

RESETTLEMENT INTO ROMAN TERRITORY
ACROSS THE RHINE AND THE DANUBE
UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE (TO THE MARCOMANNIC WARS)*

By

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The purpose of this paper is to investigate the resettling of tribes from across the Rhine and the Danube onto their Roman side as part of the Roman *limes* policy, an important factor making the frontier easier to defend and one way of treating the population settled in the vicinity of the Empire's borders.

The temporal framework set in the title follows from both the state of preservation of sources attesting resettling operations as regards the first two hundred years of the Empire, the turn of the eras and the time of the Marcomannic Wars, and from the stark difference in the nature of those resettlements between the times of the Julio-Claudian emperors on the one hand, and of Marcus Aurelius on the other.

Such, too, is the thesis of the article: that the resettlements of the period of the Marcomannic Wars were a sign heralding the resettlements that would come in late antiquity¹, forced by peoples pressing against the river line, and eventually taking place completely out of Rome's control. Under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, on the other hand, the Romans were in total control of the situation and transferring whole tribes into the territory of the Empire was symptomatic of their active border policies.

There is one more reason to list, compare and analyse Roman resettlement operations: for the early Empire period, the literature on the subject is very much dominated by studies into individual tribe transfers, and works whose range en-

* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" LXXV 1987, fasc. 1, pp. 107–128.

¹ Literary sources listed in O. SEECK, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. I, Berlin 1895 (I have not had access to the widely cited 4th edition of 1921), pp. 532–533, n. 384. See also pp. 368–405: "Die Barbaren im Reich". SEECK only cites sources from Marcus Aurelius onwards, so naturally the resettlement operations analysed below are not included in his discussion. Of Polish literature, see M. SALAMON, *Polityka osiedlania plemion barbarzyńskich w prowincjach rzymskich za cesarza Probusa (276–282)*, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego XVIII 1971, pp. 95–103.

compasses the full length of the Rhine-Danube line are a rarity². Besides, not all analyses of Roman policy towards the frontier tribes notice resettlements, even though they undoubtedly make for an important component of that policy³.

RESETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE RHINE⁴

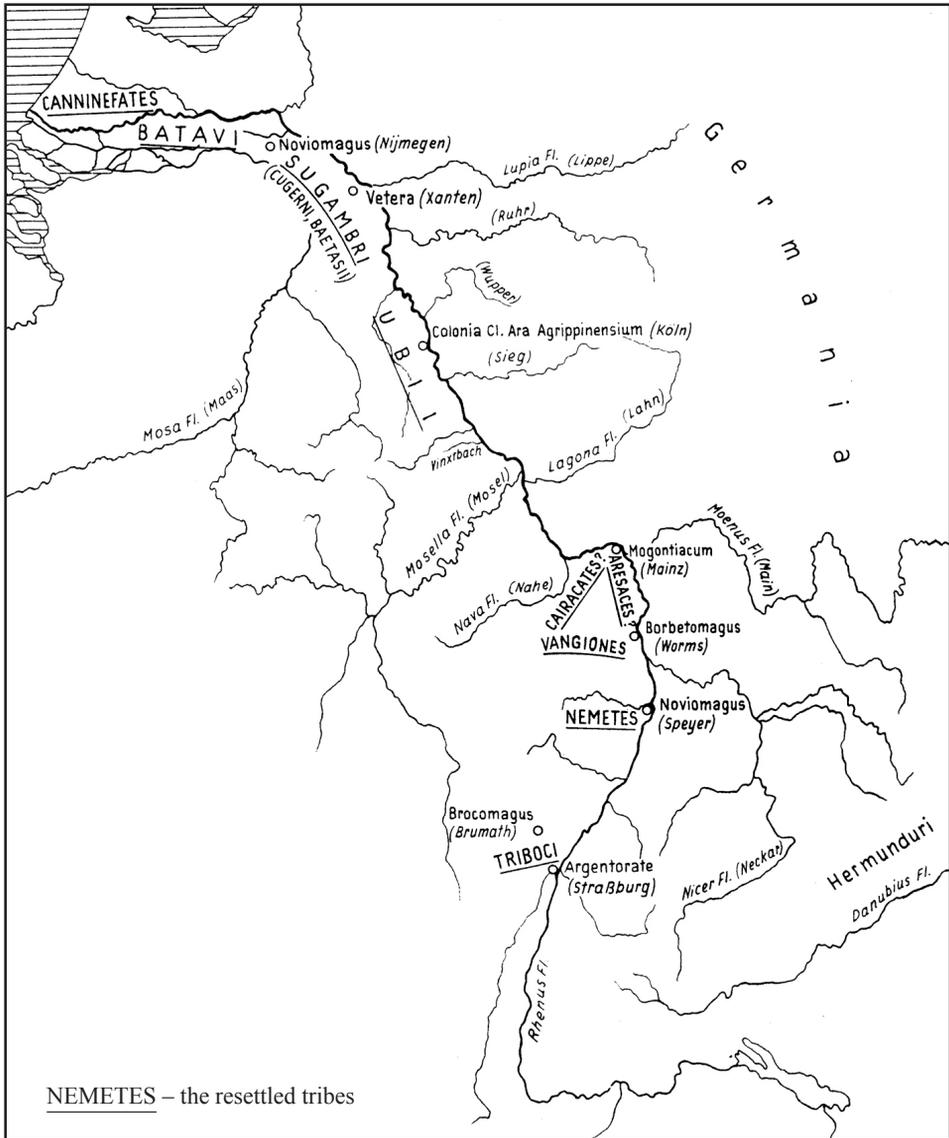
Roman active demographic policy on the Rhine was begun by Julius Caesar; his actions towards the Helvetii trying to transfer their homes to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean are common knowledge⁵, as are his wars in Gaul, which caused the depopulation of some areas, including the Rhineland (such as his extermination

² A. ALFÖLDI, *Rhein und Donau in der Römerzeit*, Pro Vindonissa XXII 1948–1949, pp. 5–21; IDEM, *Eine Übersiedlung von barbarischen Massen nach Pannonien unter Nero*, Aert LII 1939, pp. 263–265, where earlier literature is listed; K. TYMIENIECKI, *Limes Romanus*, Roczniki Historyczne XXVI 1960, pp. 241–245.

³ See e.g. W. ZWIKKER, *Studien zur Markussäule*, Amsterdam 1941, pp. 25–34: “Das Verhältnis der Römer zu den Grenzgebieten und das Verteidigungssystem”, where there is not a word about resettlements, although later in his work the author necessarily does discuss individual cases (from the times of the Marcomannic wars). In Polish literature: J. WIELOWIEJSKI, *Kontakty Noricum i Pannonii z ludami północnymi*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 184–188: “Główne elementy polityki Rzymian wobec ludów zadunajskich”.

