

(Not) all roads lead to Rome

Interdisciplinary approaches to
mobility in the Ancient World

Edited by

Arnau Lario Devesa
Joan Campmany Jiménez
Marc Marzo Pallàs
Oriol Morillas Samaniego



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Antonio Romano graduated with honours in *Filologia, letteratura e storia del mondo antico* at Sapienza Università di Roma in September 2021 with a thesis in Roman history and Latin epigraphy about the principate of Domitian, he is now a Ph.D. student at Le Mans Université with a project about Caesar's memory during the Severan period (supervisor prof. Estelle Bertrand). Much of his attention and effort is related to the study of several aspects of the Roman world: within his research interests, he is particularly committed to the analysis of the political and cultural history of the Flavian and the Severan dynasties and, in addition, to the study and the publication of Latin inscriptions from Rome.

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also concerned with humanistic historiography in Latin: in fact, he has studied the work of Alfonso de Palencia, of whose *Quarta Decas* he is working on a new critical edition. He is also involved in studies related to medical literature in Latin, a topic in which he worked on *De regimine et via itineris* by Adamus Cremonensis and *De Euboicis aquis* by Petrus de Ebulo.

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Preface

Arnau Lario Devesa

Joan Campmany Jiménez

Marc Marzo Pallàs

Oriol Morillas Samaniego

During the 11th and 12th of April 2022, the Faculty of Geography and History of the University of Barcelona hosted the Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Ancient History, an event that left the United Kingdom for the first time in decades. During those two days, twenty-two panelists from all over Europe, from the Caucasus to the British isles, presented their personal research in what became a highly engaging and enthusiastic academic environment. The present book is the end result of that fruitful exchange of approaches to the same broad subject: mobility in the Ancient world.

We are not the first to assess this issue at all; many have been the ones that have been interested in one or more subjects regarding the movement of people, goods and ideas. However, fewer have been the attempts at approaching mobility as a single case study, seeing it as a multifocal phenomenon that can be seen from many different angles and interpreted in even more ways. Similarly, in a highly-compartmentalized discipline such as History, we have gone for allowing chronologically diverse interventions, always within the broad category of “Ancient History”, so that arbitrary limits (always reliant on specific dates and often overlapping in different geographical areas) do not prevent us from seeing the “big picture” of this phenomenon. Thus, the variety displayed in this edited volume can help the reader find new approaches and interpretations on old problems from young and promising scholars with much to say.

However well-intentioned we can be, no event of such calibre can take place without institutional support. We would like to thank the chair of the Department of History and Archaeology, Dr. Jaume Dantí i Riu, for his predisposition at helping us at any time and his explicit support to this project.

Our gratitude reaches a little higher, as we cannot overlook the economic support of the Research Committee of the Faculty of Geography and History, where the event took place. We thank Dean Ricardo Piqueras Céspedes, and especially Dr. Jaume Buxeda i Garrigós, Vice-Dean of Research, who delivered an inaugural speech on the first day of the congress.

If one university authority deserves a special commendation, that is the Vice-Rector for Students and Participation, Dr. Marta Ferrer Garcia, who did the impossible to find funds with which to make the event possible, especially regarding the subsidisation of flights and accommodation of foreign speakers. Her participation on this volume in the form of a prologue is a clear example of her commitment and enthusiastic support for this venture, for which we are eternally grateful.

Speakers and institutions are not the only ones that have played a role in the success of this event, let

alone in the edition of this volume. The organisation, for the first time, of an event of this size, with the add-on of this edited volume, has put the Organising Committee under a lot of pressure, but we are proud of the end result, and hope we have made this a pleasant experience for speakers and authors alike. Special thanks must go to Elisenda Ventura Jariod, completely alien to our discipline, who has been of great help, as our website would not exist without her, and promotional posters, social media posts and the programme would not be as visually attractive as they are.

We sincerely hope this experience has been fruitful to everyone, from speakers (and authors) to the same organisers, and we are sure that this publication will only be the first one in a very long and fruitful academic career. We will follow your *cursus honorum* with keen interest, and we will be happy to see you again very soon.

To all of you, *moltes gràcies*.

Prologue

Marta Ferrer Garcia¹

In April 2022 I had the honour of opening the Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Ancient History (AMPAH), the scientific conference organized by and for students of master's degrees in the history and archaeology of the Ancient World. That edition was a two-day event at the University of Barcelona's Faculty of Geography and History, attended by some two dozen young researchers who shared their findings on the highly topical subject "Mobility and socioeconomic dynamics".

AMPAH has always provided a valuable opportunity for students to gain knowledge and skills by setting up an event, but 2022 was especially important for three reasons. To begin with an obvious one, for the first time in its almost 20 years of history the conference was held outside the UK and the University of Barcelona had the privilege of hosting what turned out to be such a successful event, thanks to conference organisers Joan Campmany Jiménez, Arnau Lario Devesa, Marc Marzo Pallàs, Oriol Morillas Samaniego and Elisenda Ventura Jarrod, together with the UB's Department of History and Archaeology.

Second, after two years of restricted mobility caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, AMPAH 2022 marked a happy return to the face-to-face interaction and busy professional and social networking that are so welcome in these events. Third, the conference stood out for the extraordinary quality of its papers. Indeed, their excellence led the conference chairs to publish an extended version of the conference proceedings in the present volume, which brings together a number of new chapters that were not originally intended for publication.

The monograph (*Not*) *all roads lead to Rome: Interdisciplinary approaches to mobility in the Ancient World*, consists of five broad thematic blocks that provide an authoritative analysis of mobility in Antiquity in all its facets. The Oxford English Dictionary defines mobility as "the ability to move or to be moved", but also as "the capacity for change"; in turn, the chapters in the monograph include studies not only about migration and human mobility but about social mobility, moving identities and cultural-religious interactions, political trends and practices, and the trade and movement of goods.

The authors in the monograph tackle a wide range of everyday issues, from commerce and maritime transport to religious cult or female mobility in military environments. Like the pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, each chapter fits in to create a credible image of life in the Ancient World. Most importantly, the finished picture helps us to understand the world we live in now.

Today, mobility is a fact of life. Thanks to technology, people and goods travel the world at incredible speeds. News and information flies through the Internet and social networks. The economies and financial flows of different nations become interdependent. Thousands of people travel all over the globe searching for work and a better life. Cultural influences impact people from every continent. We describe our reality with terms like 'globalised world' and 'globalization', and the Covid-19 pandemic has become the proof that this is so. Truly, anything that happens in the remotest corner of our planet can affect the rest of humanity.

¹ Vice-Rector for Students and Participation from the Universitat de Barcelona.

In this context, migration, identity, cultural interaction, international politics and global trade are critical issues that our society faces every day and that, too often, result in serious conflict and unrest. Analysing these different fronts over the course of history may provide us with the tools and resources to grasp complex issues and respond in the best possible way. In short, we cannot understand where we came from and where we are now without appreciating how mobility shapes the world.

Because human mobility is a natural and inevitable phenomenon, our research into past events will clearly strengthen our understanding of current ones. And if we work out how, it may even help us to avoid repeating the mistakes and iniquities of history, and to foster a culture of informed citizenship and critical thinking.

Introduction

Arnau Lario Devesa

Joan Campmany Jiménez

Marc Marzo Pallàs

Oriol Morillas Samaniego

As the quote that inaugurates that volume implies (you are warmly invited to revisit it if you must), change is omnipresent, and nothing really stays completely still. History as a discipline is the recording of change, and movement, the main subject of this volume, is inevitably tied to it. As one of the main catalysers of change in past and present (and surely also in the future), mobility has been present in almost every study on almost any subject, as armies move, religions expand, trends arise, messages travel and goods go back and forth across seas, rivers and roads designed to make this traffic possible. However, movement as a subject study of its own is seldom present in academic works, as it can easily blend in with more concrete (or pleasantly generic) issues, more relevant and easily delimitable, such as trade or war. Mobility in antiquity has always been a subject of study in a way. But it was studied indirectly, in the form of migrations and trade.

Migrations and their effects were of crucial interest to early archaeologists. Before the introduction of robust absolute dating methods, diffusion and migrations were the standard explanations for most changes in the material record. Diffusion often was assumed to be the result either of migratory processes or of movement of ideas across neighbouring peoples. An example would be Iberian megalithism, originally assumed to be the result of a diffusionary process (Lillios, 2020). Famously, the early work of Childe (1925, 1939) reflected an emphasis in such processes, in line with the wider historical-cultural paradigm (Thomas, 1982). Ironically therefore, mobility in itself was at the core of archaeological theory from the start. Yet at the same time, the focus on migration and diffusion obscured more nuanced approaches to mobility. Trade and exchange of products for example were not given much importance within the diffusionist paradigm (Oka and Kusimba, 2008). Similarly, the movement of individuals across the landscape and within societies was mostly outside scholarly interest.

The reaction to this paradigm, that is, processual archaeology, included strong criticisms of diffusionist ideas (Rowe, 1966). The new paradigm instead emphasised cultural evolution within societies, as they adapted to their changing environment (Binford, 1965, p. 205). As part of this, and together with improved methodologies allowing for sound dating of archaeological remains, an “indigenist” turn took place (Lillios, 2020), and migration lost its position as one of the main driver of change in societies.

In the aftermath of the breakdown of the historical cultural paradigm, there was in contrast an increasing interest in exchange and distribution of goods. This came as anthropological theory influenced archaeological thinking. In the case of trade, the works of Malinowski and Polanyi (Malinowski, 1922; Polanyi, 1944) emphasised the social embeddedness of trade and exchange (Oka and Kusimba, 2008). For classical Antiquity, the work of Finley (1973) contributed to the creation of a paradigm where trade was mostly small scale and in luxury goods for the consumption of the elites. Later work would revise this paradigm in light of growing evidence of large scale bulk trade and interconnectedness in ancient

economies (Hopkins, 1978; Garnsey, Hopkins and Whittaker, 1983; Scheidel, Morris and Saller, 2007; Temin, 2013), but the exchange of goods became of central interest to classical archaeologists as a result.

The mobility of individuals has become reemphasised also by theoretical turns. Postmodern archaeology in particular emphasises the experience of individuals in the past (Fahlander, 2012) more than others before it. The subject has sparked scholarly interest during the last decades (Moatti, 2006; Cabana, Clark, 2011; Eckhardt *et al.*, 2010; Cameron, 2013; Isayev, 2017; Revilla, 2021). With the advent of postcolonialism, studies on movement, whatever the specific subject, have been enriched with the study not only of the moving individual (often a member of a dominating culture) but also on local receiving populations (van Dommelen, 2012). The consequences of mobility (e.g. racism, xenophobia, religious conflicts) have also been studied of late (Isaac, 2004; Gruen, 2011; Marco, Pina, Remesal, 2019). Thus, mobility has recently become a popular subject of study, from many diverse perspectives.

Methodologically, Ancient literature is helpful only in the few particular cases in which a more personal approach is applied (e.g. the letters of Pliny the Younger or the “anthropological” remarks of Caesar or Posidonius). This is because real examples of local communities are used, whereas reports of regional or Mediterranean-wide trends by classical authors such as Herodotus or Polybius are more unreliable. This void has been filled in the last decades by the development of DNA and isotope analysis, which together have irrevocably pushed away that century-old approach, allowing us to actually see large-scale population changes.

Possibly the most famous example is the identification of a mass migration in Bronze-age Eastern and central Europe, which researchers tied to the Yamnaya people and the spread of Indo-European languages (Allentoft *et al.*, 2015; Haak *et al.*, 2015; See also discussion in Klejn *et al.*, 2018). Whether the changes seen in the DNA record are always result of large migrations, as is often assumed, is another thing entirely, and there is often difficulties reconciling genetic evidence with archaeological remains (Callaway, 2018). Another novel technique that has played a role in once again emphasising the movement of people in antiquity is the analysis of Strontium isotopes (Alexander Bentley, 2006). This technique can be used also to trace artefacts, foodstuffs and animals, but has mostly been employed in human remains (Slovak and Paytan, 2012). This technique can be used to identify individuals who grew up far from the place they were buried in. An example for the use of this technique for Roman-era remains is the late-Roman burial ground of Lankills School, in Winchester, England, where a number of individuals from the Hungarian basin and the southern Mediterranean were identified (Evans, Stoodley and Chenery, 2006; Eckardt *et al.*, 2009). Interestingly, it was found in this case that archaeological objects and other elements that had been interpreted as signifiers of ethnicity or origin not always matched the actual provenance of these individuals, meaning other factors like personal preferences affected grave goods. Unlike DNA, which is a record of broader descent, Isotopes highlight the mobility of individuals, rather than peoples.

Other more archaeological approaches to migration are of course relevant. Studies of the diet can help identify different communities living alongside each other. An example is *Berenike*, where up to three different groups have been identified by their food consumption habits: Nilotic settlers, nomads from the surrounding area, and even foreign individuals theorised to be of Indian origin (Cappers, 2006; Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens, 2008). Roman soldiers in Britain have also been showed to have enjoyed a diet different from their contemporaneous Britons (Eckardt *et al.*, 2009).

Regarding mobility of individuals across space, GIS and other computational approaches have become widespread. These allow archaeologists to better understand how terrain shaped movement across it. There are many possible and popular approaches. The most common is probably least cost analysis, which can in turn also be applied to catchment analysis, another widely used tool. These allow to model the time required to move across the landscape in different ways. Mobility within settlements can also

be studied, with tools such as space syntax (Benech, 2007).

Now regarding areas of study, the ancient Mediterranean has proven to be a remarkable setting for studies of ancient migrations. The study of Roman colonization and the changes it brought with it in particular have been influenced by such frameworks (Webster and Cooper, 1997; Terrenato, 2005). Regarding individuals involved in migration, several avenues of inquiry are explored: the reception of mobile individuals, identity formation for these individuals and their descendants, the motivations for mobility, and the different relations of different classes (elites, infamous professionals, workers, soldiers ...) towards mobility are some examples. Epigraphy in particular holds the most potential for the study of these, although of course written sources and archaeological material can complement it (Revilla, 2021). More broadly, the main to explore regarding migration are the reasons to migrate, and the consequences of migration for origin societies, host societies, and migrants (Van Dommelen, 2014).

In such a densely urbanised Ancient Mediterranean, most of the attention has been put into cities, especially for the study of economy, as the former are seen, in a modernising way, as centres of opportunity. In Hispania, for instance, geographical mobility and urbanisation are often assumed to go hand in hand, as both Italics and Iberians moved to the new purely Roman cities, the former from the Italian peninsula and the latter from their *oppida* uphill. In a city, movement can be studied from wheel tracks and written descriptions, but space itself and how it is arranged are a silent but key player in that matter (Lawrence, Newsome, 2011). In essence, an urban centre is nothing more than a collection of constructions, private and public, connected by a dense network of streets and squares that allow for it to be traversed and its buildings accessed (MacDonald, 1986).

This situation makes granting, limiting or outright denying access to certain areas essential for determining social status, economic pre-eminence and political power in spaces where ample physical separation was not possible. For instance, one of the most prestigious and lavishly decorated areas of Rome, the Imperial *fora*, for that matter the one of Augustus, was adjacent to one of the Urbs' most infamous and poor neighbourhood, the Subura. At first glance, the obvious conclusion would be that Augustus wanted the centre of its power close to the popular masses, or that its placement in that area was meant to give more prestige to the neighbourhood, but the former was instead separated by a high and thick wall from the latter. This shows that a clear and conscious distinction in status and prestige was intended by limiting the access from the Subura, while the other three accesses openly gave way to other spaces of power, such as the *forum* of Caesar. However, there are ways of seeing movement at a more restricted area and from an experience-centered perspective. One example (of many other possible cases) is the study of accessibility within a certain building (for instance, a temple) by analysing the layout of its rooms, the material culture excavated there and the reading of parallels cited by Ancient authors (Gasparini *et al.*, 2020). Using this multifocal approach, one can better understand personal experiences and how the ability to limit movement within buildings imbued with a high symbolic relevance can have social and political implications.

Goods and services are the backbone of any developed economy, and in a globalised Ancient Mediterranean world, especially during the Roman period, almost no product was too far to be imported and consumed. Economic interconnectivity of the Roman Empire is precisely the main focus of the *Centro para el Estudio de la Interdependencia Provincial en la Antigüedad Clásica* (CEIPAC), a research group linked to the University of Barcelona, the institution that hosted the AMPAH 2022. One of the results of the collaboration between the Humanities (History and Archeology), Physics and Mathematics was developed throughout the EPNet project (Remesal, Pérez 2022; Remesal, Pérez, Lario, 2022), the results of which have allowed them to know the different production systems of the amphoric industry (Coto-Sarmiento *et al.*, 2018; Moros 2021), as well as the various food distribution routes (For *Britannia*, see Carreras, 2000; For *Hispania*, see Moros, 2021; Palacín, Pérez, Revilla, 2022; For *Aquitania*, see Palacín,

in press; For *Mauretania Tingitana*, see Pons, Pérez, 2018; For *Raetia*, see Bermúdez, 2021; For a general methodological overview, see Rubio-Campillo *et al.*, 2018a; 2018b).

The construction of the following networks elaborated with data from the CEIPAC database reveals visually some of the hypotheses with the greatest impact developed within the EPNet project. Thanks to the new data science in the Humanities, it is possible to generate the necessary datasets to capture the economic dynamics of the Roman Empire from a multiscale perspective, beyond specific case studies (eg Brughman, Wilson 2022).

It goes without saying that mobility has also implications for identity formation, and for discussions on Romanisation. By moving, identities are called into question, as social memory and connections do not suffice to “identify” oneself. Identity and status could be shown by oaths, signatures, status items, tokens, written documents, physical descriptions and *professiones* (declarations) (Moatti, 2006). Where written sources are available, there tends to be no question about the occurrence and magnitude of migrations. The currently dominant post-colonial archaeological paradigm focuses, as the post-processual one already did, on people, with the genuine *addendum* of giving especial attention to subjugate groups and communities and their cultural experience of mobility as secondary players of History. For this reason, mobility, and more specifically cultural mobility, is seen as central to human societies (Greenblatt, 2010). When working with the Greco-Roman period and cultural sphere of influence, the most effective source of information for studying common people (or general trends in an area) is epigraphy. It is pleasantly abundant and refreshingly varied in gender, age and social station, and can shed light on particular and collective identities, but rarely on circumstances. Unfortunately, the circumstances and motivation of someone’s decision (or obligation) of leaving their home region are of utmost importance, and thus, the scholar is left with many unanswered questions, as identity, status, occupation and age could influence and be influenced by mobility (Revilla, 2021).

But as this brief review of the history of the study of movement and the relevant methodologies, there is value in placing emphasis in mobility in general. It makes it possible to explore liminal situations, and surpass the stasis of written sources and the archaeological site. More emphasis in movement in the past has been key to the progress of our understanding of antiquity. This is why the editors of this volume think that, regardless of the mere tag of “mobility”, many issues can be effectively tackled using this approach, and the results of the individual researches that you are about to read are the manifest proof of that.

The contributions to this volume have been arranged according to their broad theme with the aim of approaching mobility from the highest amount of perspectives. From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity, and from the Levant to the Iberian Peninsula, the editors intend to give the reader a diachronic and supra-regional overview of a subject as multifocal and diverse as mobility, where many aforementioned issues are expertly elaborated on.

Once the introductory chapter, written by the editors, ends, the first section, dedicated to **human mobility**, begins. Hatin Boumehache Erjali and Borja Vertedor Ballesteros (“*Female mobility in Diplomatic and Military Practice during the Roman Expansion in the West (III-II BC)*”) analyse the different roles adopted by women as a consequence of their forced mobility either as hostages, captives, prisoners, prostitutes or as spoils of war; or their role as intermediaries in the political-diplomatic ritual. This brief albeit interesting section is closed by Teifion Gambold (“*Understanding Late Antique Mobility and “Migrants” in Modern Thought*”), who points out some of the ways in which our thoughts on Late Antique human mobility, the interconnectivity of the pre-Roman and Roman Ages, and the impact of this on the Late Roman world could change in the future, critically assessing the reality of migration in the context of the Roman Rhine frontier.

Social mobility is the next category, placed in a section that features human interactions (and conflict)

from many angles. The layout of Ancient Egyptian workers' settlements and its social implications is assessed by Laura Hernando Folch (*“Archaeological and spatial analysis of the Egyptian city of Lahun (Middle Kingdom, Fayum)”*), who uses two case studies (Lahun and Wah-Sut) to illustrate how the population is subordinated to the through urbanistic distribution: they are settled in restricted and homogenous areas, without communal spaces, reducing and homogeneous areas, thus reducing the individuality and socialisation of their inhabitants. Chenqing An (*“The game of land: authority and adversary from a Ptolemaic land survey (PHAUN. IV 70)”*) does a skilful dissection of the Edfu Land Survey and the Edfu Donation Text in order to enrich the picture of interplay between the Ptolemaic State and Egyptian local elites from the economic perspective. A more crude and personal setting is established by Carina Mkrtchyan (*“Power and Control: Understanding Prostitution in Ancient Times”*), who, in reconstructing these individuals and systems, shows the reader how culture, law, and human behavioural economics come together. In this manner, one can better understand how ancient prostitution was a complex phenomenon that continues to challenge our understandings of morality, culture, and institutions. Last but not least, Antonio Romano (*“Mobility at the crossroads: careers and progression during the transition from Domitian to Trajan”*) explores the link between social mobility, as the meaning of some patricians' and equestrians' status advance, and memory during the transition from Domitian to Trajan through a specific analysis of epigraphical and literary documents.

The third section is dedicated to **cultural and religious mobility**, an issue only partially studied, especially in cases such as Eastern religions such as Christianity or Mithraism, but that leaves many areas unexplored. Zeren Deniz Ataçoğlu goes beyond those classical subjects in her chapter (*“Travelling Mythologies: the Movement of the Divine Throughout the Mediterranean and Beyond”*), where, by analysing three case studies, she identifies what role these shared mythologies, and affiliations with the divine figures they belonged to, may have played in the socio-political dynamics of the Mediterranean during this time period. Anita Malagrino (*“The cult of Arsinoe II Philadelphus. The «international» success of a Greek-Egyptian goddess”*) studies the relatively rare case of divinisation of a Greek female ruler, Arsinoe II Philadelphus, and the extraordinary spread of her cult, which reached as far as the coasts of southern Italy. The last two chapters refer to Late Antiquity, a period for nothing less religiously dynamic. Mathijs Clement (*“Fashioning a glocal belonging. Place in the commemorative epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus & Ausonius of Bordeaux”*) shows the reader how Christianity altered the processes of formation of identities, especially for Christian pilgrims and “wanderers” such as Ausonius of Bordeaux, who carefully constructed an identity that was both locally anchored and globally connected. Following a similar trend, Víctor Gómez Guinovart (*“La dispersión del culto martirial de santos locales por el territorio de Hispania entre los siglos IV-VI”*) puts an especial emphasis not only how martyrial installations occurred and transfigured the urban world, but also on how these cults moved into the countryside, thus breaking the religious tradition inherited from the classical world.

The next section is dedicated to **political mobility**, and how societies establish relations of superiority or dependency within themselves and with the “other”. Agata Otranto (*“Whistles, applause and politicians' welcoming of the Italic people: non-verbal expressions of the crowd in the Late Roman Republic”*) analyses the non-verbal expression of the people in non-institutional contexts in places such as the arrival of Roman politicians in Italic communities, as throughout the works of Cicero it is possible to perceive the will of the people and their “expression”. Staying with the issue of rhetoric, Antonio Avilio (*“Rhetoric and mobility: an innovative vision of mobility in the post Diocletian era”*) assesses its role as a tool for the mobility of many intellectuals that, all over the Empire, welcomed, visited, and celebrated proconsuls, officials and especially emperors. Thus, he examines how rhetoric, in all of its manifestations, can help us consider ancient Mediterranean mobility in an innovative way. The last two chapters examine the power of Christian leaders in the last centuries of the Western Roman Empire. Davide Vago (*“Changes in late-antique Gaul: Gregory of Tours as an exceptional witness of social, economic and political mobility”*) provides

interesting insight on how much Gaul, that was the most romanised region, changed in the fifth century and how did local politics and economy adapt to the new Empire-wide internal and external troubles. Àngel Rodríguez García (“*Bishop correspondence in 5th century Gaul. Leadership in times of crisis*”) delves deeper into the matter by assessing the nature and frequency of the written interactions between urban bishops, who became during the third and fourth centuries AD the main political and religious figures in the ever depopulating Late Antique cities.

Trade and mobility of goods is the last issue to be tackled. Despite being a classic approach towards mobility, the study of regional and inter-regional trade is key for understanding cultural and economic ties between otherwise distant communities. Alejandro Garés Molero and Guiomar Pulido González (“*The Journey of a Ceramic Shape: Trading Black-figured Amphorae to Iberia*”) characterise the available sample of Attic pottery by identifying the series and workshops represented, thus fixing production dates and other relevant commercial features. Secondly, they explore the vase-trading process, establishing points of arrival and possible distribution routes. Andrea Collado Padilla (“*Marmora and commerce: the case of the mortars in public spaces of Baetulo*”) shows how mortars and pestles can provide information not only about the site of the discovery and the activities that took place there, but it also contributes to the knowledge of the socioeconomic panorama of the Roman city and the commercial dynamics in this period. Amphorae are the protagonists of the next two chapters. Oriol Morillas Samaniego (“*Greek amphoric epigraphy and Mediterranean trade through the study of Rhodian amphora stamps in the CEIPAC database*”) analyses the trade routes of wine and the mobility of amphorae from the growing Greek amphora epigraphy database of the CEIPAC (Center for the Study of Provincial Interdependence in Classical Antiquity) in order to generate studies on mobility and socioeconomical integration in the Mediterranean. Carlos Palacín Copado (“*Amphora typology and commercial mobility. Thoughts on the Tarraconensis case*”) goes further and presents us the application of the aforementioned methodology to a particular case study: the transport of wine from NE Spain to *Gallia*, *Britannia* and the *Germaniae*. Finally, Antoni Nieva i Paguina (“*The regulation of maritime transport in the Edict on Maximum Prices, a major cause of its failure*”) shows that the dispositions of Chapter XXXV of the Edict on Prices of Diocletian, regulating maritime trade, played an important role in making inoperative the whole legislation, as it displays an absence of correlation between the distance and the fixed transport price.

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I. MIGRATION AND HUMAN MOBILITY

Female mobility in diplomatic and military practice during the Roman expansion in the West (III-II c. BC)

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Introduction

Roman republican expansion in the West created a political landscape comprising a series of political interactions between multiple actors. In this scenario, female mobility in diplomatic and military spaces took place, organized and reproduced in a synchronic manner throughout Roman expansionism. In recent years, historiography has focused on female mobility in the Roman political military and social spheres, mostly focusing on the Imperial Period (Foubert 2011; Woolf 2013; Greene 2013; Domínguez Arranz and Puyadas Rupérez 2018-2019; Le Guennec 2020). This trend contrasts with the relative lack of attention to the same phenomenon during the Republican period.

The military space was therefore configured as a valid scenario for diplomacy, were, for different reasons, women found themselves in. Different actors repeatedly converged around Roman military headquarters, itinerant due to their military nature, where they could interact in roles. To this characteristic mobility of the camp, at the forefront of the Roman conquest, is added the forced mobility of many local communities, displaced as a consequence of Roman policy and actions.

Such varied scenarios involved interacting with multiple groups of people who were necessarily immersed in the power dynamics of Rome, being active subjects in its expansion and political-diplomatic negotiations. Beyond soldiers a wide range of local people was involved as prisoners, captives, hostages, intermediary agents and refugees.

Women were allowed in military camps in some limited capacities. This was in principle a purely masculine space, as there wasn't supposed to be any relationship between women and the military world, at least not directly. Nevertheless, in particular contexts, women still had a place as mediators, prostitutes, hostages, captives or prisoners. As such they were immersed in the itinerant mobility and political-diplomatic dynamics of the camp, employed as an exchangeable commodity or as a means of pressure to reach political agreements.

The aim of this chapter is to bridge that gap by analysing female mobility in the Republican period in the West, which brought with it interactions in different and new diplomatic spaces, both physical and political, in continuous reformulation (Torregaray 2006a; Cornwell 2020). Interaction took place in

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different spheres, but tended to concentrate in Roman diplomatic practice, and therefore around the headquarters of the Roman magistrate *cum imperio*.

Creating new spaces and channels of interaction

The changing situations brought about by the Roman conquest created new spaces for interaction and new channels of communication. These are aspects that we will examine below.

Spaces of interaction: castra or Headquarters

When we refer to Roman *castra*, these should be understood as the headquarters/residence of the commander-in-chief, whether it is the military enclosure itself, the *hibernae*, or a garrisoned indigenous city. Beyond their purely military functions, during the Republican era they were also administrative centers and political headquarters, which ultimately led them to function as spaces for interaction with various authorities and local representatives (Claudon 2015; Grainger 2017; Torregaray 2021).

Castra were the most basic expression of the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, as they represented the power of Rome and its magistrates (Eckstein 1987; Drogula 2015; Díaz Fernández 2015: 34). This itinerant space, due to its military nature, functioned as a miniature city, whose inhabitants comprised the bulk of the Roman and allied troops, to which should be added the civilians immersed in the dynamics of the Roman camp itself. It also had its own *pomerium* (Dobson 2008), manifested in its military form as the *vallum*. This boundary demarcated the physical space of the enclosure, but not its interaction space.

A whole series of political-diplomatic dynamics of a markedly military character took place *intravallum*. High-level meetings of the *conloquia* type (García Riaza 2021a; Rosselló Calafell 2021) and receptions of various *legationes* could take place within the headquarters, but meetings, among the representatives of Rome, local leaders and warlords, could also take place in the immediate vicinity of the camp.

The various actors involved in Rome's diplomatic activity converged on or around this mobile stage, where they could interact more immediately with the *Urbs*. In *castra*, both the political-administrative policies of the magistrate and diplomatic agreements were conditioned by the context of military operations. Of course these shifted together with the front, highlighting the importance of military and diplomatic activity in the different provincial contexts (Cadiou and Moret 2012). It was these conditions that framed the actions taken by Roman commanders in relation to the women that we will present below.

Channels of interaction: Diplomacy, mobility and women

Roman diplomacy and military action in the ancient Mediterranean led to a great movement of people and populations on a constant basis. As we have already noted, the studies referred to so far on mobility and migration in Antiquity have focused on the analysis of this concept and its social, economic and cultural dimensions during the period of the Roman Empire (Kolb 2014; Tacoma 2016; Lo Cascio and Tacoma 2017). For the Hellenistic period, studies have emphasized female mobility related to diplomacy, war or the forced transfer of vulnerable populations (Loman 2004; Chaniotis 2004). Nonetheless, there is a historiographical gap in relation to female mobility and diplomacy in the Roman republic (Silva Reneses 2016; 2018; 2022).

Chevallier's (1988) extensive study of travel and movement during the Roman Empire highlighted the nature of embassy mobility and its treatment in historiographical sources from the Republican period, underlining the great dynamism of this concept and its relationship with diplomacy as an as yet undeveloped subject. Certainly, the period of the Roman Republic was significant in terms of the continuous transit of embassies to Rome (Linderski 1995) and from the *Urbs* to other cities and communities in the ancient Mediterranean as a mechanism of diplomatic interaction and political communication between these different political entities (Torregaray 2006b; 2011a; 2011b; 2017).

The mobility of embassies in the ancient Mediterranean has recently been emphasized as an essential factor for the creation of an international law guaranteeing the transit and mobility of the *legationes*, mostly Roman during the period of the Republic (Moatti 2004: 19). The creation of an 'international law' (Bederman 2001) constituting *ius legationis* and *ius gentium* to facilitate diplomatic activity and the protection of ambassadors as privileged travellers is interpreted as one of the direct consequences of this kind of mobility. In this sense, mobility during this period played a key role in the creation of new statuses and laws accepted by the parties involved in diplomatic activity and structuring intercommunity relations between them.

On the other hand, new control mechanisms were created to guarantee the transit of embassies to Rome (Coudry 2004) and the emergence of new spaces in the *Urbs* for the development of diplomatic activity as a result of the mobility and arrival of ambassadors to the city (Torregaray 2006a). These new political and social spaces allowed for continuous interaction and diplomatic communication between these new political agents, where Rome used the urban space as a means of diplomatic communication (Cornwell 2020). But diplomatic activity was not only restricted to the urban space during this period. Due to the mobility of diplomats, new spaces acquired a political and symbolic role as a space of diplomatic interaction and neutrality for negotiation. In this case, liminal spaces played a symbolic role in political interlocution such as rivers, military camps or walls and fortifications (García Rianza 2020: 293).

In this context of diplomacy and mobility, new diplomatic actors such as heralds, spies or interpreters who facilitated and contributed to diplomatic activity and its political aims also emerged (Sheldon 2005; Peretz 2006). Women were an essential element who, depending on the context in which they were inserted, took on an active or passive role.

Women's roles in Roman diplomatic practice

Within the context of the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, first as a struggle against the Punic and then against the Iberian peoples, a whole series of political and diplomatic activities and structures stand out. The main characteristic of these actions is mobility, whether forced or voluntary.

Firstly, we must consider displacements inherent to the process of expansion: the granting of military command and the constant dispatch of commanders, movement of troops, civilian and logistical resources (Roth 1999; Valdés Matías 2017). These would come under the category of voluntary mobility, since it is a *sine qua non* condition of the military organization of Roman expansion. To these, we should add the intense diplomatic activity with an incessant and increasing flow of *legationes* and contacts between the different political entities involved. Such political agents could range from local leaders themselves to their representatives, from ambassadors to mere *caduceatores* (Cornwell 2015). Finally, we must take into account the local populations that were forcibly displaced as a result of the different results of the war engaged in forced mobility, of course (Silva Reneses 2016; 2018; 2022).

Hispanic hostages/guests

One of the most common roles women could find themselves in during the Roman expansion is that of hostage. An ambivalent figure with very strong diplomatic and political implications, it functioned as a link between two political entities and as the main guarantee of the agreements reached or to be achieved (García Riaza 1997; 2006; Allen 2006; Álvarez Pérez-Sostoa 2009a; 2009b). This category, despite involving an asymmetrical relation, also offered protection. Hostages became practically inviolable figures, as long as the agreements they guaranteed were not breached (Hernández Prieto 2011). If this were to happen, the guarantors, i.e. the hostages, would cease to have the function they had been fulfilling until now and could be the object of any aggression or animosity.

