

least from Lucretius (5.564ff.), and perhaps also from Epicurus himself (*Pyth.* 91).⁶

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THE 'PRAETOR' OF PROPERTIUS 1.8 AND 2.16 AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PROVINCE OF ILLYRICUM

The identity of the 'Praetor' from Propertius 1.8 and 2.16 has not been the subject of significant scholarly debate in the past, as Propertius did not reveal any details of significance about his rival for Cynthia's affection, except for the most obvious facts: that the rival was rich, a member of the upper social echelons and the lover of Cynthia. The opinions of scholars on his identity are divided. Some in effect deny his existence, as some scholars repudiate the existence of Cynthia.¹ Others have recognized him as Cynthia's husband.² The overwhelming majority of scholars see him as one of her lovers. His position, as a governor of Illyricum, and the relatively precise dating of Propertius' Books 1 and 2, have not been used as evidence for an individual provincial command in Illyricum after the battle of Actium. This paper sets out to determine the significance of the evidence from Propertius, and whether the 'Praetor' can be recognized as Cn. Baebius Tamphilus Vála Numonianus, who has been dated to roughly the same period as one of the first pro-consuls of Illyricum after the inscription from Iader (Zadar, Croatia).

The date when Illyricum was established as a separate province is unknown. According to the Lex Vatinia, Caesar received *imperium* for Illyricum in addition to Cisalpine Gaul in 59 B.C., and during the 40s B.C. different magistrates were entrusted with *imperium* for Illyricum as their *provincia* to fight in the Civil War.³ Some scholars argue that the province was not established in the 40s B.C. as an organized territory governed annually by a pro-magistrate.⁴ However, it should be noted that Roman

* Note: the works in languages other than English, French, or German are quoted by titles of appended summaries and marked with *. I would like to thank my colleagues from the University of Adelaide Dr. R.F. Newbold and Dr. J.R. Clarke for their assistance and Ms Barbara Sidwell for help in editing. Also, I am very grateful to an anonymous referee for the constructive criticism and useful suggestions that significantly improved the quality of the original paper.

¹ E.g. P. Veyne, *Roman Erotic Elegy. Love Poetry and the West* (trans. D. Pellauer) (Chicago, 1988); M. Wyke, 'Written women: Propertius' *scripta puella*', *JRS* 77 (1987), 47–61; ead., 'The elegiac women at Rome', *PCPhS* 33 (1987), 153–78; B.K. Gold, ' "But Ariadne was never there in the first place": finding the female in Roman poetry', in N.S. Rabinowitz and A. Richlin (edd.), *Feminist Theory and the Classics* (New York, 1993), 75–101.

² G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), 529–34.

³ It is difficult to maintain the opinion that the command of Illyricum remained connected to Cisalpina after Caesar, as recently argued in B.M. Kreiler, *Statthalter zwischen Republik und Prinzipat* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 65–9. Q. Cornificius, P. Sulpicius Rufus and P. Vatinius are attested as independently acting pro-magistrates in Illyricum in the 40s B.C., cf. *Bell. Alex.* 42–7.

⁴ M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Situla 43) (Ljubljana, 2005), 337–8, 462, 465; ead.,

political practice was highly flexible, especially in the first century B.C., so that the establishment of a territory as a province could mean no more than its regular assignment to the (pro)magistrates as their *provincia*, regardless of the administrative organization within the territory. The transition from a *provincia*, as the provision of military power over a certain territory assigned to a (pro)magistrate, to a province as a defined space within the institutions of a provincial government, could in practice take some time, according to local circumstances.⁵ Thus, it could be argued that Illyricum was a province, as the territory was not left without an *imperium*-holder after it was assigned to Caesar, but not before that time.⁶

In 44 B.C. Illyricum was joined, for administrative purposes, to Macedonia. However, this measure appears to be nothing more than a temporary solution in the context of the crises after the Ides of March. This was just an extraordinary (but legal) command, an *imperium maius* over local magistrates without administrative functions.⁷ Illyricum came into Octavian's zone of influence in 40 B.C., after the Brundisium agreement.⁸ The argument that Asinius Pollio was holding *imperium* for Illyricum and perhaps Macedonia in 40–39 B.C., as a means to operate against the Parthini in Macedonia and Delmatae in Illyricum, sounds convincing, but remains under dispute.⁹ Still, nothing is known of the status of Illyricum until a few years after the end of Octavian's Illyrian campaigns in 35–33 B.C. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that some forces were left to maintain security and prevent a renewal of native

'Caesar, Illyricum and hinterland of Aquileia', in G. Urso (ed.), *L'Ultimo Cesare. Scritti, Riforme, Progetti, Poteri, Congiure. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 16–18 settembre 1999* (Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità classica Monografie 20) (Rome, 2000), 283–4. Cf. F. Papazoglu, 'Les noms d'"Epire" et d'"Illyrie" au cours des deux derniers siècles de la République*', *Annuaire Centre d'Études Balkaniques* 13/11 (1976), 205, n. 28; P.-S.G. Freber, *Der Hellenistische Osten und das Illyricum unter Caesar* (Palingenesia 42) (Stuttgart, 1993), 125–7.