⁴ ALFÖLDI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), passim. For ethnic and political changes on the Rhine and Danube at the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the next, and under the principate, see especially K. ZEUSS, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, Heidelberg 1925 (reprinted without modifications from a 1837 edition); L. SCHMIDT, *Die Westgermanen*, vol. I–II, München 1938–1940; J. KLOSE, *Roms Klientel-Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau. Beiträge zur ihrer Geschichte und rechtlichen Stellung im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert nach Christus*, Breslau 1934; H. NESSELHAUF, *Die Besiedlung der Oberrheinlande in römischer Zeit*, Badische Fundberichte XIX 1951, pp. 71–85; R. HACHMANN, G. KOSSACK, H. KUHN, *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, Neumünster 1962; *Das Römische Reich und seine Nachbarn*, ed. F. MILLAR, Frankfurt am Main 1966 (Fischer Weltgeschichte, vol. VIII, Die Mittelmeerwelt im Altertum IV), esp. chapters 12 (F. MILLAR), 15 (D. BERCIU) and 17 (G. KOSSACK); O. ROLLER, *Die Oberrheinlande in der Römerzeit*, Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins CXVII 1969, pp. 1–25; R. NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld von Diersheim. Studien zur Geschichte der Germanen am Oberrhein vom Gallischen Krieg bis zur alamannischen Landnahme*, Berlin 1966 (Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts zu Frankfurt am Main, vol. XXVIII), esp. pp. 182–234; *Die Römer am Rhein und Donau*, ed. R. GÜNTHER, H. KÖPSTEIN, Berlin 1978, pp. 32–59; K. CHRIST, *Zur augusteischen Germanienpolitik*, Chiron VII 1977, pp. 149–205 (reprinted in: IDEM, *Römische Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, vol. I, Darmstadt 1982, pp. 183–239); J. STRZELCZYK, *Słowianie i Germanie w Niemczech środkowych we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań 1976, pp. 13–34; J. DOBIAŚ, *Dějiny československého území před vystoupením Slovanů*, Praha 1964; M. FLUSS, *Moesia, Moesicae gentes*, RE XV 2 (1934), coll. 2348–2411; A. MÓCSY, *Pannonia*, RE Suppl. IX (1962), coll. 515–575; IDEM, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959; IDEM, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam 1970; IDEM, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London–Boston 1974, pp. 1–111; F. PAPAZOGLU, *Srednobalkanski plemena u predrimsko doba*, Sarajevo 1966; R. VULPE, I. BARNEA, *Din istoria Dobrogei*, vol. II, București 1966, pp. 1–179 (R. VULPE).

⁵ Caes. Gall. I 2–29.



Resettlements across the Rhine (drawing by L. Fijał).

of the Eburones⁶), which in turn enabled, or even provoked, some reshuffling of nearby peoples. It was also Caesar who stopped Germanic expansion into Gaul⁷

⁶ *Ibid.* VI 31–35.

⁷ SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. I, pp. 132–144; G. WALSER, *Caesar und Germanen*, Wiesbaden 1956, pp. 21–36; K. CHRIST, *Caesar und Ariovist*, in: *IDEM, Römische...* (n. 4), vol. I, pp. 92–133 (= Chiron IV 1974, pp. 251–292); E. KOESTERMANN, *Caesar und Ariovist*, *Klio* XXXIII 1940, pp.

by driving Ariovistus to the other side of the Rhine and preventing other Germanic tribes (e.g. the Usipetes and Tencteri) from settling on the West bank⁸, actions of huge importance for the next several hundred years of West European history. From Caesar's time on, the Rhine was the border between two worlds⁹: the Gallo-Roman, and the Germanic (or "barbarian"). Gaul was conquered by Caesar, and his successors had to give it proper organisational form; naturally the problem of population inhabiting the two sides of the Rhine became extraordinarily important. No wonder then that the intense campaign of "locating" whole tribes on the Rhine fell during the beginning of the principate. Below is their list in chronological order:

1. The Ubii¹⁰

(Strabo IV 3, 4): πέραν δὲ ᾤκουν Οὔβιοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον [i.e. opposite the Treveri], οὓς μετήγαγεν Ἀγρίππας ἐκόντας εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥήνου.

(Tac. *Germ.* 28): Ubii [...] transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

(Tac. *Ann.* XII 27): ac forte acciderat, ut eam (= Ubiorum) gentem Rhenum transgressam [...] Agrippa in fidem acciperet.

In Caesar's time the Ubii lived on the Rhine, between the lower courses of the Lahn (Laugona) and (probably) the Sieg¹¹. After the resettlement, their territory cen-

308–334; D. TIMPE, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze zwischen Caesar und Drusus*, in: *Monumentum Chiloniense*, Amsterdam 1975, pp. 124–147.

⁸ *Gall.* IV 1, 15; ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 88–90; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 189–194; KOESTERMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 7); CHRIST, *Caesar...* (n. 7), *passim*.

⁹ WALSER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 52–77 and 86 ff.

¹⁰ More on the Ubii: ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 87 f.; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 209–217; R. MUCH, *RGA*¹ IV, pp. 371 f.; IDEM, *Die Germania des Tacitus*, ed. H. JANKUHN, W. LANGE, Heidelberg³ 1967, pp. 360 and 362–364; J. KLINKENBERG, *Die Stadtanlage des römischen Köln und die Limitation des Ubierlandes*, BJ CXL/CXLI 1936, pp. 259–298; H. SCHMITZ, *Die Übersiedlung der Ubier auf das linke Rheinufer*, Klio XXXIV 1942, pp. 239–263; IDEM, *Stadt und Imperium. Köln in römischer Zeit*, vol. I: *Die Anfänge der Stadt Köln und die Ubier*, Köln 1948, esp. pp. 15–50; IDEM, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, Köln 1956, pp. 22–25; IDEM, *Ubii*, RE VIII A, 1 (1955), coll. 531–545, esp. 533 f.; IDEM, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft am Rhein*, in: *Das erste Jahrtausend. Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland am Rhein und Ruhr*, vol. I: *Textband*, Düsseldorf 1962, pp. 7–92, esp. 8–18; R. NIERHAUS, *Zu den ethnographischen Angaben im Lukans Gallien-Exkurs*, BJ CLIII 1953, pp. 48 f.; Ch. RÜGER, *Germania Inferior: Untersuchungen zur Territorial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte Niedergermaniens in der Prinzipatszeit*, Köln–Graz 1968, pp. 5–10; TIMPE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 132 f. and 137; H. VON PETRIKOVITS, *Rheinische Geschichte*, vol. I 1: *Altertum*, Düsseldorf 1980, p. 59; O. DOPPELFELD, *Das römische Köln*, part I: *Ubier-Oppidum und Colonia Agrippinensium*, ANRW II 4 (1975), pp. 716 ff., esp. 718–720.

¹¹ Earlier literature accepted a larger area of Ubian settlement on the right bank of the Rhine, placing it between the Rhine, the Main, the Taunus and the lower courses of the Lahn and the Sieg; see ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 87; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 209 f.; MUCH, *RGA*¹ IV, pp. 371 f.; IDEM, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 362 f.; SCHMITZ, *Übersiedlung...* (n. 10), p. 239; IDEM, *Stadt und Imperium...*

tred on *ara Ubiorum* (later Colonia Claudia Ara Agripinensium), in the south reaching the Vinxbach river and in the north bordering on the lands of the Sugambri/Cugerni. Their western border might have been the same as that of the province¹². Before, the area had been inhabited by the Eburones, exterminated by Caesar.

After some years of lively debate regarding the date of the resettlement of the Ubii (either 38 or 19 BC)¹³, it now seems that if we are to trust archaeology, the event took place in 38, that is during Marcus Agrippa's first legateship in Gaul¹⁴. That is the date supported by dendrological analysis of the remains of the port of *oppidum Ubiorum*, which allows us to date the port's construction, and so also the founding of the *oppidum*, to 38 BC¹⁵.

2. The Sugambri¹⁶

(Suet. *Aug.* 21): Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit.

