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 929 Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus
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Reconsidering the Traces of Scribonianus' Rebellion

In the second year of the rule of Claudius Caesar (AD 42) the Roman province of Dalmatia witnessed a military rebellion against the emperor. The incumbent provincial legate at the time was L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (cos. 32). Therefore, this episode is known as Scribonianus' rebellion. The disturbance was rather short-lived. It took the legions merely five days to turn against the rogue governor and return under the emperor's banner. When Scribonianus realized the attempted rebellion had failed, he fled to the Adriatic island of Issa (Vis) and took his own life. This paper seeks to re-examine written sources pertaining to the rebellion, and to propose a series of material traces which could be related to the events in Dalmatia in AD 42.

Introduction

In this paper, I shall re-examine the role of Lucius Arruntius Scribonianus in the rebellion against Emperor Claudius in AD 42.¹ I seek to demonstrate the complexity of this episode, suggesting that – although the governor of Dalmatia had significant military power – he was not a candidate for the throne. This will be done in two ways; by evaluating of all primary sources relevant to the causes, execution, and reasons for the failure of the rebellion, and by discussing the recent works on the subject. In order to better understand the circumstances of Scribonianus' rebellion, the historical background will be summarized (2). After providing an overview of written sources – both literary and epigraphic (3) – I shall go on to examine the information provided by them (4). The focus is on the questions which have been left unanswered by previous studies. What are the causes of rebellion? Why did it fail? Should Scribonianus be labelled as a person aspiring to take the throne? How can we assess the role of other conspirators? I will also address the issue of material traces that could either be linked to the

¹ This paper is an abridged version of the MA thesis titled "Scribonianus' Rebellion" (author J. Parat, mentor Professor Bruna Kuntić-Makvić), written in the Croatian language and defended on the March 26, 2013 at the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. I am grateful to Professor Kuntić-Makvić for her constructive suggestions and professional expertise on issues discussed in this paper.

rebellion, or could testify to the fact that Claudius rewarded the troops that had remained faithful (5). Furthermore, the paper will argue that the material remains of the Emperor's munificence are more evident than the ancient authors suggest.²

An eminent scholar once referred to Scribonianus' rebellion as "briefly reported and abortive, but of vital importance for the understanding of imperial history".³ Although modern historiography generally supports this assessment, the rebellion itself was seldom given much attention.⁴ Nonetheless, historians mention it often. This goes primarily for prosopographical studies and works focusing on Roman provincial administration.⁵ Several publications recount this episode while discussing social and military organization of the Roman province of Dalmatia.⁶ As for the subject-specific series and special collections of ancient literary sources, Scribonianus' rebellion has been tackled only rarely and rather selectively.⁷ It goes without saying that archaeologists and epigraphists often allude to the rebellion, particularly while studying local stone inscriptions.⁸ However, the only specialized article is of relatively recent date.⁹ It explained many aspects of the subject and provided a solid ground for further research. The present paper seeks to expand the possible interpretations, focusing on the significance of military power in the early imperial period.

Historical background

When the eccentric and unbalanced Gaius Caligula was murdered on 24th January AD 41, the Praetorian Guard unexpectedly proclaimed his uncle Claudius as his successor.¹⁰ The Senate assembled simultaneously, determined to restore the Republic. Although *patres conscripti* boldly passed decrees condemning the memory of the Julio-Claudian House, shortly afterwards they were compelled to

² Cf. *Plin. NH* III, 141; *Dio Cass. LX*, 15,4.

³ SYME 1964: 415.

⁴ Cf. CAMBI 2009: 63; 72.

⁵ MOMMSEN 1869: 133-135; LIEBENAM 1888: 155-156; ROHDEN 1895: 1264; *PIRI* 1897: 144-145; JAGENTEUFEL 1958: 19-21; THOMASSON 1984: 90; SYME 1986: 137 ff; DEMOUGIN 1992: 383 ff.

⁶ ALFÖLDY 1965: 109; WILKES 1969: 83; WIEDEMANN 1996: 234-235; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 192; MATIJAŠIĆ 2014: 27-28.

⁷ ŠAŠEL KOS 1986: 198-201; IVANIŠEVIĆ 2002: 68-69.

⁸ ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 288; CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007: 19; DEMICHELI 2011: 69; DEMICHELI AND TONČINIĆ 2008: 353 ff; TONČINIĆ 2014: 79-96.

⁹ CAMBI 2009: 63-79.

¹⁰ *PIR* I 1897, 388-391.

accept the army's choice and to endorse the new emperor.¹¹ Claudius was therefore well-aware of the Senate's attitude towards him.¹²

Dalmatia, the location of the rebellion, was completely incorporated into the administrative structure of the Roman Empire.¹³ Established at the end of Augustus' reign, by Claudius' time the province had already been under the governance of imperial legates (*legati Augusti pro praetore provinciae Dalmatiae*) for several decades.¹⁴ As both the military and civil commander, a legate held almost unlimited power in the province entrusted to him.¹⁵ The judicial power he exercised should not be disregarded, either. Legates visited the province regularly, summoning the courts (*conventus habere*) in three judicial assemblies: Salona (Solin), Naron (Vid) and Scardona (Skradin).¹⁶ Salona was also the provincial capital. For the first emperors, it was of vital importance to have military power at their disposal in a province that close to Italy.¹⁷ Hence, two legions were settled in Dalmatia in the early 1st century AD: the Seventh (*legio VII*) and the Eleventh (*legio XI*). The former was stationed in Tilurium (Gardun), the latter in Burnum (Ivoševci).¹⁸ Both garrisons were a short distance from the provincial capital and the governor's seat. Military camps also guaranteed protection to the coastal region in case of peril from the hinterland.¹⁹ Roman governor commanded auxiliary units as well.²⁰ The *III Alpinorum*, *I Belgarum* and *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* left the most abundant material evidence.²¹

Sources

The literary sources for this subject have been presented on multiple occasions.²² It must be pointed out that ancient authors mentioned Scribonianus' rebellion only

¹¹ *Suet. Cl.* 10; *Dio Cass.* LX, 1, 2-3; *Joseph. AJ* XIX, 212-220.