The main sources of information we have about the capture of Carthago Nova in 209 BC are Livy (26.49.11-15; 26.50.1-14) and Polybius (10.19.3-7). Both authors relate the episode of the conquest of the city and, especially, describe Scipio's management in the aftermath of the conquest (Richardson 2018). This took shape after Scipio's celebration of a *contio* to deliver military rewards to the soldiers who had taken part in the capture. Both the delivery of the rewards and the administration of the hostages and prisoners of Carthago Nova took place in the city itself, now the headquarters of the Roman magistrate (Hernández Prieto 2014; 2019).

When the military assembly had been concluded and the rewards had been delivered, the Roman general sent for the Hispanic hostages found in the city. Livy is unsure of their number, for him the numbers ranged from three hundred to three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four (Liv. 26.49.1-2). Scipio then spoke words of reassurance to the Hispanic hostages, assuring them of Rome's good intentions. This was to win their allegiance through alliances rather than subjugation (Liv. 26.49.7-9).

When he had counted all the hostages and located the towns to which they belonged, Scipio gave orders to send messengers to each of their houses in order that they should come to recover their relatives. If among the multitude present there were any delegates from the cities, any hostages would be handed over to them directly. From Livy's account it is clear that the rest of the hostages were handed over to the quaestor Gaius Flaminius, to be looked after and cared for (Liv. 26.49.9-10).

In this context, an elderly woman (*inter haec e media turba obsidum mulier magno natu*, Liv.26.49.11), who turned out to be the wife of Mandonius, brother of Indibilis, one of the leaders of the Ilergetes (Moret 2002-2003), came forward. According to Livy's literary version, she then, in tears, threw herself at the feet of the general, in an act of *προσκύνησις*, imploring the Roman very earnestly to protect the women (Liv. 26.49.12). In particular, and with reference to her own age, she specifically requested more protection for the younger women, with clear hints of avoiding their sexual outrage.

Livy goes on to narrate that, around her were the daughters of Indibilis, i.e. her nieces, and others belonging to various local leaders, all in the prime of their youth, highlighting the relevance of their age to their situation. The historian then inserted the reply that the Roman general offered in response to the Iberian leader's wife, in which two main aspects should be highlighted. The first is the honour and *virtus* that place the Roman people and him above taking advantage of young girls; the second, even more important, is the *comparatio* of the attitude of Mandonius' wife with that of a Roman matron (*quae ne in malis quidem oblatae decoris matronalis estis*, Liv. 26.49.15).

The episode concludes with Scipio showing his good intentions by consigning the former hostages the status of guests and ensuring that they would be under his protection (*spectatae deinde integritatis viro*

tradidit eas, tuerique haud secus verecunde ac modeste quam hospitem coniuges ac matres iussit, Liv. 26.49.16). It is very interesting both the managing of the situation and the public staging of it was focused and planned to win the gratitude of both local leaders (García Ríaza 1997: 86).

A number of attitudes emerge from Livy's account. When the Roman general took the city, the goods inside it became part of the spoils of war (Coudry and Humm 2009). These included not only material objects, such as weapons, ships, and other items of war or foodstuffs. But there was also a whole group of people, belonging to different Iberian peoples, who were displaced and held there as guarantors.

For this reason, when these hostages became part of the spoils of war of the Romans, they had no previous relation with them whatsoever. The role they acquired for the Romans was not that of hostage, but that of guest or even of "object" with a diplomatic utility (Vertedor Ballesteros: forthcoming). From Scipio's actions, at this time and afterwards, we can glimpse the use he made of these young women as "exchange goods". They were utilized in order to create new links with the Iberian peoples.

At the end of this first handling of the booty, the Roman soldiers brought a female prisoner into Scipio's presence (*captiva deinde a militibus adducitur ad eum adulta virgo*, Liv. 26.50.1). Again, two aspects of the girl are emphasised, on the one hand her youth and on the other her beauty, perhaps as evidence of her high birth or high status. The Roman commander asked her where she was from, in line with the rest of the hostages he had previously dealt with, to which the prisoner replied that she was the betrothed of a *princeps Celtiberorum* (Liv. 26.50.2), a young man whose name was Allucius.

Scipio, knowing such details, sent for and informed her parents and betrothed. Moreover, Livy relates us that, seeing the young man's love for her, as soon as the fiancée arrived at his headquarters, Scipio addressed him with more careful words than when he had met her parents (Liv. 26.50.1-4). At this point Livy inserts the conversation between the two, most likely a recreation by this author. There are some elements to be noted in the conversation between the two young men, as we can see the Roman's intentions towards the Celtiberian.

Livy relates in his passage the double meeting that Scipio had with both parties. Namely, he held interviews, on the one hand, with Allucius, and on the other hand, with the parents of the young woman, (*accuratiore eum sermone quam parentis adloquitur*, Liv. 26.50.3). It wasn't until after getting a promise of fealty from the young man that he summoned all the people concerned together, as we will see below. When the commander addressed the young man, he boasted of the good treatment his fiancée received in order to be given to him as a gift, in order to obtain his friendship with the Roman people: *servata tibi est, ut inviolatum et dignum me teque dari tibi donum posset. hanc mercedem unam pro eo munere paciscor: amicus populo Romano sis et* (Liv. 26.50.6-7).

Once the pact with the young prince was concluded, the parents and relatives of the betrothed were summoned. The latter, seeing that their daughter was returned to them at no cost, offered Scipio the gold they had brought to pay the ransom as a gift in gratitude for having returned the girl to them (Álvarez Pérez-Sostoa 2009b; 2015, 113-114.). Given the insistence, the Roman accepted the gift; however, he again requested the presence of Allucius, to whom he announced that the gold would be given to him as a wedding dowry. He added that to this amount would have to be added the dowry contributed by his father-in-law (Liv. 26.50.12-13).

The passage concludes with the return of this family to their native town. Once there, word of the benignity of Scipio spread, and Allucius made a levy among his subjects, obtaining one thousand four

hundred horsemen which he led to Carthago Nova, (*itaque dilectu clientium habito cum delectis mille et quadringentis equitibus intra paucos dies ad Scipionem revertit*, Liv. 26.50.14).

In both accounts, although confined to the Roman headquarters established in Carthago Nova, the dynamics of Roman diplomatic praxis can be appreciated, to which should be added the mobility that derives from it. The events can be summarised in several consecutive steps. Firstly, the Carthaginians displaced their hostages to their Iberian capital to act as guarantors. Secondly, after the seizure of the city by Rome, the individuals who were held there would lose the status of hostages and become spoils of war, which Rome, and in particular Scipio, used with great care to win the friendship of the communities the hostages belonged to.

The young women hostages became hosts to be used as *dona* to be exchanged for political-diplomatic agreements and alliances (Auliard 2009; Grass 2015; García Ríaza 2021b). The fact that they were treated as hosts did not change the social status they had before the Conquest of Carthago Nova. In fact, the meeting between Allucius and his fiancée's relatives took place in two stages. They were called before the general consecutively: *accuratiore eum sermone quam parentis adloquitur* (Liv. 26.50.3). In this sense, the commander makes different agreements according to the political requirements of the moment.

Finally, we see the conclusion of the general's political manouver. Its results were more than beneficial, as it immediately translated into a contingent of allied soldiers, while also spreading word of Roman good will across different peoples on Allucius' return home.

Mobility was inherent to these diplomatic exchanges; in this case, the movement of local people to a Punic city in the first place, the sending of messages to inform them that their relatives are now under the protection of Rome, and the journey of Allucius and his inlaws.

Therefore, although the process developed in the city of Carthago Nova, it had a much wider impact, encompassing numerous areas of the Iberian Peninsula. The headquarters acted as a unifying element and centre of political-diplomatic relations, it was the mobility of different actors and groups that gradually weaved and amplified these interconnections between Rome and the different peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.

Restitution of women hostages

When Scipio left the city, after having reorganised its administration, he went to spend the winter in Tarraco (209-208), where the troops were stationed. For this period Polybius becomes our main source. According to him, when the Roman general arrived in Tarraco, he spent the winter returning the hostages that had been brought from Carthago Nova. These returns are once again seen as a means to win the friendship and trust of the Iberians (Polyb. 10.34.1). Thus, the hostages held at the former Punic base undertook a long journey to the northeast of the peninsula accompanying the Roman army, and most probably were treated as guests rather than prisoners.

In the Roman headquarters in Tarraco, Scipio was introduced to the powerful chief, Edeschus (Liv. 27.17.1-3) or Edekon (Polyb. 10.34-35), who until very recently had collaborated closely with the Carthaginians. However, the fall of Carthago Nova and the fact that Scipio held his wife and children as hostages/guests, pushed him to adopt a Pro-Roman position.

Edeco made his way to Tarraco as the Roman troops were quartered for the winter. He did not

travel alone, but his family and relatives travelled with him. So, once again, we see how mobility is interconnected with Roman diplomatic praxis, in this case, motivated by the Roman possession of Iberian hostages/guests. In Tarraco he was received by the Roman general and had an interview with him. He communicated his intention to offer himself, but also his friends and relatives, probably those who had accompanied him, to the protection of Rome (Polyb. 10.34.4-9).

Edeco's presentation ended with a request for the restitution of his children and wife, as well as his return home with the title of friend of Rome. Polybius notes that Scipio already had in mind this process of restitution and alliance, as this was actually his objective while managing the hostages in Carthago Nova. Thus, he restituted his relatives and granted him friendship with the Roman people (Polyb. 10.34.10-11; 10.35.1).

Moreover, Edeco spent several days at the headquarters with the Roman commander, who allegedly captivated the Iberian with his hospitality and conviviality. By subtly implying future advantages for all those who followed the leadership of the aforementioned chief, he sent them back home: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρὰ τὴν συνουσίαν ποικίλως ψυχαγωγήσας τὸν Ἴβηρα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλας εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας ὑπογράψας, οὕτως εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐξαπέστειλε (Polyb. 10.35.2). As word spread of Scipio's generosity, many more Iberian chieftains came to offer similar terms. Everything was going according to Scipio's calculations (Polyb.10.35.4).

The next episode took place *in itinere*. Having spent the winter of 209-208 in Tarraco, Scipio set out for the south, where he met Hasdrubal at Baecula. In the course of the journey he was introduced to Indibilis and Mandonius (Liv. 27.17.1-17; Polyb. 10.38. 16), who had already decided to leave the Punic side and establish an alliance with the Romans.

Indibilis justified his decision to seek refuge under Roman protection on the basis of the greed and mistreatment of the Carthaginians towards them. The general's response, as usual, was positive, as he welcomed any kind of agreement that weakened the Punic position. That would be useful when soon afterwards he clashed with Asdrubal at the battle of Baecula. The Roman commander's response was accompanied by the restitution of Mandonius and Indibilis's wives and children, who were brought to his presence and returned to him.

The women were first taken by the Punic to the base at Carthago Nova, then recovered by the Romans and taken with them to Tarraco, (perhaps with the idea of exchanging them for an alliance on the way), and they were again taken to the battle front, where they were finally intercepted by their relatives in order to have them returned to them. After the return of their loved ones, they were given hospitality that day in the camp, and the next day the pact was sealed with a treaty. Henceforth, they were to set up their tents within the Roman camp itself. The mobility resulting from the expansion was now to be shared between the Romans and their new allies (Liv. 27.17.17).

Women as intermediaries in the diplomatic scenario

Within this diplomatic sphere, the new mediating role of foreign women in the political arena is explained through specific cases recounted by both Polybius and Livy in the contexts of the Second Punic War. Specifically, the Hispanic hostages at Carthago Nova and the Sophonisba in North Africa can be considered as two eloquent case studies.

According to literary sources, these women did not hold in their own communities any intermediation

roles, but they came to develop this paper through their contact with Roman power. In this sense, mobility was a major factor. In some cases, these women were finally recognised as valid intermediaries, with the capacity to formulate and guarantee agreements with the Roman authority.

As mentioned above, the status and active role of foreign women in Roman contexts and spaces, dominated by male presence, is legitimised in part by the Roman historiographical tradition shaped in the late Republican and Augustan periods. The practice of intermediation was authorised for Roman matrons in contexts of crisis and threat to the status quo of the *res publica*. In such exceptional circumstances, under the mandate of the Roman Senate, were sent as envoys to the enemy camp as a last resort, with the aim of mediating between the opposing parties. This diplomatic practice would become common and effective during the Triumviral Period, a context of political instability and civil wars, in which women belonging to the Roman elite such as Octavia in Tarentum (Singer 1947: 174) (Plut. *Ant.* 35.1-5; App. *BC.* 5.10.93) or Mucia Tercia (App. *BC.* 5.8.69; D.C. 48.15.2) took part in the political and diplomatic arena, mediating between their relatives, the triumvirs, with the aim of achieving political agreements of great importance (Cluett 1998: 70; Lizarzategui Elu 2022), which showed their public visibility and their capacity for negotiation in the diplomatic field.

In this sense, we shall briefly consider two previous cases in Roman history and myth where women were also given important diplomatic functions. Firstly, the legend of the Sabine women is the first act of mediation by women in the *Urbs*. The mediating role of these women, with Hersilia at the forefront as the wife of Romulus, fostered the value of *concordia* between their Roman husbands and their Sabine relatives, achieving peace and the union of both peoples (Liv. 1.11.1-3; D. H. *AR.* 2.30-46; Plut. *Rom.* 14-19).

Secondly, we must consider the embassy of the Roman matrons Veturia and Volumnia sent by the Senate to the camp of Coriolanus during the siege of the city of Rome. The mother and wife of the aforementioned general went to meet him in his camp on the outskirts of the city. Both women, as ambassadors, and through an act of persuasion managed to get Coriolanus to cease the siege after imploring him, invoking Roman *pietas* and reminding him of his family ties (Liv. 2.40.3-4). As a reward for their intermediary role, the Roman Senate consecrated the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris* to them in order to reward their action and perpetuate the memory of these matrons (Liv. 2.40.12.).

These episodes, anchored in the legendary past of Rome but elaborated in the Late Republic and Augustan Era, had the purpose of serving as a historical background and legitimation in the Pro-roman sources for foreign women adopting similar roles. These receptions and concessions of interviews by the Roman side are highly symbolic, as they imply a gesture of recognition of the status and value of these women in the political dialogue represented by unofficial agents (García Rianza 2021a: 139).

In the case of the wife of Mandonius as a hostage at Carthage Nova, according to the accounts of Polybius (10.18.7-14) and Livy (26.49.11-15), the mediating role of this woman with Scipio can be observed. We suggest that her mediating status in the diplomatic arena was based in two essential elements: firstly, her advanced age, a requirement for Roman ambassadors (Clemente 1976); secondly, by her being a direct relative of the local Hispanic leaders. Her ability to mediate however ultimately was based on persuading the Roman commander, by means of cries and pleas, in order to modify the diplomatic treatment of the Hispanic hostages (Liv.26.49.11).

The mediation role of the wife of Mandonius enabled Scipio to obtain security guarantees for the Hispanic hostages, who according to Polybius (10.18.13) were noted for their splendid beauty, which could have put them at danger. From Livy's point of view, Scipio acknowledges the mediating role of the

wife of Mandonius. In the discourse Livy attributes to the general, mentioned above, Scipio emphasizes her virtue, dignity and honesty, comparing her to that of a Roman matron, in line with the traditional role played by Roman matrons: *nunc ut id curem inpensius vestra quoque virtus dignitasque facit, quae ne in malis quidem oblitae decoris matronalis estis* (Liv. 27.49.15).

On the other hand, the Carthaginian Sophonisba is represented in classical literary sources as a mediator during the Second Punic War. The portrayal of this woman in literary sources is rather ambivalent and complex. She is represented by the classical authors (Polyb. 14.7.6; Liv. 29.23.6-10) as a key figure in Carthaginian diplomatic policy, but she is also described as impetuous and passionate, fitting cultural stereotypes Romans had about Carthaginians (Haley 1990: 375; Rosselló Calafell 2022). As the daughter of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal, Sophonisba played a key role in the agreements and alliances that Carthage made to counter Roman power towards the end of the war.

By a marriage alliance with Syphax, Hasdrubal forged an alliance with the North African leader. Marital alliances were also an important factor in the mobility of women (Sánchez Moreno 1997; Pérez Rubio 2013: 102-103).

This marriage agreement caused Syphax, who was an ally of Rome up to that point, to change sides. After Hannibal's defeat at Zama, Sophonisba was taken prisoner by Scipio at Cirta. In this context she tried to win over the Roman commander's ally, the Numidian Masinissa. According to Livy, in an account favourable to Scipio in which he tries to project the moral superiority of the Roman in contrast to the weakness of the Numidian prince, Sophonisba seduced the latter: *et eo foediora haec videbantur Scipioni, quod ipsum in Hispania iuvenem nullius forma pepulerat captivae* (Liv. 30.14.3). In this case, the capacity of Sophonisba to mediate is described negatively by the literary sources, particularly Livy, since she tried to form alliances against Rome. Ultimately, the Carthaginian princess committed suicide to avoid being paraded as part of a Triumph.

Prostitutes in the Roman camp?

Mentions of prostitutes in classical literary sources are scarce and their identities are generally unknown to us. As a consequence, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact role of these women, whether they really were prostitutes, or rather *ἑταῖραι* or companions in Roman military campaigns. According to the sources, we find them mainly in the camps and headquarters, or in areas adjacent to them such as *cannabae* or *vici* and even in local villages. Their presence in these areas must have been a common and normalised phenomenon during the Roman expansion in the West, and sometimes a forced to follow the armies around. Most of them were foreigners, victims or spoils of war and considered of low social status (Phang 2004; Allison 2013; Strong 2016).

During Rome's wars of conquest in the West the presence of prostitutes or women of other status in the Roman army was considered a factor of disorder and indiscipline within the Roman camp. According to Appian, during the siege of the city of Numantia by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 BC, in order to impose and establish discipline among his soldiers, the general decided to expel prostitutes, along with merchants, soothsayers and sacrificers: *ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξήλαυνε καὶ καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ μάντις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιῶται περιδεεῖς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς* (App.Hisp.14.85).

However, we should also consider another line of interpretation of this account related to military discipline. Through the decision of Scipio Aemilianus, Appianus emphasises the character and value of *continentia* as an *exemplum* of the Scipios in war. The account referenced above relating to Scipio's treatment

of the Hispanic hostages is continued in Appianus' passage highlighting the positive exemplum and ideal behaviour of the Roman commander in war. This passage is part of a historiographical tradition that upholds the Scipios as an ideal model of conduct, based in turn on the ideological mechanism of the *imitatio Alexandri* (Torregaray 1998: 2003).

These episodes contrast with the attitude of other Roman commanders in wartime contexts, who were permissive with the presence of prostitutes in the camps in order to satisfy the desires of their soldiers, even though there were specific prohibitions in this respect. The aim of this permissiveness in several cases was to counteract the indiscipline of the soldiers by granting the privilege of the presence of women in the camp to the most courageous on the battlefield. Examples of this type of female mobility are referenced in Cassius Dio who relates that Marcellus, on learning that one of his best soldiers was in love with one allowed him to have her in the camp because this circumstance allowed him to fight with more courage on the battlefield, disregarding any prohibition: ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Μάρκελλος τῶν ἰππέων τινὰ τῶν Λευκανῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐν ἔρωτι γυναικὸς ὄντα, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι κράτιστα ἐμάχετο, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύσας μηδεμίαν ἐς τὸ τάφρουμα γυναῖκα ἐσιέναι (C. D. 15.33).

On the other hand, according to Plutarch, Fabius Maximus, in the context of the Second Punic War, was informed by his officers that a soldier of Luanian origin was escaping from the camp and frequently deserting his cohort. After learning that the cause of his indiscipline was his love for a woman who lived far from the camp and whom he visited assiduously, he gave her to him and allowed him to live with her in the camp because of the courage and exploits he had shown as a soldier (Plut. *Fab.*20.5.).

This ambiguity in the identity and status of these women leads us to determine that not all of them were prostitutes, according to the terms used by the authors when referring to them. Some were *hetairai*, and most of them may have been women settled in towns near the location of the camp. The sources convey an initial prohibition on the presence of women in the camp in general, regardless of their status, but as we have seen, these regulations were rather lax and were occasionally waived. By contrast, in the Roman Imperial period there is evidence through literary and archaeological sources of a greater and more continuous presence of women in the camp of different statuses, conditions and roles, creating female networks in those spaces as well (Allison 2011; Allison 2013).

Conclusions

In this chapter we have analysed part of the consequences of Roman expansion in the Western Mediterranean. Using the factor of mobility as the main guiding thread of our exposition, and women as the object of our analysis, we conclude that there was a remarkable diversity of roles that women were able to play in diplomatic and military context. Often, the reformulation of their role was due to forced mobility, acquiring the status of hostages, captives, prisoners or intermediaries. The causes of this mobility that forced them to leave their places and communities of origin were totally alien to them, and depended primarily on the historical process that took place in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.

In this context, women saw their role reformulated, and were introduced into new political and social spaces. The Roman camp had a particular significance for the events we have described. These roles were defined and established by Roman diplomatic culture, where they played a part in the protocols of hostage restitution, in the mechanisms of intermediation, and in the contacts and diplomatic agreements with Rome. In this new scenario, women were instrumentalized to guarantee diplomatic agreements and alliances between local Hispanic chiefs and Roman generals, adopting new values and status in an almost totally masculine context.

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Understanding late antique mobility and “migrants” in modern thought

Teifion Gambold

Introduction

Recent years have brought increased attention to the subject and the study of mobility – its factors, its drivers, and its impacts. The connotations of the concept of ‘mobility’, specifically the mobility evident in the Late Antique period, are perhaps best encapsulated by comments made by British Prime Minister Boris Johnson to the COP26 Climate Summit in 2021: “...when the Roman Empire fell, it was largely as a result of uncontrolled immigration... the empire could no longer control its borders... and we went into a dark [age]... The point of that is to say it can happen again...” (Cunliffe, 2021). While outdated in academia, it is clear from statements such as this that the narrative of mobility as the inherently negative, and as the root of the essential collapse of the imperial Roman system in north-western Europe, remains current for many.

Rather than refuting this obviously flawed perspective, as many have done, as a result of my current studies I want to instead present a sound and convincing counter-reconstruction that will adequately replace it. What I want to try to highlight here are some of the ways in which our thoughts on Late Antique human mobility, the so-called “migrants”, the interconnectivity of the pre-Roman and Roman Iron Ages, and the impact of this on the Late Roman world could change in the future. This is with the aim of trying to reflect what the evidence actually might tell us about the practical reality of that world, rather than what ancient authors’ ethnographic ideology attempted to convey, and what certain modern perspectives would try to say about ours. This will involve critically assessing the reality of migration in the context of the Roman Rhine frontier.

Terminology: Problems and Paradigms

The most evident problem with attempting to supersede the reconstructions used in the past is that of terminology. There are several terms which continually reappear in scholarship which are arguably problematic for future research. The most egregious offenders are “romanisation” and “Germanic” (see for example Roymans, Derks, and Heeren, 2020; Heeren, 2017; Woolf, 1998). These are used to describe the adoption of Roman-produced items and modes of lifestyle by non-Roman societies (Heeren, 2017: 163; Woolf, 1998: 11), and the broadest possible grouping of the peoples who inhabited the Rhine and the territories beyond it respectively (Harland and Friedrich, 2020: 9-10; Steinacher, 2020: 31-32; Heather, 2005: 57-58). While common currency, and efficient academic shorthand, multiple scholars have produced work which questions the validity of these terms at a fundamental level.

In 1998, Greg Woolf analysed the term “romanisation” in the context of Roman provincial civilisation in Gaul, and he determined that this term lacked any ability to explain the intricate and variable social processes he was observing amongst the inhabitants of newly-Roman Gaul (Woolf, 1998: 7). An essay by Kulikowski for the 2020 publication “*Interrogating the ‘Germanic’*”, directly linked the development of the term “Germanic” to its use as a literary device by ancient elite authors, such as Tacitus (Kulikowski,

2020: 19). Sievers partly traces the origin of this device to the commentaries of Caesar (Sievers, 2015: 5-6). Here the genocidal general utilised this term to establish a new ethnography to justify his vicious campaigns against so-called “Germanic” peoples, several groups being utterly wiped out by slaughter and slavery. As Roymans, Derks, and Heeren have noted, this contrivance created the barbarian “par excellence” in Roman imperial ideology (Roymans, Derks, and Heeren, 2020: 269). Halsall has noted that this would be an image around which Roman political figures would build their narratives of glory for centuries during the Imperial period (Halsall, 2007: 150).

It is clear, therefore, that in order to offer a post-colonial reconstruction of the Roman Iron Age European north-west – to restore agency and identity to these people – use of such troubling terms must be challenged. These are terms which are either defunct modern appellations, or ancient colonial categorisations, and we should seriously reconsider our reliance upon them.

Mobility and Interaction

Flemming Kaul (2003) and Susanne Sievers’ (2015) analysis of archaeological finds from pre-Roman Iron Age deposition and habitation sites in modern Denmark and Germany highlight the fact that mobility throughout the trans-Rhine – between the Rhine river and Denmark – was well-established even in the pre-Roman period. Kaul has suggested that wooden turned vessels discovered in the Hjortspring deposit, dated to c.350 BCE, share a typological similarity with analogous vessels produced in southern Germany and Etruscan Italy in the same period (Kaul, 2003: 157).

Sievers has noted that material excavated from a significant number of *oppidum* sites – fortified, settlement enclosures – such as at Manching and Schwabhausen close to the Danube, similarly demonstrate long-distance connections as diverse as to the “Przeworsk culture” of Poland and the so-called “La Tène culture” societies of Gaul (Sievers, 2015: 8, 14, 16). The important role that rivers played in this mobility (e.g. Sievers, 2015: 22, for the Danube) and the famous Hjortspring boat (Crumlin-Pedersen and Trakadas eds., 2003), are evocative of the distances that might be traversed using riverine and maritime routes, which may have been easier than crossing overland. While it is unlikely perhaps that an individual group would make a single vast journey, these finds spanning the fourth to the first centuries BCE are indicative of a series of interconnected cycles of mobility in north-western pre-Roman Europe.

The Roman Rhine Emerges

Intriguing evidence for the continuation, and adaptation, of this practice of systemic mobility into the Roman period are the burial goods of the so-called “Hoby Chieftain”, from the island of Lolland, Denmark. This was likely a high-status individual, who was buried in the early first century CE with a fine Roman dinner service, manufactured in a Greek workshop in Italy (Jensen, 1982: 247-248). A post-production inscription of the name “Silius” has been tentatively traced by the curators of the National Museum of Denmark to the Silius who was in command of Roman military units on the Rhine between AD 14 and 21 (Curators of the National Museum of Denmark, 2021). I would suggest that this form of find is indicative of inter-group gift giving or of high-status trade as has also been asserted by other scholars such as Tams, K.W. *et al.* 2018. Most importantly, it also indicates that the Romans were aware of – and utilised – the same mobility and interconnectivity that pre-dated their arrival in this region.

A series of military actions undertaken between the end of the republic and the Augustan period can be seen as Roman military attempts to assert hegemonic control over, and through, mobility. For instance, Roymans, Heeren, and Derks have identified the systematic depopulation and repopulation of the Lower

Rhine under Julius Caesar and subsequently Augustus (Roymans, Derks, and Heeren, 2020: 268-269, 271, 274); it is plausible to interpret this as an expression of military power over the mobile agency of these groups. Those societies settled on newly-provincial territory were given defined settlement centres and required to send auxiliary troops to the army, a system which I would contend is significantly similar to – although not the same as – the system of *foederati* and *laeti* recruitment in the Late Roman period. Haynes has noted this forcible integrational practice as consistent across many different areas which were subsumed within the Roman Empire – pre-extant military structures of subjugated societies were reconstituted within the broader confines of the Roman imperial military (Roymans, Derks, and Heeren, 2020: 275-277; Haynes, 2013: 66; Southern, 2007: 259-260).

Furthermore, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, and Tacitus highlight a series of Roman military campaigns – of mixed success – fought across the trans-Rhine in this period. These led to non-Roman military forces plundering Gaul, and substantial Roman armies reaching the Elbe and perhaps beyond; during one of those campaigns, an altar was allegedly erected on a bank of the Elbe, and a triumph was celebrated in Rome. (Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium*: II.XCVII; Suetonius, *Augustus*: XXIII; Tacitus *Annales*: II.XXII) Those undertaken by Marcus Agrippa, Carrinas and Nonnius Gallus, and by M. Vinicius, have been classified by Drinkwater as “police actions” aimed at preventing raiding – but also significantly at preventing the movement of warriors-for-hire through the landscape (Drinkwater, 2007: 15).

The impact of such mobility can be seen in the dispersion of provincially-produced Roman materials, and the presence of imperial agents, in the trans-Rhenish landscape. Hatsum, a site in the territory of a group recorded as the Frisians, offers a clear case study. A pair of ‘*terpen*’ mounds have been excavated at Hatsum, likely an elite site, producing some six-hundred sherds of Samian-ware and seventy fragments of Roman roof tiles (Galestin, 2017: 280-281). It is unclear exactly how these objects arrived at Hatsum, or how sustained such economic contact may have been. However, it is intriguing to consider such archaeological evidence within the context of “Frisia” and its inhabitants’ participation within systems of long- and short- distance trade in the Roman period. As noted by Parker (2008: 185) of tile finds in the Mediterranean during the Roman period, while some tile production and consumption was relatively local (up to 200 kilometres), depending on the hostility of terrain to overland transport bulky and relatively cheap items could be exported over significant distances – as much as 600 kilometres.

Thus, while there is no evidence that the Frisians were using any of these items in a “Roman” manner, it can be suggested that such commodities are representative of a participation within the economic landscape of the frontier and provincial territories of the Roman Empire. Perhaps rather than changing existing practices, such items were incorporated and adapted to service aspects of pre-existing prestige practices. It is plausible that these were considered desirable items that could be used to emphasise prestige within a pre-existing cultural context. As Sueur has noted of bronze vessels imported into Gallia Belgica before the Roman conquest, the presence of these prestige items does not necessitate a specific mode of use (Sueur, 2021: 58). Therefore, it is plausible to reconstruct an elite identity expression which responded to the presence of the Romans by incorporating a demonstration of connections with the Roman Empire through such objects, without necessitating a particular mode of usage. This offers perhaps some parallels to the Hoby Chieftain’s position; his Roman dinner set was evidently an important enough possession to be interred with him, and may therefore be interpreted as a key part of his elite identity. However while its provenance would have been self-evident (much like the roof tiles and Samian-ware ceramics at Hatsum), and may well have formed a part of the prestige associated with the set, we cannot assume that his methods of using this set in any particular way emulated Italic Roman traditions of using these objects.

These case studies can be seen to highlight that cultural interaction beyond the frontier was being deliberately facilitated by regular, relatively small-scale, population mobility and associated economic and diplomatic networking. Significant amounts of material were travelling beyond the frontier, and the centrality of mobility cannot be understated. Whittaker has identified that substantial numbers of military supply agents or traders – *negotiatores* and *lixae* – travelled frequently throughout Frisian territory as highlighted in Tacitus; it is possible that these were the people who were trading provincially-made items to the inhabitants of Hatsum for example (Whittaker, 2004: 16; Tacitus, *Histories*: IV.XV “...lixas negotiatoresque...”). Elites such as the Hoby Chieftain were likely coming into direct contact with military populations based around the Roman Rhine through such economic and socio-diplomatic connections, and were beginning to incorporate items of Roman manufacture into their elite identities.

Building Bridges – Military Service and Mobility in the Imperial Period

As the Roman imperial military became increasingly entrenched around the River Rhine, the practice of travel to and from military service in the Roman imperial military by non-provincial recruits may have become a significant factor in escalating mobility. This has significant implications for developing our thinking around the place of mobile populations in Late Antiquity. The relationship between mobile martial elites and the imperial military community on the Rhine only intensified over the course of the Roman and Late Roman periods. Legal and social benefits to membership of the imagined community of the soldiers hypothesised by James can be argued to have acted as a pull-factor (James, 1999).

The Zealandic islands and southern Jutland attest some of the most evocative archaeological indications of this process. A number of elite burials dating between the second and fourth centuries CE across Zealand attest a mixture of burials with weapons and with the so-called “Charon’s payment”, the practice of depositing gold and glass fragments in the mouth of the deceased (Dyhrfeld-Johnsen, 2017: 268). These are often burials that also include deposition of coin pendants made of Roman coins. While not all burials are associated with male occupants and weapons, significance can still be attributed to a connection between the presence of “Roman” factors such as coin pendants and the “Charon’s payment” and the occurrence of weapon graves. Dyhrfeld-Johnsen, for instance, has hypothesised that these burials may be indicative of warrior elites who travelled significant distances to serve as Roman auxiliary soldiers on the Rhine. They subsequently returned home, adapting practices they learned in their years of military service to their autochthonous cultures (Dyhrfeld-Johnsen, 2017: 268-270).

This hypothesis can be lent weight by the literary evidence for the escalating demands of the Roman imperial military upon non-provincial recruitment pools. A trend toward localising recruitment by Roman military units has been noted by Le Bohec (2000: 81-83), Haynes (2013: 123-125), and Southern (2007: 142-143). Demandt has identified the impact of epidemic disease on provincial populations, such as those experienced in the second and third centuries AD, as another key factor in the increasing demands of the imperial military for recruits – in particular those drawn from amongst the so-called “Germans” (Demandt, 1989: 161-162). The *Historia Augusta* mentions this practice, and it seems likely in the context of archaeological evidence such as that identified by Dyhrfeld-Johnsen, that recruits could have been coming from all over the trans-Rhenish region – even as far as the Zealandic islands of Denmark (*Historia Augusta*, *Marcus Aurelius*: XXI). Roman imperial soldiers were well and regularly paid, and as has been suggested above social connections could be forged with militarised imperial frontier communities (Southern, 2007: 105-111, 122-123).

It is possible in this framework to interpret the massive Danish depositions of Roman-style or

provincially manufactured equipment at Vimose and Nydam as symptomatic of such escalating mobility amongst trans-Rhenish martial groups (Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 149, 154-155, 170). Vimose saw three significant depositions c. 70-150 AD, c.150 AD, and c.210-260 AD. The depositions at Nydam were concentrated later, with four or more depositions of material occurring between c.240 AD and 475 AD (Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 31). These have at times been interpreted, much like the Hjortspring bog deposit of centuries earlier, as the captured arms of a defeated army (Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 149). This may indeed be the case, but we have grounds to question whether these defeated enemies were not in fact non-provincial trans-Rhenish recruits. There is even a possibility that they were not still active as Roman soldiers by the time their equipment was captured or otherwise deposited. It is plausible to interpret these deposits as the result of Roman military equipment, received and used while in service in imperial military units (Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 149), being transported home by mobile martial populations and subsequently reused in their own social contexts.