(Suet. *Tib.* 9): Germanico (*scil.* bello) quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis conlocavit.

(Tac. *Ann.* II 26): se (*scil.* Tiberium) novies a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse. Sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos...

(n. 10), pp. 15 f.; IDEM, *Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 8. In more recent literature, that area is firmly narrowed down to the region between the lower courses of the Lahn and the Sieg: see NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 224 f.; PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 49 (map).

¹² DOPPELFELD, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 732.

¹³ For a list of opinions on that topic until 1968, see RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 6; see also TIMPE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 132–135, and 137 (arguments for 19 BC); PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 53 (arguing that 39/38 is more likely than 20/19 BC).

¹⁴ E. STEIN, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper in römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, Wien 1932, p. 1; R. HANSLIK, *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, RE IX A, 1 (1961), col. 1234.

¹⁵ This is based on DOPPELFELD's information (*op. cit.* [n. 10], pp. 718 f.), but cf. D. KIENAST, *Augustus. Princeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, p. 294. In his works cited above, SCHMITZ tried to demonstrate that the plan of the Ubii to cross the Rhine to its Roman side was already accepted by Caesar, and that their resettlement was a long process (*Wanderprozess*; cf. esp. *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* [n. 10], pp. 11 and 18; and *Ubii*, RE VIII A, 1, 1955, coll. 533 f.). In his opinion that process could have begun already in Caesar's time. As a result, Agrippa's operation would just be its crowning stage. His theory was strongly opposed, in particular by J. KLINKENBERG, *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins XXIV 1959*, pp. 186 ff. (*non vidi*; cited after SCHMITZ, *Colonia...* [n. 10], p. 23). It received a positive response from U. KAHRSTEDT, *Methodisches zur Geschichte des Mittel- und Niederrheins zwischen Caesar und Vespasian*, BJ CL 1950, p. 69; DOPPELFELD, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 719; HANSLIK, *op. cit.* (n. 14), col. 1234; and others.

¹⁶ On the Sugambri, see: ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 83–85; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 175–188; MUCH, *RGA*¹ IV, p. 299; IDEM, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 57 f. and 363 f.; K. CHRIST, *Nero Claudius Drusus*, Tübingen 1953 (unpublished dissertation), p. 44–48; SCHMITZ, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 18–21; D. TIMPE, *Drusus' Umkehr an der Elbe*, RhM CX 1967, pp. 289–306, esp. 301 ff.; IDEM, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze...* (n. 7), pp. 136 and 139–147.

(Eutr. 7, 9): XL captivorum milia ex Germania transtulit et supra ripam Rheni in Gallia conlocavit (*scil.* Augustus).

The resettlement of forty thousand Sugambri was carried out by Tiberius in 8 BC, after he replaced Drusus in the Rhineland (Drusus died one year earlier). Before that, the tribe had lived on the right bank of the Rhine (cf. Caes. *Gall.* VI 35: “Sigambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno”). In the south, they bordered on the Ubii (the border could have been the Sieg river); in the north, their territories probably extended to the river Ruhr¹⁷. After the resettlement they occupied a territory between the Ubii and the Batavi with Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten). With time the name Sugambri disappeared; their descendants were probably the Cugerni¹⁸.

3. The Batavi¹⁹

(Tac. *Germ.* 29, 1): Batavi [...] non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent.

(Tac. *Hist.* IV 12): Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsus extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam iuxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit (cf. Caes. *Gall.* IV 10)

Since the digression in Caesar’s *Bellum Gallicum* (IV 10) treating of the Batavi appears to be a later interpolation, we must not accept that they had already settled in the Rhine delta by 50 BC²⁰. Rather, they should be treated

¹⁷ CHRIST, *Nero...* (n. 16), p. 44; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 175 f.; SCHMITZ, *Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 21; the same works list sources.

¹⁸ MUCH, *RGA*¹ IV, p. 299; IDEM, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 58 and 363 f.; PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 59; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 182.

¹⁹ ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 100–102; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 147–172; KLOSE, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 17–19; MUCH, *Bataver*, *RGA*¹ I, pp. 178 f.; IDEM, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 365 f.; H. CALLIES, *Bataver*, *RGA*² II (1976), pp. 90 f. It is suspected that as the Batavi crossed to the Insula Batavorum, or soon after, they were joined by the Canninefates (see PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 114). According to our ancient sources they were related to the Batavi and inhabited the western, litoral part of the insula; cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV 15: “ea gens (= Canninefatium) partem insulae (= Batavorum) colit, origine lingua virtute par Batavis”; Plin. *HN* IV 101: “in Rheno autem ipso [...] nobilissima Batavorum insula et Canninefatium”. As regards its location: J.E. BOGAERS, *Forum Hadriani*, *BJ* CLXIV 1964, pp. 45–52; IDEM, *Civitates und Civitas-Hauptorte in der nördlichen Germania inferior*, *BJ* CLXXII 1972, pp. 312 and 318–326; RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 92 f.; cf. also MUCH, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 366 f., where an earlier perspective is presented; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 147 ff.; KLOSE, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 26–28; B.H. STOLTE, *Cananefaten*, *RGA*² IV (1981), pp. 329 f.

²⁰ RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 34 f. lists literature dealing with philological analysis of that passage in Caesar (IV 10); see, however, the careful definition of the problem in PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 309; and in CALLIES, *loc. cit.* (n. 19). Cf. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 149.

as a “post-Caesarian immigration wave”, connected to the waves of the Ubii, Cugerni etc.²¹ Their resettlement cannot have taken place later than 12 BC, because at that date they are already mentioned in literature in connection with Drusus’ campaign as living at the mouth of the Rhine²².

Insula Batavorum is (partly) modern Betuwe; their borders reached the (Old) Rhine (Alter Rhein) in the north and the Maas (Meuse) in the south. In the south of their *insula* they probably also possessed a narrow strip of land (*non multum ex ripa*) along the bank of the Maas²³.

4. The Triboci, Nemetes and Vangiones

These tribes first come up in Caesar (*Gall.* I 51); later in Strabo (IV 3, 4, only the Triboci), Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 106, all three) and Tacitus (*Ann.* XII 27, the Vangiones and Nemetes; *Germ.* 28, all three; and *Hist.* IV 70, the Vangiones and Triboci). That has given rise to suspicions²⁴ that after Ariovistus’ defeat they remained, under a separate treaty with Caesar, on the left bank of the Rhine. However, the opinion prevailing in recent years is more convincing; according to it, they were driven to the eastern side of the river just like other tribes rallied around Ariovistus²⁵; that is in accord with Caesar’s very consistent policy of separating the Germans from the Celts²⁶, as emphatically illustrated by the case of the Usipetes and the Tencteri, whom he firmly denied the right to settle in the depopulated territory on the Rhine in northern Gaul (*Gall.* IV 1–15).

Because Strabo (IV 3, 4) lists the Triboci among the left bank tribes (in the land of the Mediomatrici), but knows nothing of the Nemetes or Vangiones, we can assume²⁷ that of the three peoples the Triboci resettled into the Empire first.

²¹ RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 34.

²² SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 149.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 146; precise investigation of the extent of the Batavi territory in RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 34 f.

