

## A few remarks on the ancient history of the city of Hadrumetum

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Soussa (or Sousse), a city located on the Tunisian coast of the Mediterranean Sea, is mostly known as a tourist destination. Apart from enjoying excellent weather and mild climate which is characteristic of this area, visitors can see historical objects testifying to the former magnificence of the entire region. Many artefacts have been collected in an archaeological museum. The Christian catacombs are also a peculiarity with an ancient origin. To a present day traveller, the north–African location seems to be quite exotic because of the differences that exist between the commonly adopted habits and religions. It has been truly surprising to discover that Hadrumetum – as the city was called at that time – was embraced in the ancient times, as part of the great Roman Empire, by the same culture as Europe. Furthermore, events which have gone down in history took place there. The purpose of this article is to present some of them in a diachronic manner.

### GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

#### Distant Beginnings

Gaius Sallustius Crispus, a Roman politician and historiographer in the times of Julius Caesar, states in his description of a war with Jugurtha, a Numidian king, that Phoenicians built several cities on the coast of Africa. In this group, the author mentions Hippo, Leptis and Hadrumetum<sup>1</sup>. This old information has also been confirmed by the modern-day Pauly's Real-Encyklopadie<sup>2</sup>. Following the opinion by Julius Solinus, a historian, some scientists are even more precise and specify that the settlement, similarly to Carthage itself, was founded by refugees from Tyre<sup>3</sup>. In the later period, when the founders, called the *Phoenices* by the Amiternian, became local colonisers, they were also known under the name of the Punic (*Poeni*). They were Semitic peoples by origin, originally living on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, neighbouring Syria and the biblical Palestine<sup>4</sup>. They left their country to reduce the overpopulation which was prevailing there (*multitudinis minuendae gratia*). They were also motivated – as Sallust indicates – by their wish to reign (*cupido imperii*)<sup>5</sup>. As Witold Chrzanowski makes it more precise from a contemporary researcher's point of view, there were also other reasons for abandoning one's motherland. This was primarily caused by the Assyrian

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<sup>1</sup> Sallust. *Bell. Jugurt.* 19:

*Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem Hadrumetum Leptim aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere; haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet.*

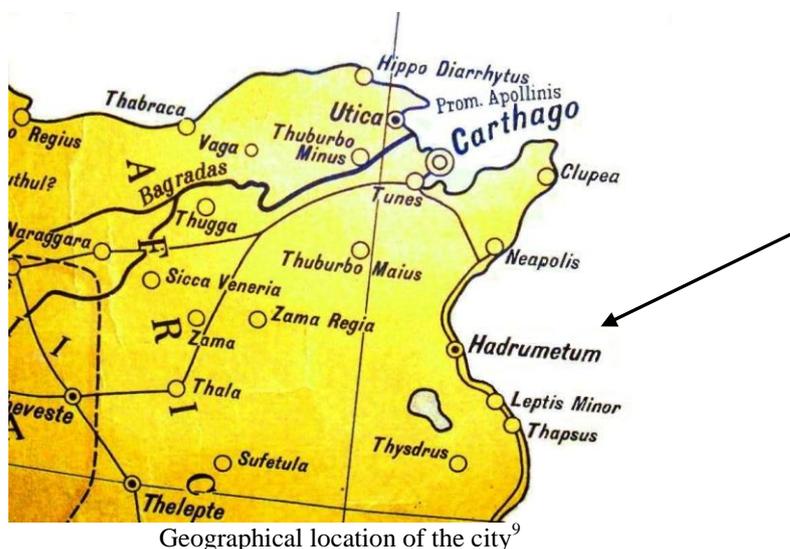
<sup>2</sup> A. F. von Pauly, W. S. Teuffel (ed.), *Pauly's Real-Encyklopadie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1864, vol. 1, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> N. Hooke, *The Roman History, from the Building of Rome to the Ruin of the Commonwealth*, London 1810, vol. 1, p. XXVII; I. Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, London 1728, p. 65; S. Bachartus *Geographiae Sacrae Pars Prior Phaleg seu De dispersione Gentium et terrarum divisione facta [...]*, Typis P. Cerdonelli, Cadomi 1646, p. 522; L. Müller, Ch. T. Falbe, J. Ch. Linberg, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, Copenhagen 1861, vol. 2, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Wielki atlas biblijny*, Warszawa 1994, p. 56–67; *Atlas biblijny*, Warszawa 1990, p. 85. 101; E. Galbiati, F. Serafini, *Atlas Biblii*, Kielce 2006, p. 66; *Fenicja*, in: Z. Piszczek (ed.), *Mala encyklopedia kultury antycznej*, Warszawa 1990, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> Sallust. *Bell. Jugurt.* 19.

aggression<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, Phoenicians did not find travelling to be anything new to them. Other terrains, including those in Africa, had been populated by them since the twelfth century before Christ<sup>7</sup>. They performed extraordinarily well thanks to the trade exchange covering the entire Mediterranean Sea area. Following Polybius and Diodorus, Samuel Bochartus concludes that a new wave of refugees came at a later period when their native Tyre was conquered by Alexander of Macedon<sup>8</sup>.



It is difficult to determine the exact time when Hadrumetum was founded, as in case of Carthage, the largest and dominating metropolis of that region<sup>10</sup>. Eventually, most researchers have supported the thesis that the latter existed as early as at the end of the ninth century before Christ. However, its foundation should not be dated later than at the end of the seventh century<sup>11</sup>. As one can presume, at the same time Hadrumetum – lying at a distance of about one hundred fifty kilometres to the south east – was built<sup>12</sup>. According to an account provided by the seventeenth century researcher, Michael Anthony Baudrand, the location of the city was not entirely evident in his times. Two different places were identified as the ancient settlement bearing that name<sup>13</sup>. He himself is of the opinion that it is the settlement of Hamamethe<sup>14</sup>. Hofmann's ›Lexicon Universale‹ also provides information about the disagreement of the scientist's opinions<sup>15</sup>. The latter agrees with the author of the geographical elaborate. He clarifies that the name given by Baudrand is an Arabic term. In the popular culture – he adds – the city was also called Mahometta, which was then reflected in the name of the bay by which it is situated<sup>16</sup>.

#### “Kingdom of Death” or “Land of Milk and Honey”

Similarly to the times of baroque, the locality was called in various ways also in other historical periods. In fact, the ancient version of Hadrumetum, preceded by an aspirated note, was not the only one. Sometimes the aspiration was simply omitted. This solution was especially willingly used by writers at the

<sup>6</sup> W. Chrzanowski, *Rzym i Kartagina 280–241 p.n.e.*, Krakow (no year of edition), p. 20–21.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem. Cf. J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Wielki ...*, p. 56–57.

<sup>8</sup> S. Bachartus, *Geographiae ...*, p. 509.

<sup>9</sup> The enclosed sketch is a part of a map *Imperium Rzymskie pod koniec II wieku*, L. Piotrowicz (prep.), Warszawa 1968.

<sup>10</sup> Presently, ruins near Tunis, the national capital. The controversies concerning the foundation of the city have been presented in: W. Chrzanowski, *Rzym ...*, p. 15–19.

