

**A comparison of the similarities in imperial frontier policies
across time, using the Late Roman Empire and the Soviet Union
as case studies**

Mark Kleyner

University College School

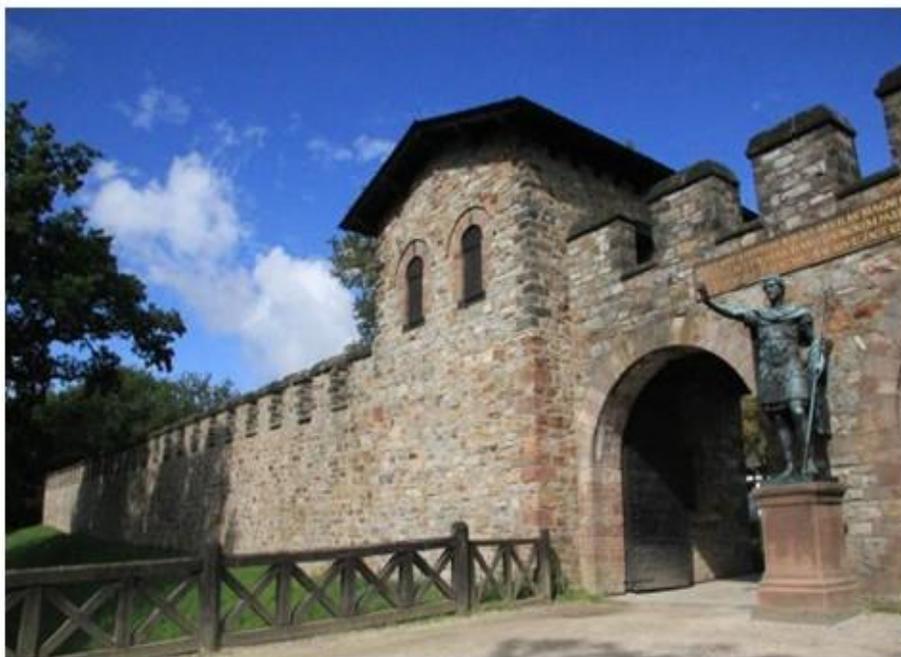


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EPQ Abstract

Aims and Methods

This study analyses similarities in frontier policies of different historical empires which existed in notably different time periods under different circumstances economic and political systems. The aim of my research was to identify the similarities in frontier policies of the USSR and the Late Roman Empire, and the degree to which these similarities are significant. I also investigated different ways borders were structured, applying the world systems and world empires models by Immanuel Wallerstein in a customised setting for the internal structure of the USSR and the Late Roman Empire respectively. The method in question is a comparative analysis of frontier policies of major world powers. I explored these similarities using a combination of books, government reports, academic journal articles and lectures.

Main Argument

Despite considerable study of each individual state, comparisons of different states have been infrequent across time. Moreover, there have been a variety of different interpretations of frontier policy, ranging from Lord Curzon's opinion about frontiers "over which we exercise...only minimal control"¹ to Whittaker's², where he argued that the very success of the Roman frontiers, for instance, as permeable border zones, brought about their eventual destruction, while suggesting that each country's frontier policy is almost absolutely unique, based on the historical context and the geographical location of the border.

Research Conclusions

My research draws me to a set of conclusions that, despite significant differences in time, political, economic and geographic factors, the two states do have notable similarities in regards to the way in which border guard divisions are composed and fortifications are deployed on different borders; that the two given states showed similar behaviour in elements of reactive frontier policy; and finally, that the permeability of the given frontiers is similar when comparing border areas such as the Pannonian Frontier and Sino-Soviet Frontier.

In the 21st century there has been a rise of nationalism and aggressive reactive frontier policy decisions undertaken by countries such as Russia, China, North Korea and the USA and these will be affecting people around the world. As such, further study into what drives these frontier policy decisions in large powers is required towards understanding and responding adequately to such decisions.

¹ Curzon, George, "Romanes Lecture On The Subject Of Frontiers", 1907

² Whittaker, C. R. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994)

Introduction

What is the research question?

This project explores the potential similarities in frontier policies within empires across time, using the Late Roman Empire and the Soviet Union as examples of two great powers in completely different periods of time. Despite the seemingly different economic and political systems, interpretations of maps and of both international and domestic writers on these topics from around the world shall help to funnel the investigation towards discovering and analysing the extent of any similarities that did exist in the Frontier Policy of the two states.

Since the bulk of the EPQ was completed, the Russian Federation, the 21st century remains of the USSR, has shown itself on multiple occasions to display similar proactive frontier policies to those investigated in this dissertation, making use of proxies and peacekeeping missions for interventionism across its borders in Ukraine and utilising auxiliary domestic forces for the amplification of their border defences.

This is very interesting, as these actions display notable similarity to USSR actions undertaken before and during the start of the USSR-Afghanistan War, while the use of violent (and on instance troublesome) auxilia border guards from the caucus regions bears striking similarity to the use of Sarmatians and another Steppe people's warriors in foreign wars by the Late Roman Empire. As such, the conclusions of this project are strengthened by these events that suggest that another large nation is adhering to similar frontier policies as had been the case with the Late Roman Empire over 1,500 years ago.

My research question breaks down the analysis of potential similarities into a set of different categories: Border Guard Composition; the composition of Border Guards and the use of local auxiliary forces after a region had been pacified, Proactive Frontier Policy; the actions of the large state in crossing their borders and influencing neighbouring states, whether through subterfuge or through military action, Reactive Frontier Policy; the way in which the government responded to actions undertaken by regional powers and rivals of the government, such as by re-deploying troops or changing fort disposition, Distribution of Fortifications on Frontier Lines; the format that fort distribution took on different frontlines and the conventional way of using lines of fortifications or using scattered forts in areas where they can oversee a greater land area.

By investigating these areas I aim to provide evidence that there were some definitive similarities between the two states across the different elements comprising frontier policy, and in doing so, this would provide support for my theory that some elements of

border policy remain the same across time, despite the change in very many variable factors, such as conventional use of arms, the growth of the digital age etc.

This kind of analysis, I believe, will be useful towards forecasting the potential future behaviour of great powers, specifically, their frontier policies, which would be helpful across the political science spheres and as a practical application for policy makers, international decision makers, as well as for governmental operatives in neighbourhood countries, especially considering the breadth of this study, which finds similarities between polar opposite countries.

Why did I chose this question?

My study of the permeability of the Roman Frontier and the Soviet Frontier respectively is derived from my interest into whether Frontier Policies and Frontier Management by large countries (whether empires or supranational entities) have any similarities across history. This study aspires to investigate the theory I put forward that, despite there being significant differences between the Soviet Union - a supranational political union where a series of countries united to form a 'supernation', and the Late Roman Empire, a militaristic nation that had developed its frontiers through expansionism and military invasions, there were still notable correlations in their frontier policies.

I chose the specific topics that I have chosen for very specific reasons - namely that I am already an amateur historian in Roman history, I have studied Latin, and have for many years held a passion for studying the Late Roman Imperial Era. At the same time I am fluent in Russian and have direct family roots in the Soviet Union, which makes me interested in finding more about the USSR.

In some ways this comparison is ideal as it is hard to imagine more contrasting great powers in human history, both in time difference, economic and political systems and geographical differences.

Taking into account my interest in both these themes, it seems that I am ideally predisposed to tackle this study.

Areas of Controversy and related ethical issues

As all studies of the Late Roman Empire, I have had to depend significantly upon secondary research and sources for my information, and as such, there is an element of bias that may be present in my work, with only two major primary sources being utilised here.

Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko, the editor of the largest study of the USSR Frontier Policy (The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volumes 1&2) was the Minister of Foreign Affairs for a period of 28 years, a time described in the volumes, which inevitably suggests that the text would not portray Border Policy decisions as harshly as would otherwise be the case.

The aforementioned study was published in the 1980s, while the communist party was still in power and during the period of universally applied censorship. Despite the fact that it was written for government officials, there is still likely to have been an element of bias.

In addition, some members of the academic community would likely suggest that to compare such polar opposite powers would make no sense considering the many differences and that it would be improper to apply the results of this study to the current great powers such as the US.

Furthermore, it is likely that the lack of study of religious or cultural factors and their influence on frontier policies within this dissertation will also raise questions, as these have often been perceived to be important influences.

Finally, certain elements of controversy arise around the influence of corruption in regards to its influence both on frontier policy decision making, border guard composition and their actions pertaining to the defence of borders such as Hadrian's Wall, wherein the study does not address the potential variations in the types of corruption found in the Late Roman Empire³ as compared to those found in the USSR in great detail.

Language

A considerable proportion of the materials used in this dissertation were originally published in Russian, and as such I have often quoted the Russian within the text. For the benefit of the readers, I have personally translated sources fully, referencing the original Russian in the footnotes and in the bibliography for clarity of reading. As such, I refer predominantly to the translations of Russian phrases within the main body of this work.

³ MacMullen, Ramsay, Corruption And The Decline Of Rome (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 137-142

Glossary

English:

Cursus Publicus:

The cursus publicus was the state-run courier and transportation service of the Roman Empire, later inherited by the Byzantine Empire.

World Empires Theory (and model):

A division of the world systems model built upon previous models, where world empires are large bureaucratic structures with a single political centre and an axial division of labour, but multiple cultures.

World Systems Theory (and model):

The world systems theory is a theory developed by sociologist and historian Immanuel Wallerstein. The theory suggests that there is a world system dividing different countries into core and peripheral societies.

Auxilia:

Auxilia refers to troops that were not Roman citizens or which were comprised of either local residents of border regions, immigrant foreign populations or mercenary units.

Limes:

Limes was a border defence or delimiting system marking the boundaries and frontiers of the provinces of the Roman Empire. Famous examples include the Limes Britannicus (Also known as Hadrian's Wall), Limes Arabicus (The border of the Arabia Petraea province) and Limes Pannonicus (the frontier of the Roman province Pannonia).

Castra:

Castra is the plural word for castrum. A castrum was a building or area of land used as a fortified military camp ranging from larger legionary fortresses such as Arbeia, the maritime supply fort for Hadrian's wall and to auxiliary forts such as Qasr Bashir on the Limes Arabicus and temporary encampments across the Pannonian frontlines.

Castella:

Castella is plural for castellum. This was a small Roman detached fort or fortlet, which was usually used as a type of watch tower or signal station across Rome's internal and external borders.

Burgi:

Burgi is plural for burgus. This was a small, tower-like fort, commonly used across the Late Roman Empire's frontiers, protected by outworks and surrounding ditches, usually controlling a main route or road.

Russian:**СССР:**

The Soviet Union, officially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, Russian: СССР), was a socialist state in Eurasia that existed from 1922 to 1991.

Мы за ценой не постоим:

“We shall [succeed] at any cost”. This was a common phrase referenced in political speeches throughout the history of the USSR, signifying how the Soviet Union was unfazed by the potential cost of actions it was taking, inferring that it was following the aim of a greater future and as such, the cost to get there was irrelevant.

Literature Review

The topic of the late Roman Empire has been drawing the interest of intellectuals and academics alike since the 1450s. Studies of Roman Frontier policy reached a peak in the late 20th century, as academics sought to investigate Frontier boundaries and historic imperial behaviour along those boundaries, in an attempt to understand the borders of great powers like the British Empire, the United States and the Soviet Union in greater detail. Study of Roman Frontier Policy specifically, as opposed to general imperial policy study, was of adequate level of interest in social science circles, that undergraduate courses and/or modules were designed on the aforementioned topic, by British Universities such as Southampton, Oxford, Cambridge, Newcastle, and King's College London.

Following a downwards trend in popularity of these courses at the time of the birth of the IT revolution, with interests in empires going out of fashion, proportionally, in the academic community, some of the courses were phased out and this, in turn, prompted the main lecturers, experts on the topic, to start publishing their work in a view to once again raise interest in the topic. To some extent, this has indeed drawn interest and this was clearly complemented by new publications by famous experts on the topic of Roman Frontier policy in certain contexts of late Roman Imperial Policy.

In my literary studies, I have consulted the most renowned experts on the topic of late Roman imperial frontier policy, however, I have also studied texts less famous historians such as Philip Parker, a former diplomat and publisher and Cambridge history graduate, as well as studying books written by historic researchers and archaeologists such the "Roman Frontier in Central Jordan on the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980-1989" by S. Thomas Parker and a group of other archaeologists.