²⁴ ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 217–222; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 131 f. and 147 ff.; IDEM, *Zur Geschichte der Triboker, Nemetes und Vangionen*, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* LI 1937–1938, pp. 259–265; MUCH, *Nemetes*, *RGA*¹ III, pp. 301 f.; *Triboci*, *ibid.* IV, p. 361; *Vangiones*, *ibid.*, pp. 387 f.; IDEM, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 362; R. SYME, *CAH* X (1934), p. 359; P. HUBER, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit Cäsars in seinem Bericht über den gallischen Krieg*, Bamberg 1913, p. 30; E. LINCKENHELD, *Triboci*, *RE* VI A, 2 (1937), coll. 2405–2413.

²⁵ NESSELHAUF, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 78 f.; ROLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 11 f.; and NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 219–224 (where the author claims that all the attacks against NESSELHAUF’s theory are groundless); more recently: H. BANNERT, *Vangiones*, *RE* Suppl. XV (1978), coll. 654–662 (which also lists remaining literature).

²⁶ WALSER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 37 ff.; TIMPE, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze...* (n. 7), pp. 125 ff.; RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 34.

²⁷ NESSELHAUF, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 79; BANNERT, *op. cit.* (n. 25), col. 658, which also reviews earlier literature (from before NESSELHAUF’s publication) questioning the possibility of a treaty between those three tribes and Caesar; see also NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 4–10 and 219; and ROLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 11.

It could have happened simultaneously with the resettlement of the Sugambri, so as early as the waning years of the old era. Now under the year 50 AD Tacitus (*Ann.* XII 27) mentions regular auxiliary troops made of Nemetes and Vangiones, which means that by that time both tribes must have resettled to the left bank of the Rhine.

After the translocation, their respective lands were as follows²⁸: Vangiones – to the south of the river Nahe, with a centre in Worms (Borbetomagus); Nemetes – opposite the place where the Neckar flows into the Rhine, with centres in Speyer (Noviomagus) and Altrip (Alta Ripa); and Triboci – in the vicinity of Brumath/Strassbourg (Brocomagus/Argentorate).

5. The Aresaces and Cairacates (?)

Little is known of these two tribes²⁹. They were probably resettled to the left bank of the Rhine at the same time as the Vangiones and Nemetes, so before 50 AD, occupying the lands to the south of Mogontiacum (Mainz), but not far from it.

From Strabo's account (VII 1, 3) we can deduce that those are not all the peoples resettled to the left bank of the Rhine; there is much to indicate that the Roman operation of moving whole peoples to the west of that river was massive.

RESETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE DANUBE

Similar operations by the Romans undertaken according to their “border demographic policies” can be observed in the territories on the Danube³⁰, although they cannot be located as precisely as those on the Rhine. Below follows in chronological order the list of information regarding resettlements from the northern to the southern bank of the Danube:

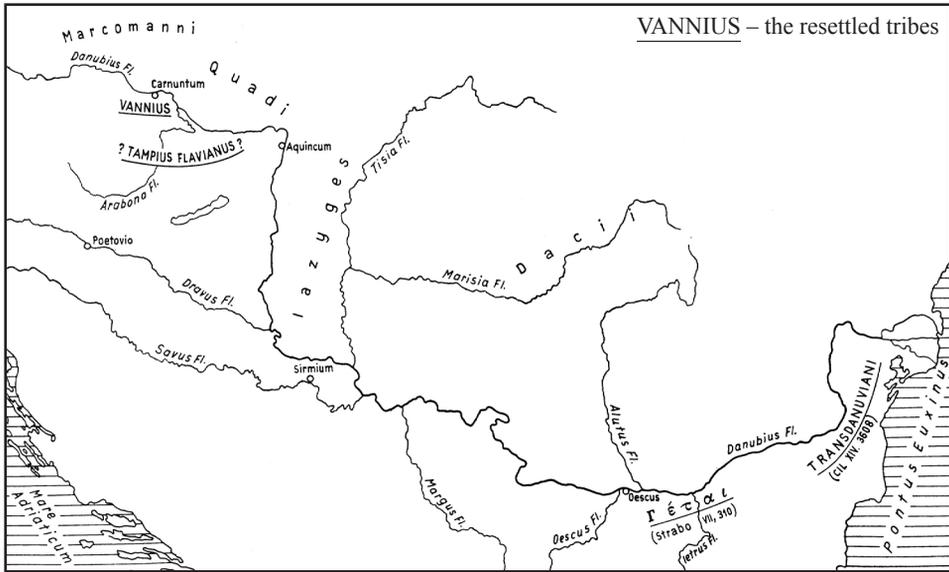
1. The Getae

(Strabo VII 3, 10): ἔτι γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν Αἴλιος Κάτος μετώκισεν ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ πέντε μυριάδας σωμάτων παρὰ τῶν Γετῶν, ὁμογλώττου τοῖς Θραξίν ἔθνοισι, εἰς τὴν Θράκην· καὶ νῦν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτόθι Μοισοὶ καλούμενοι...

²⁸ ROLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 12; LINCKENHELD, *op. cit.* (n. 24); BANNERT, *op. cit.* (n. 25), col. 654; K. SCHUMACHER, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande von der Urzeit bis in das Mittelalter*, vol. II: *Die römische Periode*, Mainz 1923, pp. 91–94 and 98 f.; MUCH, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 362.

²⁹ See L. SCHUMACHER, *Das Gebiet der Verbandsgemeinde Nieder-Olm in römischer Zeit (1. Jh. v. Chr.–4. Jh. n. Chr.)*, in: *Nieder-Olm. Der Raum der Verbandsgemeinde in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. K.-H. SPIESS, Alzey 1984, pp. 32 f.; H. KLUMBACH, *Aresaces*, in: *Limes-Studien*, Basel 1959, pp. 69–76; H.U. INSTINSKY, *Cives Cairacas*, *Germania* L 1972, pp. 133–136; PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 114 and cf. the map on p. 113; ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 221 f. Cf. A. RIESE, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften*, Groningen 1968, p. 237, nos. 2131 and 2131a.

³⁰ See the literature listed in n. 4.



Resettlements across the Danube (drawing by L. Fijał).

We have no details regarding either that operation, or the actions of Aelius Catus in general. Since he held consulship in 4 AD³¹, it is accepted³² that his operations in Moesia fall after that year, so in 5 AD at the earliest, but with the possibility that the resettlement of the Getae ought to be dated after the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt was over, or in the years 9–11. Stating in general terms that the event took place some time at the beginning of the 1st century, which is altogether enough for the purposes of this paper, it is worth noting that it was for the Romans a time of intense fighting on the lower Danube. The fighting started in 29 BC and eventually resulted in the creation of the province of Moesia in 15 AD at the latest³³.

³¹ A. DEGRASSI, *I fasti consolari dell' Impero Romano*, Roma 1952, p. 6.

³² V. PÂRVAN, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, București 1926, pp. 94 f. and 733; A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien*, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts I 1898, pp. 157 f.; A. ALFÖLDI, *CAH IX* (1936), p. 34; R. SYME, *Lentulus and the Origin of Moesia*, *JRS* XXIV 1934, pp. 113 ff.; R. VULPE, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 40–42; FLUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), coll. 2361 f.; T.D. ZLATKOVSKAJA, *Mezija v I–II vekah našej ery*, Moskva 1951, pp. 41 f.; A. MÓCSY, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, *AArchHung* XI 1959, pp. 304 f. sees their lands after the resettlement solely within the borders of the later Moesia Superior; M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Urbanisierung und Romanisierung Obermoesiens*, *Živa Antika* XIX 1969, pp. 258–262 justifiably criticises MÓCSY's view; R. VULPE, *Les Gètes de la rive gauche du Danube*, in: *idem*, *Studia Thracologica*, București 1976 (reprinted from *Dacia* IV 1960), pp. 132 f.; *idem*, *La Valachie et la Basse-Moldavie sous les Romains*, *ibid.* (reprinted from *Dacia* V 1961), p. 151.