The Result of Mobility?

By developing an understanding of the mobility continuously exhibited in the pre-Roman and Roman periods, Late Antique mobility can clearly not be seen as exceptional, but ought to be viewed as a continuation. The world of the Roman Rhine revolved around social and political connections directly created and sustained by systemic mobility.

Late Roman military structures are often depicted as a break with traditional practices; it is arguable instead that they were the end result of them. Heeren's 2017 contribution on migration within and around the German provinces of the empire does accurately identify, I would argue, the movement of populations into these provinces during the Late Roman period (Heeren, 2017: 164, 166). However, I would contend that in the context of the evidence I have laid out today, we cannot categorise these incoming populations as essentially "non-Roman" (Heeren, 2017: 168) or as exceptional by this period. While non-provincial, these are groups who could have plausibly been in contact with the Roman military system for a significant period before their settlement and integration within the empire; recruitment patterns from the second and third centuries onward appear to have often favoured recruiting amongst such populations (see above). Galestin hypothesises that frontier military structures reached a point of integration within local socio-political structures where they were ever-increasingly reliant upon local groups for military authority and human resources (Galestin, 2017: 282), which seems to me much more likely in this context.

New terminology – such as *foederati* and *laeti* – came into use to describe “non-Roman” troops in the Late Antique period (Southern, 2007: 259). Other terminology also appears to have entered official use, such as *cuneus* and *praepositus* in a more formal sense than previously (*Notitia Dignitatum*: e.g. s.v. XL *Dux Moesiae secundae*: Seeck, 1876: 89; Southern, 2007: 256). However, we should be cautious about drawing a line between clear-cut changes to nomenclature and categories in written texts such as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the practical realities of provincial recruitment practice and military structure. For instance, the creation of *foederati* units within the empire once mobile populations were established inside the provinces is arguably not altogether dissimilar to previous Augustan-period integrations of populations which moved – either of their own volition or through military-political compulsion from the Roman authorities – into the provincial context (Roymans, Derks, and Heeren, 2020: 271 figure 1). Extensive auxiliary foundations, at times called “ethnic recruitment”, occurred on the Lower Rhine during the Augustan period (Roymans, Derks, and Heeren, 2020: 275-277), on the Danube with the incorporation of Iazyges into the military forces of Britain by Marcus Aurelius (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*: LXXII.17), and in Syria with Palmyrenes – depicted as Roman soldiers at Dura-Europos (James, 2004: Plate 1, Plate 2). Furthermore, the assertion

that it was *foederati* in particular who bankrupted the imperial treasury through demands of payment (Heeren, 2017: 172) does not, I contend, follow our evidence. Military demands for increased pay was a consistent pattern of behaviour exhibited by many of the other troops in the imperial military throughout the Roman and Late Roman periods. The repeated agitations for higher pay carried out by the Rome-based Praetorian Guard is one example – on perhaps the most infamous occasion, they auctioned off the empire to the highest bidder following their assassination of the short-lived emperor Pertinax (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*: LXXIV.2,5).

By Late Antiquity, this intense connectivity which had been established between the martial elite of frontier, and non-provincial, societies and the imperial military reached a peak. Sources such as Ammianus Marcellinus are full of examples: Silvanus the Frank, who was a Master of Infantry (Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*: XV.5); Mallobaudes, a Frankish tribune of heavy-armed guards (Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*: XV.6), amongst several others. Magnentius has been cited at times, but Zonaras claims he had a “British” father, which does not necessitate that this was a British society from around or beyond the provincial frontiers of the provinces of Britannia (Frakes, 1997: 121; Zonaras, *History*: XIII.6; Banchich and Lane, 2009: 160). However, combined with epigraphic evidence such as *CIL* III 3576 – in which an unknown person claims to have been a Frankish citizen and a Roman soldier both – we can clearly see the taxonomic, layered identities posited by Halsall (e.g. Halsall, 2007: 53) emerging as a result of the interactions facilitated by mobility. It is clear that in future studies, mobility and migrants must figure into our thinking about both provincial and non-provincial populations; they should not be considered a sole factor in imperial collapse on the Rhine frontier: migration and mobility were in fact its architects, its driving force, and its product.

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II. SOCIAL MOBILITY

Archaeological and spatial analysis of the Egyptian city of Lahun (Middle Kingdom, Fayum)

Laura Hernando Folch

Introduction

The objective of this study is to see how the ancient Egyptian settlement of Lahun was socially structured through its architecture and urbanism. The site has some of the best-preserved architectural remains sites in the entire history of ancient Egypt, with many domestic units of various types. The site served for the construction and maintenance of the funerary temple of the monarch, and that its nature is that of a “worker city”, is another interesting reason why this settlement has been chosen. It is not the typical excavated Egyptian site, usually religious sites (temples or chapels) or funerary (tombs, mastabas). In addition, it is an ex-novo construction of orthogonal plan promoted by the State. The worker cities are mostly known thanks to the popularity of Amarna and Deir el-Medina, which have been excavated and studied since the 18th century and very popularized in the media. Hence focusing on the city of Lahun can give us new answers and approaches.

This research seeks to assess two issues through the archaeological and textual evidence of the urban center of Lahun. The first of them, to study and analyze the social relations (class and gender) that occurred in the city, which as we will see was oriented towards the needs to the comfort of the upper classes (Moeller, 2018, p. 194). The second focus of our study was to see what types of tasks the women of the site carried out and where.

Materials and methods

The first mentions of Lahun as a city appear at the same time the center was built, in the 18th century BC, in private and administrative documents. The papyri, seals and personal letters are what have ultimately allowed us to get closer to the economic, social and gender aspects of the site, since they document commercial transactions, the organization and management of workers and their work activities.

Firstly, we will look at the historical context to establish why the Egyptian state founded Lahun at that place and time. Next, the excavation reports carried out during the last two centuries are the main source of information and will provide information on the architectural features of both cities (Petrie, 1891; Petrie *et al.*, 1923; Doyen, 2000; Kemp, 2006; Frey and Knudstad, 2008; Horváth, 2008). In this way, the different domestic and administrative units can be identified, which makes it possible to study its distribution across the settlement. Once its architectural structure has been analyzed, textual sources will be used such as seal impressions (those belonging to Reniseneb, Ankhu or Aahathor, among others), letters (UC 32202) and papyri (Petrie I.3-I.6, Berlin 10117B 1, UC Lahun 32201 or Berlin 10112 B c) together with archaeological remains (figurines, tools) to identify tasks carried out by women within the settlement.

This study will allow us to understand how Lahun and his two districts (Sekhem and Hetep) functioned socially: who managed the administrative units, who worked and where (only men or also women?) and what role did the workers of the Sekhem district play. Finally, to determine how architecture and urbanism

determined the social functioning of the site, we will use the space synthax technique.¹

Geographical and historical setting

The city of Lahun, also known as Illahun or Kahun, a term coined by Petrie (Petrie, 1891), is an archaeological site located in the Fayum area, on the border between Upper and Lower Egypt, which was founded and inhabited during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 a.C.). The city, located between the Sahara Desert and the Nile valley, is characterized by a large depression in the terrain (Shaw, 2007, p. 627; Lacasa, 2017, p. 210).²

This allowed the accumulation of water and therefore the existence of agriculture, facilitating the subsistence of civilians. Although the city has its origins in the 18th century BC, evidence of burials of ancient communities dating from the Early Dynastic has been found (Lacasa, 2017, p.224).

Two toponyms for the city are mentioned in the seals found at the site, Hetep-Senwosret-maa-kheru (ḥtp-sn-wsrt-mꜣꜥ-ḫrw), “satisfied is Senwosret, true of voice” and Sekhem-Senwosret-maa-kheru (ḫm-sn-wsrt-mꜣꜥ-ḫrw), “powerful is Senwosret, true of voice” (Lacasa, 2017, p.222). According to several authors, these two names could have been used to define two different areas within the same city (Quirke, 2005, p. 38; Moeller, 2018, p. 194).

Lahun is an urban centre cataloged as a “state foundation”. These foundations had their urban layout fabric designed in advance and were promoted by the monarchy with a specific economic, political, or strategic objective (some examples are Lahun, Wah-Sut, Qasr el-Sagha or Tell el-Dab’a) (Moeller, 2016, p. 16; Lacasa, 2017, p. 209; Mazzone, 2017, p. 20). These foundations stand out in contrast to organic cities, which were developed without prior planning by a group of individuals seeking the subsistence of their population (Lacasa, 2017, p.206). In the first case, the layout of the city seeks to determine a certain social organisation.

The establishment of the city during the XII dynasty in this area also responds to an important political-cultural factor, because the capital of the monarchy of the XII dynasty established a new capital in el-Fayum, in Ity-Tawy, replacing the city of Thebes (Callender, 2007, p. 209).³ Lahun was originally created to house the workers and artisans (and their respective families) who carried out the funerary complex of pharaoh Senwosret II (1877-1870 a.C., fourth monarch of the XII dynasty) (Shaw, 2007, p. 627), located about 800 meters from the city center.

The center could be considered a “pyramid town”, where the State built a city ex-novo and forcefully relocated individuals, in this case, building the tomb of Senwosret II. There are some other examples of pyramid towns, such as the two centers established near the pyramid of Sneferu; or Heit el-Ghurab, in Giza (Mazzone, 2017, pg. 27). However, there are also state-created centers in which pyramids were not built, but were conceived for the construction of funerary complexes, such as Deir el-Medina and Wah-Sut (Smith, 2010, p. 8; Mazzone, 2017, p. 34).

Most of the population of Lahun was formed of workers and artisans, led by various supervisors who oversaw them. The administration of the city was directed by a governor, and the salaries were paid by the

¹ Developed by B. Hillier, J. Hanson, and other scholars from the UCL in the 1970’s, are a set of techniques for the analysis of spatial configurations.

² For this study Shaw’s (2007) chronology has been followed.

³ After the First Intermediate Period, Mentuhotep II (XII dynasty) reunified Egypt and made Thebes the political capital (Callender, 2007, p. 206).

royal house itself. In the religious sphere, there was a high priest of the local temple who controlled the rest of the clergy (Lacasa, 2017, p.226).

Spatial analysis of Lahun

Thanks to the discovery of several clay seals, it has been discovered that there probably was a settlement before Lahun named ḥtp snwsrt ḥnh ḏt r nhḥ or Senwosret-ankh (“satisfied is Senwosret alive forever and eternity”) (Mazzone, 2017, p. 25), which would probably have been built to consolidate and control the irrigation projects prior to the establishment of the city. Constituted approximately in the year 1897 BC, it would be an administrative center that would later expand and to which the funerary cult component would be added, thus becoming what would later be known as Hetep-Senwosret, the largest of the districts of the city (Mazzone, 2017, p. 25).

From the decades of 1880-1870 BC, approximately, the Lahun site as we know it today was established. It was an urban center with a regular floor plan and a rectangular shape (392 m long and 246 m wide), surrounded by a 3.25 m thick perimeter wall, with a single small access road located in the east (measuring less than two meters across) (Mazzone, 2017, p. 32). The perimeter wall closes off the north, east, and west sides of the city. Although it has been considered as a rampart, it seems that it would only have the function of fencing in the enclosure (Lacasa, 2017, p. 227). The city had an internal division made of adobe, 3.18 m. wide and 3 m. high that completely separated the two interior sectors of the site (there is no access or communication between them). This wall implies not only an architectural separation of the two zones, but also an administrative and social division.

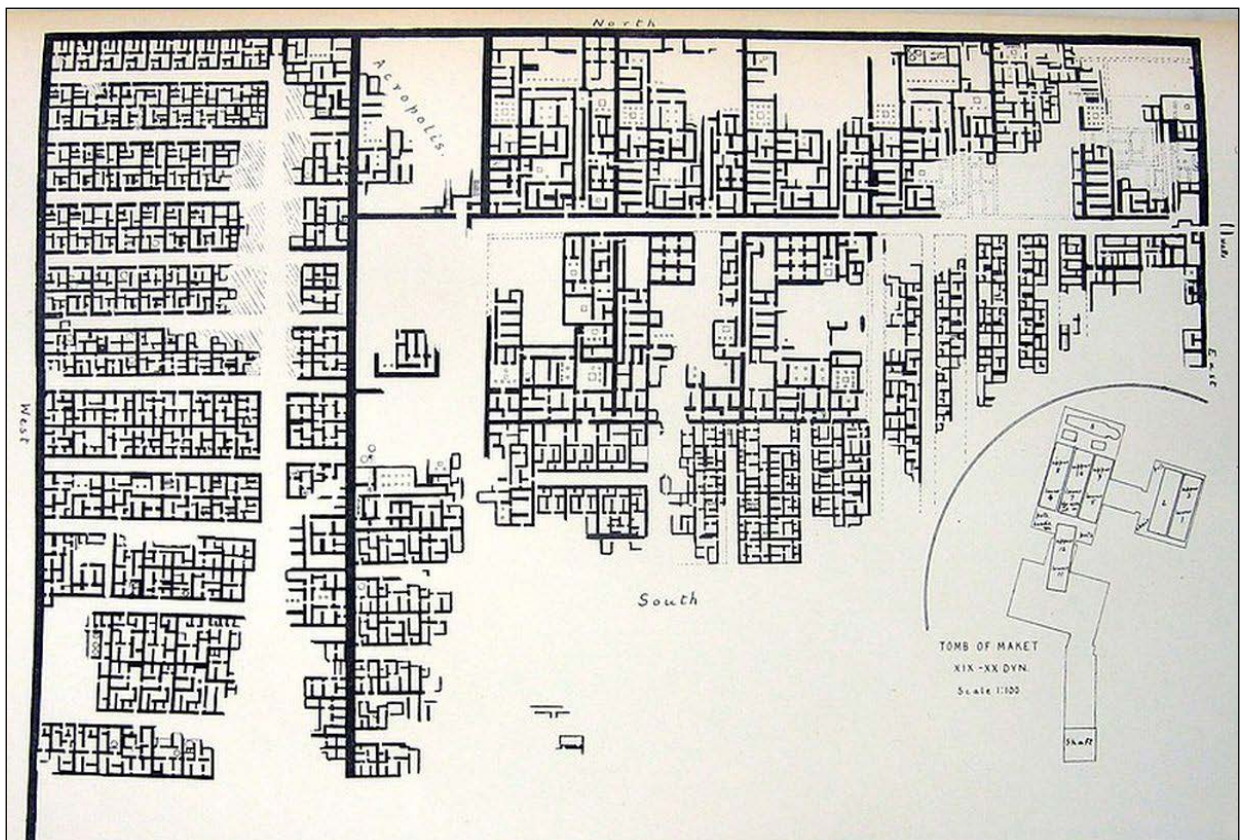


Figure 1. Plan of Lahun by F. Petrie (from Wikimedia commons).

The first and largest of the two districts, named ḥtp-sn-wsrt-mꜣꜥ-ḥrw (abbreviated from now on as Hetep) measured 290 m. long by 246 m. wide; and the second, ḥm-sn-wsrt-mꜣꜥ-ḥrw (from now on Sekhem), smaller, measuring 246 m. long by 102 m. wide. Both enclosures follow the same orthogonal planning (main and secondary roads), and contain evidence of being chronologically close (Lacasa, 2017, p. 227). According to Petrie (1891, pp. 5-8), the fact that the two enclosures were not connected could mean that one was an extension of the other. More recent studies assert defend that while the smaller district, Sekhem, was an architecturally separate unit from Hetep and conceived specifically for the funerary cult of Senwosret II, it was administratively subordinate to Hetep (Horváth, 2009, p. 187).

Hetep-Senwosret

It is considered the original core and the larger of the two Lahun districts. Most of the structures found at Hetep have so far been considered dwellings, of approximately 40 x 60m. The main road crosses the district to the north. Just in front of the building that Petrie named “acropolis” (Petrie, 1891, p. 5), currently known as pr HATja, the main road turns and runs north-south to the lower part of the city (Mazzone, 2017, p. 28).⁴

In the southern part of the district there are small dwellings of about three or four rooms. Resting on the dividing wall, to the east, we find units that follow the same layout and structure as the housing isles of Sekhem (Horváth, 2009, p. 177). To the north of the east-west road we find seven houses, named “mansions” due to their dimensions and the internal layout of their rooms.⁵ On the south side of the road, we find three more of them. All of them consist of an exterior tripartite room through which the nucleus of the residence is accessed, made up of several smaller room (Horváth, 2009, p. 177). In these residences grain was stored inside large silos. The absence of storage structures in small houses has led to the suggestion that the elite would oversee the redistribution and feeding of the inhabitants of Lahun (salaries would have taken the form of rations of cereal), although there would be other sources of food for the population (farming and livestock) (Moeller, 2018, p. 203). This theory is based on the storage capacity of these silos, which, according to Kemp (1986, p. 133; 2006, p. 215), could have fed 5,000 to 9,000 individuals. However, these numbers may be biased, as we do not know the chronology of the silos. (Moeller, 2018, p. 203).

At the west end, touching the dividing wall with Sekhem, we find one of these mansions built on top an elevated rocky outcrop that, together with its monumental entrance staircase, made Petrie think that it was a palatial structure (Petrie, 1891, p. 5), which he named “Acropolis”. However, after the excavations of the Royal Ontario Museum (R.O.M.) between the years 1996-1997, it was concluded that this building was not an individual entity but was part of the group of “mansions” (Frey, Knudstad, 2007, p. 32). Although structurally the northwest “mansion” does not differ from the other dwellings, thanks to Quirke’s notes (2005, p. 87) and Gallorini’s studies (1998, p. 55), which have been able to contextualize the objects found by Petrie, it is believed that he found an accumulation of seal impressions in the building, which would indicate that some type of administrative activity was carried out there. This fact has led authors such as Wegner (1998, p. 41) or Kemp (1972, p. 662), to describe it as pr HATja, literally “residential palace”.

⁴ Pr hatja: Literally, “residential palace”. See pg. 12.

⁵ The term “mansions” is used by researchers to refer to stately houses (Kemp, 1998; Wegner, 1998; Horváth, 2009, Moeller, 2018).



Figure 2. Lahun mansions (modified from Moeller, 2018, p. 193).

Just below the “palace” we find a very poorly preserved building that has been interpreted in various ways. Petrie (1889, p. 6) thought it was the monarch’s guards’ residency; Kemp (2006, p. 45), considered that it was an administrative building; and the R.O.M. archaeologists identified it as the temple of the city (Frey and Knudstad, 2008, p. 59). Its entrance would be in the east, which would lead to a hypostyle hall with two rows of six columns each. It consists of eight interior chambers, of which two stand out in a vertical and parallel position located in the center of the building (Moeller, 2018, p. 200).

Finally, to the south of the supposed temple, there is also a building of unknown nature. Its internal distribution does not coincide with any other type of structure (neither with the houses, the mansions, nor the sanctuary). The northern part consists of a hypostyle hall (with 2 rows of 6 columns, as in the “temple”), separated by a horizontal corridor of small halls reminiscent of the most modest dwellings in the city (Moeller, 2018, p. 202). As was also the case with the seals that Petrie supposedly found in pr HAtja , it has been considered that the clay seals found in the surrounding houses in this area (of an official nature) came from this building (Moeller, 2018, p. 202).

As mentioned above, Petrie found a corpus of seals in *pr ḥꜣtjꜥ*. The presence of a fragmentary institutional seal of a *'rry.t* and a couple of seals from the regulators of the *sꜣ.w* (one private and the other public), allow us to think that there would be a relationship between the *'rry.t*, the *shena* of Lahun and the regulators of the *sꜣ.w* (Elaine, 2016, p. 92).^{6 7 8} Thanks to the papyrus UC Lahun 32201, we know that Lahun's *'rry.t* also performed economic functions: management of workers, commercial shipments, and control of expedition supplies (Elaine, 2016, p. 93). Therefore, the *pr ḥꜣtjꜥ* building would be a multifunctional structure where, on the one hand, the elites of the settlement resided, but which also served as an administrative and economic institution. The individuals who managed and lived in this entity would belong to the upper classes.

Sekhem-Senwosret

The Sekhem district is characterized by eleven parallel rectangular blocks divided by secondary roads that run from east to west, and by a main road that runs from north to south near the eastern dividing wall. The eleven blocks contain two rows of adjoining dwellings each, resulting in a total of 150 domestic units (Cahail, 2014, p. 177).

The blocks contained six identical houses that presented the same interior distribution, having two to three rooms with a standardized function. Doyen (2000, p. 72) defined the parts of the house as entrance, annex, corridor, antechamber, and final room. All of them were built with adobe, an inexpensive material that facilitated both construction and reforms of internal structures (Shaw, 1992, p. 150; Mazzone, 2017, p. 29). According to Kemp (2006, p. 155), a maximum of six people would live in the dwellings (based on papyrus I.3-I.6), so Sekhem would have a population density of roughly 3,400 people. Adding the individuals of Hetep, around 5,200 people would live in Lahun (Cahail, 2014, pp. 178).

It seems that the southern part of the western perimeter wall would be almost parallel to the walls of the temple in the Valley. Both the orientation and the arrangement of the structures differ slightly from the rigid and orthogonal structure of Hetep, which is why it has been proposed that it was a slightly posterior later construction (Mazzone, 2017, pp. 26).

The size of Sekhem's dwellings by itself is not a parameter that can indicate that we are dealing with lower class individuals or workers. In the southern part of Hetep, next to the separation wall, we find units of equal size and layout, which have not been separated from the mansions with a wall. However, the disposition of these does allow us to determine the nature of this district: This area, made up of tightly packed dwellings, did not have any communal areas or open private spaces, which eliminated the possibility of social interaction between its inhabitants, at least within the walls of the settlement.

The city was abandoned when the funerary complex was completed, in the 18th century BC. The temple was destroyed during Pharaonic times and was reused in the Late Roman period (Gallorini, 1998, p. 42). Evidence of occasional occupation of the city has been found during the XIII dynasty and during the New Kingdom (Moeller, 2018, p. 194), period to which belong several scarabs of Nebmaatra Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BC.), ninth pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty (Shaw, 2007, p. 626; Mazzone, 2017, p. 33).

⁶ The *'rry.t* was an administrative body

⁷ The *sꜣ.w* was a priestly community, with internal divisions (four *sꜣ.w* directed by the *mtj n sꜣ*, "regulator of the *sꜣ.w* ") (Elaine, 2016, p. 80).

⁸ The *shena* was an institutional unit in charge of production linked to both the palaces and the temples (Elaine 2016, pp 105).

Social aspects: distribution

Through the architecture and the written sources, we know that high-ranking administrators lived exclusively in Hetep. This was the highest area of the city, and it had large storage areas. It is within the pr HAtja and the other mansions that we find administrative institutions like the 'rryt, the Shena and the s3^c.w.

Workers, however, lived both in Hetep and Sekhem. In Hetep they were in the small dwellings located in the S/S-O of the district. In Sekhem, as well as in Hetep, the residences were homogeneous. In the two districts there is a clear absence of private open spaces; and the most remarkable feature is that they are physically separated. However, it is worth mentioning that in Hetep there is a small “public area”, the one belonging to the temple. The Hetep temple area is the one and only concession regarding the public space given by the planners/architects of the settlement, having an obvious religious component: it is not necessary for the inhabitants to have social communication. However, this small space concession assures that they carry out their ideological tasks (i.e.: pray, make offerings).

Mobility within the settlement

The interpretations of the mobility of the residential and urban spaces of Lahun have been based on Space Syntax. As defined by the UCL, this method is “a set of techniques for analyzing spatial layouts and human activity patterns in buildings and urban areas (...) it addresses where people are, how they move, how they adapt, how they develop and how they talk about it” (retrieved from <https://www.spacesyntax.online/>).

The main feature of Lahun is that there is a clear separation of districts with no communication between Hetep and Sekhem. This is because there is no need to create a coherent urban space for workers.

Hetep's main street connects with the mansions (Figure 3): main street (1) - house (2). In contrast, for the workers of Hetep we have main street (1) – secondary street (2) – house (3), and in some cases (mainly in the south and south-west part of the settlement), we can find have main street (1) – secondary street (2) – tertiary street (3) and house (4). There is a clear interest of the elites to control the main area.

Elites are not only in the most comfortable place of the settlement (near the entrance, in the main street), but also in the most adequate place for access to goods. The worker's houses are also oriented to face the elite's street (where there is going to be the food redistribution and where salary will be given).

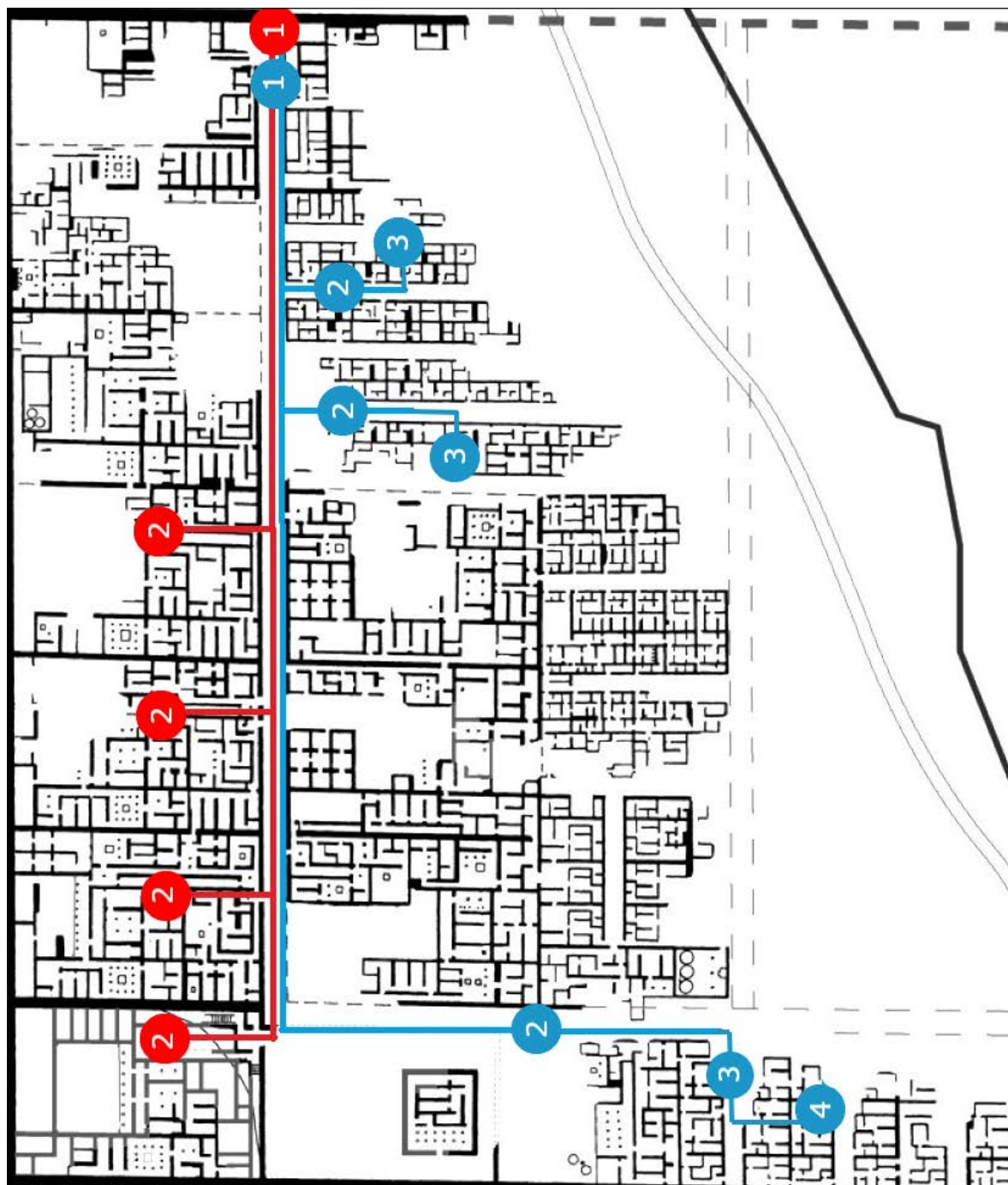


Figure 3. Connections of mansions and residential units and streets in Hetep district. In red, distribution within the mansions. In blue, distribution and mobility of worker's houses (after Moeller, 2018, p. 193).

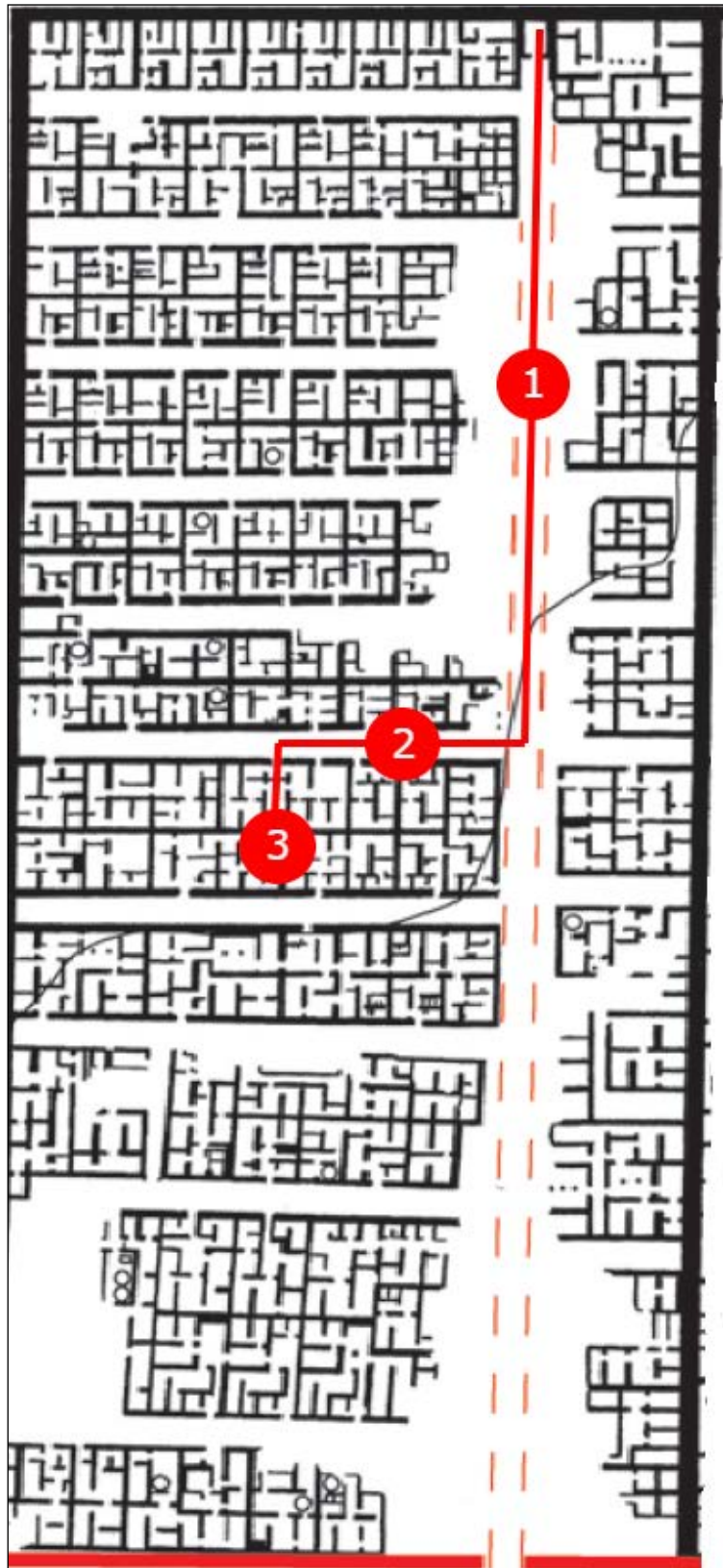


Figure 4. Connections of residential units and streets in Sekhem district (after Moeller, 2018, p. 193).

All streets of Sekhem (Figure 4) are optimized for the worker to go out and work to the temple, there is no space for public activities. The access of Sekhem is identical for all the workers: main street (1) – secondary street (2) – house (3). Thus, the district is intended to direct the inhabitants to their functions or job, the temple.

The narrow entrance of Sekhem (less than two meters wide) was designed is for the elites to access control the access of the workers to the site. We can see how Lahun is designed since its foundation to determine social and economic relationships.

Mobility within domestic spaces

The standard houses have simple layouts that afford a degree of intimacy, but don't have specialized rooms.

For the mansions, the best example of mobility within domestic units is carried out using the pr HATja, since we have more information and better architectural plans for it (Figure 5).