¹² Cf. LEVICK 1990: 93-103.

¹³ WILKES 1969: 78-87; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 182-195.

¹⁴ Cf. JAGENTEUFEL 1958: 12-19.

¹⁵ PREMERSTEIN 1924: 1133-1149.

¹⁶ *Plin. NH* III, 139; 142.

¹⁷ WILKES 1969: 96. The author notes the proximity to Italy as a possible reason of Scribonianus' revolt.

¹⁸ SANADER AND ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2003; CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007.

¹⁹ As a reminder of the troubles the Romans had in Dalmatia one can recall Augustus' intervention several decades earlier (6-9 AD). The war waged on the Pannonian and Dalmatian communities caused panic in the Imperial capital itself (*Vell. Pat.* II, 110). For the bibliography, see MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 181.

²⁰ The epigraphically attested individual units are listed in: WILKES 1969: 471-474.

²¹ ZANINOVIĆ 1996a: 209-220.

²² *PIRI* 1897: 144-145; JAGENTEUFEL 1958: 19 ff; ŠAŠEL KOS 1986: 198-200; IVANIŠEVIĆ 2002: 68-69; CAMBI 2009.

occasionally. The episode is almost exclusively incorporated into narratives related to the reign of Emperor Claudius. The most of the account is derived from the works of Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius and Cassius Dio.²³ The latter's narrative is the most exhaustive one. This is no surprise, knowing that Dio, like his father, served as an imperial legate in Dalmatia.²⁴ The writings of Seneca the Younger, Flavius Josephus and Paulus Orosius provide some additional details.²⁵ Likewise, a fourth-century anonymous author gives a brief account of the rebellion.²⁶

The epigraphic confirmation of the governor's name and offices is also well-known.²⁷ Although the chief pieces of evidence are derived from tombstones, both private inscriptions and boundary stones provide some help. For the purpose of this paper, the stone monuments can be subdivided into two categories. While the first category includes the mentions of Scribonianus, the other category includes references to the two legions involved in the rebellion. Scribonianus' name is confirmed on two stone monuments from Roman Dalmatia. One of them is a boundary stone unearthed in the northern part of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁸ It refers to the local communities engaged in a territorial dispute in which the legate acted as arbiter.²⁹ The other inscription is from Salona, bearing the name of a certain Felicius, the governor's slave. It attests to the fact that Scribonianus probably had a household in the provincial capital.³⁰ Several *tituli* from the Apennine Peninsula mention him as a consul.³¹ Furthermore, dozens of funerary stelae, mostly from Salona's surroundings, give copious information regarding the soldiers of Legions VII and XI.³²

In addition to the legionary garrisons (Burnum and Tilurium), two other sites related to the rebellion should not be overlooked. The first is Siculi (Resnik), a

²³ The list of relevant sources is attached in the Appendix.

²⁴ *PIRI* 1897: 313-314; *MILLAR* 1964: 23-24.

²⁵ *Sen. Apocol.*; *Joseph. A. I.* XIX; *Oros.* VII, 6-8.

²⁶ *Epit. Caes.* IV, 4.

²⁷ *ROHDEN* 1895: 1264; *JAGENTEUFEL* 1958: 19-21; *CAMBI* 2009.

²⁸ *WILKES* 1974: 267.

²⁹ *CIL* III, 9864a = *ILS* 5950. The inscription reads: *L(ucius) Arruntius / Cami[ll]us Scri / b[oj]nia[n]us le[g](atus) pro / pr(aetore) C(ai) [C]ae[s]aris Aug(usti) 5 / Germanici iudicem / dedit M(anium) Coelium (centurionem) / leg(ionis) VII inter Sapuates / et [La(?)]matinos ut fines / [reg]eret et terminus po[n](eret).*

³⁰ *ILJug* III, 02221 = *AE* 1906: 18. The stele is now kept in the Split Archaeological Museum (inv. N^o. A 3415). The text reads: *Felicio / Camili Ar/runti Scrib(oniani) / ser(vo) a(nnorum) XL h(ic) s(itus) e(st) 5/ Gutilla cons(ervo) / bene merenti / pos(u)it.* Cf. *Cambi* 2009: 74-75.

³¹ *CIL* X, 899 (Pompeii); *CIL* X, 4847 (Venafrum); *CIL* XI, 4170 (Terni). On the latter Scribonianus' name is rubbed out for the obvious reasons. Also, his name is missing from the *Fasti* of Nola (*CIL* X, 1233).

³² Cf. *TONČINIĆ* 2011: 138; *DEMICHELI AND TONČINIĆ* 2008: 353.

Claudian military settlement situated in a bay slightly west of Salona, and the second Aequum (Čitluk), the only Roman colony established in the hinterland of the province.³³ What makes them important for this research is that in all probability Claudius set them up as a sign of gratitude to his loyal veterans. Recent archaeological excavations in the aforementioned military camps and colonies have furnished some fresh material which can be linked to the rebellion.

The course of the rebellion according to written sources

In order to gain a better insight into the subject, we shall take a closer look at the conspirators. A prominent man and a competent general, Scribonianus is universally regarded as a central figure of the rebellion against Claudius.³⁴ He was the natural son of M. Furius Camillus (*cos.* 8) and the adopted son of L. Arruntius (*cos.* 6).³⁵ His full name, therefore, should have been L. Arruntius M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.³⁶ Theodor Mommsen argued that Scribonianus later dropped his *nomen gentile* Arruntius (since Tacitus calls him Furius Scribonianus, *Ann. XII*, 52).³⁷ This interpretation can now be discarded on the basis of an inscription bearing the name of Furius Arruntius.³⁸ According to the same monument, Scribonianus is recognized as a great-grandson of the famous Pompey the Great – a detail not to be underestimated. Taking into account his glorious ancestors and personal ambition, Scribonianus had an almost ideal start position to pursue the *cursus honorum*. Unfortunately, the full list of offices he exercised is not known. Epigraphy however provides some insight into his duties. Scribonianus was consul in AD 32, together with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.³⁹ In Dalmatia he was *legatus pro praetore C. Caesaris Augusti Germanici*, i.e. the legate of Emperor Gaius Caligula.⁴⁰ Apart from the dating, this monument gives some account of Scribonianus' judicial activities in the province. His career is mentioned by several authors.⁴¹ In all likelihood, he took up office as legate in AD 40, succeeding L. Volusius Saturninus.⁴²

³³ KAMENJARIN AND ŠUTA 2011; MILOŠEVIĆ 1998.