³³ See especially PREMERSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 153–178; ZLATKOVSKAJA, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 30–46; VULPE, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 31–46; F. MILTNER, *Augustus' Kampf um die*

The fifty thousand Getae resettled εἰς τὴν Θράκην were probably transferred to the western part of the later province Moesia Inferior³⁴ and the eastern part of Moesia Superior, since to Strabo, writing after 18 AD, “they live there even now and are called Moesi”. V. PÂRVAN believed³⁵ that they occupied the territories between the rivers Iskar (Oescus) and Yantra (Iatrus). Before crossing into the Empire’s borders these Getae inhabited the parts of Wallachia and Muntenia right on the Danube; Strabo’s information is corroborated by archaeological data, which confirms that at the beginning of the new era the region depopulated abruptly. The archaeological material available is at any rate not later than Augustus³⁶.

2. Vannius

(Tac. *Ann.* XII 30): secuti mox clientes (= Vannii) et acceptis agris in Pannonia locati sunt.

After the fall of the Regnum Vannianum (in 50 AD), some followers of Vannius, whose numbers are unknown, crossed to the south of the Danube and received lands in Pannonia for settlement. It is impossible to locate them with precision. Any guesses that they were settled in the territory of the Boii must unfortunately remain hypothetical³⁷.

3. The resettlement operation of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus

(CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 921): Ti(berio) Plautio M(arci) f(ilio), Ani(ensi) Silvano Aeliano ... legat(o) pro praet(ore) Moesiae in qua (sic) plura quam centum mill(ia) ex numero Transdanuvianor(um) ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib(us) ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis transduxit...

Donaugrenzen, Klio XXX 1930, pp. 200 ff.; MÓCSY, *Gesellschaft...* (n. 4), pp. 47–50; the above works list and analyse the relevant sources.

³⁴ Cf. MÓCSY, *Untersuchungen...* (n. 32), pp. 304 f.; MIRKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 259–262.

³⁵ PÂRVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 94 f.

³⁶ Archaeological research has confirmed PÂRVAN’s earlier guesses (*op. cit.* [n. 32], pp. 95 and 104 f.); see especially VULPE, *Les Gètes...* (n. 32), pp. 132–135; IDEM, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 42 and 57; D.M. PIPPIDI, *Tiberius Plautius Silvanus und die römische Politik in Moesien unter Neros Regierung*, in: IDEM, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Berlin 1962 (the Romanian version was published in 1955), pp. 118–120; also MIRKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32).

³⁷ MÓCSY, *Pannonia* (n. 4), col. 550; IDEM, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien...* (n. 4), pp. 33 f.; IDEM, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (n. 4), pp. 40 f. and 57; DOBIAŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 149–155 and 364–368; STRZELCZYK, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 15 ff.; cf. A. BETZ, *Aus Österreichs römischer Vergangenheit*, Wien 1956, pp. 17 f.; A. NEUMANN, *Vindobona*, Wien 1972, pp. 13 f.; TYMIENIECKI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 241.

Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus³⁸ was the governor of Moesia from 57 to 67. His resettlement of a hundred thousand “Transdanubians” to the Roman side of the Danube presumably took place between the years 62 and 67³⁹. It is difficult to say with certainty where their lands were before the resettlement, but possibly they lay to the north of Dobruja⁴⁰; it is suspected that Dobruja is where they were settled; if we are to believe recent scholarship, that part of Moesia was then (midway through the 1st century) severely depopulated⁴¹.

4. The resettlement operation of L. Tampius Flavianus (?)

(CIL X 6225 = ILS 985 = A. ALFÖLDI, *Eine Übersiedlung von barbarischen Massen unter Nero*, AErT LII 1939, pp. 103–107 and 263–265 = AE 1941, 11 = W. REIDINGER, *Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien und Oberpannoniens von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Bonn 1956, pp. 43–46, no. 11): [L(ucio) Tampio L(ucii) f(ilio) Cam(ilia tribu) F]lavi[ano] ... [huic senatus triu]mphalia ornamen[ta decrevit multis] opsibus a Tran[sdanuvianis acceptis, lim]itibus omnibus ex[ploratis] hostibus (?) ad vectig[alia] praestanda [traductis].

The inscription has been reconstructed by analogy to the text regarding Plautius Silvanus discussed above. It was A. ALFÖLDI who read the last line as “[ad vectig]alia praestanda [traductis]”, which made it possible to put forward the theory that in the year 68/69–69/70, that is the year when L. Tampius Flavianus was legate, a population group was resettled across the Danube into Pannonia, just as it had been with Plautius Silvanus and Moesia⁴².

³⁸ A. STEIN, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, Budapest 1940 (Dissertationes Pannonicae I 11), pp. 29–31; L. HALKIN, *Tiberius Plautius Aelianus, légat de Mésie sous Néron*, Ant. Class. III 1934, pp. 121–161; ZLATKOVSKAJA, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 58–61; PIPPIDI, *op. cit.* (n. 36), pp. 106–132; E. CONDURACHI, *Tib. Plautius Aelianus și strămutarea transdanubienilor în Moesia*, Studii și cercetări de istorie veche IX 1958, pp. 119–137; T. ZAWADZKI, *La légation de Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelius en Mésie et la politique frumentaire de Néron*, PP CLX 1975, pp. 59–73; P. CONOLE, R.D. MILNS, *Neronian Frontier Policy in the Balkans: The Career of Ti. Plautius Silvanus*, Historia XXXII 1983, pp. 181–200; also PÂRVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 102–105.

³⁹ ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 62.

⁴⁰ See primarily VULPE, *Les Gètes...* (n. 32), pp. 137 ff.; ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), pp. 69–73.

⁴¹ ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), pp. 69–73; MÓCSY, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation...* (n. 4), p. 28, believes it is likely that they were settled throughout the province of Moesia. On the ethnic make-up of the resettled group, see PÂRVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 104; VULPE, *Les Gètes...* (n. 32), p. 137; IDEM, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), p. 57. PÂRVAN and VULPE’s view seems to be closer to the truth when they see in those Transdanubians “elemente etnice diferite. In numărul acestor elemente puteau intra diferite triburi geto-dace, bastarne, roxolane, scite, din spațiul cotropit de expansiunea sermaților iazygi” (*Din istoria Dobrogei*, p. 57). PIPPIDI, followed by CONDURACHI, would like to see in them “reine Geten”.

⁴² A. ALFÖLDI, *Rhein und Donau...* (n. 2), pp. 10 f.; MÓCSY, *Pannonia* (n. 4), coll. 550 and 711; IDEM, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien...* (n. 4), p. 34; REIDINGER, *op. cit.* (ch. 4), pp. 43–46; A. DOBÓ, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Budapest 1968, pp. 31–33, no. 19; cf. also NESSELHAUF, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 79.

