

An Overlooked *Arcanum Imperii*?: Reconsidering Indirect Rule in the Julio-Claudian East

1. *reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor.* (Suet. *Aug.* 48)

He [Augustus] also united the allied kings by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them. (Loeb translation, adapted)

2. μετῆλθεν εἰς Τιβεριάδα πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν περίβλεπτος. ἦκε γοῦν παρ' αὐτὸν Κομμαγενῆς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, Ἐμεσῶν δὲ Σαμψιγέραμος καὶ Κότυς, τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ Πολέμων τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν Ἡρώδης τε οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἤρχεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος. (Jos. *AJ* 19.338)

he [Agrippa] went next to Tiberias, a city in Galilee. Now he was evidently admired by the other kings. At any rate, he was visited by Antiochus king of Commagene, Sampsigeramus king of Emesa, and Cotys king of Armenia Minor, as well as by Polemo, who held sway over Pontus, and Herod his brother, who was ruler of Chalcis. (Loeb translation, adapted)

3. *reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter uniuersos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate paruis aut mente lapsis, donec adolescerent aut resipiscerent; **ac plurimorum liberos et educauit simul cum suis et instituit.** (Suet. Aug. 48)*

He [Augustus] also united the allied kings by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them. He never failed to treat them all with consideration as integral parts of the empire, regularly appointing a guardian for such as were too young to rule or whose minds were affected, until they grew up or recovered; **and he brought up the children of many of them and educated them with his own.** (Loeb translation, adapted. Emphasis mine).

4. Cyzicus Inscription (37 CE)

τοὺς Κότυος δὲ παῖδας Ῥοιμητάλκην καὶ Πολέμονα καὶ Κότυν **συντροφους καὶ ἐταίρους** ἑαυτῶι γεγο-/νότας εἰς τὰς ἐκ πα[τέρ]ων καὶ προγόνων αὐτοῖς ὀφειλομένας ἀποκαθέστακεν βασιλείας (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 798 lines 6-7)

(and since) the sons of Kotys, i.e. Rhoimetalkes and Polemon and Kotys, **had been his foster-brothers and had become his companions** and had been established by him (i.e. Gaius Caesar) in the kingdoms rightfully owed to them from their fathers and ancestors (trans. Sherk 1988, emphases mine).

5. Οὐ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει ὡς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τήν τε ὠμότητα τήν τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ τήν ἀσέλγειαν αὐξήσειν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐπυνθάνοντο τόν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον τοὺς βασιλέας ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννοδιδασκάλους συνεῖναι. (Dio 59.24.1)

All this, however, did not distress the people so much as did their expectation that Gaius' cruelty and licentiousness would go to still greater lengths. And they were particularly troubled on ascertaining that King Agrippa and King Antiochus were with him, like two tyrant-trainers. (Loeb translation)

6. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀντιόχῳ τήν Κομμαγηνήν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γάιος, καίπερ αὐτός οἱ δούς αὐτήν, ἀφήρητο) [...] τῷ γὰρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Παλαιστίνῳ συμπράξαντί οἱ τήν ἡγεμονίαν (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὢν) τήν τε ἀρχὴν προσεπηύξησε καὶ τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἔνειμε. τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ τό τε στρατηγικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἕς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν σφισι καὶ χάριν οἱ ἑλληνοιστὶ γνῶναι ἐπέτρεψε. (Dio 60.8.1-3)

Next he [Claudius] restored Commagene to Antiochus, since Gaius, though he had himself given him the district, had taken it away again [...] He enlarged the domain of Agrippa of Palestine, who, happening to be in Rome, had helped him to become emperor, and bestowed on him the *ornamenta consularia*; and to his brother Herod he gave the *ornamenta praetoria* and a principality. And he permitted them to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him **in Greek**. (Loeb translation, adapted. Emphasis mine)

7. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐπαρχίας ἔχει Καῖσαρ, ὧν εἰς ἅς μὲν πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους ὑπατικούς ἄνδρας, εἰς ἅς δὲ στρατηγικούς, εἰς ἅς δὲ καὶ ἵππικούς. καὶ βασιλεῖς δὲ καὶ δυνάσται καὶ δεκαρχίαι τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπῆρξαν αἰεὶ. (Strabo 17.3.25 C 840)

But the rest of the Provinces are held by Caesar; and to some of these he sends as curators men of consular rank, to others men of praetorian rank, and to others men of the rank of knights. **Kings, also, and dynasts and decarchies are now, and always have been, in Caesar's portion.** (Loeb translation, adapted. Emphasis mine)

8. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων διατριβόντων ἔτι παρ' αὐτῷ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμῶν παρεγένετο. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὖν τιμητικὸν τηρῶν ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίους ἑπτὰ προῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεύς. τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἔμελλεν τῆς πρὸς Μάρσον ἀρχὴ γενήσεσθαι διαφορᾶς· συγκαθεζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἐπήγετο τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας,<sup>7</sup> Μάρσῳ δ' ἡ τούτων ὁμόνοια καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦδε φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπωπτεύθη συμφέρειν οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνοντι Ῥωμαίοις δυναστῶν τοσοῦτων συμφρόνησιν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς πέμπων ἐπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δίχα μελλήσεως ἀπέρχεσθαι. (Jos. *AJ* 19.340-341)

It so happened, however, that while he [Agrippa] was still entertaining them, Marsus the governor of Syria arrived. The king therefore, to do honour to the Romans, advanced seven furlongs outside the city to meet him. Now this action, as events proved, was destined to be the beginning of a quarrel with Marsus; for Agrippa brought the other kings along with him and sat with them in his carriage; but Marsus was suspicious of such concord and intimate friendship among them. He took it for granted that a meeting of minds among so many chiefs of state was prejudicial to Roman interests. He therefore at once sent some of his associates with an order to each of the kings bidding him set off without delay to his own territory. (Loeb translation)

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