³⁴ *PIR* I 1897: 145-146.

³⁵ Scribonianus' adoptive father L. Arruntius was known as a close collaborator of Augustus. The first emperor thought him to be the right candidate for the throne – *capax imperii* as Tacitus aptly observed (*Ann.* I, 13).

³⁶ ROHDEN 1895: 1264; *PIR* ²1933: 224-226.

³⁷ MOMMSEN 1869: 135.

³⁸ *CIL* III, 7043 = *AE* 1993: 435.

³⁹ Cf. footnote n. 31.

⁴⁰ *CIL* III, 9864a.

⁴¹ *Suet. Cl.* 13; *Oth.* 1; *Dio Cass.* LX, 15,2; *Tac. Ann.* XII, 52; *Plin. Ep.* III, 16,7.

⁴² JAGENTEUFEL 1958: 18.

Let us now re-examine the literary sources for the rebellion. Suetonius puts an emphasis on the change of the oath of allegiance by Dalmatian legions (*legiones sacramentum mutaverant*).⁴³ With regard to this, it has been argued that the legions violated the oath of allegiance given to the governor (*sc.* to Scribonianus).⁴⁴ According to that interpretation, Suetonius used the phrase *legiones sacramentum mutaverant* in order to explain the reasons of the rebellion's failure, not its cause. However, that is not precisely what Suetonius' account suggests.⁴⁵ Quite the opposite, the biographer noted that the legions had changed (*mutaverant*) the oath of allegiance given to the emperor. This means that they took the oath twice: first to the legitimate emperor – obviously upon his ascent to the throne in January AD 41, and then to another commander-in-chief in AD 42. Suetonius even used the Latin verb *muto* in the pluperfect form, thus suggesting that the army at first changed the oath of allegiance and then repented. I would therefore suggest a different interpretation: the change of the oath of allegiance given to the emperor should be regarded as the cause of the rebellion, not the reason for its failure. It has also been argued that at first, only some, not all, of the troops were sympathetic to Scribonianus' cause.⁴⁶ Once again, if Suetonius' text is carefully read, it becomes obvious that this was not what the author intended to say. Suetonius is fairly explicit: *quae (sc. legiones) sacramentum mutaverant*. He in fact implies that all troops changed their oath of allegiance, *i.e.* Legions VII and XI, respectively.

The question is, rather, who was the man to whom the legions offered their loyalty? Was it Scribonianus or someone else? This is where Dio's account fits in. In the opening section of his account of these events Dio stated that after the death of Junius Silanus (on Claudius' orders) Romans no longer cherished fair hopes for the emperor.⁴⁷ If Dio's appellative *Romans* were to be understood as

⁴³ Suetonius refers to the mutiny in Claudius' biography, more precisely in a chapter which discusses the Emperor's suspicions and fears (*Suet. Cl.* 13). The biographer noted that Claudius *had constantly been exposed* to all kinds of perils (*nec expers permansit*). He even listed them in a polysyndetic sequence: *et a singulis et per factionem et denique civili bello infestatus est*. The circumstances of each of them are described in detail. The first on the list was an attack executed by an unnamed man armed with a dagger. This was followed by a conspiracy organized by a faction led by Asinius Gallus and Statilius Corvinus. Their motives are somewhat unclear. Suetonius merely states that they won over many slaves for their cause. The third category of conspiratorial activities was undoubtedly the most severe. Describing it, Suetonius used a rather powerful syntagm *bellum civile*. Apart from Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII, 43), Suetonius is the only author referring to the episode as a civil war.

⁴⁴ CAMBI 2009: 66; 77.

⁴⁵ The misunderstanding may be caused by the Croatian translation of Lat. *legiones sacramentum mutaverant* as "legions violated the oath" (in the Croatian translation "legije koje su prekršile zakletvu"), cf. HOSU 1978: 201.

⁴⁶ WILKES 1969: 96.

⁴⁷ *Dio Cass.* LX, 15,2.

referring to the senatorial elite in Rome, the excuse for further actions would be obvious. According to the Graeco-Roman historian, the conspiracy was not originally developed in Dalmatia, but on the other side of the Adriatic. The architect of the plot was the wealthy and influential Annius Vinicianus, along with several distinguished senators.⁴⁸ Vinicianus was among the senators who participated in Caligula's murder only a year before.⁴⁹ He was even proposed for the throne that year. The account of Josephus Flavius provides some insight into his activities.⁵⁰ According to Josephus, although Vinicianus was a strong candidate for supreme magistracy, he endorsed another candidate, Marcus Vinicius. It seems that Vinicianus did not *a priori* want to be invested with the imperial purple in AD 41. His primary objective was to dethrone Caligula and establish the domination of the senatorial aristocracy. However, when Claudius surprisingly took the throne, Vinicianus changed his mind and decided to assume the reins of power. Being in Italy and having no military force at his disposal whatsoever, he requested Scribonianus' help. The latter was – again according to Dio – already plotting against the emperor.⁵¹ Vinicianus spent the entire time between Caligula's death and the end of tumultuous events of the following year in Rome. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that he tried to influence the army during that time. There were several groups he could have reached out to for assistance: the Praetorian Guard, the Urban Cohorts and the Imperial German Bodyguard. This was another reminder that it was not the emperor who held power in Rome, but the army. Nonetheless, it was out of the question for the city's armed forces to undermine the authority of the emperor. The debt was mutual: while Claudius owed his throne to them, they were indebted to him for the lavish salary they received in exchange for their fidelity. Unlike Vinicianus, in Dalmatia Scribonianus had a significant military force at his disposal. His province was conveniently close to the Apennine Peninsula; his reputation, manners and behaviour were acceptable to the senatorial aristocracy in Rome. Thus, he was a desirable candidate to bring Vinicianus' designs to fruition. I am therefore inclined to think that, at least in AD 42, Vinicianus was after the throne, hoping to obtain military support from across the Adriatic Sea. Suetonius' sequence *denuntiatio ad novum imperatorem itinere* thus aptly fits in this interpretation, suggesting that Scribonianus and his army aimed to march to Vinicianus in Rome.