That theory lasted in scholarship for a quarter of a century without raising any objections until in 1966 A. MÓCSY⁴³, based on the assumption that such an important undertaking would have to be mentioned by Tacitus in book III of his *Historiae*, which recounts the events that took place in that province in 69 in detail, proposed a very different completion of the inscription referring to Tampius Flavianus, and one which excludes the possibility of any resettlements from across the Danube⁴⁴. In that Hungarian scholar's opinion, an astute observer such as Tacitus cannot have omitted⁴⁵ in his account an event in Pannonia which could have served as grounds for awarding Tampius *ornamenta triumphalia*; as we know, that distinction was only granted for conducting a military campaign, and at that time there were not any in Pannonia. Actually the Senate, and primarily the emperor, in awarding Tampius the *ornamenta*, intended to honour the former governor of Pannonia for maintaining peace in the province during the civil war, and of course for his part in that war, that is, for actively supporting Vespasian in his struggle for the throne, to which Pannonian legions certainly contributed a lot. MÓCSY's reconstruction⁴⁶ (in the part of interest to this article, which in the previous version treated of a resettlement) runs:

[L. Tampio L. f(ilio) F]lavi[ano] ... [huic senatus auctore imp(erator) Caes(are) Vespasiano Aug(usto) triu]mphalia ornamen[ta] ob res in Pannonia prospere gestas in qua] opsidibus a Tran[sdanuvianorum gentium principibus acceptis equitibus et ped]litibus omnibus ex [gente Iazugum remissis Sueborum regibus ad auxilia hospit] alia praestanda [compulsis pacem provinciae tempore civilis motus confirmavit]...

Naturally, MÓCSY's impressive proposal has divided researchers; it has both its supporters and opponents⁴⁷. Since both versions are likely, in this discussion

⁴³ A. MÓCSY, *Tampius Flavianus Pannóniában*, Aert XCIII 1966, pp. 203–207.

⁴⁴ MÓCSY, *loc. cit.* (n. 43); IDEM, *Pannonia-Forschung 1964–1968*, AArchHung XXI 1969, p. 345; IDEM, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (n. 4), p. 41.

⁴⁵ Of course the observation comes to mind that Tacitus did not have anything to say of Plautius Silvanus' work in Moesia either (he was only mentioned once, in *Hist.* IV 53, in the account of the consecration of the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, as he was a *pontifex* then). HALKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 122, accepted without any reservations the theory of PH. FABIA (*Sur une page perdue et sur les livres XVI, XVII, XVIII des Annales de Tacite*, REA XXXIV 1932, pp. 139–158), according to which Plautius Silvanus' propraetorship in Moesia was described in those lost parts of the *Annales*. ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 60 is undoubtedly correct in treating FABIA's theory with great care and emphasising its hypothetical status.

⁴⁶ MÓCSY, *Tampius...* (n. 43), pp. 203–207 = *AE* 1966, 68 = A. DOBÓ, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*, Budapest⁴1974, no. 593.

⁴⁷ Cf. DOBÓ, *Inscriptiones...* (n. 46), no. 593 (supported); ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 73 (rejected): “on ne saura cependant accepter le procédé appliqué pour la restitution des lignes 6–9. Rien n'autorise à s'y servir, comme base, d'un seul texte de Tacite (*Hist.* III 5), dont la paraphrase, si habile qu'elle soit, ne s'avère pas convaincante”. The authors of the latest work on Plautius Silvanus' career known to me, CONOLE and MILNS (*op. cit.* [n. 38]) do not know MÓCSY's proposal and quote the Tampius Flavianus inscription (for comparison with Plautius Silvanus) following REIDINGER.

I just want to stress the *possibility* that people were resettled *en masse* across the Danube to its Pannonian bank under L. Tampus Flavianus' legateship.

THE REASONS FOR THE RESETTLEMENTS

a) Information to be found directly in the sources

Even if we were to ignore the pressure exerted by "barbarian" tribes on the Empire's borders, which the sources emphasise a lot, in a few cases they give the reasons behind the resettlements directly. Such is the case with the Ubii, who were resettled "ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur" (Tac. *Germ.* 28); they were granted the lands left uninhabited (after the extermination of the Eburones), undoubtedly attractive for settlers. Constant pressure exerted by the Germans on the line of the Rhine⁴⁸ meant that only settling that territory with a people accepting Rome's supremacy and friendly towards it could guarantee peace on the border and first of all form a dam against unwanted migrations from the eastern to the western bank of the river. (Let us remember that in 38 BC when the Ubii were resettled, there were as yet no legions garrisoned on the Rhine that could guarantee the obedience of the newly settled people in case they turned out hostile to the Romans, and that is why the Ubii were "admitted" in that region: because of their previously tested loyalty, *experimento fidei*⁴⁹.) It is here worth pointing out the motivation behind Caesar's decision to send the Helvetii back to their old homes (*Gall.* I 28, 4): "quod noluit eum locum unde Helvetii discesserant vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani qui trans Rhenum incolunt suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent".

It is for the same reasons that the Batavi were able to settle the territories at the mouth of the Rhine: they were *vacua cultoribus* (Tac. *Hist.* IV 12).

Plautius Silvanus' elogy (*CIL* XIV 3608) is very specific about reasons: *ad praestanda tributa*. So is Tampus Flavianus', if ALFÖLDI's version is accepted: *ad vectigalia praestanda*. It is also not without grounds that Plautius Silvanus

⁴⁸ KOSSACK, *Die Germanen*, in: *Das Römische Reich...* (n. 4), pp. 297 ff.; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vols. I–II, passim; SCHMITZ, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 8.

⁴⁹ Which I take to be the ablative of cause. K. MÜLLENHOFF'S objections (*Die Germania des Tacitus*, Berlin 1900, p. 397: "aber *experimento fidei* ist wohl Dativ und die Phrase bedeutet vielmehr 'um ihre Treue zu erproben' oder [...] 'zur Probe ihrer Treue'", etc.) are logically inconsistent with the Ubii's attitude until then, as their loyalty had already been "tested" by Caesar. See also E. WOLFF'S edition with commentary, *Tacitus' Germania*, Leipzig 1907, p. 67: "*experimento fidei* = *propter expertam fidem*". However, cf. MUCH, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 363: "*experimento fidei*: weder 'ihrer exprobtter Treue wegen', noch 'um ihre Treue zu erproben', sondern 'unter Erprobung ihrer Treue'", and PETRIKOVITS, *Das römische Rheinland. Archäologische Forschungen seit 1945*, Köln–Opladen 1960 (Beihefte der BJ, vol. VIII), p. 84, n. 153: "In Tac. *Germ.* 28 ist der Ausdruck *experimento fidei* nämlich als Dativus finalis zu übersetzen. Der Zweck des 'collocare' ist zweimal angegeben, durch 'experimento fidei' und 'ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur'".

boasts that he “*primus ex ea provincia magno tritici modo annonam populi Romani adlevavit*”. Thus if we are to trust him, economic reasons were fundamental; at any rate it seems that the one hundred thousand Transdanubians were settled in Dobruja, known for its fertility, and the lands on the lower Danube, that *horreum Cereris*⁵⁰, played an important role in emperor Nero’s economic (i.e., frumentary) policy, primarily as regards supplying grain to both Rome and the army garrisoned on the lower Danube and operating in the east⁵¹.

b) Information entailed by Rome’s general policy on the Rhine and Danube⁵²

Resettling “barbarian” tribes to the left bank of the Rhine and the right bank of the Danube followed from Rome’s policies in those regions in general, a conscious striving to form a state border, or *limes*. A glance at the map will be enough to see that the western bank of the Rhine became practically “filled” with peoples resettled there between 38 BC and 50 AD.

