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AUGUSTAN CONQUEST OF THE BALKANS IN THE LIGHT OF TRIUMPHAL MONUMENTS

Abstract: The article offers an interpretation of inscriptions from the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias in Caria that represent Roman victories in the Balkans during the reign of Augustus. Six inscriptions from sc. ἔθνη series commemorate Danubian-Balkan tribes: Japodes Andizetes, Pirustae, Dardani, Dacians, Bessi. These monuments provide not only early epigraphic attestations of single tribes but seem to illuminate, to some extent, the rôle that pacification of the Danubian-Balkan regions played in Augustan propagandic imagery.

The purpose of the present article is to draw attention to several important epigraphic-iconographic monuments that shed some light on the history of conquests in Illyricum and western Balkans. It is a group of reliefs that belong to the ἔθνη series from the *Sebasteion* complex in the Carian town of Aphrodisias in Asia Minor,¹ built in the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty². The reliefs, identified thanks to the accompanying inscriptions, portray female statues that personify pacified peoples, islands and provinces. They allegorically represent Roman victories in the age of Augustus³. Of thirteen preserved, six inscriptions belong to the Balkan tribes: Japodes, Andizetes, Pirustae, Dardani, Dacians, and Bessi⁴.

¹ The name “*Sebasteion*” is suggested by the inscription *CIG* 2839, 1.2; R. R. R. Smith, “The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias”, *JRS* 77, 1987, pp. 88–138, 88, n. 1. On in Aphrodisias: K. T. Erim, “Aphrodisias. A Guide to the Site and Its Museum”, Istanbul 1997; R. R. R. Smith, C. Ratté, “Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1997 and 1998”, *AJA* 104/2, 2000, pp. 221–253.

² J. Reynolds, “*New Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias*”, *ZPE* 43, 1981, pp. 317–327; R. R. R. Smith, “*Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*”, *JRS* 78, 1988, pp. 50–77.

³ Reynolds 1981 (n. 2), pp. 236–7; Smith 1988 (n. 2), p. 58.

⁴ *Iaph*: J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, “*Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*”, London 2007, <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>. The other represented peoples are: Callaeci (*Iaph* 2007, 9.17), Trumplini (*Iaph* 2007, 9.3), Rhaeti (*Iaph* 2007, 9.2), Egyptians (*Iaph* 2007, 9.5), Judaeans (*Iaph* 2007, 9.12) and Arabs (*Iaph* 2007, 9.4), islands: Sicily (*Iaph* 2007, 9.11), Crete (*Iaph* 2007, 9.8), Cyprus (*Iaph* 2007, 9.10).

1. Inscription on a statue base. In the lower register, a relief of a bearded male head. Found at Aphrodisias (*Sebasteion*) in 1988, during the archaeological research. Date: I century AD.

Smith 1988, 55, no. 8; *Iaph* 9. 22.

Ἐθνους | Ἰαπόδων.

2. Upper element of a statue base with inscription. Found in 1982, at Aphrodisias (*Sebasteion*)⁵. Date: I century AD.

Smith 1988, 55, no. 2; *SEG* 35, 1082; *Iaph* 9.23.

Ἐθνους | Ἀνδιζήτων.

3. Large fragment of statue base. Inscription field in upper element, below, in the lower register bearded male head flanked by garland. Found in 1982, in *Sebasteion*. Date: I century AD.

Smith 1988, 55, no. 11; *Iaph* 9.18.

Ἐθνους | Πιροῦστων.

4. Inscription on upper element of false base for statue. Date: I century AD.

Reynolds 1981, 317–27, no. 17; Smith 1988, 55, no. 6 (*SEG* 35, 1082); *SEG* 31, 1981, 926; *BullÉp* 1982, 356.

Ἐθνους | Δακῶν.

5. Inscription on upper element of false base for statue. Date: I century AD.

Smith 1988, 50–77, 55, no.7; *Iaph* 9.24.

Ἐθνους | Δαρδάνων.

6. Inscription on upper element of base. In lower register a bearded male head decorated with garland tied in a bow above the head-mask. Found in *Sebasteion* in 1980.

Reynolds 1981, 317–27, no. 18; *SEG* 31, 1981, 927; *BullÉp* 1982, 356; *SEG* 35,1082; Smith 1988, 55, no. 4; *Iaph* 9.9.

Ἐθνους | Βέσσων.