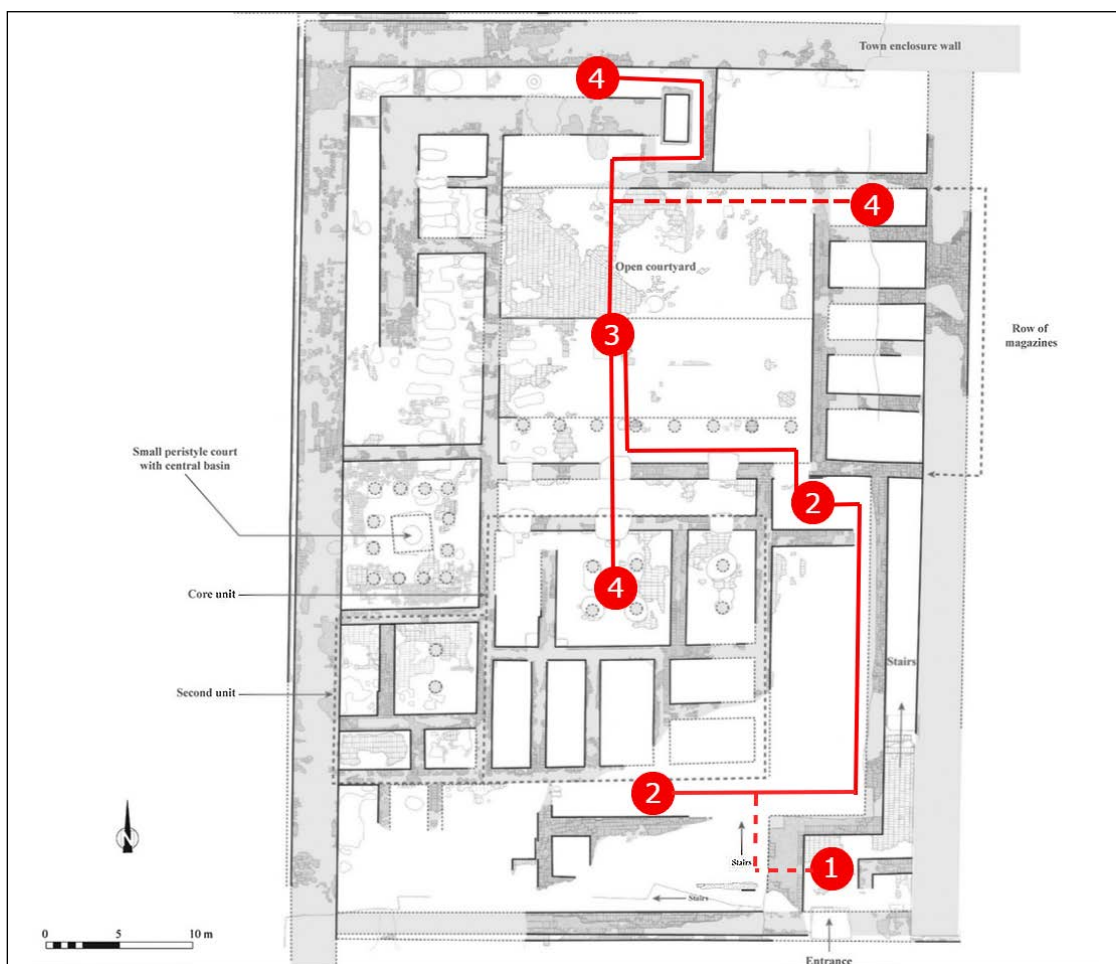


Figure 5. Mobility paths within Lahun pr HATja (after Frey y Knudstad, 2008, p. 53).

It has only one access (1) located in the south: makes access easy to control. This access opens into corridors (2), leading to a central courtyard (3). The storage areas (in the north) and living quarters (located at the south) (4) are accessed from the courtyard, allowing workers moving goods in and out of the house to work without entering the living quarters of the mayor. The mayor gets both full control to the access to stored goods and intimacy at the same time.

As we do not have good, published plans of the mansions of Lahun, for this study we used one mansion of the city of Wah-sut (also an ex-novo state foundation from the XIII dynasty; Figure 6). The building E has a similar mobility pattern as the *pr ḥ3tjꜥ* of Lahun. It has one access (1) that opens to corridors (2) that lead to a central courtyard (3) which distributes the personnel into the storage/kitchen areas and the inner / secondary residence (4). Again, as in Lahun, workers do not enter the mayor's residence.

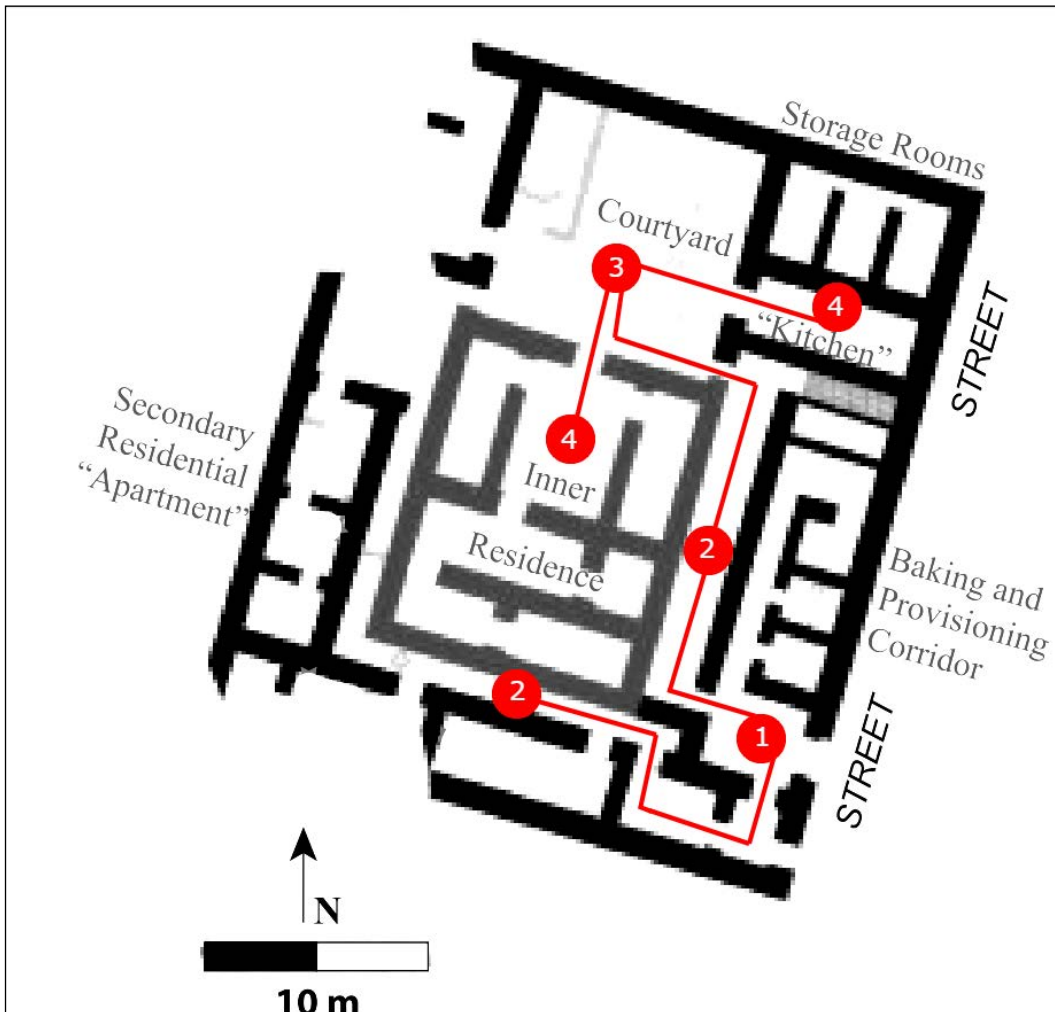


Figure 6. Mobility paths within Wah-sut's building E (after Picardo, 2006, p. 39).

The role of women

As usual in Ancient Egypt, it was usually men who enjoyed the highest administrative and religious positions. Many of the papyri and letters found in Lahun refer to the mayors of the city, who had a double function: one, being the official leader of the city (which also meant acting as a judge); and to be the chief administrator and overseer of the temple (imy-r3 ḥw.t-nṯr), “temple overseer”) (Horváth, 2009, p. 173). They were the highest officials of the city and accumulated different religious and social prerogatives.

Temporary settlements of workers (mining or military settlements) have been conceived as eminently masculine spaces (Wilfong, 2010, p. 176). However, thanks to textual and archaeological documentation, it has been discovered that both men and women lived in the city, and the latter would even have held a degree of prominence. Without the help of textual documentation, the study of gender in domestic spaces assumes a relation between gender and certain activities. For example, the kitchen and the spaces in which food was prepared are associated with women, and the reception and entrance areas of the houses, with men (Wilfong, 2010, p. 174). In the same way, the areas where there are, for example, tools, are considered as masculine areas; and in those where we find objects such as mirrors or small ceramic containers, with feminine areas (Wilfong, 2010, p. 174).

Beyond this, it is the textual documentation that brings us closer to the *modus vivendi* of the women of Lahun. We found a letter written or dictated by a woman (nb.t-pr Ḳrr) addressed to the city mayor indicating the conditions and status of the temple weavers (UC 32202). As Szpakowska stated (2012, p. 28), this letter indicates three things: “this woman has enough power to write to the mayor, supervises the weavers (who they trust enough to express their refusal to work), and has a position of responsibility within the local temple”. It is also probable that this type of production took place within the domestic unit. Precisely, thanks to the papyrus UC 32203, it has been proposed that Ḳrr carried out these activities from his home (Elaine, 2016, 125).

We see that, on the one hand, there are female characters of higher status who led groups of female workers. On the other hand, middle- or lower-class women were formally employed by the managers of Lahun. In this case, the workers would be the d3t.t (mentioned in papyrus UC 32094), the weavers of the temple. However, in many administrative documents women are referred based on their positions: in papyrus UC 32147G twelve b3k.wt and twelve ʿzm.wt are mentioned (occupations not found on stamp impressions) (Elaine, 2016, p. 120). We see again that women are mentioned in texts as working in the settlement, mostly producing food, or sewing (Elaine, 2016, p. 120).

Women in Wah-Sut

Wah-Sut (w3ḥ st) was an urbanistic complex located south of the city of Abydos. Because of its name (W3ḥ-sw.t-Ḳ-k3.w-R^c-m3^c-ḥrw-m-3bḏw) meaning “Enduring are the places of Khakaure justified in Abydos”,⁹ it seems that it was conceived as an extension of Abydos in order to house the workers and artisans in charge of building the funerary complex of Pharaoh Senwosret III (the fifth pharaoh of the XII dynasty) (Callender, 2007, p. 218). After the complex was built, the city would still be used to house the temple workers (Mazzone, 2017, p. 20; Selim, 2016, p. 1). The complex consisted of the urban center, the mortuary temple of Senwosret III (300 km northwest of the center), and a rock-cut tomb near Anubis’s mountain. 1 km. to the south, was the tomb of Senwosret III, aligned with his funerary temple (Smith, 2010, pp. 5).

⁹ Khakaure was the throne name of the pharaoh Senwosret III

At both Lahun and Wah-Sut, the archaeological literature (see for example Smith, 2010, Moeller 2018) makes a clear distinction between the inhabitants of the smaller houses and the larger “mansions”. The latter are often identified with the nebulous concept of “elites”. In a conventional urban settlement, that interpretation would in most cases be convincing and sufficient. However, since both cases are “worker cities” established by the state to organize a labor force with a specific objective, it is possible to refine this interpretation.

The architectural distinction between the residences of the inhabitants of Wah-Sut and Lahun is perfectly deliberate and part of the system that these cities were supposed to conform to. This is not necessarily the case in spontaneous settlements or organic formation, old or contemporary, where the social dynamics themselves tend to generate and reinforce social inequalities, which in turn are increasingly marked in the urban planning and architecture of the city. Both in Wah-Sut and in Lahun, the organization of economic activity had been hierarchical, with a group of ordinary workers, commanded by administrators, foremen, managers, and supervisors, who in turn would be subordinate to the “Mayor” or head of the settlement. In this sense, then, both settlements clearly deliberately reproduce in their physical structure the economic organization of the settlement, with a distinction between the residence of the mayor, the “mansions” of the foremen and intermediate administrators, and the small houses of the workers. In the context of settlements of these characteristics, there would have been little difference between the social and labor hierarchy. It is interesting to note, however, that in Lahun a part of the workers were segregated into a separated precinct. Therefore, architecture mostly served to enforce a hierarchical organization, but other reasons could also lead to the physical separation of the workers into different sectors.

As we have seen with the case of Lahun, female activity is seldom attested in ancient times. However, in Wah-Sut female seal impressions have been found around the area of buildings A, B and E, the “mansions”. The presence of personal seals of princess Reni-seneb, together with four other female seals (characterized by their scarab shape) would indicate that there was a female sector within the elite that carried out domestic-administrative tasks (Wegner, 2004, p. 221). Due to the erosion of these, only five names and titles of these women have been identified: $\dot{I}ryt-p^t s3t-nswt Rn(.i)snb$, “The noblewoman, King’s daughter, Reniseneb”; $Nbt-pr Nbt-n\dot{h}h s3t \dot{c}n\dot{h}w$, “The lady of the house Nebetneheh, daughter of Ankhu”; $Nbt-pr \dot{c}3-hwt-hr nbt im3\dot{h}w$, “The lady of the house, Aahathor, possessor of veneration; $Nbt-pr Bbi$, “The lady of the house, Bebi”; and $\dot{I}ryt-\dot{c}t \dot{I}pi nb(t) im3\dot{h}w$, “The female chamber superintendent Ipi, possessor of veneration”, which is the only one with a specifically administrative title (Wegner, 2004, p. 222).

These are female individuals with enough power and status to seal documents or objects under their own name or refer individuals to do so (we found 2-7 seals for each of the women, with Ipi and Reni-seneb having 17 and 59 examples of seals respectively) (Wegner, 2004, p. 222). In addition, they had been in charge long enough for these seals to be personalized (Elaine, 2016, p. 118). It seems that the sealing activity would basically be divided between two types of objects: some type of paste (plaster or resin), associated with the seals of wooden boxes; and fabrics, related to linen bags.

Reni-seneb’s seals were found in the northwest area of building A; the Nebetneheh and Aahathor prints between 1st Street and the back of Building B, and the Bebi and Ipi prints between 2nd Street and the backs of Buildings E and G (Wegner, 2004, p. 223). Precisely in the domestic context in which they find themselves, Elaine (2016) highlights that those women would be linked to the shena but could not be employed outside it (p. 117). This idea is supported archaeologically, since only female seals

have been found exclusively within the city (they do not appear in the mortuary temple of Senwosret III, or in other funerary areas) (Wegner, 2004, p. 221). It should be added that the titles held by women were reduced, limited to domestic spaces. It is worth mentioning that unlike in Wah-Sut in other archaeological sites female seals are attested above all in funerary contexts. (Elaine, 2016, p. 118).

It is possible that the concentration of these stamps in domestic areas, most likely linked to administrative activities, respond to the clear correspondence between domestic spaces, their form and functions, and the employment position of their inhabitants described above. In this context, the integration of storage spaces and product distribution in the houses of the wealthy classes can be better understood. In addition to the female seals of Wah-Sut and those of pr ḥꜣtjꜥ in Lahun, the concentration of storage structures for grain, the basis of the diet, in the “mansions” (in the case of the Lahun silos) and in pr ḥꜣtjꜥ (Wah-Sut) reinforce this interpretation.

In this framework of domestic and administrative confluence, where products and provisions would have been constantly received, registered, and distributed in domestic spaces, there could be a space for “elite” women to take part in these functions, beyond directing female workers like d3t.t or other household chores.

Conclusions

There are two clearly differentiated groups, the workers, and the administrators. The needs of the workers are not considered, as shown by the district of Sekhem having an internal distribution purely designed to direct workers to the work areas. The whole organization of the settlement is oriented towards “elite’s” (the bosses and administrators) needs.

As far as mobility is concerned, in Hetep the urban structure makes it very easy to get to the houses of the elites (because of the interest of the elites to control the mobility within the settlement and for workers to collect their food and salary). Sekhem’s main goal is for workers to go directly to their place of work (temple) and back, without regard for their social interaction.

Workers’ houses were small and simple in layout, with only a couple of rooms, but they did provide a degree of intimacy. Those of the elites were made to control the access of people as they went to the storage areas without trespassing into private domestic spaces.

Women may have taken part in productive activities and even carried out managerial tasks. Thanks to Wah-sut clay seals we know that elite women worked in domestic contexts. For the elite, the managing of the settlement’s resources (administrative tasks and food redistribution) was also seen as a household task, that’s why women oversee these chores and why they are carried out within the elite houses.

The city was designed as a machine to fulfill a specific purpose. Both the organization of mobility, the architecture and the role of families and women were oriented towards fulfilling this function, and all other considerations, especially those regarding the needs of the workers, were secondary.

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The game of land: authority and adversary from a Ptolemaic land survey (P.HAUN. IV 70)*

Chenqing An

Introduction

Ptolemaic Egypt is one of the most socially and economically dynamic periods in the ancient world. Upper Egypt, under the ruling of Macedonian kings, went through the process of “Ptolemaicizing” (Manning 2003: 23) during the second century BC. The development of the interplays between the local Egyptian powers (military and priestly elites, temples, etc.) and the Ptolemaic state has been one primary matters of concern for the scholars of Hellenistic kingdoms since the beginning of the twentieth century (Otto 1905, 1908, etc.). Given that one of the most significant elements of this dynamic relationship between the central government and local elites is centred on the issues of land tenure,¹ this paper aims to contribute to this strand of academic debate by analysing the Edfu land


* This paper is written based on one section of my MA dissertation project at University College London in 2021. I am most grateful to my supervisor Dr. Julietta Steinhauer (University College London) and Prof. Dominic Rathbone (King’s College London) for their careful review and comments, with special thanks to Dr. Cisca Hoogendijk (Leiden University) and Joan Campmany (Aarhus University) for their critical remarks on parts of this essay. The title is inspired by Geoffrey Lloyd’s (1996) famous book on Sino-Hellenic Studies. All the Greek text and most of the translations are consulted from the editions of Leob Classical Library unless otherwise stated, and all the papyri are referenced in accordance with J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. O’Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong and K. A. Worp, Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, 5th edn. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 9. Oakville and Oxford 2001. web: <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. For more specific information, see the bibliography and the abbreviation list at the end of this essay.

¹ Here I offer a very brief summary of the studies concerning Ptolemaic land economy in Upper Egypt. To begin with, there are two scholars of particular significance: Michael Rostovtzeff and Claire Préaux, both of whom are famous for their “Greek domination model” (in Manning’s 2005: 76 phrase). Rostovtzeff’s (1941, esp. 274-92) three-volume opus of *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* marked the peak of studies of Ptolemaic land economy during the first half of the twentieth century. As for the land in Upper Egypt, although Rostovtzeff (1941: 283) admits most of the estate was held by the temple, at least during the early Ptolemies, he believes the Ptolemaic administration still managed all the land within the state’s strong-controlled structure and he (1941: 1383, n. 90) also insightfully points out that one should treat the individual priests, temple ‘slaves’ and temples respectively with the crown when it comes to their economic ties. His emphasis on the prominence and centralization of Ptolemaic economic system is later supported by Tarn and Griffith (1952: 178), and later by Heichelheim (1958). Such emphasis is also seen in the work by Préaux (1939) on the effectiveness of “économie royale”, though she neglects to discuss the agency behind local economic activities. Préaux’s view was then followed by Lévy (1967), although Préaux (1978) subsequently revised her previous view (1939). The problem behind both models of Rostovtzeff and Préaux is generally attributed to their overreliance on the evidence from the Lower Egypt, esp. Fayyum, which was the richest for Ptolemaic studies at their time (Manning 2005: 175-6). The Greek domain model was later challenged during the 70s. Thomas (1975: 49-53), for instance, argues that the administration of Thebaid in the second century, perhaps after 130s BC, went through a process of decentralization by increasing the number of *strategoï* in this region. Entering the new millennium, the academia has embraced a wave of new research to view the Ptolemaic economy either through newly edited and published material (mostly Demotic), or new methodologies influenced by the rising schools of New Institutional Economics. By looking at the evidence of *epigraphe* (“harvest taxes”), Vandorpe (2000a: 172-3) highlights the shift of economic power from the local temples to the Ptolemaic government in the South during the second and first centuries BC. Via the lens of NIE, Manning (2003: 27) argues that, rather than the lately redeveloped region like Fayyum where the new rules of land tenure were established and supervised strictly by the Ptolemies, Thebaid was considered as one of the “areas where these old rights on land existed, [but] the regime did not disturb them”. For the regional difference on property rights between Fayyum and the Nile valley during the Ptolemaic period, see Monson (2007; later 2012: 16-21).

survey (*P. Haun.* IV 70), a specific document from the Upper Egypt in order to enrich the picture of “a balanced collaboration and a fruitful exchange between the dynasty and the Egyptian elite” in the second century BC (Hölbl 2001: 257).

In this paper, I firstly present a brief introduction of the subject, i.e. the Edfu land survey and its corresponding scholarship. In the main part, I focus on a specific member of the prominent family of Padas from Edfu. Combining with other contemporary evidence, I provide a new interpretation of Padas’ II land allotment recoded in the Edfu land survey apart from previous scholarship (Christensen 2003: 12-3; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 102; Christensen *et al.* 2017: 104, note to l.74), to see how this event fits into the larger historical context. Then, I launch an onomastic investigation on Padas II’s son, Ptolemaios, to reveal how this elite family benefited and thrived from the state’s interference with local issues. With all these attempts taken into consideration, I hope this paper would further our understanding of how the Ptolemaic state flexibly managed local issues amongst the Egyptian elites of Upper Egypt through the sophisticated play of the land.

Edfu and Edfu Land Survey

Founded during the Old Kingdom, the city of Edfu (known as its Egyptian name: , *Bḥdt*) is located at an important geographical location in the Upper Egypt on the west bank of the Nile furnishing the city with significant economic advantages, alongside its political influence as a provincial capital and fame as a religious site for the worship of the god Horus. Modern archaeological investigations of the site have yielded numerous materials of historical significance, such as papyri, inscriptions, ostraca etc., written in both Greek and ancient Egyptian dating from the late ages of the Pharaonic period up until the Arab conquest (Vandorpe and Clarysse 2003: 7). The name of Edfu, widely used among the Romans after the annexation of Egypt, has remained till the modern days. The original Greek administrative name of the city during the late second century BC was in fact called “Apollonopolis Magna” (Ἀπολλινόπολις ἡ Μεγάλη), as reflected in the Edfu land survey (*P. Haun.* IV 70, ll.9,76, etc.).

Excavated from the city of Edfu at the beginning of twentieth century, the Edfu land survey (*P. Haun.* IV 70) is a collection of Greek papyri that summarize the landholding and taxation in the Edfu area in the year 52 (119/118 BC) during the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Conducted at the nome level, the Edfu land survey mainly records the utilizations of different land, whether subject to tax or not within the region of Edfu.² The purpose of this record was to predict the amount of tax payment (often reckoned in wheat, *πυρός*) that the crown would receive, and was to be presented to the *dioikêtês* in the capital in early summer, with extra copies archived in the nome, as exactly the papyri we possess now (Christensen *et al.* 2017: 10-1).³ The Edfu land survey was firstly studied as the subject of Christensen’s (unpublished) PhD dissertation: *The Edfu Nome Surveyed: P. Haun. inv. 407 (119-118 BC)*. The Greek papyri had only received little attention from the academia and were limited to a small circle of scholars until recent decades, with the text edited, translated, commentated in great detail by Christensen in cooperation with

² The Edfu nome was comprised of four toparchies during the late Ptolemaic period: (1) the city of Apollonopolis Megale (the metropolis of the nome, west bank; modern Edfu); (2) the lower toparchy (northern part of the nome, west bank); (3) the upper toparchy (southern part of the nome, west bank); (4) Arabia (the part of the nome located on the east bank of the Nile), summarised by Vandorpe and Vaneerdewegh (2020: 129). For the land survey from Ptolemaic Egypt in general, see Crawford (1971: 5-38). Vandorpe and Vaneerdewegh (2020: 128-30) provide us with a useful introductory summary of land category reports on different administrative levels of nome (as the Edfu land survey), toparchy and village.

³ Cf. the case from Kerkeosiris, see Verhgoot (1998: 83-9). Ryholt (2014: 173-84) provides us with more information about the acquisition and physical attributes of the Edfu land survey together with other two Demotic rolls excavated from a shared archaeological origin.

several scholars and recently published by CUP (2017). The papyri came into the spotlight as a result of two conference essays offered by Christensen (2001, 2003) at the beginning of the new millennium. The former of these papers served as an introduction to the text and its special traits, while the latter constituted an exposition of the problems relating to cleruchic land recorded in the text.⁴

The Edfu land survey exhibits several interesting traits: Firstly, the survey constitutes the first Ptolemaic land report conducted at the level of nome which also originates from the Upper Egypt, where the majority of the surviving land surveys are written in Egyptian (mostly Demotic) rather than Greek (Vandorpe and Vaneerdewegh 2020: 123; Christensen *et al.* 2017: 4). Consequently, the Edfu land survey is regarded as an important document to facilitate our understanding of how Ptolemaic administration functioned in regard to its land economy in the Upper Egypt, particularly the Thebaid area, where the traditional Egyptian social and economic factors inherited from the Pharaonic period had always held a strong presence, even till the late second and first centuries BC (Manning 2003: 65-70). Not only does it provide valuable information about the economic organization of the land under various ownerships such as temples, military forces, private individuals which differed significantly from areas in the North, particularly Fayyum – evidence from which traditional scholarship such as that of Rostovtzeff and Préaux has heavily relied upon, but also contains information stretching back to the year 207/206 BC before the outbreak of the great Theban uprising (206-186 BC) (Christensen 2003: 3-8,12). As Thorolf Christensen *et al.* (2017: 4) indicates in his book, the Edfu land survey constitutes a significant contribution to our knowledge of Ptolemaic landholding given that the evidence of traditional interpretations which are drawn heavily from the evidence of the Middle Egypt, need to be reassessed.⁵

Authority and adversary

The Family of Pasas

In this section, I focus on a key family from the Edfu nome whose eminent position is attested by the Edfu land survey. Evidence of the family of Pasas, previously known as the family of Ptolemaios (Pasas I's grandson, also known as his Egyptian name Pamenches),⁶ is mainly recorded by a group of grave stelae from the settlement of Bakhthis, near Edfu.⁷ Thrillingly, two older family members are firstly attested in the Edfu land survey: P[asa]s I (Π[ασᾶ]τος, l. 75, in line with the Egyptian name *Pa-š3*), the grandfather of Ptolemaios; and Pasas II (Π[α]σᾶτι, l. 75), the son of P[asa]s I.⁸ We therefore possess a more complete profile of this elite Egyptian family (see Figure 1), whose members likely held important positions like

⁴ Here I offer a brief review of previous studies relating to Edfu land survey along. Manning (2003) makes ample amount of mentioning of the Edfu land survey his seminal book, out of his interest in the relationship between dynasty and local elites from the Thebaid area. While when it is discussed, the Edfu land survey is treated merely as a foil to the Edfu donation text, upon which he prefers to focus more (Manning 2003: 76). Monson (2012: 75-86, 159-84) pays enough attention to the Edfu land survey in his discussion on the regionalism of the land tenure and traditional fiscal institutions in the Ptolemaic Nile valley. Fischer-Bovet (2014: 100-4) also discusses the famous military and priestly Pasas family recorded on the Edfu Land Survey, which she interprets as an example of the military loyalty to the state exhibited by the native elites during the time of crisis in the second century BC. Vandorpe and Thompson (2014: 188-98) use the evidence of the *prostimon*-land (the land is charged by a πρόστιμον-fine because of illegal enclosure of some individuals) from the Schubart columns of the Edfu land survey to interpret a bank receipt also from the Edfu area (BGU VI 1420, year 36, 13 August 134 BC).

⁵ The works Christensen refers to are Manning (2003) and Monson (2012: 75-102). Christensen *et al.* (2017: 12, n. 25) debates heavily on Monson's calculation on the total figure of the lands, but he does not dig further into the details of reviewing Manning's (2003) work.

⁶ For the Egyptians bearing double names, see Broux and Coussement (2014, esp. p.127).

⁷ It is necessary to point out that the toponym Bakhthis (Βάχθις, transliteration of *Bḥd.t*) refers to a specific area located at Nag el Hassaya, which was served as Edfu's necropolis during the Ptolemaic period (Christensen *et al.*, 2017: 95, note to l.6).

⁸ Albeit the fragmentary condition (Ryholt 2014: 173), both their names are restored by Christensen to be identical.

local priests and military leaders in the nome, and thereby played a significant role in the Ptolemaic administration of the Thebaid area (Christensen *et al.* 2017: 44).

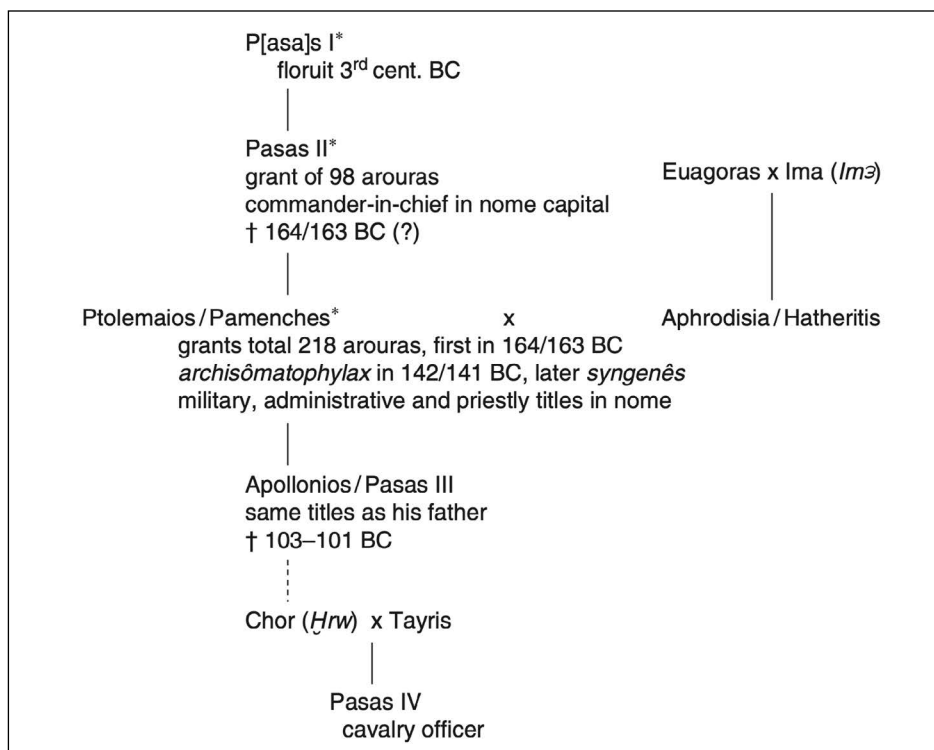


Figure 1. Genealogy of the family of Pasas⁹ (Family members attested in the Edfu land survey are marked with *)

We do not have much information about Pasas I, the eldest family member from the Edfu land survey itself, apart from the fact that he is listed as the father of Pasas II (l. 75). Since Pasas I's son, Pasas II, died (most probably) in 164/163 BC, this places his birthdate around the beginning of the second century BC; Pasas I himself is therefore likely to have been in the prime of adulthood during the third century BC. Given the prominent statues of both his son and later offspring, Pasas I is likely to have played an important military role, for instance within the Ptolemaic campaign to put down the great Thebaid revolt (207-186 BC).¹⁰ Pasas II is himself registered as the chief commander (ὁ [π]ροκαθηγούμενος) in Apollonopolis and was assigned 98 arouras of cleruchic land in the year 15 (167/166 BC, ll.74-6, see below), incidentally, the year after both Antiochus IV's military invasion into Ptolemaic Egypt (168 BC), and Dionysios, also known as Petosarapis, a member of the royal court, led the coup in Alexandria (Diodorus *Library of History* 31.15a, Fischer-Bovet 2014: l00-2). That both the foreign invasion and the coup evidences the powerlessness of Ptolemaic military and administrative spheres, not just in Upper Egypt but across the whole country – a situation which was likely to prompt the state to seek support from local elites to maintain order.

⁹ The figure is extracted from Christensen *et al.* (2017: 44, Fig.9).

¹⁰ For the aids from the local elites in Ptolemaic campaign against the rebel kings during the Thebaid revolt, see Manning (2003: 169 and n.182-3). An interesting comparison (also mentioned by Manning) is an Egyptian nobleman called Hakoris (Ἁκωρις), also the first known member of another famous native elite family from Hermopolite (or Cynopolite?) nome, served alongside of Komanos and Ptolemies against the native rebelling kings, and was awarded with a large amount of land from the state, see Clarysse (1991, esp. pp.241-3).

Issues with the Land Allotment to Pasas II

As Christensen (2003: 12-3; *et al.* 2017: 104, note to l.74) and Fischer-Bovet (2014: 102) suggest, the allotment of land (98 arouras) to Pasas II in the year 15 (167/166 BC) may have been related to the victory of Ptolemy VI against the revolt in Panopolis – a well-fortified town in Thebaid area. Thus, they interpreted this cleruchic grant was an example of the state's appeasement of those unpaid and demobilized Egyptian military in the South who were at king's side during the upheavals in Thebaid, similar to the attempts conducted by the state in the Delta region. However, while digging into more materials contemporary to Pasas II's time, I find such connection between this granting of land and the victory of suppressing the Panopolis' rebellion, as indicated by Christensen *et al.* and Fischer-Bovet, is insufficiently substantiated and needs further examination. I therefore argue that there should have no direct relationship between Pasas II's land granting with the crown's successful reconquering the Panopolis, simply because this grant preceded the battle of Panopolis.

P. Haun. IV 70,
col. iii

....

[And s]ince year 12 (170/169) under the brother
[of the kin]g, of the land (assigned) in the **year 15 (167/166)**
75 [to Pa]sas, son of P[asa]s, the commander-in-chief

col. iv

in Apollo[nopolis] Megale, [[reported]]
th[at (as reported) has been **transferred**] to Ptolemaios, his son,
[in accordance with the (instruction) from He]roides,
ar[chisômatophylax and] *dioikêtês* then in post, (Ptolemaios) whom
80 Te[- -, the] scribe then in post, reports as having been enrolled
in [- - - of] year 18 (164/163): high land
• in A[pollonopolis], 23 [arouras], 93 artabas,
[of which d]ry land 5 arouras, 23 artabas,
[fertile land] 17 arouras, 70 artabas, of which have been sown 6 arouras, 24 artabas;
85 • in the u[pper topa]rchy, 75 arouras, 306 artabas, of which
• [dry] land 27 arouras, 110 artabas,
• fertile land 48 arouras, 196 artabas,
• of which have been sown 2 arouras.
Total, 98 arouras, 400 artabas,
90 of which dry land 32 arouras, 133 artabas,
[fer]tile land 65 arouras, 266 artabas,
of which have been sow[n] 8 [arouras].¹¹

Thus, the core of problem here specifically regards how to date the ending of the revolt of Panopolis. Scholars have offered dates with minor differences: according to Fischer-Bovet (2014: 102), the king took over the city at least by 167/166 BC; whereas the figure provided by other scholars is around 165 BC (Walton 1957: 357, n.1; McGing 1997: 291; Véisse 2004: 157). However, due to the scattering and ambiguity of the evidence we currently possess, dating the revolt of Panopolis and the one of Petosarapis remains as a difficult but necessary task.

¹¹ The translation is extracted from Christensen *et al.* (2017: 61-3).

