the Ethiopians.[43] But the evidence more likely points to the fact that ill feelings existed toward the tribesmen in general for being there, for fighting so long and hard to keep their lands, for being transhumant, and for challenging Rome.

Whenever the concept of racial discrimination surfaces, with it arises the idea of slavery. Here the authorities seem to be split. Most authors state that the majority of slaves were not Black. However, one writer declared that there "can be no doubt that African tribes furnished the Romans with vast numbers of slaves and that in the Empire the dark races were vastly more common sights at Rome than at Athens."[44] But others such as Snowden and Westermann testify that Blacks were not the largest nor the only part of the enslaved people.[45] The number of Black slaves that can be proved in the Roman Empire is small because there was a lack of emphasis on slave trade in Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India.[46] This was due in part to the reduction of the two primary ways of obtaining slaves, war and piracy, and the importance of other trade goods such as wild animals and marble. It appears that the places which provided the largest number of slaves were Syria and Asia Minor.[47]

Roman policy was not one of enslavement but of assimilation. Rome felt that the conquered were less likely to revolt than the enslaved. However, it would appear that in North Africa assimilation was only carried out if the natives were sedentary and succumbed to Rome. As

for the transhumant people who challenged Rome for their land, Rome first used a reservation system, then crowding, and finally force to acquire their lands.

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CHAPTER III

MOTIVATION FOR ROMAN OCCUPATION

Some might say that Rome took North Africa for selfish reasons but the argument may be made that they took it out of need. Rome's primary objectives for North Africa were both for supply and for relief. Supply referred to what Africa could produce, in particular the much needed grain as well as other products; relief referred to how Africa could eliminate some of the burden of rewarding service with gifts of land and ease the general overcrowding in the cities of the empire, in particular Rome itself.

It was not because of war that Rome decided to possess Africa. The Punic Wars gave Rome its first foothold on the continent, but obtaining Carthage's territory was secondary to the defeat of the Carthaginian power.[1] Later some of the land was given to Rome and no real fighting was necessary to obtain it. Of course, holding some of the region was a different matter.

One of the first attempts to colonize the territory was made by Gaius Gracchus in 122 B.C. He possessed land in Africa and wanted settlers for it; however, it was rumored that he was getting close to the forbidden area of the city of Carthage. This was one of the incidents which caused the loss of his third tribunate.[2] At first these colonization attempts were not large scale, but in time they increased.[3] Later, especially by the time of the Empire, colonists made their way to Africa. These people

included not only veterans and their families but also people to run the great estates established there and the people who supplied and provided services to all.[4] One primary objective for colonization was the acquisition of land. For the veterans it was a place to own and call home. For the wealthy with their estates it was a way of displaying and making greater wealth.

The use of this land differed among those who possessed it, but generally it was used for the cultivation of grain. This commodity was always in demand and the prices it brought rarely declined. As stated in Chapter I the Roman grain belt had been Sicily and then moved to Egypt. But there was the need to have the supply closer to the heart of the empire so Africa was cultivated. The coastal territory had little difficulty in raising cereals. However, farther south the land was less fertile. Some of the tribal groups developed the <u>seggias</u> and a type of irrigation because this was the agriculturally productive region. Rome and its empire depended on the grain that came from Africa. The docks and warehouses at Puteoli, Ostia, and Portus were loaded with shipments from the various shipping points in North Africa.

Grain, primarily wheat and barley, was vital to the livelihood of everyone in the empire. Not only was the demand large because of the amount consumed but also because it took a lot to grow the next year's crop. It has been estimated that one-eighth to one-tenth of the grain had to be saved in order to be used as the next year's seed; however, the remainder was necessary to feed people. A legionnaire consumed approximately 800 pounds of grain per year. That and the amount necessary to feed their animals equalled approximately eight-tenths of the African crop for use in that province alone. This left a little more than one-tenth to be exported to Rome. Total export is estimated at 160,000,000

modii.[5]

Even though Pliny considered African grain to be third among all foreign grains, it was a valuable resource taken seriously.[6] Augustus made the grain supply one of the emperor's primary responsibilities and he placed a prefect in charge of its collection and transport.[7] Later the Emperor Commodus established a special grain fleet in order to effect easier and quicker transport of the valuable grain.[8] There was yet another value attached to wheat. Many of the southern regions of the empire used it as annona, a tax in kind.[9] Tenants of imperial estates paid their rent and taxes in this manner as did tenants of public land; private landowners also used it to pay their taxes. Payment was made usually in amounts of barley or wheat, beans, and wine or oil. Stored in underground chambers until transported, the annona was then used as free food in Rome, sold at reduced cost to the poor, given to the army, or paid to officials as salary. Grain was generally the basic wealth of all people and cities in Africa.

Several areas were primary grain producers in North Africa. Numidia was the area of one of the most important granaries. It and the area about the Medjerda River were very productive grain belts.[10] Corn traffic was heaviest at Carthage, Theveste, Hippo Regius, Rusicade, Hadrumentum and other coastal cities.[11] Wheat was so important to the empire that when Clodius Macer, proconsul of Africa, in A.D. 68 revolted against Nero he kept 3000 grain ships in their harbors, an act that threatened Rome with famine.[12]

Grain was not the only reason for Rome's presence in Africa; there were also olive trees, olives, and olive oil. These items were probably the second largest group of edible products in the province. In the first century A.D. grain dominated the market in Africa, but as new water supplies

and conservation techniques were utilized there was a shift from grain to olives and olive oil as one of the major commodities from Africa.[13] As with wheat, African oil appeared to have been inferior to others. Yet it still had great value and was used for baths, lighting, and cosmetic purposes. Such utilization left the more expensive oils to be used for cooking.[14]

Olives were grown in many areas of North Africa. Few areas in modern Algeria are dominated by the olive culture; however, it appeared that in the time of Roman colonization the area between Sitifis (Setif) and Batna north of Lambaesis, olives made up a considerable amount of commerce.[15] In fact, extensive ruins of an oil factory are visible near Theveste. These ruins reveal a number of olive presses which are ringed by rows of columns in a large hall.[16]

Another product of the province was wine. Again it was not thought to be the best of vintage. Vineyards were especially plentiful along the coastline. Wine had been obtained from Africa during the Republic, but only as a minor product.[17] Much of this liquid was consumed within the province, but some did make the export market. This exported wine appeared to be raisin wine (passum) which Pliny is said to have enjoyed.[18]

Africa supplied the majority of wild animals including lions, tigers, leopards, elephants and others for the games of the provinces and Rome.[19] The forest elephants of Mauretania were hunted to near extinction during this time only to be slaughtered in the amphitheatres of the empire for both game and ivory.[20] Not only were wild animals themselves prized, but so was their fur which was also shipped to various corners of the empire.

Industry had a role in the settlement of Africa. Industries such as the preparation of marble and ceramics were noted on the Roman market.

Beneath the area around Simitthu was a vein of yellow marble with red veins, the popular giallo antico.[21] These quarries, owned by the imperial family, yielded the marble that was so popular in the construction of Tivoli.[22] Another marble, this one snowy white, came from the area about Cirta.[23] Other masonry materials including bricks also came from North Africa. Pottery was a major industry there. It was a cheaply made pottery and rarely made the export market; most of it was used by the inhabitants of North Africa for everyday use.[24]

Many other products came from this region and were distributed throughout the empire. Domesticated animals were common because of the terrain and the transhumant conditions. Breeding and enlarging these herds had been the work of the natives for years. Numidian horses were especially prized.[25] Other livestock included mules, asses, cattle, and the ever-present sheep.[26] One livestock animal that was at one time very prominent in the area was the pig. However, it has now almost become extinct in North Africa.[27]

Crops other than grain, grapes, and olives were necessary to provide a regular diet for the population of North Africa as well as to provide enough for export. Vegetables like cucumbers, artichokes, and beans were part of this diet.[28] This menu was supplemented by fruit and nuts which were also among the top export items. Figs, cherries, and pomegranates were the main fruit grown, and almonds and walnuts were the most popular nuts.[29] Forestry and mining also played a significant role in the settling of Roman North Africa. The mountain areas north of the Aures and the Aures themselves were largely forest lands, distinctly different from their southern neighbor, the Sahara desert. These forests included wood of all kinds including citrus and ebony. They also produced one of the worlds first wood preservatives, cedrus oil.[30]

Mining, also prominent in different regions of North Africa, gave to its neighbors copper, gold, and mica.[31]

Clothing materials were also produced in Numidia. Leather goods were prominent as were textiles and woolen items.[32] The remains of a _fullo_ can be seen at Lambaesis.[33] Also associated with this industry were the dyes obtained from the coccus and the murex.[34]

There were essentially two reasons for the scarcity of industry and commerce in Africa.[35] One was that the native conditions did not need expanded industry and commerce. The native population of the area needed no more than what they could produce themselves and the Romanized population could only produce so much before they glutted the market. Also the lesser quality of many of the items prevented easy sale and trade elsewhere. That brought about the second reason for scarcity, the ease of export. All the Roman regions produced goods. It was easy to export but difficult to find a market in an already swollen one of better goods. Only grain appeared as the one commodity the Roman world needed as much as they could produce.

None of these products would mean anything without the people who manufactured them and who gave them a market. At first most of the people were military colonists, veterans who were repaid for their services by gifts of land. Several cities were built for these people, and they made up the majority of small landowners in the region. There were also those wealthy few who had the large _latifundia_. These men usually had obligations elsewhere; thus they needed men and women to work the land for them. Some of the support people were Romans and some were natives. But these were not the only people who had business there. Merchants kept the people supplied; quarrymen worked to ship the tinted marble all over the empire; fishermen earned their livelihood from the sea; other people

caught the wild animals to provide entertainment and middlemen were necessary for all businesses.

To guarantee these people the opportunity to do all of these activities a military force was needed. To assure their safety, posts and fortification systems were established. The men chosen for such duty were assigned to the III Legio Augusta. This legion had many duties, but their primary job was to enable the people to lead their lives without being threatened from external forces, in particular the natives from the south. Roads were built for fast and easy transport of troops as well as for movement of commodities. Irrigation systems and aqueducts were constructed to insure water not only for the army, but also for the people and their needs. The legion constructed cities. All of the products found in North Africa as well as the people who lived and worked there created the need for protection. Once the territory was acquired, peopled,and then made productive Rome had a stake in the land.

FOOTNOTES

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15 Frank, Economic Survey, p. 23,47-48, 88.

16 Charles Joseph Tissot and Salomon Reinach, Exploration Scientifique de la Tunisie. Geographie Comparee de la Province Romaine d'Afrique (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884-1891), p. 2.

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30 Frank, Economic Survey, p. 53; Nickerson, Short History, p. 20; Charlesworth, Trade Routes, p. 144.

31 Sir Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, Roman Africa in Color (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 21; M.I. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 327; Charlesworth, Trade Routes, p. 145.

32 Charlesworth, Trade Routes, p. 143; A.A.M. Van der Heyden and H. H. Scullard, Atlas of the Classical World (New York: Dutton, 1967), p. 127. There was a woolens guild, vestiarii,in Cuicul.

33 Frank, Economic Survey, p. 59. A fullo was the workshop of a fuller. Their job was to either finish cloth or clean clothes made of wool. The cloth was first washed in a ditch or tub with soap and water or human or animal urine. Then it was beaten, washed again, and went through several other steps before it was finally pressed and ready for sale or wear.

34 Charlesworth, Trade Routes, p. 144. The coccus, when processed, yielded a scarlet color dye whereas the murex produced a purple one.

35 Frank, Economic Survey, p. 72.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROMAN LEGION IN NORTH AFRICA

Throughout the period of the Roman dominance of North Africa, one legion alone protected the empire's interests, defended its people, and allowed its growth. This legion was the Legio Tertia Augusta, or the III Legio Augusta. Without the assistance of this group Rome's efforts might not have succeeded. During its long residence in North Africa the III Legio Augusta accomplished many things, civil and military, and moved several times in a westward progression.