⁵ A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and administration* (London and New York, 1993), 22 ff.; J. Richardson, 'The Administration of the Empire', in *CAH* 9² (Cambridge, 1994), esp. 593–8; W. Eck, 'Provinz – ihre Definition unter politisch-administrativen Aspekt', in H. Hesberg (ed.), *Was ist eigentlich Provinz?* (Cologne, 1995), 15–32. See also E. Hermon, 'Concept de pouvoir et concept d'empire à l'époque républicaine à Rome: pour une analyse linguistique et historique', *Ktema* 8 (1983), 175–84 and C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore and London 1994), 10–30; on the relationship of power and territory in Roman political practice.

⁶ Cf. Šašel Kos, *Appian* (n. 4), 291–334 and D. Dzino, 'Late Republican Illyrian policy of Rome 167–60 BC: the bifocal approach', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Language and Roman History* 12 (Collection Latomus 287), (Brussels, 2005), 48–73 for Illyricum before 60 B.C.

⁷ Cic. *Phil.* 10.13; App. *Ill.* 13; Dio 47.21.6; K.M. Girardet, 'Die Rechtsstellung der Caesarattentäter: Brutus und Cassius in den Jahren 44–42 v. Chr.', *Chiron* 23 (1993), 216.

⁸ App. *B. Civ.* 5.65.274; Dio 48.28.4; Plut. *Ant.* 30.6. He was maintaining some troops there that had been summoned against Sextus Pompeius in 38 B.C., App. *B. Civ.* 5.80.

⁹ J. André, *La vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris, 1949), 22, n. 11; M. Zaninović, 'The Illyrian tribe of the Delmatae (I)*', *Annuaire Centre d'Études Balkaniques* 4/2 (1966), 31–2; A.B. Bosworth, 'Asinius Pollio and Augustus', *Historia* 21(3) (1972), 464; R. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book II* (Oxford, 1978), 19–20 all point out that Octavian and Antony jointly gave Pollio a roving commission to pacify the Eastern Adriatic, rather than a regular magistracy, arguing against Syme, who argued that Pollio was governor of Macedonia and did not operate in Illyricum; R. Syme, 'Pollio, Salonus and Salona', *CQ* 31 (1937), 39–48 (= *Roman Papers* 1 [Oxford, 1979], 18–30); cf. J.J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London, 1969), 44–5. The opinions of Syme's critics are different: Bosworth argues that Pollio was proconsul of Illyricum and André thinks that he may have combined both provinces. See the recent overview of Šašel Kos, *Appian* (n. 4), 369–74, reinforcing the opinion that Pollio held *imperium* for Illyricum only.

revolts. The testimony of Dio and Strabo confirms that the province of Illyricum existed in the time of the Augustan settlement of 27 B.C., as a public province.¹⁰ T. Nagy noticed that Illyricum was absent from the list of provinces that swore an oath to Octavian in the summer of 32 B.C., and as seen earlier, the existence of the province is attested in 27 B.C. as the latest date.¹¹

Previous scholarship has not devoted much attention to the evidence relating to the early days of the province of Illyricum, which may be deduced from the poems of Propertius. His rival for Cynthia's affection is mentioned as a praetor who is about to depart for Illyricum and wishes her to accompany him:

Tune igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur?
An tibi sum gelida vilior Illyria?
Et tibi iam tanti, quicumque est, iste videtur,
Ut sine me vento quolibet ire velis? (1.8.1–4)

Are you therefore mad, does my love not delay you?
Am I worth less to you, than chilly Illyria?
And is he, whoever he is, already so important to you,
that you are willing to go without me wherever the wind blows?¹²

After his term has finished, he returns from Illyricum:

Praetor ab Illyricis venit modo, Cynthia, terras,
maxima praeda tibi, maxima cura mihi. (2.16.1–2)

The Praetor came from the land of Illyria, Cynthia,
the greatest booty to you, the greatest worry to me.