As this dissertation is devoted to a comparison of frontier policies of two nations, namely the Late Roman Empire and the USSR, I have also looked at literature on soviet history published both by Soviet historians and by prominent Sovietologists.

In terms of looking at the Soviet side of the EPQ, I have also consulted the experts on the topic, studying the famous "The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980:

Volume 1”⁴ and “The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2”⁵, which are both large academic books written upon the direct authority of the Soviet leadership by a collection of leading experts on the topic of Soviet Political and Frontier Studies within the USSR. Whilst there is a factor of bias in said book, it was primarily published for civil servants, government workers and influential individuals within government to read, rather than for the general public, and thus was not as directly used as a propaganda tool, instead published for the relevant civil servants of the Soviet bureaucracy, with clear efforts being made to remain as much as possible, entirely within academic norms.

I have also studied texts by academics and lecturers at universities within modern-day Russia, who teach and give lectures on the topic of USSR Frontier Policy. Additionally I have analysed a government report, written by an executive FSB-hired researcher, whilst also actively comparing these with the older, “The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980” volumes. To contrast, I have also studied a book called “The Russian Frontier: The Impact of Borderlands Upon the Course of Early Russian History” by a Polish born academic, which touches on the basis behind the decisions made by the Soviet government in terms of reactive frontier policies.

Evidently, a large majority of the literature published on the topic of USSR Frontier Policy was published within the closed Soviet Literature distribution system, which may have had an impact in preventing the respective historians from conducting their research from a neutral academic standpoint, having to reflect, to an extent, a positive image of the USSR. That said, I have tried to diversify the spectrum of literature I looked at, giving contrasting ideological perspectives, and I have done this by also finding literature published outside the USSR, reporting Soviet frontier policy from an observer’s perspective as well as studying texts written with the benefit of hindsight, such as the academic articles written post 1991 on the topic.

⁴ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 1 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 1]

⁵ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

Interestingly, there is a predominance among my literary sources which look at the Roman topic, of British-born authors and this likely links in with the cultural legacy of the British Empire, wherein, until the late 20th century, the study of empires, especially potential rivals to the late British Empire was commonplace across academic institutions. Nevertheless, there is still interest in other countries, like the US and Australia, and I have cited authors from both of these nations. .

All the following texts discuss the nature of the frontiers themselves, whether it is the Pannonian frontier, Hadrian's Wall, or the ~4200 km long Sino-Russian border.

The literature has been broken down into four sections. Below I would like to introduce the principle texts that I shall be using according to four sections: Permeability of the Frontier, Reactive Frontier Policy, Proactive Frontier Policy and Border Guard Composition and Deployments.

Perceptions Regarding the Permeability of the Roman and Soviet Frontiers

In his world systems and empires analysis⁶, Woolf, a respectable, British ancient historian, archaeologist and academic, showcases the idea that, as a result of rapid expansionist policies in early Roman History, Rome came to have great variety in terms of the management of its frontier, exploiting the previously-built infrastructure to cut down costs on some frontiers, such as in post-Ptolemaic Egypt, and this bears striking similarity to the pre-Soviet Union Russian Empire and the early USSR, who, similarly, expanded their periphery border by building infrastructure and developing transport links⁷ across the internal borders of their nation.

Taking said similarity into account, it is still important to note that Woolf's application of the world-systems model, is relatively original. While the model was developed based on the geopolitical landscape of the 1970s, and as such was orientated around a Cold War 'west', focusing on examples such as the USA, Woolf correctly notes that in Roman times, the 'known world' was significantly smaller and the political landscape was very different, and as such explains why the world systems analysis in itself is simply a derivation of a

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 1 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 1]

much older concept, that of a 'world empire'. Whilst it is important to note the world systems theory is primarily economical in its substance and a model of the late antiquity eras would be very different considering the predominant importance of military influence above economic, something highlighted by Wallerstein himself, the founder of the world systems theory, as he traces the origin of the world-system model to the 16th century, where he suggests capitalism really began, some 1300 years after the period references by Woolf. Woolf does nevertheless address the question of how these two seemingly different models are very similar and how the world-empires concept is equally important to the world-systems model to understand the overall picture of the political, sociological and economic landscape of the late antiquity, explaining the primary economic differences as such: "in the world-empire the principal divisions of labour are within each society; under capitalism there is an international division of labour". By this statement, Woolf is explaining how from a macroeconomic perspective, due to restrictions on the movement of labour, it was usual for the whole production cycle to take place within the local, domestic borders of a nation or even part of a region, as opposed to, for instance, the Soviet construction model, where workers from any part of the USSR would be drafted work on a big project, assuming they were the best qualified for the job. This statement once again raises some questions, such as, for example, in reference to the composition of the Roman Army, where most troops would end up serving far from their home region, however, for the purpose of his analysis, Woolf is seen to be applying his theory to other industries, as opposed to the military, namely to mercantile elements, where, according to general archaeological consensus, a full, local production cycle was the most common form of division of labour.

One interesting point to note is that Greg Woolf, analyses an idea first proposed by Whittaker of a buffer state system operating along the Roman Frontier, where, even beyond the territory controlled by the central authority of the Roman Empire, border provinces served to create this buffer. Woolf describes such as areas in accordance with definitions first put forward by Hedeager⁸, with these peripheral territories being "an area to some extent controlled by Roman diplomacy and to some extent penetrated by Roman traders"⁹(see figure 1), which he goes to explain is the "semi-peripheral zone"¹⁰ (see figure 1), which, whilst not officially comprising the territory of Rome, could be "considered as

⁸ Hedeager, Lotte, and John Hines, *Iron-Age Societies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992)

⁹ Woolf, Greg; *World-Systems Analysis And The Roman Empire*; *Journal Of Roman Archaeology*, 3 (1990), p48

¹⁰ Woolf, Greg; *World-Systems Analysis And The Roman Empire*; *Journal Of Roman Archaeology*, 3 (1990), p49

part of the outer fringe of the empire". This draws directly in with the concept of an unclear border on the Far East, Sino-Russian border¹¹, as referenced by Alexandrovich. Alexandrovich describes this area as primarily economically unclear as, over extended periods of time, borders between two Great Powers develop into more permeable flexible borders, than the original fortifications lines. Such a concept is in accordance with the permeability of Hadrian's Wall, as is described by Curry, wherein he states that whilst the original development of a border is primarily focused on military, sequential expansionism, often, after a boundary is established with the surrounding nations, the country turns towards the dissolution of military deployment along the frontier and promotes trade, in an attempt to bolster the economies of border provinces.

Regarding the original developments of borders, it is interesting to look at Dyson's study of the Ligurian frontier¹². A professor of Classics at the State University of New York, Buffalo and past President of the Archaeological Institute of America, Dyson has had direct access to vast amounts of literature regarding frontier policies. The interval period in years between his writing his analysis on Frontier policy and the Roman Empire's collapse is significant enough not to warrant any question over his authenticity, and as such, his description on how border management strategies were applied differently on a case-by-case basis, with regional administrators having enough autonomy to significantly influence local, territorial border policy etc., is mostly taken as an evidence-backed assertion coming from an esteemed member of the historic-scientific community.

Dyson's text, "The Creation of the Roman Frontier", uses a series of case study examples to investigate how the late Roman Republic and subsequently the Roman Empire adapted to physical and economic challenges of managing a dynamic frontier. Interestingly, certain parallels can be drawn between Roman incursions into Liguria during the times of the late Republic, Rome's incursions into Persia during the late imperial age and the USSR interventionism war in Afghanistan. In all three scenarios, the dominant military power which significantly outmatched the invaded country, regardless of consistent victories, did not gain any international recognition.

This, in turn, meant that the national governments, whether it be Justinian in late Rome, the Senate in the late republic or the Polit-Bureau in the USSR, increasingly restrained

¹¹ 'Экономическое Развитие Дальнего Востока Составная Часть Пограничной Политики СССР (конец 1940-х 1990-е гг. XX в.)'. Власть, №3 (2010) in 'cyberleninka.ru', <<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ekonomicheskoe-razvitie-dalnego-vostoka-sostavnaya-chast-pogranichnoy-politiki-sssr-konets-1940-h-1990-e-gg-hh-v>>

¹² Dyson, Stephen L, The Creation of the Roman Frontier,(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)

their own generals in the field and south to limit victories or force stalemates with a view to achieving larger strategic or political gains. As Dyson states, this was very commonly a tactic employed in troublesome or 'unprofitable wars' by modern colonial and neo-colonial commanders and their superiors at home.

Dyson's text does, however, suggest some ambiguity in that a series of assumptions are being made. As the book is inevitably using secondary hand data for its reports on Senate rulings, there are elements of the text which are somewhat questionable, wherein the writer's interpretation of original texts could very well have been altered by personal prejudice or opinion differences. Dyson does, for example, imply that there was derision and potentially rebuff towards Ligurian triumphs, which he assumes to be the case due to the general preference being: campaigns in the East. That said, this does not necessarily correlate. As is mentioned by Adrian Goldsworthy in his analysis of major figures in major Roman military campaigns¹³, late-Roman imperial generals like Belisarius deployed to the Eastern frontier as a matter of need rather than preference and arguably, actually could have performed better if they had been given western legions to field, similarly to how USSR could have performed better during the start of WW2, if the most experienced generals has been allocated to the Baltic front, rather than to the Romanian front, where they proved to be only marginally useful.

Similarities in Proactive Foreign Policy

In his study of USSR policies on their external boundaries in 1939-45¹⁴, Musin, an amateur historian inevitably, at least partially influenced by pro-USSR sentiment due to the location of his publishing his work, described a series of situations in which the handling of the Soviet-Nazi relations were distinctively proactive with the Soviet union allocating enormous military manpower resources and raising local militias across border regions towards leading a proactive military counter-offensive into Nazi Germany, once the tide of the German advance into Russia was broken at the battle for Kursk. While the reliability of all details within this work can be somewhat brought under question, especially since his view seems to contradict that of Guselnikov¹⁵, a lecturer of the

¹³ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, *In The Name Of Rome* (London: Orion, 2004)

¹⁴ Мусин Ф.С, 'Политика СССР на внешних рубежах в 1939-1945 гг', *Вестник Восточно-Сибирского института МВД России*. №4-75 (2015) in 'cyberleninka.ru', <<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/politika-sssr-na-vneshnih-rubezhah-v-1939-1945-gg>> (дата обращения: 16.07.2017). [Musin F.S 'Soviet policy on the external borders in 1939-1945,' *Bulletin of the East Siberian Institute of the Russian Interior Ministry*. "№4-75 (2015) in 'cyberleninka.ru'. [accessed: 16.07.2017]]

¹⁵ Гусельников Дмитрий Юрьевич, 'Историография исследования оперативно-войсковой охраны государственной границы СССР в межвоенный период', *Вестник ИргТУ*, №10-69 (2012) in

department of human resources, an academic at the Russian international academic institute of tourism who seems to discredit Musin's argument, suggesting that Russia's defence against the German invasion was spontaneous and that "советскому государству необходима была мирная передышка для восстановления разрушенного хозяйства и укрепления экономики" [The Soviet government required a peace to rebuild the destroyed agriculture and to secure the economy], a view which has over time become less and less popular in the academic community. Due to the differences in opinions, both views would need to be verified against other historic works, the processes described above are distinctively similar to similar military-time frontier policies carried out by the Roman Empire, on several occasions, such as during the 3rd century wars with Persia. Galerius's eastern forces, having been reinforced in 298 by a force from the Roman empire's more peaceful frontier (the Danubian holdings), were prominent at the helm of propagating and then leading an aggressive, retaliatory counter invasion which drove the invading force's armies back further than their original borders, pushing on to take the capital. This was similar to the actions taken by the Soviet army led by generals Zhukov and Rokossovsky¹⁶, who, after original defeats, followed their own initiative and did not wait for orders from the state, taking the offensive and going on to win the battle of Kursk, which would in turn mark the beginning of the Soviet counter invasion of Nazi Germany.

One very significant factor to consider however would be the potential politicisation at the time of the reporting of both Galerius's and Zhukov's campaigns. In the context of Galerius, he was called upon to defend against Rome's greatest rival, and his success in this regard would have made him very popular in Rome, which would have meant that any negative perceptions of his actions may have been restricted or removed from publications about him, especially considering the large political support he would have in Rome as a result of having prevented a potential large-scale military invasion. This would have been very similar to the case in Soviet Russia, where both Zhukov and Rokossovsky, following the successes of their counter-offensive campaign, were hailed by the authoritarian government as national heroes, and as such, any criticism of their actions would have been taken as a criticism of the state. Taking into context that only the highest ranked sociologists in the USSR or the most prominent historians in Rome may

'cyberleninka.ru', <<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/istoriografiya-issledovaniya-operativno-voyskovoy-ohrany-gosudarstvennoy-granitsy-sssr-v-mezhvoennyu-period>>, (дата обращения: 16.07.2017).