<sup>11</sup> J. Heurgon, *Rzym i świat sroziemnomorski do wojen punickich*, Warszawa 1973, p. 79; J. C. Fredouille, *Słownik cywilizacji rzymskiej*, Katowice 1996, p. 130; W. Chrzanowski, *Rzym ...*, p. 15–19.

<sup>12</sup> See *Hadrumetum*, w: *Atlas ...*, p. 292.

<sup>13</sup> M. A. Baudrand, *Novum Lexicon Geographicum [...]*, Apud H. Betteninum, Venetiis 1738, vol. 1, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> J. J. Hofmannus, *Lexicon Universale [...]*, Apud J. Hackium, C. Boutesteyn, P. Vander, J. Luchtman, Lugduni Batavorum 1698, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> *Golfo di Mahometo*, cf. J. J. Hofmannus, *Lexicon ...*, vol. 1, p. 66. Now *Gulf of Hammamet*, cf. *Basen Morza Sroziemnego*, in: *Atlas geograficzny*, Warszawa (no year of edition), p. 34–35; *The Great Geographical Atlas*, (no place of edition) Rand M<sup>c</sup>Nally & Company 1989, p. 145. 180.

beginning of the modern times. Then, such practice had an impact on the habits employed in some contemporary languages. Strabo used the Greek name of *Ἀδρόμη*; Stephanus Grammaticus, a Medieval Byzantine writer, used a similar form *Ἀδρόμη*<sup>17</sup>. The editors of the ›Pauly's Real-Encyklopädie‹ emphasize that it is actually the latter version which usually appears in works by authors writing in Homer's language<sup>18</sup>. Keller and Schwartz, following by contribution of Plutarch, Cato the Younger, Ptolemy, Appian and others, give a whole list of similarly pronounced Greek forms used to designate the city. These have become the basis for the Latinised forms such as *Adrymetus*, *Adrumetus*, *Adrumettus* or *Adrumetum*<sup>19</sup>. Alongside there existed those to which aspiration was added in the onset. This is where *Hadrametum*, *Hadrumetum* and finally *Hadrumetum* have come from<sup>20</sup>. One can learn from ›Notitiae Orbis Antiqui‹ that variants without the initial "h" prevail in printed texts. However, it is present in inscriptions stamped on coins and engraved on stones<sup>21</sup>. After the invasion of Vandals, the city bore the name of Hunericopolis derived from the king's name. Later on, after liberation and reconstruction of walls, after 534 after Christ, it was called Justinianopolis to honour the emperor<sup>22</sup>.

According to what Hofmann and Bachartus state, Skaliger has come to a conclusion, based on an analysis of the Hebrew notion *הַצְדָּמָה*, that the city name can be expressed in Greek as *ἔπαυλις Πλούτωνος* (Pluto's farmhouse) and in Latin as *atrium Plutonis* (Pluto's palace) and *Acherontis ostium* (entrance to the world of the dead). This interpretation has been used by other scientists. It occurs in works by Drusius and Causabon<sup>23</sup>. Later commentators, however, did not share the view of the author of ›Poetices libri septem‹. They noticed that the Hebrew word is literally *ADRAMOTA* and not *Adrumetum*. What is more, there are no grounds at all for the name of the locality to contain negative content. The latter unwittingly comes to one's mind through the reference to Pluto, the god of the underworld and the attribution of a name meaning as much as "the kingdom of death" (*regio mortis*) to the settlement<sup>24</sup>. The contemporary research also has not confirmed Pluto being surrounded with a special cult in that place. Considering the location, one can rather presume that water deities were worshipped there. This seems to be confirmed by a local coin, found in Hadrumetum, in which Neptune is presented. It is worth noticing that Astarte – in fact, a Phoenician deity – is presented next to him.<sup>25</sup>

Hofmann criticises Skaliger's idea, indicating that the vicinity of Hadrumetum is not particularly dangerous since the port could not be entered and there is nothing poisonous there. There is nothing harmful or unhealthy there<sup>26</sup>. On the contrary, the literary historical objects emphasize the unique fertility of Byzantium; a country where Hadrumetum is the largest city<sup>27</sup>. The scientist's belief can be confirmed especially by those opinions which are expressed by Pliny the Elder in the work entitled ›Naturalis historia‹. In the introduction to the fifth book of his monumental work, the author shortly presents the region. He states that its inhabitants were called "Libyan Punics". He specifies that it was situated between Carthage and Lesser Syrtis. He provides its area and lists major localities. The vicinity – he emphasizes – is extraordinarily fertile and gives a hundredfold crop to the farmers<sup>28</sup>. He refers to this thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth book. First he writes about

<sup>17</sup> Strab. *Geogr.* 17, 3, 16; Steph. Gramm. *Ethn.* 29, 12; 30, 1; 396, 22.

<sup>18</sup> A. F. von Pauly, W. S. Teuffel (ed.), *Pauly's ...*, vol. 1, p. 192.

<sup>19</sup> Ch. Cellarius, I. C. Schwartz, *Notitiae Orbis Antiqui* [...], Apud I. F. Gleditschii, Lipsiae 1732, vol. 2, p. 868.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 867 - 868. *Hadrumes*, see S. Bachartus, *Geographiae ...*, p. 522.

<sup>21</sup> Ch. Cellarius, I. C. Schwartz, *Notitiae ...*, p. 867-868.

<sup>22</sup> J. Haussleiter, *Leben und Werke des Bischofs Primasius von Hadrumetum*, Erlangen 1887, p. 5-6; A. Hauck, *Realenzyklopedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 16, p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> J. J. Hofmannus, *Lexicon ...*, vol. 1, p. 66; S. Bachartus, *Geographiae ...*, p. 522.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> See L. Müller, Ch. T. Falbe, J. Ch. Linberg, *Numismatique ...*, vol. 2, p. 51.

<sup>26</sup> J. J. Hofmannus, *Lexicon ...*, vol. 1, p. 66:

*Ut taceam nihil esse causae, cur sic diceretur, neque enim Adrumetina regio importuosa est, aut venenorum ferax, aut vel soli, vel aquarum, vel aeris vitio pestilens et insalubris.*

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem. S. Bachartus, *Geographiae ...*, p. 522.