When the emperor's name was used in the name of a legion, as in the case of the III Legio Augusta, it is generally believed that that legion was organized during that emperor's reign. This would mean that the III Augusta was organized by Augustus or during his reign.[1] From what little evidence is available, it is thought that this group was formed as part of young Octavian's army and may have fought at Phillippi in 42 B.C.[2] In the early days of the empire, a legion was composed of men from one province who served in another. This action was to assure Rome that the province would not rebel. Rome maintained that if a province had a native army there was a greater possibility that the province would turn against Rome and fight for its freedom. The III Augusta was raised in the eastern provinces of the empire.[3] Under Augustus each legion was assigned a name which reflected its organization and both civil and military duties.[4] Unfortunately no history of the

III Augusta exists before its actual placement in North Africa, and none of its legionary emblems have been found.[5]

In 30 B.C. Augustus posted this legion in North Africa. The force consisted of approximately 6,000 men and a large number of native auxiliaries, giving an estimated number of up to 12,000 men. These men were given the ominous task of controlling more than one and one-half million square miles of territory.[6]

In the first century A.D. a large number of legionnaires were from the West, but the majority were still from the East. By the second century Africans began to appear in the legion's rosters.[7] This revealed the inability of the West, especially Italy and Gaul, to supply such a large number of forces at that time; they could not keep up with the demand of the ever growing territory. However, by the time of Hadrian almost the entire military force in Africa was made up of Africans and Numidians.[8] Some of these men appear to have been the children of the earlier legionnaires.[9] This reflected yet another change not only in the army's composition but also in the government's opinion of allowing native troops to be quartered in their own territory. This also demonstrated a change in the nature of the territory. By that time the area was secure enough from internal and external threats that the native people could be trusted because of their Romanized ways.

The army and its duties did not change much from this early time. When not at war soldiers had other activities to occupy their time. The infantry had three twenty mile marches every month, and all troops had drills in fighting, formations, and weaponry. Athletics such as swimming and jumping were regularly scheduled as were unusual exercises such as the cutting of trees (both a good exercise and a great help in clearing the land for cultivation.)[10] Punishment for failure in these

activities and for physical unfitness varied but usually resulted in flogging. Other reasons for flogging were stealing and providing false witness.[11] Only severe actions were punishable by death, i.e. mutiny, desertion, and insubordination. According to one source a 42 year old soldier in retirement was in better health and had a longer life expectancy than the average civilian because of exercise.[12]

The average length of service for a legionnaire was twenty years plus five years as a veteran.[13] He received 120 denarii per year in pay which raised to 300 denarii by the time of Domitian.[14] However, pay differed depending on the branch of the legion to which a soldier belonged. The cavalry of the _alae_ were better paid than men of the _cohortes equitatae_.[15] Marriage was not allowed while in the service, but many avoided this technicality by keeping wives and families in the towns that sprang up in the vicinity of a legion camp.[16] _Legati_ and centurions could marry and have their wives with them if the troops were in their winter quarters.[17] It was thought that at that time of year little fighting would be done and thus would cause no threat to the security or the safety of the women and children. Children of soldiers were enrolled in a special tribe, the _pollia_; illegitimate children were placed in another tribe, the _spuria_, thus distinguishing between the two.[18] Upon completion of service time a legionnaire received 12,000 sesterces, was allowed to settle in one of the veteran colonies, and received retirement benefits and sometimes special compensation.[19]

The rebellion led by the Musulamii leader Tacfarinus (A.D. 17-24) required one of the rare instances for reinforcements for the III Augusta. In A.D. 20 or 22 a legion from Pannonia was ordered to aid in the war against these rebels. This legion, the IX Hispana, was dispatched to

Africa under L. Cornelius Scipio to strengthen the III Augusta. They returned to their headquarters in Spain only after four years of fighting.[20]

A legion was the largest grouping in the Roman army. It was not just a clustering of men who fought when ordered. It was an organized group composed not only of fighting men but of others as well. A legion consisted of ten cohorts. The first cohort had approximately 1,105 infantry and 132 cavalry. Cohorts two through ten were comprised of 555 infantry and 66 cavalry. This gave a fighting force of approximately 6,600 foot and 726 mounted soldiers.[21] The troops stationed at Lambaesis were at a temporary loss of two of their cohorts which manned Carthage. One cohort was used as an escort for the governor of Africa and the other was completely urban concentrating only on police duties.[22] When fighting, veterans occupied the front of the cohort formation, thus the most experienced men gave and received the first forceful blow.[23] In battle cohorts #1, 3, and 5 made up the bulk of the front line. Numbers 2 and 4 were weaker troops stationed in between the first three. Cohorts #6, 8, and 10 made up the weight of the second line with #7 and 9, the weaker cohorts, coming between them. The finest men of the legion were placed in cohort #6.[24] (See Figure 3.)

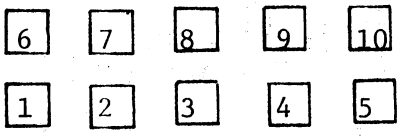

Figure 3. Battle Formation for Cohorts.

The smallest legion subdivision was a century, originally 80-100 men divided into ten sections. These 8-10 men shared a tent, a mule, rooms in permanent barracks, and served as a mess unit. Six centuries made a cohort. However, the first cohort had only five centuries. Each century had its own signifer but had no regimental standard.[25]

The commanding officer of the army in Africa was at first a proconsul, a man of Senatorial rank with the title of proconsul provinciae Numidiae. During the reign of Caligula, Mauretania became a province. This increase in territory along with Caligula's suspicions about the proconsul led to the change in the control of the army from a proconsul to a legate whose title was legatus Augusti pro praetore. This man had full imperium in his province and served until he was replaced by the emperor himself. Because there was only one legion in this province the legion commander, legatus legionis, was also the provincial governor and had the title of legatus pro praetore.[26]

The next rank in a legion was a senior tribune. His work was primarily administrative and he had a staff of clerks, cornicularii and secutores, who had no military duties at all. The tribune's duty was to keep the roster of the soldiers, note the wounded and the dead, and give discharges and furloughs. He also had judicial duties in the camp.[27]

Another senior officer was the praefectus castrorum. He was a career man responsible for engineering and building, munitions and equipment. In war time he organized training, but if the need arose this man could have independent command in the field.[28]

The III Augusta also had four auxiliary units: one infantry, two cavalry, and one infantry with cavalry units. The two cavalry units were called alae and were commanded by a praefectus alae. According

to Arrian an alae contained 512 men. The term alae was given to two divisions usually of massed cavalry used to flank a legion. It was Augustus who determined the size and the organization of this unit. Each troop with the alae had its own flag carried by the signifer turmae. There was also a regimental standard carried by one of the alae. The infantry with a cavalry component was the cohortes equitatae commanded by a praefectus cohortis. These men were mounted infantry and less skilled than their fellow mounted troops, the alae.[29]

Auxilia were men from the provinces who were not yet Roman citizens; only Roman citizens could be in the legions. Wings and cohorts formed these auxiliary units; each auxilia regiment had its own number and name which reflected its size, composition, and tribe or province from which it hailed. If an auxilia unit's title contained the name of an emperor it was like a legion having the same distinction.[30] By the second century A.D. it appeared that four alae and nine cohorts were raised in Africa and stationed elsewhere.[31] Auxilia stationed in Africa during the second century numbered two alae, six cohorts, and one numerii. These men were from a number of provinces, especially Britain and Syria.[32] The everyday activity of these auxiliary troops was to provide security. They patrolled the roads, manned the watchtowers, and signalled the legion in case of a major disturbance. Over time the number of auxilia increased because the number of "low intensity" threats also increased. By Hadrian's time they had been relieved of any possible field duty and served as frontier police. The growth of locals employed as auxiliaries was thought by some to be hazardous.[33] However, this proved not only helpful to the legion but it also led the natives to have a feeling of equality with the Romans and a greater sense of being part of the whole

empire.

The numerii was a local unit created by Hadrian to serve as frontier police and customs officials. These troops were self-renewing in that because of their local nature they could readily draw upon more if needed. Their origin was revealed in the unit names which were ethnic followed by function.[34]

Aside from their other duties, the engineers and other soldiers of the III Augusta spent their time building. Construction included roads, cities, bridges, fortifications, and water systems. Probably the most time consuming and the most extensive activity was the construction of roadways. Within the first century after the III Augusta became stationed in North Africa it laid an estimated 4,000 Roman miles of all-weather roads.[35] Roads were very important in the Romanization of the African province because they provided a means of quick transport of troops to troubled spots, they enabled commerce easier movement to and from markets, and they provided a means of communication between the people, the military, and the cities. Three types of roads existed: one was the viae publicae, public roads but state property, viae militares, constructed by consulares or praetoriae and military property; and viae vicinales, secondary and tertiary roads, open to the public but owned by the province, an individual, or group within the province.[36]

Because of soil types the African highways were constructed differently than their counterparts in Europe. Gravel roads, viae glareae, were the most prominent in Numidia where the subsoil was hard desert earth. When necessary these hard soil roads were covered with crushed stone and shaped slightly convex. These were not paved; only a road entering a city was paved with hard stones.[37] These main

thoroughfares were ten to fifteen feet wide and were paralleled by two trenches. Highways leading into cities were often first filled with rubble then flat stones up to eight inches thick, then eight inches of stones set in lime and covered by a second three inch rubble layer. Pavement for this type of road was usually polygonal blocks of hard stone or basaltic lava. A few roads within cities had curbs and stepping stones and consisted of a layer of charcoal and then gravel. This provided drainage; but, when more was needed it was aided by earthenware pipes that led into covered drains on the side of the roads.[38] However most of this was too elaborate for the other long provincial roads.

The first major road built in North Africa, other then some of the coastal roads built in the first century A.D., was originally a military road built by order of Tiberius in A.D. 14. It led from Tacapae (Gabes) to Capsa (Gafsa) and then on to Ammaedara (Haidra) to the first legionary fort of the III Augusta. Built by the Legate L. Monius Asprenas, this road gave the troops easy access to the sea, ease in transport, and a type of barrier against the desert tribes, especially the Garamantes, the Gaetuli, and the Musulamii whose territory it crossed.[39] Some believe that the construction of this road across the trade routes and grazing lands of the Musulamii provoked Tacfarinus' rebellion.[40]

Tiberius also had a road built going southwest from Carthage through Bulla Regia and on to Simitthu (Chemtou). Simitthu was the site of the favored Numidian marble quarry, and there was the need of easy transport of the marble blocks to the port for distribution around the empire. Three of the bridges across the Medjerda (Beja) river, part of the construction of this road, are still in use today.[41]

To provide the legion another outlet to the sea the Emperor Vespasian ordered the engineers of the III Augusta to construct a road from Theveste (Tebessa), the legion camp at that time, to Hippo Regius (Bone). This route would prove to be utilized more than the road to Tacapae because of its closeness to Rome and Ostia.[42] Another important military thoroughfare was ordered by the Emperor Trajan linking Theveste with Thamugadi (Timgad), the veteran colony, and on to Lambaesis (Lambese).[43]

Most road construction, however, was done by order of the Emperor Hadrian. A new road was built from Simitthu (Chemtou) almost due north to the city and port of Thabraca (Tabarka).[44] It provided even easier transport of the marble to the sea for shipment. And a new road was made leading north from Thamugadi (Timgad)throug Cirta (Constantine) and on to the city and port or Rusicade (Philippeville), the only port used by the legion at Lambaesis once this road was constructed.[45]

Another primary highway was between Theveste (Tebessa) and Carthage, built in approximately A.D. 123. More than 211 miles in length, this roadway has been excavated and has revealed yet another type of construction. The original trench of **the** road was between 28 and 31 inches deep. Approximately three to four inches of cobbles cemented together by a mortar of lime, sand, and crushed tiles rested on a layer of sand. Upon this was placed a layer of concrete mixed with stone chips and rubble and covered with an all concrete layer almost six inches deep. Pavement consisted of gravel concrete eleven and one-half inches deep with rough stones places in three strips the length of the road to prevent wheels from slipping. Retaining walls of the same material were also constructed.[46] This was the only road known constructed in this manner.

Hadrian's most extensive thoroughfare was the Via Hadriana.

