

Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography

The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition

Edited by

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The Romans and the World's Measure

Anne Kolb

1 Setting the Scene

In the early 60s Nero sent explorers to Southern Sudan. According to Seneca (*Q Nat.* 6.8), the soldiers were instructed to investigate the sources of the Nile, an undertaking instigated by Nero's great interest in science. Pliny (*HN* 6.181) and Cassius Dio (63.8.1), on the other hand, both rightly suspected a political motive, namely military reconnaissance for a potential Ethiopian campaign. Dio explains that Nero later discarded these expansionist plans since the enterprise seemed too difficult and time-consuming. The results of the military expedition are nevertheless recorded in detail by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 6.184): the scouts surveyed a corridor of land extending more than 975 miles south of Egyptian Syene (modern Assuan) and returned to the Emperor with precise measurements of the distances between the towns as well as a map of the country (*forma Aethiopiae*).¹

Roman assessment of space was largely based on measuring and surveying the territory to be explored. According to the predominant one-dimensional and road-oriented model of spatial assessment this was the only way of determining the extent and structure of geographical regions, allowing for the calculation and implementation of military actions and administrative measures alike. These aims show how narrowly the Romans conceived of geography: its employment was primarily considered for its practical value, be it political, military or administrative.

Due to their extensive conquest of the regions around the Mediterranean (*mare nostrum*), the Romans ruled an Empire of enormous extent, encompassing about 50 to 80 million people on an area of approximately 6 million square kilometres. Ancient authors from the Republic onwards highlight these vast territorial dimensions as an exceptional achievement and even as a characteristic of the Roman Empire. Already Polybius (1.1.5; 1.2.7; 1.3.9–10; 3.1.4)

1 Plin., *HN* 12.18ff.; see most recently Heil 1997, 164–166 for a discussion of the sources and research. He rightly emphasises that soldiers were sent out rather than geographers but also argues that Pliny's expedition cannot be the same as the one mentioned by Seneca, based on slight differences in the description.

noted the submission of the entire inhabited world (*oikoumene*) under Roman rule, and the Empire's territory was soon equated with the *orbis terrarum* (Cic., *Phil.* 4.14–15.; *Mur.* 22; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.3.3; Strab. 6.4.1), soon coming to be described as the *orbis Romanus* from Augustus onwards (e.g., title of *Res gestae divi Augusti*). The consolidation and administrative pervasion of this global Empire was the primary aim of the Roman rulers, an aim they sought to achieve by imposing administrative subdivisions and creating a functional infrastructure for logistics and communication: the provinces, customs areas and self-administering territories testify to this, as does the infrastructure with its roads, waterways and associated structures, which created an expansive and connective network estimated to have spanned 500,000 km or more.² This network facilitated travel and made destinations all over the Empire accessible, both near and far, and not only to emperors and their officials, but to everyone.

With this in mind it comes as no surprise that the Romans, unlike the Greeks, had little interest in scientific geography and assessments of the world based on mathematics and physics. The form of Greek geography developed in Roman times likewise largely rejected scientific geography in favour of cultural geography.³ Authors such as Strabo saw the main functions of geographical information in providing the political leadership with a good basis for its decisions⁴ and avoiding errors on account of deficient topographical knowledge (Strab. 1.1.16–17). Leaving aside the small number of known scientific geographers such as Claudius Ptolemy, who drew on Eratosthenes for his attempt at a cartographic representation of the earth's orb,⁵ this pragmatic approach can be traced throughout the descriptive geographies produced by authors of the Republic and early Empire. Intellectuals without specialised knowledge of the field, including Cicero, who gave up his plans of writing a geographical work of his own (Cic., *Att.* 2.6.1 i.a.), considered scientific geography an *obscurior scientia* (Cic., *De or.* 1.14.59). Cultural geography and ethnography, however,

2 Forbes 1965, 151, calculates 90,000 km of public roads and a network (together with other road types) of 300,000 km; ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (<http://orbis.stanford.edu/#rivertransport>) counts 84,631 km of roads, 180,033 km of seaways and 28,272 km of navigable waters. On Roman roads see Pekáry 1968; Rathmann 2003; Kolb 2005; Quilici 2008; Kolb 2014.

3 Gisinger 1924, 622–80; Engels 1999, 165, *passim*; for the development of descriptive geography see Clarke 1999, 1–76; Dueck 2012, 20–67.

4 According to Engels 1999, 161–162 this was a topos of Hellenistic historiography also in Polybius; on geography in Polybius see recently Engels 1999, 147–165; Clarke 1999, 77–128.