<sup>28</sup> Plin. *Nat. hist.* 5, 3, 24-25:

*Libyphoenices vocantur qui Byzacjum incolunt. ita appellatur regio <sup>cel</sup> p. circuitu, fertilitatis eximia, cum centesima fruge agricolis faenus reddente terra. hic oppida Leptis, Hadrumetum, Ruspina, Thapsus. inde Thenae, Aves, Macomades, Tacape, Sabrata, contingens Syrtim Minorem, ad quam Numidiae et Africae ab Ampsaga longitudo <sup>DLXXX</sup>, latitudo, qua cognitum est, <sup>CC</sup> ea pars, quam Africam appellavimus, dividitur in duas provincias, veterem et novam,*

various kinds of soils. He speaks with great admiration about the north African soil which – as he describes – is extraordinarily fertile<sup>29</sup>. Speaking then about the fertility of wheat, he informs that in Byzacjum one hundred fifty tubs of grain crops are gathered per a single tub sown. What is more, he states as a kind of peculiarity that the governor of that province sent to Oktavianus Augustus grain from which as many as four hundred culms grew out. To make the story credible, he adds that letters confirming the whole event have been preserved<sup>30</sup>. As Buchartus complements, a similar finding was sent to a ruler by a prosecutor also during the Nero's rules. This time, as many as four hundred sixty shoots grew out of a grain<sup>31</sup>. Other authors also praise the extraordinary fertility of the country<sup>32</sup>. The ancient writers' testimonies and the etymologic analyses of Semitic notions have finally brought Buchartus to the conclusion that the city name hides content that can be expressed in the phrase *regio centum mensurarum* which can be translated as an "area of one hundred measures" or a "region of one hundred tubs"<sup>33</sup>.

### **Roman Colony**

The entire part of Africa which was originally under the control of the Punics later became a Roman province. It was divided into two parts called Zeugitana and Byzacjum in Latin<sup>34</sup>. Krzysztof Keller notices that it is difficult to determine accurate borders of both areas. Still, he makes an attempt to be more precise. Following Pliny, he includes the largest city, Carthage, as well as Utica and other smaller towns, into the first region<sup>35</sup>. Among the settlements belonging to Byzacjum, he first mentions Hadrumetum and then Leptis, Ruspina, Thenae and Macomades. He adds that there were numerous localities there but presently it is difficult to identify them<sup>36</sup>. He lists some of those which are recognisable and gives a short characteristics of each of them<sup>37</sup>. He also relates to the antique map of the Rome road connections, referred to in the modern world as *Tabulae Peutingerianae*, where nine localities of the region have been marked. He positions Hadrito on the first place among them. It is a syncopated form of the name Hadrumito, that is, Hadrumetum<sup>38</sup>.

The mutual relations between the two parts of the Roman province are hardly determinable. It is not entirely known whether it was a single structure composed of two parts or rather two separate forms. Keller and Schwarz rather advocate the version according to which was originally a province which was expanded by a new territory as a result of the progressing conquest<sup>39</sup>. Therefore it was referred to as *provincia nova*. Thereafter, in fact, both areas were to be truly separated. It has been known that Zeugitana was regarded as a proconsular province while Byzacjum was ruled by a viceroy (*consularis*).

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*discretas fossa inter Africanum sequentem et reges Thenas usque perducta, quod oppidum a Carthagine abest <sup>CCXVI</sup>.*

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem 17, 3, 41:

*Operis quidem facilitas in aliis generibus constat et caelo, nec potest arari post imbres aliqua, ubertatis vitio lentescens. Contra in Byzacio Africae illum centena quinquagena fruge fertilem campum nullis, cum siccum est, arabilem tauris, post imbres vili asello et a parte altera iugi manu vomerem trahente vidimus scindi. Terram enim terra emendandi, ut aliqui praecipunt, super tenuem pingui iniecta aut gracili bibulaque super umidam ac praepinguem, dementis operae est. quid potest sperare qui colit talem?*

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem 18, 21, 94:

*Tritico nihil est fertilius - hoc ei natura tribuit, quoniam eo maxime alebat hominem - utpote cum e modio, si sit aptum solum, quale in Byzacio Africae campo, centeni quinquageni modii reddantur. Misit ex eo loco divo Augusto procurator eius ex uno grano, vix credibile dictu, cccc paucis minus germina, exstantque de ea re epistulae.*

<sup>31</sup> S. Bachartus, *Geographiae* ..., p. 522.

<sup>32</sup> Varr. *Rer. rust.* 1, 44. *Sil. Ital. Pun.* 9, 204–205; other confirmations, see S. Bachartus, *Geographiae* ..., p. 525.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>34</sup> Ch. Cellarius, I. C. Schwartz, *Notitiae* ..., vol. 2, p. 867.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 868–871.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 870.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 867.

All researchers endorse the statement contained in ›Pauly's Real-Encyklopädie‹ according to which Emperor Trajan raised Hadrumetum to the rank of a colony<sup>40</sup>. Their conviction is mainly based on the inscription, preserved in a copy by Gruterus and Orellius, containing the following wording:

*Colonia Concordia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Frugifera Hadrumetina*<sup>41</sup>.

The inscription was found in Populonia. Gruterus puts it in a chapter devoted to higher and lower ranking officials while Orellius – within epigraphs concerning patrons and clients. The text does not exist on its own but is a part of a greater whole. Its major relationship is the expression "Hadrumetumian Colony" (*Colonia Hadrumetina*), that is, the first and the last word in the citation. The name *colonia* was generally granted to localities established independently by Romans on conquered territories<sup>42</sup>. The commencement of a settlement construction was usually associated with religious rituals and determining an urban layout<sup>43</sup>. Older sources report that cities that had already been existing were sometimes raised to that rank. As Pierre de Marca reports, following Ascanius, an aspect of a principal significance here was a proper number of people with the Roman citizenship permanently residing in the specific place<sup>44</sup>. If their population exceeded three hundred, the locality had a chance to be granted the title even if it had already been founded before. In other cases – whether the city had already existed or had just been established – Romans were brought to it in adequate numbers<sup>45</sup>. Hadrumetum undoubtedly did not need to be founded. However, it is hardly determinable whether it was already populated by a sufficient number of Roman citizens or they had just been settled.

The meaning of the phrase *Colonia Concordia* seems to be problematic. P. de Marca cited above states that the second notion refers to a feature detailing the nature of the colony or the circumstances of its foundation. Therefore, as he explains, the inscriptions concerning Lyon contain the noun *Copia* (Abundance) in this place. It was intended to focus attention on the wealth of the region<sup>46</sup>. Hadrumetum, as he continues to deduce, received an addition in the form of *Concordia* (Consent) because of the silencing of unrest or calming down riots in the city<sup>47</sup>. The scientist's justification is not fully convincing. There were more cities which received that title, which has been confirmed by inscriptions stamped on antique coins<sup>48</sup>. This group also includes Beneventum. Originally, the name of the city was Maleventum (Bad Wind) due to the unhealthy climate in the area. Following the victory over the troops of King Pyrrhus in 275 before Christ, it was renamed to Beneventum (Successful Ending). From then on, its full Latin name was *Colonia Iulia Concordia Augusta Felix Beneventum*<sup>49</sup>. The expression is unquestionably affirmative like all titles given to cities. It can be assumed with a high degree of likelihood that the phrase *colonia concordia* is not only an established statement customarily used in developed names of localities. It actually occurs in case of some of them but not always. It therefore refers to a specific reality. It remains undetermined whether the issue is to calm down the internal unrest, as Marca wants, or perhaps to unify inhabitants originating from different nations or to refer to several settlements which lie nearby and form a federation. Some facts seem to support the latter concept. As Keller notices, Ptolemy also uses the notion of *colonia* while speaking of the city. As the modern time researcher informs, he did so due to the port – called *kothon*, similarly to Carthage. It was not situated within the city. On the contrary, it was slightly distant and, most probably, it was a little island<sup>50</sup>. While not finding a final solution to the problem, it can be assumed that the phraseological expression *colonia concordia* is best translatable as the "united colony".