Although important, the inscriptions did not obtain much consideration in scholarship focusing on Roman Balkans. They seem to elucidate the place of Balkan conquest in Augustan ideology and propagandic and triumphal imagery. Also, they are valuable as early epigraphic evidence for the individual tribes or, in case of some, the earliest evidence. According to R. R. R. Smith, the Aphrodisian ἔθνη series reproduces a monument from Rome.

⁵ J. J. Wilkes, “The Danubian and Balkan Provinces”, *CAH²* X, 1996, [545–585], p. 554.

The source was most likely the elusive ‘*Porticus ad nationes*’⁶, where, according to Servius, statues of all nations (*simulacra gentium*) conquered under Augustus were displayed⁷. This view is confirmed by a recent discovery of another provincial replica of *simulacra gentium*, found in Valencia⁸. The function of Aphrodisian series — to promote the town’s imperial identity⁹, essentially differed from that of the Roman original. Nevertheless, the series transmits the imperial messages of the source: Rome’s dominion over *orbis terrarum* under Augustus’ auspices¹⁰ and the *pax Augusta* through personification allegories that imply ethnic, geographical, political and other connotations¹¹. The enumeration of the conquered nations under Augustus’ auspices appears in several triumphal monuments, the aforementioned *Porticus ad nationes*, *forum Augusti*, *Ara pacis*, Map of Agrippa¹², also in provincial triumphal art (e.g. *Tropaeum Alpium*, Altar of Three Gauls¹³, per-

⁶ Smith 1988 (n. 2), p. 75: “Sebasteion series must have been borrowed, and the only real possibility is from Rome.”

⁷ Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8. 721: *Porticum enim Augustus fecerat in qua simulacra omnium gentium conlocaverat: quae porticus appellabatur ‘Ad Nationes’*. Plin. *NH* XXXVI 39; Vell. Pat. II 39.2: *praeter Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet*. Cf. Smith 1999, p. 72; P. Zanker, “*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*”, *Ann Arbor* 1988, pp. 112–14; pp. 194–5; pp. 210–15; C. Nicolet, “*Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Empire*”, *Ann Arbor* 1991, pp. 41–3; S. Carey, “*Pliny’s Catalogue of Culture*”, *Oxford* 2007, pp. 66–7; L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore–London 1992, p. 317, s.v. *Porticus ad Nationes*. Probably those were the same statues that were carried in Augustus’ funeral procession: Tac. *Ann.* I 8.4; Dio Cass. 56. 34. 3. Smith 1988 (n. 2), p. 74. The identification of the portico is problematic and will not be discussed here for the sake of brevity. It is sufficient for our purpose to recognize that the series emulates a source from Rome, dated in the time of Augustus’ reign.

⁸ M. Paz de Hoz, “*A New Set of simulacra gentium Identified by Greek Inscriptions in the So-Called “House of Terpsichore” in Valentia (Spain)*”, *ZPE* 163, 2007, pp. 131–146.

⁹ Carey 2007 (n. 7), p. 68.

¹⁰ *RGDA* c. 1: *orbem terrarum imperio populi Rom(ani) subiecit . . . RGDA* c. 3: *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci*.

¹¹ Nicolet 1991 (n. 7) examined the relationship between geographical knowledge, its representation and ideological. Cf. T. R. Ramsby, B. Severy, “*Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in Art of the Augustan Age 1*”, *Arethusa* 41/1, 2007, p. 48 sqq. for some interesting thoughts on symbolism and connotations of the *simulacra*.

¹² Plin. *NH* III 17; *NH* XXXV 23; 25. J. J. Tierney, “*The Map of Agrippa*”, *PRIA* 63, *Secret. C*, 4, 1963, pp. 151–66; K. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in seiner Verhältnis zu Varro. Versuch einer Quellenanalyse*, Berlin – New York, 1971, pp. 91–107, especially n. 38; O. A. W. Dilke, “*Greek and Roman Maps*”, 1985, pp. 41–53; P. Trouset, “*La “carte d’Agrippa”: nouvelle proposition de lecture*”, *DHA* 19, 2, 1993, pp. 137–57; Nicolet 1991 (n. 7), pp. 98–99 and n. 13.

¹³ Strab. IV 162; D. Fishwick, “*The Sixty Gallic Tribes and the Altar of the Three Gauls*”, *Historia* 38/1, 1989, pp. 111–12.

haps, for Illyricum in *tropaeum* at Tiliurium¹⁴), and, most importantly, in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*¹⁵.