5 His surviving handbook of geography (*Geographike Hyphegesis*) unfortunately only details his collection of data for 26 regional maps and a world map; on his method see Geus 2007b, 159–166.

flourished, as is exemplified by the works of Poseidonius and Strabo.⁶ Roman generals and politicians required only practically oriented geographical knowledge, as is made clear by the works of Caesar and Agrippa, in which distances as well as length and breadth measurements serve the purpose of assessing and describing the space of the Empire.⁷ Besides lists of routes both on water (*periploi*) and on land (*itineraria*), we also have various indications that graphical representations of areas (like the *forma Aethiopiae* Plin., *HN* 12.18ff. or *situs depicti* Plin., *HN* 6.40) were made and used for practical purposes.⁸ The comprehensive survey of the Empire traceable in Agrippa's *commentarii* and in his so-called "world map", publicly accessible in the Porticus Vipsania in Rome,⁹ simultaneously attest to the importance of these measures. Authors such as Pliny the Elder (*HN*) and the unknown writers behind the *Demensuratio provinciarum* and the *Divisio orbis terrarum* (4th cent.) built on these achievements.¹⁰ Both late antique authors note the length and breadth of regions in the *oikoumene* and provide information about rivers, oceans, mountain ranges and cities. Finally, the Roman desire for structure, based on surveying und subdividing small areas and large regions alike, is still visible even in the 7th century author Isidorus of Sevilla (15.15): *Maiores itaque orbem in partibus, partes in provinciis, provincias in regionibus, regiones in locis, loca in territoriis, territoria in agris, dividerunt.*

By contrast with these geographical descriptions, however, other sources shed some light on the theory and practice of actual land surveys. These include the works of the surveyors with their technical and legal observations, but also inscriptions that document the establishment of borders based on the surveying of territories. Furthermore, there are various forms of evidence related to roads, including itineraries, building inscriptions and milestones,

6 Clarke 1999, 193–336, also on Poseidonius 129–192; Engels 1999, *passim*.

7 Caesar's geographical descriptions are mainly to be found in *Gall.*; the question of suspected interpolations of his geographical passages is conveniently summarised by Krebs 2006, 115 n. 21. For the work of Agrippa see *e.g.* Engels 1999, 359–377; Hänger 2007; now Arnaud (in this vol.).

8 The existence of ancient maps is most recently postulated by Rathmann 2013b, though he admits that they had little relevance for practical use, but see otherwise Brodersen 2012b who rejects the existence of maps in the Greek and Roman world. The role of the army in gathering geographical knowledge and its documentation is discussed by Mattern 1999, 26–41, who supports plans and maps; for *itineraria* see below.

9 Although some recent research still considers it possible that the "world map" was in fact a text, Brodersen 2003², 268–28 and Brodersen 2012b, 108–109, a graphical representation of the *orbis terrarum* appears more likely, see Hänger 2007.

10 Brodersen 1996.

all of which provide information about the measures used to penetrate conquered territory, an aim the Romans largely pursued by building and marking roads. This contribution uses these sources to study the processes of surveying and assessing space in the Roman Empire.

2 Surveying

The legal right to possess land was always the foundation of spatial order, which was inevitably based on the survey of plots of land on a local level. Forms of real estate had to be distinguished to define property rights, rights of way, and other usage rights and charges, leading to the differentiation of real estate categories (*ager publicus*, *ager privatus*). On the local scale *centuriatio* and *limitatio* served to subdivide areas when new colonies were founded or plots distributed to veterans and settlers. The division of land in the Roman Empire thus begins with its expansion in the 4th century BC. Specialists (*agrimensores*, *finitores*, *gromatici*, *mensores*), usually military or state officials, were responsible for this task. The writings of the surveyors (*Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*), compiled in the 5th century AD, show their duties and methods, but also the problems they encountered, including legal disputes about land categorisations and boundaries.¹¹ The results of their activities are still visible in archaeological remains of grid structures on the land, but also in epigraphic sources that document the geodetic assessment of the landscape by means of boundary stones and land registries (*formae*). The surveyors state that the land division should be codified on location on a *forma*, with a copy being sent to the archive in Rome.¹² So far, this practice is documented only by a few fragments of bronze and stone plans from Italy and the provinces¹³ as well as by a bronze tablet from *Ilici/Elche* in Spain containing measurements and a list of

11 Dilke 1971; Von Cranach 1996; Campbell 2000; Lewis 2001; Willi 2014 summarises the process of land division and the sources.

12 Sic. Flacc. (Campbell 2000) 120, 22–32; Hyg. Grom. (Campbell 2000) 158, 26–34. On the *forma* see also Nicolet 1988, 163–179; Moatti 1993, esp. 31–48, 88–97; in short Campbell 1996, 88–90; Chouquer and Favory 2001, 45–49. Archaeological remains of Roman grid structures from North Italy, Croatia, North Africa and France are presented by Bradford 1957, esp. 155–216; on archaeomorphological analyses in the hinterland of Tarraco see recently Palet and Orengo 2011.