Excavations and cross sections of this road reveal a simple roadbed of limestone which is natural in the area. Only occasionally was there the need of a prepared roadbed consisting of a nine inch rock fill covered by gravel held in place by mortar. Several large cities were connected by this road that led south from Carthage and connected with the road from Ammaedara to Tacapae. Ten dams and bridges were constructed along this road which enabled the highway to cross the Oued Siliana among other rivers and streams. One of these bridges was considered one of the finest and largest in all Africa, spanning the river with eight arches, 250 feet, at a height of 40 feet. From Carthage this road ran southwest paralleling the Medjerda River leading first to the city of Thugga, once a provincial capital of its 70 mile zone; then to Musti (Le Krib) in the middle of the Tunisian wheat-producing region; and on to Mactaris (Mactar) also a provincial capital. From there it led to Sufetula (Sbeitla) where it became one of the four roads joined at that point. Cillium (Kasserine) and the pass was joined next, 24 miles southwest of Sufetula and then on to Thelepte where the Via Hadriana intersected the road from Ammaedara to Capsa and then on to the sea at Tacapae.[47]

Many of the major cities and military posts were at the intersection of several highways. Five roads led into and out of Carthage. Theveste was also the intersection of five highways. Lambaesis too became a busy crossroads. A system of four roads led this fort and the city to be labelled the "Gateway of Numidia." The road leading north went first to Cirta and then on to the port of Rusicade. Another highway ran northwest to Sitifis (Setif) and on to Mauretania. A third progressed east to Theveste and on to places east, northeast, and southeast. The last

one made its way south to Vescera (Biskra) and the oases. This last road was part of the vast fortification system, the limes.[48] (See Figure 4.)

Alongside most of these highways were milestones (milliara), short, cylindrical columns of either marble or other stone having a plain base and a neckmold. Anywhere from three to nine feet in height and averaging six inches in diameter, these gave all information about the roads they abutted. Recorded on a milestone was the following information: name of the emperor who ordered the road built; the legate of the legion and the legion's name who carried out that order; where the road began and the number of miles from that point to the end of the road; and the name of the town or area that erected the road in the name of the emperor of the time. The emperor's name was in the nominative case followed by the legate and the legion's name in the ablative case along with the other information. If the emperor's name was in the dative case then the road had been dedicated to him by a municipality or a region. Distance was always noted in paces, 1000 paces (mille passus) equalled one Roman mile or 4,854 English feet.[49] An example of such an inscription was found on the road from Ammaedara to Tacapae:

> . . .when the Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus was in the sixteenth year of his Tribune's Power, Asprenas the Proconsul [. . .] supervised the building of this road from the winter camp to Tacapae. The III Legio Augusta built it.[50]

Shortly after assuming office Tiberius refused the title of Augustus, so the road must have been built very early in his reign. This has been dated approximately A.D. 14.[51]

The primary work of the engineers, surveyors, and technicians was the art of defense. Forts, camps, barriers and other such objects

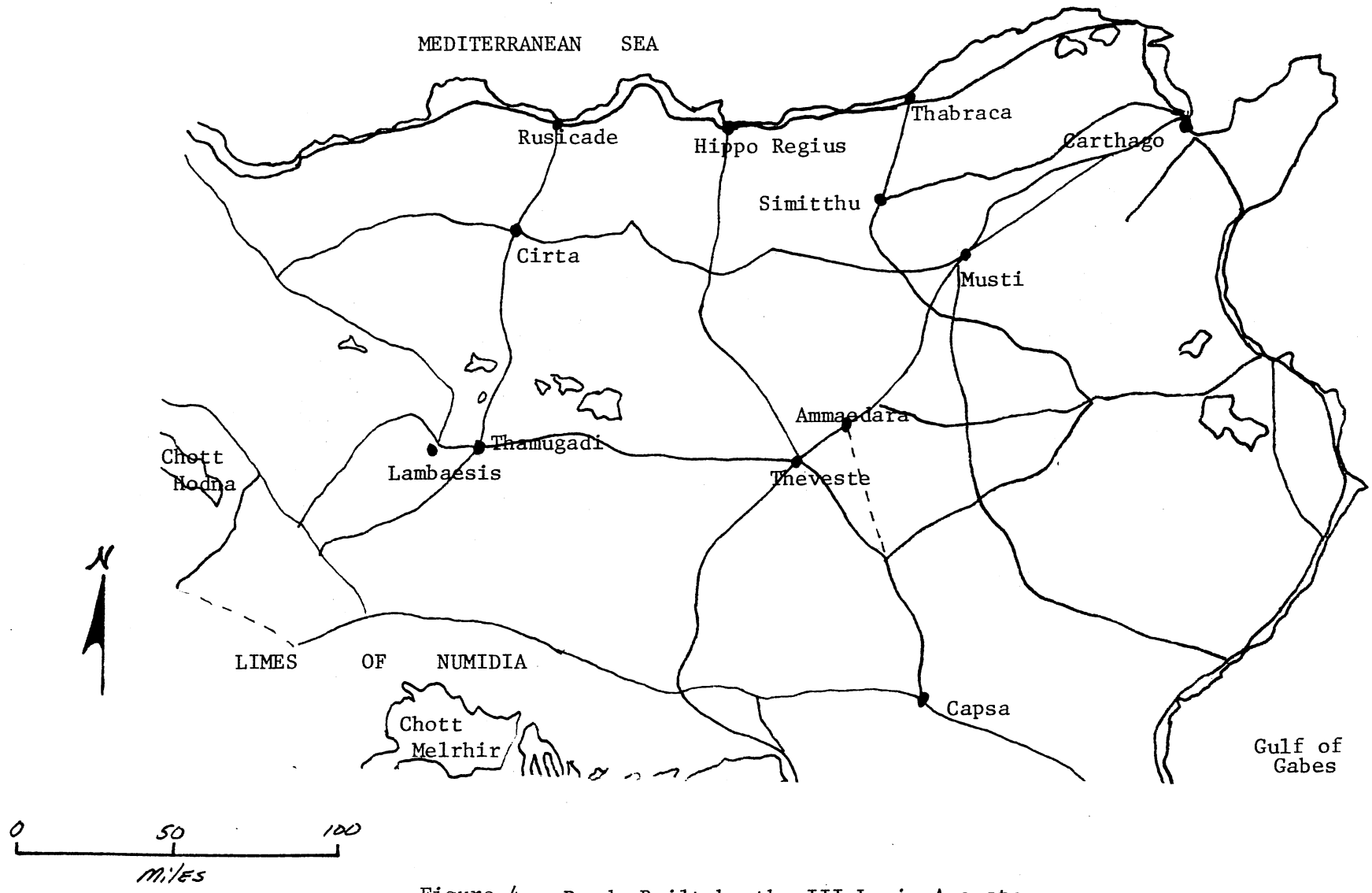

Figure 4. Roads Built by the III Legio Augusta. From Rome in Africa by Susan Raven (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1969).

associated with the army were constructed to provide protection of life and property of the Romanized sections of the province. They were to help establish boundaries to those sections and to stop intrusions so that Agricultural surpluses and municipal development could continue.

Linear barriers were contructed on the farthest points of the territory. These were fences, walls, and ditches, all designed to stop "low intensity" threats to the region. These obstacles would not stop a full scale attack; however, they would discourage petty enterings. Regardless of the scale of an attack these barriers could not be penetrated quickly. Ditches were especially difficult for cavalry to cross. The idea behind this fortification system was that it would slow invaders enough to allow the auxilia in the area to signal the legion. If intruders did break through and were then trying to make a quick escape, it would be difficult. They could rarely find the exact location where they had originally penetrated the fence or wall; hopefully, this would allow the legion enough time to catch the enemy. This extensive system of linear barriers in Africa, in fact it was the longest in all the Roman world, was called the Fossatum Africae. Composed entirely of trenches and walls or fences with no ramparts or parapets, this system paralleled the watering scheme for the arid region to aid agricultural development. The ditches ranged from thirteen to twenty feet wide and from seven to eleven feet deep. Walls and fences were usually six to eight feet high.[52]

The limes was another form of barrier constructed by the soldiers. Here the obstacle was not linear as the Fossatum Africae; instead it was the horizontal network of roads along the frontier, patrolled by auxilia and fortified by posts and signal towers at varying intervals.[53] The

African limes ran south of the Aures Mountains and north of Chott Melrhir and Chott Djerid and joined the Limes Tripolitanus southwest of Tacapae. Signal towers and posts provided an early warning system for the legion. Surveillance and guarding of passes and roads were their primary function. A refuge for farmers and other local people in case of a raid, fortified posts revealed the boundary of Roman dominance and protection for the area. These posts were usually fortified square enclosures with towers, all of which enclosed the quarters of the troops.[54] It was from the limes with its towers and posts that a striking force engaged the intruders after being summoned from the legionary fort.

All of these defensive structures also provided the primary means of communication. Fire and smoke as well as other types of signals from the towers and messengers racing along the roads enabled news to travel quickly to and from all parts of the province.[55]

In the event of a military engagement another type of defense structure was constructed. If the troops were on the march, away from familiar surroundings, and stopped for the night a "marching camp" was erected.[56] Set on a predetermined site these temporary camps were a psychological boost to the men because they provided familiar surroundings in an otherwise unfamiliar place. They also created a place of retreat if one was necessary. Either square or rectangular in shape these fortifications were bordered first by a ditch, then a rampart, and finally a palisade closest to the interior of the space where the tents were pitched. Not only was this a good security and psychological measure, but it was also labor saving, for it took only sixteen of the usual 80-man century to do the night watch in one of these camps.

Most important of all the defensive constructions were the camps,

small forts, and legionary forts. There were always camps in the vicinity of a fort; indeed, Lambaesis was such a camp for the legion while at Theveste and Gemallae (El Kasbat) was a camp for the Lambaesis fort. Small forts were manned at various places throughout the province. One such line was between Ammaedara and Althiburos (Mediena) and another lay on the west side of the Aures Mountains from Lambaesis to Calceus Herculis (El Kantara), Vescera (Biskra) and finally to the camp at Gemallae.[57] All these posts were placed in strategic locations, both in terms of protection and survival. Water, defense, communications, and food were some of the primary considerations for the establishment of both small and legionary forts. Lambaesis was chosen because it could provide all these things. As the ruins, excavations, and epigraphical evidence shows, Lambaesis is the finest extant example of a Roman military camp.

Although not a legion camp Thamugadi (Timgad), almost 100 miles west of Theveste, was an important settlement. During the time that the legion was at Theveste, Thamugadi was probably a minor military post. It was built by the III Augusta and garrisoned by one of its detachments. The purpose of this settlement was to check raids through the mountain passes and to guard the six roads at whose intersection the colony stood. In A.D. 100 the Imperial Legate Pro Praetore, L. Munatius Gallus, commanding officer of the III Legio Augusta, received orders from the Emperor Trajan to lay the foundations for and to build the veteran colony of Thamugadi. It was to have all builidngs required of a regular town without any fortifications. Trajan planned to settle approximately 2000 discharged legionnaires there to help hold the southern border of Africa. Aerial photography reveals that the colony had a

rectangular plan approximately 400 yards square encompassing the original territory of the colony and a suburb area around the colony dating from the second century A.D.[58] Buildings were mostly constructed of sandstone quarried from the nearby hills. A blue limestone was used especially in the paving of the main streets and for inscription panels. A white limestone, quarried from about twenty miles away, was utilized for columns and decorative features on public and other ornate buildings.[59] The legionnaires who were settled there were the Legio Ulpia Victrix which had served Trajan in his Parthian Wars. One of the dedications at Thamugadi read:

> Emperor Trajan Augustua the Germanic, son of the divine Nerva, High Pontiff, Father of the Country, when consul for the third time and clothed for the fourth time, with tribunitial power, with help of the III Legio Augusta, founded the colony of Thamugadi, L. Munatius Gallus being imperial legate and pro-praetor.[60]

The III Legio Augusta also built its own forts in the African province. When Augustus first stationed the III Augusta in North Africa, they took up residence at Ammaedara (Haidra) approximately 150 miles from the east coast on land that had been taken from the Musulamii tribesmen.[61] In the high plateau country at the eastern end of the Aures Mountains and across from the road that led from Carthage, it guarded the entrance to the mountain gorge which led to Theveste. Its purpose was to defend the fertile river valleys from raids of the natives. Aside from providing this service, one of the legion's first duties was to build a military road previously mentioned along the southern frontier from Tacapae to Ammaedara. The walls of the fort were pierced by four gates of which only two remain. Through one was the road from Carthage to Theveste; through the other was a road leading to the oasis and city of Capsa (Gafsa) and eventually to the Gulf of Syrte. Other remains

include a theatre, public buildings, and two sepulchral monuments of an African style.[62]

In the time of Vespasian the legion was transferred southwest about twenty miles from Ammaedara. Theveste (Tebessa) was at the foot of the east side of the southern extension of the Aurasian Mountain chain.[63] Its purpose, like its predessor, was to protect the Romanized land north of the mountains from the natives of the south; there it could guard the mountain passes and the southern roads. During the First Punic War, Theveste was established as a Carthaginian settlement; thus, it was already a commercial center when the legion moved in and made it also a military installation. It was on the road which led northeast to Carthage and on a fork of the road which led from Ammaedara to Tacapae and the sea. Just west of the settlement of Theveste was the limit of the western extension of forts and stations established while the legion was at Ammaedara. By moving the legion to Theveste this fortification system could be moved farther west.