Aphrodisian ἔθνη inscriptions correlate with the data in *Res Gestae*¹⁶. Personified *gentes* are used as *pars pro toto* to denote Augustan victories¹⁷ as main representatives of the groups. For example, Trumplini¹⁸, listed first among forty-six tribes in the inscription on *Tropaeum Alpium*¹⁹, represent the subjugation of Alpine tribes that is also mentioned in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (c. 26). Image of *Rhaeti* honours the campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus (16–15 BC)²⁰; the relief of *Callaeci*²¹ represents Spanish war of Augustus (26–25 BC), and so on.

In interpreting the inscriptions of Danubian-Balkan tribes, R. R. R. Smith found the occurrence of Illyrian tribes baffling²²: “Some of these might be thought to stand for larger areas or for their province thus the Callaeci for Further Spain or the Iapodes for Illyricum. But against this is the presence of two tribes, not one, of Pannonia (Piroustae and Andizeti)”²³. However, when interpreted in the light of other sources, the inscriptions can be associated with particular campaigns that mark important stages in the conquest of the Balkans.

I. Victories in Illyricum

Three reliefs from Aphrodisias personify tribes of the Illyricum, symbolizing three stages of pacification of the province. The

¹⁴ For the dating of *tropaeum*: N. Cambi, „Rimski vojni tropeji u Dalmaciji”, *Adriasis* 17, 2011, pp. 131–45, esp. 137.

¹⁵ The only predecessor of the Augustus’ *simulacra gentium* seems to be the series of statues of 14 nations in Pompey’s theatre (Plin. *NH* XXXVI 41; Suet. *Nero* 46). Smith 1988, p. 72.

¹⁶ Smith 1988, p. 59; Nicolet 1991 (n. 7), pp. 45–47.

¹⁷ Reynolds 1981 (n. 2), pp. 317–327; cf. Smith 1988 (n. 2), p. 58.

¹⁸ *I Aph* 9.3; Smith 1988, p. 58: ἔθνους Τρουμπειλῶ[v]. Cf. Carey 2007 (n. 9), p. 68.

¹⁹ *CIL* V 7817; Plin. *NH* III 136; Strab. VI 1.3; Cass. Dio XLIII 26 (25–29 BC).

²⁰ *I Aph* 2007, 9.2: ἔθνους Ραιτῶν Cf. *RGDA* 26; Cass. Dio LIV 22. Cf. Reynolds 1981 (n. 2), pp. 317–27, no. 21; R. Frei-Stolba, “Ein neues Zeugnis zum Alpenfeldzug: Die Trumplini” *Jahresbericht 1993 des Rätischen Museums Chur*, 1994, pp. 64–86.

²¹ *I Aph* 2007, 9.17: ἔθνο[υς] Καλλαϊκῶ[v].

²² Smith 1988 (n. 2), p. 58.

²³ Cf. N. Cambi, “Kip afrodisijske Afrodite iz Dalmacije”, *OA* 23–4, 1999–2000, pp. 127–32. Cambi has proposed that other tribes (e.g. Delmatae, Pannoni (sic)) must have also been represented, but it does not seem to be an attractive interpretation.

Iapodes (no. 1) represent the success of the Octavian's war in Illyricum (35–33 BC). The reliefs of the *Andizetes* (no. 2) and the *Pirustae* (no. 3) respectively stand for the two most important historical episodes in the early history of the Roman province of Illyricum: Tiberius' Pannonian war (12–9 BC) and Dalmatian-Pannonian revolt (AD 6–9).

a) The *Iapodes* were the most important tribe subdued in Octavian's campaign, on which we have Appian's detailed account based on the *Memoires* of Augustus²⁴. The generally accepted conclusion that the scopes and the extent of Octavian's conquests in Illyricum in 35–33 BC were modest²⁵, and that he did not penetrate into the Save valley beyond Siscia, now appears to be epigraphically documented by this inscription.