Even though the Dalmatian legions pledged allegiance to Claudius in AD 41, their local commander felt strong enough to support the Senate's plan. He was

⁴⁸ *Idem*; *PIR* I 1897: 74.

⁴⁹ *Suet. Cal.* 58; *Joseph. A. I.* XIX, 1,14; *Dio Cass.* LIX, 29.

⁵⁰ *Joseph. A. I.* XIX, 253-254.

⁵¹ *Dio Cass.* LX, 15,2.

still willing to dethrone the legitimate emperor. That said, I would argue that Scribonianus' decision to take full control over the local army was of extraordinary importance for the early imperial history. It seems that the governor of Dalmatia was among the first in the Empire who foresaw where the true secret of the empire laid, which Tacitus accurately pointed out some decades later.⁵² The power of the army and the pertinence of their commander suggested that a new ruler could be hailed in the provinces just the same as in Rome. According to Suetonius' account, there is no doubt that Scribonianus did convince Dalmatian legions to join Vinicianus' side, even for just five days. It seems that the legate made the same decision Vitellius did in AD 68, when he took four legions from Germany to Italy in order to confront Galba.⁵³ For all that, this does not suffice to claim with confidence that Scribonianus wanted the throne for himself. The main attestation seems to be derived from Dio's note that Claudius was so intimidated that he was ready to renounce the throne in his (*i.e.* Scribonianus') favour.⁵⁴ This could be interpreted as Dio's notion of two parallel candidates for supreme power – Vinicianus in Rome and Scribonianus in Dalmatia. However, I would not simply assert the reliability to the emperor's assessments, particularly in moments of panic and confusion. To support this, let us recall a comment that there was nothing for which Claudius was so notorious as timidity and suspicion.⁵⁵ In other words, the Emperor's fear of the military power in the hands of Dalmatian legate does not mean that Scribonianus was seeking the throne. Once more, Suetonius has more to tell us about the Emperor's fears. According to the biographer, when the rebellion began, Scribonianus felt sure that the Emperor could be intimidated even without resorting to war. Accordingly, he addressed a letter to Claudius ordering him to give up his throne and betake himself to a life of privacy and retirement.⁵⁶ Again, not a single word about Scribonianus willing to assume imperial power.

The two narratives differ in their accounts of the reasons behind the rebellion's failure. According to Suetonius, when, on the fifth day, the army was ordered to

⁵² Cf. *Tac. Hist.* I, 4,2. *finis Neronis ut laetus prima gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones ducesque eoneiverat, evulgato imperii arcana, posse princeipem alibi quam Romae fieri.* "Welcome as the death of Nero had been in the first burst of joy, yet it had not only roused various emotions in Rome, among the Senators, the people, or the soldiery of the capital, it had also excited all the legions and their generals; for now had been divulged that secret of the empire, that emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome." (Translation based on A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb)

⁵³ *Suet. Vit.* 8-10; *Tac. Hist.* II.

⁵⁴ Κλαύδιος δὲ τέως μὲν πάνυ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐθελοντῆς ἐτοιμῶς ἔχειν τοῦ κράτους αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι, *Dio Cass.* LX, 15.

⁵⁵ *Suet. Cl.* 35.

⁵⁶ *Idem.*

march to their commander, the soldiers were brought to repentance by a miracle.⁵⁷ Their military eagles could not be adorned, nor the standards pulled up and moved. Is it possible that a mere superstition forced an entire legion to abandon their commander? It has been argued that Suetonius' claim could be explained by his personal attitudes towards the superstitious interpretation of certain events.⁵⁸ Accepting this view, I would suggest that sequence *neque ornari neque signa conuelli moverique potuerunt* not only provides the author's explanation of this particular episode, but highlights the power of symbols in Roman military history in general.⁵⁹ It is a known fact that a silver eagle was the principal standard of a Roman legion, each legion carrying one. Apart from being a practical device designating the meeting-point of a military unit, an eagle also had an important symbolic function which should not be overlooked. The loss of an eagle was considered to be a sinister omen. As a literary analogy we can propose an account from Valerius Maximus' record on the famous Battle of Lake Trasimene in 217 BC.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the word for eagle (Lat. *aquila*) was written in the singular. This implies that the act of disobedience took place in one of the Dalmatian military camps, either in Burnum or in Tilurium. On the other hand, Dio gives a rather pragmatic explanation for the failure of the rebellion. Scribonianus allegedly promised his soldiers he would restore the Republic and give them back their ancient freedom.⁶¹ This is another proof that the governor was not keen to take the absolute power for himself. Suspicious and reluctant to fight again, the legions deserted him. To put it mildly, the soldiers were not delighted by the notion of "the name of the people" and "ancient freedom". The idea of the Republican *libertas* was anything but an attractive offer for the early Imperial army. Although many decades had passed, the collective memory of the civil wars was still fresh.

⁵⁷ *Suet. Cl.* 13.

⁵⁸ SWAN 1970: 163.

⁵⁹ LE BOHEC 1998: 50-51.

⁶⁰ *Val. Max.* I, 6,6: *C. autem Flaminius inauspicato consul creatus cum apud lacum Trasimennum cum Hannibale conflicturus conuelli signa iussisset, lapso equo super caput eius humi prostratus est nihilque eo prodigio inhibitus, signiferis negantibus signa moueri sua sede posse, malum, ni ea continuo effodissent, minatus est. uerum huius temeritatis utinam sua tantum, non etiam populi Romani maxima clade poenas pependisset! in ea namque acie XV Romanorum caesa, VI capta, X fugata sunt.* "C. Flaminius was made consul without auspices. When he was about to join battle with Hannibal at Lake Trasimene and gave orders for standards to be pulled up, his horse slipped and he was thrown over its head to the ground. Nothing daunted by the prodigy, he threatened the standard-bearers who told him that the standards could not be moved from their positions with a flogging unless they dug them immediately. But would that he had paid the penalty for the rashness only with his own mishap and not with a great calamity of the Roman people! For in that battle fifteen thousand Romans were killed, six thousand taken prisoner, twenty thousand put to flight." (Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey)

⁶¹ τὸ τοῦ δήμου ὄνομα, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν (*Dio Cass.* LX, 15).