[Guselnikov, Dmitriy, "Historiography of the investigation of the operational-military protection of the state border of the USSR in the interwar period", Bulletin of IrSTU, №10-69 (2012) in 'cyberleninka.ru', [accessed: 16.07.2017]]

¹⁶ Glantz, David M., Translation Of The Battle For Kursk 1943: The Soviet General Staff Study, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 1-2

have been able to openly criticize popular figures without short term repercussions, it is somewhat doubtful that authors of primary sources will have been unbiased in their depiction of Galerius, whilst insufficient archaeological evidence of his campaigns means that secondary sources are often uniformly dependent upon those very same, original, likely-biased accounts. As such, even taking into context that accounts of Galerius's campaigns are only available from some of the most infamous Roman historians, and the nature of the classified Soviet General Staff Study, the element of bias must be considered in any domestic study of successful generals proactively defending their country against an invading force.

Glantz's¹⁷ translation and editing of the declassified Soviet General Staff Study on the pivotal 1943 Eastern Front battle Kursk provides a detailed history of operational level warfare during World War II in Russia. Until the fall of the Soviet Union, German accounts of the war in the East dominated the historical landscape. Because of its original secrecy, this document is relatively devoid of the turgid propaganda that characterizes the "official" public history of "The Great Patriotic War" in the Soviet Union. Even while there are some questions as political bias that Glantz might have in translation, as he is an American military historian who would have been educated in the cold-war era, he has adequate scientific backing due to his role as the chief editor of the *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, which would mean that his work will have been verified and criticised adequately by his colleague-editors within the journal. In either case, this book is particularly valuable due to maps from primary sources attached in the book. This text is thus very interesting as it describes the problems associated with ineffective communication between Zhukov and the central government in great depth. The similarity of the problems associated with the respective incidents of Galerius's earlier defeats against Persia bear striking resemblance to this¹⁸, and, in both cases, their most momentous victories were achieved when they were given greater autonomy over the military forces under their command.

The concept of governments allowing leading generals to follow through on counter-attacks and leading a counter-offensive campaign is also similarly demonstrated in Richmond's description of General Agricola's campaigns of AD 78-81¹⁹, where Richmond, a very well acclaimed British archaeologist, academic and expert on Roman Britain,

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, *In The Name Of Rome* (London: Orion, 2004)

¹⁹ Richmond, Ian, *Roman Britain. The Pelican History Of England* (London: Penguin Books, 1963)

describes how Agricola's rapid counter-invasion of Welsh territory following their attacks on the turbulent Roman Frontier there proved decisive. Whilst Agricola's predecessor had struggled to control the frontier after initial contact with the Brigantes and Agricola himself was originally held back by a state policy of reacting to military movements by the Ordovices, once he was given autonomy to act fully independently as governor and commander of the area, he immediately turned to an offensive campaign, forcing back the frontier of the Roman Britain border. This model, whilst being based primarily on somewhat outdated texts due to the author writing this in 1963, is nevertheless considered to be historically accurate, as the analysis of Roman Britain was judged so highly within the historic community that Richmond won a series of academic awards for his work, suggesting that he would be unlikely to change or fabricate his work.

At the same time, an interesting contradictory example to general similarities in frontier policies is the Assyrian Empire. Feodor Sinelnikov, in his series of lectures within the course "Empires and the Civilisations of Ancient Eurasia"²⁰, provides an interesting thought in exploring frontier policies, wherein he suggests that the Assyrian Empire was the first empire with the potential to develop into a world empire, and how, it was the result of their unsustainable conquest and raiding-based expansionist border policy that, along with their disregard for gaining support in conquered regions, prevented them from ever reaching 'world-empire' status. The reliability in this case is hard to question, considering the author's extensive experience in writing, lecturing and teaching on the subject, whilst the support of significant archaeological evidence in his lectures adds further validity to his findings. That said, the usefulness of this source is questionable, as his works only briefly touch on Roman Frontier policies, when describing Carthage as a maritime-based world empire.

Similarities in Reactive Foreign Policy

Completely in contrast to the proactively provocative Roman Frontier policy in Britain, Roman Frontier policy followed a somewhat more consolidating model along the Pannonian Frontier with a series of castra, castella, watchtowers, burgi and fortified bridgeheads built at regular intervals across the border²¹.

²⁰ Синельников, Федор, "Ассирия – Первый Опыт Создания «Мировой Империи» И Его Провал", 2017 [Feodor Sinelnikov, "Assyria – The First Experience of the creation of a World Empire and the failure"]

²¹ Mócsy, András, and Sheppard Sunderland Frere, Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History Of The Middle Danube Provinces Of The Roman Empire. Translation Edited By Sheppard Frere (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974)

This variety in different military facilities along the frontier are best known from the works of András Mócsy, a Hungarian provincial Roman archaeologist, epigraphist and ancient historian who, unperturbed by the conflicts of the mid-20th century, carried out one of the largest archaeologically-orientated historic analyses of the Pannonian Frontier. Due to his work being considered as fundamental in the study of said frontier, and his academic backing from a series of Hungarian and later other central-European universities, his observations are assumed to be valid, and as such, his analysis of Roman fort-distribution along the Pannonian Frontier can be correlated with the deployments of the Soviet fortifications across the Sino-Soviet Front²², as is described by Melnikov, a Soviet-educated historian writing on the era, where, as he describes the matter, large amount of small military fortifications did exist, and yet most major military forces were garrisoned in large settlements deeper into the domestic nation's borders.

In the case of the late Roman Empire, this was certainly the case across the Pannonian Limes²³, as is supported by evidence from the majority of historians writing about the era, (which is why Isaac Benjamin's entry in the *Journal of Roman Studies* is generally taken as the status quo summary), wherein according to the general view, similarly to the Sino-Soviet frontier, border conflicts were common but unofficial, most commonly occurring in the form of provocations by regional powers contesting territory along the frontier. The constant tension and skirmishes came to light in a few larger conflicts where the border guard joined with local militia to deploy to face incoming raiding parties and to fight over congested forests or mineral territory.

Taking into account the similarities in descriptions of the Pannonian frontier from completely different sources, Isaac Benjamin and András Mócsy, it seems likely that their model of the fortifications, and this is similarly the case with the model presented in the report on the Sino-Soviet Front, which finds academic backing in the widely acclaimed "The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2"²⁴. One example of

²² Мельников, Василий Николаевич Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009) [Vasily Melnikov, Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)]

²³ Isaac, Benjamin, 'The Meaning Of The Terms Limes And Limitanei', *Journal Of Roman Studies*, 78 (1988), 125-147 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/301454>>

²⁴ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Роцин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2

skirmishes leading to larger conflicts involving the border guard was the escalation of conflict with the Iazyges during the Marcomanni wars of 169-175 AD, where a combination of armies from the Iazyges, Quadi, Suevi and Marcomanni territories crossed the frontier to invade the Roman territory, citing ancient claims to the territory. This was somewhat similar to the Sino-Soviet border conflict, as in both cases the conflict between the nations was not officially a war and did not see active follow-up invasions of their original invader's territory, as was usually the case with other offensives against Rome or the USSR.

In both cases, following initial clashes and a set of minor skirmishes, the respective 'invaded' nations took steps to resolve the conflict economically, with the USSR imposing temporary sanctions on trade with China, and the Roman Empire imposing sanctions on trade across the Danubian Limes to Quadi, Suevi and Marcomanni territory. This kind of reactive border policy, described at length by Melnikov²⁵ and András Mócsy²⁶ respectively, both respectable historians in their own right, relatively experts in the relevant section of their studied historic era, was very much in contrast to Frontier decisions made by proactive commanders like Agricola in Roman Britain and Zhukov across the Baltic States.

To some extent, this diversity in border policy, where border policies differed so significantly across different borders, even while under the same central authority is a key feature of the adaptability of a great power, which cannot easily be achieved by a weak military or economic state. This concept is discussed at length by Woolf, where he describes the shift of the Roman Capital from Rome to Constantinople as a prudent, reactive frontier policy. According to Woolf, the shift "reduced the time-lag between events on the periphery and responses at the core", which he goes on to suggest is the principle reason behind the establishing of a large city close to the border, as was the case with the shift of Soviet settlers southward during the 20th century to the border town of

(Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

²⁵ Мельников, Василий Николаевич Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009) [Vasily Melnikov, Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)]

²⁶ Mócsy, András, and Sheppard Sunderland Frere, Pannonia And Upper Moesia. A History Of The Middle Danube Provinces Of The Roman Empire. Translation Edited By Sheppard Frere (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974)

Vladivostok, which would then proceed to harbour East-Asian reserve brigades and act as the main harbour of the Soviet Pacific fleet²⁷.

One original explanation for the lack of desire on the USSR's part to engage with China in actual conflict could be in the cellular model structure of world empires, in which distant far eastern regions were distinctly different from central, core Soviet regions in Western Russia. Because of the USSR following a policy of absorbing different cultures, similarly to Rome, this led to great disparity and sometimes lack of coordination in terms of management of the frontier resources across the Sino-Soviet frontier. That said, this was somewhat reduced by the large amount of Soviet investment into its Easternmost regions by the Soviet government in the 60s, 70s and early 80s. Similarly, Rome's cellular model²⁸, followed, what is described by Woolf, a famous ancient historian, archaeologist, academic and proponent of the world empires model, to be a non "ideal-type of World Empire", from an economical perspective. As Woolf states, "The frontiers of the empire were major consumers of the tribute and taxation extracted from the empire", and this draws in with what is described by Alexandrovich, an academic historian and doctor of technical sciences, as consistent military prioritisation²⁹ in funding requirements for establishing military deterrents, such as for hosting the Eastern battalions and for regularly constructing new blockposts along the frontier.

As Woolf describes it, "political structures and social values provided the framework and constraints within which commerce took place, and political and military means did not serve commercial ends"³⁰. This ultimately means that frontier changes were principal in influencing domestic trading and commerce by Rome and this is seen to also have been

²⁷ Мельников, Василий Николаевич Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009) [Vasily Melnikov, Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)]

²⁸ Woolf, Greg, "World-Systems Analysis And The Roman Empire", Journal Of Roman Archaeology, 3 (1990), 48 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s1047759400010837>>

²⁹ Кравчук Сергей Александрович, 'Экономическое Развитие Дальнего Востока Составная Часть Пограничной Политики СССР (конец 1940-х 1990-е гг. XX в.)'. Власть, №3 (2010) in 'cyberleninka.ru', <<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ekonomicheskoe-razvitie-dalnego-vostoka-sostavnaya-chast-pogranichnoy-politiki-sssr-konets-1940-h-1990-e-gg-hh-v>> (дата обращения: 17.07.2017). [Kravchuk Sergey Aleksandrovich, "Economic Development of the Far East: A Compound Part of the Border Policy of the USSR (late 1940s-1990s)". Vlast Magazine, №3 (2010) in 'cyberleninka.ru'. [accessed: 17.07.2017]]

³⁰ Woolf, Greg, "World-Systems Analysis And The Roman Empire", Journal Of Roman Archaeology, 3 (1990), 49 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s1047759400010837>>

the case along the Khabarovsk section of the Soviet-Chinese front, where internal developments within the town of Khabarovsk were accelerated by shifting of trade to the Khabarovsk Krai as the government aimed to artificially manufacture business growth in the area through the enforcement of regulations on trade elsewhere

Another notable similarity in terms of reactive frontier policies in both the post WW2 USSR and the late Roman Empire, was their dependence on satellite, or 'buffer' states to act as an original shield against other growing world empires such as Rome's dependence on Armenia against Persia, and Soviet dependence on the Eastern European states [East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania] against Western nations. In both cases, the two superpower nations in question (Rome and the USSR) did not wish to expend military resources directly towards defending a part of their borders, but on the contrary usually kept a reserve military force for the purpose of reacting to any breaches in the buffer zone. Potentially the reasoning behind this decision to usually only react after a client or buffer state was invaded stems from a general view of buffer states presented by Woolf, where he states that "The 'buffer zone' or 'third zone' may, in any case, be better considered as part of the outer fringe of the empire". Whilst to some extent his definition is greatly subjective, due to the contemporary context of the author's writing, this does seem to correlate with the general opinion of Rome's core provinces, as was demonstrated by their disregard for Roman victories without visible financial gain³¹.