With the area about Theveste quieted, the natives moved westward to escape the watchful eyes of the III Augusta. The movement of tribesmen caused the legion to once again change location. The legion migrated west along the northern slope of the mountains and took station for a very short time at Mascula. Referred to as the "key to the Sahara" Mascula was a strategic location in the movement of the legion. After the legion left the area, Mascula, like Theveste, became a civilian town and acquired colonial status and title. However, it was still garrisoned by the 7th company of Lusitanians.[64]

The next fort of the III Legio Augusta was Lambaesis. Established on uncultivated land west of Mascula, the area was also the range of the

transhumant natives moving north and south during their seasonal migrations for pasture land. Here the legion had a central position in Roman North Africa and also a hold on the southern line of Roman territory.[65] (See Figure 5.) Because of its excellent position in the heart of Numidia the legion never abandoned Lambaesis and left Africa only once.

As a result of the increase in Roman territory and the movement of the native population, the III Legio Augusta moved several times, each fort a little farther west. Regardless of where the legion was stationed its duties continued, especially the construction of roads which were extremely important in the development and protection of the territory. The legion also had other services, such as building cities and forts. With the aid of the III Legio Augusta and its auxilia Roman North Africa gradually quieted and settled into a prosperous existence.

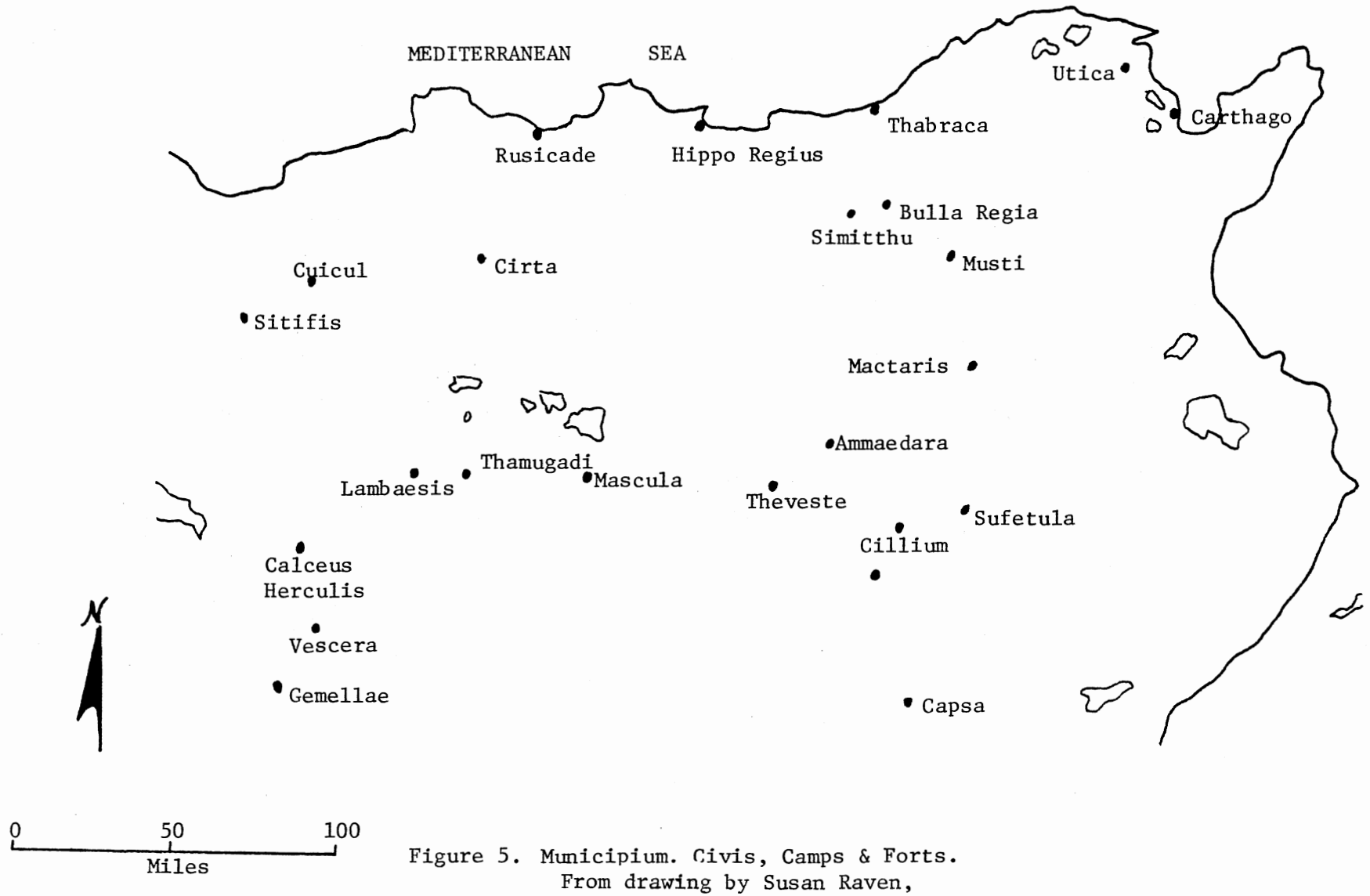

Figure 5. Municipium. Civis, Camps & Forts. From drawing by Susan Raven, Rome in Africa (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1969).

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CHAPTER V

LAMBAESIS

After the area around Theveste was brought under the control of Rome the III Legio Augusta was ordered to move elsewhere. Following the temporary stop at Mascula the troops settled at their westernmost point - Lambaesis. This would be their final stop; never again were they to change location. Only once did the soldiers leave Lambaesis but that was not to change camps. In A.D. 238 the Emperor Gordian III disbanded the legion; however, they were reorganized by Valerian in A.D. 253 and once again occupied Lambaesis.[1] This was the III Augusta's permanent home until the Vandals ended Roman control in North Africa.

There is a controversy that surrounds the date of the establishment of the camp at Lambaesis. Three schools of thought have emerged over this problem. One states that the legion moved to Lambaesis in A.D. 81; another maintains that it was A.D. 123; and the third suggests both dates are applicable.[2] Although the last school seems to be a compromise to quiet two warring factions, it appears that it is correct. The legion did move to Lambaesis in A.D. 81 but also in A.D. 123. This confusing situation is clarified by an examination of the excavations at Lambaesis. A "temporary" camp was established at the location of Lambaesis in A.D. 81. However, this "temporary" camp was a permanent home for the III Augusta until A.D. 123. The term "temporary" was used because this camp was not regulation size and not all of its structures were made of stone.

But the legion was there.

In A.D. 123 a "permanent" camp was established. It met regulations concerning size, and its structures were of stone. It is this second or "permanent" camp which is most often associated with Lambaesis, because it is there that the impressive praetorium stands.

Michel Janon did the most recent work at Lambaesis, and he has presented the newest, most complex theory of the chronology of the camps in his article in the Antiquities Africaines, Vol. 7, 1973 entitled "Recherches A Lambese." He asserted that the "camp of the East" was the one constructed in A.D. 81. Its ruins reveal that it was built in haste. Perhaps this site was utilized first because it provided the best tactical position.

At the beginning of the second century A.D., the troops decided to build a larger camp, the "great" camp. Janon wrote that this was constructed because the original fort was now severely overcrowded. Because this station does not occupy a strategic position, it is assumed that by that time the immediate threat to this location had been removed. Janon also suggested that just prior to Hadrian's arrival in A.D. 128 these quarters were completed and the troops stationed there.

This theory so far is not greatly different than those previously proposed. But Janon did not stop with the mention of two camps. He revealed at least one other fortified site within the Lambaesis area. This he called the "camp of the West" and proposed that it was built by one or more auxiliary cohorts serving with the III Legio Augusta.

It is the "camp of the East," however, about which Janon furnishes the most information. The initial work done here was directed by C.

Godet in the early 1950s. Called either the "camp of Titus" or the "camp of 81" it had the best defensive location. On one side it was bordered by a ravine, to the north lay a rocky overhang, and to the south was a depression and then the ascent to the mountains.

The fortress walls and all other foundation walls were erected of small cut quarrystone blocks which served as a base for larger irregular stones which completed the height of the wall. The enclosure itself measures 148 meters by 120 meters with the longer sides facing east and west. As usual the quadrangle was not squared at the corners but slightly rounded. Gates constructed of plain stones and ornamented by pilasters which framed the bay pierced two walls.

In the center of the fort was a basilica, or large room, with its annexes, a circular court, and the barracks. The basilica measured 22m.40 on the north and south and 16m.10 on the east and west. The eastern wall was supported by buttresses because of the slope of the land at that point. The interior of this structure was divided by two rows of eight columns each into three naves. The center nave was the largest -- 6m.60 wide. Within this space was discovered the remains of a stairway with two steps still in place. Whether this indicated an upper level or just a raised platform for an altar is not known.

On the so-called "great" camp, Michel Janon did not elaborate. This enclosure has been the focus of other scholarly works whereas the other fortifications have not.

The "camp of the West" was approximately 1.24 miles southwest of the "great" camp. Measuring 200 meters per side this enclosure's exterior walls also had rounded angles. Again like the eastern camp there were only two gates, east and west. And in the center, inscriptions pertaining to Hadrian's visit were found. Here also were large masonry platforms

upon which it was assumed equestrian statues stood. Like the "great" camp this camp also had the semi-circular structures within the defensive walls.[3] These too were thought to have been cisterns.

Janon also indicated that there were other fortified enclosures within the Lambaesis location. Whether these were individual quarters for the different groups stationed in Africa or just utilized for different purposes at different times or for some other purpose has not been proven positively.

The location of the fort at Lambaesis was chosen for many reasons. It could supply all those items necessary for survival and help protect the northern territory. Water supply was no problem; it was channelled down the mountain slope through pipes into certain buildings within the camp. There was also a fountain in the center for those who did not receive water directly. This water system also helped sanitation, because as the drains carried the water away they flushed the camp's latrines.[4] For food the site was adequate because of the fertile, unexploited soil about it. Water for the fields seems to have been no more of a problem than it was for the fort. Here the last drops of moisture coming from the sea were deposited.[5] There are also signs of irrigation; this was in case nature proved to be inadequate.[6] Both the need for and the provision of defense was another important factor in chosing the site.[7] Closed off from the west and south by the Aures Mountains, it was safe from surprise attacks. This also enabled the fort to guard the pass, Calceus Herculis, through the mountains against incursions by the tribesmen. To the east lay the line of previous forts and camps and to the north was settled Roman territory.[8]

The site provided protection for the legion and it enabled them to protect the territory to the north. As mentioned, the guarding of

Calceus Herculis was its greatest task. This pass was one of the few through the mountains, and it was used by the tribesmen for their seasonal migrations. Lambaesis was also in an appropriate location to control most roads leading into Roman North Africa. With these highways the soldiers could protect the cities and the cultivated areas. These roads in later years enabled the III Augusta to help the troops of Mauretania deal with the Moors who were trying to move east.[9]

Abbe Montagnon, Stephane Gsell, Rene Louis Victor Cagnat, and Michel Janon were some of the most prominent men to be closely linked with the recreation of the history and with the excavation of Lambaesis. Montagnon was the man responsible for most of the excavation done at the "temporary" camp, which he called the "camp of the auxiliary." This camp was approximately two miles west of the praetorium in the "great" camp. It was established according to practice on terrain that sloped slightly from south to north.[10] Because of this feature, as well as others, it was thought that this camp was indeed a fort built by the men of the legion. Compliance to small details such as this reveal that it was to be a permanent camp. Its size, however, might make one believe that it was simply another outpost. Covering approximately 10 acres, it was much smaller than regulation forts of the Roman army which generally covered 50 acres.[11] However, this can be explained because it did not house all the men of the III Legio Augusta at one time. The nature of the defense system and the other work being done by the soldiers caused a great many of them to be away from the camp for long periods of time. To erect the Fossatum Africae, the limes, the roads, the cities, and all the other civilizing elements large groups of legionnaires and auxilia were needed and housed elsewhere.[12]

The quarrystone walls that enclosed the square camp were 200 meters long per side and approximately 0m.60 thick.[13] Unlike most regulation camps of the legions these four defense walls were pierced by only two gates, not the regular four. These gates were in the eastern and western walls. The only explanation for this might be that because the mountains were to the south and Roman territory to the north the only trouble spots that might arise were to the east and west. These gates gave the troops quick access to these places but especially to the west and the pass of Calceus Herculis. The angles created by the joining of two of the walls were rounded as Abbe Montagnon revealed. His excavation unveiled semicircular structures approximately 3m.20 in diameter within these rounded angles. Montagnon gave no explanation for them other than they were part of the battlements and part of the general design of the camp. Stephane Gsell also maintained that they were part of the defense system for the fort, but went farther and stated that they were platforms on which war machines were placed. Rene Cagnat disagreed that they were for defense. He also did some excavation and thorough investigation of the temporary camp. He stated that these semi-circular structures were not for defense but for the water system. They were, in fact, basins for water brought into the camp from the mountains a little over one-half mile away to the south. This then was part of the canal system from the Aures to the buildings and fountain of Lambaesis mentioned above.