Dating the Revolt of Panopolis

First, let us lay out the previous context of the revolt of Panopolis. As the “famous” humiliation of Antiochus IV by the Roman envoy Popilius Laenas (Polybius. *Histories* 29.27; Livy, *History of Rome* 45.12) marked the end of the Sixth Syrian War in July of 168 BC, the crown was returned to the Ptolemies, and the kingdom was ruled jointly among three Ptolemaic siblings (Ptolemy VI Philometor, Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II). Meanwhile in Alexandria, by taking advantage of the instability of the newly-reestablished Ptolemaic regime and the remaining power vacuum left by Antiochus IV’s invasion in the South, Petosarapis “attempted to win control of the state for himself” (ἐπεχείρησεν ἐξιδιοποιεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα, Diodorus, 31.15a) in 167 BC.¹² Nevertheless, his attempt turned out to be a quick failure and he himself had to flee out the capital and was later received by those Egyptians “who were willing to share his fortunes.” (τοὺς κοινοπραγεῖν βουλομένους, Diodorus, 31.15a). Diodorus did not follow up with Petosarapis’ later activities, but his revolt surely had caused certain amounts of upheavals in the Delta region for the following years, as the evidence coming from Fayum (*P. Tebt.* III, 781) and Heracleopolis (*P. Gen.* III, 128.2-10) shows.¹³ Shortly afterwards, Diodorus (31.17b) told us that the Thebaid area was encountering another wave of rebellions:

Still another uprising occurred in the Thebaid, where an urge to revolt swept over the populace. King Ptolemy, moving against them in force, easily regained control of the rest of the Thebaid. But the city known as Panopolis stands upon an ancient mound and by reason of its inaccessibility was reputed to be secure; hence the most active of the rebels assembled there. Ptolemy, (observing?) the desperation of the Egyptians and the strength of the place, prepared to besiege it, and after undergoing every kind of hardship captured the city. Then, having punished the ringleaders, he returned to Alexandria.¹⁴

Diodorus’ account does not provide us with any details of time. But we might find two important chronological clues behind his text that would help us locate the ending date of the Panopolis revolt: First, the king was marching against the rebels in Thebaid, which could only be done with the disturbance in the Lower Egypt caused by Petosarapis under basic control; Second, the victory over Panopolis happened in the late stage of suppressing the revolts of Thebaid.

For the first point, the ending date of the revolt of Petosarapis thus becomes crucial for the whole dating process. Several contemporary documents from the Serapeion archive shed a light on this.¹⁵ *UPZ* I, 14.8-9 informs us that a Greek living in the same period named Glaukias, whose son Polemaios was the famous recluse in the Great Sarapeion at Memphis, died during the time of the revolt (τούτου δὲ μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον ἐν τοῖς τῆς ταραχῆς χρόνοις).¹⁶ Another text from the same archive (*UPZ* I, 9.4) indicates that the date when Glaukias died is in the October of year 18 (164 BC). Meanwhile, we have another petition letter (*UPZ* I, 110) dating before 21st September 164 BC mentions “the people just recover from a great disaster (τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τηλικαύτης καταθροῶς ἀνακτωμένους).” These documents together

¹² When exactly the revolt of Petosarapis began is unclear. Here I agree with McGing’s (1997: 292) argument that the revolt have begun between 168 BC and 167 BC, whereas other scholars like Hölbl (2001: 181) and Manning (2003: 170) put the date in 165 BC.

¹³ It is necessary to bear in mind that these two revolts should not be seen as directly related, see Fischer-Bovet 2014: 100-1; McGing 1997: 291.

¹⁴ The translation is extracted from Walton’s (1957: 357) Loeb edition.

¹⁵ In this paragraph, most sources mentioned are cited from McGing (1997: 289-95).

¹⁶ For research on the Serapion Archive and the family of Glaukias, see Wilcken (1927, i.e., *UPZ* 1: 104-116), Clarysse (1986), Lewis (1986: 69-87), Thompson (1987) and more recently Thompson (2012: 198-215).

point to two just slightly different dates. As for the reasons, I tend to follow McGing's (1997: 291-2) explanation that the revolts of Petosarapis ended in different time in different places, also with the possibility that the death of Glaukias later recalled by his son Apollonius in the letter who might simply refer to a more general period. Therefore, we could put the date when the state have regained the basic control of the Lower Egypt around the ending of year 17 (165/164 BC), or more safely, at the beginning of year 18 (164/163 BC).

Then for the second point, the king as recorded by Diodorus (31. 17b) marched towards the South while crushing the rebels in the Thebaid. A quite fragmentary papyrus (SB VIII 8681) from Edfu mentioning "a revolt of the Egyptians" (ταραχή τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) might refer to the same revolt, according to Goudriaan (1988: 143) and Hölbl (2001: 214, n.6). More 'solid' evidence comes from one Greek ostrakon (HGV/TM 44760) contemporary to the Serapeion archive recording an oracle "foretelling the defeat of the Egyptian and advance of the king into the Thebaid (ἀναγγεῖλαι ὅπως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τραπήσεται ταχέως καὶ εὐθέως δὲ ἔλθειν τὸν βασιλέα ἕως τῆς Θηβαίδος)" addressed to the joint rulers "King Ptolemy, King Ptolemy the Brother (the later Euergetes II), and the Queen Cleopatra the Sister" (Skeat and Turner 1968: 206-7).¹⁷ Despite of some disputes between the two brothers Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII with the former forced to step down temporarily, the older brother Philometor soon regained his power in Alexandria in 163 BC and later proposed a reconciliation with his younger brother (Hölbl 2004: 184-5). As McGing (1997: 294) wisely points out, an amnesty decree (UPZ I, 111: *C.Ord.Ptol.* 35) issued by Philometor valid up to 17th August 163 BC often interpreted as the sign of acknowledging the reconciliation among Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII and their sister Cleopatra II, should also be considered as the celebration of the ending of the recent revolts (Hölbl, 2001 p.184). Therefore, we could extrapolate that the ending date of the revolt of Panopolis is no earlier than year 18 (164/3 BC).

Date		Historical Events (Events with an estimated date are marked with *)
year 14	168/167 BC	Ending of the Sixth Syrian War against Antiochus IV
year 15	167/166 BC	Beginning of the revolt of Petosarapis* Land allotment to Pasa II
year 16	166/165 BC	Beginning of the revolt of Panopolis*
year 17	165/164 BC	Ending of the revolt of Petosarapis*
year 18	164/163 BC	Death of Glaukias Death of Pasa II* Ending of the revolt of Panopolis* Ptolemaios inherited his father land
year 19	163/162 BC	Amnesty decree by Philometor

Table 1. A brief timeline of the events discussed above

¹⁷ Ostrakon G 7-43, Exterior text, Col. ii (Text E.) ll.9-13, translated by McGing (1997: 291), also cited as O. Hor Gr. A, see Ray (1976: 2). For more details, see Skeat and Turner (1968: 202-8).

Thus, the land allotment to Pasas II, unlikely on the date provided by Christensen and Fischer-Bovet, should happen between the ending of the revolt of Panopolis and the coup of Petosarapis in Alexandria (167/6 BC). Additionally, the specific plot of land granted to Pasas II was firstly identified in a previous survey conducted in year 12 (170/169 BC, as mentioned on l. 73), three years earlier than the year 15, the year right after the invasion of Antiochus IV, which further predates the revolt of Panopolis. We might also assume its previous owner, as Christensen *et al.* (2017: 40) posits, supported the wrong side during the Sixth Syrian War and was latter retaliated by the crown during the aftermath. And the Ptolemaic government clearly understood the potential usage of this new plot.

One would then ask, why does the dating matter here? Whether this cleruchic grant took place ‘after’ or ‘before’ the victory of Panopolis actually makes a key difference in regard to the Ptolemaic administrative attitudes towards the local elites in the South. If the land was allotted after the king’s victory, as argued by Christensen and Fischer-Bovet, the act could be considered part of the traditional pattern of monarchic expectation on local elites following military orders in return for corresponding rewards. However, the fact that the grant took place before the revolt of Panopolis, renders the state as an active participant in engagement with local power to gain support through pre-granted land, in preparation for the upcoming crisis in the South, instead of being placed in a passive position.¹⁸

Obviously, the time of Pasas II was a period full of crisis and upheavals throughout the whole Egypt. Although both McGing (1997: 291) and Fischer-Bovet (2014: 100-1) point there is no direct linkage between the rebel of Panopolis (165 BC) and the previous political unrest in Alexandria, the disturbance in the Delta would definitely provide good soil for the potential unrest the Upper Egypt in the coming future, a simple political logic the Ptolemaic government would surely have understood. This could well explain the reason why the grant to Pasas II happened right after the revolt of Petosarapis. Also, it is true that the state might have encountered difficulties in offering payment to the soldiers causing financial obstacles for the family members of the military. A petition letter around the same time from a troop whose majority was recruited in the Egyptian *chora* and stationed in Alexandria (UPZ I 110, 165/164 BC) states their suffering from not getting enough payment and having trouble with cultivating their own lands. However, as Fischer-Bovet (2014: 256-7) points out, some of their economic privileges were still guaranteed by the state and this army remained mostly loyal towards the crown through this troubled period. With hindsight, the Ptolemaic state weathered the following storms in Thebaid successfully.

Since such grant of land was meant for the loyalty of Pasas II’s family, we might be curious about what role Pasas II actually played in suppressing the revolt of Panopolis two years afterwards he received the land from the state? There is little doubt that Pasas II was firmly at king’s service during the campaign, as easily extrapolated from the fact that his son Ptolemaios also held an important military career in the Ptolemaic government and later held the title of “brother of the King (*sn ny-sw.t*)” (Mooren 1977: 85; Moyer 2011a: 32). Furthermore, the Edfu land survey records that Ptolemaios inherited the land of his father Pasas II in the year of 164/163 BC (ll.75-81), which possibly marked the year 165/4 BC as the date when Pasas II died, coinciding with king’s victory over the rebels in Panopolis as we just dated. Thus, there is highly a possibility that Pasas II died in the harsh battle of Panopolis in 165 BC, fighting for the side of the king capturing the stronghold with “the most active of the rebels assembled there” (συνέδραμον εἰς ταύτην οἱ πρακτικώτατοι τῶν ἀφεστηκότων, Diodorus 31.17b).

¹⁸ Of course, another possible explanation yet to be argued is that this grant was a reward for his service in the war with Seleucid empire, which will fit into Fischer-Bovet’s opinions.

Ptolemaios: An Onomastic Investigation

Let us then look to Padas II's son, Ptolemaios (Πτολεμαῖος) – the so called “Prince of Edfu”, whom Christensen *et al.* (2017: 45) along with other scholars (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 370, no.17) identify as Pamenches, as referenced on the Egyptian-style grave stele of his son Apollonios (Padas III).¹⁹ There has been an ample amount of studies concerning Ptolemaios and his offsprings.²⁰ From an onomastic standpoint, it is also interesting to note that Ptolemaios – a typical dynastic name in fashion among the local Egyptians and perhaps popular among the Jewish community as well –²¹ is the first family member to bear a Greek name, rather than the Greek transliteration of their Egyptian names as his ancestors.²² Thus, I launch an onomastic investigation here to extrapolate some potential information hidden behind Ptolemaios' name.

As the adoption of Greek names by Egyptian families not merely constitute a fashionable trend; rather, the use of Greek names often with an Egyptian patronymic (such amongst the family members of Padas) like Ptolemaios would be considered, especially in priestly circles, an expression of loyalty to the Ptolemaic kings and their dynastic cult which worshipped Ptolemy I Soter, founder of the dynasty, as a divine being (Clarysse and Thompson 2006b: 325). Indeed, the Edfu land survey (ll.18-24) specifies that land (around 196 arouras) dedicated to the god Soter was exempt from tax to the year 12 (170/169 BC) – the year marked the Ptolemies' political conflicts with the aggressive Seleucid kingdom.²³ According to Christensen *et al.* (2017: 45), Ptolemaios was likely in his forties at the time the Edfu land survey was conducted (119/118 BC). It is therefore reasonable to assume that his date of birth (when he would have been given the name) would have been around 160/165 BC, only 5 years after year 12. Albeit the Sixth Syrian War with Antiochus IV (170-168 BC) would weaken the power of Ptolemaic government, the conflicts also had caused great harm to the local Egyptian temples. The rebellion and chaos started by Dionysius also rendered some temples as targets of the Egyptian rebels (*P. Tebt.* III, 781, and McGing 1997: 292-3). Rostovtzeff (1953: 722) also points out temples might have had to rely heavily on the crown to repair the damage after the invasion by Antiochus' army. This to some extent in turn provided leverage for the state to increase its prominence in religious practices such as by promoting dynastic cults and restraining the power of traditional Egyptian temples (McGing 1997: 289, 292). Thus, the naming of Ptolemaios was also likely linked with the Ptolemaic promotion of the Soter cult in the

¹⁹ There are actually two individuals with the name Ptolemaios recorded in the Edfu land survey. The first Ptolemaios (l.64, son of Apollodoros) in the survey refers to the officer of a cavalrymen troop (*katoikoi hippeis*). There is little information about this officer except for one reference to an eponymous officer (Van't Dack 1998: 9). Otherwise, he is recorded nowhere else; For the family stele, see *Pros.Ptol.* III² 5708, *C.Jud.Syr.Eg.* 84-8, no. 2, ll.19-20 (103-101 BC), also Fischer-Bovet (2014: 370, no.18).

²⁰ As for the study concerning Ptolemaios and his son Apollonios, see Yoyotte (1969: 127-41), Clarysse (1985: 62-4), Moyer (2011a: 125-37; 2011b: 31-3). His family stela (Cairo CG 22018, 22050) was firstly published by Kamal (1905: 19-20, 46) and restudied recently by Rihan (2020).

²¹ See Christensen *et al.* (2017: 40); Clarysse and Thompson (2006b: 321). Also, the data from the *P.Count.* shows “Ptolemaios” is the most popular dynastic name in Middle Egypt and Fayum area with 36 out of total 79 instances (46%) during the period from 250 BC to 150 BC, see Clarysse and Thompson (2006b: 332-3).

²² Egyptians bearing Greek names with obviously Hellenic features would normally have represented the Hellenization of a local Egyptian family, although they may not have acquired the ability to speak Greek. Clarysse and Thompson (2006b: 325-6): This applies to the cases of Ptolemaios from different regions of Egypt during the same period. For example, we have a typical case in the Lykopolite nome (*P. Count.* 53.l.35; 55.l.28, dating around second century BC): Ptolem[ai]os, son of Alex[ander], is “the only Egyptian bearing a Greek name among a large group of Egyptians”. In the Arsinoite nome (Fayum), there are earlier instances of this phenomenon: Another Ptolemaios (*P. Count.* 9. ll.106-8, dating around 251/250 BC), for instance, is recorded as the son of Petechonsis and Ptolemaios, father of Petearmotnis (*P. Count.* 6. l.508, 232 BC).

²³ Here, the land to which the survey refers was owned by the people from Ptolemaï (modern el-Manshah), a city founded by Ptolemy I Soter himself as a Hellenic style city whose cult of god Soter was initiated around 214 BC (Manning 2010: 106; Christensen *et al.* 2017: 47). On the discussion of year 12, see Christensen *et al.* (2017: 97).

Edfu and the wider Thebaid area throughout Upper Egypt in the aftermath of the Sixth Syrian War. Given that it was typical for Egyptian parents to give children the names of the deities in whose service they were engaged, and, considering the eminence of the family background, there is a high possibility that Ptolemaios' family was, at that time, actively hosting cultic services for the god Soter in the Edfu nome.²⁴

Conclusion

As manifested in the Edfu land survey, the eminence that the Pasas family had gained after the Sixth Syrian War prompts us to assume that the family thrived by being firm supporters of the Ptolemaic regime during the second century BC. Readers and historians of Ptolemaic Egypt would often characterise the period as a time full of crisis with a feeble state beset by civil wars and rural uprisings across the second century (Bevan 1927: 252-341; Vandorpe 2000: 405-36; Hölbl 2001: 125-221, etc.). However, it has become evident from this discussion that the Ptolemaic government still possessed the “Verfügungsgewalt” (Weber 1972: 63-8) to actively engage with the local elites in the South through a sophisticated system of land management, and eventually maintained a productive interchange and a balanced cooperation between the crown and the Egyptian elites (Clarysse 2018: 221).²⁵

Within the wider scope of this period, the state's mindset behind its land management fits perfectly into the general picture of its political strategy of foreign affairs at a time when the Ptolemies had become more reliant on Rome's power to deal with dynastic conflicts and the war with Seleucid Empire, and even the domestic strife between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII (Hölbl 2001: 183-4). Now, with hindsight, it is possible to deem this strategy quite successful: these Macedonian rulers availed themselves of the advantages of sourcing from the resources of “the others” – both the local Egyptian elites and the Romans – to put down all the revolts, coups and foreign invasions against the crown, and even managed to provide direct military support to other regime, aiding Alexander I Balas in his struggle with Demetrios II for the throne (Hölbl 2001: 192-4; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 104-5,). In light of the evidence presented in this paper, it is clear that within the vast land of Southern Egypt, metaphorically speaking, Edfu should not be considered a mere hostile battlefield for the competing interests of Ptolemaïis, the Hellenic flagship town of the Ptolemaic regime, and Thebes, the traditional centre in Upper Egypt with a stronger presence of traditional powers. Rather, it qualifies as one of the most important (possibly the most important) buffer grounds of negotiation and cooperation between the state and the local elites, all conducted through this strategic and sophisticated game of land.

Abbreviations

Papyri are referenced in accordance with J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong and K. A. Worp, Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, 5th edn. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 9. Oakville and Oxford 2001. web: <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>

C.Jud.Syr.Eg *The Judaeo-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C.: A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a “War of Sceptres,”* ed. E. van 't Dack, W. Clarysse, G. Cohen, J. Quaegebeur and J.K. Winnicki. Brussels 1989. (Coll. Hellen. I).

²⁴ For more similar cases from Ptolemaic textual texts, see the list in Clarysse and Thompson (2006b: 339), whose names were mostly linked with the cultic service of local Egyptian gods.

²⁵ The concept of “Verfügungsgewalt” is translated by Granovetter and Swedberg (1992: 8) as “economic power”.

- C.Ord.Ptol. *The Judaeo-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C.: A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a "War of Sceptres,"* ed. E. van 't Dack, W. Clarysse, G. Cohen, J. Quaegebeur and J.K. Winnicki. Brussels 1989. (Coll. Hellen. I).
- PM *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings,* by Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by Ethel W. Burney. 2nd edn. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960: 7 vols.
- Pros.Ptol. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Leuven 1950-2002: 10 vols.
- TM Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of Papyrological and Epigraphical Resources. web: <http://www.trismegistos.org/>
- UPZ *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)*, ed. U. Wilcken. I, *Papyri aus Unterägypten*. Berlin-Leipzig 1927. Nos. 1-150.

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Power and control: understanding prostitution in ancient times

Carina Mkrtchyan

Introduction

Prostitution, stripped of moral and social considerations, is at its core an exchange of goods and services. Traditionally, a woman provides sexual services in exchange for whatever form of currency that the buyer, often a man, has agreed upon with the individual receiving this income (Qian, 1997). In understanding the relationships between who the individuals in positions of power were, the enforcement of control in a civic space, how societal expectations influenced behavior, and how the business responded to its surrounding environment, we gain a better understanding of mobility and socioeconomic dynamics in ancient societies.

An Overview of Rome

From the stigma and disdain associated with prostitution to its consistency within various cultures, prostitution, often referred to as “the world’s oldest profession” has long garnered reader’s attention. Yet, it was only through shunning prostitutes that those in charge could attempt to maintain power over individuals whose livelihood was not directly dependent upon the government’s state or societal expectations (Edwards, 1997).

In Ancient Rome, any individual that worked within the sex industry without being a slave could be defined as a prostitute. It is important to note that most of the work in regards to female prostitution during the Roman Empire was done by men in the 19th century as colonial powers were expanding so, most of the information ascertained regarding these women views them from their societal perspective rather than having first hand information (Olson, 2006). A prostitute, much like a gladiator or an actor, was given the title “infamis”. This was a legal status that officially demoted individuals from their social standing and excluded them from many liberties and legal protections that, as a Roman citizen, would otherwise be offered to them. It was because of their career choice that the individuals would be labeled as such and could even be subject to corporal punishment—something typically reserved for slaves alone. Prostitutes were viewed as symbols of shame and these punishments (alongside other horrors such as mutilation and violation without repercussions) were seen as a ramification of this. Despite prostitution being a business that bloomed in Rome, society reprimanded it and the government allowed the mistreatment of the individuals who sustained its economy by engaging in it—a trend that can be found in both ancient and modern times (Edwards, 1997).

Unsurprisingly, there were already so many things that women could not do when titled an “infamis” that many legal restrictions overlapped. These would only be problematic to male prostitutes, who had not faced said adversities before. The duration of the designation of “infamis” for a prostitute was also unlimited, as the label was carried for as long as the individual lived. While certain individuals who had disgraced society (be it by being a soldier who had abandoned their post or merely through petty thievery) would have time restrictions placed upon their shameful status, those who had been marked with “infamis” would endure them for life. By making this label life-long and mandatory, the government

showed its power in defining what was morally right and wrong. The title was also significant, as the spouse would receive it as well. If a female prostitute married a free male citizen, the male would then also be identified with the derogatory term. It is also noteworthy that the union between a (former or current) prostitute and free citizen would be made illegal later by Augustus—another defining act in which the government would establish power over their citizen's personal lives. The implications of shaming someone by giving them a derogatory title is incredibly pressing because the law would specifically single out both individuals who had worked in the sex industry and those who were working in it. The fact that the law would go so far as to label a former prostitute's spouse as an "infamis" shows how they lusted to control these individuals—they practically attempted to force people away from this career by threatening their futures and the futures of those they would care about (Weisner, 2014).

Interestingly enough, despite the authorities' best efforts, it can be inferred that the societal response to the marriage between a free born man, known as an "ingenui" and an "infamis" was significantly more relaxed. The fact that Augustus passed legislation to stop said union (for it would be a disgrace if their "ingenui" carried the "infamis" title) actually implies that their attempts to control their citizens turned out to be significantly less successful than they would have hoped for (Shea, 2020).

In some cases more than others, prostitutes would find themselves physically relocated and shunned from society. In the same way that many major cities have red light districts today, Pompeii was well known for maintaining regions devoted to the sex industry (Allison, 2007). Archaeologists have found at least 35 brothels around the city as a result of the incredible preservation (McGinn, 2006). It is inferred that the brothels would have thrived in other locations as well. For instance, although Ostia (a Roman port city) has no trace of these businesses, it seems unlikely that the industry would not have existed. The inconspicuous locations of the brothels simply reinforced the desire those in power had to maintain the way they looked to others. Their logic was based on the notion that if ancient Rome truly were as honorable or as majestic as everyone claimed, they would not sink so low as to have brothels and let alone employ companionship. However, one must keep in mind that, understandably, in some locations other than brothels, prostitution could have easily been carried out (in a bathhouse or common meeting area, for instance) and that notions of the government attempting to control the prostitutes lives by placing them in specific locations can potentially be an oversimplification or misunderstanding based on contemporary bias and historical literature (McGinn, 2006).

Attitudes towards female sexuality were also different in Ancient Rome. Although they considered themselves more moral and conservative than many neighboring countries or groups of individuals that they had eliminated or colonized, their approach to sex was different. Whilst Western ways of thinking are significantly more typological, the Romans tended to focus more on pleasure and who was in control (Weisner, 2014). With Romans, there were two categories of lovers: passive (*cinaedus*) and active (*vir*). The male or individual taking upon the role of "vir" was supposed to be the one who penetrates, enjoys the sex and, above all, has power and control of the situation. On the other hand, "cinaedus" was supposed to be passive and merely there to allow "vir" to enjoy the sex. Two males together was not a challenge of sexual norm as long as one maintained the position of "vir" and the other of "cinaedus". The "vir" position was tricky, however, as any woman who would be active and take on traditionally masculine traits in the bedroom (such as actually enjoying the sex) would be considered strange and could easily be identified with prostitutes. Although it was perfectly acceptable for women to be sexualized and be relatively sexually active after they were married, the notions of what could and could not be done were still incredibly fixed. For the ancient Romans, the wife was an individual whose sole purpose was to breed children and maintain political alliances—there was never any pleasure

intended. This societal structure would further establish the identity of sex workers in ancient Rome as even their preferences and physical actions would be perceived as unacceptable as mandated by societal expectations (Weisner, 2014).

The need to distinguish between an ordinary female citizen and prostitute was so ingrained in societal need and norm that women who worked as prostitutes were classed as “togota”. This word denoted that the female in question wore a toga—a traditional symbol of masculinity which would further the misunderstandings and stereotypes that individuals had of these women (Olson, 2006). What makes the toga wearing female particularly interesting is that adulteresses and prostitutes alike would wear these clothes—perhaps, on a deeper level, this implies that society would mix the two together and not care about their true actions; only fixating upon the notion that they were “immoral” individuals. Obviously, in wearing the togas, the prostitutes would reinforce the notion that there is strength in fashion. In ancient Rome, a woman that was of high rank would not go out alone in public—she was a traditional individual who society would accept and perceive as good. Prostitutes, however, would render themselves the complete opposite of this and would be often seen alone in public. By wearing traditionally masculine clothing and partaking in traditionally masculine activities, they would simultaneously challenge authority and make themselves and their interests known (Olson, 2006).

It is important to remember that there were too many paradoxes surrounding sex laws (Shea, 2020). Whilst prostitution often set individuals on the road to financial stability and gave pleasure to those who would be buying the service, it was still incredibly suspicious to many involved. For the Roman citizens who were using prostitutes, the moral implications were taxing as society believed in a general code of conduct. Interestingly enough, in 40 CE, the state declared that prostitutes would have to pay taxes. After this event, many people recognized prostitution as something of a legitimate business rather than a shady, under the table transaction (Weisner, 2014). This decision can be interpreted in a myriad of ways—ranging from controlling and authoritative to opportunistic in regards to money-making schemes. The government took a career that was not directly dependent on their efforts to get by and changed it so that the prostitute’s social standing could now be influenced by their laws—for better or for worse. It was through the establishment of these laws that the government was able to quietly claim their rights to something they originally had no rule over (Olson, 2006).

As in many countries today, ancient Rome correlated social status to chastity—especially the elements that the outside world would see. A woman being viewed positively by the community was often directly dependent on her sexual honor and relied heavily upon what others knew about her (Olson, 2006). By controlling her sexual behavior, the female would be helping her family maintain social standing. This reinforces the notion that, whether through administrative or socio-cultural means, citizens could be pressured into acting a certain way. Had the women been able to do whatever they wanted, there would be nothing for those in charge to control when it came to family finances and what kinds of future alliances would be made on her part.

Of course, the life of a prostitute was far from easy. Although most of them were not directly classified as slaves, they were in one way or another owned by someone else. Traditionally, a woman’s image depended upon her living male descendents. Prostitutes had no one, so societal status was usually nonexistent as they were often controlled by their pimps who would play the role of a made relative—just much worse. The pimps who would control them were often delegated with controlling whom the women slept with and exactly how much they charged. Because early Roman law had established prostitutes as low-class, society had responded accordingly. Even when the prostitutes had to adhere

to their pimps, the government had very little power over making them do or not do certain things, so it is understandable that so much of their life would find itself contingent upon the social norms and expectations that surrounded and attempted to place some kinds of restrictions upon them (Weisner, 2014).

An Overview of Greece

The assumption that what could be observed in Rome could easily be understood in a Greek context is common. It is also incorrect. Greek and Roman attitudes towards prostitution, their social contexts, and physical placement are not necessarily the same thing. While overlap is not unheard of, the 1:1 beliefs often seen in older works are dangerous.

Greek material evidence in regards to prostitution is fairly limited– we have possible evidence for brothels (here defined as a site in which payment for sex occurred) at Delos, Ephesus, Thessaloniki and Mytilene. While site identification is not always easy, there are an abundance of textual sources that date to a myriad of periods in the Greek world. From the literary sources, we know that tenement housing (known as *sunoikiai*) occasionally housed sex work. Having said that, it was a site for labor in general– from a blacksmith to a carpenter, anyone who needed to be working there could use the area. It is possible that “the people occupying the space that identify the purpose of the structure, not the architectural format of the space”-- this would let us better understand the landscape as a malleable being: not a site of structures dedicated to one purpose such as a business for sexual services (Glazebrook, 2011).

Visual evidence to better understand prostitution is not uncommon– but, as with most archaeological evidence, it truly is open to interpretation and we must be very careful with this analysis. The Kerameikos Museum in Athens currently houses a black-figure lekythos which once held fragrant oil. Depicted are “three male/female couples on a single large couch engaged in various positions of intercourse, either standing, seated, or reclining. Another couch with three more couples engaged in the same activities crowds the first couch. A pillar separates another couple wrapped in a bedspread and seated on the floor. Finally, two more couples recline together—also on bedspreads—on the floor. These last three couples do not appear to be engaged in sexual activity but rather converse or watch the couples on the couches” (Glazebrook, 2011). If one were to look at any scene depicting a symposium, they would witness direct interaction between the figures depicted– very different from what is depicted in the aforementioned lekythos. In fact, the lack of interaction between the characters could be a key to understanding the context itself. A normal symposium scene would have the “common community of the participants [...] emphasized through the figures’ participation in games, music, and physical or visual contact” yet, here, we have couples focused totally on themselves (Glazebrook, 2011). The contrast itself sufficiently suggests a completely different surrounding environment (Kavvadias, 2000). Common to most black-figure paintings, there is no strong emphasis on architectural design. The elements depicted (furniture, pillars, etc) are all there to mark the space rather than accentuate it. It is possible that the scene depicted could reinforce the point made earlier regarding occupied space for sex work– perhaps the brothels did not need a space of their own and they could take the form of permanent or transient sites (Kavvadias, 2000). From what we can tell about sex workers, physical space was simply a construct– “pornoboskoi appear to have been mobile and to have gone to customers, even customers in a different city, instead of being permanently stationed in a bawdy house. Nikarete, for example, travels with some of her girls from Corinth to Athens for her customer Lysias and sets up in a house of his friend temporarily” (Glazebrook, 2011). Their flexible loyalties in regards to a physical space are a huge part of their identity

in general– everything about these workers is malleable. Their status can range from enslaved to free in their lifetime and, unlike something we would expect to see with aristocratic females, the social space they occupy also is directly dependent on their need to satisfy their customers and reap the financial benefits included in the transaction.

Athens, unlike other cities such as Thassos, didn't seem to control their sex workers too much. *Astunomoi* were managers who fixed city pricing. Out of the 10 selected individuals, Aristotle wrote that five were setting pay rates in Athens and another five in the Piraeus for flute and harp players. It is possible that their pricing went for the prostitutes working under their jurisdiction as well. We have cases of individuals being impeached for paying too much for sex workers and, perhaps, the constant presence of prostitutes at symposia would beckon the need for price caps to be formally established by the city. Having said that, “there is no specific mention here of brothel workers or prostitutes in general, and so [Aristotle's discussion] cannot be used as evidence for capping the fees of such women or their pimps” (Glazebrook, 2011). We must also keep in mind that money is never fixed– negotiations happen and whether it was the sex worker herself or a pimp, sexual services could always have their prices changed for additional services or accommodations agreed upon by both parties (Davidson, 1998). From the little evidence found in Athens, we can make a very light assumption that perhaps, solicitation practices and pricing were not truly of concern to the state (Halperin, 1990).

The brothels, as aforementioned, were flexible. There was no one fixed space and so their distribution within the city is hard to map. The working assumption, however, is that “brothels were not restricted in terms of locale but that they did collect in certain high traffic areas, like the Piraeus, Kerameikos, and agora. The fact that there was little stigma attached to having prostitutes in one's own *oikos*– at a symposium or even for a short-term stay– may explain why brothel spaces were not marginalized in the polis” (Glazebrook, 2011). It makes perfect sense for the women to go where they would be most sought after. From what we can tell, the concept of zoning shame really was not applicable in this context as, had there truly been such a deep taboo on prostitution, they would never have been allowed at symposiums.

Just because their regulation rules did not include zoning shame, however, does not mean that the sex business could fly under the radar. “*Pornikon telos*” was the Athenian name for the prostitution tax which was collected. It was applied to everyone in the industry– the workers, the pimps, the brothel operators, etc– the city saw an opportunity to make money and took it. Oddly enough, the collection was done by individuals outside the state– while we do not have enough details to know the manner in which this transaction occurred, we know that the tax collectors knew exactly who to go to and how much to take from them. Something suspicious given the relatively private nature of prostitution itself. Even though there were “likely lists of citizens and of metics and of the grain supply, all of which provided information of great importance to the polis, no evidence exists suggesting there were lists for individual professions, and such lists would have been more difficult to maintain” (Glazebrook, 2011). We really do not have enough information regarding the identification of the prostitutes by the tax collectors– perhaps they had their own lists. Regardless of how the money was collected, the significance of its collection cannot be understated– by making the prostitutes and those involved in the business pay taxes, the government acknowledged their existence and, in their own way, legitimized the activity.

Prostitutes who worked in brothels could be male or female– they seem to have been predominantly slaves and began working at very young ages. The term “*paidiskē*” often used to refer to prostitutes

means “young girl” and reinforces this notion (Glazebrook, 2011). However, the young start does not mean a swift conclusion to their career as we have evidence of prostitution at all ages. Building Z3 is an archaeological site commonly considered to be a brothel. The material evidence found here seems to imply that the workers at this site had been foreign. Their transnational status further implies that they had been purchased as slaves and had practically no other options considering how low their societal rank would have been. Social mobility regarding these women is incredibly interesting as we can tell that the women managing brothels or prostitutes in some form had once been involved in the occupation themselves. They were now free women who chose to apply their knowledge of the work to sell out others that were lower on the socioeconomic hierarchy than they were. Examples of such mobility include Nikarete who would buy young women and train them to be prostitutes and a play by Aristophanes which featured a character named Aspasia (Henry, 1995). While the legitimacy of her existence is often debated, it does not matter in this context. What we have here is a comedic play, meant to amuse and connect with the masses which features a woman who rose in rank, is now free and traffics other women (Bicknell, 1982). Her existence, fictitious or not, shows that the common Athenian would have been familiar with such a case. While mobility in terms of living a life of ease and luxury was not the first thing one thinks of when analyzing prostitutes, it was not unheard of. From the story of Euctemon and Alce— where Alce would become his favorite and he would eventually find himself dining with her rather than his actual family as well as enrolling one of her children (potentially his own) in his phratry, to the story of Neaira and how she became the favorite of her customers and would too, find herself taken care of as well— the mobility of prostitutes was often dependent on the luck of being selected to be a rich man’s favorite (Glazebrook 2011, Kapparis 1999).