13 See bronze plans from Verona *AE* 2000, 620 and Cavalieri-Manassé 2004 and from Spanish Lacimurga *AE* 1990, 529; for the marble fragments from Orange (Arausio) see Piganiol 1962. On the marble plan of Rome, the *Forma urbis*, Rosada 2007; on plans in general and the *forma* in particular see Dilke 1971, 82–177; Hänger 2001, 21–61, esp. 27–43.

names as a result of the allocation (*sortitio*).¹⁴ On the ground, the boundaries were marked by boundary stones (*terminatio*) with inscriptions that defined the border (*finis*), but only rarely provide measurements.¹⁵ Some of them bear the names of the responsible officials, *e.g.* the *tresviri agris iudicandis adsignandis* of the Gracchan land reform (*CIL* I² 639–645; 2932–2935) or a provincial governor.¹⁶

The epigraphic monuments of the imperial period often document the decision-making process behind a *terminatio* that drew boundaries between the territories of tribes and communities or private individuals, conducted by Roman state officials. The borders, or rather the size of the resulting area, determined the revenue generated from civic real estate and the tax revenue earned by state and local community. Location and size of private real estate were crucial for determining not only rights of way, but also taxes and duties, *e.g.* regarding the maintenance of roads and contributions to state-run logistics and transportation services. This frequently resulted in problems and disputes about area boundaries. Such disputes were often resolved by governors, imperial legates and other officials of the Roman state, but usually only once the communities or individuals involved had failed to find a solution and had appealed to the official representatives for help.¹⁷ This process is mainly documented by a number of inscriptions with the formula *ex auctoritate / iussu imperatoris*, showing that the actions of the magistrates in establishing boundaries between city territories were sanctioned by imperial mandate.¹⁸ As permanent monuments in the public sphere, however, such delimitation inscriptions document only the results relevant to all parties, by identifying the

14 *AE* 1999, 960 and Olesti-Vila and Mayer 2001.

15 The boundary stones were set up either at the corners or along an edge after the boundary had been established and documented in a deed to allow for later verification, see *ILS* 9382: *ter(minus) vetus positus secundum acta*. In Rome, the distance to the next marker is given by the boundary stones of the *pomerium* as well as those found along the bank of the Tiber or the protective strips along water conduits as in *CIL* VI 40852–40881; see in short Kolb 2003.

16 *E.g.* *ILS* 9378 (Corinium, Dalmatia): [*Finis*] *inter An[--- et] / [Co]riniens(es) secundum / [c]onventionem utrius/que partis directus mensu/[ris] actis iussu A(uli) Duceni / [Gem]ini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)*.

17 Eck 1990; Burton 2000; detailed discussion in Elliott 2004; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002, 103–116; Cuomo 2007, 103–130; Wesch-Klein 2008, 142–144.

18 These cases lead one to suppose that the communities appealed directly to the emperor, see Eck 1990; cf. however Burton 2000, 213, who also considers the possibility that the phrase is simply a reference to the *mandata* of the functionary. On the formula on milestone stones cf. Rathmann 2003, 78–80.

authority responsible for the *terminatio* and thereby guaranteeing the legitimacy of the verdict. The practicalities of the survey that necessarily preceded such a pronouncement are usually not recorded,¹⁹ since the measurements²⁰ and the names of the responsible surveyors are only rarely given.²¹ Rare examples of the practicalities are provided, however, by a number of related documents from the alpine region, consisting of a delimitation inscription and four boundary stones,²² as well as through four boundary stones from Thracian Philippopolis.²³ Such more detailed documents are the exception, however.²⁴

All known documents show that land survey in the Roman Empire took place on a small scale and was thus closely linked to a local mindset and frame of reference.

3 The Infrastructural Pervasion of Space

As regards the organisation and administration of the Empire, its spatial pervasion with roads and other infrastructure was of fundamental importance. This process becomes tangible mainly in the construction of the public roads (*viae publicae*) from the 4th century BC onwards, aimed at connecting the newly acquired territories to the centre of the Empire and thus contributing to their military security. The creation of the great state roads thus largely reflects the progress of Roman expansion, beginning in Italy and spreading both west and

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- 19 In some cases the performance of a survey is at least mentioned, as in *CIL* X 1018 = *ILS* 5942 (Pompeii).
- 20 *CIL* VIII 22786: *Leg(io) III A[ug(ustae)] / leimitavit (sic) / C(aio) Vibio Marso / proco(n) s(uli) III / d(extra) d(ecumani) LXX / u(ltra) k(ardinem) CCLXXX.*
- 21 *CIL* III 586 = 12306 = *ILS* 5947a (Lamia, Macedonia); *CIL* VIII 25988, 2b = *ILS* 9387, *CIL* VIII 25988, 7b. 12b.
- 22 *CIL* XII 113 (p. 805) = *ILS* 5957 = *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise* V/2, Rémy 2004, no. 546 (Passy, *Gallia Narbonensis*): a demarcation-inscription from Passy establishes the boundaries between the community of Vienna/Vienne (*Gallia Narbonensis*) and *Forum Claudii Ceutronum/Aime-en-Tarentaise (Alpes Poeninae et Graiae)*. Boundary stones (all from *Gallia Narbonensis*): Rémy, 2004, nos. 543–544 (La Giétaz or Cordon); 545 (Cordon); 546 (Passy). Cf. *CIL* XIII 6619 (p. 102) = *ILS* 9377 (Miltenberg, *Germania superior*): this mighty boundary column likewise marked community borders.
- 23 Nigelidis and Sverkos 2009, 166–167 also with other examples.
- 24 *SEG* XXIV 1108–1109 (Histria, Moesia inferior, 100 AD): These two bilingual inscriptions give the course of the boundary and the relevant measurements, but also document the governor defining borders as a result of an appeal regarding customs duties; similar processes are visible on the Republican bronze tablet (*sententia Minuciorum*) *CIL* V 7749 = *ILS* 5946 (Genova, Liguria).