Montagnon's archaeological work at the small camp also revealed a paved area and a peristyle above which occurred one of Hadrian's addresses to the troops. Also within the temporary camp he found two juxtaposed quadrangles measuring 2m.95. Only one was complete. They were thought to have been bases for equestrian statues or group statues.[14]

Regardless of whether or not this camp was regulation size or that its structures were of stone, the remains reveal that this was built by the legion. Although the camp proved to be temporary, it housed the legion and had all the accoutrements of other legionary fortresses.

What is most identified with and remembered about Lambaesis is the second camp, the so-called "great" camp. This fort was rectangular in shape and measured 500 meters long by 420 meters wide, closer to the regulation size of approximately 50 acres.[15] All walls faced the cardinal points and the shorter sides faced north and south. As was true of most military posts it was fortified by walls and towers made of quarrystone. However, unlike most basic fort plans Lambaesis had no ditch.[16] It was generally maintained that most legion camps' walls were six feet high and six feet to eight feet wide at the top. This was thought to be true of Lambaesis. This wide top provided a patrol path to aid in guard duty or in case of attack.[17] The intersection of the walls were not at a right angle but were gently rounded. At each of these angles was a tower. From these the men could guard the fort and observe the actions of others as well as provide a place for war engines. Also according to the basic fort plan defense was enhanced by towers placed at 150 to 200 foot intervals along each wall.[18] Here at Lambaesis towers were spaced approximately 182.5 feet apart; five dotted the long walls and four the short. Instead of being perpendicular to the wall the towers projected inward.[19] This, in addition to the fact that the exterior wall of each tower was not pierced, increased the difficulty of storming such a tower. Only the towers that flanked the gates had some sort of observation level lower than the top of the structure.

Four main gates perforated the walls of the enclosure. This is in contrast to the "temporary" camp which had only two.[20] The northern and southern gates were centered exactly, whereas the eastern and western gates lay to the north of the central point. Regulations specified gates to be approximately 40 feet wide. The main gate, the praetoria, faced north and was the most ornate. Opposite this gate was the decumana. But it was the eastern gate which provided the most information. It consisted of two vaulted bays of equal width thus giving two pathways into the city by paved road below.[21] This gate, the principia dextra, and the western gate, the principia sinistra, were thought to have the same design. However, the western gate has been removed.[22]

The roads that led into the camp were broad and paved. The two main roads were paved with white limestone. One was the via principalis, divided into dextra and sinistra, and the other was the via praetoria.[23] They were of approximate uniform width and were bordered by sidewalks and porticoes.[24] These sidewalks measured approximately 0m.50 wide. As a road got closer to a gate it narrowed. Toward the northern gate it was 11m.90 wide whereas at the eastern gate it narrowed even more to approximately 9m.0.[25] On the eastern side of the praetorium parallel with the via praetoria was another important road. It measured 9m.5, a little wider than some of the secondary roads, and it was porticoed only on the western side.[27]

The camp had an organized appearance, in fact at first glance the buildings looked almost symmetrical. All four quadrants were dominated by the barrack blocks. Room size varied slightly within these blocks. The quarters themselves were approximately 325 feet

long and 50 feet wide for a single and 100 feet wide for a double. Most other Roman barracks were much smaller than this. In other legion forts barrack blocks ranged between 240 feet and 275 feet in length and 40 feet in width. Streets ran on all sides of each of these blocks, the eastern and western sides generally porticoed. The dormitory rooms were separated from the equipment rooms by a passage. This not only provided better order but it also created an air space allowing for better circulation. This was rarely seen in other barracks. Centurions were given eight or nine room quarters at the end of each legionnaire block. They too had a central passageway in their quarters for the same reason as the others.[27] (See Figure 6.) Apartments for others were around the praetorium.[28] Unfortunately a large portion of the camp, especially the barracks area, is still uncovered because of the penitentiary.

The barracks in turn encircled the most prominent structures in the camp, the scholae and the praetorium. Immediately around the praetorium was a composite construction containing many rooms. The center of this complex was dominated by a large paved court 65 meters by 37m.40. This court was bordered on three sides by a gutter dug in the tile paving (flagstone). Water from the roof of the portico fell into the gutter and flowed into reservoirs at the corners of the court. These reservoirs were square basins 2m.40 per side and varied in depth from 0m.46 to 0m.67. Water not only flowed into these from the gutters but also rain water fell directly into them. These helped supply drinking water and perhaps water for the thermae. Surplus water flowed into the sewer system, traces of which can be seen under the praetorium.[29] Two monumental columns stood in the center of the northern edge of the court and traces on the flagstone paving indicate that each of the two columns was preceded by a pedestal to support a statue. In the middle of the

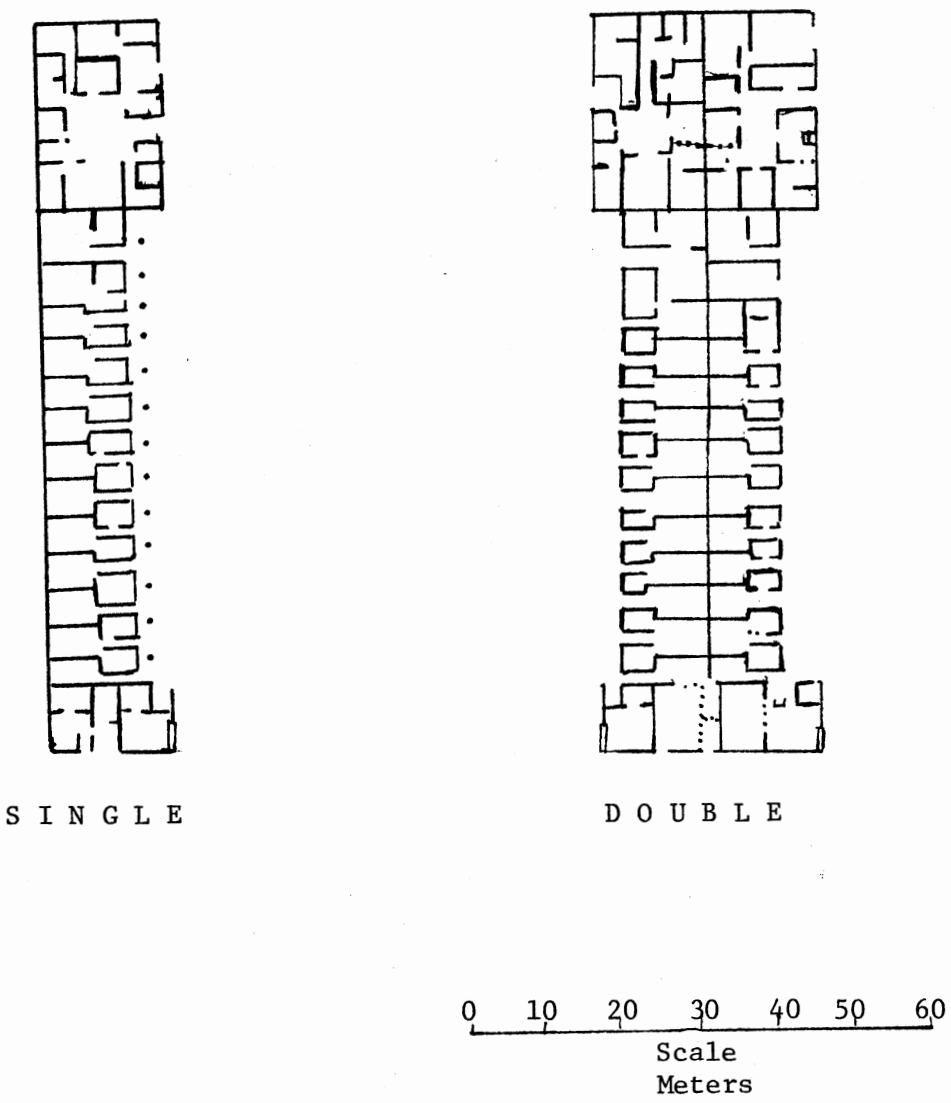

Figure 6. Barracks at Lambaesis. Drawing from Graham Webster, The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Century AD (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969).

paved court was a pedestal, "C", 1m.50 per side. It has now been misplaced or was used with other stones to construct the Museum at Lambaesis.

The back of the court, south, was formed by a wall one meter thick and 1m.75 high. This supported the border of an unpaved platform which stood south of the court between it and the scholae. At the foot of the wall was a bank 9m.15 long. Two steps cut into this bank and led to the platform. Just before reaching the scholae to the south, the platform was graced with twelve Corinthian columns. Preceding them to the north were more bases. However, these were not thought to have supported columns but instead were pedestals for statues or inscriptions. Although only six have actually been found it was generally assumed that one base stood before each of the twelve columns. Five pedestals bear the name of emperors in their inscriptions. Two were dedicated to Hadrian, two to Antonius Pius, and a fifth to Commodus. This then gave credibility to the belief that the rooms of the scholae were used for the cult of the emperor. It was also thought that statues of these emperors crowned the pedestals.