Customer identification is rather tricky as it can be misconstrued— there was an initial belief that a social division existed between the brothels occupied by prostitutes and the symposium that other kinds of workers would frequent— researchers assumed that only poor men would find themselves visiting brothels and only the rich would entertain themselves at symposiums. However, Simos of Thessaly, the orator Lysias, Hipparchus the actor and Xenocleides the poet were all rich men known for their business with the girls who worked for Nikarete. Euctemon, who was mentioned earlier for how much he favored Alce, was also a rich man and clearly got to know her when she was working in a brothel. These sites “were not necessarily slum holes but could in fact be commodious” and, there was even the belief that spending your money on a non-brothel prostitute was unnecessary and a waste of your money (Glazebrook, 2011).

While our understanding of ancient Greek prostitution is ever-evolving, it is worth understanding that perhaps the business at Athens, the individuals involved and their relationship with the space that surrounded them was far more diverse and malleable than originally construed. From debunking concepts of marginalization both legal and social to the fact that the spaces were not hyper monitored or zoned (as they were clearly mixed in with other labor sites), we can assume that perhaps, there was a far richer social structure than initially assumed— accessibility to the workers found both at the Kerameikos where ordinary people could casually stroll at night to the Piraeus harbor supports this as well. Excluding the taxes paid, their regulation was also minimal. The brothels at Athens were likely just another facility defined more by the prostitutes inhabiting them (Glazebrook, 2011).

Sacred prostitution

The concept of sacred prostitution is one often rooted in Christian propaganda seeking the erasure of pagan practices as well as cross-cultural misinterpretations by ancient authors. Strabo, the primary

source for such material, is no exception in his inappropriately titled observations. His passages regarding the Babylonians and Armenians were consistently contradicting themselves and riddled with serious methodological and historiographical errors. This leaves the reader with unreliable literary sources (Budin, 2008).

While a topic like sacred prostitution is eye-catching and piques the interest of both reader and researchers alike, it isn't just the literary evidence that can be easily disproved, the material evidence for such endeavors is equally based on a cycle of wishful thinking and picking at the facts (Budin, 2008). At Pyrgi, for instance, there are a series of rooms which have been linked to Astarte and been further analysed as rooms for sacred prostitution– as exciting as such a feat could be, however, it can be disproven or, at the very least, extensively debated. In 1998, G. Barker and T. Rasmussen stated that “[a]t Pyrgi it has been suggested that there were temple courtesans in the service of the love goddess Astarte” and that the archaeological features found “has been tentatively interpreted as a series of rooms for sacred prostitution in devotion to the Phoenician love goddess Astarte”-- something completely based on the assumption that the goddess played an Aphrodite-like role in the society. Unfortunately for their argument, she was not restricted to being a goddess of love (Budin, 2008). Erotic elements found in iconographic materials can be linked directly to her, however, she seems to have played the role of a protector and warrior. Love, sex and fertility seem to be linked to her because of parallels found in other goddesses such as Aphrodite.

Another common misinterpretation can be seen in something called the “scorta Pyrgensia (‘the Pyrgi harlots’)”-- a quote from a first century satirist named Lucilius. The quote, in the context of this analysis, is not of significance. The ambiguity and its use in analyzing archaeology, however, is. Budin explains that “scortum”, which later became the basis for much analysis did not take upon itself the meaning of “prostitute” until much later– at the time of its depiction here, it meant “hide”, like that found in leather. “The paucity of information makes it impossible to know what either Lucilius or Servius had in mind when referring to the scorta Pyrgensia. One thing is rather clear, though, and this is that there is no good reason to associate the scorta, whatever they were, directly with the sanctuary at Pyrgi” (Budin, 2008). These very loose associations have been used to fuel further analysis and yet, were never based on substantial evidence, ensuring that this myth would continue to hold true and be used in academic circles.

A Greater Perspective

In the Old “Wild” West for example, research shows that the career was a direct reflection of limited circumstances, despite the wealth that it occasionally brought with it (Seagraves 1994, Foster *et al.*, 2005). While researching an old Arizona brothel will be obscured by myth and societal bias, similar to what scholars face when analysing ancient prostitution today, the overlap is still incredibly valuable in supplementing what we know. As the early 1900s brought about a so-called sophisticated life, prostitutes found themselves pushed further to the margins of society. Class and race were also a factor in this location: listed prices for women were dependent on their ethnicities and other factors we have not yet ascertained. Considering the degree to which prostitutes in the ancient world were foreigners, a deeper analysis of their ethnic backgrounds could likely prove economic stratification (Foster *et al.*, 2005). The Old West also shows a similar pattern of mobility to the one discussed earlier– for them, “becoming a madam was somewhat of a continuation of the same lifestyle, it lacked the difficulties of dealing with clients. For others it was a means of upward mobility by becoming wealthy” (Foster *et al.*, 2005). The confirmation of a fairly recent tale of social mobility shows that these prostitutes were likely bound by

their unfavorable circumstances and, when given an opportunity out, took it.

In Papua New Guinea, we see sexual networks up close and, unfortunately, see a direct correlation between women trying to seize opportunities but being dominated by greater structures such as “patriarchy, capital, heterosexuality, and the state” (Hammar, 2008). Prostitution, whether forced or willingly entered, is consistently an extreme answer to a terrible surrounding environment and the elements that force women into the business now are mirrors to what forced them in the past.

The reality of the surrounding environment is that it is constantly changing– we can use case studies, but nothing will ever procure one answer. For example, “Prostitution in ancient India was largely regulated by state institutions and not considered as an act entailing loss of dignity but a profession that was adjusted with the social institutions in an otherwise male dominated society” but later found itself changed in colonial India when the political economy shifted and “different groups of women lost their customary rights and privileges – such as inheritance rights or spaces to perform at elite gatherings – and were increasingly pushed to engage only in sexual labour for which they came to be condemned” (Jha, 2016). This seemingly unrelated study has incredible merit– it shows the changes in societal values depending on the controlling authority and serves as a reminder of the value of historical background. We cannot assume that values from one time period and the needs or incentives of those in power can truly be applied to analyze the next.

Prostitution was not a job that began one day and ended the next, it endures and continues to challenge our understandings of morality, culture, and institutions. The best way to understand the past is to supplement the material evidence uncovered with modern day ethnographic materials and then, to corroborate it with historical accounts. Subjects such as laws, political economy and cultural norms are simply a part of the world that influence factors such as wealth and rank. As discussed in the paper, any contact with the world of prostitution has the power to influence both surrounding environment and opportunities for mobility– this reinforces the transient nature of society and social status. The hierarchical nature of the ancient world never disappeared, it is here today and by briefly touching on anthropological analyses of prostitution, we will be able to better understand the form and function of the business in ancient times.

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III. MOVING IDENTITIES AND CULTURAL/RELIGIOUS INTERACTIONS

Mobility at the crossroads: careers and progression during the transition from Domitian to Trajan*

Antonio Romano

Introduction

The weight of ancient condemnation is still bearing on Domitian's reign and, in the long term, it has turned into a modern prejudice. However, from the second half of the twentieth century on, a work of reevaluation has begun together with a more critical reading of the historical sources. The studies of K. H. Waters (1969) and H. W. Pleket (1961), introduced by some key reflections of R. Syme (1930), have given a fundamental contribution to the new reading of the political action of this emperor, and now they have found accommodation and order in the excellent study of B. W. Jones (1992), which is a necessary update of the dated study of S. Gsell (1894). In more recent times, there have been many works aimed at reevaluating his reign based on an accurate examination of literary, archaeological and epigraphic sources. Some examples are the volume *Undamning Domitian? Reassessing the Last Flavian princeps* in the *Illinois Classical Studies* (Augoustakis et al. 2019), the exhibition *God on Earth* (Raimondi-Cominesi et al. 2021) and the *Musei Capitolini's* exhibition *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2022), which show that the pluridisciplinary approach and the wise use of different sources can contribute significantly to a careful reading of some aspects of Domitian's policy.

This paper is trying to move on the same epistemological line with the goal of investigating the social progress during the transition from Domitian to Trajan and its link with the emperor's memory. Literary and epigraphic sources show that his death was not well received everywhere: in Rome there was a great disorder in which the imperial succession and new career advances were being prepared.¹ In this great *ταραχή*, discussions started about the necessity of finding a substitute for the childless, weak and old emperor Nerva. Calpurnius Crassus' plot, the much-discussed 'Ignotus' from East and the soldiers' regret were a threat to the stability of the empire and it seemed that the situation could degenerate into a civil war as it happened after Nero's death.² Domitian's shade was still present and his supporters seamlessly continued their careers or even influenced the transition to Trajan. They were able to do so, because a civil war was averted and most of them saw no loss of prestige.

Hence, after a historical and social introduction, we will follow some of these careers, in order to underline the great continuity in the sphere of the emperor's advisers between Domitian and Trajan and, as a consequence, the political heritage of the former among senators and equestrians. Even though the majority of these men decided to hide their relationship with Domitian after his death, there are cases in which the connection with the emperor was not covered, as it has been shown by the inscriptions where the name of the emperor was not erased. In fact, in the third section of this

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¹ For a problematic view of Domitian's *damnatio memoriae* see now Gregori and Romano (2022).

² See also Syme (1958: 9):«[...] it required no astrologer to predict that the emperor following Nerva would be a military man. The only question was: after a civil war, or averting a civil war?».

paper, we want to highlight the group whose careers under Domitian were openly advertised even under Trajan: the case of the Roman soldiers.

Before turning to the subject at hand, it seems useful to describe the historical context that is Rome after the death of Domitian. A key passage from the *Roman History* of Cassius Dio expressed well the great confusion in the *Urbs* at the time.

Rome after Domitian: some historical notes about Cass. Dio 68.1.

At the end of *Life of Domitian*, Suetonius describes the different reactions to the conspiracy among the Roman people. The Senators, as might be expected, were overjoyed. The Roman soldiers were grieved, they tried to have the late emperor proclaimed *Divus* and they were prepared to avenge him, only to be stopped by the lack of leaders (although revenge was accomplished shortly afterward). The majority of Roman people, in the meantime, *indifferenter tulit* (Suet. *Dom.* 23.1).³ This famous section reveals that Domitian's death and the consequent *damnatio memoriae* did not find great consensus across the different classes and, we may imagine, the different places of the Roman Empire. However, what is most interesting for this paper is the evident contradiction between Domitian's memory and his heritage. Even though Suetonius' piece helps to understand Rome's scenario on September 96, there is a striking passage from Cassius Dio describing the context where the imperial succession and the inevitable professional and social rearrangement among officials and soldiers were taking place.

We have very few historical sources for this period: besides Cassius Dio, we may add the historical references in Pliny's *Panegyricus* and *Letters* and later narrations such as those of Eutropius and Aurelius Victor. Not only that, we can read *Roman History LXVIII* only from Xiphilinus who epitomized Dio's narration.⁴ Despite all, it is worth starting with the vivid picture of the Severan historian (Cass. Dio 68.1):⁵

μετὰ δὲ Δομιτιανὸν Νέρουαν Κοκκήιον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέδειξαν αὐτοκράτορα. Μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ μὲν ἀργυραῖ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χρυσαῖ οὖσαι, συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη· καὶ αἱ ἀψίδες πλεῖσται δὴ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ποιούμεναι καθηρέθησαν. Καὶ ὁ Νέρουας τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τοῖς δεσπότηις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας πάντας ἀπέκτεινε. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοις οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότης ἐφῆκε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὐτ' ἀσεβείας οὐτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου κατατιᾶσθαι τινὰς συνεχώρησε. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικάσθησαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος. Ταραχῆς οὖν γενομένης οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐκ τοῦ πάντας πάντων κατηγορεῖν, λέγεται Φρόντωννα τὸν ὕπατον εἰπεῖν ὡς κακὸν μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν ἐφ' οὗ μηδὲν μηδὲν ἔξεστι ποιεῖν, χειρὸν δὲ ἐφ' οὗ πᾶσι πάντα· καὶ ὁ Νέρουας ἀκούσας ταῦτα

³ *Occisum eum populus indifferenter, miles gravissime tulit statimque Divum appellare conatus est, paratus et ulcisci, nisi duces defuissent; quod quidem paulo post fecit expostulatis ad poenam pertinacissime caedis auctoribus. Contra senatus adeo laetatus est, ut repleta certatim curia non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo adclamationum genere laceraret, scalas etiam inferri clipeosque et imagines eius coram detrahi et ibidem solo affligi iuberet, novissime eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret* (Suet. *Dom.* 23). Latin text of Suetonius is taken from Rolfe (1959).

⁴ Even if Xiphilinus' work is precise and scrupulous, we can't know what is missing because of the lack of parallel sources; for a thoughtful judgment on Xiphilinus' work see now Berbessou-Broustet (2016) and Kruse (2021). Zonaras, for this section of the *Roman History*, follows Xiphilinus.

⁵ Greek text and translation of Cassius Dio are taken from Cary (1927).

ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Νέρουας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ γήρωος καὶ ὑπ' ἀρρωστίας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὴν τοοφὴν ἀεὶ ποτε ἤμει, ἀσθενέστερος.

After Domitian, the Romans appointed Nerva Cocceius emperor. Because of the hatred felt for Domitian, his images, many of which were of silver and many of gold, were melted down; and from this source, large amounts of money were obtained. The arches, too, of which a very great number were being erected to this one man, were torn down. Nerva also released all who were on trial for *maiestas* and restored the exiles; moreover, he put to death all the slaves and the freedmen who had conspired against their masters and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters; and no persons were permitted to accuse anybody of *maiestas* or of adopting the Jewish mode of life. Many of those who had been informed were condemned to death, among others Seras, the philosopher. When, now, no little commotion was occasioned by the fact that everybody was accusing everybody else, Fronto, the consul, is said to have remarked that it was bad to have an emperor under whom nobody was permitted to do anything, but worse to have one under whom everybody was permitted to do everything; and Nerva, on hearing this, ordered that this condition of affairs should cease for the future. Now Nerva was so old and so feeble in health (he always, for instance, had to vomit up his food) that he was rather weak.

At the beginning of this chapter, Cassius Dio describes the *damnatio memoriae* decree's consequences: the images were melted down, the inscriptions were erased and also his buildings were destroyed. This narration closely resembles the brief notes of Suetonius and Pliny's enthusiastic reminiscence where they delighted at the destruction (Plin. *Paneg.* 52. 4-6).⁶ There is no reason not to believe this account, even if Dio was also influenced by the usual and systematic demolitions of his time.

In addition, Domitian's death opened the floodgates for accusations against Domitian's *delatores*, especially (but not only) by slaves and freedmen who conspired against their masters. As often happens, many people used this situation to advance in their political careers. The situation was so out of control that the consul Fronto remarked to Nerva that, «it was bad to have an emperor under whom nobody was allowed to do anything, but worse to have one under whom everyone was allowed to do everything»; by the fact that everybody was accusing everybody else, Rome was under a great *ταραχή*. According to literary sources, the practice of delating and informing, so present during Domitian's reign, did not die with him, even if Nerva tried to stop it by releasing the ones accused of *maiestas* and punishing the informers.⁷ Despite all, it is very difficult to identify men who were put to death in this period and to count them: probably this was a problem for Dio's source too.⁸

Another evidence for this conflict was Calpurnius Crassus' plot against Nerva, an obscure episode that

⁶ According to Coarelli (2020: 153), this section could refer to the destruction of the *Equus Domitiani*. A precise judgment on the result of these actions against Domitian's images with precise reference to Pliny's text in Varner (2004: 113).

⁷ For a historical point of view of the betrayals in Domitian's time see Rutledge (2001). It is quite interesting to note that this action by Nerva has a domitianic model: the young Caesar in 70 tried to stop a debate in the Senate about the past, in particular about the several *delationes* under the reign of Nero (Tac. *Hist.* 4.44).

⁸ In Cassius Dio only the philosopher Seras is named, but his identification is problematic (even the name, as stated in Loeb edition, is suspicious and it is perhaps corrupt); three other names are in a *scholium* on Iuv. 4.53.

clearly illustrates the confusion of this period.⁹ He was a well-known opponent of Nerva and, later, of Trajan, but his relationship with Domitian and his memory is not clear. He was *consul suffectus* in 87, even if his father, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, was executed by Nero and he was the nephew of Galba's adopted son Piso. We don't know who were his acolytes and the motives behind the plot. Probably he was a former opponent of Domitian and he was disappointed by Nerva's rule (Strobel 2010: 156-157; Morelli 2014: 295-303), but, on the contrary, there is also the possibility that he was close to Domitian during his reign, and therefore that he conspired with other Flavian supporters (Henning 1999).¹⁰ In addition, there was great turmoil among the soldiers (to which we will return later) and, as we may imagine, among the civilians. In conclusion, it is really hard to accept Suetonius' indifference.¹¹

Nevertheless, Cassius Dio does not say anything about the disputes that there were also in the Roman Senate;¹² as Jones (1992: 197) warned at the end of his book on Domitian, we have to separate the reality of the Nervan Senate from the *façade* created by the official propaganda. Hence, in this paper we would like to highlight the differences between those, showing the turbulences also in the Roman Senate. In that regard, Pliny's *Letter* 9.13 is indispensable.¹³ This letter, addressed to Ummidius Quadratus, dates to the year 97 (but it was amended later).

Occiso Domitiano, this was the *Curia* described by Pliny (Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.4):¹⁴

pro se quisque inimicos suos, dumtaxat minores, incondito turbidoque clamore
postulaverat simul et oppresserat.

Everyone had acted for himself, brought his enemies to trial (if they were not too powerful), and had them condemned amid the general confusion and chaos.

Senators were at odds about their past: Plinius' charge against Publicius Certus, who had a role in the process against Helvidius Priscus, was often interrupted by hecklers (Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.7):¹⁵

Venio in senatum, ius dicendi peto, dico paulisper maximo adsensu. Ubi coepi crimen
attingere, reum destinare, adhuc tamen sine nomine, undique mihi reclamari. Alius:
'Sciamus, quis sit de quo extra ordinem referas', alius: 'Quis est ante relationem
reus?', alius: 'Salvi simus, qui supersumus.'

⁹ On C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus PIR², C, 259. His tormented career could be studied with *CIL*, VI 31724 = EDR114017 (a sepulchral inscription which, surprisingly, shows erasure!), Cass. Dio 68.3.2, Zonar. 11.20, Cass. Dio 68.16.2 and Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 5.6.

¹⁰ In our view, references to this episode are too scarce to take a stand about this problem.

¹¹ Due to the progressive weakening of the *comitia* during the I. C.E., it is really hard to understand people's reactions, but in this sense an interesting effort was made by Grainger (2003: 45-51); for the role of inscriptions on this problem see now Gregori and Romano (2022). However, we can assume that civilians were concerned with his deposition because of the close relationship that Domitian tried to create with his subordinates.

¹² Cassius Dio, as a Senator during a period of crisis in the relationship between emperors and Senate, paid attention to the history of this *consensus* in a diachronic view; hence, this inaccuracy may depend on his epitomist or his source. The particular interest about this period by Cassius Dio should be proved by a reference to an independent work of Cassius Dio credited by the Suda (FGH 1075) whose title was *About Trajan*; nevertheless, this information is problematic because it may be only a section of the *Roman History*.

¹³ It is not our aim to discuss this letter in the context of Plinius's work, only to use it in order to describe the atmosphere in 96-97. Earlier studies on this letter: Syme (1958: 77-78); Vielberg (1988: 172-174); Beck (2018); Szoke (2019). About this letter, there are also the precious notes of Sherwin-White (1966: 491-499).

¹⁴ Latin text and translation of Plinius are taken from Radice (1969).

¹⁵ Certus was defended by Domitius Apollinaris, Fabricius Veiento and others who were powerful under Domitian (Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.13).

I entered the Senate, asked for permission to speak, and for a while won warm approval for what I was saying, but as soon as I mentioned the charge and indicated (though not yet by name) who was to be accused, there was a general outcry against me. 'Tell us who is the object of this irregular attack!' 'Who is being charged before notice is served?' 'Let us survivors remain alive!' and so on.

As Schwarte (1979: 149-150) says : «*Die Certus-Affäre beweist hinreichend, daß der Senat in seinem Urteil über das unter Domitian Geschehene uneins war*». The internal conflict of the Senate was about its past, because, to some extent, everyone was involved in Domitian's policy. Worries about Domitian's memory mixed with more immediate concerns: Pliny's friends advised him to be cautious and to desist, to not annoy the powerful allies of Certus who could threaten Nerva's weak hold on power (Plin. Ep. 9.13.10).¹⁶

This episode shows clearly that also the senators were conflicted about their role under Domitian's long reign. Rome, as we can read in Cassius Dio, was on the verge of a new civil war. But it was avoided, thanks to the ability of crafty men who continued their careers without interruption.

Careers at the crossroads. *Cum ille diceret Domitianum pessimum fuisse, amicos autem bonos habuisse*

The main topic of this paper is the destiny of Domitian's men during this period and in Trajan's early reign. Even if Pliny thanks Trajan for banishing Domitian's *delatores*, prosopographical studies show that very few had their career interrupted in this period of transition.

Even though there was a certain automatism in completing a political career, for the main positions the emperor's authorization was always required, especially during periods of crisis. For the period at hand, after the work of W. Eck (1970: 70-73), it is now accepted that there was a general continuity in political careers between Domitian and Trajan.¹⁷ J. Crook (1955: 150-188) listed thirty-five persons as *amici principis*, whose careers began under the Flavians and who were still prominent during Trajan's reign.¹⁸ Naturally, for the automatism mentioned above, we may imagine persons of lesser eminence that also had no breaks in their careers. This was not without political implications. Now, with some examples, we will focus on the political value of this continuity among different classes, starting with the Senate's members.

Lucius Iulius Ursus is the first evident case: after being *praefectus annonae* and *praefectus Egypti*, he was named, as equestrian, *consul* in 84. He was close to Domitian for personal reasons and, even if their relationship had degenerated after the consulship, he remained in Domitian's entourage.¹⁹ We know that he became *consul* also in 98 and 100, probably because he had an active role in the transition of power to Trajan. When in Rome there were rumours of a potential usurper in the Orient who aspired to become the emperor (Marcus Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus), Lucius Iulius Ursus, together with Sextus Iulius Frontinus, Lucius Licinius Sura and others supported Trajan's candidature.²⁰ The future *optimus princeps* took advantage of his craftiness, and later rewarded him. Sextus Iulius Frontinus

¹⁶ *Interim me quidam ex consularibus amicis, secreto curatoque sermone, quasi nimis fortiter incauteque progressum corripit revocat, monet ut desistam, adicit etiam: 'Notabilem te futuris principibus fecisti.' 'Esto' inquam 'dum malis'* (Plin. Ep. 9.13.10) As Pliny will specify shortly after (Plin. Ep. 9.13.11), an *Ignotus* general threatened the stability of Nerva's reign from the Orient (he is now identified with Marcus Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus).

¹⁷ This continuity is now widely accepted: Jones (1992: 197); Strobel (2010: 150-152).

¹⁸ See also Waters (1969: 405) where there is a prosopographical index.

¹⁹ On Lucius Iulius Ursus see PIR², I, 630; Jones (1992: 40-42).

²⁰ For the problematic succession to Trajan and the role of these men see Eck (2002), Eck (2014) and Eck (2022) with relative references.

had a very similar fate: he was *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in *Britannia* under Vespasian, Domitian's *comes* in *Germania* and *proconsul Asiae* in 85. Like Lucius Iulius Ursus he supported Trajan during the transition and he became *consul* in 98 and 100.²¹ For both these men the third consulate was an impressive acknowledgment. These men helped Trajan to attain power, and for this reason they were rewarded by him.

We may add other supporters, such as Pedanius Fuscus, Iavolenus Priscus or Marcus Acilius Aviola and even their heirs, but we focus on the striking case of A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento.²² He gained the consulship under Domitian and, as *amicus*, he took part in the *consilium principis*.²³ However, it is crucial to acknowledge the senator's feeling about him, known thanks to a famous letter by Pliny. During a private banquet, organized by Nerva and his acolytes, Veiento was *proximus* [to Nerva] *atque etiam in sinu recumbebat*; they were talking about Catullus Messalinus, a potent senator and *delator* under Domitian, when the emperor asked (Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.6): «*quid putamus passurum fuisse, si viveret?*» Mauricus alluding to the presence of Veiento, answered «*nobiscum cenaret*». The sarcastic answer by Mauricus, who was banished from Rome by Domitian and reintegrated by Nerva, is a clear image of the time: the presence of Domitian's supporters in the highest places of Roman policy was embarrassing for those who like him suffered under the last Flavian. As shown in the first part of this paper, contradictions and conflicts were present even among Roman senators.

Undoubtedly not all the members of Nerva and Trajan's *consilium* were Domitian's supporters, but there was no prejudice against them.²⁴ This is also testified by a later source: in *Historia Augusta's Life of Severus Alexander*, Homullus (or Trajan) says that Domitian was evil but he had good friends (Hist. Aug. *Alex.* 65.5).²⁵ Trajan had no intention to punish men who facilitated his ascension to the throne; he created with old and new elements a new *élite* loyal to him, no matter past loyalties. Finally, it would have been useful to guarantee continuity and to not divide society further with new trials or persecutions; a more stable society would have been easier to rule. We may say that Trajan opted for what was more convenient.²⁶

²¹ On Sextus Iulius Frontinus see PIR², I, 322; Jones 1992, 58-59. In his works he praised Domitian's ability; on this theme, and its ambiguity, see now Turner (2007).

²² On Pedanius Fuscus see PIR², P, 199; on Iavolenus Priscus see PIR², I, 14; on Marcus Acilius Aviola see PIR², A, 50. To the emperor's *amici* we may add many people who had significant roles, even if we can't deduce a special relationship with the *princeps*: for example, Arrius Antoninus, *consul* designated by Domitian and *proconsul* under Trajan, or Tiberius Iulius Candidus who had the first consulate under Domitian and the second under Trajan.

²³ On this man see PIR², F, 91 e Jones (1992: 53-54), but especially McDermott (1970); he was also present at the famous banquet described in Iuv. 4. 123-131. From *CIL*, XIII 7253 = ILS 1010 we know that he was also *XVvir sacris faciundis* (a very significant role for Domitian). On the contrary, this inscription, as Mommsen *coniecit*, could have been dedicated in Germany in 97 when Veiento took part in the delegation that brought the news of the adoption to Trajan; if so, Veiento had a hand in the succession of Trajan to which was tied this inscription to *Nemetona*. About this problem see Syme (1958: 16). Honestly, we have no decisive arguments to reject this second hypothesis, even if it seems unlikely.

²⁴ On the *consilium principis* in Trajan's era see Tissoni (1965), Tissoni (1966) and Devreker (1977).

²⁵ [...] *et id quidem ab Homullo ipsi Traiano dictum est, cum ille diceret Domitianum pessimum fuisse, amicos autem bonos habuisse, atque ideo illum magis odio fuisse, qui rem publicam peioris vita hominibus mandaverit, quia melius est unum malum pati quam multos* (Hist. Aug. *Alex.* 65.5). The latin text is taken from Magie (1924). According to D'Elia (1960), *ille diceret* is referred to Trajan. Furthermore see Waters (1969 : 390) : «We must conclude then that at no time was there greater continuity in the sphere of imperial advisers and other prominent administrators than in the transition from Domitian to Trajan» or, more recent, Devreker (1977: 243) : «Nous espérons avoir suffisamment démontré que, comme pour la période flavienne, la transition de Domitien à Trajan non plus ne signifiait pas une rupture: Trajan était le continuateur de Domitien dans le secteur du personnel comme dans tous les autres».

²⁶ For this reason, we think that the destruction of images and the erasure of inscriptions probably did not last long, even if Domitian's memory was never rehabilitated and he remained a negative contrast for the positive representation of the new era. If his *damnatio* was questioned, the legitimacy of the Antonines would be challenged. Probably the revolt of Casperius Aelianus put an end to the first phase of Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, when most inscriptions were already destroyed and there was no

Beyond senators, we move to Domitian's most relevant reform concerning equestrians that was maintained by Trajan.²⁷ The equestrian class was particularly benefited by the *princeps* (Pflaum 1950: 50-54): in this case, we also see the continuation of careers between Domitian and Trajan in addition to the confirmation of the Domitian's reform involving equestrians. Seven new positions occupied by knights are known and important roles were assigned to them in the civil and military spheres. Careers such as those of L. Iulius Ursus (made consul), C. Minicius Italus (appointed governor of the senatorial *provincia Asiae* after the elimination of C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis) and Cornelius Fuscus (commander during the Dacian war) illustrate these new opportunities. In addition, Domitian admitted to the *consilium principis* men *utriusque ordinis* (FIRA 1² n.75). Furthermore, we can now attribute to Domitian a very important reform that really changed the imperial administration, by taking from the freedmen many palatine offices and entrusting them to the knights, effectively subordinating freedmen bureaucrats to equestrian officials (Suet. *Dom.* 7.3). Trajan accepted and extended Domitian's reform; in fact, the first equestrian *a rationibus*, L. Vibius Lentulus, was named by the *optimus princeps*.

To clarify this aspect of social and political continuity, we want to focus on two roman inscriptions now in the *Crypta Balbi* and in the *Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi* (CIL, VI 798 = ILS 1448 = EDR121875; CIL, VI 40489 = EDR073233):²⁸

Cn(aeus) Octavius Titinius Capito / praef(ectus) cohortis, trib(unus) milit(um), donat(us) / hasta pura, corona vallari, proc(urator) ab / epistulis et a patrimonio, iterum ab / epistulis divi Nervae, eodem auctore / ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) praetoriis ornamentis, ab epistul(is) / tertio Ìmp(eratoris) Nervae Caesar(is) Traiani Aug(usti) Ger(manici), / praef(ectus) vigilum; Volcano d(ono) d(edit).

[I]mp(eratori) Caesari Nervae Traiano / Aug(usto) Germ(anico). / [Cn(aeus) Oct]avius Titinius Capito, praef(ectus) / [coh(ortis), trib(unus)] mil(itum), donatus hasta pura, corona / [vallari, proc(urator)] ab epistulis et a patrimonio, / [iterum ab epi]stulis divi Nervae, / [eodem auctore] ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) praet(oriis) ornamentis, / [ab epistulis tertio Im]p(eratoris) Caesaris Nervae / [Traiani Aug(usti) Germ(anici), pra]ef(ectus) vigil(um).

These two inscriptions represent not only the personal story and career of a Roman knight but also this moment of transition. They have different levels of interpretation: firstly, they show a rapid and successful equestrian career, conducted under three emperors; secondly, they are one of the most important examples of the Domitian's reform; finally, they also represent a piece of evidence for Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*. Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito had an honorable military career before being appointed as procurator *ab epistulis et a patrimonio* by Domitian and being confirmed in that position by Nerva and Trajan. It was unprecedented for a knight to have that job.²⁹ His affinity to the murdered

reason to keep on. This is only a suggestion, in fact at the end of the first century the practice of re-inscribing inscriptions was not common; that would have helped us, as for the case of Geta, to understand the chronological limits of this process. In Rome, to our knowledge, there is only the case of CIL, VI 40457 = EDR118806 with a *scriptio recentior* of the first months of Nerva's reign, according to Géza Alföldy; in Martin (1987: 199) there are several cases from provinces, especially from the city of Ephesus, with re-inscribed stones for the benefit of Vespasian, Nerva and Trajan (according to Martin's calculations «une inscription martelée sur dix environ a été regravée»). For this problem see now Gregori and Romano (2022).

²⁷ For political and ideological continuity between Domitian and Trajan see Waters (1969), where Trajan is called *Domitiani continuator*.

²⁸ On this man see PIR², O, 62 ; see also Pflaum (1960 : 144): «Nous sommes donc en présence d'un avancement extraordinaire et particulièrement brillant».

²⁹ The emperor Vitellius tried to assign a position to Sextus Caesius Propertianus, who, as shown by an inscription from

emperor, as has been shown before, did not constitute a real problem, because he adapted to the new circumstances. In fact, in these inscriptions, respecting the *damnatio memoriae* decree, Domitian's name is omitted in contrast to Nerva and Trajan. Furthermore, with a dedication to Trajan he expressed gratitude to the new emperor who named him *praefectus vigilum* as the culmination of his career. In conclusion, the case of Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito is noteworthy because it shows the continuity between Domitian and Trajan among the emperor's administrators and the social progression of the equestrian class. On the other hand, with the dedication to Trajan and his work on the *exitus inlustrium virorum* he adopted the ideology of the new dynasty: we could say that he was a man of his time.³⁰ Even though Domitian rewarded him with a new and significant role, there is a chance that he mentioned Domitian's victims in his lost writings, as we can read in some Tacitus' *Agricola* passages.

In fact, the latter is a clear example of how, to improve their image, some people contributed to the construction of the negative representation of the *princeps* who enabled their careers. Returning to the problematic career and ideology of Cornelius Tacitus, we only quote some key highlights of his career as recorded in his funerary inscription (*CIL*, VI 1574 = *CIL*, VI 41106 = EDR093379).³¹ According to Géza Alföldy's reconstruction (1995), the famous historian's tombstone lists the offices he held: he was *quaestor Augusti* between 81-82 and in 88 he was at the same time *praetor* and *XVvir sacris faciundis*, having fundamental tasks during the organization of the *Ludi Saeculares*. Both appointments suggest proximity with and favour from Domitian.³² He was far from Rome probably holding military command across the Rhine or Danube and he was chosen by Domitian in 96 to hold the consulship the next year. He went on to finish his career as a *proconsul Asiae* under Trajan. Tacitus was therefore deeply linked to Domitian's regime despite distancing himself from it after the emperor's assassination. His career is a striking example of continuity, although he switched from loyalty serving Domitian to denouncing his regime in his works.³³

A bond that was not broken: the case of the Roman soldiers

Before moving to the conclusions of this short discussion, we want to focus on the role of the soldiers in this moment of transition. As earlier stated, according to Suetonius the soldiers were the ones who tried to defend Domitian's memory after his death, in clear opposition to the Senate's decree and people's indifference. The reasons for this special relationship are well-justified: Domitian was the first emperor after Augustus to raise their salary, he exempted them from taxes and he granted their marriage rights and citizenship to their children (*FIRA* 1², n.76). Moreover, several campaigns fought under Domitian bounded their status to him and his glory. If for most of Roman history soldiers were key to any coup or usurpation, in 96 this was a court affair.