east. On the Italian peninsula, Rome's expansion into the south first resulted in the construction of the *Via Appia* (after 312 BC: Frontin., *Aq.* 5), the first systematically planned state road that provided a shorter and faster route south than the mountainous *Via Latina* or the coastal roads.²⁵ Furthermore, Horace (*Sat.* 1.5) describes a drainage canal also used for towing which was built between Forum Appii and Feronia for the purpose of crossing the Pontine marshes. This project allowed this difficult area to be traversed easily all year round. The example shows that roads and canals were complementary parts of the same infrastructural system, a system that also drew on lakes and rivers (as in the Rhone-Saone region) besides the Mediterranean. This logistical infrastructure of the Empire developed piece by piece by incorporating and expanding existing connections, but also by establishing new routes, especially as part of the process of provincialisation after the conquest of new territory. Various sources also show some degree of structural planning, the basis of which was of course provided by land surveys and the construction and optimisation of communication routes.²⁶

Since these lines of communication were designed to be directly connective, this process of spatial pervasion followed a concept of linearity. With the aid of technically challenging structures (bridges, tunnels), obstacles were lessened or removed, as Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 7) notes when discussing the road-building policy of Tiberius Gracchus. The logistics infrastructure was therefore based on a linear, road-oriented perception of space that ignored the results produced by scientific geography, i.e. the geometrical study of two-dimensional space.²⁷ Its usual implementation is visible in three main classes of documents: 1) building inscriptions that visualise the pervasion of space by manifestly presenting routes, 2) milestones that are the characteristic feature of the *viae publicae* as markers of distance, 3) itineraries that describe one or more routes in literary or epigraphic form.

3.1 *Building Inscriptions as Media of Spatial Pervasion*

The oldest document of the first type is the famous Elogium from Polla (end of the 2nd cent. BC), the text of which presents the space made accessible by the newly constructed road from Capua to Rhegium.²⁸ The inscription lists the most significant places along the road as well as the distances between them;

25 Radke 1973, 1439–1539; Della Portella 2003; in short Quilici 2008, 553–558.

26 Strab. 4.6.11; for the development of the infrastructure Kolb 2012.

27 Janni 1984, 90–158; Brodersen 2003², 54–65, 165–171, 191–194; Hänger 2001, 157–163.

28 *CIL* x 6950 (p. 1019) (Forum Popillii). On the identification of P. Popilius Laenas (cos. 132) as the builder see Camodeca 1997, 266.

it thereby provides a precursor for epigraphic records of building from imperial times that list precisely measured distances in their public visualisation of the infrastructural improvements made by the responsible official or emperor. Imperial monuments of this kind include the so-called *Tabulae Dolabellae* from Dalmatia that document the expansion of at least five roads in the new province under Emperor Tiberius as well as the *Stadiasmos* monument from Lycian Patara that manifests the gratitude of the provincials to Emperor Claudius for ending the civil wars and initiating the construction work on the roads.²⁹ As the distances given in the inscriptions suggest, the construction of roads was probably usually preceded by a demarcation of plots of land or a land reform. On the local level this can be observed on nine stones from the area around *Hierapytna* (in South-Eastern Crete) where Claudius commissioned the construction of roads and paths.³⁰ The double function of Paconius Agrippinus as *quaestor* and official for the determination of boundaries suggests that the first step was to create a land registry. The steles (all from the territory of this one *polis*) should thus be regarded not only as records of building, but also as boundary markers.³¹

The measures taken on Crete, put into place after the turmoil of the civil wars and the final establishment of the province by Augustus, seem to be comparable to the interest of Claudius and his governor Quintus Veranius in building roads and paths in the newly established province of *Lycia*, as is shown by the inscriptions on the *Stadiasmos* monument from Patara (45 AD). The monument combines honours for Claudius with a dossier documenting building activity and a road network: 65 routes of the province of *Lycia* are listed, complete with their lengths.³² Since the Lycians erected the monument, all distances are given in Greek stadia, suggesting that already existing records of established roads and plot boundaries were of primary importance. In part

29 *Tabulae Dolabellae*: *CIL* XVII 4 (fasc. 2) p. 130–133 (Dalmatia); Kolb 2013a, 216–218; *Stadiasmos*: *SEG* LI 1832 = *SEG* LVII 1670 = Şahin and Adak 2007; Kolb 2013a, 206–214.

30 *IC* III p. 64–66 no. 25–29; *SEG* IL 1231 = *AE* 1999, 1742; *SEG* LVI 1051–1054. Quintus Paconius Agrippinus (*PIR*² P 27) is also known from a series of delimitations in Kyrenaika under Vespasian *SEG* I 1630; Nigeldidis and Sverkos 2009.

31 Two further inscriptions from *Hierapytna* may indicate earlier delimitations by order of Augustus, and may even attest actual road building activity *IC* III p. 73 no. 62; *IC* III p. 74 no. 63; see Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 559–574.