b) The Pannonian war of Tiberius (12–9 BC), although meagrely represented in the classical authors,²⁶ marks the key stage in the Roman conquest of Illyricum. The significance of Tiberius' achievements in the *bellum Pannonicum* was greater than what one might infer from the ancient authors. The war began under M. Agrippa and M. Vinicius in 14 or 13 BC²⁷. After Agrippa's death in 12 BC, operations were taken over by Tiberius, who conquered 'totum Illyricum' in four years²⁸: he had subjugated all the Pannonian tribes in the interior and occupied lands up to the Drave advancing, as Augustus boasts in *Res Gestae*, 'the bounds of Illyricum to the bank of the river Danube' (*RGDA* c. 30: *Pannoniorum gentes, quas ante me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti. Neronem, qui tum erat privignus et legatus meus, imperio populi Romani subieci protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvi*)²⁹. The only classical author to mention the individual names of the tribes conquered in the Pannonian war is Suetonius³⁰. His statement that *Delmatae* and *Breuci* (as main representatives) were subdued in the *bellum Pannonicum*³¹ is now

²⁴ Cass. Dio LI 21.5.

²⁵ R. Syme, "Campaigns of Octavian: review of E. Swoboda "Octavian und Illyricum", *JRS* 24, 1933, pp. 66–71 = R. Syme, *Danubian papers*, Bucharest 1971, pp. 135–44.

²⁶ Syme 1971 (n. 25), 141–42.

²⁷ Vell. Pat. II 9: *Subinde bellum Pannonicum, quod inchoatum ab Agrippa, Marco Vinicio, avo tuo consule, magnum atroxque et perquam vicinum imminebat Italiae*.

²⁸ Suet. *Tib.* 16.4: *toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque Danuvium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatici patet, perdomito et in dicionem redacto*.

²⁹ Syme 1971 (n. 25), p. 19, pp. 141–142.

³⁰ Suet. *Tib.* 9.2: *Pannonico Breucos et Dalmatas subegit*; cf. Syme 1971, p. 141.

³¹ Cass. Dio LIV 31.3. Dio is influenced by the terminology of his own time; he speaks of the Dalmatians (Δελμάτας) and Pannonians (Παννονίους) in terms of their later provincial affiliation.

sustained by the Aphrodisian inscription (no. 2). The Pannonian tribe of the *Andizetes* dwelt in the vicinity of the Breuci³², around the mouth of the Drave, and extended to the Danube. They are mentioned in Pliny's geographical list as the last peregrine community on the course of the river, which may have influenced the choice of the representative: *Draus per Serretes, Serapillos, Iasos, Andizetes, Saus per Colapianos Breucosque*³³. Of Tiberius' activities in this region, and their due representation on triumphal monuments, also speaks the oronym *Claudius mons*, identified with Papuk in Slavonia³⁴. It is named after Tiberius' gentile name³⁵ before his adoption into the *gens Iulia* (26th of June, 4 AD), thus indicating the Pannonian war as the occasion. In the ancient sources it is mentioned twice: by Velleius³⁶ and by Pliny the Elder³⁷. Based on Pliny's account, it has recently been suggested that *Claudius mons* may have been represented on Agrippa's map³⁸, which was completed and published by Augustus after Agrippa's death, not before 7 BC³⁹. This would mean that the results of the Pannonian war were included in the map by an Augustan redaction. The bounds of the Illyricum given by Pliny⁴⁰ and *Dimensuratio provinciarum*⁴¹, which both drew upon Agrippa's

³² Ptol. II 15. 2: Ἀνδιζήτες, εἴτα Βρεῦκοι.

³³ Plin. *NH* III 142. The inscription from Aphrodisias is the earliest epigraphic attestation for the tribe; cf. *RMD* 205 (April 5th 71 AD) and: P. Weiß, "Zwei vollständige Konstitutionen für die Truppen in Noricum (8. Sept. 79) und Pannonia inferior (27. Sept. 154)", *ZPE* 146, 2004, pp. 247–54 (September 24th 154 AD).

³⁴ E. Köstermann, "Der Pannonisch-Dalmatinische Krieg 6-9 n. Chr. Der Pannonisch-Dalmatinische Krieg 6-9 n. Chr", *Hermes* 81/3, 1953, pp. 345–378, pp. 160–161; A. Mócsy, "Pannonia", *RE Supplb.* IX, 1962, p. 526; G. Alföldy, "Taurisci und Norici", *Historia* 15, 1966, p. 234; A. Domić-Kunić, „Bellum pannonicum (12.–11. pr. kr.) posljednja faza osvajanja južne Panonije“, *VAMZ* 29, 2006, pp. 59–164.