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<sup>40</sup> A. F. von Pauly, W. S. Teuffel (ed.), *Pauly's ...*, vol. 1, p. 192.

<sup>41</sup> I. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* [...], Ex off. Commeliniana, [Heidelberg] 1602, p. CCCLXII, no. 2; J. C. Orellius, J. C. Hagenbuchius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum amplissima collectio* [...], Typis Orellii, Fuesslini et Soc., Turici 1828, vol. 2, no. 3058.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Colonia*, in: Z. Piszczek (red.), *Mala ...*, p. 159; *Kolonie*, in: J. C. Fredouille, *Slownik ...*, p. 135.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>44</sup> P. de Marca *Dissertationes tres*, Apud F. Muguet, Parisiis 1669, p. 219–220.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 221.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*:

*Sic urbs Hadrumetina donata iure coloniae a Traiano, ob sedatas eo beneficio oppidanorum seditiones, dicitur Concordia in atiqua inscriptione: Colonia Concordia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Frugifera Hadrumetina*

<sup>48</sup> H. N. Humphreys, *The Coin Collector's Manual* [...], London 1853, vol. 2, p. 604–605.

<sup>49</sup> S. A. Morcelli, F. Schiassi, *Lexicon Epigraphicum Morcellianum*, Bononiae 1835, vol. 1, p. 268.

<sup>50</sup> Ch. Cellarius, I. C. Schwartz, *Notitiae ...*, vol. 2, p. 868. Cf. A. F. von Pauly, W. S. Teuffel (ed.), *Pauly's ...*, vol. 1, p. 192.

The further part of the aforementioned inscription does not raise any doubts. It mentions the name of a ruler who granted citizenship rights and privileges associated with it to the inhabitants. Thus it is about Emperor Trajan of the Ulpia family who has been known from the letters concerning Christians<sup>51</sup>. The ruler's name and his titles have been adapted to the syntax of the entire expression by means of adjectivisation. The solutions employed comply with the standards adopted in the epigraphic caesarean titulary<sup>52</sup>. The text is ended with a city name preceded by a term indicating the most known feature of the vicinity, that is, fertility. The entire text can then be translated in the form of the phrase:

*United colony of fertile Hadrumetum [established by] Emperor Trajan of the Ulpia family.*

Based on the information contained in this Latin inscription, Jean Hardouin deciphered the abbreviation on the coin which was used in the northern Africa. He identified the acronym C.C.I.H.P as *Colonia Concordia Iulia Hadrumetina Pia* (United, Julian Colony of Hadrumetum Pleasant to God)<sup>53</sup>. As indicated by the old epigraphs, the city established by the Phoenicians had developed sufficiently not only to find its place in the new world reigned by the Roman Empire but, what is more, to gain the status of a colony and thus itself to become a part of its government system.

## II. HISTORICAL AND LITERARY SOURCES

### Great Wars

Before Hadrumetum reached stabilisation benefiting from *pax Romana*, it had frequently found itself in the very centre of dramatic events which have become part of the history of the western world. These have included the Punic Wars which lasted over more than one hundred years in three phases. The conflict between Carthage and Rome had a political background. The subject of the dispute and the seed of conflict at the same time was both parties' desire to control Sicily. The essence of the misunderstanding was, however, that the centuries-old domination of the Punics in the Mediterranean area was questioned by the dynamically developing Roman Republic. Big military operations were run between 264 and 241 before Christ. The second phase of the war lasted from 218 to 202. The third one, concluded by the destruction of Carthage, burning and ploughing the city as the sign of a ritual curse, took place between 149 and 146. Strategic operations were run both on sea and on land. There are figures associated with this military conflict that every Roman knew from their childhood, like Marcus Regulus, Hannibal, Scipio the African or Marcus Porcius. The latter, while being an old man, is said to have finished his every speech in the senate by saying that Carthage should be destroyed. Once, while motivating the attendees to start the fight, he brought ripe figs from the vicinity of an African town claiming that they grew just three days of travel away from Rome<sup>54</sup>. The number of the reports preserved also testifies to the significance of the military campaign. These events were widely described by Polybius, Lucius Annaeus Florus or Appian of Alexandria<sup>55</sup>. Livius, on the other hand, emphasizes it at the beginning of his description of the events that he shall be presenting the most memorable war of all wars that have even taken place<sup>56</sup>. The facts presented by historians were deeply rooted in the Roman awareness. This is testified by "Aeneid", a national epic poem. As Virgil makes it clear to the reader, the conflict between the nations was foretold in divine prophecies already in the times of the Trojan War, that is, almost a thousand years before<sup>57</sup>. What is more – according to the version given by the prophet – things got more intense because of the unsatisfied love of the Carthaginian queen, Dido, who cursed Aeneas, a Trojan and his descendants, and foretold an everlasting hostility between Romans and Carthaginians<sup>58</sup>.

The most dramatic moment of the entire campaign was the second Punic War when Hannibal – having conquered Sagunto (219 B.C.) – walked around the Mediterranean Sea by land and – across Pyrenees and Alps – reached Italy from the north. The Romans did not expect to be attacked from that direction at all. Before they

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<sup>51</sup> Marcus Ulpius Traianus (53–117 CE); Roman emperor in 98–117 CE.

<sup>52</sup> J. Kolendo, J. Żelazowski, *Teksty i pomniki. Zarys epigrafiki łacińskiej okresu Cesarstwa Rzymskiego*, Warszawa 2003, p. 110–111.

<sup>53</sup> Ch. Cellarius, I. C. Schwartz, *Notitiae ...*, vol. 2, p. 868; A. F. von Pauly, W. S. Teuffel (ed.), *Pauly's ...*, vol. 1, p. 192.

<sup>54</sup> Plut. *Vit. paral.*, *Cato Maior* 27, 1–2; Flor. *Epit.* 1, 2, 15, 31. Cf. Cic. *Cato M.* 6, 18.

<sup>55</sup> Polyb. *Hist.* 3, 6–118; 9, 3–9; 21–26; 11, 1–3; 19a–24; 9, 1–10; 15, 1–19; 36, 1–37, 1.10; 38, 1–2; 39, 3–6; Flor. *Epit.* 1, 2, 1, 18; 1, 2, 6, 22; 1, 2, 14, 30; App. *Hist. Rom.* 7, 1–8, 135.

<sup>56</sup> Liv. *Ab urb. con.* 21, 1:

[...] *bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae umquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginenses cum populo Romano gessere*

<sup>57</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1, 12–20.