Notable likeness in Border Guard Composition

Ultimately it was also this consistent perception of service along the distant frontiers as an unsavoury position within Roman society that could explain the great range in the quality of the Limitanei forces³² along said frontiers.

An interesting similarity in border guard composition between the Border Force of the USSR and the Limitanei of the Late Roman Empire could be seen when comparing USSR-China borders and the Roman borders with the Brigantes in Northern Britain and sets of tribes across the Pannonian fortification lines.

³¹ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, In The Name Of Rome (London: Orion, 2004)

³² Isaac, Benjamin, 'The Meaning Of The Terms Limes And Limitanei', Journal Of Roman Studies, 78 (1988), 125-147 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/301454>>

Alexandrovich describes the situation with the USSR frontier in great detail, touching on how, in the so-called post-demilitarisation stage of a border oblast, similarly to demilitarised Roman provinces, filled up with auxiliary forces, unofficial self-declared border forces and a mix of important exiles. An interesting similarity is seen in that border provinces (oblasts) in USSR allowed volunteer workers on the border with the People's republic of China to serve in auxiliary border patrol forces, forming mercenary detachments which allowed the Soviet forces to pre-emptively experience and prepare against regular military forces.

The aforementioned auxiliary force anatomy is somewhat similar to late imperial border policy where divisions were formed from bordering tribes to protect and manage immigration from those very same tribes. This was the case with the Iceni, the Brigantes and along the Pannonia system of fortifications which formed limes in modern day Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia and Serbia, where, following the official demilitarisation of these border territories, for the continued security of Roman citizens living there, local auxiliary forces such as Sarmatian Heavy Cavalry³³ units were formed, as was recorded at the time by Cassius Dio in a separate section of his 72nd book, a Roman statesman and historian who, throughout his life, published 80 volumes of history on Ancient Rome and was considered the main contextual expert on the history of late first to late second century Rome.

These units would then comprise auxilia forces, and were on the payroll of the Roman army as secondary forces assisting the standard army, even though these auxilia forces would, in turn, prove to be critical for the maintained control of border territories, seeing re-deployment across the Roman frontiers, such as on the British Frontier^{34,35}, as their reputation as a cohesive fighting unit grew.

In terms of this composition of the border guard, in reference to auxilia forces raised to maintain the provincial, outer fringe defences of the USSR and the Roman Empire, there were indeed some exceptions to the general standard army, limitanei and auxilia and eventually just auxilia border guard structure.

³³ Cassius Dio, LXXII.16

³⁴ Richmond, Ian, Roman Britain. The Pelican History Of England (London: Penguin Books, 1963)

³⁵ Salway, Peter, "Antonine Frontier", in A History Of Roman Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981)

Aside from the contextual deployments of the primary legions and battalions during times of military conflict (such as USSR-Japan conflict), the careful protection and management agricultural provinces, especially during the latter stages of the lifecycle of the USSR and the Late Roman Empire, proved to be essential towards maintaining the government's control over its citizens. Without subsidies for food growth and agricultural developments at a sufficient level, there would be widespread rebellions, as was the case on a set of occasions as a result of Ukrainian or Egyptian cargo not reaching respective capitals for redistribution. In the context of these areas, as is highlighted by Parker in his study of Late Roman Imperial influence on its border provinces and as is mentioned by Berezkin and others, these areas were of such importance, so as to always have a standard army garrison of considerable size deployed there, with a view to preventing any enemy of the state, whether internal or external, of gaining control of agricultural hub regions in an attempt to starve out the national government. The importance of these regions and the influence of frontier policy in terms of defending these regions is in doubt, as, with the benefit of hindsight, it can be seen that mismanagement and poor border policy decisions towards the end of the Late Roman Empire³⁶ and the late USSR, in cases of over dependence of central regions on the Egyptian and Ukrainian grain, led to mass starvation and subsequent riots in both states³⁷, as had happened a few times in Early Roman Imperial history.

³⁶ Parker, Philip. *The empire stops here*. (London: Pimlico, 2009).

³⁷ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, *The Fall Of The West: The Death Of The Roman Superpower* (London: Phoenix, 2010)

EPQ Discussion

How Permeable were the Late Roman Imperial and the Soviet Union's Frontiers?

To understand the principle differences between 'Core' Roman territories, the inner and outer periphery, highlighted in figure 1, and the differences in perceptions of the permeability of these frontiers, at first it is important to define what a *frontier* or a *border* really is. In the pre-colonial eras, world empires relied primarily on hard control of their periphery areas, as well as the threat and the deterrent of military or economic action in the form of invasions or sanctions, imposed on trade. While this does not imply that borders had an exact marked line of passing, due to the fact that often rivers, mountains and dense forests were used as natural barriers, the aforementioned definition of the frontier can be applied to the Late Roman Empire. At the same time however, the 20th century completely re-defined the word 'frontier'. During the Cold War, the two dominant superpowers, the USSR and the US both exerted previously unprecedented levels of influence over their outer periphery, leading to a completely different concept of a fluid frontier. As such, perceptions of what the 'frontier' of the USSR is hard to classify as a physical no-go zone, as is the case with the Korean Demilitarised Zone. In the case of the Soviet Union, frontiers were flexible and could form around satellite dependencies, much further than the somewhat similar Roman Frontier. While the Roman Empire did extend its influence deep into Persian territory, and was involved in a series of conflicts over Armenia³⁸, a territory not directly bordering any Roman province for the majority of the aforementioned wars, a scale such as was the case with the Soviet support of Angola, through the use of Cuban auxiliary armies³⁹ was an example of the unprecedented ease-of-transport, only possible with the advanced technological developments of the 20th century. This leads to a logically sound conclusion that, even while in theory a country's official inner periphery borders were completely impermeable to foreign activity (for instance the USSR's borders on a typical world map), a country's outer periphery borders, whether in the form of proxy vassal states with Rome or with the European buffer states for the USSR, were permeable and very much extendible in that the dominant nation could exert their influence across a border with ease, as a result of its proportional

³⁸ Williams, Derek The reach of Rome: a history of the Roman Imperial Frontier; 1st-5th centuries AD. (London: Constable, 1996)

³⁹ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

technological strong position, when compared with neighbour states at the time (such as when comparing the Roman Empire with Germania Superiora [Modern Germany, Poland and Czech Republic] or the Soviet Union with Afghanistan).

To truly understand perceptions on the similarity of the two large states, it is important to grasp the nature of empires or supranational entities. While most empires can be defined in a similar fashion to the Roman Empire, namely as large nations driven by economic gain, political ambitions and military superiority (see Ottoman Empire 1299-1876, Mongol Empire 1206-1279), it is notable how the USSR was driven, predominantly, by ideological ambitions of proletarian internationalism, something that was to be achieved by any means necessary, as demonstrated by a phrase appearing in many speeches and songs in the USSR: “We shall [succeed] at any cost”⁴⁰⁴¹. This can be attributed to the local antecedent conditions, of a relatively resource-rich Russian Empire, a previous world empire with favourable conditions to then expand said world empire into an even larger supranational entity. As such, the perceived meaning of the permeability frontier would, to some extent differ, depending on the context of economic, political or military influence, wherein in an ideologically driven Soviet Union, the meaning of the frontier may hold greater sway than in the more polytheistic, war-fatigued late Roman Empire, struggling with problems of overextension.

Nevertheless, both the Roman Empire and the Soviet Union follow some distinctly similar characteristics in terms of frontier policies across most the different sections of their respective nations. The Soviet Union as a nation was comprised of 15 Soviet Socialist Republics all of which were integrated into the Soviet Union following the expansion of the USSR’s influence west and southwards from the previous Russian Empire. This is somewhat similar to the Roman Empire, in its provincial and regional breakdown, as Greg Woolf states in his World Systems Analysis⁴², where he states that “The Roman Empire was cellular”. Similarly to how the composition of the Soviet Union and its acquisition is described by Berezkin and his peers⁴³, Woolf later attributes this interesting structure

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Okudzhava, Bulat, Нам Нужна Одна Победа (Moscow, 1970) [Bulat Okudzhava, ‘We Need One Victory’] - {Original Quote: Мы за ценой не постоим}

⁴² Woolf, Greg; World-Systems Analysis And The Roman Empire; Journal Of Roman Archaeology, 3 (1990), p.48

⁴³ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Израэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 1 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 1]

between the core territory, and the periphery to be a result of the empire's composition of "earlier world empires", signifying how expansion into many territories led to their integration into the existing empire without resorting to complete reordering. According to Woolf, as he argues in his World Systems Analysis, this cellular breakdown of smaller nations preserving certain customs and administrative rights within the Roman Empire is an adaptation of the more famous world systems theory originally developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, an approach to world history that suggests a minority of countries benefit by exploiting others.

From this analysis we are drawn to the thought that both the Late Roman Empire and the Soviet Union had very complex borders, wherein different borders with different countries often varied significantly. The presence of settlements beyond the frontier near borders like Hadrian's Wall [see figure 3], such as the towns of Habitancum [Risingham] and Banna [Birdoswald], and on the actual Pannonian Frontier towards the later Roman occupation post 1st century AD [see figure 4] suggest that in those instances where the larger power in question believed that a nearby state posed no or little threat, border control policy, while officially remaining constant, led to, unofficially, the policy becoming more lenient, so as to reduce costs of upkeep and management. This concept is thereupon also applicable to the Soviet Frontier in the case of Soviet settlements lying directly across the Soviet-North Korean, where similar a similar contextual setting likewise led to the dissipation of a larger military battalion, with soldiers spreading across a set of towns, villages and small forts, akin to modern castella or fortlet in the region.

This in turn once again showcases how the permeability of certain frontiers in peacetime, in the context of large supranational entities such as the USSR and the Late Roman Empire led to larger military battalions often spreading out across a series of smaller fortlets and outposts, often integrating themselves into cities, relaxing, unofficially, border control measures and making their respective borders significantly more permeable to the transfer of material and the travel of personnel across said borders. As stated in a government report studying said frontier situation, this could have had knock-on effects towards increasing the permeability of adjacent regional borders within the Soviet Union, as, seeing the relaxation of military control over one border could have prompted similar behaviour by other military battalions such as by the 36th Army⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ Мельников, Василий Николаевич Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009) [Vasily Melnikov, Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)]

To what extent were there significant similarities in terms of border guard composition and fort location?

An analysis of the locations of military facilities across the Sino Soviet or Upper Germanic fronts suggests that primarily, the norm of fort deployment and border management facilities has been to keep to a single line, with most forts lying less than 5km from the frontier zone. While some historians suggest that the Soviet Frontier was notably different from any of those that preceded it, citing ‘advanced monitoring technologies, which led to the non-uniform distribution of frontal fortresses and military divisions’⁴⁵, a contrasting view generally accepted by the wider historic community is that this was again based on the ground topology, wherein frontier distinctions were primarily related to the terrain⁴⁶, with Dacia, Britain and Severus’ province of Mesopotamia acting as direct proof of concept.

Across the 17th - early 20th centuries, there was considerable debate as to whether any entity had ever had properly defined frontiers. The most famous definition was by The Right Honourable Lord Curzon of Kedleston, wherein Curzon, the Viceroy of India (1898-1905), claimed in his famous lecture on frontiers at Oxford⁴⁷, that the eventual frontier developed by the British commanders in the second Afghan War of 1890 was for one “over which we exercise no jurisdiction and only the minimum control”. This of course is notably different from the Soviet Frontier, which is described as ‘carefully regulated’⁴⁸ in the Khabarovsk report. That said, even though borders, judging from the general historic consensus, were relatively blurred in the late 17th-18th century, some historians nevertheless propose a contrasting theorem suggesting that, while borders were indeed blurred up to and throughout the Victorian Era, this might not have been the case with Rome. Most notably, Luttwak suggests how in both pre and post Flavian times, frontier policy was oriented around a “rational administrative policy”⁴⁹, wherein purely strategic,

⁴⁵ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Израэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

⁴⁶ Breeze, David. The frontiers of Imperial Rome. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011), pp.177

⁴⁷ Curzon, George, "Romanes Lecture On The Subject Of Frontiers", 1907

⁴⁸ Мельников, Василий Николаевич Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009) [Vasily Melnikov, Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)]

⁴⁹ Luttwak, Edward N, The Grand Strategy Of The Roman Empire (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1979)

objective aims were put in place. Namely: efficient garrisoning of frontiers by auxiliary and limitanei, rapid communication across frontiers and as such, an efficient level of information transfer between the central authority [the emperor] and his legates and duces [commanders] on the frontiers. This approach to frontier policies does not seem impossible, as is then demonstrated by an almost identical approach to the Soviet Frontier, wherein as opposed to limitanei, troops from the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR⁵⁰ battalions were used to complement the frontier army of the USSR⁵¹.