³⁵ A. v. Premerstein, "Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien", *JÖAI* 1, 1898, p. 148; Köstermann 1953 (n. 34), p. 360, n.1; Mócsy 1962 (n. 34), p. 526, p. 540; S. Dušanić, "Bassianae and its Territory", *Arch. Jug.* 8, 1967, 68, n. 21.

³⁶ Vell. Pat. II 112.3.

³⁷ Plin. *NH* III 148.

³⁸ Domić-Kunić (n. 34), p. 74.

³⁹ Plin. *NH* III 17; XXXV 23; 25. Cass. Dio. LV 8.4; cf. J. J. Tierney, "The Map of Agrippa", *PRIA* 63, Sect. C, 4, 1963, 151–66.1963, p. 151; Nicolet 1991 (n. 7), p. 99 and n. 13. Pliny highlights Augustus' co-authorship of the map: *Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum urbi spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat et cum eo divum Augustum? Is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit*".

⁴⁰ Plin. *NH* III 147.

⁴¹ *Dim. prov.* 18 (P. Schnabel, "Die Weltkarte des Agrippa, als wissenschaftliches Mittelglied zwischen Hipparch und Ptolemaeus", *Philologus* 90, 1935, [405–440], p. 429): *a septentrione flumine Danubio, a meridie mari Adriatico*; Plin. *NH* III 150.

work, indicate that, on the map, the Empire's border was placed on the Danube. It is hardly conceivable that Augustus would have displayed an immense propagandic monument "before the eyes of the Rome"⁴², and not include such a significant event as the extension of Rome's borders to the Danube, the episode that he himself celebrates in the *Res Gestae*, and in other triumphal monuments.

If the *Andizetes* figure here as the easternmost tribe conquered in the Pannonian war (12–9 BC), the inscription may well suggest the place of "*ripa fluminis Danuvi*" to which Augustus was referring in the *Res Gestae*⁴³. However, the question remains whether the tribes to the north of the Drave (*Eravisci*, *Azali*) were incorporated at this time. These tribes were weakened by Dacians under Burebista⁴⁴ and their loyalty to the Rome is attested throughout the Principate. An early funerary inscription of an Azalian soldier from Variana in Lower Moesia, recruited in the time of Augustus⁴⁵, has led A. Mócsy to presume that the *Azali* were living in the Save valley at that time⁴⁶, and that they were relocated to the north by Tiberius, but there is no evidence to support that theory⁴⁷. The region was most probably attached to the Empire peacefully at an early date⁴⁸.

c) The inscription of the *Pirustae* (no. 3) symbolically represents the suppression of the Dalmatian-Pannonian revolt in 9 AD. The geographical position of the tribe may have influenced the choice, as well as the political circumstances. According to Velleius⁴⁹, *Daesitiates* and *Pirustae* were the last tribes to be pacified. The latter one experienced more severe repercussions. Their

⁴² See n. 39.

⁴³ *RGDA* c. 30 (*supra*).

⁴⁴ R. Syme "Augustus and South Slav Lands", *RIEB* 3, 1934 = Syme 1971 (n. 25), p. 19.

⁴⁵ *AE* 1912, p. 187.

⁴⁶ A. Mócsy, "*Pannonia and Upper Moesia*", London–Boston 1974, p. 56.

⁴⁷ W. Meid, "*Keltische Personennamen in Pannonien*", Budapest 2005, p. 42, n. 45. Also, Strabo's early account on Pannonian tribe, uninfluenced by later provincial division also speaks against Mócsy's hypothesis (Strab. VII 5. 3: ἔθνη δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Παννονίων Βρεῦκοι καὶ Ἀνδιζήτιοι καὶ Διτίωνες καὶ Πειροῦσται καὶ Μαζαῖοι καὶ Δαισιτιᾶται, ὧν Βάτων ἡγεμών, καὶ ἄλλα ἀσημότερα μικρά). The *Azali* are nowhere mentioned in the Save valley. It is my intent to explore elsewhere some issues regarding the ethnic composition of the tribe.

⁴⁸ Tripumphal logic can be grasped through Pliny's account on Alpine tribes. He cites the inscription on *Tropaeum Alpium* in which 46 Alpine tribes are enumerated; later he adds the names of the tribes that were not listed in the *tropaeum* because they were not hostile: (Plin. *NH* III 20: *non sunt adiectae Cotianae civitates XV quae non fuerunt hostiles*).