<sup>58</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4, 607–629.

reformed their army, they had suffered their first defeats at the Ticinus and Trebbia. Despite having brought the legions, the Carthaginian commander moved forward, beating the enemies on Lake Trasimeno and defeating them heavily near Cannae in 216 before Christ. Unable to defeat the enemy on their own land, the Romans started a long-lasting campaign against the Punics in the other parts of the Mediterranean area. Their efforts were much more fruitful there. The nomination of Publius Cornelius Scipio, a commander already known for his many victories, to be a consul in 205 turned out to be truly providential for them. He attacked the enemy in his own country, in Africa. The danger which Carthage faced led to calling Hannibal for help in 203<sup>59</sup>. According to Livius' account, he landed on the native coast just in Hadrumetum. He spent a couple of days there to let his soldiers get reinforced after the sea travel<sup>60</sup>. From there he headed for Zama where the fates of both nations were to be decided. The battle which took place in 202 turned out to be a total victory for the Romans. The commander of the Punics had to retreat from the battlefield and he returned with just few companions by horse to Hadrumetum from where he headed to Carthage<sup>61</sup>. It was his last stay in the city. Later on, despite the truce and guarantees given by Rome, the hostility to the commander was growing both among his compatriots and the victorious conquerors<sup>62</sup>. He himself was aware of that. When Roman officials arrived in the city in the guise of reconciling Carthaginians with king Masinissa, he ordered to continuously keep horses on the alert. He left the capital during the night and headed through the vicinity of Byzacjum near Hadrumetum to the coast where a ship was waiting for him<sup>63</sup>. He sailed away, leaving his native land. He was never supposed to return to them. This was how the story of one of the most outstanding war strategists of the ancient era ended. The accounts by Livius present Hadrumetum and Byzacjum not so much as places of the Carthaginian's triumph but rather as witnesses to the final phase of his activity and finally his fall.

During the second Punic war, Hadrumetum present in researchers' accounts was not the location of the actual military operations as it happened in the times of Gaius Julius Caesar. Further notes about the city relate to a big military campaign described in the work entitled ›Commentarius de bello Africo‹<sup>64</sup>. The events are related to a conflict of an internal nature that arose between Caesar and the supporters of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus. Having destroyed the latter's forces in the Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.), the captor of Gaul conquered his supporters in Egypt when the great commander was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy XIII. Then, in 46 before Christ, he commenced a campaign in Africa. The group of Pompeius' supporters included his father-in-law, Quintus C. Metellus Scipio Nasica, a prominent statesman, Cato Uticensis, and the leader of the Roman troops quartering in Carthage, Gaius Considius Longus. The Confederates concentrated quite a large army,

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<sup>59</sup> The war history details are described in: M. Jaczynowska, *Dzieje Imperium Romanum*, Warszawa 1995, s. 54–62; J. Wolski, *Historia powszechna. Starożytnosc*, Warszawa 1996, s. 312–316.

<sup>60</sup> Liv. *Ab urb. con.* 30, 29:

*Iam Hadrumetum peruenerat Hannibal; unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pauidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium magnis itineribus Zamam contendit*

<sup>61</sup> Liv. *Ab urb. con.* 30, 35:

*Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumetum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio priusquam excederet pugna expertus, et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis uis signa sequi et seruare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem ne homines mixti ex conluuione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, uolneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites Carthaginienses Afrosque ut omnibus rebus aliis pares eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent superiores essent; Italicos incertos socii an hostes essent in postremam aciem summos, interuallo quoque diremptos. hoc edito uelut ultimo uirtutis opere, Hannibal cum Hadrumetum refugisset accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricensimo post anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello uictum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse.*

<sup>62</sup> Liv. *Ab urb. con.* 33, 45–47.

<sup>63</sup> Liv. *Ab urb. con.* 33, 48.

<sup>64</sup> The authorship of the work included in the so-called *Corpus Caesarianum* has been continuously discussed. Some are of the opinion that it was written by G. Asinius Pollio.

especially the land forces. They also had a large armada of about fifty vessels<sup>65</sup> Caesar has a big army and a fleet of ships, too. Having concentrated the forces on Sicily, at the end of December 45 before Christ, he took them across to the continent<sup>66</sup>. During the journey, due to the deteriorating weather conditions, some vessels got dispersed to find convenient harbours. Leading a lighter fleet himself, Caesar passed the coastal localities of Clupea and Neapolis and arrived in Hadrumetum. According to ›De bello Africo‹ – that was the place where Considius stayed and the main headquarters of the emperor's opponents was located<sup>67</sup>. The Roman commander refrained from going ashore, waiting for the rest of his armada. He was aware that Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso arrived in the city with three thousand soldiers. He also saw inhabitants of Hadrumetum who were armed and ready to defend their home<sup>68</sup>. Thus, he set up a camp near the city without harming the inhabitants in any way. Senator Lucius Plancus asked Caesar for the possibility to negotiate with Considius. After he had got the approval, he wrote a letter to the city commander and sent it through one of the captives. The captive wanted to give away the letter as he arrived in the city. Before he delivered the message to the commander, he was asked by him where he was bringing the message from. He answered that he was bringing it from Emperor Caesar. Hearing them, Considius answered that the only leader of the Roman nation at that time was Scipio. He also ordered killing of the messenger in his presence and sent the letter to Rome without even breaking its seal<sup>69</sup>.

Since Caesar did not receive a response to his message, still did not have the entire army with him and saw the city being prepared, he did not decide to besiege it but he decided to step off. As the camp was being taken down, many people poured out of the city and started to chase the retreating army. Seeing that, the legionnaires stopped and – although they were in a minority – they started to fight. According to an account included in the work, an unprecedented thing happened when less than thirty Gallic horse riders stopped a group of two thousand attackers. The latter saw their defeat and withdrew behind the walls. Caesar continued to move forward with the troops, having deployed the experienced soldiers at the rear as the troops were being repeatedly attacked by single forced groups. The further they were from the city, the rarer the attacks became. Finally, they arrived in Ruspina where they set up a permanent camp<sup>70</sup>. Hadrumetum itself continued to be the principal seat of the republicans. That was the place where were troops were concentrated and the place to return to after war sorties<sup>71</sup>.

After setting up the camp, Caesar sent vessels in various directions for reconnaissance of the deployment of enemy forces. At his order, Lucius Cispus went with a fourth part of the naval forces southwards towards Tapsus while Gaius Aquila went with several ships in the opposite direction, towards Hadrumetum. Meanwhile, a fleet of republicans commanded by Sextus Quintilius Varus was already moving from the north towards the Caesarian forces. Unaware of anything, Aquila was sailing towards them. Before both fleets came across each other, Caesar's subordinate had to struggle with a night storm which made him stop the squadron. The Pompeians who had been notified about it arrived at the port in Hadrumetum where they stayed until dawn. At dawn, they rushed against the enemy. They attacked ships, causing turmoil. When the camp in Ruspina was notified about it, the troops rushed towards the approaching enemy forces, gathering the scattered ships under the command of Aquila along the way. Varus did not risk direct confrontation. He turned the armada back and arrived in Hadrumetum again. Caesar reached him just in front of the entrance to the harbour. However, he was not able to sail into the port because of a counterwind which made him keep the ships on the open sea<sup>72</sup>. On the next day, he rushed towards the city, burnt transport boats at the harbour and stood against the enemy to see whether they would want to fight a sea battle. However, Varus did not stand up to fight. Caesar himself who – in the opinion of Łoposzko – probably had the entire fleet with him did not attack, either, but he backed to his camp<sup>73</sup>. The conflict would find its final resolution in the same year near Tapsus, not here.