Bevagna (*CIL*, XI 5028 = ILS 1447 = EDR157689), was *procurator a patrimonio et hereditatium et a libellis*. Nevertheless, after his defeat, this innovation was dismissed.

³⁰ The literary aptitudes of Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito are well expressed by Pliny in *Ep.* 8.12.4, where there is a clear reference to his work (written probably in verses as we read in *Plin. Ep.* 1.17) on the *exitus clarorum virorum* of those men who were not honored before because of the political atmosphere; the dedication to Lucius Silanus, killed by Nero, and the images of the *Bruti*, *Cassii* and *Catonnes* in his house show clearly the ideology of his work. His career «*ci mostra che, quali che fossero le sue convinzioni politiche, egli era ben degno di appartenere a quell'ambiente politico che, dopo aver curvato la schiena a Domiziano, aveva trovato modo di non perdere favori e onori sotto i principi successivi e anzi sfoggiava, all'ombra loro, il più acceso liberalismo*» (Paratore, 1951: 233-234).

³¹ On Tacitus's career we will cite only Birley (2000), in addition to Syme (1958).

³² See also *Tac. Ann.* 11.11. Birley (2000: 234) speculates that he had «put on games at his own expense».

³³ However, we could identify some examples of discontinuity between these two emperors, which were indicated by Waters (1969: 405): their reduced number confirms the general continuity. Among these, we could find people, as Iunius Maricus, who suffered under Domitian and were rehabilitated by Nerva and Trajan or men who were punished because of their past, as the philosopher Seras.

In fact, in some inscriptions, we can find testimonies of military careers between Domitian and Trajan where the name of the former is also cited. As it has been stated, after the the name of the damned emperor was simply omitted or there was a reference to a not defined emperor, hence this presence is particularly significant.³⁴ A marble base, founded on the *via Nomentana* and now exposed in the Vatican Museum, records in 99 the career of C. Vedennius Moderatus between the two emperors. Domitian's name is cited also with the honorific title of *Germanicus*; only deep ties of gratitude between this soldier and Domitian could explain this anomaly (*CIL*, VI 2725 = ILS 2034 = EDR105856).³⁵

This was also the case of a famous soldier, Ti. Claudius Maximus. In a huge tombstone, found near Philippi, he lists his accomplishments between Domitian and Trajan starting as *quaestor equitum* and *singularis legati legionis*, *vexillarius equitum* later he was *ob virtutem donis donatus ab imperatore Domitiano* during Domitian's Dacian War; after new assignments under Trajan, he was again *donis donatus*, finally becoming *decurio quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Ranisstorum* (*AE* 1969/70, 583 = 1974, 589 = *IDRE*, II 363). According to Speidel (1970:146), it is surprising to find the name of Domitian mentioned here, almost twenty years after his *damnatio*.³⁶

However, the main evidence for the close relationship between soldiers and Domitian, as previously said, is the coup against Nerva narrated by Cassius (Dio Cass. Dio 68.3.3).³⁷ Casperius Aelianus, associated with Curiatius Maternus, tried to raise the praetorian guard up against the emperor in order to put to death the conspirators, even though this was not their only aim (because otherwise they would have acted before). That Aelianus led the coup is surprising if we consider that he was dismissed by Domitian in the last years of his reign. By presenting himself as the only avenger of the emperor, he gained the support of the praetorians (or at least a part of them) and he was able to take out Secundus, his enemy; Aelianus' political ability enabled him to survive to Domitian and to become the first praetorian prefect to serve under three emperors, representing in this way a special example of continuity (Jones 1973: 277).³⁸

As we have seen, many soldiers did not break with Domitian's legacy and they tried to preserve the memory of their *princeps*, even as they continued their careers under Nerva and Trajan. Once Trajan ensured the legions' loyalty, the memory of Domitian was not a real problem as shown by the *legio I Minervia* retaining the *Pia Fidelis* title, obtained after the defeat of L. Antonius Saturninus in 89.

Conclusion

³⁴ The base of L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer (*CIL*, XIV 3612 = ILS 1025 = EDR131406) is a striking example: he joined Domitian's campaign against Chatti as a *vexillarius* but, after his consulate and proconsulate under Trajan, he did not remember his service under Domitian. In fact, at ll.9-10 we read that he was *donato ab Imp(eratore) Aug(usto) militarib(us) donis*, with an ambiguous formulation that hides the name of Domitian.

³⁵ On this inscription see Gregori and Spinelli (2019: 254).

³⁶ As for other soldiers, in the regions where troops were deployed the result of *damnatio memoriae* was ambiguous. Grainger (2003: 51): « In provinces where the army may be considered to have had a strong influence, and where urban local government was poorly developed – along the Rhine–Danube frontier – the record is equally indecisive. In eight provinces along the frontier line from Belgica to Moesia Inferior, there are only nineteen relevant inscriptions: six show erasure, thirteen non-erasure. In the case of the provinces particularly involved in the Suebic-Sarmatian war, and in the coup which put Trajan into the succession next year, Germania Superior, Pannonia and Moesia Superior, four inscriptions show erasure, nine do not (to these might be added one erasure from Noricum and two nonerasures from Raetia). For provinces where the army was exceedingly prominent, where Domitian was well-regarded – he had expanded Germania Superior – this is a most ambiguous response to the Senate's instruction». On the method's problems of this seductive interpretation see Gregori and Romano (2022).

³⁷ On this event see Berriman and Todd 2001.

³⁸ According to Berriman and Todd (2001) he was a Trajan agent but it seems unlikely as Collins (2013) shows.

In this paper we have tried to focus on the problem of social mobility between Domitian and Trajan, paying particular attention to its connection to the emperor's memory. This research deserves to be deepened with more cases and new arguments; furthermore, it would be useful to analyse careers that show no continuity between the two emperors and to understand the reasons. Nothing stops other scholars from pursuing this line of inquiry from other perspectives too. This matter, in fact, has different points of historical interest: beyond the study of careers in a moment of transition, there is also the political consideration of the destiny of the supporters of a murdered emperor and his heritage.

Hopefully we have shown clearly the attitudes of the different classes of the Roman society had towards Domitian's heritage and memory and the attempt by the new ruler class (successful, after all) to patch things up, achieving what Cicero hoped after Caesar's death (Cic. *Phil.* 1.1). Beyond the representation of the official propaganda, there was a great *ταραχή* and many people (but not all) tried to hide their past and to condemn Domitian in order to advance their careers. However, in order to resolve this *ταραχή* and avert a civil war, the new rulers choose not to break completely the bonds with the previous regime, as some careers show. For this reason, even if we did not accept Waters' definition of *Traianus* as a *Domitiani continuator*, at least we would admit that Domitian *amicos autem bonos habuisse*.

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Travelling mythologies: the movement of the divine throughout the Mediterranean and beyond

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Travelling mythologies can offer some of the most complex and flexible traditions surrounding ancient Greek deities. Focusing primarily on the Archaic and Classical periods, this research revolves around three main case studies, which are the divinities Herakles and Dionysus, and the nymph Arethusa, with a brief note on the campaigns of Alexander the Great coming at the end. The main sources of evidence considered are those we can find in literary tradition, as well as material and iconographic evidence, and some archaeological evidence. The aim of this research is to explore the historical context which surrounded the deities who moved and travelled throughout the ancient world, and to gain some understanding of the cultural connotations and significance they held for the people who both worshipped these divine figures and transported them along routes of trade and colonisation. Another aim is to investigate whether we could define the movement of these deities as one of their most fundamental features.

Arethusa

The myth which surrounds Arethusa, the patron nymph of Syracuse, provides a revealing example of how the movement of the divine could mirror the movement of people and their culture (Motta 2016). Sicily had been settled by Greek colonists during the second half of the 8th century BCE, and Syracuse is traditionally believed to have been founded by Corinthian settlers in c.734 BCE (Fisher – Bossert 2012). It was on Sicily, more specifically in Syracuse, that the Arethusa myth was popular. Pausanias (5.7. 1 – 3) explains that the nymph had been pursued by the river god Alpheus across the sea from the Peloponnese to Sicily. Pindar (*Ol.* 1. 17 – 24), in his *Olympian Odes*, relates a similar tale and the link between the Peloponnese and Sicily is emphasised. Accounts of this myth vary, but the general narrative of Arethusa travelling to Sicily from the Peloponnese remains the same. This myth related to the physical topography of Syracuse, with a spring, located on the islet of Ortygia within the city, also bearing the name Arethusa, the legend outlining that the nymph transformed into this spring upon her arrival (Bilic 2009). We can deduce that this spring of Arethusa played a central role in the civic identity of the Archaic and Classical Syracusans as it quickly developed its own mythology (Thatcher 2012). Portraits of Arethusa also proved to be a very popular choice for Syracusan coinage, as well as on coinage all over Sicily (Motta 2016). The Arethusa myth may have appeared around the 6th century BCE but her portraiture on coinage implies a much earlier origin (Bilic 2009). On numismatic portraiture depicting Arethusa, the movement over the sea with which she was associated is referenced. The earliest portraits, from the Archaic period, show a small portrait head of Arethusa within an incuse square which is split into quarters. This incuse square referenced movement, appearing visually similar to a wheel (Florenzano 2009). Numismatic portraits which appeared after these Archaic examples, showed the portrait of the nymph surrounded by dolphins, which has often been seen to represent the coastal setting of the spring itself as well as referencing Arethusa's movement through the sea to reach Sicily (Thatcher 2012). The presence of the dolphins also referenced the movement of the Greek colonists over the sea and called back to the movement of the colonists who had founded Syracuse itself (Motta 2016: 375). However, visual reference to the sea is a common theme on the coinage of Sicily, as well as throughout the Greek world more generally, so the connotations of the dolphin may be difficult

to categorise as 'local' to the Syracusans over having Panhellenic significance more generally (Skinner 2010). In these ways, Arethusa's numismatic depiction represented the Syracusans' civic identity and their conception of themselves as Greek, through the reference to the colonists. We can also see that the theme of movement consistently accompanied Arethusa throughout her numismatic depiction, with reference always made back to her journey across the sea.

This choice of coin type demonstrated a very Sicilian version of Hellenism, the Greeks on Sicily did not forget their origins and through the use of the myth of Arethusa they bound themselves to the wider Greek world (Rutter 2016). The reference to the nymph and the myth of her movement simultaneously invoked the physical journey of the Greek colonists from the Peloponnese to Syracuse, and the Syracusans' self-identification as Greek. Additionally, Thucydides (6.3.2) reports that when the Corinthian settlers had founded Syracuse, they forcibly drove out the native Sicels. With this in mind, we can understand the Syracusans' insistence to identify as Greek, if their civic identity had been born in some part by opposition to the local people that had been displaced upon their arrival. Portraiture of Arethusa also communicated a sense of place on the coinage, with direct reference made to the distinctive spring which lay at the heart of the city, which in turn encouraged civic pride (Thatcher 2012). This symbol of civic pride finding its origin in the tale of Arethusa which served to tether the Syracusans to Greek culture, as well as celebrate the individuality of their city. We can see from the accounts of the Arethusa myth in literature, and her numismatic depiction, that her movement across the water from the Peloponnese to Sicily was an absolutely fundamental part of her significance. In summary, the myth of Arethusa symbolised an intimate link between the Syracusans and the Greek mainland, specifically the Peloponnese, which was owed both to the movement of the nymph and the colonists (Rutter 2000).

Herakles

The mythology which surrounded Herakles was well established by at least the beginning of the 6th century BCE (Stafford 2010). This mythology was extensive and varied considerably; a convincing argument can be made that the stories of Herakles' labours were not linked together, canonically, before the metopes on the temple of Zeus at Olympia were carved in the 460's BCE (Shapiro 1983). The stories of these labours were set in locations all across the Mediterranean, including an adventure to the underworld, and so Herakles did not have an association to one specific place, which is reflected in his cult worship, which was widespread (Stafford 2010). This lack of a specific localisation for the cult of Herakles is reflected in the absence of a tomb for the great hero, which could serve as a cultic focal point (Stafford 2010). The myth of Herakles' apotheosis, his ascent to the realm of the gods upon his death, also serves to demonstrate the perpetual liminality of Herakles' character, not only was he constantly spread between a multitude of locations but he was also forever in-between hero and god status, receiving cult worship as both hero and god (Stafford 2010). These features of his cult differentiated Herakles from the rest of the Greek pantheon. Arguably, it was Herakles' distinctive nature as a traveller which was fundamental to his definition, his cult would not have taken the same form if Herakles had been associated with one place.

Herakles' origins are also characterised, to some extent, by movement throughout Egypt and Greece. In Herodotus' (2.50) discussion of Egyptian religious customs, he tells the reader that the names, or personalities, of the Greek gods owed their origin to the Egyptians. Egypt was an ancient land, even to the ancient Greeks, and had a very well established sense of its gods (Munn 2006). With this in mind, we could see Herodotus' assimilation of Greek gods to Egyptian ones as an effort to associate Greek religion with a foreign, yet familiar, set of customs which had ancient precedence, in order to lend some of this history and authority back to the Greek gods. This seems especially possible as Herodotus (2.43) details that Herakles was a very ancient god in Egypt with many thousands of years of history. The polytheistic

nature of both the Greek and Egyptian religions made this sort of assimilation possible. Although it is not consistent, this comparison of Greek deities with foreign ones permeates Herodotus' *Histories*. Walter Burkett (2013) reminds us that we should not try to find a consistent and reliable system of terminology in the *Histories*, and instead remember that it was a characteristic of ancient religion that gods could be assimilated together if they had similar characteristics. This is what appears to be happening in Herodotus, when he attributes the origins of the Greek gods to their Egyptian counterparts. Within this comparison, Herakles finds parallels with the Egyptian god Khonsu. Just as Herakles was the son of Zeus, Khonsu was the son of Amon, the Egyptian god most commonly associated with Zeus (Shaw 2014). Khonsu's name in translation means 'traveller' and he is associated more broadly with the movement of the moon and the passing of time (Shaw 2014). So we can see that in this assimilation with the Egyptian deities, Herakles and his Egyptian counterpart maintain the association with movement and travel. We must remember that Herodotus was writing for a Greek audience and often focuses on what this audience would find intriguing and, throughout his histories, uses analogy to make this strange material approachable and so the comparisons with Egypt may be there to spark interest with this audience rather than being indicative of the truth of the god's origins (Rood 2006). In any case, it is noteworthy that such a god, who shared Herakles' characteristics, was present in Egypt at the same time Herakles' cult was so popular throughout the Mediterranean. After detailing the comparisons of the Greek and Egyptian deities, Herodotus (2.44) eventually concludes that the Greek Herakles received his name from an ancient Egyptian deity with links and presence in Phoenicia as well, especially in the city of Tyre. It is in Phoenician religion that we find some of the most intriguing assimilation and worship of Herakles, which went on to heavily influence his cult on the island of Thasos.

Herakles was an important figure in the local pantheon on Thasos, an island which sits in the northernmost part of the Aegean Sea. His popularity on the island is attested by his appearance on the coinage produced there and epigraphic remains which evidence an annual festival held in his honour (Strafford 2010). The presence of Herakles' cult on Thasos stimulates questions of how and why the hero-god's cult reached the island and subsequently developed. There is some argument that the cult was introduced by Cretan settlers, but the more compelling argument is that the worship of Herakles on Thasos was the product of a combination of the Greek hero with a Phoenician deity, Melqart, who had been brought to the island by Phoenician settlers in c. 720 BCE, and whose worship arguably preceded that of Herakles (Malkin 2011). Herodotus (2.44) tells us that the Phoenicians were the first to settle Thasos and build a religious sanctuary, which may have been dedicated to Melqart. The archaeological record shows significant evidence of the remains of a sanctuary on Thasos, with an altar and fire pits dating from the 7th century, shortly after the time the island was settled by the Phoenicians; and so it could be possible to suppose that this was the sanctuary of which Herodotus speaks (Shapiro 1983).

This Phoenician god, Melqart, appears in inscriptions from at least the 9th century BCE (Shapiro 1983). From the 11th century BCE, city states on the Levantine coast, in modern day Israel, Lebanon, and Syria, would have their own local gods who took on a protector role, Melqart was an example of this kind of god and was associated primarily with the city of Tyre (Malkin 2011). The assimilation between Melqart and Herakles most probably came quite naturally, as they both had heroic attributes similar to one another, and Melqart had associations with Ba'al, the Phoenician god assimilated with Zeus, just as Herakles had associations with Zeus (Malkin 2011). Once again, we see the ancient logic, which allowed Herakles' assimilation with Egyptian deities in Herodotus, at work. Megan Daniels (2021) draws attention to the evidence that suggests Melqart was an ancient divinised king of Tyre, and was venerated in cult through ritual 'awakenings' which took the form of the cremation and rebirth of the king turned god, she reminds us this evidence is scattered and not always explicitly linked to Melqart but there is enough to suggest this idea of resurrection formed a part of his worship. This suggests another parallel between Herakles and Melqart, with both figures occupying the space in-between hero and god and

having stories of death and rebirth associated with their divinity. So we can see that Herakles' role as a hero-god who travelled, and his status between hero and god, proved to be fundamental factors in the way he was worshipped on Thasos, his cult may not have taken the same form if not for these aspects of the hero-god's character.

What is fascinating, about the arrival of both Herakles and Melqart on the island of Thasos, is that the colonising practices of both the Greeks and Phoenicians, which had taken place in the 8th century BCE, had created networks across the Mediterranean. These networks allowed for the movement of people and goods, and provided the perfect conditions and opportunities for cultural exchange (Malkin 2011). It is through these networks established in the age of colonisation and functioning in much the same way as we saw with the Arethusa myth, that the mythologies of Herakles and Melqart travelled. Phoenician colonists had spread the worship of Melqart all across the ancient world. In fact, it was fairly regular practice for colonists from Tyre to establish a temple to Melqart very soon after their arrival at a site of intended colonisation, this happening in places like Carthage, Malta, and Sardinia, which they then used as a tool of colonial policy in their newly settled territory (Malkin 2011). So not only did the mythology of Melqart travel all across the Mediterranean with the Phoenician colonists, but it was done very deliberately and with a specific motive in mind. Similarly, Herakles, and his cult, had been used by Greek colonists in order to integrate their new colonies into the cannon of Greek mythology, Herakles' flexibility and movability lending themselves perfectly to this purpose (Malkin 2011). With this in mind, we could also see the mythology of Herakles' labours, taking him on journeys all over the ancient world, as providing a mythical precedence for the Greek colonists, functioning in the same way as Arethusa had done for the Greeks in Sicily (Malkin 2011).

On the island of Thasos, we see the combination of the cults of Melqart and Herakles; their combined cult serving as an example of how these networks created by the colonists could allow for the transferal of culture. When the Greek colonists on Thasos encountered the Phoenician settlers and their worship of Melqart, they could identify this foreign divinity with their understanding of Herakles and this created a commonality between the two groups of settlers, in the religious sphere at least. As Herakles and Melqart shared so many qualities, each group could identify with the god which the other group had brought with them. This was only possible because the Greeks and Phoenicians shared polytheistic religion, the intricacies of which were flexible and adaptable to their new surroundings, and because of the networks which had been formed during the colonisation of the 8th century BCE, which set the scene for this cultural interaction and the movement of their respective deities (Malkin 2011). The use of Herakles and Melqart not only allowed this religious commonality and cultural exchange on Thasos, but was also a strategic tool which had a role to play in the consolidation of power of the colonists in their new territories, providing legitimisation for the colonists' activities through this link to the divine (Daniels 2021).

Dionysus

One of the gods, who was most notorious for his travelling tendencies in the Greek world, was Dionysus. Like Herakles, he did not have an association to any one specific locality and his worship occurred more broadly. Amongst his many roles and personas, including his role as the god of theatre and viniculture, he was recognised as a stranger god, the traveller who would appear at one place having just come from elsewhere (Storm 1998). It could be said that this was one of the most fundamental parts of Dionysus' character, especially in a theatrical context, as to re-enact a story on the stage is to transport both the actors and the audience outside of their sphere of comfort and familiarity and into an unknown story (Storm 1998). The worship of Dionysus was widespread throughout Greece during the Archaic and Classical periods, and evidence for the earliest forms of drama, which emerged from the practice of rites to Dionysus, do not come exclusively from Athens but appear all over mainland Greece (Evans 2010).

Those plays that do come from Athens, which reference Dionysus or have him appear as one of the characters, offer invaluable insight into the role the god played within Athenian religion and culture. Throughout Athenian art and literature, Dionysus is almost always depicted as a foreign presence who has the potential to be disruptive, and nowhere is this more apparent than in Attic drama from the 5th century BCE (Evans 2010). Drama in Classical Athens was Dionysian in both its spatial and temporal context, being performed within theatres located in sanctuaries of the god and at festivals in honour of him (Seaford 2006). With this in mind, we should look at some examples where Dionysus appears or is mentioned.

One of the most recognisable appearances of the god comes in Euripides' *Bacchae*, produced in Athens for the city Dionysia in 406/5 BCE (Evans 2010). Within the first twenty lines of the play, Euripides (*Bacchae* 13 – 16) has Dionysus introduce himself as having just returned from his travels in a variety of locations, including Lydia, Phrygia, Arabia, and Bactria. We can see from this example that Dionysus' role as a travelling god must have been both well-known and expected from his representations, for it to appear so early on within the god's introduction of himself. The language of the *Bacchae* takes on a religious and almost hymn like feeling due to the presence of the god, praise within Greek hymns could include themes such as the wanderings and adventures of the god, so the use of this language serves to enrich the representation of the god and emphasise how his travels constitute a fundamental part of his divine persona (Damen and Richards 2012). Sophocles (*Antigone* 1115 – 1152) also chooses to highlight Dionysus' travels in the fifth stasimon of *Antigone*, with Dionysus invoked by the chorus as a son of Zeus who roams widely over Italy, Eleusis, and Thebes. Helen Cullyer (2005) theorises that this reference to Dionysus' travels may have been left deliberately vague, again only specifying areas and not specific places, in order to let the audience consider all the possibilities of his movement and appreciate the broad extent of the god's domain. Given these themes of travel consistently appear in connection with Dionysus in Attic drama, this analysis feels possible as we can assume an Attic audience would have had much prior knowledge surrounding the behaviour of the god. These kinds of references to Dionysus were not exclusive to tragedy and also appeared in comedic plays. In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, the driving force of the play is Dionysus' desire to journey to the underworld and retrieve a playwright to save the culture of Athens. Although in this example, Dionysus' travel takes him from the realm of the living into that of the dead, as opposed to from one part of the living realm to another, the theme of his movement is still emphasised. *Frogs* also features a conversation between Dionysus and Herakles, who offers advice on a safe descent to the underworld; demonstrating the link between the two gods and their shared characteristic as gods who are not tied to a specific place (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 35 – 163).

The main festivals in honour of Dionysus in Athens at the time these plays were being performed included the Lenaia and the Dionysia, which were dramatic festivals and the Anthesteria, which focused on wine making and consumption (Evans 2010). To celebrate the commencement of these festivals, there would be religious processions which had the function of welcoming the god into the community; during the Dionysia, Dionysus was welcomed by a torch lit procession in which a wooden effigy of the god was carried from the outskirts of the city into its heart, coming to a stop at Dionysus' sanctuary and temple which lay to the south of the Acropolis (Evans 2010). This procession is demonstrative of Dionysus' role as a foreign, travelling god, and we can see that this welcoming of him into the city was a crucial part of his worship. Similarly, during the Anthesteria, there was a grand procession which aimed to both celebrate and imitate Dionysus' initial arrival to Athens in the mythical past; in artistic depictions of this procession, the god is often shown being welcomed into the city on a cart which has been adapted to appear like a ship (Evans 2010). This introduces the idea of sea travel into the tradition surrounding Dionysus and again demonstrates his role as a traveller. Of course, the intricate details of these festivals can never be asserted with complete certainty, but the theme of movement appears so regularly across Dionysus' artistic and literary depictions that a link can be undeniably made. The Anthesteria also

included practices of inversion ritual, with women, children, and even slaves invited to participate in drinking practices which were usually limited to male citizens (Evans 2010). This could explain why the Athenian representations of Dionysus always stipulate his foreign status, with his energy, which encouraged the inversion of social normality, being much too strong for Athenians to recognise as native to them. Just as his role in theatre demanded a suspension of reality and transportation into a new story with every play, Dionysus' function within his other festivals demanded a transgression away from the familiarity of Athenian society. It was the god's role as a foreign traveller, and the mythology which detailed his movement, which was used by the Athenians to conceptualise his attributes which were so different to their societal ideals.

Alexander the Great

During the lifetime of Alexander the Great, we can also see the mythologies of Herakles and Dionysus travelling with the Macedonians as they travelled east. Herakles was a divine presence integral to the Macedonian royal house, who claimed the hero-god as one of their ancestors (Stoneman 2019). Herodotus (8.137) tells us Temenos, the founder of the Macedonian kingdom, had been the twice great grandson of Herakles. Alexander's links to Herakles only became stronger once he embarked upon his expedition east, and the parallels between the two proliferated (Stoneman 2019). Mythologies of both Herakles and Dionysus' journeys east existed before Alexander and provided a divine precedent for his expedition (Amitay 2010). Dionysus was not as strongly associated with the Macedonian royal house as Herakles, but the stories surrounding his journeys around Asia, as we saw in Attic drama, were well known during Alexander's lifetime (Stoneman 2019). The existence of these myths, which had quintessentially Hellenic divine figures travelling the route into the east now taken by Alexander and the Macedonians, had the effect of creating a connection between Alexander's soldiers and the new territories they found themselves in, with the gods paving the way and providing divine precedence for their journey (Amitay 2010). Just as we saw with the Greek coloniser's use of Arethusa on Sicily, here we see the use of the movement of Herakles and Dionysus providing an attachment to the new land Alexander hoped to claim, and a way for the Macedonians to meaningfully interact with a locale which was otherwise wholly unfamiliar.

The existence of these myths was not only beneficial to Alexander and the Macedonians, but to the local populations and communities they encountered. Curtius (8.10.1) reports that upon Alexander's arrival to India, he was greeted by the local kings of the area who welcomed him as the third son of Zeus to have visited them, acknowledging the precedence of Herakles and Dionysus. Arrian (*Anabasis* 6.14. 1 – 2) also reports a similar tale in which the residents of Oxydracae, located near the junction of the Hydaspes, implored Alexander to let them retain the freedom they had had since the time Dionysus had visited them. The existence of these tales can be seen as evidence of the mythologies being used in order to foster friendly interaction between two groups meeting for the first time, and we get the sense from these two examples that the local communities were aware of Alexander's violent reputation and employed these myths in order to appease him and avoid any conflict. It is worth considering how these myths arrived with the local people in the east before Alexander did, and how they were so prepared for his arrival. Ory Amitay (2010) discusses the possibility of spies being sent to investigate Alexander's forces, giving the example of spies from Kabul gathering intelligence on Alexander's love for Herakles and Dionysus and bringing this information home so they could properly prepare for Alexander's arrival. As attractive as stories of espionage may be, these accounts are somewhat speculative. In any case, we can see these myths followed Alexander, to places they otherwise may not have reached, and were used by both Alexander's forces, to provide mythical precedence for their journey, and by the local populations, to communicate with a potentially hostile threat.

Some Conclusions

Overall, these examples demonstrate that often it was the travelling and moveable nature which was key to the mythologies of the deities which have been discussed, and their significance and worship may not have taken the same shape if not for this crucial characteristic. We have seen from the use of Arethusa by the Syracusans, the use of Herakles by Greek colonists, and the use of both Herakles and Dionysus during the period of Alexander's conquests, that the mythology which surrounded these deities could provide mythical precedence and justification for the movement of people, colonists or otherwise, throughout the ancient Mediterranean and beyond. Furthermore, these mythologies could be used by travelling peoples in order to foster peaceful interactions between the different communities and populations they encountered along the way. Dionysus' worship in Athens also revealed how a god's reputation for travel could reflect their liminal and foreign status to those who honoured them. To conclude, this research has explored how a travelling mythology could be one which reflected the movement of people, and the travelling nature of a deity could be a key feature which defined their worship.

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The cult of Arsinoe II Philadelphus. The ‘international’ success of a Greek-Egyptian goddess

Anita Malagrino Mustica

The theme selected for this year, ‘Mobility and socioeconomic dynamics’, provides much food for thought. I have chosen to focus on a figure who perfectly embodies such a theme. Arsinoe II Philadelphus, a queen whose life was extremely complex and tragic. She is an interesting example of the cultural and political mobility that characterised the Hellenistic age.¹ The mobility, she experienced during her lifetime,² became her hallmark after death, when her cult was spread to parts of the Mediterranean and the Egyptian Red Sea coast, where it survived for several centuries.

Elizabeth Donnelly Carney, Professor Emeritus at Clemson University and author of the monograph *Arsinoe of Egypt and Macedon: A Royal Life*,³ has given an account of the extraordinariness of this woman, by analysing her life through ups and downs.⁴ Arsinoe II Philadelphus (Figure 1) was born in Egypt, probably in Memphis, to Berenice I and Ptolemy I, one of the *hetairoi* and later *diadochi* of Alexander and founder of the Ptolemy dynasty.

From the outset, Ptolemy embarked on reinterpreting the complex political heritage he represented (pre-Hellenistic Macedonia, Pharaonic Egypt),⁵ and defined himself as heir to the Pharaohs⁶ and connected to the Argæan dynasty, which was claimed to descend from the Heraclids. He managed to wrest the corpse of Alexander the Great from Perdikkas and buried it in Alexandria. Ptolemy thus laid the foundations for the birth of a culturally Greek-Egyptian dynasty, which contributed to the economic, political and cultural flourishing of Egypt. Arsinoe grew up in a multicultural and dynamic climate. According to Diogenes Laërtius (*Lives of the Philosophers* 5.4), Arsinoe corresponded with Straton of Lampsacus, a peripatetic philosopher who was her tutor and took over the direction of the Lyceum. The courtly *milieu* itself, including Ptolemy’s wives and mistresses, represented a melting pot of different peoples and cultures.⁷ For example, Ptolemy’s second wife, Artacama,⁸ came from a noble Persian family and became his wife in 324 BC, when Alexander himself married Statira II and endorsed inter-ethnic marriages of the highest members of his *entourage*.⁹ It cannot be ruled out that Ptolemy might have also had an Egyptian wife (Stephens 2003: 14; Tarn 1929: 138-139), who lived with Taïde¹⁰ and other women

¹ For a comprehensive and detailed overview of the Hellenistic period, it will be useful to consult Canfora 1995; Landucci Gattinoni 2010; Muccioli 2019; Walbank 1983; Tarn 1978.

² As will be explained later, Arsinoe was a ruler in Macedonia, Thrace and Egypt.

³ The interest in ancient queens belonging to the Macedonian dynasty emerges from other monographs written by Professor Carney, for example *Women and Monarchy in Ancient Macedonia* (2000); *Olympias, Mother of Alexander the Great* (2006); *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty* (2018); *Eurydice and the Birth of Macedonian Power* (2019); *The Routledge Companion to Women and Monarchy in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (2020).

⁴ On the life of Arsinoe, see also Longega 1968; Mori 2001; Müller 2009; Nilsson 2012.

⁵ On the figure of Ptolemy I, it is useful to consult Leprohon 2013; Mahaffy 2014; Worthington 2016.

⁶ Cfr. Hazzard 2000: 164.

⁷ On this see another work by Carney, *King and Court in Macedonia: Rivalry, treason and conspiracy* (2015).

⁸ Plutarch (*Eum.* 1.3) calls Ptolemy’s wife Apama. On this issue, see Brosius (1996: 184-185).

⁹ Arr. 7.4.6. It will be useful to consult an article by Carney, entitled *Alexander and the Persian Women* (1996: 563-583). Interesting material can also be found in *Women in Alexander’s Court* (2003).

¹⁰ She was Alexander’s favourite concubine. According to Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistai*, XIII, 576e), Ptolemy married her after the death of Alexander the Great.

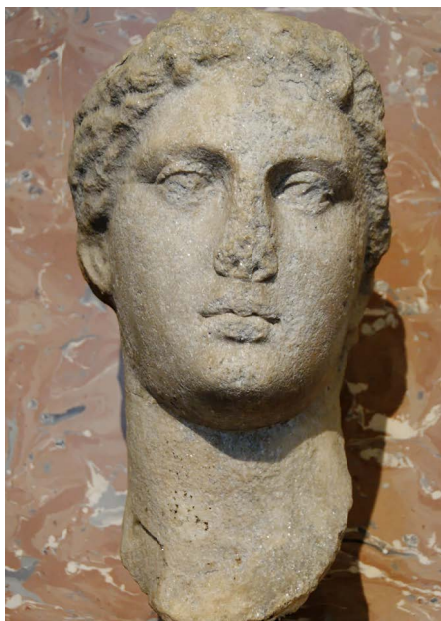


Figure 1. Bust of Arsinoe II, 3rd century BC.
Picture by © Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia
Commons, CC BY 2.5.

of Greek-Macedonian origin, among which it is worth mentioning Eurydice, daughter of Antipater.

Upon reaching wedding age, presumably around 300 BC,¹¹ Arsinoe married Lysimachus, king of Thrace.¹² The marriage should be regarded as Ptolemy's attempt to forge new alliances after Hypso (301 BC).¹³ Far from Egypt, in a new court and in the same polygamous context, Arsinoe succeeded in carving out a significant space of power for herself. A hostile but not entirely unsubstantiated historiography reports her struggle to oust the legitimate heir, Agathocles, from the succession and to place her eldest son Ptolemy on the throne.¹⁴ Arsinoe received several cities as gifts, which were renamed after her.¹⁵ Worth mentioning is the case of Ephesus, which changed its name to *Arsinoea*.¹⁶ She obtained the city of Heraclea Pontica, in western Bithynia, and devoted herself to majestic acts of euergetism. For example, she commissioned the Rotunda of Samothrace (Figure 2), the largest covered circular hall in the Greek world (20m diameter). From these early records, it is possible to see how Arsinoe marked the political geography of the Hellenistic world, leaving traces of her

power at various points on the political chessboard of the time. The year 281 BC, when Lysimachus lost his life at the battle of Curupedius marked the start of the political escalation of Ptolemy Ceraunus,¹⁷ Arsinoe's half-brother, who had been living for years at the Macedonian court. Arsinoe, no longer queen, was hunted down by the pro-Seleucus crowd in Ephesus, but she managed to save herself and rejoin her children at Cassandrea.¹⁸ After having married her half-brother and witnessing the massacre of her descendants, Arsinoe, in mysterious circumstances, returned to Egypt and married her full-brother, Ptolemy II.