⁴⁹ Vell. Pat. II 115.4.

absence from the official lists of peregrine communities preserved in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* implies that their *civitas*⁵⁰ was abolished after the Great revolt (6–9 AD)⁵¹. The tribal territory of the former *civitas Pirustarum* was most probably included in the large imperial domain in the eastern Dalmatia⁵².

II. Transdanubian operations

The operations against Dacians are commemorated in the *Res Gestae* (c. 30): *Citra quod Dacorum transgressus exercitus meis auspiciis victus profligatusque est, et postea trans Danuvium ductus exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit*. According to Syme, whose work remains essential, it must be Lentulus' expedition across the Danube⁵³. Instructive is the passage in Florus that provides some more details: *Daci montibus inhaerent. Inde Cotisonis regis imperio, quotiens concretus gelu Danuvius iunxerat ripas, decurrere solebant et vicina populari. Visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam summovere. Misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem perpulit ripam; citra praesidia constituta. Sic tum Dacia non victa, sed summota atque dilata est*⁵⁴. The relief of the ἔθνος Δακῶν without doubt relates to the same event. The advancement of the Empire to the Danube increased the importance of keeping the Dacians at bay⁵⁵, therefore Transdanubian operations in the time of Augustus (*M. Vinicius, Aelius Catus, Cornelius Lentulus*⁵⁶) must be viewed as interrelated with the events in Illyricum.

⁵⁰ After the Third Illyrian War, *Pirustae* had the status of *civitas libera et immunis*. Liv. XLV 26; G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest 1965, p. 176.

⁵¹ Alföldy 1965, pp. 57–58; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, pp. 172–174; *idem*, *Illyrians*, London 1992; 1996, p. 578. It is frequently cited that the *Pirustae* were divided into three smaller units: *Cerauni*, *Scirtari*, and *Siculotae*, but the evidence speaks against this hypothesis.

⁵² S. Dušanić, “Organizacija rimskog rudarstva u Noriku, Panoniji, Dalmaciji i Gornjoj Meziji”, *Istorijski glasnik* 1, 1980, p. 23, p. 40; S. Loma, “Zur Frage des Municipiums S. und seines Namens”, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'épigraphie offerts à Fanoula Papazoglou*, Beograd 1997, pp. 185–230; S. Loma, “*Princeps i peregrini incolae* u municipiju S(plonistarum?)”, *ŽAnt* 52, 2002, pp. 145–55.

⁵³ R. Syme, “Lentulus and the Origin of Moesia”, *JRS* 24, 1934, 116= Syme 1971 (n. 25), p. 43; R. Syme, “The Early History of Moesia”, *Provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC–AD 14*, Exeter 1999, pp. 211–13.

⁵⁴ Flor. II 28.

⁵⁵ R. Syme, “Caesar's Designs on Dacia and Parthia”, *Provincial ...* (n. 53) 1999, pp. 174–192.

⁵⁶ On Augustan victories over Dacians cf. Nic. Damasc. *FGrH* F 125; Flor. II 21; Eutrop. VII 9; Oros. VI 22.1; Cass. Dio LIV. 36. 2. For M. Vinicius: *ILS* 8965; R.

III. *Final conquest of Dardania*

The fact that the *Dardani* (n. 5) appear in the series which commemorates the Augustan conquests is of great importance⁵⁷. The final subjugation of the Dardanians falls in the time of Augustus, but the evidence on the date and the circumstances are lacking⁵⁸. Now, the inscription does not provide us with particular details, but it reinforces the earlier conclusions regarding their reduction. After the war of C. Scribonius Curio (75–3 BC)⁵⁹, *Dardani* were in a semi-dependent position. Records of subsequent operations against Dardanians indicate that a large portion of Dardania was free of direct Roman rule⁶⁰. According to Appian, Antonius undertook the campaign against Dardanians in 39–38 BC, led by a recently identified general M. Insteius⁶¹. The last campaign against the *Dardani* recorded in our sources is that of M. Crassus (29–28 BC)⁶². The year 28 BC is usually taken to be the end of Dardanian independency and most probably the one that was commemorated in the Augustus' series of subdued nations. The *Dardani* figure as a peregrine community of Moesia in Pliny's geographical account⁶³ which draws upon an early, Augustan source⁶⁴.

Syme, "M. Vinicius (cos. 19)", *CQ* 27, 1933 = Syme 1971, pp. 26–39; *Aelius Catus*: Strab. VII 3.10; Syme 1971, pp. 53–55, p. 69.