As seen from figure 4, even while the standard frontier line of watch towers and fortlets lay in a pseudo linear structure, stretching from North of Porolissum as far south as Bologna, there were notable exceptions in terms of fort locations and garrison deployment which indicate that there was greater complexity to frontiers than the Khabarovsk FSB overseen government report indicates, where it identifies a single “impermeable barrier”⁵². Topographical, historical and geographical proof to the contrary visible in the works of Berezkin⁵³ and his peers suggest that the aforementioned government report could however have been inaccurate in identifying the Sino-Soviet frontier as such.

If one considers Hadrian's Wall, it is evident that there are some irregularities in terms of the settlement locations. Even as the wall was officially regarded as the end of the civilised world, certain settlements such as Risingham [see figure 3], were located as far as 30km beyond the frontier. Their existence, survival and legality points towards the fact that towards the later Roman Empire, the frontier in areas without a major regional competing power, such as in Scotland, could result in the border becoming much more flexible.

⁵⁰ “НКВД СССР” . Бerezкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

⁵¹ “Пограничные войска СССР”. Ibid

⁵² “непроницаемый барьер”. Мельников, Василий Николаевич Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009) [Vasily Melnikov, Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)]

⁵³ Бerezкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

The concept of a frontier's evolution due to the geographical structure of the land and based on the availability of local troops is also suggestive. Said concept, wherein the frontier line "can be blurred by the use of advance forts or outposts or hinterland forts or land held beyond the presumed main frontier line"⁵⁴ leads one to the conclusion that often, regardless of potential threat, large settlements were established and formed right on the frontier, as was the case with Tihau [see figure 4] and multiple settlements across the Syria and Arabia provinces. This secondary thought correlates with the findings of the Limes Arabicus project⁵⁵, which found the Arabicus limes [frontier] to be less guarded than previously imagined, with most forts having a low garrison concentration with troops spread across tower-posts, blockposts and nearby settlements. Said idea then leads one to the thought that some frontiers, regardless of public perception were actually relatively permeable, with travel possible through frontier zones such as the Limes Arabicus. This thought is correct, as is highlighted by Hodgson where he suggests that the contrast in different frontier types relates to the base sociological and economic infrastructure within different areas, particularly noting the advanced urbanisation of the eastern empire, writing that "in Arabia, Palestine and Syria ... the troops live in cities, the region being urbanised enough to make it natural for them to do so"⁵⁶.

As Breeze states, "On All frontiers there is flexibility in the deployment of troops"⁵⁷, going on to suggest that this also applies to the construction and development of fortifications. This does seem to be the case when reviewing archaeological and documented records of the Roman and Soviet frontiers respectively. An interesting observation is that defensive fortifications would be primarily oriented around the topographical structure of the land (see figure 2). Additionally, it is notable from an analysis of both the Soviet Frontier Policy on areas of the Sino-Soviet Front and the Upper Germanic borders of the Roman Empire, that often, when a battalion or legion respectively could not be deployed in the area due to financial concerns, the border guard was replaced by local auxilia, often cavalry. This similarity is particularly prominent as it is mentioned in the Roman case when Breeze writes "a 1,000-strong cavalry unit served in place of a legion"⁵⁸, and this seems to also be the case with the utilisation of local indigenous Chukchi residents in the Far Eastern

⁵⁴ Breeze, David. *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011), p. 179

⁵⁵ Parker, S. Thomas, John Wilson Betlyon, Robin M. Brown, Vincent A. Clark, Patricia Crawford, and Bert de Vries and others, *The Roman Frontier In Central Jordan* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 2006)

⁵⁶ Hodgson, Marshall G. S, and Edmund Burke, *Rethinking World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 177-179

⁵⁷ Breeze, David. *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011), p. 177

⁵⁸ Breeze, David. *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011), p. 173

Russian regions⁵⁹, and the use of Mongolian cavalry divisions along the Transbaikal⁶⁰ and West Mongolian⁶¹ regional borders of the Soviet Union. The rising use of local auxilia and native indigenous populations to boost military activity and to provide cheaper border patrols than the already-underfunded limitanei⁶² could provide is then evident from figure 5, where it can be seen that as early as 130 AD, the largest proportion of the Roman Army serving in England and Wales was already auxiliary infantry. At this stage in Rome's history, a clear distinctive trend can be seen that on border frontiers, auxiliary infantry are becoming increasingly prominent, comprising over half of all troops in the Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco borders and across the Dacian border. Additionally visible is the clear large proportional amount of auxiliary cavalry in use, as seen by the fact that over 10,000 auxiliary cavalry troops are shown to have been deployed in Roman Britain in 130 AD, as compared with less than 1,000 legionary cavalry, something that Goldsworthy attributes to high costs of maintenance and higher wages for legionary soldiers at the time⁶³.

To what extent were there similarities in reactive frontier policy of the USSR and the Late Roman Empire?

Differences in foreign policy decisions, in regards to frontier policies are often vague, with a view to allow governments to then change the policy easily. At the same time, as is evident from a study of respective works touching on proactive cross-border invasions and offensive action, whether across the borders of the Syrian and Commagene provinces of Rome⁶⁴, where counter-offensives by Galerius followed a set of Persian-initiated skirmishes, or in the aftermath of the Battle of Kursk with the Great Eastern Offensive, where generals Zhukov and Rokossovsky responded to attacks with a rapid counter-

⁵⁹ Кравчук Сергей Александрович, 'Экономическое Развитие Дальнего Востока Составная Часть Пограничной Политики СССР (конец 1940-х 1990-е гг. XX в.)'. Власть, №3 (2010) in 'cyberleninka.ru', <<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ekonomicheskoe-razvitie-dalnego-vostoka-sostavnaya-chast-pogranichnoy-politiki-sssr-konets-1940-h-1990-e-gg-hh-v>> (дата обращения: 17.07.2017). [Kravchuk Sergey Aleksandrovich, "Economic Development of the Far East: A Compound Part of the Border Policy of the USSR (late 1940s-1990s)". Vlast Magazine, №3 (2010) in 'cyberleninka.ru'. [accessed: 17.07.2017]]

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Isaacs, Benjamin, 'The Meaning Of The Terms Limes And Limitanei', Journal Of Roman Studies, 78 (1988), pp. 125-147 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/301454>> [accessed 25 August 2017]

⁶³ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, The Fall Of The West: The Death Of The Roman Superpower (London: Phoenix, 2010)

⁶⁴ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, In The Name Of Rome (London: Orion, 2004)

offensive⁶⁵, there are striking similarities in that major military changes are often only completed in response to shifting military influence of neighbouring countries. Even as there was a sizeable military deployed both along the Eastern Frontline⁶⁶ [western USSR-Nazi Germany border] and legions were deployed near to Antiochia and Damascus⁶⁷, pre-offensive, in both cases the local army were limited and restricted in their actions due to a fear of acting without the directive of the central government. A military reaction, such as a counter offensive, would therefore only be 'justifiable' militarily after the neighbouring states had taken the first step in aggravating tensions. This scenario does not necessarily make sense from a purely military perspective, as suggested by Musin⁶⁸, where he states that this points to a military blunder by Zhukov. Arguably, his reasoning is unjustifiable taking into account the pre-war Stalinist purge and the subsequent nationwide fear of acting without government directive, and it is surprising that Musin's academic journal article on the issue did not face much criticism in publication. Arguably such reasoning would also be applicable in the case of late 3rd-early 4th century Rome, wherein Galerius would have been wary of acting without receiving directive from Diocletian on the matter, as he did not wish to risk his position. This opinion, likewise presumably held by Adrian Goldsworthy, is reinforced where, as he explains, Galerius and another general Maximian, "...were now each promoted to the status of Augustus"⁶⁹. Such actions by generals such as Galerius, who through his decision to await orders and then successfully execute them became Augustus and Zhukov, who, through similar circumstance would become the leading commander of the Soviet armies, suggest that reactive behaviour, often constrained by political ambitions and governmental control and repression, were constant in both cases of the Soviet Union and the Late Roman Empire, despite the large time break between the two states.

⁶⁵ Glantz, David M., Translation Of The Battle For Kursk 1943: The Soviet General Staff Study, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 1-2

⁶⁶ Березкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

⁶⁷ Williams, Derek The reach of Rome: a history of the Roman Imperial Frontier; 1st-5th centuries AD. (London: Constable, 1996)

⁶⁸ Мусин Ф.С, 'Политика СССР на внешних рубежах в 1939-1945 гг', Вестник Восточно-Сибирского института МВД России'. №4-75 (2015) in 'cyberleninka.ru', <<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/politika-sssr-na-vneshnih-rubezhah-v-1939-1945-gg>> (дата обращения: 16.07.2017). [Musin F.S 'Soviet policy on the external borders in 1939-1945,' Bulletin of the East Siberian Institute of the Russian Interior Ministry. "№4-75 (2015) in 'cyberleninka.ru'. [accessed: 16.07.2017]]

⁶⁹ Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith, The Fall Of The West: The Death Of The Roman Superpower (London: Phoenix, 2010), p. 174

The aforementioned behaviour, exhibited by both the Late Roman Empire and the Soviet Union suggests that in certain situations, both nations were distinctly similar in their frontier policy decisions. The lack of authority of generals, when operating under the control of the state and within the boundaries of the law are best highlighted by several instances across early Roman Imperial and Russian Imperial history, on which lies the precedent which would then be utilised by both respective superpowers' governments to enforce their authority over their marshals and generals. When Tiberius for instance died in 37AD, Vitellius, the governor of Syria, immediately stopped campaigning against the Nabatean kingdom, which has invaded across the Eastern Frontiers, while he waited to receive instructions from the new emperor Gaius⁷⁰. Such behaviour, most likely caused by an acute awareness of the punishments relating to disobedience or displeasure of a dictatorial state, such as was the case with Soviet generals under Stalin in WW2, and with Roman generals and governors like Vitellius under Tiberius, suggests that frontier policy decisions were often macro managed by a central government, which in both cases of the Soviet Union and the Roman Empire would have been considerably distant from said frontiers.

This concept once again reaffirms the earlier conclusion that in both the Soviet Union and the Late Roman Empire, military actions were primarily reactive and were often limited by government control over the generals in question.

Were there any notable similarities in terms of proactive frontier policy between the two supranational states?

Proactive frontier policy decisions, undertaken by the USSR post 1945 and by the late Roman Empire are seen to be notably similar in the context of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Roman invasions of Britain and Armenia. Contrary to how it is described by most modern day historians, Florus's Epitome of Roman History suggests that in the context of both Britain and Armenia, "Ut non in usum, ita ad imperii speciem magna nomina adquisisse pulchrum ac decorum"⁷¹ [It was fine and glorious to have acquired them, not for any value, but for the great reputation that they brought to the magnificence of the empire]. This is somewhat different to how the Afghan campaign is

⁷⁰ Goodman Martin, Translation of The Jewish War, 2nd edn (London: Penguin books, 1981), p. 498

⁷¹ Florus, Lucius Annaeus, John Carew Rolfe, Cornelius Nepos, and E. S Forster, Lucius Annaeus Florus - Reprint Of Epitome Of Roman History, 1st edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 214-215

described by Berezkin and his colleagues⁷², however, an underlying message within their work also points to a primarily prestige-oriented cross-border policy of invading a neighbouring state, as opposed to materialistic or strategic ambitions.⁷³ While the work of Florus seems to indicate the central authority of the Roman empire was directly aware of frontier actions and would venture beyond well-maintained frontiers for the sole purpose of Frontiers, a theorem that historians such as Goldsworth adhere to, and one reinforced by Luttwak, where he states that leaving Germany free was a purposeful state-policy devised by the Flavian emperors, there are contrasting concepts such as those proposed by Tacitus. Tacitus for instance writes “*Tam diu Germania vincitur*”⁷⁴ [How long will it be until Germany is finally conquered], which suggests that Tacitus believed that the expansion was important and should have been followed through to the annexation of Germania. At the same time, Tacitus is known to have been under the influence of his personal ambitions and would have liked to avoid attracting undue attention from the imperial authorities, and as such, would unlikely have been critical of them publicly.