During the African campaign, Hadrumetum found itself at the very centre of events. The account which we have has come from the Caesarian circle; so it presents facts from the winner's perspective. Despite the subjectivity of assessments, the war description contains valuable information about the city. It turns out that this was the place where the defenders of the Roman republican system of government took refuge. They included the most prominent figures known in the history. The city itself was presented as a highly populated locality. The inhabitants demonstrated a strong will to fight although most of them were not soldiers. The place was so fortified and reinforced that Caesar did not decide to besiege it. The city port had a well-developed

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<sup>65</sup> The realities of the battle are discussed in: T. Łoposzko, *Starożytne bitwy morskie*, Gdansk 1992, p. 365–367.

<sup>66</sup> This was to take place on 25 December of that year, see [Caes.] *De bel. Afr.* 2.

<sup>67</sup> [Caes.] *De bel. Afr.* 3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>69</sup> [Caes.] *De bel. Afr.* 4.

<sup>70</sup> [Caes.] *De bel. Afr.* 4–6.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. [Caes.] *De bel. Afr.* 21. 24. 33–34. 43.

<sup>72</sup> T. Łoposzko, *Starożytne ...*, p. 367.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem. See [Caes.] *De bel. Afr.* 62–63.

infrastructure and was capable of receiving the big fleet of Varus. All this proves that, in the mid-first century before Christ, Hadrumetum was a well performing centre. As one might presume, the destruction of Carthage which had taken place one hundred years before let the smaller localities of the region take over the commercial activities of the former tycoon and so gain the opportunity to develop more dynamically. Thus, the coastal settlement and its area have become witnesses to important historical events related to two most outstanding commanders of the ancient history, Hannibal and Caesar.

### Times of Christians

The city did not lose its importance in the later period, either. As it had been predicted, it became a Roman colony over time. It was also meant to play its role in the world of emerging and developing Christianity. In this circle, the first reference to Hadrumetum was considered for a long time to have appeared in the New Testament, in Acts of the Apostles. It is associated with the story of Saint Paul's life. Arrested by the government as a result of his kinsmen's accusations, he appealed to the emperor's judgement as a Roman citizen<sup>74</sup>. He also spoke publicly against King Herod Agrippa II<sup>75</sup>. Then, he and other prisoners are sent under guard by sea from Caesarea to Rome. He gets on a ship which Saint Jerome refers to as *Hadrumetina navis* in Vulgate and the Greek text is τὸ πλοῖον Ἀδραμυττηνόν<sup>76</sup>. The contemporary biblical Greek dictionaries indicate without any doubts that it was a ship from Adramyttium, a city located in Mysia in Asia Minor<sup>77</sup>. However, for a long time the ship was considered to have been, in fact, from Hadrumetum. The bilingual Bible published by Rev. S. Kozłowski in 1864 contains the following text, provided there as a comment to the second line of the twenty seventh chapter of the >Acts of the Apostles<:

*In a ship of Adramyttium. Syre: who was from the city of Adrumeto, located in Africa. Ortelius (in Thesauro geographico) says that the city is now called la Makometta*<sup>78</sup>.

The explanation does not raise any doubts. The commentator is convinced that the home port of the ship was a city in Africa. Reverend Kozłowski was not the author of the notes which he fairly makes clear in the introduction. The explanations enclosed are translations of the notes which were written by John Stephen Menochius, a Jesuit<sup>79</sup>. He was the one who prepared a wide work entitled >Commentarii totius Sanctae Scripturae<. He also included >Onomasticon urbium et locorum< as part of the multi-volume study. As a matter of fact, it is a reprint of writings by Eusebius of Caesarea and Saint Jerome with the same title. Since, however, the ancient authors firstly gave a list of places in the Holy Land, the Jesuit has complemented their catalog with the missing ones, especially the names from the New Testament. They include Adrumetum which – as the Jesuit emphasizes – is referred to only in the Acts of the Apostles<sup>80</sup>. Abraham Ortelius, a Renaissance geographer from Antwerp, referred to in the citation, does not comment on the Bible but describes various locations in the world. He mentions Adrumetum among them. He identifies it with Hadrumetum and provides contradictory opinions of researchers contemporary to him with regard to which of the existing cities lies in its place<sup>81</sup>. Many former experts on the issue shared the conviction of the Jesuitic commentator of the Holy Bible although they were also aware of the existence of the city of Adramyttium in Mysia<sup>82</sup>. What is more – as it is made clear by John Lorinus in a monumental comment to the book of the Acts of the Apostles – other possible locations in the Mediterranean area were also suggested<sup>83</sup>. The scientist's account makes one aware that the issue was a subject of in-depth studies in his times. He himself seems to advocate the African origin of the ship. As he informs, a ship used to be customarily identified not on the basis of the destination he was heading for but of the home port<sup>84</sup>. The principal change of perspective of the Bible commentators must have taken place at the end of the nineteenth century. The church encyclopaedia from the beginning of the next century provides a summary of

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<sup>74</sup> Acts 25, 11.

<sup>75</sup> Acts 26.

<sup>76</sup> *Biblia sacra Vulgata* Act 27, 2; *Biblia Graeca* Παρ 27, 2.

<sup>77</sup> R. Popowski, *Wielki Słownik Grecko-Polski Nowego Testamentu*, Warszawa 1995, no. 99, p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> *Biblia Lacinsko-Polska czyli Pismo Swiete Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, S. Kozłowski (ed.), Wilno 1864, vol. 4, p. 436.

<sup>79</sup> Joannes Stephanus Menochius (1575–1655).

<sup>80</sup> *Onomasticon urbium et locorum Sacrae Scripturae*, in: I. S. Menochius, *Commentarii totius S. Scripturae*, Apud I. Tilan [...], Avenione 1768, vol. 4, p. X.

<sup>81</sup> A. Ortelius, *Thesaurus geographicus* [...], Ex off. Ch. Plantini, Antverpiae 1587, (no pagination).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. B. P. Lintrensis, *Actus Apostolorum a S. Luca conscripti*, Typis Viduae et Haeredum P. Borremans, Duaci 1622, p. 612–613; L. Fromondo, *Actus Apostolorum brevi et dilucido commentario illustrati*, Typis H. Nempaei, Lovanii 1654, p. 364; F. X. Patritius, *In Actus Apostolorum Commentarium*, Romae 1867, p. 193.

<sup>83</sup> I. Lorinus, *In Actus Apostolorum Commentaria* [...], Sumpt. A. Hierat, Coloniae Agrippinae 1621, p. 688–689.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*.

both these perspectives. In that period – as he emphasizes – the Asian origin of the ship was already considered to be a certainty<sup>85</sup>. However, it has not been possible to find non-linguistic justifications, based on which the contemporary Biblical scholars agree that it is a port in Mysia. Leaving the matter open, one cannot exclude that the apostle of nations began his journey to the capital of the then world on a ship from the Byzacjum-based Hadrumetum.