On the Danube, the situation was similar: the long wars with the tribes of Pannonia, Moesia and Thrace must have decimated their populations, which made it necessary to settle newcomers there. Rome could not yet really count on its own settlers; the relatively unstable situation did not encourage them to move there.

Other than the clear intention to use the resettled population to defend the Roman border (cf. “*Ubii [...] ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur*”), the Romans meant to create on the other side of the two rivers a strip of “no man’s land”, or more exactly of land not inhabited by “barbarians”, but remaining under Rome’s military control⁵³. Among the evidence for that there are the peace treaties concluded by Marcus Aurelius during the Marcomannic Wars⁵⁴, archaeological findings from the Wallachian Plain and Muntenia⁵⁵, or even Tacitus’ information (*Ann.* XIII 54) on the Frisii.

The Frisii appeared at the mouth of the Rhine, near the Batavi. When, pressed by other tribes, they entered the “no man’s land”, the Romans expelled them by force; even the special mission they sent to Nero did not help.

⁵⁰ Solinus 21, 3.

⁵¹ ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38); cf. J. WOLSKI, *Rola Tracji w okresie wczesnego Cesarstwa*, *Balkanica Posnaniensia* I 1984, pp. 103–108.

⁵² ALFÖLDI, *Rhein und Donau...* (n. 2), pp. 5–21.

⁵³ For the problems regarding the “no man’s land” zone, see KAHRSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 63–80; NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 182–234.

⁵⁴ Cass. Dio LXXI 14–16; MÓCSY, *Pannonia* (n. 4), coll. 555–561; DOBIAŚ, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 194–221; J. WIELOWIEJSKI, *Tło historyczne wojen markomańskich*, *Scripta Archaeologica* II 1982, pp. 15 f.

⁵⁵ VULPE, *Les Gétes...* (n. 32), p. 133 f.; IDEM, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 42 and 57; cf. MIRKOVIĆ, *loc. cit.* (n. 32).

The claim, quite widespread in scholarship, that the resettlements aimed, among other things, at alleviating the pressure of the tribes of the *Barbaricum* on Roman borders is, in the period of interest to us here, borne out insofar as that pressure coincided with there being on the Roman side of the two rivers areas *vacua cultoribus*. After those were settled, Rome firmly opposed not only the demands of tribes that they be allowed within the borders, but even any attempts to settle in their direct vicinity; that was the case with the Frisii, and with supporters of Rome in Maroboduus' kingdom after his fall. There cannot be any doubt that the Romans thoroughly controlled the populations in question in the military sense of the word, both during and after resettlement operations⁵⁶.

The sources quoted above let us also draw some conclusions as to the attitude of the tribes to the resettlement operations. Certainly the Ubii and the Batavi crossed to the Roman side of their own will: in the case of the Ubii, Strabo confirms it explicitly (IV 3, 4: ἐκόντως). H. SCHMITZ also argued that the voluntary character of their migration was captured by Tacitus with the participle *transgressus*, as opposed to the forms *traiecit*, *transduxit* and *transtulit*⁵⁷. The Ubii already gave expression to their pro-Roman position in Caesar's time, consistently acting as champions of Roman interests. And so the Romans approved of their plans to transfer to the left bank of the Rhine. Meanwhile, the Ubii themselves were made to consider that option by the pressure of Germanic tribes (the Suebi) clearly hostile to them, and the fertile lands left empty by the exterminated Eburones were a temptation.

Now the Batavi demonstrated similar initiative (“populus [...] *transgressus*...”) at the mouth of the Rhine. The Romans looked favourably on their aspirations both because the lands in question were *vacua cultoribus*, and with the intention of using them, as a friendly people, in their intended conquest of the lands between the Rhine and the Elbe. That intention was realised in 12 BC, when it was from the territory of the Batavi that Drusus launched his campaign against the Germans⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Numbers of people resettled in each tribe given in the sources are generally considered genuine; see e.g. MUCH, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 363 f. (the Sugambri); ALFÖLDI, *CAH XI* (1936), p. 84 (Aelius Catus); SCHMITZ, *Die Übersiedlung der Ubier...* (n. 10), pp. 252 f., who considers the data regarding the numbers of the resettled Sugambri and Getae realistic, and on that basis estimates the number of the Ubii at 50 to 60 thousand; VULPE, *Les Gètes...* (n. 32), pp. 134–138 (Aelius Catus and Plautius Silvanus); see especially ZAWADZKI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 72, who has reservations, but considers a hundred thousand Transdanubians plausible; cf. also NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 216–218.

⁵⁷ SCHMITZ, *Colonia...* (n. 10), p. 23; IDEM, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), pp. 11 f.; IDEM, *Ubii* (n. 10), coll. 533; NIERHAUS, *Zu den ethnographischen Angaben...* (n. 10), pp. 48 f. (SCHMITZ's theory accepted); TIMPE, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze...* (n. 7), p. 133 (accepted with serious reservations, as “wenig durchschlagende philologische Gründung”).

⁵⁸ SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 149.

As for other tribes, there is no clear data to base any such conclusions on. However, in the case of the Sugambri we can deduce from the sources that their resettlement was not so amicable and peaceful. Taking into account their decidedly hostile attitude towards Rome and the role they played in 16 BC (*clades Lolliana*) and 12 BC (the invasion of Gaul), resettling a portion of that tribe to the western side of the Rhine can be considered part of a campaign of repressions aimed at pacifying the enemy, regardless of taking advantage of that enemy's productive capabilities on lands which had until then lain fallow. We may suspect that Aelius Catus' resettlement of the Getae and that of the "Transdanubians" featuring in Plautius Silvanus' elogy were similar in character; that guess is supported primarily by the fact that the Romans were at the time involved in heavy fighting on the Danube, and that would justify repressions against those peoples⁵⁹. The fall of Regnum Vannianum was an exceptional situation: resettling Vannius' followers was actually nothing else than granting political asylum to supporters of Rome.

Certainly the tendency to form a densely populated zone just within the borders, while it had its economical reasons, resulted from aiming at making those lands easier to defend. It was very important in the light of constant pressure of northern peoples on the Rhine-Danube line; in that context it stands out that resettlements took place along the full length of the Rhine (except for the so-called Hochrhein, the springs, a region occupied by the Helvetii and Raurici), on the middle Danube (Vannius, and possibly Tampius Flavianus) and mainly the lower Danube (Aelius Catus and Plautius Silvanus). That is in accordance with the direction of the thrust of "barbarian" tribes. It is also significant that by the Marcomanni migrating towards the end of the Old Era to the lands on the middle Danube, and by settling the Hermunduri on the Upper Rhine and Danube, the Romans achieved in that region a very stable situation advantageous to them⁶⁰. No wonder then that no data can be found regarding any resettlements into Raetia or Noricum.

It is most characteristic that resettlements to the left bank of the Rhine end before the end of the first half of the 1st century AD. On the Danube, reports of resettlements all fall within Nero's reign. That is probably not coincidental, but rather indicates the closing of a stage of organising the northern border. After shaping tribal structure according to their mind, the Romans moved on to the next and equally important stage, which was founding cities very close to the border, or on the two rivers, as well as undertaking a programme of general urbanisation of the provinces on the Rhine and Danube. It so happens that the first Roman city on the Rhine (in legal terms), discounting Augusta Rauricorum, was

⁵⁹ CONDURACHI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), sees in Plautius Silvanus' "Transdanubians", Getae who crossed the Danube willingly, thus excluding repressions in their case.