Even then, Tacitus is regarded as being one of the experts on this area, which would theoretically suggest that the contrasting argument is incorrect, as he would have had primary evidence of the early first century frontier-actions undertaken by the Roman state towards expanding the Limes Germanicus [German frontier that bounded the ancient Roman provinces of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior and Raetia]. That said, it is more likely the case, as I believe, that the invasion of Germany would likely have originally been strategically oriented for the acquisition of timber and metals like copper, as suggested by Tacitus, but it would have, at a later stage, been primarily motivated by political ambitions and once again by attempts to gain prestige. As such it is my belief that both Tacitus and Luttwak were likely correct, with their opinions describing the earlier and latter stage of the same process of Roman attitudes to Germania respectively.

⁷² Бerezкин, А. В., И. Н. Земсков, И. Ф. Ивашин, В. Л. Исраэлян, М. С. Капица, И. К. Кобляков, И. И. Минц, В. И. Попов, А. А. Рошин, В. М. Хвостов, История Внешней Политики СССР 1917-1980: Том 2 (Москва: Академия Наук СССР-Институт Истории СССР, 1980) [Berezkin et al, The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volume 2]

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Tacitus, Cornelius, and Alfred Holder, *De Origine Et Situ Germanorum Liber*, 2nd edn (Charleston, BiblioLife, 2010)

EPQ Conclusion

Comparison with other case studies

The majority of empires across history such as the Mongol Empire (1206-1368) and Soviet Empire (1917-91), willingly or, more probably unintentionally, followed a frontier management policy similar to the model of the Roman Empire. The Mongol Empire for instance, in their occupation of China and Eastern Russia⁷⁵ approached these territories as future regions of a larger imperial system, assimilating these regions in such a way as to allow for structured expansion. This meant, that when a new region was occupied, it would usually be prepared for this assimilation process, with the occupiers taking steps towards increasing regional loyalty by improving security, reducing crime and increasing certain civil liberties, such as freedom of religion. One particularly effective way of increasing loyalty of conquered regions was by recruiting Islamic financial administrators and Tibetan Monks, thus improving relations with the Islamic and Buddhist dominated regions of the empire. Such frontier management techniques as exercised in the Soviet, Mongol and Roman Empires, would usually avoid superimposing traditions and cultures on the conquered and thus allow for the gradual expansion of a country's borders in a more structured way than was the case with the Assyrian Empire.

The Assyrian Empire was an example of a deviation in the theory put forward in this study of imperial frontier policy of world empires and world systems across time. This was a country with dynamic, fluctuating borders, as a result of their non-incorporation of conquered, raided lands into their core territory. A consequence of this form of proactive border policy was that their empire could not ever have adopted a world-empire system of exploitation of the conquered periphery regions. This was because the Assyrian approach to expansionism meant that integration of additional regions to the empire was not smooth, as their approach to conquest was more akin to subjugation than inclusive integration - eventually leading to internal civil strife across their border territories. This in turn draws the study to the conclusion that such a frontier policy is unsustainable and does not allow for a structured expansion of a country's borders, which potentially explains why the fall of the Assyrian Empire was relatively quick, in historical perspective, for an ancient empire, collapsing between 627BC and 609BC.

⁷⁵ "Life In China Under Mongol Rule", Afe.Easia.Columbia.Edu, 2000
<http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/mongols/china/china3_f.htm> [Accessed 1 March 2018]

Summary of Research

Ultimately, the study shows that there are significant similarities in various aspects of imperial frontier policies of different empires or supranational states across history. Distinctive similarities are visible in terms of the common use of proxy states to fight wars and the use of periphery states as buffers against strong regional rivals by world empires⁷⁶ and world systems respectively, wherein, the primary value of outer periphery regions often lay in their military potential.

Additionally, as shown by Simelnikov's findings⁷⁷, across the history of empires, running from the Xia Dynasty in 2070 BC to the modern age, proactive interventionism across borders, often publicly covered under the names such as 'peacekeeping missions', such as the Russian peacekeeping mission in Ukraine, have been commonplace. These are clear signs of power projection, wherein larger states are extending their hard power into neighbouring countries in a bid to show the empires' large sphere of influence. Particularly notable is the aspect of imperial frontier policy of interventionism in neighbouring governments, wherein, clear similarities are once again visible between the Roman appointments for Kings of Armenia, and the Soviet-supported regimes across Central and Eastern Europe and in Central Asia.

Furthermore, despite the time gap between the analysed countries, the Soviet Union's approach to fort distributions and border force deployments and that of the Roman Empire show significant similarities in the dense fort concentrations across frontiers such as the along the Sino-Soviet Border⁷⁸ and the Pannonian Limes⁷⁹, borders separating key inner periphery regions of the respective empires from powerful neighbouring regional states. In these cases, the aforementioned powerful neighbouring states were the Gotini and Iazyges tribes bordering Roman Dacia and the Pannonian Frontiers (see figure 4), and China bordering Soviet regions from Issyk-Kul'skaya Oblast to Primorskiy Kray (see figure 7).

⁷⁶ Parker, S. Thomas, John Wilson Betlyon, Robin M. Brown, Vincent A. Clark, Patricia Crawford, and Bert de Vries and others, *The Roman Frontier In Central Jordan* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 2006)

⁷⁷ Синельников, Федор, "Ассирия – Первый Опыт Создания «Мировой Империи» И Его Провал", 2017, 2017 [Feodor Sinelnikov, "Assyria – The First Experience of the creation of a World Empire and the failure"]

⁷⁸ Мельников, Василий Николаевич *Пограничная Политика СССР на Советско Китайской Границе, Федеральная Служба Безопасности Российской Федерация (Хабаровский Пограничный Институт ФСБ России, 2009)* [Vasily Melnikov, *Border Policy of the USSR on the Soviet Chinese Border, Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Khabarovsk Frontier Institute of the Federal Security Service of Russia, 2009)*]

⁷⁹ Breeze, David. *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011)

Finally, clear similarities start to emerge once reactive frontier policies and subsequent troop deployments of the two countries are taken into account. Both in the case of the Roman Empire with the Syrian region, and the Soviet Union with the Sino-Soviet Front, legions or battalions, with respective auxiliary forces were deployed in large number, with the Roman Empire having its largest concentration of troops (~60,000) deployed on the Syrian frontier circa 130 AD (see figure 5), even as 10 armies, including the famed 35th Red Banner Army were deployed across the Transbaikal and Far Eastern Fronts of the Soviet Union.

Project Evolution

Over the course of this project, the study developed from a comprehensive comparison of the frontier policies of the two states to a wider investigation analysing the concept of a similar trend in specifically imperial frontier policies across time, wherein the Soviet Union and the Roman Empire were defined as empires-or-equivalent, holding significant regional and international power in their respective times.

This shift in the orientation of the project was primarily explained by the emergence of a set of conclusions: not only were there some marked exceptions to my general theory of similar frontier policies, but such a theory could only be applied to the behaviour of world empires and world systems, as described by Immanuel Wallerstein.

Further Analysis

It would be interesting to analyse the extent to which the theory of similarities in imperial frontier policies, proposed in this dissertation, would apply to modern empires. To that end, it would be crucial to define whether the modern states of Russia and China can be defined as empires and whether the conclusions of this study could be applied to their respective frontier policies. In this manner, it would be interesting to analyse whether this study could, if it were proved to be applicable to these modern states, be used to determine frontier policies of countries neighbouring Russia and China, and in understanding long term goals and ambitions of the Russian and Chinese governments, based on their proactive and reactive frontier policy decisions, and by the deployment of their troops and fortifications respectively.

Contextualising Future Research

To investigate these modern empires in the context of the changing size of outer periphery regions, it would therefore be essential to analyse their extended outer periphery with proactive frontier policies often leading empires to intervene in regions beyond their

extended sphere of influence. Prime examples of such proactive frontier policies would be the Russian Military Fortification of the Arctic and the militarisation of many artificially-expanded Spratly Islands, in the case of modern day China.

Generally speaking, current day aggressive frontier policies of President Putin, as the leader of the modern Russian Empire are analogous to the outer periphery policies of the Roman Empire and the USSR. Western politicians who are now deciding on extensions to NATO and THAAD (Terminal High Altitude Area Defence) must now take these similarities into consideration to be fully aware of the potential consequences, based on historical precedent.

Regarding areas of further study, it is my belief that to get a more comprehensive understanding of whether the theory I am putting forward of a general tendency of empires to follow alike frontier policies and manage their frontiers similarly it would be essential to investigate three aspects of imperial frontiers in greater detail: Culture, the impact of living in the permeable frontier regions on the traditions and material culture of those who lived there, and how it shaped the frontier; Religion, how most large Empires had to contend with a variety of different faiths across different frontlines and the way that this affected frontier policy; Corruption, the way in which different borders would have had varying levels of corruption concerning fort maintenance, border guard deployment and composition, and the potential vested interests of different states in ensuring that this was a constant state of affairs in weakening the frontier lines of larger states.

Evaluation

What skills did I learn over the course of this project?

Analytical Skills

Over the course of the project I have greatly enhanced my analytical skills. Having to read a series of books and extract only the useful information from these, when contrasted against the academic journals and reports I have had to study has given me a greater understanding of the importance of locating the key findings in any text.

Time management skills

I believe the EPQ has been an excellent way for me to improve on my time management skills, and has made me more structured in my approach to planning large projects for the future. By having to set myself personal deadlines, whilst also adhering to a range of general deadlines set by my overseer, I have had to balance a variety of workloads, even as I continued to study and look for more sources to investigate frontier policies of either of the two studied states: the USSR/Late Roman Empire.

The nature of the EPQ as a dissertation has also given me a clear understanding that often it is important to not delay projects to the end and to always keep a project log and, where possible, a Gantt chart of your progress. By having a pre-set plan of where you have to be at what point, and by noting how far I had been at different stages of my project, I kept myself aware of when I needed to focus on a specific section, and this has helped me to keep on track with required deadlines. For my other projects I had not ever planned the whole process out in so much detail, but the experience of doing the EPQ has shown me that this is something that is worth doing, and I intend to take these time management skills to all future projects I intend to partake in.

Categorisation

Over the course of the project I have become more focused in narrowing down large amounts of information to a key ideas and key concepts which are presented in said text. This has in turn taught me to be more aware of the importance of being able to summarise a book or article's main points in short form. At the same time, as my project developed, I became aware of the importance of studying fort deployments, especially after having studied the books "Frontiers of the Roman Empire"⁸⁰ and "The Frontiers of Imperial Rome"⁸¹, which led me to then add another category of study to my dissertation, in which I would then find notable similarities, once records were shown diagrammatically, between the Pannonian Frontlines towards the European frontiers of the Roman Empire

⁸⁰ Whittaker, C. R. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994)

⁸¹ Breeze, David. *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011)

and the Sino-Soviet Frontline dividing the USSR and Communist China. Aside from diversifying my study, I believe this experience has made me more adaptable, as I had not set out to change any of my themes originally. This shift from the original plan of actions set out in my project proposal form has taught me that you cannot plan everything in advance, and it is important to react accordingly to any new information which is relevant, even if it does not tie in with earlier hypotheses and may suggest new conclusions, such as that there are other elements of Frontier Policy, aside from border guard composition and the reactive/proactive frontier policy decisions, that display similarities across time

What challenges did I face?

Over the course of the project I have been faced with a series of problems. Firstly, the feasibility of the project was put in question with doubts from my mentor and from my peers as to whether the scale of this study, one which pertained to challenge the very concept of imperial frontier policies and related border studies, was possible to investigate. I believe it is only due to the fact that I am bilingual and am uniquely interested in both the USSR and the Late Roman Empire that I was able to tackle such a large study - my background has played to my advantage in this and I have worked through texts diligently throughout the period of the writing of this dissertation, continuing to analyse and interpret texts as I worked through different sections of the project. Throughout the course of the project, I believe I became more and more effective at interpreting texts, as I started reading texts and immediately classifying what I was reading into the sections I intended to write about, noting points relating to reliability of a source. I pointed out the points that were directly relevant to the context, and wrote them down for future reference, so that when I would finish a source I could then know which relevant points I had found and how they were related to specific sections of my study.