Also on this platform between the court and the Corinthian columns was a large piece of masonry, "D". Stephane Gsell thought that this might also have been the base of a statue, probably multi-figured or more complex than the others.[30]

Access to the scholae was provided by two stairways composed of eight steps, one on each side of the bank.[31] To the north, east, and west rooms ranged from 5m.80 to 6m.80 long and from 3m.0 to 3m.75 wide. Here the walls average approximately 0m.50 in thickness. Although room A (See Figure 7) has an altar-like object in it the purpose of these rooms has not been identified. The exterior of the central court was bordered by a 5m.20 portico of Doric columns. This provided a covered

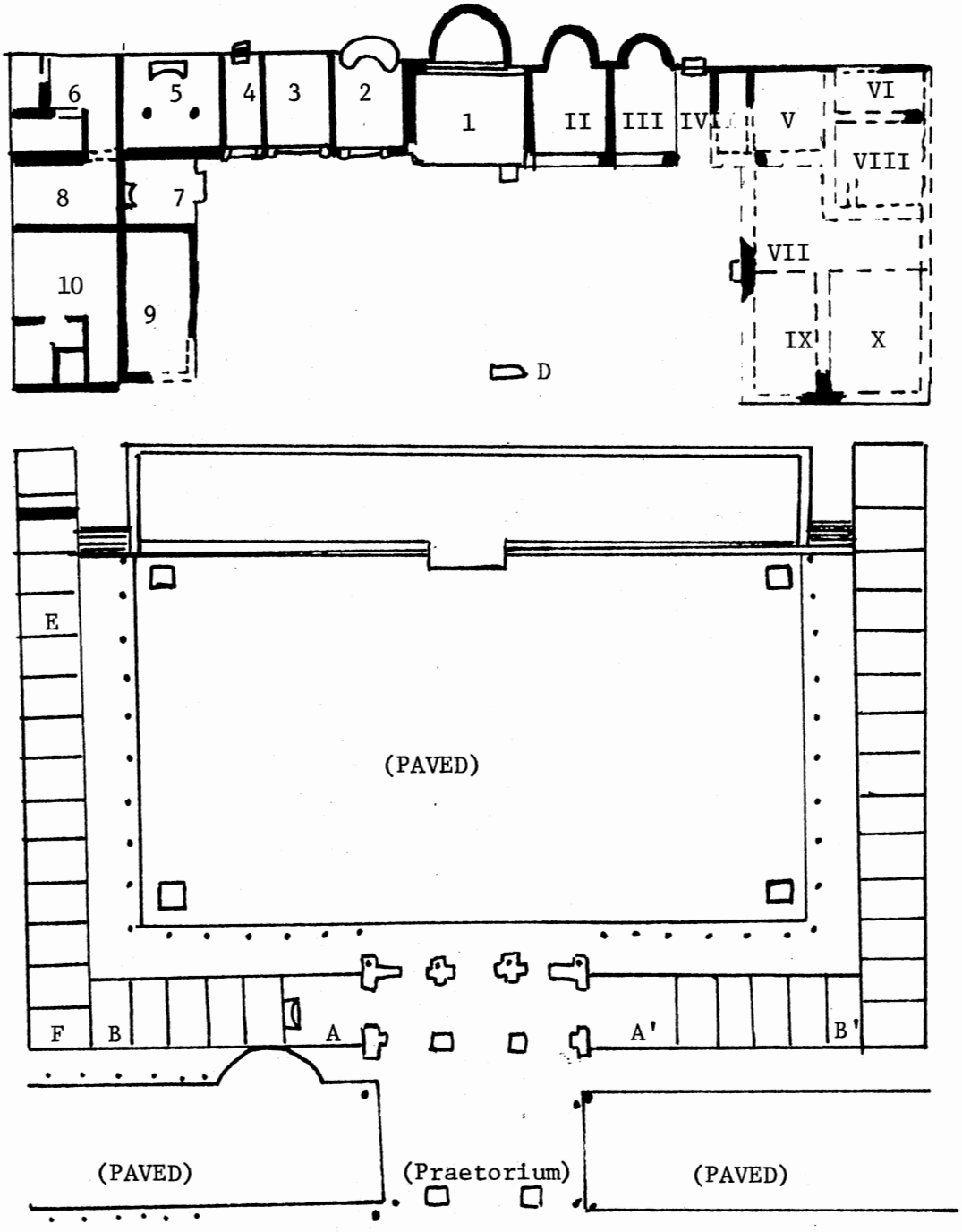

Figure 7. Area of the Praetorium at Lambaesis. From drawing in Rene Cagnat, Les deux camps...(Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908).

area between it and the rooms of the scholae on the north, east, and west. There are signs of mosaics on the floor of this porticoed area; however the ground is so badly beaten that the mosaics are unrecognizable and beyond reconstruction.[32]

Cagnat, Gsell, and others named this complex the scholae. The scholae was a type of chapel for the cult of the emperor and special divinities. At a later date it was a type of officer's club and a meeting place for the voluntary associations, the collegia, as well as archival rooms.[33] The dominant room in this complex was in the center of the south side. The finished structure was rectangular with an apse on the southern end. Rene Cagnat and M. Besnier asserted that the building was originally rectangular and the semi-circular projection was added at another time. They based this idea on the observation that the apse was made of cut stone and the edifice made of light masonry. Also the apsidal stones were not embedded in the ground, especially where there were the three vents at ground level which led to the cellar or basement area. M. Hettner referred to this chamber as the chapel of flags. In each camp there was a sanctuary for the emblems of the legion, the eagle and the flag, and the emperor's images and other sacred objects.

The main room, "1", was entered on the northern side by a number of steps. That made this room the highest in elevation of all the great camp structures. Two steps led to the apse and yet another elevation. In the middle of the entryway into the apsidal area was a square base which supported either a statue or an altar. Fragments of red-colored stucco found in situ revealed that the walls of this chamber were decorated.

To the east of the largest room was a smaller one of similar shape, "2"; an apse also completed this rectangular structure. The semi-circular projection was constructed of brick. This led to the supposition

that it too was a later addition. Adjacent to this room was yet another chamber measuring 7m.50 by 4m.70, "3". It does not end in an apse; however Besnier believed that at one time it too ended in one although no traces have been found. All three of the previously mentioned spaces were entered only on the north.

Still proceeding east, the next entryway was a wide corridor, "4". An exit existed on the northern face and gave access to the platform area and then to the court. There was also a southern entrance.

Within the corridor was also an entryway into yet another room, "5". This chamber is noteworthy because in the center of the chamber were two column bases and another base resembling an altar. It is the only room equipped in this manner in the complex. This room is joined by five others through a series of doorways to the east. One exit leads to room #6 and others as the complex makes a directional change to the north. In the chamber just north of room #5 was another extended and curved base also believed to be an altar (#7). This room had access to the platform area and the court by a door and two steps to the west.

Completing the end of the southeast angle of the ensemble were two other rooms, #9 and #10, which were in themselves divided into a number of smaller chambers. From these rooms appeared a type of escape passage which led to the street near the praetorium or to the portico of that street.

On the west side of the central structure was a series of rooms very similar to those on the east. Number II is like #2 because it is the same size and also ends in an apse. However, this apse is slightly more narrow, measuring only 3m.15 by 3 meters. Adjoining it to the west was room #III. It too was like its counterpart except that it did not have the apse that Besnier believed #3 also had. And #IV is like #4.

Both #II and #III had entrances to the north.

Unfortunately most of the northwest corner of the complex is covered by the penitentiary; only some of the foundation walls have been found. However, it is thought that because the camp is fairly symmetrical both the southeast and the northwest corners were the same.[34]

Proceeding north of the great court stood the recognizable praetorium. This structure is the one building most associated with the "great" camp at Lambaesis. Praetorium was the name usually given to the commanding officer's tent and the space around it; but this is not so in a permanent camp. Renier called it that because of what he thought its purpose was; now it is referred to by that name as a matter of convenience.[35] This 30m.50 x 23m.30 edifice stood at the intersection of the two roads, 143 meters from the northern gate. Rounded gateway arches of various sizes perforated all sides of this grand structure. To the north and south there were three rounded openings and to the east and west there were four. Two of the four gates on the east and west sides served as pedestrian walkways. Each face had columns and pilasters to carry a pediment, which has been destroyed. Ornamentation other than the columns and pilasters consisted of commemorative inscriptions. The grand arch, on the north, was framed by free standing Corinthian columns with two other shorter and narrower gates also with Corinthian columns. All four sides used the Corinthian capital on the columns. The inside was divided into three naves and some said that it had two stories and a roof but others said that it was more like an atrium, open to the sky.[36]

Outside the camps of Lambaesis there were other structures that the legion built for its own benefit. The water system already mentioned was one such endeavor. Other than the basins and canals, this system

also included an aqueduct that helped bring water down from the springs of Ain Drinn.[37] In association with the food supply, granaries, horrea, were erected. These were long, narrow edifices raised above ground level by ventilated walls. This allowed for the free circulation of air to guard against spoilage.[38]

There were also stables and workshops outside the camp. Because of the arrangement of the fortress, there was not enough space to house all the livestock of the legion inside the fortifications. A large amphitheatre also existed beyond the camp walls. Here the soldiers and even the city people came to enjoy games, contests, and other performances. And one of the primary elements of the Roman way of life, the thermae, was also present. At Lambaesis this structure is still partially unexcavated because of its location beneath the penitentiary.[39]

Wherever the legion settled a town generally sprang up in its immediate vicinity. This canabae legionis was peopled by merchants, laborers, and camp followers.[40] The civilians made their living by providing foods and services for the legion and the auxilia that the state would not or could not. Along with these people came women of various types. Some provided various services for the men while others were the wives of servicemen. These wives were usually not from Rome but were native women who had become attached to their mates while the latter were in the army. Because of the regulation that legionnaires could not marry while in the military, these men kept their wives and families close to the camp.

Throughout its equally long history, the town of Lambaesis grew in both population and size. Among its ruins are two colonnaded forums. Also all the other usual trappings of Roman civil life existed such as

public and private buildings, fountains, temples, shops, streets, and sewers.[41] One of its most impressive structures that has been identified is the Temple of Aesculapius, the god of healing, Latinized Asclepius. This temple was built on a raised terrace at the rear of a court. The terrace projected right and left with no parallel sides, creating a trapezium. The court was colonnaded and had two circular columned chapels, one at each end; one was dedicated to Jupiter.[42]

By A.D. 162 this town was known to have had a communal organization and it received the Latin right and municipium during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[43] An extensive discussion concerning the town of Lambaesis is unnecessary here. In the context of this work it is only important is its relation to the camps established by and for the III Legio Augusta.

During the period of the establishment of the fortress of Lambaesis, Rome was primarily under the leadership of two well known emperors, Trajan and Hadrian. They themselves displayed the change in the empire; they were both provincials. They indicated the change in attitude and conduct of the empire - the inclusion of people of the provinces in their world. Both Trajan and Hadrian influenced the soldiers and the army a great deal. They also affected the people around the army, especially in Africa. This was done through both general policy and specific actions.

Trajan, although largely consumed with the wars in Parthia and Dacia, was nevertheless interested and concerned about Africa. Several of his general policies affected the natives of Africa as they did natives in all provinces of the empire. One such action concerned exactly what to do with these people. His answer was the beginning of the reservation system, the assignment of specific areas of land to certain tribes or

tribal organizations.[44] One particular action by Trajan concerning Africa dealt with this problem. He ordered the encirclement of the Aures Mountains and the reinforcement of the southern limes. This was accomplished by the establishment of the fort at Lambaesis. It was also this emperor who stopped the expansion of Rome in Africa in order to be better able to work with what was at hand.[45]

For the soldiers and the army his policy of settling these men in special colonies, both to reward them and to help protect the already settled lands, was particularly noticeable in Africa. For this reason the city of Thamugadi was constructed and populated.[46] Also fortifications began to change from earth and timber construction to stone enabling Rome to establish a show of permanence in an area and to make the men more comfortable. Here too is the idea of permanence to the camp at Lambaesis. As other outposts increased, forts such as Lambaesis were no longer entrenched camps. They began to have more permanence to their appearance and a sense of growth.

For the general public Trajan gave native towns Roman municipal status and tried to Latinize the provinces through the use of the Latin language and the literature of Rome. His idea was to create a middle class and to help towns and provinces flourish so that Rome too could flourish and prosper.[47]

Of the two emperors, undoubtedly the most loved by the soldiers and the army was Hadrian. He was like them; he drilled, worked himself, and thought as they did. Because of the disruption caused by Trajan's wars in the East, Hadrian felt the need to make sure the troops were still disciplined in all ways and their routine restored. He withdrew within the boundaries of the frontier for defense and manageability. For this

reason and others he set out on his inspection tour of the empire.[43] His goal was to inspect all frontiers and the army which manned them.

In July A.D. 128 the Emperor Hadrian finally set foot on African soil for inspection. His port of entry was renamed Hadrianopolis in honor of this great event. His visit also marked another great event--the first rain in the area in five years.[49] During his stay in Africa the emperor inspected the legion, the auxiliary cohorts, and the others who were stationed there. Many inscriptions survive and reveal these activities. One author noted that it was during the time of Hadrian's visit that a new fortress of regulation size was constructed approximately one mile or more east of the original camp. Was this the "great" camp about which others have written? In all Hadrian gave 25 addresses to the men during his stay and most were found at Lambaesis. When he inspected the III Legio Augusta, both mounted and foot, he praised them highly. In his speech he said he knew of their work in helping others and even commented that at that very time one cohort was away. Also three years before, one cohort plus four men from each century had aided one of their sister legions and the usual number of soldiers were away involved in various construction projects.