⁵⁷ Cf. R. Syme, "Macedonia and Dardania 80–30 BC", *Provincial ...* 1999 (n. 53), pp. 129–50.

⁵⁸ F. Papazoglu, "*Srednjobalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*", Beograd 1969, p. 143; R. Syme, "Macedonia and Dardania 80–30 BC" (n. 53); V. Petrović, "*Dardanija u rimskim itinerarima. Gradovi i naselja*", Belgrade 2007, esp. 21 (on early date of Roman roads in Dardania); V. Petrović, "Pre-Roman and Roman Dardania Historical and Geographical Considerations", *Balkanica* 37, 2006, pp. 7–23.

⁵⁹ Flor. I 39. Papazoglu 1969 (n. 58), pp. 137–40.

⁶⁰ Papazoglu 1969 (n. 58), pp. 142–43.

⁶¹ P. M. Nigdelis, "M. Insteius L.F. αυτοκράτωρ et la province de Macédoine au début du second triumvirat: à propos d'une inscription inédite d'Europos", *BCH* 118/1, 1994, pp. 215–228; *SEG* 42, 575. The author identifies M. Insteius of the inscription from Europos (Macedonia, Paionia) with Appian's *Ignotus* (App. *BC* V 75, 320). cf. R. Syme, "The provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC–AD 14", *Provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans* 80 BC–AD 14, Exeter 1999 [A. Birley], p. 150, n. 122.

⁶² Cass. Dio LI 23.2–27.3; Papazoglou 1969 (n. 58), pp. 142–143; Syme 1999 (n. 57), p. 147.

⁶³ Plin. *NH* III 149.

⁶⁴ Sallmann 1971 (n. 12), p. 101.

IV. *Suppression of the Thracians*

The inscription of the Bessi from Aphrodisias (n. 6) and a recently discovered mural inscription from Valencia⁶⁵ symbolize successful pacification of the Thracians. Against Bessi Romans led several campaigns⁶⁶, including the one under Augustus' birth-father C. Octavius⁶⁷. Appian mentions the tribe Bessi among the tribes that surrendered to Octavianus in 35 BC⁶⁸, but the evidence is spurious⁶⁹. The *simulacra* of the Bessi should undoubtedly be associated with the *bellum Thracicum* (12–10 BC) of L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 15)⁷⁰, which was waged simultaneously with Tiberius' operations in Illyricum⁷¹. Piso crushed the revolt of the Bessi led by Vologaesus, the priest of Dionysus and was rewarded with triumphal honours⁷².

The subjugation of Illyricum and the Balkan lands and the advancement of the frontier to the Danube were significant achievements of Augustus' Principate. These events were apparently well presented in the Augustan ideological and triumphal imagery, therefore this aspect should be further explored, especially since new evidence has come to light. The study of this type of monuments can help improve the understanding the Augustan conquest of the Balkans.

⁶⁵ Paz de Hoz (n. 8), p. 132, pp. 135–6: Βέσσων[ν].

⁶⁶ M. Lollius 16 BC (Cass. Dio LIV 20.3).

⁶⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 3.2.

⁶⁸ App. *Ill.* 17.

⁶⁹ W. Schmitthenner, "Octavians militärische Unternehmungen in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.," *Historia* 7/2, 1958, p. 206. M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, Ljubljana 2005, p. 416.

⁷⁰ Wilkes 1996 (n. 5), p. 551; R. Syme, "The Early History of Moesia", *Provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC–AD 14*, Exeter 1999, p. 204.

⁷¹ Syme 1971 (n. 25), p. 21; Syme 1999 (n. 57), p. 142.

⁷² Liv. *Per.* 140; Dio LIV 34, 5–7; Vell. Pat. II 98; Flor. II 27; Sen. *Ep.* 83.14. Cf. *ILS* 918; Syme 1971, p. 65; Syme 1999 (n. 70), p. 203.

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Fig. 1. Inscriptions from Aphrodisias, photographs: J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, “*Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*”, London 2007, <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>: a) Iapodes (*I Aph* 9.22); b) Andizetes (*I Aph* 9.23); c) Pirustae (*I Aph* 9.18); d) Dacians (*I Aph* 9.20); e) Dardanians (*I Aph* 9.24); f) Bessi (*I Aph* 9.9).