One of the problems I met with was that the majority of the available texts written on the Soviet Union's Frontier policies were written and published in the Soviet Union or by government-sponsored universities in the Russian Federation, so an element of bias has been ever present wherein certain sources, such as some of the academic journals I have studied, have been directly contradicting other sources such as the Government report on frontier policies published in the 1980s. Therefore, I have had to cross-compare all my sources and to investigate the reliability of each, not taking any information for granted. This has in turn meant that I have had to analyse each source and its contents, making the dissertation more complete and balanced due to specific measures that I have taken to ensure reliability in the data I base my conclusions on.

Another problem that I have met with was the element of translation necessary towards interpreting texts written in Russian or in Latin. To ensure validity when verifying the

data, I have used more than one translation for the Latin texts, cross-checking any citation lines with the use of adequate translation services online and with a dictionary, even as I have relied on a combination of my own knowledge of Russian and available translations for Russian texts. Throughout the project, I have found that the majority of translations of Russian texts were not as accurate as the originals, but, fortunately, due to my background I have been able to obtain originally printed copies of the Russian text, which I have then interpreted and translated directly, without having to rely on a third party translator, other than for cross-referencing.

Yet another obstacle that had to be overcome was the marginal availability of archaeological evidence about many of the studied frontiers. This was accomplished by once again cross-referencing data and information found in the analyses texts and investigating the sources that these books were in themselves referencing. Additionally, where possible, third party sources such as Chinese research on the Soviet Frontlines were used as comparative referencing points to validate claims on troop deployments and fort locations.

How did the project develop?

Over the course of my study my principle study question evolved to be targeted at comparing imperial frontier policies over time, wherein I narrowed down the concept of Frontier Policy to a set of different categories, which I intended to study and find similarities in. However, despite my original plans, I was still not expecting the voluminous nature of the amount of content I had to go through, with some texts having over a thousand pages and dozens of relevant diagrams analysing different frontier lines, such as the Limes Arabicus or Hadrian's Wall. At the same time, over the course of the project I became more adaptable to new findings and developments, such as the inclusion of another topic in my classification of frontier policy – fort deployment.

Throughout the project I managed to keep to overarching deadlines set by the EPQ coordinator, however I also set myself internal deadlines, after which I would consult with my mentor, informing him of my progress and discussing how I planned to approach the next sections of the EPQ.

One of the problems I was met with during my study was the fact that, completing two other coursework based subjects, I had to manage three different sets of timelines with conflicting deadlines meaning that on some weeks I had to complete a lot more work than would otherwise have been the case. For the purpose of approaching this in a structured way, I acquired a whiteboard and started keeping a working calendar wherein I would prioritise which project sections of which specific project I would work on at different parts of the work-week, making use of study periods at school and breaks to read relevant

books and articles with a view to having more time to interpret, analyse and write about this information once I was at home. This structured approach helped me to improve my work efficiency by decreasing procrastination time, as I was constantly alerted by digital notices I had set in place on my computer's calendar to let me know at what time I was to move on to another project.

In regards to the sources necessary for my topics, I conducted a full analysis of sources I could find online in a variety of ways.

Firstly, I wrote to a set of different universities which did or had until recently provided courses in the study of Roman and/or Soviet Frontier Policy, asking them about recommendations for texts, which is how I would go on to discover some of the more famous books referenced in my dissertation.

Secondly, as a result of my personal fascination with Roman History, I was already a member of a set of online discussion forums, through which I searched for online resources and was introduced to Adrian Goldsworthy's work – an author who features prominently in my dissertation due to his extensive study of the macroeconomic policies concerning Imperial Rome, and Roman military deployments under generals such as Galerius.

In addition, as a result of my interest in military strategy games and my general interest in military history of the classic era, I was lucky enough to have direct contact to some exclusive extracts from some private libraries around the world, who I then spoke with and acquired said books from.

Furthermore, due to my background and my family's connections in Russia, I was in contact directly with professors at the Moscow State University and was directed to the works of famous Sovietologists such as the "The History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980: Volumes 1 and 2", pinnacles of Soviet Frontier Policy which were until recently only available to government officials and civil servants.

It is due to this variety of information that I have had to organise a clear approach to analysing each text, wherein I have had to make notes on the reliability of all the sources I have used, making full use of both notes within the book and of information on the internet about the sources I was drawing on to evaluate as to whether their information was valid and was backed by either archaeological evidence (in the case of Roman Frontier Policy) or based on direct primary source information (in the case of Soviet Frontier Policy). I believe I handled this well, and was proud to manage to acquire copies of the very first published volumes of the History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR 1917-1980, which had been edited and overseen by Andrei Gromyko himself, an unrivalled authority

in Soviet Frontier Policy, who had been in direct or second-in command of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the USSR for over 30 years and had key insight into the workings of the Soviet state.

In regards to structuring the work, I have adhered to some basic guidelines I had set myself, which I had designed based on other dissertations I had read and on publicly available resources supporting the writing of dissertations, such as guides by the Universities of Glasgow, Bristol and Southampton respectively.

How could the project have been conducted more efficiently?

I believe that the project would be more complete if three other categories, Culture, Religion and Corruption and their respective influences, as mentioned in the earlier section of this study, on imperial frontier policy, were also analysed in the required depth to understand as to whether similarities in these categories are also visible between two states as different as the Late Roman Empire and the USSR.

Ultimately however, for a multitude of reasons these topics have not been covered in adequate depth in this iteration of this dissertation. First and foremost, the biggest limiting factor is the size of the EPQ, which means that analysing sources touching on these three aforementioned topics would not translate to a justifiably large section of analysis. Secondly, an issue arises in that all three topics are highly controversial taking into account how religion and cultural differences are viewed by many historians to have been critical factors in breaking up the Late Roman Empire and the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is almost impossible to conduct a valid study of corruption within the Soviet Union, as the majority of administration facilities and departments which are accused of or had been accused of corruption are still operational in the post-breakup Russian Federation and are opaque in that there is very little reputable data available on the state of affairs on the level of corruption within the Russian or Soviet Border Guard divisions. At the same time, it is almost impossible to ascertain with any measure of accuracy the level of corruption on such a macroeconomic scale as across all the frontier lines of the Roman Empire.

That said, it would nevertheless be an interesting addition to this study, and, if enough sources on the topic were studied, it could theoretically be possible to conduct a comprehensive comparison of suggested corruption on certain frontiers of the USSR and off the Late Roman Empire, such as the inner-periphery borders of the USSR, dividing Russia from the Eastern European Buffer States, and Hadrian's Wall, both areas which have been studied in some detail already due to a high degree of interest from the academic community into the archaeological remains of settlements and fortifications in and around these regions.

Arguably, the project would have been completed a lot more efficiently if I did not have other simultaneous coursework projects to work on, which drew away time which could have been potentially invested into studied more texts relating to the EPQ.

Moreover, it is important to draw note to the fact that due to the complex nature of the many frontlines of the USSR and the Late Roman Empire, and the variations between these, it has been somewhat difficult to make overarching statements concerning similarities across all frontier lines. At the same time, due to the fact that some regions have not been studied in as much depth as others, the lack of sources available on a local, domestic, regional or international scale has meant that the scope of the investigation has had to avoid featuring some of the Frontier lines, such as for instance the Inner-periphery Soviet Mongolian Frontlines and the distribution of border control outposts on said border..

Another topic that it would have been worth to analyse is the application of the world systems theory towards the selective defence of core regions located outside of the inner core, such as the Ukrainian SSR and the Egyptian and Northern African Provinces for the USSR and the Roman Empire respectively.

The world systems theory states that the three sections of a nation are dependent upon each other. This dependency in turn drives certain regions in the inner periphery to be, as evidence shows, protected equally as well as border provinces, as the loss of these regions, namely Ukraine for the USSR and the Egyptian province for the Roman Empire, and would have signified significant loss for the whole population of the supranational in question. As such, fort deployments and frontier policies near to these key agricultural areas were notably different from other frontiers, with mercenary units deployed across the Egyptian and Nubian frontiers. At the same time, a series of battalions were permanently deployed within reach of Kiev (capital of the Ukrainian SSR region).

Finally, in regards to the application of the world systems model, this is not usually applied on an inner-country scale, which is why there is some controversy over the fact that I have broken down the Late Roman Empire and the Soviet Union into different sections, such as the core and periphery. At the same time, the nature of Soviet Interventionism far beyond its natural borders thanks to more advanced technology has raised some questions as to where the frontier of the Soviet sphere of influence extends to, with clear similarities visible in the use of Armenia by the Late Roman Empire (a region which bordered the Roman Empire's proxies) and the use of Cuba by the USSR (a region which was hundreds of miles from the nearest USSR proxies). This has meant that I have had to avoid discussing this issue in as much detail as would be ideal, as that would require a level of detail that cannot be reached within the constraints of an EPQ.

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EPQ Illustrations



Figure 1- A breakdown map of the Late Roman Empire highlighting the differences between different regions of the Empire. Key: Green (Core Regions), Orange (Inner Periphery Regions) and Brown (Outer Periphery Regions)

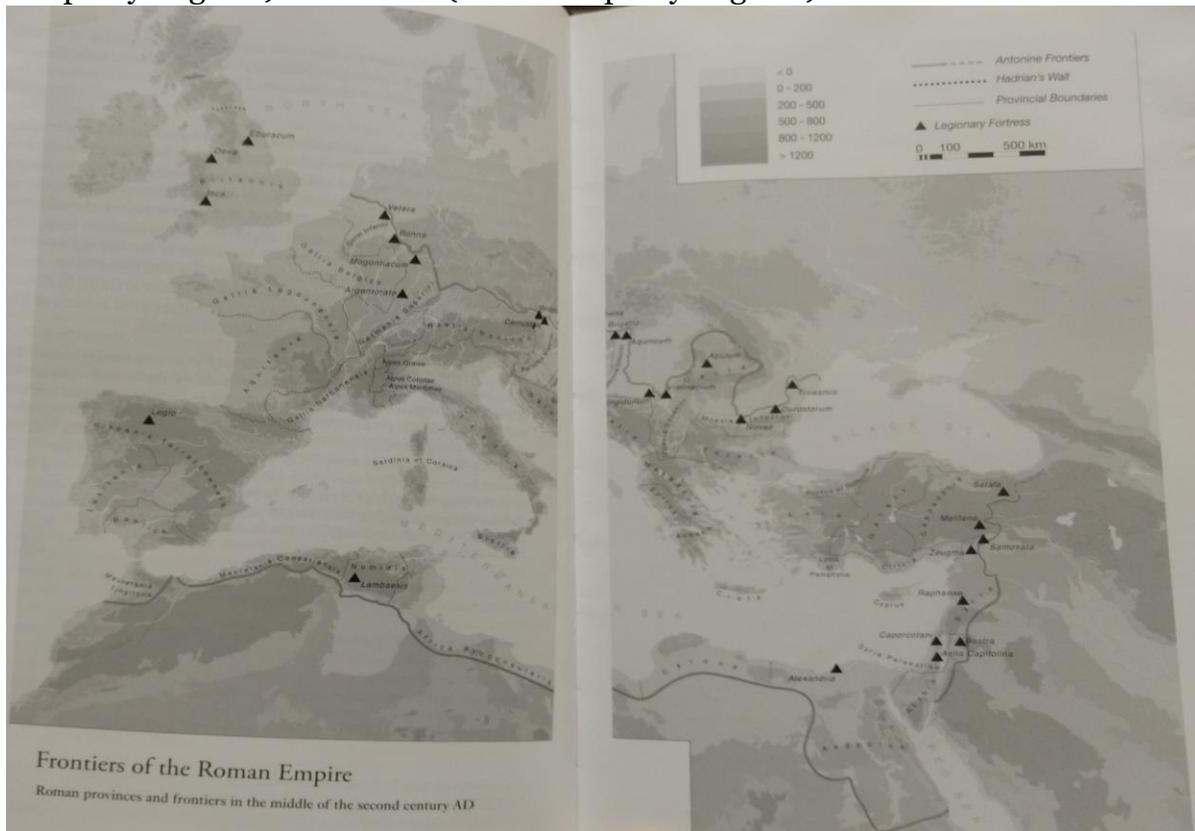


Figure 2- Frontiers of the Roman Empire in the middle of the second century AD by height above sea level.