32 As Şahin and Adak 2007 justifiably suppose, the stone is a base for an equestrian statue of Claudius; on the layout and structure of the list of routes Salway 2007, 195–203; Graßhoff and Mittenhuber 2009. A practical function of the list of routes as an itinerary for travelers, as is postulated by Salway 2001 and Salway 2007, 194–201, should be rejected: Kolb 2007, 179–180, Kolb 2013a, 206–214.

they will undoubtedly have been updated and adapted with the help of Roman surveyors.³³ However, neither a comprehensive land survey, nor real road building activity will have been possible for the Romans in the short time span between the annexation and the construction of the monument (43–45 AD). It seems clear, for example, that at the time of the erection of the *Stadiasmos* monument only a short stretch of 32 stadia (four Roman miles) of road in the northwest of the province had been completed.³⁴ Other Lycian evidence for the construction of roads and bridges³⁵ does, however, indicate a large-scale and long-term initiative by Claudius—and his successors—aimed at establishing, expanding and optimising the traffic infrastructure of the new province. The land surveys were thus performed as part of the imperial interest in roads and paths.

Some other well-known inscriptions that present roads, places and distances can similarly be interpreted as building inscriptions that simultaneously visualise the appropriation and pervasion of space:³⁶ The stone pillar found in the vicinity of Tongeren (*Atuatuca Tungrorum*, 3rd cent.) gives three routes that seem to have begun in Tongeren;³⁷ fragments of three small 3rd century marble tablets from Autun (*Augustodunum*)³⁸ attest three routes in Gaul; a stele from the province of *Arabia* (apparently from the year 273) provides information about the space made accessible by an emperor's building activity along a road connecting Bostra and Dumata.³⁹

33 On earlier land surveys cf. Strab. 14.3.6–8. This argument is not contradicted by the large proportion of even distance numbers which indicate a conversion of Roman miles into stadia (8 stadia = 1 Roman mile), cf. differently Şahin and Adak 2007, 107, 120; Salway 2007, 201; Graßhoff and Mittenhuber 2009, 26, 159. See also Grewe 2013, 128–135.

34 Şahin and Adak 2007, 41 C 3–4 (STR 42).

35 *SEG* LII 1438 (Limyra, Lycia et Pamphylia, 45 AD); *AE* 1998, 1399 (Oinoanda, Lycia et Pamphylia, 50 AD).

36 Differently Salway 2001, 59, who interprets the inscriptions as “instruments of public display” intended for use by travellers; likewise Salway 2007; on the documents see also Fugmann 1999; Brodersen 2003², 172–184; Kolb 2007.

37 *CIL* XVII 2, 675 = *CIL* XIII 9158 = *ILS* 5839: small fragment of octagonal column (height ca. 40–50 cm, letters 1,5–3,3 cm).

38 *CIL* XVII 2, 490 = *CIL* XIII 2681 = *ILS* 5838: originally a marble pillar or base (frag. b: 16 × 26 × 17 cm, letters 1,2 cm); on this type cf. *CIL* XVII 2, 676 = XIII 4085 (between Junglinster and Bourglinster, Luxembourg, Gallia Belgica): fragment of a stone tablet (27 × 36 cm, letters 2,5 cm).

39 Kennedy 2004², 60–61 no. 2 (Qasr al Azraq, Arabia): stone block (48 × 29 × 26 cm).

3.2 *Milestones*

The largest group of epigraphic monuments that attest to the survey and assessment of space via traffic infrastructure consists of milestones.⁴⁰ Mile for mile they were set up along the public roads (*viae publicae*), but also along the canals which were also, like the roads, commissioned by Roman magistrates and emperors and intended to serve the logistical needs of the public.⁴¹ The stones helped travellers to orientate themselves since the milestones gave the distance to the actual or nominal beginning of the road (*caput viae*). Every milestone thus simultaneously provided a minimal itinerary: The distances given (Quint., *Inst.* 4.5.22) on a specific road allowed travellers to estimate how far they had come and how far they had yet to go.

The fact that various regions had extensive road networks resulting in great distances is reflected in inscriptions with high mile counts.⁴² It becomes clear then that it was always necessary to collect more detailed information from the available travelling handbooks and route descriptions, both as regards the course of the chosen route and the inns and roadhouses along the way. One must note, however, that such supra-regional connections were generally of relevance only to the emperor, his officials, and the army—at least if we disregard long-distance traders, business men and the handful of people taking a study tour of the Empire. Long routes consisted of chains of shorter stretches that had to be planned far ahead of time, complete with road stations and necessary turn-offs. This was especially true for larger undertakings.⁴³ The majority of travellers, however, covered only short distances within a single region, with the result that both public and private traffic infrastructure generally focused on short-distance connections. This is clearly visible in the list of routes recorded on the Lycian Stadiasmos monument. The network of roads evidently largely consisted of foot-paths and mule tracks, meaning that there were only few *viae publicae* and that most connections were of primarily regional importance⁴⁴ and not suitable for wagons due to the mountainous and fissured terrain.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the system behind the Lycian list of routes consists mainly in listing individual routes, based on their starting

40 Hirschfeld 1907; in short Kolb 2004; Kolb 2011.

41 *AE* 1983, 927 (Kucuk Dalyan Koyu, Syria); *CIL* III 12046 = *ILS* 5797 (Alexandria, Aegyptus); *AE* 1905, 39 = *ILS* 9370 (Alexandria, Aegyptus); Kolb 2012, 64–65.