Since the rods of office mentioned in 2.6.11 suggest that he was a magistrate, and the term *praetor* was used colloquially to depict governors in general, at least since Cicero's times, it is obvious that he had departed to Illyricum as a governor.¹³

Cynthia non sequitur fasces nec curat honores,
semper amatorum ponderat una sinus (2.16.11–12)

Cynthia does not follow the rods of office, nor does she care for honours;
She always weighs only her lover's purse.

The dating of Books 1 and 2 has been much debated by scholars. According to historical references that can be dated, it is apparent that Book 1 could not be published before 30 B.C., nor after 28 B.C.¹⁴ Book 2, on the other hand, started to be

¹⁰ Dio 53.12.4; Strabo 17.3.25.

¹¹ T. Nagy, 'Die Okkupation Pannoniens durch die Römer in der Zeit des Augustus', *AArchHung* 43 (1991), 67 after *RG* 25.2, but there might be other reasons for that, such as the small size of the urbanized part of the province where the administering of the oath would have been feasible (I would like to thank the anonymous referee for bringing my attention to this detail). The province is attested in Dio 53.12.4 as τὸ Δελατικόν and in Strabo 17.3.25 Ἰλλυρίδα. Dio confuses the time frame and earlier administrative terms. Strabo is right as the region was officially called Illyricum, Šašel Kos, *Appian* (n. 4), 402–3.

¹² Cynthia ultimately decides not to go, as we can see in 1.8a.

¹³ Cic. *II In Verr.* 3.125; *QFr.* 1.1.22; M. Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius I* (Berlin, 1920), 107; H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber (edd.), *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford, 1933), 164, 218; W.A. Camps (ed.), *Propertius: Elegies II* (Cambridge, 1967), 130.

¹⁴ Butler and Barber (n. 13), xxvii; P. Fedeli, 'Propertii monobiblos: struttura e motivi', in *ANRW* II.30.3 (New York and Berlin, 1983), 1860 (before October 28 B.C.); W.A. Camps (ed.),

composed immediately after the *Monobiblos* was published and was released before 26–25 B.C., either as one or as two volumes.¹⁵

Therefore, it is possible to date the ‘Praetor’s’ governorship in Illyricum more precisely through this information. If Book 1 was published in the period between mid-30 and the end of 29 B.C., as the majority of scholars agree, his departure to the province can be dated to the early spring of 30 or 29 B.C. Accordingly, Propertius 1.8 was obviously written before that, either in winter 31/30 or 30/29 B.C., as a winter setting for the poem is obvious.¹⁶ Recent relative dating of the poems in the *Monobiblos* establishes 1.8 as amongst the later middle poems, so the possibility that it was written much earlier can be excluded. This relative dating would also rule out late composition in the winter of 29/28 B.C. if 28 B.C. is, for the sake of argument, accepted as the publication year of the *Monobiblos*.¹⁷ The praetor’s return from Illyricum is noted in Book 2 (2.16), but is much more difficult to date. Book 2 started to be composed immediately after the *Monobiblos* was published, so we can assume his return to be a year or two after his departure, i.e. 29 or 28, or less likely, 27 B.C.

Statilius Taurus is attested as the last known legate in Illyricum for 34/33 B.C., left behind by Octavian to mop up the remaining resistance from the Delmataean alliance,¹⁸ and returning in time to assume his place at Actium. He did not return to Illyricum, as Dio mentions him constructing the amphitheatre in Rome in 30 B.C.¹⁹ As said above, it is reasonable to expect that Octavian left someone in charge after finishing his Illyrian campaigns. His victory at Actium placed all provinces at his disposal, and it is likely that his choices were only formally appointed as proconsuls before the settlement of 27 B.C.²⁰ Thus, the ‘Praetor’ from Propertius should be seen as one of these proconsuls who served in the period between Actium and the settlement of 27 B.C.

Whether the ‘Praetor’ can be recognized as Cn. Tamphilus Vála Numonianus, the pro-consul of Illyricum, the builder of the forum and possibly the patron of Iader (modern Zadar in Croatia) from the early principate, previously identified with the magistrate whose name stands in the inscription found in the forum of Iader, is questionable.²¹ I. Fadić rightly recognized him as Cn. Baebius Tamphilus Vála Numonianus Q. PR. PRO COS. IIIIVIR AAAFF. from the inscription *CIL* 6.1360 (= *ILS* 903), who, in his opinion might be C. Numonius Vála, known from the late 40s B.C. as *IIIvir monetalis* and subsequently adopted into the Tamphillii Baebii family

Propertius. Elegies I (Cambridge, 1961), 6–7; M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (London, 1974), 41–4 (early/late 29 B.C.); R.J. Baker (ed.), *Propertius I* (Warminster, 2000), 1 (29 B.C.); R.I.V. Hodge and R.A. Buttimore (edd.), *Propertius: Elegies Book I* (London, 2002), 9 (after 30, but before 27 B.C.). Recently, A. Luther, ‘Ein *Terminus ante quem* für die *Monobiblos* des Properz’, *Latomus* 62(4) (2003), 801–6 convincingly narrowed the time of publication to the period between August of 30 B.C. and the first half of 29 B.C.