On the first field day, he observed the legion and the auxiliary mounted cohort, the Cohors II Hispanorum equitatae, at the parade grounds one and one-half miles west of the camp. It is interesting to note here the distance of the parade grounds from the camp. If this camp was the "great" camp, then the parade ground would have been Janon's "camp of the west" or the unidentified enclosure just north of that camp. The cavalry demonstrated a sweeping charge in full armor and threw javelins for Hadrian. He praised them and said they had done particularly well,

especially considering their other activities and duties, i.e. construction and guard duty, which did not allow them much time to practice such maneuvers. The commanding officer of the legion, Q. Fabius Catullinus, was congratulated and later rewarded when he was elected consul in the year 130.[50]

On July 7 the emperor visited the auxiliary cohort at Zarai. They built fortifications as their skill demonstration. They erected a permanent wall of large irregular sized stone blocks and dug a smooth trench in hard gravel. Here Catullinus and the commanding officer of the auxilia, Cornelianus, were lauded.[51] Was Zarai one of Janon's three camps? Possibly the one northeast of the "great" camp?

Again a parade ground was utilized for the maneuver demonstration, this time by the First Pannonian Auxiliary cavalry. They drilled in javelin and lance throwing as well as jumping. Hadrian commented in his speech that although no one was outstanding in these events, no one lagged behind, so the drills were uniformly good. The Pannonians were then asked to participate in the farewell review on the parade ground of the Commagenians.[52] Was this yet another one of the unidentified sites in the Lambaesis area? Was it the same parade ground on which the first drills or even this demonstration took place?

The Cohors VI Commagenorum equitatae, like all other groups at Lambaesis, displayed their talents for Hadrian. Apparently these men were the lowest paid and the poorest equipped of all the branches. Hadrian noted this in his address as well as the fact that these men even used a different area of the parade ground on which to drill. Hadrian praised them for working under such adverse conditions.

When Hadrian left Lambaesis he went north to Cirta and then on

to Simitthu and Thabraca. Some authors said he left from Rusicade but this was impossible because he gave the order to have the road constructed from Cirta to Rusicade after he had left Africa. Perhaps his long trip to Thabraca influenced him enough to order the building of the shorter, quicker route which was carried out by C. Julius Major. This highway was given the name Via Nova.[53]

Not only was Hadrian interested in the army as such but he was also interested in the men as people. During his visit to the provinces, aside from inspecting the camps, weapons, and fortifications, he also asked about the condition of the men. He wanted them to be comfortable and content in their personal lives; in this way they would be satisfied in their actions and duties as soldiers. Hadrian also gave impetus to the recruitment of locals. He ordered the distinctions to be removed between legionnaires and auxilia, so that more and more local people could serve the empire. One of his major concerns was the removal of hostile feelings toward provincials.[54]

All appears to be in order when discussing the camp(s) of Lambaesis until the actual locations are tied with events and descriptions. It is Michel Janon's theory which at first seems to jumble the ideas that were previously accepted. However, on closer examination his theory coincides with the older established ideas, except he used different names for his sites. "Temporary, great, and praetorium," are terms that have been used since work began at Lambaesis. But just as the central arched structure has been called praetorium, principia, and even part of the scholae, so too can the other camps go by different titles. The best way to find out which camp was which is to compare archaeological findings.

There is no controversy concerning the "great" camp. All agree that it was the fort constructed in A.D. 123 just prior to Hadrian's arrival. It is thought that when in Hadrian's address he referred to "the camp", it was this site to which he was referring.

Janon's "camp of the west" was given no establishment date. However, he stated that it was probably constructed by one or more cohorts; was west of the "great" camp; was 200 meters per side; had two gates; and Hadrian's addresses were originally there. Montagnon, Gsell, and Cagnat gave the same specifications to their "camp of the auxiliary" or "temporary" camp. So it is maintained that these two camps were in reality the same camp.

Now arises the question of why did Janon say that the "camp of the east" was the camp of A.D. 81, when all previous authorities gave that distinction to the "temporary" camp which has now been associated with the "camp of the west?" This riddle is solved by remembering that the main idea Montagnon, Gsell, and Cagnat agreed upon was that a "temporary" camp was established in A.D. 81. They naturally labelled the "camp of the west" as such because it was the most visible. The "camp of the west" has been given no date, but it could have been constructed in A.D. 81 just as Janon's "camp of the east." It is logical to note the "camp of the east" as the camp of 81 because that site would have been the first reached in the legion's westward movement and because of its strategic importance. There is nothing to say that the "camp of the west" was not constructed at the same time. The difference lies in Janon's and everyone else's distinction that the one in the east was built by and for the III Legio Augusta whereas the one in the west was for the auxilia. (See Figure 8.)

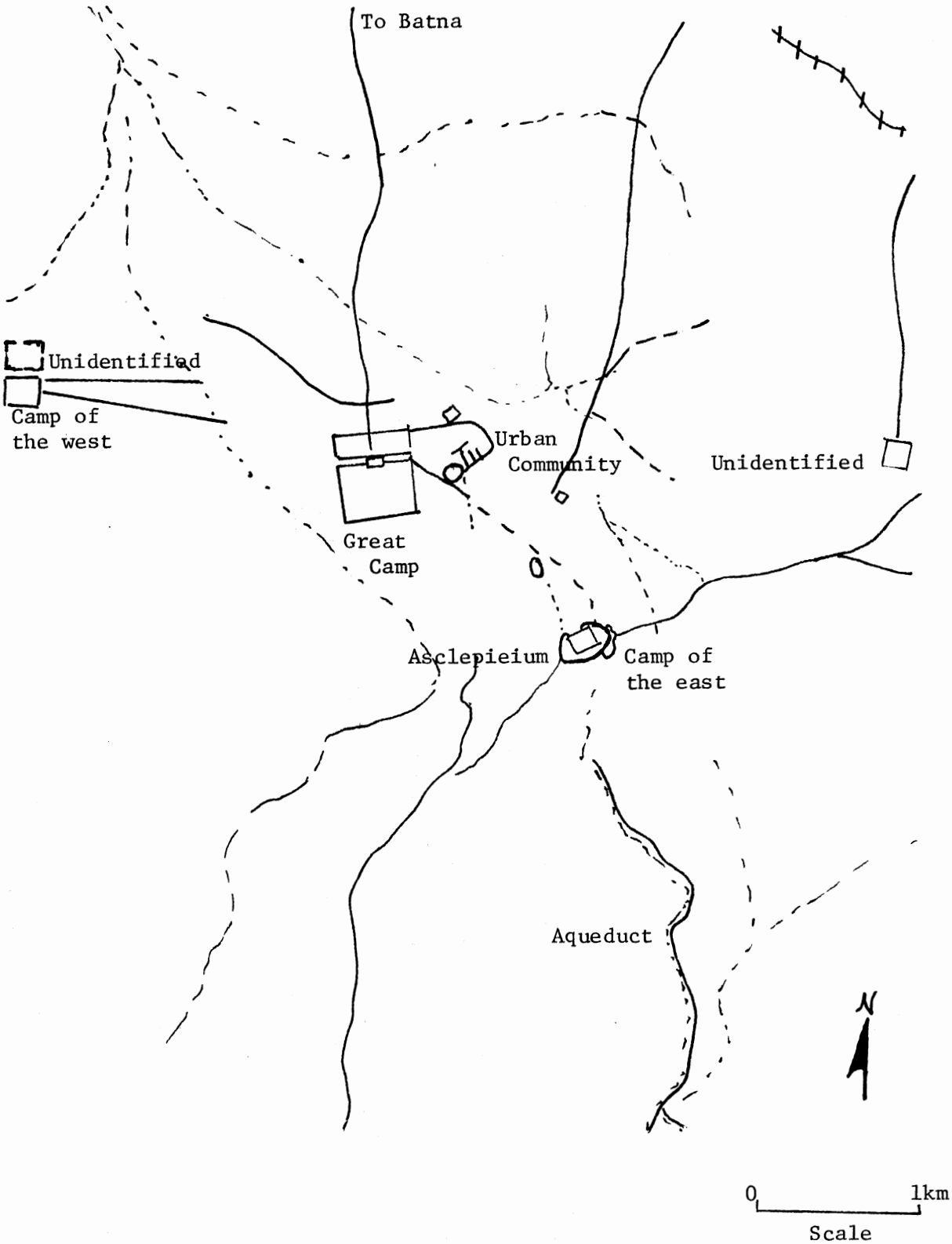

Figure 8. Lambaesis. From Michel Janon's "Recherches a Lambese," Antiquites Africaines 7 (1973).

Another question to be resolved is to which camps did Hadrian refer in his addresses. When talking to the III Legio Augusta at the "parade grounds" which was one and one-half miles west of the camp he might have been referring to the "camp of the west" or to the unidentified enclosure just north of there. What then was Zarai, the site mentioned when the emperor spoke to the auxiliary cohort? Could it have been the "camp of the west" which was the camp of the auxiliary? The cohort constructed a wall of irregular sized stone blocks and dug a trench for the emperor. Could this have been one of the quarrystone walls mentioned in the excavation reports and one of the trenches associated with the cisterns and water system also mentioned?

The First Pannonian Auxiliary also drilled on the "parade grounds." Could this also be the one mentioned where the legion performed? The farewell address was given at a different parade grounds, that of the Commagenians. No direction or size is given in association with this site. But it is thought that it must have been different than the ones previously mentioned or else it would not have been given such a distinction. Could it be one of the other unidentified enclosures within the Lambaesis vicinity such as the one almost due east of the "great" camp? This could also have been the "camp of the Commagenians."

A primary goal is to understand what names were given to the different camp sites. The "camp of the east" so named by Janon was the camp of 81, the fort of the III Augusta. In 123 they moved to the "great" camp. The "camp of the west" equalled the "camp of the auxiliary" and may have been built in A.D. 81. The "parade grounds" was probably the unidentified site just north of the "camp of the west," because Zarai was probably the name given to the "camp of the west," the auxiliary

camp. The other unidentified camp, east of the "great" camp, was probably that of the Commagenians.

FOOTNOTES

1 Rene Louis Victor Cagnat, Les deux camps de la legion III Augusta a Lambese d'apres les fouilles recentes (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), p. 13; Sir Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, Roman Africa in Color (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 17.

2 T.R.S. Broughton, The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), p. 128-129, 135; Albino Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire, AD 14-192, trans. J.R. Foster (London: Methuen, 1974), p. 247; Martin Percival Charlesworth, Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire, 2nd edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1926), p. 136; F. Gregorovius, The Emperor Hadrian: A Picture of the Graeco-Roman World in His Time, trans. M. Robinson (London: Macmillan Co., 1898), p. 90; Cyril Fletcher Grant and L. Grant, African Shores of the Mediterranean (New York: McBride, Nast, & Co., 1912), p. 86; Wheeler, Roman Africa, p. 118; Victor W. VonHagen, The Roads that Led to Rome (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1967), p. 74-75; Stephane Gsell, Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algerie (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1901), p. 76; H. Isnard, Algeria, trans. O.C. Warden (Fair Lawn, New Jersey: Essential Books, Inc., 1954), p. 61.

3 Michel Janon, "Recherches a Lambese," Antiquites Africaines 7 (1973): p. 201-210.

4 Graham Webster, The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Century A.D. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969), p. 203.

5 Broughton, Romanization, p. 2, 120.

6 Tenney Frank, gen. ed., Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, 6 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933-1940), vol. IV: Roman Africa, by R.M. Haywood.

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8 Ronald Syme, "Flavian Wars and Frontiers," Cambridge Ancient History, vol XI: The Imperial Peace AD 70-192, p. 147-148.

9 H.M. D. Parker, The Roman Legions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 165; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 76.

10 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 11-12.

11 Michael Grant, The Army of the Caesars (New York: Scribner, 1974), p. 299.

12 Wheeler, Roman Africa, p. 118.

13 Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 76; Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 11-12.

14 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 12-13.

15 Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 182.

16 Alexander Graham, Roman Africa: An Outline of the History of the Roman Occupation of North Africa Based Chiefly upon Inscriptions and Monumental Remains in that Country (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902), p. 167; Grant, African Shores, p. 88; Wheeler, Roman Africa, p. 118; Richard Stillwell, ed., et al, The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 478; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 78; Isnard, Algeria, p. 61; Janon, "Recherches," p. 200.

17 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 15-16.

18 Albert Harkness, The Military System of the Romans (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887), p. Liii, Lv.

19 Grant, Army, p. 299; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 121; Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 180.

20 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 12.