I would therefore rely on Dio's rather than Suetonius' account of the reasons for the rebellion's failure.

Scribonianus' flight to the island of Issa is another notable detail. His choice of Issa has already been analysed.⁶² It is worth noting that several decades earlier, during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, Issa chose the losing side.⁶³ After Pompey's defeat, once a flourishing Greek ἀποικία was left despoiled of its municipal rights.⁶⁴ It has therefore been suggested that Pompeian tradition possibly still lived on the island.⁶⁵ Thus Scribonianus, as a descendant of the illustrious Triumvir, put his faith in the Isseans, hoping he would find a secure asylum there.⁶⁶ I would however propose another, purely strategic reason for his retreat to Issa. During the civil war years (1st century BC) this Adriatic island was used as a military base of some sort.⁶⁷ Lost far away on the high seas, Issa served as a safe foothold for those intending to navigate across the Adriatic. Given that, it seems that Scribonianus' docking in Issa was mainly practical in nature. The governor eventually died on the island, either committing suicide or at the hands of a common soldier.⁶⁸ The latter version is derived from Tacitus. According to him, Scribonianus was murdered by a soldier named Volaginius.⁶⁹ The narrative of Pliny the Younger presents a similar picture. In one of his epistles, Pliny stated that Scribonianus was killed in his wife's arms.⁷⁰ Dio, on the other hand, merely noted that he died voluntarily.⁷¹ It seems that the three sources do not exclude each other: after having voluntarily surrendered, Scribonianus was punished by being put to death.

A short note must be made on the individuals associated with Scribonianus and/or supporters of the rebellion. With his wife Vibia, he had a son named Furius Scribonianus.⁷² There is no insight into their lives prior to the revolt. Upon her husband's death, Vibia was transferred to Rome to testify before Claudius.

⁶² CAMBI 2009: 66.

⁶³ *Caes. Civ.* III, 9,1.

⁶⁴ ČAČE AND KUNTIC-MAKVIĆ 2010: 71. It is worth noting that Issa was a Siracusan colony. Her founder-island of Sicily suffered the same fate. After Octavian conquered the island in 36 BC, he punished many of the Sicilian cities for their support of Sextus Pompey. Cf. STONE 1983: 11.

⁶⁵ CAMBI 2009: 66.

⁶⁶ Thus Pliny the Elder refers to the town as *Issa civium Romanorum* (*NH* III, 26,152).

⁶⁷ WILKES 1969: 41; BILIĆ-DUJMIŠIĆ 2000: 112-117.

⁶⁸ *Tac. Hist.* II, 75; *Dio Cass.* LX, 15.

⁶⁹ *Tac. Hist.* II, 75.

⁷⁰ *Plin. Ep.* III, 16.

⁷¹ ἐκούσιος ἀπέθανε; *Dio Cass.* LX, 15.

⁷² *Tac. Ann.* XII, 52; *Plin. Ep.* III, 16; *PIRI* 1897: 429.

Since Pliny the Younger described the scene using the words *cum illa profiteretur indicium*, one can presume that she stood in front of the Emperor on her own volition, thus anticipating the death penalty.⁷³ We know, however, from Tacitus that Claudius condemned her to exile.⁷⁴ Furius, like the other sons of the conspirators, was spared.⁷⁵ Some years later he was banished, accused of having consulted astrologers about the date of the Emperor's death. Tacitus artfully noted that Claudius credited this punishment to his clemency.⁷⁶

Apart from Vinicianus, literary sources mention two former consuls as Scribonianus' associates in the rebellion. Pliny the Younger and Cassius Dio mention the virtues of Caecina Paetus while Tacitus gives only a hint about the complicity of Q. Pomponius Secundus.⁷⁷ However, Flavius Josephus and Cassius Dio provide some details about Pomponius' role in the events after Caligula's death.⁷⁸ Pomponius was also mentioned in a process against the senatorial lieutenant P. Suilius Rufus. According to the accusations brought against him, he was driven by Suilius into the unavoidable civil war.⁷⁹ As we have seen, the only *bellum civile* in Claudius' era mentioned in the sources is the one from Suetonius' account of Scribonianus' revolt. It would however be highly speculative to dwell on the degree of Pomponius involvement. I am inclined to see Suilius' statement merely as a pretext to accuse Pomponius, since the latter was already a known opponent of Claudius' rule. Moreover, the fact that his role in the Dalmatian unrest was omitted in Dio's narrative suggests that one cannot unequivocally argue in favour of his compliance

Unlike Pomponius, Caecina Paetus (*cos. suff.* 37) was certainly among those who plotted against Claudius. According to both Pliny and Dio, once the revolt had been thwarted, he was arrested and ordered to stand trial. Pliny's letter suggests that Paetus was still in Dalmatia when that happened. The army took him to a vessel which had to set sail for Italy. When he was about to embark, his wife Arria begged the soldiers to take her on board with him. Since her request was denied, she followed him in a fishing boat. The episode suggests that Scribonianus' rebellion most likely took place in spring or summer when it was possible to effectuate a long range navigation across the Adriatic in a boat as small as Arria's must have been.⁸⁰ Pliny's epistle celebrates Arria's personal merit. Pliny's image of Arria

⁷³ *Plin. Ep.* III, 16.

⁷⁴ *Tac. Ann.* XII, 52.

⁷⁵ *Dio Cass.* LX, 16,2.

⁷⁶ *Tac. Ann.* XII, 52.

⁷⁷ *Plin. Ep.* III, 16; *Dio Cass.* LX, 16, 5-6; *Tac. Ann.* XIII, 43.