Source: Breeze, David (2011). The frontiers of Imperial Rome

Wall. We can determine that it is correct in that we do know that Hadrian *was* the first to build a frontier wall in Britain and that it *was* 80 Roman miles (130km) long. As in Germany, Hadrian's Wall related to existing military installations. A generation before, in about 105, under Trajan, it would appear that the last of the forts north of the Tyne-Solway isthmus were abandoned, completing the retreat from Agricola's victory at Mons Graupius 20 years before. Some forts already existed

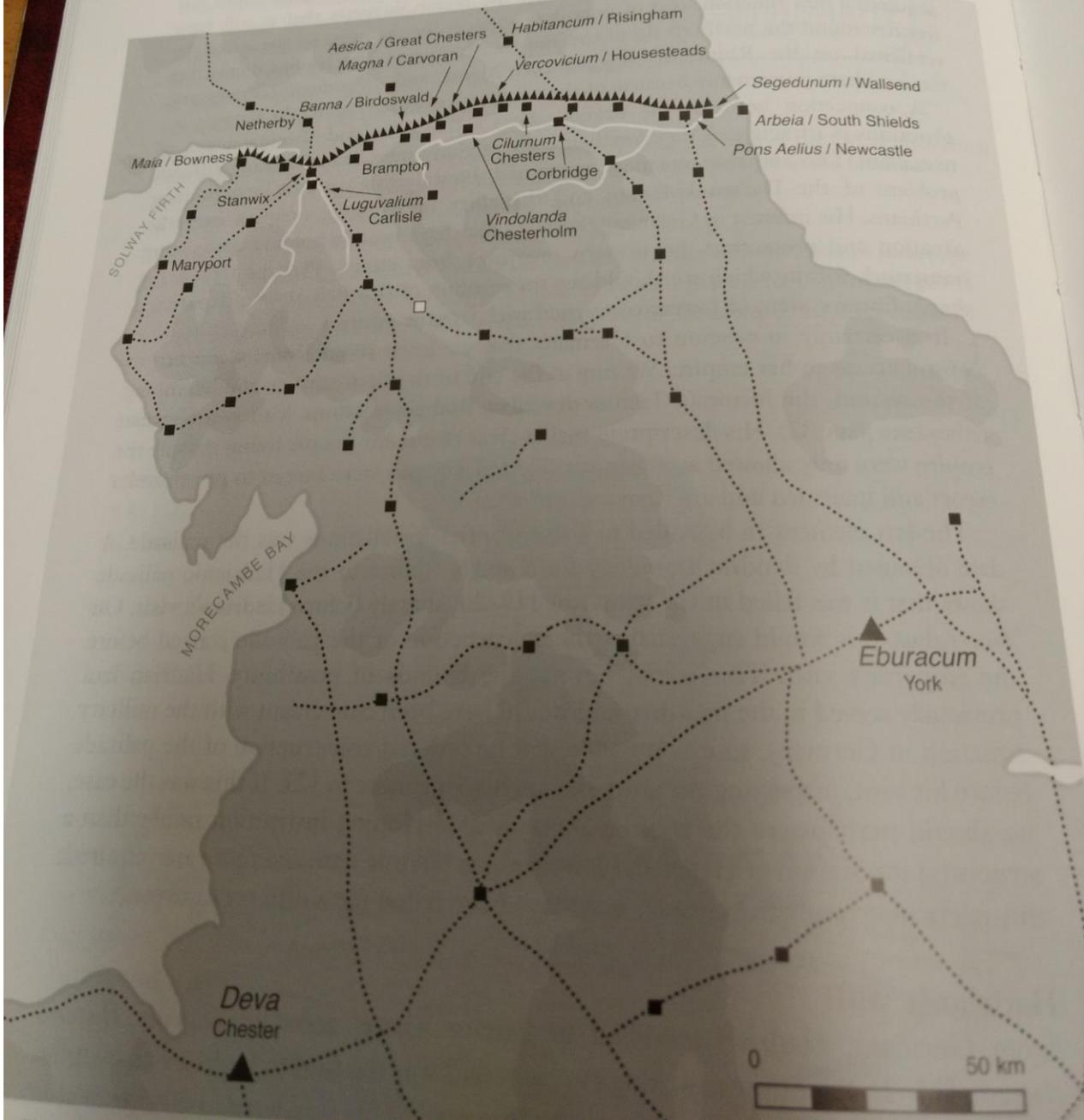


Figure 3- Settlement Distribution around Hadrian's Wall 2nd century AD.
Source: Breeze, David (2011). *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*

There was a noticeable concentration of forts in the north-west sector, in the gap between the western and northern Carpathians. There were as many as thirteen auxiliary units here, though the forts may not all have been occupied at the same time. The arrangement tended to be infantry units on the outer line, tactically placed on the inside of the passes, with cavalry units stationed further back. The major fort in this area lay at *Porolissum*/Moigrad. It covered 7ha (17 acres), together with a smaller fort of only 0.66ha (1.65 acres), the two together housing a force of about 2,000 soldiers. The placing of a larger and smaller installation in close

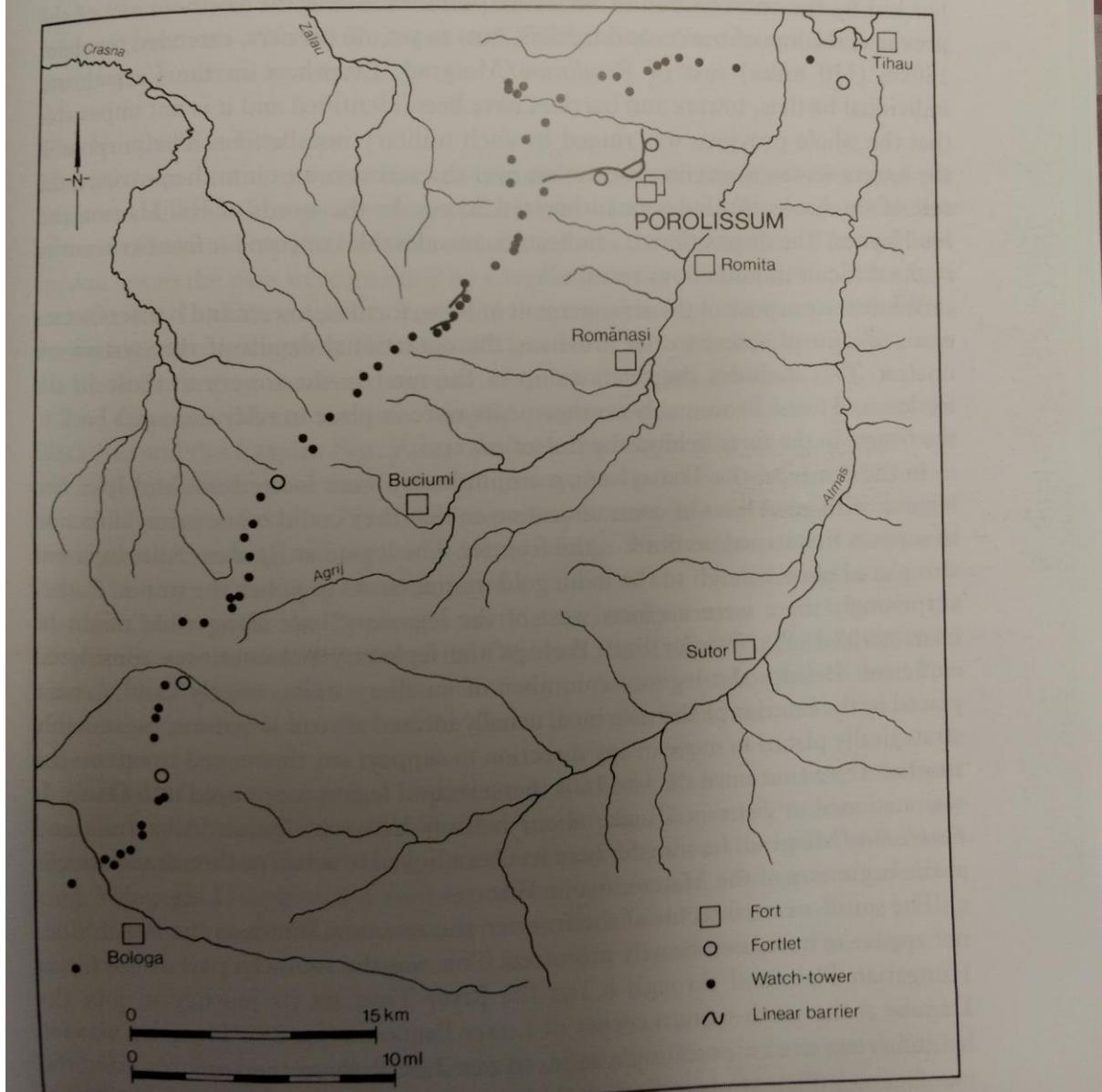


Figure 4- Map showing the settlement, tower and fort distribution to the North-West of the Dacia Province.

Source: Breeze, David (2011). *The frontiers of Imperial Rome*

Roman Army circa 130CE

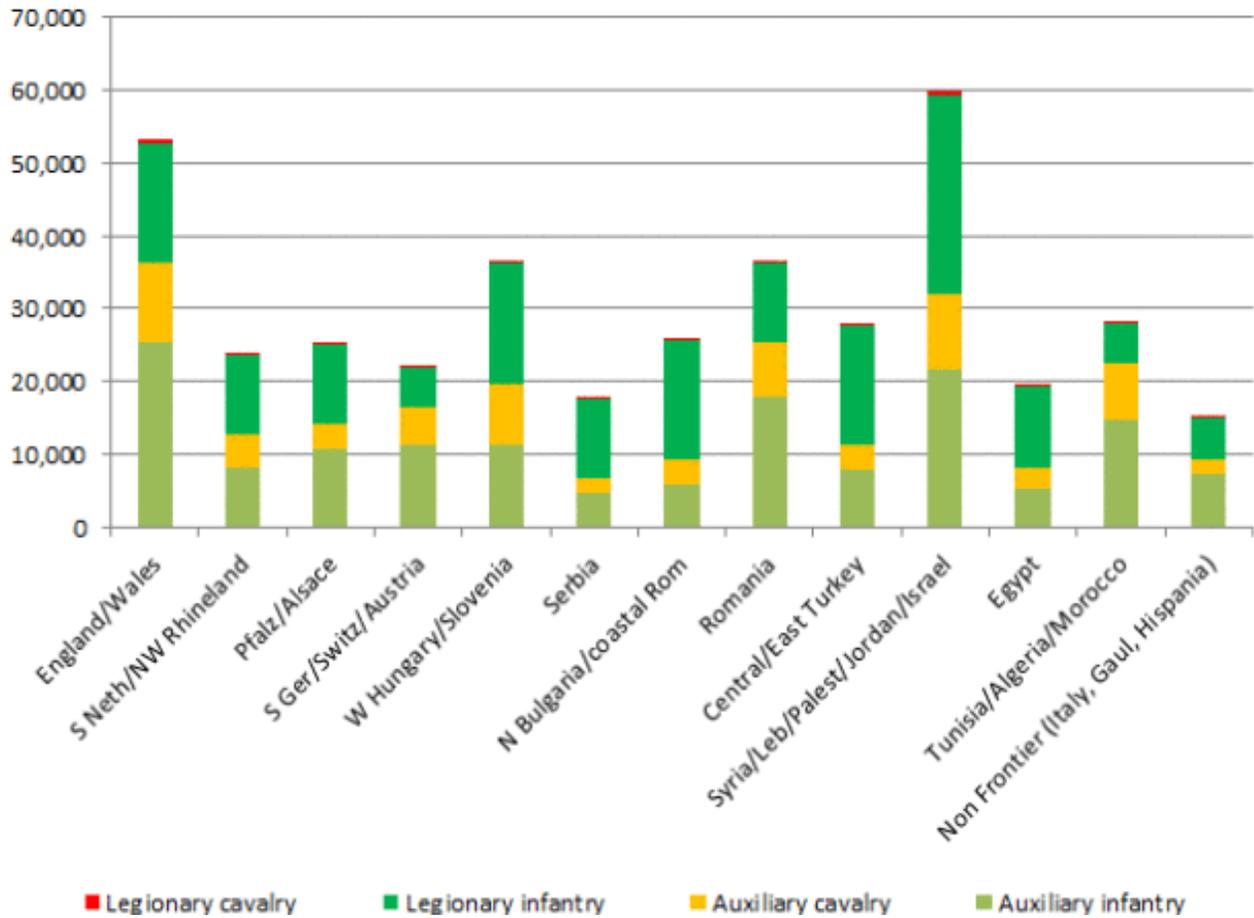


Figure 5- Breakdown of Roman Army around 130 AD

Source: Goldsworthy, Adrian (2003). Complete Roman Army



Figure 6- Roman-Persian Frontier in Late Antiquity

Source: Cplakidas (2010),

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