21 Grant, African Shores, p. 88.

22 Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 79-80; Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 15.

23 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 15; Harkness, Military Systems, p. Lii.

24 VonHagen, Roads, p. 75; Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 16-18.

25 Grant, African Shores, p. 88.

26 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 17-18.

27 Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 193; Stillwell, Princeton Encyclopedia, p. 478.

28 Grant, Army, p. 299; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 132-133; Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 192.

29 James Smith Reid, Municipalities of the Roman Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), p. 280; Graham, Roman Africa, p. 167-168, 186; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 122; Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 191; Hendrik de Leeuw, Crossroads of the Mediterranean (New York: Hanover House, 1954), p. 73-74; Grant, African Shores, p. 89-90; Stillwell, Princeton Encyclopedia, p. 478; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 81; Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 23-25.

30 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 25-31.

31 Ibid., p. 26; Grant, African Shores, p. 89.

32 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 23-24; Stillwell, Princeton Encyclopedia, p. 478; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 83.

33 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 26-30; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 83; Reid, Municipalities, p. 282; Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 200-201; Grant, African Shores, p. 90; American Journal of Archaeology, Ser. 2; Vol. 3 (1899), p. 567.

34 Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 26-28.

35 Grant, Army, p. 299; Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 181.

36 Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 188-190; Grant, African Shores, p. 88-89; AJA, Ser. 2, Vol. 4 (1900), p. 273; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 80-81; Cagnat, Les deux camps, p. 12-22.

37 Broughton, Romanization, p. 210; Reid, Municipalities, p. 282; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 126; VonHagen, Roads, p. 75.

38 Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 197.

39 Reid, Municipalities, p. 281-282; Webster, Roman Imperial Army, p. 198-202; Grant, African Shores, p. 90; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 84-86; John Ferguson, "Roman Algeria," Greece and Rome, Ser. 2, Vol. 13 (1966), p. 176.

40 Broughton, Romanization, p. 137-138, 203-204; F.F. Abbott and A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927), p. 13.

41 Joan Soames Nickerson, A Short History of North Africa from Pre-Roman Times to the Present (New York: Dervin-Adair Co., 1961), p. 21; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 126; VonHagen, Roads, p. 75.

42 Reid, Municipalities, p. 283; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 126-127; Gsell, Les Monuments, p. 140-143.

43 Broughton, Romanization, p. 138; Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 425-426; Graham, Roman Africa, p. 170; Boissier, Roman Africa, p. 126.

44 Broughton, Romanization, p. 99, 121.

45 Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 318; M.I. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 321; Ronald Syme, "Flavian Wars," CAH, p. 146.

46 Broughton, Romanization, p. 119, 128, 133; Grant, African Shores, p. 93.

47 Broughton, Romanization, p. 133; Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 361.

48 Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 419; Graham, Roman Africa, p. 107; B. Henderson, The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian AD 76-138 (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1923), p. 93; Cassius Dio Cocceianus, LXIX, 9, 1-2-3.

49 Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 395; Henderson, Life, p. 94; Scriptores historiae Augustae, trans. David Magie (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961-1967) 3 vols., p. 69.

50 Edward N. Luttwak, The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century AD to the Third (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 121; Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 395; Henderson, Life, p. 95, 98.

51 Grant, Army, p. 300; Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 396; Henderson, Life, p. 95.

52 Henderson, Life, p. 95.

53 Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 396; Gregorovius, Emperor Hadrian, p. 91; Henderson, Life, p. 98.

54 Parker, Roman Legions, p. 171-172; Garzetti, From Tiberius, p. 420.

55 ILS, 2487 & 9133-9135.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

One of the greatest problems in the study of the fortress at Lambaesis is the lack of recent archaeological excavations and research. Other than Janon's article in 1973, all previous work took place around the turn of the century. Unfortunately one of the major flaws in classical archaeology of that time, and even now to a point, is excavating without answering specific questions. Classical archaeologists maintained the idea was to dig up all they could in a season and then analyze the material. Today's approach is to pose questions and excavate to prove or disprove your theory. Because there are so many unanswered questions concerning the camps of Lambaesis and even Roman activity in Africa, the new method of archaeology would be most beneficial.

However, the work that has been done and the ruins that are now exposed present a wealth of information, specific and general. It is certain that Africa played a vital role in the Roman Empire by the provision of vast quantities of grain. It is also certain that without the presence of the III Legio Augusta and its fortresses, especially Lambaesis, Africa would not have played such a role to the extent it did.

North Africa fit in well in the environment of the Mediterranean region. Its climate and terrain were similar to other provinces around the great sea. Natural elements aided man throughout the region.

Mountains provided protection, water, and timber. The sea gave food and the primary means of communication, trade and travel. Another common element was the two season year which enhanced the transhumant native population.

It was the similarity and proximity of North Africa that made it a likely land area for Roman occupation. These things also helped in deciding that North Africa could and would become one of the largest grain producing regions in the empire. Because of the ever-increasing number of people coming into or becoming part of the empire, Rome was in desperate need of alternate food producing areas. This was the primary reason for Roman presence in North Africa. The production of grain was the catalyst of Roman occupation.

Because of the increase in population more grain was needed along with more land on which to spread this growing number of people. This was another reason for the Roman takeover. As usual with these two items, food and land, came more people, more commerce and industry, and more problems. One such problem was the policy of dealing with the native people. Much of the displacement was in the form of controlling the land used by the transhumant tribesmen in their seasonal migrations. Rome did not try to assimilate these people the same way they had done elsewhere. Only if the people readily accepted Roman dominanace and were sedentary did the newcomers try to attract these people. When that did not happen, Rome tried to push all the natives into certain regions. But this was only a temporary solution because Rome eventually wanted that land too. So a new push began, this time completely out of the Mediterranean climate region of North Africa, past the mountains to the south and into the Sahara. That established Roman dominance but it did not quiet the spirited and intermittent attempts to try to break that

control. One of the questions that has arisen concerning this unusual policy is that of racial discrimination. Because of the presence of Black tribes in the area, some have speculated that this policy of exclusion was due to skin color. However, no evidence of this was found.

When Rome moved into an area, the army led the way. Here it was no different. The III Legio Augusta was assigned to North Africa early in the first century A.D. Its primary function was the provision of defense. At first it was to protect the vital grain supply; but as more people began to move in and the new policy toward the natives developed its role broadened into also protecting the new Roman residents.

Defense and growth accompanied one another from that time on. The legion built roads and forts as part of their needs, which in turn led to more growth and prosperity for the province. The defense provided the necessary safety factor; the roads enabled travel and trade; the fortresses attracted people, especially merchants; and the cycle began again. The soldiers had other construction duties which also helped in this cycle, such as bridges, cities, and water systems. All aspects of life in North Africa were part of the same interdependent network.

As a result of Roman settlement, the growing of crops, and the sporadic incursions by the natives, the III Augusta changed camps periodically. These moves were in a steady westward progression, leaving a quiet area behind them and facing a new trouble spot. This progression continued until A.D. 81 when as part of the Emperor Trajan's policy of encircling the Aures Mountains and strengthening the southern <u>limes</u>, Lambaesis was established. This location guarded the primary entryway to the north from the Sahara, the pass Calceus Herculis. From here the

legion and the auxilia guarded the grain lands and the settled area to the north of the mountains.

Lambaesis is an excellent example of a Roman military complex. The term complex is used here because of the many camps that have been discovered in this general area. The great camp is the most spectacular in regard to ruins. This camp, the most recent and the largest, was the permanent home of the III Legio Augusta from A.D. 123 until the Romans were driven from North Africa by the Vandals. A smaller camp to the east of the praetorium in the great camp was the original fort constructed in A.D. 81. It too had housed the legion. Another camp existed west of the great camp. It was also smaller than the great camp but unlike the camp of 81, it housed the auxiliary who aided the legionnaires. More enclosures appear elsewhere in the immediate vicinity, and further excavations will identify them more clearly.

This site, Lambaesis, is an ideal example of Roman military presence in the frontier. Most of the life that existed and prospered in North Africa did so because of this enclosure and the men who garrisoned it. It is also an excellent example of an imperial fortification and the general policy of the Roman Empire.

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APPENDIX

The speeches given by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 128 to the men stationed at Lambaesis reveal a great deal about those men and their camp(s). Only a few have been preserved intact.

Imp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus legionen s[ua]m [I]II Augustam exercitationibus inspectis adlocutus est is qua⟨e⟩ infra scripta sunt, Torquato II et [lib]one cos., K. Iulis.

[---------et] is pro causa ves[tra legatus meus quae excusa]nda vobis aput me fuissent, omnia mihi pro vobis ipse di[xit; quod] cohors abest, quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[ocon] sulis mittitur, quod ante annum tertium cohorten et qua[ternos] ex centuris in supplementum comparum tertianorum dedis tis, quod multae, quod diversae stationes vos distinet, quod nostra memoria bis non tantum mutastis castra sed et nova fecistis; ob haec excusatos vos hab[erem, si legio] diu exercitatione cessasset. Sed nihil aut cessavi[stis --------] vobis excusatione--------retis va----------

--------rium--------e vide [tur attendi]sse vobis; primi ordines et centuriones agiles [et fortes mo]re suo fuerunt. (vacat)

Eq. leg.

ese rcitationes militares quodammodo suas leges [ha]bent, quibus si quit adiciatur aut detrahatur, aut minor [exer]citatio fit aut difficilior. Quantum autem difficultatis [additur, t]antum gratiae demitur. Vos ex difficilibus difficil[limum fecistis], ut loricati iaculationem perageretis --------o, quin immo et animum probo---------

------K. Iul. coh. II Hi[spanorum------]

[--------munitiones quas] alli [per] plures dies divisis[sent, e]as uno die peregistis: murum lo[ngi] operis et qualis mansuris hibernaculis fieri solent non [mul]to diutius exstrucxistis quam caespite exstruitur,

qui m[o] dulo pari caesus et vehitur facile et tractatur et sine mo les tia struitur, ut mollis et planus pro natura sua; vos lapi[dibus] grandibus gravibus inaequalibus, quos neque vehere n[e] que attollere neque locare quis possit, nisi ut inaequa[lita]tes inter se conpareant. Fossam glaris duram scabram [que] recte percussistis et redendo levem reddidistis. Opere pr[o]bato introgressi castra raptim et cibum et arma cepistis, equitem emmissum secuti, magno clamore revertentem per ----------

[Catullinum leg. meum, virum clarissimum], laudo, quod convert u it vos ad hanc exercitat ionem, quae verae di micationis imaginem accepit et sic exercet, [ut -----lau]dare vos possim. Cornelianus praefectus ves[ter officio suo sa]tisfecit. Contrari discursus non placent mih[i--------] est auctor. E tecto transcurrat eques et pe[rsequatur caute; nam si non] videt qua vadat aut si voluerit ecum r[e]tinere nequit, non potest] quin sit abnoxius caliculis tectis -------tis congredi debetis concurr[ere ----------]iam adversus hosti facienda------

[N]on. Iul. Zarai, coh.--------varetis et di----------

---Idus Iulias, ala I Pannoniorum

Omnia per ordinem egistis. Campum d[ec]ursionibus completis, iaculati estis non ineleganter, hast[is usi q]uamquam brevibus et duris; lanceas plures vestrum [par]iter miserun[t]. Saluis tis et hic agiliter et heri velociter. Si q[u]it defuisset, desid[e]rarem, si quit eminuisset, designarem; tota exercitatione perae[q]ue placuistis. Catullinus legatus meus, v[ir] clarissimus, in op[eri-]

bus quibus praeest parem curam suam exhib[et----prae-] fectus vester sollicite videtur vobis attendere. Congiar-[i]um accipite, viatoriam, in Commagenorum campo salieti[s].

Eq. coh. VI Commagenorum

Difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilius post alarem exercitationem non displicere; alia spatia campi, alius iaculantium numerus, frequens dextrator, Cantabricus densus, equorum forma armorum cultus pro stipendi modo. Verum vos fastidium calore vitastis, strenue faciendo quae fieri debebant; addi-distis ut et lapides fundis mitteretis et missilibus confligeretis, saluistis ubique expedite. Catullini leg. mei, c(larissimi) v(iri), [insignis cura] apparet quod tales vos sub i[li]o v-------55

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Personal Data: Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 7, 1956, the daughter of Thomas Roy and JoAnn Hopper.

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