⁷⁸ *Joseph. A. I.* XIX, 263; *Dio Cass.* LIX, 26.

⁷⁹ *PIR* III 1898: 80.

⁸⁰ CAMBI 2009: 66.

can be regarded as a vivid example of the Roman literary ideal of an exemplary woman. Upon her arrival in Rome, she was reported as having offered a dagger to her husband in order to pursue a noble death.⁸¹ An epigram composed by the famous poet Martial shows that the episode was well-known in the antiquity.⁸² As a result, Arria's memory was cherished in historiographic (Cassius Dio), epistolar (Pliny the Younger) and poetic form (Martial).

The sources are strikingly silent on the events following the end of the revolt. Only Dio notes simply that Claudius was encouraged by good news from Dalmatia. The Emperor first rewarded soldiers, the Legions VII and XI, respectively, by naming them Claudian, Loyal and Patriotic (*Claudia Pia Fidelis*) through the Senate. Then he sought out those who had plotted against him.⁸³ Many were forced to death, Annius Vinicianus among them. Thus his attempts were doomed both in AD 41 and 42. On the second occasion Claudius showed no mercy. A new legate was sent to the province, L. Salvius Otho (*cos. suff. 33*), the father of the homonymous emperor.⁸⁴ Otho was mentioned in Suetonius' *Biographies* as one of those who severely punished certain officers in Dalmatia (*Otho 1*). It seems that the Emperor did not reprehend him, given the fact that Otho was enlisted to the patrician rank in Rome and adorned with other refined gifts.⁸⁵

Material evidence

In order to provide an overview of the material evidence of the rebellion, let us first draw attention to the military eagle mentioned in Suetonius' account (see above). I want to argue that Scribonianus' attempt failed in Burnum, thus implying that it was the Legion XI who was in the possession of this eagle. If we briefly summarise what is known about this site, perhaps the evidence will be clearer. Burnum was mentioned by Pliny the Elder as one of the fortresses ennobled by the battles of the Roman people.⁸⁶ Apart from Legion XI, during the Julio-Claudian period several auxiliary units were garrisoned there (*Ala I Hispanorum* and *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria*). The Burnum area saw a military camp, an auxiliary fortress and – in Hadrian's time at the latest – a municipium.⁸⁷ The vicinity of the river Krka contributed significantly to the strategic importance of the

⁸¹ *Plin. Ep.* III, 16; Arria's words *Non dolet, Paete*, immortalized by Pliny the Younger, seem to represent a unique tribute to the last vestiges of Republican virtue.

⁸² *Mart.* I, 13.

⁸³ *Dio Cass.* LX, 15.

⁸⁴ *PIR* III 1898: 167; JAGENTEUFEL 1958: 21-22; THOMASSON 1984: 90.

⁸⁵ *PIR* III 1898: 168.

⁸⁶ *Plin. NH* III, 21,139.

⁸⁷ *CIL* III 2828 = 9890.

site. As has already been mentioned, after the final establishment of the Roman military dominance in AD 9, the army attached the utmost importance to public security and the control of the key traffic routes in the province. In that context, several legionary and auxiliary units had been sent to Burnum's surroundings.⁸⁸ An inscription from Burnum, unearthed in the site of Šupljaja, allows us to date its construction to governor P. Cornelius Dolabella's period (AD 14 – 20).⁸⁹ The archaeological survey has shown that the military camp had been built in several stages, the third of which is of particular significance. This phase is marked by the construction of more spacious camp headquarters (*principia*) and a stone amphitheatre.⁹⁰ The new *principia* was erected in the last years of Claudius' reign, as recorded by two building plaques.⁹¹ As for the amphitheatre, it had four entrances and followed the natural slope. A monumental inscription bearing the name of Emperor Vespasian, dated to the year AD 76/77, is taken as evidence for a *terminus ante quem*.⁹² Nevertheless, as the material has shown, several earlier phases of amphitheatre's construction can be distinguished. Pottery (both Arretine and local ware), fragments of amphorae, glass, copper and bronze objects as well as coins have been unearthed on a vast scale.⁹³ The numismatic material supplies the most welcome information since almost all of it can be dated in the early Imperial period, ending with Claudius' reign.⁹⁴ Judging from the inventory, it seems fairly conclusive that the first stage of construction was completed in Claudius' time. I am therefore inclined to argue that the construction of the Burnum amphitheatre should be linked to the failure of Scribonianus' rebellion in AD 42.⁹⁵ Although an explicit material proof is yet to be found, one cannot fail to make the attractive conclusion that Claudius showed his munificence rewarding his soldiers with such an elaborate building. I would reinforce this presumption by the notorious fact from literary sources. Namely, Suetonius described the Emperor's magnificent gladiatorial shows.⁹⁶ Therefore, we know that every year Claudius organised games in the Praetorian camp in Rome, celebrating the memory of his accession to the throne.⁹⁷ The games were undoubtedly staged as a sign of grace

⁸⁸ CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007: 6.

⁸⁹ *CIL* III, 14321; CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007: 14.

⁹⁰ WILKES 1969: 98. dated the *principia* to the last years of Claudius; CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007: 19.

⁹¹ WILKES 1969: 98.

⁹² CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007: 12-14.

⁹³ GLAVIČIĆ 2011: 291; 299-308.

⁹⁴ *Idem*: 291.

⁹⁵ Cf. CAMBI, GLAVIČIĆ, MARŠIĆ, MILETIĆ AND ZANINOVIĆ 2007: 19.

⁹⁶ *Suet. Cl.* 21.

⁹⁷ For Claudius' *spectacula*: *Suet. Cl.* 21; cf. *Dio Cass.* XL, 13,1; *CIL* I, 248.

to the Praetorians, remembering the role they played after Caligula's death. If the Emperor's gratitude to the urban military units was of that sort, he must have shown similar gratitude to his loyal legion in Dalmatia.