¹⁵ Butler and Barber (n. 13), xxvii (composed from October 28, published mid-25 B.C.); Camps (n. 14), 6–7 (26 B.C., with reservations); Hubbard (n. 14), 41–4 (published in two volumes, early 28–27, late 26–25 B.C.)

¹⁶ *O utinam hibernae duplicentur tempora brumae, et sit iners tardis navita Vergilius* 1.8.9–10.

¹⁷ Hodge and Buttimore (n. 14), 10 on account of the ending of the pentameters (polysyllables decreasing with a disyllabic increase in time).

¹⁸ App. *Ill.* 27; cf. allusion in Dio 49.38.4.

¹⁹ Dio 51.23.1; T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* II (99–31 B.C.) (New York, 1952), 419, 422. Broughton assumes that he was in Illyricum in 32 B.C. but without firm evidence.

²⁰ Cf. J.W. Rich, ‘Augustus and the *spolia opima*’, *Chiron* 26 (1996), esp. 93–8. Kreiler (n. 3), 16–31 is not too convincing in his opinion that all the provincial governors in this period were appointed as *legati*, rather than the proconsuls.

²¹ CN TAMPH VALA PRO COS; *AE* (1986), 547; *AE* (2000), 1181.

some time in the 30s B.C., thus explaining the change of *praenomen*.²² The dating of his term by Fadić to 27–25 B.C. is too late for the person mentioned by Propertius, who served as the governor from 30 to 29 or 28 B.C. However, the dating of Tamphilus Vála's proconsulship, according to the existing evidence, leaves too much space for speculation, not to mention that his career spanned the turbulent period of Roman history when the rules of the *cursus honorum* were not necessarily obeyed. It is difficult to date his age from his term as *IIIvir monetalis*, as it was not a part of the official *cursus*,²³ and there is the additional problem with this identification, as this college numbered four and not the usual three people in the late 40s B.C. The date of Vála's term as a moneyer is also disputed, and can only be roughly dated to the period 43–40 B.C.²⁴ Thus it is impossible to determine whether he was the 'Praetor' or not, and to date his proconsulate with more precision.

Therefore, this small piece of evidence from Propertius and the inscription from Zadar has enabled us to establish evidence of an independent provincial command in Illyricum, after Octavian's campaigns of 35–33 B.C. and before the Augustan settlement of 27 B.C. It corresponds with the existing contemporary evidence for the foundation of an Augustan colony in Iader and the building of its city walls.²⁵ Cnaeus Baebius Tamphilus Vála Numonianus, the earliest governor of senatorial Illyricum known by name, cannot be completely ruled out as the 'Praetor', but there is also not enough evidence to identify him as the lover of Cynthia.

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²² I. Fadić, 'The name of Proconsul Cn. Tamphilus Vála on a Well of the Iader Forum*', *Arheološki Vestnik* 37 (1986), 409–34; id., 'Cneius Baebius Tamphilus Vála Numonianus – 'Builder' of the Forum, Patron of Iader and the first proconsul of Illyricum*', *Histria Antiqua* 5 (1999), 47–54. Cf. T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C. – A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), 246, no. 285.

²³ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*² (London, 1960), 29; H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1970), lxiii–lxiv (from the assumption based on scant evidence that this required a minimum age of 27).

²⁴ K. Pink, *The Triumviri Monetales and the structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic* (Numismatic Studies 7) (New York, 1952), 43 (43 B.C.); M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1983), 96, 522–3 (41 B.C.); H.A. Grueber (n. 23), 570–1 (40 B.C.).

²⁵ CIL 3.2907; 3.13264, cf. Wilkes (n. 9), 207–8; G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (Budapest, 1965), 78–9.

PRIAPIC PLACES OF WORSHIP (PETRONIUS 133.3 vv. 1–4)

Nympharum Bacchique comes, quem pulchra Dione
diuitibus siluis numen dedit, inclita paret
cui Lesbos uiridisque Thasos, quem Lydus adorat
†semper flauius† templumque tuis imponit Hypaepis¹

4 semper flauius B: semperfluus R: septifluus P cum ceteris: uestifluus Turnebus alii alia

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