42 See *e.g.* from Raetia *CIL* XVII 4, 1; 8–9; Hispania citerior *AE* 1961, 133; *CIL* II 4918; Syria *CIL* III 208 (p. 973); on *capita viarum* in the Western Empire see Rathmann 2004.

43 *E.g.* SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 45, 2: travel plans of Severus Alexander; on imperial travels see below.

44 Şahin and Adak 2007, 17, 107–108.

45 For a typology of Lycian roads see most recently Kolb 2008, 359–366.

points at settlements or junctions.⁴⁶ If one needed a longer connection that passed through several settlements, however, one had to string together segments scattered throughout the text.

Milestones further document the integration of peregrine populations into the Roman system of law and administration, since the permanent stone monuments mark the *viae publicae* as a Roman institution. The structure is visible in the titles of magistrates and rulers, but also in the use of Roman miles to express distances. Polybius (3.39.8) reports the length of the route from Southern Spain (*Carthago Nova*) to Italy using stadia, but also notes that the Romans had then accurately measured only part of the route (between Narbo/Narbonne and the mouth of the Rhône), marking it every eight stadia (ca. 1 m.p.) just as Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 7) later described it for the road building project of Gaius Gracchus. Pre-Roman markings were supplemented or replaced with milestones,⁴⁷ once the existing paths were expanded or integrated into the Roman road network. A unique exception is found in the Gallic and Germanic provinces, namely stone markers that give distances in Celtic *leugae* (1 *leuga* = 1,5 m.p.) instead of Roman miles. The oldest so far are of Trajanic date, but we have simultaneous and later milestones with measures in miles as well. It seems unlikely that this development was the result of a pursuit of local autarky or administrative restructuring.⁴⁸ Instead, the customary Celtic measurement seems to have been overlaid by the Roman measurements for a time, possibly only where Roman road building had in fact taken place, since even the *Tabula Peutingeriana* still gives measurements for the area in *leugae*. Along other roads or stretches of roads, especially those that were well established, Celtic markers may have been retained unless we want to assume that Augustus had *leuga*-stones set up that were later replaced with milestones.⁴⁹ This is suggested by the fact that various Gallic roads have provided no pre-Claudian milestones even though Roman infrastructural activity is known, e.g. during Agrippa's governorship in Gallia Lugdunensis (Strab. 4.6.11). The people of the Empire thus used their accustomed measurements for documenting distances, i.e. stadia in the case of Lycia (which incidentally never appear on milestones), even though the monument obviously also meant that the local population venerated the emperor as their new ruler and presented their province as equal to the highly civilised *orbis Romanus*.

46 On the systematics see Graßhoff and Mittenhuber 2009, 221–250.

47 For pre-Roman roads: Briant 2012; Kolb 2013b, 114 n. 40; Rathmann 2014a, 202–208.

48 For the discussion see in detail Rathmann 2003, 115–120, who interprets the *leuga* as an imperial innovation in Gaul without a pre-Roman tradition. The usual measure of 1 *leuga* as 2,220 m. is clarified by Grewe 2013, 131–134 in an example as 2,222 m.

49 Hirschfeld 1907, 721–723.

Roman respect for local traditions is the exception rather than the rule, mainly occurring when the populace was required to fulfil certain duties or when such demands were being newly implemented in a region. The governor of Galatia under Augustus, for example, used the customary Persian *schoinos* for measurements in defining the services required from the populace for state logistics.⁵⁰

As roads spread throughout the Empire, covering its provinces and landscapes, they intersected local fields and premises, dividing and fracturing them in the process. This affected property rights, but also resulted in obligations related to the construction and maintenance of built infrastructure and state-run transportation services (*vehiculatio* / *cursus publicus*). In this regard, the milestones that were set up as a result of the land surveys functioned not only as symbols of rule, but also as concrete border or zone markers for the exercise of Roman power, allowing them to replace boundary stones at the local level. This can be illustrated in detail by a fragmentary inscription from Phrygia documenting the dispute between two villages (in an imperial domain) about the responsibilities arising from transportation services along the roads in their area. These responsibilities were assigned based on the subdivision of the road by the milestones.⁵¹ In a similar manner, building inscriptions sometimes refer to milestones in defining either routes or the length and location of a newly constructed facility or of a repaired stretch of road by using milestones as the beginning- and end-points.⁵² In particularly remarkable locations, milestones and building inscriptions can also function as boundary markers and reference points. The stone from Rabland in the borderland between Italy and the province of *Raetia* (dated to 46 AD) celebrated the provision of Roman infrastructure from the Po in Italy to the Danube via the *Via Claudia Augusta*, spanning more than 350 Roman miles: . . . *viam Claudiam Augustam / quam Drusus pater Alpibus / bello patefactis derexerat (sic) / munit a flumine Pado at (sic) / flumen Danuvium per / m(ilia) p(assuum) CC[CL]*.⁵³ Similar markers have been found at other legally or topographically significant locations such as city gates, municipal borders or crossroads, where they provide information about certain routes and their respective lengths. Even today, the city gate of *Leptis Magna* features the milestone of a road leading out into the metropolis' southern back country: *Imp(eratoris) Ti(beri) Cae/saris Aug(usti)*

50 *SEG XXVI* 1392 (Sagalassos).