An event which is related to the city and is unquestionable is a synod which took place there in the times of Saint Augustine. Baudrand informs that the locality then had a status of a bishopdom subordinated to Carthage<sup>86</sup>. Hofmann confirms that Hadrumetum used to be the bishop's seat in former times but he does not specify the relation it had with the near metropolis. He states that a congress of bishops was convened there in 394<sup>87</sup>. This information was repeated in the great work by Labbe and Cossartius, later expanded by Mansi, where all significant episcopal meetings are discussed. During the times of consuls Arcadius and Honorius – as the authors report – a meeting of bishops (*concilium Adrumetinum*) took place in Hadrumetum<sup>88</sup>. Representatives from Carthage were delegated to attend it. It is unknown, however – the researchers add – what resolutions were adopted during the meeting<sup>89</sup>. This information has also been confirmed by Cesare Baronio in his ›Annales Ecclesiastici‹<sup>90</sup>. On the other hand, according to Labbe's writings, documents originating from different meetings were finally brought together into one in 419 under the name of ›Codex of the Canons of the African Church‹ (*Codex canonum Ecclesiae Africanae*)<sup>91</sup>. One should not be surprised at the solution adopted, considering the extraordinary number of synods of various classes which took place at the turn of the fourth and the fifth century in the northern Africa<sup>92</sup>. Apart from several meetings of the Church in orthodoxy, one must add a few others concerning disconnected bishops, supporters of various heresies<sup>93</sup>. The frequency of the meetings shows the liveliness of the community of believers in this area and the range of issues they had to face during that time. Dogmatic matters, especially those concerning the Donatists, were considered. Much space was also devoted to the discipline, including the standards conditioning the life of the clergy and the rules of

<sup>85</sup> S. Gall (ed.), *Podreczna encyklopedia katolicka*, Warszawa 1904, vol. 1–2, p. 51.

<sup>86</sup> M. A. Baudrand, *Novum ...*, vol. 1, p. 9.

<sup>87</sup> J. J. Hofmannus, *Lexicon ...*, vol. 1, p. 66.

<sup>88</sup> Ph. Labbeus, G. Cossartius, J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et ampissima collectio* [...], Exp. A. Zatta, Florentiae 1759, vol. 3, col. 855–856.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Z. B. van Espen, *Commentarius in canones et decreta iuris veteris ac novi et in ius novissimum* [...], In off. Metternichiana, Coloniae Agrippinae 1755, p. 324:

*Gloriosissimis imperatoribus Arcadio III. et Honorio II. Augg. Conf. VI. Kalendas Iulias Carthagine in hoc concilio directi sunt episcopi proconsulares ad concilium Adrumetinum. Scholion: Ex his aliud non habetur, nisi quod anno 394. Adrumeti celebratum fuerit concilium, atque ad illud ex concilio Carthaginensi legati decreti sint; sed quae in hoc Adrumetino concilio constituta fuerint, ignaratur. At hoc nequaquam obscurum est quod cum concilium Carthaginense legatos miserit episcopos, qui concilio Adrumetino interessent nomine Provinciae Proconsularis, concilium Carthaginense tantum fuisse provinciale, Adrumetinum vero generale totius Africae.*

<sup>90</sup> C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Ex off. Plantiniana, Antverpiae 1601, vol. 4, p. 697:

*Hoc eodem anno (sc. 394), iisdem nominatis consulibus, Adrumeti in Africa celebrata esse synodus reperitur, missaque ad eam legatio ab Aurelio episcopo Carthaginensi; quae quidem ibi decreta fuerint, haud apparet, quod diversorum conciliorum canones in unum collecti, simul sub uno titulo Concilii Africani habeantur admixti*

<sup>91</sup> *Observatio Ph. Labbe*, in: Ph. Labbeus, G. Cossartius, J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum ...*, vol. 3, col. 699–700.

<sup>92</sup> Mansi and his predecessors note the following synods: *Concilium Carthaginense primum* (348 C.E.), *Carthaginense II* (390 or 397 C.E.), *Conciliabulum Carthaginense* (393 C.E.), *Concilium Hipponense* (393 C.E.), *Carthaginense* (394 C.E.), *Adrumetinum* (394 C.E.), *Hipponense II* (394 C.E.), *Byzacenum* (398 C.E.), *Carthaginense III* (398 C.E.), *Carthaginense IV* (398 C.E.), *Carthaginense V* (398 C.E.), *Africanum I* (401 C.E.), *Africanum II* (401 C.E.), *Africanum III* (401 C.E.), *Milevitanum* (402 C.E.), *Africanum I sub Innocentio* (403 C.E.). Cf. Ph. Labbeus, G. Cossartius, J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum ...*, vol. 3, (no pagination); Ph. Labbeus, G. Cossartius, *Sacrosancta Concilia ad regiam editionem exacta* [...], Apud J. B. Albrizzi H. et S. Coleti, Venetiis 1733, vol. 1, col. 95–106.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. C. Baronius, *Annales ...*, vol. 4, p. 697–698.

administering sacraments. On-going problems were also handled, considering what to do with the temples and other remains of the outgoing pagan religion or whether it is appropriate to organise spectacles on Sundays<sup>94</sup>.

As a result of a coincidence of unexpected circumstances, Hadrumetum contributed to the consolidation of the Catholic orthodoxy also in the later period. It happened already after the essential Donatist controversies had been mitigated, in the twenties of the fifth century. It was the time when a new dispute flared up in the Church, initiated by Pelagius and Caelestius and concerning the role of grace and personal merits in attaining salvation. At that time, there existed a monastery in the city in which monks came to a dissent. Everything was presumably caused by a letter authored by Saint Augustine. It is a complex ten-chapter ›Letter 194‹ addressed to the Roman presbyter Sixtus, a later pope<sup>95</sup>. In the letter, the bishop of Hippo presents arguments against pelagianism. According to the prior's account, one of the monks named Florus, originating from Uzalis, went to his homeland and found the document concerned in a monastery house situated there. He copied it with the consent of the local superiors and – while heading further to Carthage – sent the treaty to his community through Felix, one of the brothers who accompanied him. When the latter arrived in Hadrumetum, he started reading the treatise to some of his companions while not informing the superior about this. The contents which the monks found in the document led to an internal dissent<sup>96</sup>. Some of them misunderstood the author's intentions and excessively stressed the significance of grace. They found man to be definitely deprived of free choice. Consequently, this conclusion led them to denying one's responsibility for one's deeds during the Last Judgement<sup>97</sup>. Augustine was informed about the situation by the delegated representatives of the gathering<sup>98</sup>. In response to the occurring doubts, he produced two treaties, both of which he dedicated to the abbot and the monks of Hadrumetum. These are works entitled ›De gratia et libero arbitrio‹ and ›De correptione et gratia‹<sup>99</sup>. The dissertations produced by the bishop of Hippo at the end of his life were not just a reaction to a one-time incident which took place in the monastery. In fact, the local incident was, to some extent, an effect of the general atmosphere and the theological views which were spreading at that time<sup>100</sup>. Nevertheless, it became an opportunity for a lecture on the key theological issues, namely, grace and merit. The explanations also provided the basis for debates with the Pelagians for the entire century.