A few words should be said about several other places directly or indirectly connected to the revolt. As has already been noted, Scribonianus left the coast and set sail to the island of Issa. The boarding port must have been the coastal town of Scardona (Skradin). Several facts corroborate this assessment. Firstly, Scardona was the main supplying harbour for the military camp in Burnum.⁹⁸ From the provincial capital to Scardona, Scribonianus could have arrived either by land or by sea. Special military units had been established to secure both free passage and the regular delivery of supplies.⁹⁹ Moreover, the imperial legate there had an official residence (*praetorium*) at his disposal. The building was almost certainly erected in early 1st century.¹⁰⁰ Run-down during the period that followed, it was reconstructed in the reign of M. Aurelius, as attested by an inscription.¹⁰¹ Another monument (*sacer[dos] ad aram Augusti Lib[urnorum]*) testifies that the local community set up an altar for the practices of the imperial cult.¹⁰² The population of Scardona and the neighbouring settlements congregated to this *ara*, as the common centre of religious worship. Scribonianus was to be expected in Scardona quite often, whether attending the court, offering sacrifices to the deified *Augustus*, or simply *en route* to the military camp in Burnum. Therefore, Scardona was most probably on the governor's itinerary during the last days of his life.

Once he recovered his political power, Claudius sought to strengthen the support of the loyal Dalmatian legions. This was accomplished by his magnanimous deeds either by giving the veterans land plots in Siculi and Aequum, or by adorning the legions with the pompous appellation *Claudia Pia Fidelis*. More than a hundred epigraphic monuments mentioning the soldiers of the Seventh Legion are known. Forty-four of them bear the post-revolt title *Claudia Pia Fidelis*.¹⁰³ The veterans of the Legion XI are mentioned on dozens of stone monuments. The vast majority originates from the coastal strip, *i.e.* the territories of Salona (Solin), Tragurium

⁹⁸ The inscriptions from Mratovo (*CIL* III, 6418) and the surroundings of Roški Slap (the sixth cascade of the Krka river; *CIL* III, 2818; *CIL* III, 9885) both prove that the soldiers and veterans of Legion XI were present near Scardona in the first half of the 1st century AD (GLAVIČIĆ 2007: 252).

⁹⁹ *CIL* III, 2364; *CIL* III, 2823.

¹⁰⁰ GLAVIČIĆ 2007: 252.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* III, 2809.

¹⁰² *CIL* III, 2810; In Dalmatia the official worship of the imperial cult had been established under the governance of P. Cornelius Dolabella (14-20 AD), as shown by an inscription from Augusteum in Narona (MARIN 2004: 64).

¹⁰³ TONČINIĆ 2011: 138.

(Trogir), Iader (Zadar), Scardona (Skradin) and Narona (Vid).¹⁰⁴ However, the first hand evidence for a veteran settlement comes from Pliny's account of Siculi. Enumerating communities along the east Adriatic coast, the author wrote: *Siculi, in quem locum Divus Claudius veteranos misit*.¹⁰⁵ Even though the exact location of Siculi has long been the subject of speculation for historians of the antiquity, up until recently very little was known of it. Finally, the survey conducted in 2007 brought to light huge amounts of pottery sherds, fragments of Proconnesian marble columns, Issean, Roman Republican and Imperial coins, as well as numerous objects in metal, glass and bone.¹⁰⁶ The most intensive period of occupation dates to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.¹⁰⁷ The 1st century AD in Siculi is characterized by significant spatial transformations manifested by setting up a new settlement over the earlier one. This period saw the construction of the new harbour and the extension of inhabited area outside the ramparts. What is more, the settlement is now attested in the adjacent agricultural land. Two epigraphic monuments mention the Legions VII and XI with the appellation *Claudia Pia Fidelis*.¹⁰⁸ One monument is attested in present-day Kaštel Štafilić, the area which overlaps with the territory of ancient Siculi to a considerable degree.¹⁰⁹ There is an inscription of a veteran from Siculi which omits the *C. P. F.* title.¹¹⁰ Regardless of that, Betz and Pavan argued that the tombstone should be dated after AD 42.¹¹¹ Wilkes however left open the possibility that Claudius established the settlement in Siculi before AD 42.¹¹² I am inclined to the latter interpretation, since it is highly improbable that a soldier intentionally failed to include the title conferred for loyalty to the Emperor. Among the numismatic material dating to the 1st century AD, a Claudian coin with the name and effigy of the Emperor on the obverse should be mentioned.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ In Salona alone nine monuments of the Legion XI *C. P. F.* are attested: *CIL* III, 2013; 2031; 2035; 2062 (2069, 8747); 8727; 8738; 8740; 14703; *AE* 1914: 75.

¹⁰⁵ *Plin. NH* III, 141; Apart from Pliny, the settlement is recorded in Ptolemy's *Geography* (II, 16,3), *The Peutinger Map* (IV, B1) and in *Cosmography* of the Anonymus of Ravenna (V, 14).

¹⁰⁶ KAMENJARIN 2011: 16-17.

¹⁰⁷ ŠUTA 2011: 31.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* III, 9709; *CIL* III, 9710; WILKES 1969: 469.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* III, 8758; The epigraphic corpora in this case can be somewhat misleading. The information about the exact site of a monument's discovery can sometimes lack precision. This is due to the fact that, in Antiquity, Siculi belonged to the territory of Salona. Therefore, some inscriptions could be listed among those from the provincial capital. Moreover, in the 19th century, the site belonged to the municipal area of Trogir. It is possible that instead of Siculi some inscriptions are presented as if they were found in Trogir. The exact number of epigraphic monuments from Siculi should therefore be taken *cum grano salis*.

¹¹⁰ *CIL* III, 9712.

¹¹¹ BETZ 1938: 32 ff; PAVAN 1958: 208.

¹¹² WILKES 1969: 451.

¹¹³ The Museum of the Town of Kaštela, *inv. No. 3777*.

The reverse bears a personification of Liberty and Claudius' slogan *Libertas Augusta*.