51 *SEG XVI* 754 l. 4–6; with Pekáry 1968, 135–137; French 1991, 57; French 1993.

52 *AE* 1979, 257 (Torviscos, Venetia et Histria); *CIL X* 1064 = *ILS* 5382 (Pompei, Campania); *CIL VIII* 26534 = Aounallah 2010, 288 (Thugga, Africa proconsularis).

53 *CIL V* 8003 = *CIL XVII* 4, 1; cf. *CIL V* 8002 = *ILS* 208.

/ iussu / L(ucius) Aelius Lam/ia proco(n)s(ul) ab / oppido in medi/terraneum di/ rexsit (sic) m(ilia) p(assuum) XLIV.⁵⁴ Starting from the coast, the interior of the country had been surveyed by the proconsul Aelius Lamia on Tiberius' orders (ca. 15/16 AD), providing infrastructure and 44 miles of road. The name of the settlement at which the road ended seems to have been of little significance, as it is not listed; presumably it was a small outpost or hardly known settlement.

On some occasions, milestones list several connections within a single region, complete with the respective distances. The most important and unparalleled example is a North African milestone from the year 220, listing the distance to the five most important cities of the two provinces *Africa* and *Numidia*.⁵⁵ In other cases, milestones accentuate the supra-regional connections of a region by including a more remote destination outside the province.⁵⁶ Rome is of course most common. The same function was probably fulfilled by the *miliarium aureum*, set up on the *Forum Romanum* by Augustus in the year 20 BC, after he had taken over the *cura viarum*—that is, if one wishes to follow the dominant assumption that the monument listed the roads that began in Rome, together with their destinations and lengths.⁵⁷

3.3 *Itineraries*

Itineraries, literature intended for practical use by travellers, likewise attest to a road-based perception of space since they also provide lists of routes and distances.⁵⁸ By contrast with their important function, however, the actual amount of surviving texts is very limited, even though one must assume that itineraries were widespread and commonly used both for private and administrative purposes. In official contexts they were relevant on all levels of state administration. Both the emperor and the army required itineraries to plan and prepare the logistics for imperial tours and campaigns.⁵⁹ Even in the 4th century, the military writer Vegetius (3.6) still mentions them as a widely used strategic aid. Governors and other imperial officials⁶⁰ likewise needed to possess detailed knowledge of the existing network of roads and its state

54 The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania, Reynolds and Perkins 1952, 930.

55 *CIL* VIII 10118 = 22247 = *ILAlg* I 3892 (Fedji–Souioud / Beida, 'Ain el, Numidia).

56 *E.g.* *AE* 2000, 195 (Savaria, Pannonia); *CIL* XVII 2, 291 (Roquefort-des-Corbieres, Gallia Narbonensis); *CIL* XVII 2, 298 (Saint-Couat-d'Aude, Gallia Narbonensis); Kolb 2007, 172–173.

57 Brodersen 2003², 254–255.

58 On itineraries in short see Fugmann 1999; Brodersen 2001; Hänger 2001, 95–163; Salway 2001; Brodersen 2003², 172–194; Kolb 2007; Salway 2007; Kolb 2013a.

59 Halfmann 1986, 65–110; SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 45. 2; *IGLS* IV 1346.

60 *E.g. curatores viarum, praefecti vehiculorum* see Eck 1979, 37–110; Kolb 2000, 152–165.

of repair since they were responsible for the extension and maintenance of both the traffic infrastructure and the state-run transportation service.⁶¹ The local authorities of cities and villages also possessed road registries for administrative purposes since they were responsible for the upkeep of various kinds of roads both inside the city and in its territory.⁶² In the private sector, the example of a certain Martina, who travelled via more than 50 *mansiones* from northern Gaul to Acelum/Asolo (near Treviso), the site of her husband's death, suggests that she knew of and used an itinerary of some sort.⁶³

Ancient itineraries survive in literary and epigraphic form and were often drawn up based on the traveller's needs. This procedure led to the creation of a first category of itineraries, consisting of individual lists of routes. This category also includes the oldest known example, the Augustan "Parthian stations" by Isidore of Charax. It sketches the way from Antioch on the Orontes along the Persian Royal Road to Alexandroupolis in Arachosia, giving the relevant way stations and distances.⁶⁴ Other important examples include the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*⁶⁵ that outlines the path taken by a Christian travelling from Bordeaux to Jerusalem in the year 333, or the notes taken by the jurist Theophanes on occasion of his official travels in the years 322/23 (?), which, although intended primarily for accounting purposes, include a list of way stations and distances between Hermopolis in Middle Egypt and Antioch in Syria.⁶⁶ Another individual itinerary is the *Itinerarium Alexandri* from the year 340, which describes the path taken to Persia by Alexander's army.⁶⁷ Late-antique travel journals such as the one kept by Egeria, who travelled the Holy Land between 381 and 384, also provide further information that goes beyond a mere itinerary.⁶⁸

A second category, namely lists that comprise numerous roads and routes, is attested for the 3rd century by the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Encompassing more than 225 routes and 2000 place names and distance figures from all over the

61 *E.g. Dig.* 50.4.1.2; 50.5.11; Pekáry 1968, esp. 113–138; Kolb 2000, 123–151; Rathmann 2003, 136–142.