At the end of the patristic literature, the community of believers coped with new problems which included the heresy of Arianism and Monophysitism and the increasingly noticeable discord between the east and the west of the empire. This was the environment in which Primasius, the bishop of Hadrumetum, conducted his activities<sup>101</sup>. The author is known in the history of literature mostly from the preserved

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<sup>94</sup> The whole text is found in: Ph. Labbeus, G. Cossartius, J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum ...*, vol. 3, col. 729–844.

<sup>95</sup> See August. *Ep.* 194.

<sup>96</sup> August. *Ep.* 216.

<sup>97</sup> In the introduction to *Complete Works* by the Bishop of Hippo, the editor described the whole issue in the following way:

*Erat Adrumetum eo tempore civitas in Byzacena Africae provincia celebris. Ibi coenobium incolebatur a monachis, in quibus Florus quidam patria Uzalensis numerabatur. Hic iter caritatis instinctu in patriam comite Felice Adrumetino item monacho sescepisset, dum ibi diverseretur, quaedam Augustini opuscula reperit, nempe epistolam ad Sixtum, quam et dictante eodem Felice cum bona Uzalensium monachorum venia transcripsit. Floro postea Uzali Carthaginem profecto, Felix ad proprium monasterium rediit, secum sancti Doctoris librum ferens. Atqui cum illud idem opus, Valentino abbate nescio, fratribus legere coepisset, eorum quinque vel non multo plures sensum auctoris non assecuti, ac medicinam in morbum vertentes, magnas turbas in coenobio excitavere; contententes videlicet, ab aliis, qui doctrinam hanc rectius intelligebant, ita defendi gratiam, ut liberum arbitrium abolerent, nosque negarent in extremo iudicio secundum sua cuiusque opera iudicandos.*

Cf. J. P. Migne (ed.), *Praefatio*, in: Sancti Aurelii Augustini [...], *Opera Omnia*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1841, vol. 10, col. 91–94.

<sup>98</sup> August. *Ep.* 214.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. August. *Ep.* 215; *De grat.* 1, 1; *De corr.* 1, 1; B. Altaner, A. Stuiber, *Patrologia*, Warszawa 1990, p. 559.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. I. H. Amat de Graveson, *Historia Ecclesiastica variis colloquiis digesta* [...], Apud J. B. Recurti, Venetiis 1726, vol. 1, p. 17–18.

<sup>101</sup> The exact years of his life are not known. He died after 552, see B. Altaner, A. Stuiber, *Patrologia ...*, p. 636. Myszor reports that Primasius was the city bishop in the years 550–560 A.C., cf. W. Myszor, *Prymazjusz z Hadrumetum*, in: C. V. Manzanares, *Pisarze wczesno-chrześcijańscy I-VII w.*, Warszawa 2001, p. 159. The introduction to *Complete Works* contains a concise biography of the bishop expressed in words:

›Commentary on the Apocalypse‹ in which he abundantly followed the lecture by Tyconius and Saint Augustine<sup>102</sup>. His primary work were three lectures on heresies, presently known only in parts. While quoting old sources, Szymusiak and Starowieyski inform that these were dedicated to bishop Fortunatus. The author's intention – they say – was to explain issues which Augustine did not manage to describe during his life. The first book contained information about the reasons which make someone become a heretic. The second and the third one were devoted to a description of a schismatic<sup>103</sup>. Some parts of the work have been preserved in the texts by Cassiodorus. On the other hand, Pelagius is the author of the comments to Saint Paul's letters which have been credited to Primasius.

The bishop of Hadrumetum – to use Kaulen's expression – revealed himself first at a provincial synod and later, in 551 after Christ, at a meeting of bishops convened by Pope Vigilius in Constantinople<sup>104</sup>. Recalled to the sessions announced by the emperor, later recognised to be an ecumenical council, he refused by stating *papa non praesente non venio*<sup>105</sup>. However, he signed the pope's document describing the errors of the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, known as the first ›Constitutum‹<sup>106</sup>. Dismissed from his office for this, he was sent to exile to the monastery. Sharing the views widely spread in the West, he advocated the ›Three Chapters‹ fought by the Emperor Justinian. Eventually, however, following Pope Vigilius who was kept in solitary confinement, he joined a group of bishops condemning the treatise<sup>107</sup>. Having returned to his capital as a bishop, he was the primate of the Bizacena province after Boetius' death<sup>108</sup>. The story of his life is a testimony of faithfulness to the pope in the complicated situation of the fifth century Church afflicted by erroneous theological trends and strongly influenced by the secular authority.

### III. RECAPITULATION

#### On the Borderland

The geographical location of Hadrumetum had an influence on its history. Both in the ancient and in the present times, the city lies in the area where various cultural streams intersect. In the ancient times, it became an arena for important events. In fact, it found itself to be in a disputable zone of influence of Phoenicians who had been settled there and Imperium Romanum being on the rise. The interaction that took place between the two highly developed communities led to great wars. Hadrumetum itself became a witness to the most dramatic military operations. Later on it was a living particle of an emerging and developing Christianity. It turned out that the residents of these areas were familiar with the religious controversies that arose at the junction of the theological thoughts of the East and the West. Nowadays, the city continues to be important on the local basis. However, having been in a new geopolitical situation, it has lost its ties with the European culture.

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*Primasius, gente Afer, Adrumeti urbis quae Justinianopolis etiam dicta est, in provincia Byzacena episcopus, unus ex iis qui ad res Ecclesiae Africanae procurandas Constantinopolim circa annum 550 missi sunt: ubi anno sequente episcoporum conventui interfuit, quo Vigilius excommunicationis sententiam in Theodorum Caesariensem, Acephalorum ducem, intorquebat. Anno 553, saepius licet advocatus, synodo oecumenicae interesse noluit; sed una cum aliis subscripsit Vigilii constituto pro tribus capitibus, quod tempore synodi papa imperatori obtulit.*

Cf. J. P. Migne (ed.), *Prologomena*, in: Primasius Episcopus Adrumetanus, *Opera Omnia* [...], Lutetiae Parisiorum 1866, col. 407.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem. W. Myszor, *Prymazjusz ...*, p. 159. The work was discussed on a much broader basis in: J. Haussleiter, *Leben ...*, p. 15–24.

<sup>103</sup> J. M. Szymusiak, M. Starowieyski, *Słownik wczesnochrześcijańskiego piśmiennictwa*, Poznań 1971, p. 338.

<sup>104</sup> F. Kaulen (ed.), *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon oder Encyclopadie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1897, vol. 10, col. 404.

<sup>105</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem. J. Haussleiter, *Leben ...*, p. 6.

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem. J. M. Szymusiak, M. Starowieyski, *Słownik ...*, p. 338.

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem. A. Hauck, *Realencyklopadie ...*, vol. 16, p. 55.