Along with this *motto*, Claudius' coinage is generally characterized by a series of noteworthy syntagms such as *spes Augusta*,¹¹⁴ *victoria Augusta*,¹¹⁵ *pax Romana*,¹¹⁶ *ob cives servatos*¹¹⁷. However, the most common slogan was *constantia*, abundantly attested on golden, silver and bronze coins.¹¹⁸ It seemed reasonable to interpret it as the Emperor's reaction to insecurity of impermanence (*inconstantia*) and destructive fury (*furor*), the recognized features of Caligula's reign.¹¹⁹ A wide range of novel syntagms leads us to the conclusion that Claudius deliberately established a new type of coins, firmly based upon his political principles. The evidence can be seen in the often used phrase *constantia Augusti* (as opposed to earlier *constantia Augusta*). Using the genitive case to express his title, the Emperor intended to emphasise *constantia* as a virtue closely related to his personality.¹²⁰ Claudius' money is abundantly attested in both Dalmatian *castra*.¹²¹ This was to be expected since – as P. Burgers showed – 33.4% of all Claudian gold and silver coinage was struck in the years AD 41/42.¹²²

The founding of Aequum is another element not to be disregarded. It is generally agreed that the colony was established late in Claudius' or early in Nero's reign. The town was officially named *Colonia Claudia Aequum*. The earliest literary information come from the second-century author Claudius Ptolemy (*Geo.* II, 16,7). The town is also mentioned by the Anonymus of Ravenna (IV, 16) and *Antonine Itinerary* (269, 6). A larger part of the new settlers came from the nearby Tilverium (Legion VII).¹²³ Out of the three epigraphic monuments which mention VIIth legion in Aequum, two bear the title *C[laudia] P[ia] F[idelis]*.¹²⁴ It would however be difficult to ascertain whether the foundation of Aequum was directly

¹¹⁴ *RIC* I, 128, No. 99-100; 130, No. 115-116.

¹¹⁵ *Idem*: 122, No. 17-18.

¹¹⁶ *Idem*: 122, No. 9, 21; 123, 27, 28, 38, 39, 40, 47.

¹¹⁷ *Idem*: 44, No. 42-48.

¹¹⁸ *Idem*: 121, No. 2; 122, No. 13-14; 123, No. 31, 32, 42, 43.

¹¹⁹ On the other hand, in his political satire *The Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii* Seneca the Younger vehemently derrided the Emperor's *constantia*. Among Seneca's salty jokes directed at Claudius was a Greek saying that one should be born either as a king or as a fool (μωρῶ καὶ βασιλεῖ νόμος ἄγραφος, *Apocol.* 1).

¹²⁰ According to Cicero, the individuals who exhibit this kind of virtue should be considered wise and good, the chiefs, leaders and advisers of people and of the empire (*Pro Sex.* LXVI, 139).

¹²¹ ŠEPAROVIĆ AND PAVLOVIĆ 2013: 459.

¹²² BURGERS 2001: 110.

¹²³ On the possible dates for army's abandonment of the camp: RITTERLING 1925: 1619; WILKES 1969: 96; ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 287.

¹²⁴ *CIL* III, 14946; 9761.

linked to the failure of Scribonianus' revolt. It has already been suggested that the establishment of the colony was preceded by an earlier settlement on the same spot.¹²⁵ Others argue that Claudius settled veterans in a site without any urban tradition.¹²⁶ Regardless of that, the site was not chosen randomly. The territory of Aequum was adjacent to one of the roads connecting Salona with the hinterland. However, lacking any direct evidence, I am reluctant to ascribe the foundation of Aequum to the tumultuous events in AD 42 categorically.

Conclusion

The actions of the Claudian opposition suggest that Scribonianus was no more than a suitable agent, providing the necessary aid to Annius Vinicianus and the senatorial elite in Rome. Although he should not be considered as a person aspiring to take the throne, the governor of Dalmatia seems to have had a clear view that an emperor could be hailed in a province. This fact deserves closer attention, and further views are welcome. Moreover, a different outline of the five-day civil war has been suggested. The legions changed the oath of allegiance and then repented, not vice-versa.

Drawing attention on the material traces of Scribonianus' rebellion, three sites may be directly associated with it. Both Roman military architecture and the funerary monuments from Scardona and its surroundings support the claim that Legion XI was the first to switch allegiances and abandon the governor. Scardona was the most probable port of embarkation on Scribonianus' way to the island of Issa. The territory of Siculi, beside its literary testimony, bears the epigraphical evidence of the veteran settlement. The coins Claudius minted were a testament of his fortune, conspicuously attached to the principles of ancient Roman virtue. After all, this was a manifestation of his right to rule imperial Rome.

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Abbreviations

AE L'Année épigraphique, Paris.

CIL Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.

IL Jug Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt [Situla] 5, 1963; Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt [Situla] 19, 1978; Inscriptiones Latinae

¹²⁵ ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 288. On the establishment of this colony: RITTERLING 1924: 1253; BETZ 1938: 13; ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 288.

¹²⁶ GABRIČEVIĆ 1984: 94-95.

quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt [Situla] 25, 1986.

ILS Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, Berlin 1892-1916.

LCL Loeb Classical Library, London.

PIR Prosopographia imperii Romani, Berlin.

RE Die Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.

RIC The Roman Imperial Coinage I (31 BC – AD 69), London 1984.

VAHD Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split.

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Ponovno razmatranje tragova Skribonijanove pobune

U drugoj godini vladavine Klaudija Cezara (42.) rimska je provincija Dalmacija svjedočila vojnoj pobuni protiv cara. L. Aruncije Kamilo Skribonijan tada je vršio službu provincijskog legata (konzul 32.). U skladu s time, epizoda je poznata kao Skribonijanova buna kao Skribonijanova pobuna. Pomutnja je ipak kratko trajala. Legijama je trebalo svega pet dana da odmetnutom namjesniku odreknu poslušnost i vrate se pod carev stijeg. Kad je Skribonijan uvidio da mu je pokušaj propao, pobjegao je na jadranski otok Isu (Vis) i samom sebi oduzeo život. U članku se nanovo proučavaju pisani izvori o pobuni i nižu se materijalni tragovi koji bi se mogli dovesti u vezu s događajima u Dalmaciji 42. godine.

Keywords: Claudius, Dalmatia, Roman army, Roman Empire, Roman history, Scribonianus.

Ključne riječi: Klaudije, Dalmacija, rimska vojska, Rimsko Carstvo, rimska povijest, Skribonijan.

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