⁶⁰ Recently STRZELCZYK, *op. cit.* (n. 4), which also see for sources and earlier literature.

founded in 50 AD, in the lands of the loyal Ubii (which was probably no accident either). That city was Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, previously *oppidum Ubiorum*⁶¹. That of course involved settling Roman colonists, veterans to begin with. Noricum underwent a broad urbanisation during Claudius' reign⁶², whereas in Pannonia and Moesia similar programmes started under the Flavian dynasty⁶³. On the Danube that process must have been slowed down by the Daco-Roman conflict, but it picked up speed again after 106 and by then systematically resettling population from the northern to the southern bank was out of the question.

THE RESETTLEMENTS DURING THE MARCOMANNIC WARS

(*HA Marc.* 14, 1): Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus.

(Cass. Dio LXXI 11 = BOISSEVAIN III, p. 253): οὔτοι τε (= Κούαδοι) οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μάρκον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ παραδώσοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν κατὰ γένη οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐστρατεύσαντο ἄλλοσέ ποι πεμφθέντες, ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν ἀλικομένων τῶν τε αὐτομολούντων <οἱ> δυνάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ γῆν οἱ μὲν ἐν Δακίᾳ οἱ δὲ ἐν Παννονίᾳ οἱ δὲ Μυσίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῇ ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ραβέννη τινὲς οἰκοῦντες ἐνεωτέρισαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν τολμῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τούτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προαφιγμένους ἐξώκισεν.

(*HA Marc.* 22, 2): accepitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam tractis... (year: 169–173).

(Cass. Dio LXXI 12 = BOISSEVAIN III, p. 254): ὅτι Ἄστιγγοὶ [...] ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ αὐτῶν παρακατέθεντο τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῷ Κλήμεντι ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν Κοστούβωκων χώραν τοῖς ὅπλοις κτησόμενοι, νικήσαντες δὲ ἐκέινους καὶ τὴν Δακίαν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐλύπου. δεῖσαντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Λάκριγγοὶ μὴ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης φοβηθεῖς σφάς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦν αὐτοὶ ἐνῶκουν ἐσαγάγη, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις καὶ πολὺ ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον τοὺς Ἀστίγγους πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρᾶξαι, πολλὰ δὲ διὰ τὸν Μάρκον ἰκετεύσαντας χρήματά τε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ χώραν γε ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἂν γέ τι κακὸν τοὺς τότε πολεμοῦντας οἱ δράσωσι (year: 170–172).

⁶¹ The whole issue is discussed in the works of SCHMITZ and DOPPELFELD cited above; see also H. NISSEN, *Zur Geschichte des römischen Köln*, BJ XCVIII 1895, pp. 145–171; KLINKENBERG, *Die Stadtanlage...* (n. 10), pp. 259–298; F. FREMERSDORF, *Cologne gallo-romaine et chrétienne*, in: *Mémoires d'un voyage d'études de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France en Rhénanie*, Paris 1953, pp. 91–103.

⁶² G. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum*, London–Boston 1974, pp. 81–96; J. ΖΑΪΑÇ, *Arystokracja municypalna rzymskiej prowincji Noricum w okresie Wczesnego Cesarstwa (I–III w.n.e.)*, in: *Prowincje rzymskie i ich znaczenie w ramach Imperium*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 147 f.

⁶³ MÓCSY, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (n. 4), pp. 112–119.

(Cass. Dio LXXI 12 = BOISSEVAIN III, p. 254): Κοτινοὶ δὲ [...] μετὰ ταῦτα (that is, after violating earlier treaties) ἀπώλοντο.

Cf. *CIL* VI 32542 (2833), 32544 and 32557 = DOBÓ, *Inscriptiones...* (n. 46), nos. 22, 23, 24 and 29c): “cives Cotini” of lower Pannonia, and scene LXIX on Marcus Aurelius’ column, which may indicate that the Cotini⁶⁴ were resettled into Pannonia (year: 173).

(Cass. Dio LXXI 18, 21 = BOISSEVAIN III, p. 275): ὅτι καὶ Ναρισταὶ ταλαιπωρησάντες τρισχίλιοι ἅμα ἠυτομόλησαν καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἔλαβον.

(*HA Marc.* 24, 3–4): infinitos ex gentibus in Romano solo collocavit...

(Cass. Dio LXXII 3, 3 = BOISSEVAIN III, p. 284): ὁ αὐτὸς Σαβινιανὸς καὶ Δακῶν τῶν προσόρων μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντας καὶ μέλλοντας τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθῆσειν ὑπηγάγετο γῆν τινα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δοθήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος (year: 180).

The characteristic feature of those resettlements, other than being indubitably abrupt and massive, is the fact that in practice, the initiative now lay with the “barbarians”. The desperate countermeasures undertaken by the Romans were of little use (cf. Cass. Dio LXXI 3, 1a, fighting the Langobardi). For the Danubian tribes, *pulsae a superioribus barbaris*, had no other choice. Faced with that imperative of external forces, the Romans, too, had to bend, as proven by their accepting into the Empire tribes which were restless and difficult to manage (Ravenna’s case!) and needed military control. In the resettlements of the Marcomannic times one can also see a foreshadowing of later events, when whole nations would settle within the Imperium Romanum without seeking Rome’s permission, which would by then be a mere formality confirming the state of affairs already there.

CONCLUSIONS

We can conclude that in the resettlements of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD the initiative belonged to Rome, and transferring non-Roman peoples to the Roman side of the Rhine and the Danube was an important component in

⁶⁴ On the Cotini, see MÓCSY, *Pannonia* (n. 4), coll. 710 f.; IDEM, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien...* (n. 4), pp. 79 f.; ZWIKKER, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 233 and passim; DOBIAŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 206; T. ZAWADZKI, *Kotynowie*, *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. II 2, pp. 495 f. (with collected literature and sources). According to the prevailing view the Cotini were not, contrary to Cassius Dio’s opinion, exterminated, just defeated and resettled to Pannonia; such is the interpretation of the words “cives Cotini ex Pannonia inferiore” occurring in inscriptions from Rome. An additional argument may be sought in scene LXIX on Marcus Aurelius’ column, depicting deportation of barbarians into the Empire; some of the people being deported stand out by virtue of their attire and characteristic necklace (*torques*) worn by Celts. It is suspected they could be Cotini, who are considered a Celtic people.

forming the northern limes. Economic considerations were also significant (*ad praestanda tributa* etc.). Any attempts to alleviate the pressure of the northern tribes on the Empire by resettling them could only be listed in the third place. During that whole period the Romans were fully in control of the demographic situation on the Rhine and the Danube.

In that respect, the Marcomannic wars brought with them decisive change; then, the initiative passed into the hands of the tribes from across the Danube. Ultimately, Rome *had to accept* in its territory large numbers of displaced people. That was caused both by the strength of the peoples pressing, directly or indirectly, on the borders of the Roman state, and by that state gradually exhausting its military reserve. Any possible suggestions that Marcus Aurelius resettled foreign tribes in order to repopulate lands devastated by war and the plague should be taken as only partly correct. Accepting “barbarians” *in solo Romano* under their pressure ran against Roman policy dating from the beginnings of the principate.