62 See already *SEG* XXXVII 920 (340 BC, Erythrai); *OGIS* II 483 (Pergamon) with Hennig 1995, 248–249; for Rome *CIL* I² 593 (p. 724, 833, 916) = *ILS* 6085 l. 20–61 (Heraclea) with Frei-Stolba 1989.

63 *CIL* V 2108 (p. 1069) = *ILS* 8453 (Acelum, Venetia et Histria).

64 Schuol 2000, 114–117, 341, 388. This itinerary, however, could be part of a geographical report of or monograph on Parthia; Mattern 1999, 34–35.

65 Elsner 2000.

66 Matthews 2006.

67 Davies 1998; Tabacco 2000.

68 Röwekamp 1995; on itineraries in hagiography Günther 2002; Günther 2007.

Roman Empire, the work was probably a travel handbook that was used as a reference book for making individual plans.⁶⁹ Such literature had a long tradition, as is shown by a 1st century AD funerary inscription from Smyrna listing the works written by the deceased, a doctor named Hermogenes: besides numerous literary works, he had also produced two books of distance figures in stadia—one for Asia and one for Europe.⁷⁰

Finally, a rather more exceptional category seems to be mentioned by Vegetius (3.6) in his note on the various forms of itineraries: *itineraria. . . non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta*. Besides simple lists, both with and without comments, there must thus have been itineraries that were rendered in graphical form or included images (*itineraria picta*). It is conceivable that the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a medieval copy of a depiction of routes made in the 4th century, is the most famous example of this practice.⁷¹

Epigraphically preserved itineraries fall into two categories: on the one hand, they also provide documentation of individual journeys or single roads and routes, visible for example in an inscription fragment from a grave complex of Tiberian to Claudian date which provides a day by day break-down of a journey from Cilicia to Cappadocia,⁷² or a fragment from Valentia which lists place names between *Carthago Nova*/Cartagena and the Pyrenees.⁷³ On the other hand, “souvenirs” in the shape of cups or bowls attest travels to tourist destinations: the journey from Gades in Spain to Rome is documented by four silver cups from *Aquae Apollinares Novae*/Vicarello (50–150 AD),⁷⁴ while locations on Hadrian’s Wall are documented by bronze vessels from Amiens and Rudge.⁷⁵

4 Concluding Remarks

One must assume that besides milestones, building inscriptions, land registries, and official and private documents other helpers also existed—especially in the public sphere—to document the surveying and cultural pervasion of

69 Recently Salway 2007, 182–188, 203–205; Löhberg 2006.

70 *IK* 23. 536 (with *IK* 24 (2) p. 374, Smyrna, Asia).

71 Recently for the TP see Talbert 2010a; now also Rathmann, in this volume.

72 *CIL* VI 5076 (p. 3416), Hadrianic (?) with Halfmann 1986, 86. Not included is *AE* 1921, 6–9 clay tablets from Astorga, authenticity disputed; see further Kolb 2013a, 200 n. 26.

73 *CIL* II/14, 38 = II 6239 (Valentia, Hispania citerior).

74 *CIL* XI 3281–3284; on dating etc. Kolb 2013a, 202 n. 29.

75 *AE* 1950, 56; *CIL* VII 1291.

space. This is particularly pertinent for the orientation of travellers on public roads, who will certainly have been able to draw on other forms of assistance besides travel handbooks and milestones, i.e. wooden road signs. The fact that there is only one example of a milestone with a list of five routes (from North Africa) makes this clear beyond doubt. Since this object is unique among the almost 2000 milestones that survive from the same area and around 8000 from the whole Empire, it must induce one to postulate the existence of similar objects but made from perishable material. That public roads were generally fitted with less durable destination boards seems to be indicated already by the *tabellaria* mentioned in the Elogium of Polla as having been put up by the builder along his road.⁷⁶

Based on the evidence discussed it becomes clear that the Roman conception of space was genuinely represented through their measurement and survey of the world from a linear perspective.⁷⁷

76 *CIL* X 6950 (Forum Popillii, Regio III):... *viam fecei ab Regio ad Capuam et / in ea via ponteis omneis miliarios / tabelariosque poseivei hince sunt...*; on this see already Cary 1936; Kolb 2000, 26–27; differently Salway 2001.

77 Lately Talbert 2010b, 264–269 adds portable sundials to the sources for recovering the Roman worldview.

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