The marriage of two siblings, sons of the same father and mother, scandalised the Hellenic world, but not the Egyptian one, where such unions had some ancient precedents.¹⁹ The sovereigns presented themselves as kings and pharaohs and Arsinoe had the title of queen of Upper and Lower Egypt,²⁰ maintaining an autonomy of manoeuvre typical of the political life of some high-ranking Macedonian

¹¹ Cf. Carney 2013: 31.

¹² Cf. Franco 1993; Landucci Gattinoni 1992; Possenti 1901; Saitta 1955.

¹³ Although referring to the Argead dynasty, it is interesting to consult the article *Argead Marriage Alliances* (2017: 139-150) by Elizabeth Donnelly Carney. The contribution, in fact, describes the dynamics of alliances through royal marriages and is useful to fully understand the mechanism of political moves between great powers.

¹⁴ To understand the historiographical debate around the figure of Arsinoe, see Barbantani 2008 and Burstein 1982.

¹⁵ Cf. Carney 1988.

¹⁶ Cf. Appiano, *Syriakà* 14.1.21.

¹⁷ Cf. Landucci Gattinoni 1992.

¹⁸ Cf. Polieno, *Stratagemmi* 8.57. According to Polyenus' account, Arsinoe had a handmaiden dressed in her own clothes and sent her out of the royal palace on a litter accompanied by an armed escort, while she herself disguised herself in dirty rags and left via a side exit, heading on foot and alone to the harbour. The handmaiden found death shortly afterwards, mistaken for the queen and stabbed by a supporter of Seleucus, while Arsinoe managed to board a ship and take refuge in Macedonia.

¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that not all scholars are convinced that the custom was so common in the Pharaonic world. For a complete picture of the issue, it will not be superfluous to consult Carney 1987.

²⁰ On the subject of the regal designations of women in the Hellenistic period, it will be essential to consult Carney 1991 with its bibliography.



Figure 2. Rotunda of Arsinoe II. Picture by Ivan Koev, CC BY-SA 4.0.

women. It was also this role that determined her popularity, which was enhanced by her victories at the Olympics.²¹ Before being deified after her death, Arsinoe was the object of the living cult of *theoi adelphoi*, established by Ptolemy around 272 and dedicated to the worship of the royal couple (P. Hib. 199 2. 11–17; Hauben 1970; Hölbl 2001: 94; Mooren 1975: 58–60). In the Greek world, the royal couple was associated with the husband-brothers Zeus and Hera, and in the Egyptian world with Isis and Osiris (Figure 3). It was Callicrates of Samos,²² admiral of the Ptolemaic navy and *philos* of the king and queen, who spread the cult in the areas under Ptolemaic influence. Sources, including Posidippus (AB 74), report on the temples, dedications and statues that Callicrates devoted to the god-queen in various cities (Olympia, Canopus, Samos). According to traditional opinion, Ptolemy did not establish a cult in honour of his wife until after her death.²³ Arsinoe, already having Greek-Egyptian connotations in the cult of *theoi adelphoi*, was presented as a deity with some very hybrid traits. Because of such a nature, difficult to categorise, the cult enjoyed enormous success. The new goddess was associated with Aphrodite and became the protector of sailors and travellers. Once again, the Navarch Callicrates proved indispensable for the circulation of the cult, which was observed in the areas under Ptolemaic influence from a public and private point of view. Arsinoe probably also became the patroness of the cult of the Dioscuri (Callimachus, fr. 228 Pf.) within the Hellenic pantheon.

²¹ It should be pointed out that women did not compete in the Olympics, but they were allowed to engage charioteers, thus gaining credit for the victory (see Pomeroy 2002: 21–22).

²² On Callicrates of Samos, see Hauben 1970 and 2013.

²³ Cf. Callimachus, Iambs 16.



Figure 3. Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, octodracma of Alessandria. Picture by Francesco Bini, CC BY 3.0.

In the Egyptian cult, which referred to her under in various names (Hölbl 2001: 101), Arsinoe appeared with native attributes on various monuments, where she is often surrounded by other Egyptian deities²⁴ (Figure 4). On the stele of Pithom, Arsinoe is linked to the goddess Isis. Already in Pharaonic times, the representation of Isis had been linked to that of Hathor, becoming a symbol of royalty. The Ptolemies were the first to associate this deity directly with the ruler's wife. The refined construction of her image led the goddess Arsinoe to be widely accepted by the Egyptian priestly class.²⁵ It is no coincidence that thirteen priestly families in Memphis named their daughters Arsinoe, contributing to the spread of the cult. Politically speaking, therefore, the cult proved to be an effective strategy for tying in with the Ptolemaic dynasty. Every port city had a temple dedicated to the goddess.²⁶ Processions were also instituted in honour of Arsinoe, which helped to make the cult popular. It should be pointed out that not all the cults of the Hellenistic rulers have such a rich and detailed heritage as Arsinoe, who was honoured publicly and privately. It was the nesiarch Hermias, another person close to the Alexandrian court, who founded the *Philadelphieia* in Delos, a ceremony in which Arsinoe was worshipped together with Apollo, Artemis and Lato.²⁷ The *Arsinoeia* were celebrated in Alexandria, and most likely, they are

²⁴ Cf. Egyptian relief of Philae. In addition, the Mendes stele depicts Arsinoe in the act of worshipping the Egyptian gods. For the iconography reserved for the goddess, see Nilsson 2012.

²⁵ The Mendes stele records that Ptolemy II made Arsinoe a goddess shared in all Egyptian temples. At Memphis, for example, she shared the temple and high priest with Ptah, the city's main god.

²⁶ Particularly noteworthy in Alexandria is the construction of the *Arsinoeum*.

²⁷ Cf. Caneva 2012: 80.



Figure 4. Temple relief of queen Arsinoe II, Egypt, Ptolemaic period, after 270 BC.
Picture by Daderot in Public Domain.

referred to in the fragment of the work of Satyr of Callati²⁸ (Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας δῆμων), handed down by P. Oxy. XXVII 2465 (2nd century BC) and contains a *lex sacra* for the procession in honour of the queen: μηδεὶς βαδιζέτω/ τῆι κανηφόρῳι/ Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου/ μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ ἀρ-/ χόντων καὶ ἐφήβων καὶ ῥαβδοφόρων/ οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι θύειν Ἀρσινόῃ Φιλα-/ δέλφῳι θυέτωσαν πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων θυ-/ ρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν δωμαίων ἢ κατὰ τὴν/ ὁδὸν ἢ ἂν ἡ κανηφόρος βαδιζῆι. Ἱερεῖον/ ἢ ὄρνεον πάντες θυέτωσαν ἢ ὁποῖ-/ α ἂν βούληται ἕκαστος πλὴν τρά-/ γου καὶ αἰγός. Τοὺς δὲ βωμούς ποιείτω-/ σαν πάντες ἐξ ἄμμου ἐὰν δὲ τινες/ οἰκοδομητοὺς πλινθίνους ἔχωσιν ἐπι-/ βαλλέτωσαν ἐπάνω ἄμμον καὶ ἐπαύ-/ τῆς τὰς σχίζας ἐπιθέτωσαν ἐφ' αἷς τὰ/ ὄσπρια κατακαύσουσιν σκηνο.²⁹

The text lists the components of the procession and some precepts dedicated to the cult, concerning the place of sacrifice and the sacrificial victims.³⁰ The witness certifies the syncretism that characterised the rituals dedicated to the goddess, whose representation is built by combining the characteristics of Aphrodite, Demeter and Isis.³¹ For example, the mention of the canephora, a simple priestess in Ptolemaic Egypt, refers to the apotropaic figure in classical Greece, where the canephora was associated, among others, with the cults of Zeus, Dionysus and Demeter.³² Following Louis Robert's suggestions (Robert 1990: 616-634), the document also contains references to Aphrodite *Euploia* and *Aktia*, especially in

²⁸ Cf. Schorn 2001.

²⁹ «... let no one set out ... the canephora ... of Arsinoe Philadelphus ... together with the prytans, priests, magistrates, ephebes and rhabdofori. Whoever wishes to sacrifice to Arsinoe Philadelphus shall sacrifice in front of their gates or on the terraces or along the road through which the canephora passes. Let all sacrifice a sacrificial victim or a bird or (victims) of what species each one wishes, except goat or goat. Let everyone make altars of sand; if some have (altars) built of bricks, let them scatter sand over them and place wood on it on which they will burn legumes ...»

³⁰ A thorough study on the subject is Caneva 2014.

³¹ Referring to the document, Philippe Borgeaud spoke of a "path that is both geographical and theographic".

³² The latter deity is recalled by the mention of the *Thesmophorion* in the first line of the fragment.

relation to the sand to be placed on the altars. The offering of the sacrifice is prescribed along the route of the canephora, in front of the doors of private houses or on terraces. This detail leads the cult back to a private dimension, which is well attested by Zeno's archives and by various archaeological finds. For example, in a letter in the file (P.Cair.Zen. III 59398), the overseer Artemidorus informs Apollonius of the giving of money to the servants on the occasion of the *Arsinoeia* (1.12).³³

We also have many archaeological finds, illuminating the public and private spheres of worship. In an important recent contribution, Stefano Caneva (2020) mentions a series of material supports (in particular small altars, *horoi*, plaques and bases) bearing inscriptions referring to Arsinoe beyond any shadow of doubt. The remains are distributed fairly homogeneously throughout the entire area of Ptolemaic influence. The quantity of evidence is impressive, so much so that it is possible to draw an almost complete picture of the geographical and chronological development of the cult. The material used for these finds, mostly coarse stone or marble, reveals the *milieu* of origin of the dedicators, because more expensive and valuable materials usually reveal wealthier dedicators.

Marble pieces, rarer in the Egyptian *chora*, abound in Alexandria, Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. From Narmouthis (Fayum) comes the dedication by three Egyptians of a sacred enclosure to Arsinoe and the *Theoi Euergetai*. In Nicosia (Cyprus), an inscription on a fragment of a column shows a dedication to Arsinoe by the priest of her cult, who was also active as a gymnasiarch. It is clear that cities or individual social groups were trying to tie themselves in the Lagid dynasty, demonstrating their loyalty by spreading the cult practices in honour of the queen-goddess. At Skali, the site of the ancient Cypriot city of Chytroi and the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Paphia*, a citizen of Alexandria, Aristocles, dedicated a statue to Arsinoe, whose only marble base remains. The queen is here associated with a local nymph, given the maritime nature of her cult and the importance of water for the island. Cyprus' attachment to the cult of Arsinoe is confirmed by findings at the site of the sanctuary of Soloi, which yielded remains that can be linked to practices for the queen. Other fragments have been interpreted as private altars, on which sacrifices were offered to Arsinoe during processions in her honour. The numerous plaques were used to place dedications on temporary altars. At Eretria, excavations of the 'Hellenistic House IV' revealed plaques with the name of Arsinoe used in domestic rituals. At Minoa d'Amorgos, a similar plaque was attributed to the sanctuary of Serapis, also associated with Arsinoe. Similarly at Thera, in the public cultic space of the temple of Apollo, a stone block was found under a Byzantine church, which suggests the existence of the queen's cult also attended by the *Basilistai*.

It is instead a papyrus testimony, the already mentioned Zeno's archive, that has led some scholars (Perpillou-Thomas, 1993) to believe that the *Arsinoeia* were celebrated not only in Alexandria, but also in the Egyptian *chora*. However, the available data do not confirm this suggestion. On the other hand, using information from the same archive, it can be assumed that the *chora* participated in the Alexandrian celebration by sending animals and people. Some papyri (P.Col.Zen. I 56; P.Lond. VII 2000), indeed, attest to the movement of participants and sacrificial victims from the Fayum region to Alexandria. The wide circulation of the cult is also confirmed by numismatic finds, which preserve the epiclesis of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II (ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ, ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ and ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ).³⁴ These testimonies, of exceptional religious and ideological significance, replace the standard form (the sovereign's name) with the cult names of the personages indicated. The monetary type inaugurated by the sovereigns achieved lasting success in Ptolemaic numismatic history, succeeding in crossing the Egyptian borders and penetrating Phoenicia, Cyprus and Celesiria. The presence of the cult in the Sea of Galilee, on the other hand, is attested by a plaque from Beth Yerah, in Northern Galilee,³⁵ which suggests

³³ Cf. Caneva 2012.

³⁴ Cf. Caneva 2021b.

³⁵ For more examples from the same region, see Caneva 2020.

the active action of a foreign agent. In fact, while in Egypt the cult of Arsinoe was widely supported by Ptolemy II, the spread of the phenomenon in other lands required the collaboration of the *philoï* and local elites, who allowed the integration of the rulers into pre-existing cults and sanctuaries as *synnaoi theoi*.

Finally, in order to understand the chronological extent of the cult and its actual survival, it is essential to mention the *corpus* of legal papyri,³⁶ which record the epiclesis of Arsinoe (and its variations over time) through the mention of toponyms. The survival of odonyms in documents up to the second century AD, in the midst of the imperial age, ensures that the memory of the goddess was passed on well after the end of the Ptolemaic age. However, there is not enough information to establish whether the cult was still actually practised. What is certain is that the appearance of new epiclesis, such as *So(i)zousa*, 'Saviour' (SB V.7630), not attested before AD 172, leads to the hypothesis that the cult had maintained its own vitality.

A particular field of the literary tradition on Arsinoe worth examining is represented by the court epigrams made to honour the sovereign; they present a number of interesting epiclesis, certainly the result of intellectual property, but useful for imagining aspects of the ideology and propaganda associated with the cult of Arsinoe.³⁷ The epithet *Zephyritis* (Posid. *Ep.* 116 AB; Call. *Ep.* 5 Pf.; Call. *Coma* fr. 213 Massimilla) used by Posidippus and Callimachus, a clear reference to the sanctuary of Cape Zephyrius, not only strengthens the link between Arsinoe and the sea, but also projects the goddess onto the western side of the Mediterranean. The zephyr, in fact, is the wind that blows from the west, light and imperceptible. Without wishing to give in to a hyper-political interpretation, now rejected by critics,³⁸ of the name *Lokris* (Call. *Coma* fr. 213 Massimilla) referring to Arsinoe, it is worth mentioning a possible reference to Locri Epizefiri, which would have linked the cult of Arsinoe to the coasts of southern Italy and Calabria in particular. Moreover, the *scholia* in verses 54-57 of the *Coma* of Callimachus, preserved in an Oxyrrhynchite papyrus datable to the 6th century (P.Oxy. XX.2258, fr. 1 Front, mg. 23-24), informs of the existence in Alexandria of an area consecrated to Arsinoe and facing Locri Epizephyrii. In an article focusing on the encomiastic allusions to Arsinoe in Theocritus' Idyll 15, Andrew Foster³⁹ traces the Homeric substratum of the composition, cleverly reused to emphasise the points of contact between Arsinoe, Arete, Circe and Helen. It is no coincidence that Arete, wife and niece of Alcinoos, embodies the qualities of the wise counsellor, compassionate host and deferential consort, representing an excellent source for the portrait of Arsinoe. The origins of the inhabitants of Colchis, descendants of the Egyptians, were already well known to Herodotus (Hdt. 2.105). Arsinoe and Circe, in addition to their ethnicity, also share a dual nature, moving between divine and human boundaries. Egyptian soil is also an adopted home for Helen,⁴⁰ who shares Arsinoe's physical beauty and connection with the cult of the Dioscuri. The Ptolemaic sovereign is portrayed in her unique status as a Greek-Egyptian goddess, a mortal and immortal entity. She is compared to the heroines of the most mobile poem of all time, but she wins every comparison, carrying within herself the mark of the uniqueness of her age.

The aim of this article was to outline the latest developments that research on Arsinoe and the spread of the cult has reached. In an interdisciplinary, philological, anthropological and archaeological approach, it was possible to bring to light the factors that made Arsinoe an extremely mobile and dynamic figure. The mobility of Arsinoe, reflected in the success and spread that the cult had, reveals an essence that was anything but extemporaneous, capable of extending across space and time. The cult of Arsinoe was nourished, in other words, by a particular cultural temperament, a reflection of the sovereign's universal

³⁶ Cf. Caneva 2015.

³⁷ Cf. Caneva 2015, Appendix.

³⁸ Cf. Caneva 2015: 108 n. 46.

³⁹ Cf. Foster 2006.

⁴⁰ Cf. POxy. 2506, fr. 26, col. I; Hdt. 2.112-9; Eur. *Hel.*

personality. Born as a means of strengthening around the ruling house the identity of an essentially hybrid people in a land with a variegated cultural, religious and political past, the cult managed to free itself of contingent traits and to interest different civilisations in distant epochs. The cult of Arsinoe is one of the many syncretic products of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which, unlike other cults, succeeded in imposing itself in a stable and effective manner, making the process implemented by the Ptolemies and the entire Greek-Egyptian governmental machine worthy of attention and investigation. As we await future developments, it remains to be hoped that the research will offer further elements for a more detailed understanding of the nature of the cult and its main expressions.

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Fashioning a sense of belonging. Place in the commemorative epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus & Ausonius of Bordeaux

Mathijs Clement

Introduction

“For nations far apart thou hast made a single fatherland” is the translation Duff and Duff offer for a famous verse in Rutilius Namatianus’ *De redito suo* (v.63) which originally ran “*fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam*” (Duff & Duff 1982: 769).¹ But is “nations” really the best translation for “*gentibus*”? Is “fatherland” the fairest rendition of “*patriam*”? The verse points to an obvious difference between late antiquity and modernity: the fundamental difference between an empire and nation-states. This difference – emphasised though it may be in studies of imperialism² – has seldomly received attention in literary studies. Yet it is crucial, I will argue, to distinguish between the “national” and “pre-national” “fatherland”. To do so, I will take a somewhat more nuanced turn, stressing the intertwinedness between the (local) native city and the (global) empire.

I will focus on two radically different yet at the same time remarkably similar authors: the contemporaries Gregory of Nazianzus and Ausonius of Bordeaux, both trained in rhetoric and both notably autobiographical authors. Gregory was a bishop born in Nazianzus in the region Cappadocia and Ausonius a rhetor from Bordeaux who made it to consul.³ Both authors were born relatively far away from the real power centres of the late-antique Empire. They both wrote at large about their own lives and remarkably did so in verses rather than in prose. In this paper, I want to challenge how we still conceive both authors as predominantly bound to their local “nation”, ignoring the complexity and ambivalence they convey. I will focus on Ausonius’ *Commemoratio Professorum* and his *Parentalia* and some of Gregory’s epigrams. In doing so, I hope to propose a more nuanced reading of their sense of belonging, taking into account rhetorical strategies rather than mere autobiographical explanations.

Patriotism or cosmopolitanism?

Traditionally, Ausonius has been described as a local from Bordeaux. There has, however, also been some attention to Ausonius’ claim to a larger “imperial identity”. This topic was most extensively studied by François Paschoud, who described Ausonius as a conventional locally anchored author with imperial ambitions and with also a sense of an empire-wide Romanness (Paschoud 1967: 23–32). Still, he restrains from discussing the complexity of this dual identity identity, also because Paschoud’s term “patriotisme” is not unproblematic in itself (cf. Paschoud 1967: 12). Both Paschoud and Madelaine Bonjour – the latter discusses Ausonius’ local belonging – refer to a famous passage at the end of Ausonius’ poem *Ordo urbium nobilium* to substantiate Ausonius’ claim to an imperial identity. In this passage, Ausonius describes his connectedness to both Rome and Bordeaux:

¹ See Kaldellis 2019: 89 for the application of Namatianus’ quote on the eastern part of the empire.

² See e.g. Münkler 2007: 4–6; Mattingly 2011: 6; Finley 2014: 107–8; Kumar 2017: 20; 65.

³ For a biography of Gregory, see predominantly McGuckin 2001. See for Ausonius Green 1991: xxiv–xxxii.

163. *hic labor extremus celebres collegerit urbes.
utque caput numeri Roma inclita, sic capite isto*
165. *Burdigala ancipiti confirmet vertice sedem.
haec patria est, patrias sed Roma supervenit omnes.
diligio Burdigalam, Romam colo. civis in hac sum,⁴
consul in ambabus: cunae hic, ibi sella curulis.*

163. Here, this last task may close the list of famous cities.
Such as famous Rome stands at one pinnacle of the list, so
165. confirms Bordeaux its seat on the other side's head.
This is my fatherland, but Rome surpasses all fatherlands.
I love Bordeaux but venerate Rome. I am a citizen in this,
but a consul in both. My cradle stands here, but my curule chair there

Bonjour interprets this passage as a clear avowal of a personal preference of the local over the imperial, whereas Paschoud stresses Ausonius' dual identity as Roman and as local from Bordeaux (Paschoud 1967: 31–32). But both try to look for the “real” emotion of the “real” Ausonius, whereas the passage cited above clearly is a rhetorical construction. According to me, we should not so much read this passage as a heartfelt expression of Ausonius “emotions recollected in tranquillity” but rather as a rhetorical kind of self-fashioning.⁵ Furthermore, I hope to demonstrate that the duality between “local” and “imperial” is misleading and lacks nuance.

The comparison with Gregory of Nazianzus can be illuminating. In more recent studies, researchers have proposed a more rhetorical reading of Gregory's self-image rather than a romantic interpretation of his poems as unerring insight into his intimate ideas and feelings.⁶ But even in Gregory's case this has – strangely enough – not resulted in a new interpretation of his expressions of spatial belonging. Apart from some cursory remarks about the use of rhetorical “*topoi*” such as a modest place of origin (e.g. Elm 2012: 20), the rhetorical framing of local and universal belonging has not occupied scholars.⁷ This is all the more puzzling if we consider that two central topics within Gregory's corpus – his relationship to Constantinople as well as his repeated expression of a desire for a retreat from civic life – are well enshrined in a rhetorical rendering of place.

A tale of two authors

I will only be able to deal with a very small part of both authors' corpus and focus on a single genre – commemorative poems. The comparison between Gregory and Ausonius has not yet been made before.⁸ This points to a more general tendency in late-antique literary research: recently, Greek and Roman

⁴ For Ausonius, I will use the edition of Green 1991. Translations are my own, unless noted otherwise.

⁵ Whether or not “self-fashioning” – a term devised by Greenblatt 1980 within Renaissance Studies – can be applied to (late) antiquity is up to debate. I will here follow Sánchez Vendramini 2016 n.8 in the applicability of the term, although I will use “self-fashioning” in a slightly more general way, not necessarily compromising all elements outlined by Greenblatt, nor necessarily reflecting the same historical evolutions that can be connected to the Renaissance form of self-fashioning Greenblatt envisions.

⁶ See for example McLynn 1998; Rebillard 2012; Elm 2012; Storin 2019.

⁷ There is, however, a recent study of Gregory's local identity from a historical perspective, with some attention for the rhetorical use of spatial references, cf. Langley 2021 (and compare also Langley 2020).

⁸ Gregory has been only been compared to the Latin contemporary authors Prudentius (cf. Keydell 1951; Evenepoel 1994), Augustine (cf. McLynn 2009) and Symmachus (Lougheed 2019).

authors are more and more read in dialogue. And there could hardly be a better place for such a dialogue than an article focussing on belonging: the question of language tradition is indeed intertwined with the “mapping” of identity. There is still another difference between Gregory and Ausonius that can make a comparison particularly fruitful. Whereas Christianity takes centre stage in Gregory’s corpus, it plays a negligible role in Ausonius’ oeuvre. There is also an interesting similarity: both Gregory and Ausonius were authors who travelled relatively widely and described their wanderings in their works. Ausonius’ most famous poem is based on a journey along the Moselle river in Germany whereas Gregory’s autobiographies centre around his short stay in Constantinople. By focussing on the self-fashioning of two “wandering poets – to lend Alan Cameron’s famous term – I hope that this article can pave the way for a more encompassing study of the rhetorical use of place as a means of fashioning a self-image, not only in Gregory and Ausonius but in other late-antique authors as well.

Family memorials

Small is a pearl

In epigrams and epigram-like poetry, both in Gregory’s and in Ausonius’ case, local belonging is of central importance. Commemorative poetry lends itself particularly well for “local” topics since epigrams function as pieces of remembrance within the local community of the deceased and the author. But as I will try to demonstrate, there is a more universal touch to the epigrams as well.

A case-in-point is Gregory’s epigram A.P. 36 (= Epitaph. 78, vv.6-10), a poem stemming from a large collection of epigrams commemorating his mother Nonna. In the epigram, Gregory recounts some of the miracles of his “god-like” (“θεουδής”, v.1)⁹ mother: her love brought her sons back “from the furthest points east and west” (“ἐκ περάτων [...] ἀντολίης δύσιός τε”, vv.2-3), even though they did not want to return home (v.3 “οὐ δοκέοντας”). Her powers to convoke her offspring are said to have brought her “great glory” (“μέγα κλέος”, v.3).¹⁰ The emphasis on both the glory of his mother and the wide scatter of her sons points to an interesting combination of unboundedness and attachment to the local realm of the family.

The same stress on spatial references as elements of autobiography returns in an epigram Gregory composed about himself, A.P. 79 (= Carm. II.1.93, see Criscuolo 2007: 37–39; Magnelli 2010). Here he gives a list of ten events that made up his life. He does not make any reference to his place of origin, but stresses that he ruled over the New Rome (i.e. Constantinople): “εἶνατον, ὀπλοτέρη Τριάδ’ ἤγαγον, ὧ Ἄνα, Ῥώμη” (v.9). A similar tendency can be noticed in Gregory’s autobiographical poems II.1.1 and II.1.11 where his birthplace is remarkably absent in both poem’s opening part.¹¹ Not Nazianzus is the first city mentioned in these autobiographies, but Athens, the city where Gregory studied together with his bosom friend Basil of Caesarea. The same remarkable feature returns in Gregory’s A.P. 80 (= Carm. II.1.94):

⁹ For Gregory’s epigrams I use the edition of Waltz 1957.

¹⁰ Cf. Goldhill & Greensmith 2020: 53–54 for the remarkable use of “κλέος”, a rather unbiblical term seldomly used for women. According to Goldhill and Greensmith Gregory uses this term to present his mother as (an appropriated kind) of the archetypal Christian heroine. Alternatively, we could see this “appropriation” as a kind of pagan-Christian symbiosis.

¹¹ Compare for example Libanius, Or. 1.2.

1. Ἑλλάς ἐμὴ νεότης τε φίλη καὶ ὅσα πεπάσμην,
καὶ δέμας, ὡς Χριστῶ εἴξατε προφρονέως.
Εἰ δ' ἱερῆα φίλον με θεῶ θέτο μητέρος εὐχὴ
καὶ πατρὸς παλάμη, τίς φθόνος; Ἀλλά, μάκαρ,
 5. σοῖς με, Χριστέ, χοροῖσι δέχου, καὶ κῦδος ὀπάζοις
υἱεῖ Γρηγορίου σῶ λάτρι Γρηγορίῳ.
-
1. Greece and my youth and everything I have possessed,
and my bodily frame; how willingly you all gave way for Christ.
If my mother's entreaties and my father's hand made me a priest
loved by God, which grudge could then still be borne? Welcome me, Christ,
 5. blessed one, in your choirs, and bestow this glory
on Gregory's son; on your servant Gregory.

The first verse seems to be a hendiadys where “Ἑλλάς” and Gregory’s youth are inherently connected.¹² As pointed out by McDonald, the “pagan” character of Gregory’s Athenian education is rendered more Christian in this epigram (McDonald 2020: 71). But equally important is the metonymic use of a geographic entity (“Hellas”) for education. Shifting from the locally defined Athens to the less tangible “Greece”, Gregory manages to combine a strong attachment (cf. “φίλη”) to his rhetorical education with a simultaneous renunciation of worldly matters. Equally interesting is the reference to his mother and father, a stereotypical element of both epitaphic literature as well as autobiography (cf. Niedermeier 1919: 4–6). It makes it all the more interesting that another topical constituent of funeral epigrams is lacking: Gregory’s birthplace. A reader unacquainted with his biography could be inclined to believe “Hellas” was his birth region, not Cappadocia.

It is only one instance of many where the traditional focus on late-antique author’s “*patria*” can be misleading. Gregory clearly did not feel the need to refer to his native city in an epigram composed to commemorate himself. On the contrary, his city of origin seems to have been the first to give way for Christ, not even making it to the shortlist provided by the epitaph. We must not forget that the ideal of Christian universalism was on the rise in Gregory’s time, something he also expresses in one of his longer autobiographies when he states that he “could easily be a citizen of every place” (“ζωῆς πολίτης ῥᾶστα ὦν παντὸς τύπου”).¹³ But as proved by the statement that *Hellas* gives way for Christ, it is clear that this religious universalism need not be seen in opposition to a certain local connection. Rather, *Hellas* as a metonym for education is incorporated within Gregory’s symbiosis of rhetoric renown and religious pristineness.¹⁴

In an epigram devoted to his father (A.P. 8.21 = Epitaph. 63), Gregory does mention Nazianzus, however.¹⁵ But as often the case when he refers to his native town, he predominantly stresses its small scale.¹⁶ Precisely the smallness of the town makes it apt for comparison with Bethlehem; a trivial city in terms of size, but a crucial centre in terms of religion. What is arguably Nazianzus’ greatest disadvantage – its relative unimportance – is turned into a positive sign of modesty and piety.

¹² See e.g. Guichard 2022: n. 43; Criscuolo 2007: 39 for the identification of Hellas with the Athens of Gregory’s student time.

¹³ The traditional study for this topic in Gregory is Gautier 2002.

¹⁴ Compare Gautier 2002: 270 who suggests that Athens symbolised Gregory’s hopes and dreams in opposition to his “obscure fatherland” “son obscure patrie”.

¹⁵ For the identification of Diocaesarea with Nazianzus (uncertain, but likely), see Demoen 1997: 172–74; Langley 2021: 31 n.35.

¹⁶ Cf. Or. 33.6–13; Or. 19.11; Ep. 41.1; Carm. II.2.1, vv.365–366; Carm. II.1.19, vv.25–26.

1. Τυτθὴ μάργαρος ἐστὶν, ἀτὰρ λιθάκεσσιν ἀνάσσει
 τυτθὴ καὶ Βηθλέμ, ἔμπα δὲ χριστοφόρος.
 Ὡς δ' ὀλίγην μὲν ἐγὼ ποιμνὴν λάχον, ἀλλὰ φερίστην
 Γρηγόριος, τὴν σύ, παῖ φίλε, λίσσομ', ἄγοις.
1. *Small is a pearl, although it surpasses stones,
 small is Bethlehem too, even if it bore Christ.
 I, Gregorius, likewise hold sway over small a flock, though excelling,
 a flock which I, dear son, beseech you to guide.*

“Glocal” glory

The fifteenth poem of Ausonius’ work ‘Parentalia’, a work in which Ausonius recalls the family members who have passed away, provides another example of smallness turned into greatness.¹⁷ Poem 15 is dedicated to Pomponius Maximus, Ausonius’ brother-in-law. The death of Pomponius, Ausonius recounts, was not only felt by his family (“non domus hoc tantum sensit tua”, v.5), but also by Bordeaux’ senate (vv.5-6). It is only one of many examples of the use of renown in one’s city as a way to praise a deceased family member.¹⁸ This idea is made explicit in Ausonius’ ‘Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium’, where he ends his list with a remark that he honoured the deceased professors of his native Bordeaux because it enabled him to “simultaneously praise his outstanding fatherland” (“dum decora egregiae commeminit patriae”, Prof. 25, v.10).

However, local renown is not the only tool Ausonius uses to heap praise on his network of deceased family members and former colleagues. In his ‘Parentalia’ for example, he stresses the multifarious ancestry of his grandfather on his mother’s side:¹⁹

3. *Arborium, Aeduico ductum de stemmate nomen,
 complexum multas nobilitate domus,*
5. *qua Lugdunensis provincia quaque potentes
 Aedues Alpino quaque Vienna iugo,*
3. Arborius, who took his name from Haeduan stock,
 combined many a house in nobility,
5. be it in the province of Lyon, or be it where the Haedui
 are in charge, or in Vienna by the Alpine ridges.

In fact, only Gallic toponyms are mentioned. But the anaphora of “qua” leads us to believe that Ausonius wanted to present his grandfather not so much as a Gaul, but as someone with a more universal or at least a more widely connected belonging. This is even clearer in the case of another member of the Arborius branch of the family, his maternal uncle Arborius (Parent. 3):

¹⁷ The ‘Parentalia’ is not often studied. See, apart from Rebillard 2015, Guastella 1980.

¹⁸ See for the link between senate and renown also Parent. 8, vv.1-2. See further Ausonius letter 21 to his friend Paulinus: Ep. 21, v.56.

¹⁹ The fact that he says nothing about his grandparents on his father’s side has led to the suspicion that they might not have been of prestigious descent. Cf. Hopkins 1961.

11. *te sibi Palladiae antetulit toga docta Tolosae,
te Narbonensis Gallia praeposuit,
ornasti cuius Latio sermone tribunal
et foro Hiberorum quaque Novempopulis.*

15. *hinc tenus Europam fama crescent, petito,
Constantinopolis rhetore te viguit.*

11. The learned toga's of Palladian Toulouse gave preference to you,
appointed you over Gallia Narbonensis,
a province in which you adorned the tribunal with Roman language
just like in the forum of the Hiberi and in Novempopulonia.

15. Hence your glory grows all over Europe,
when Constantinople blossomed under your requested rhetorship.

Rhetors & renown

Arboreus not only flourished in Gaul, but his fame spread all over Europe.²⁰ As a result, the local hero of rhetoric acquires a more global dimension; it is no coincidence that precisely Constantinople is singled out as a place of prestige. This points to an interesting imperial scale stretching over both the eastern and western parts of the Empire, as well as an indication of the cultural importance of the rather newly established capital.²¹ The topic of local renown fame also returns in Ausonius' *'Professores'*, where Arboreus is mentioned once again (Prof. 16):

1. *Inter cognatos iam fletus, avuncule, manes,
inter rhetoricos nunc memorandus eris.
illud opus pietas, istud reverenda virorum
nomina pro patriae religione habeant.*

1. Already mourned among my deceased family members
you will now be commemorated among rhetoricians.
While the former work can offer my affection, this one may compile
the reverent names of men out of a connection with my fatherland.

Modern scholars noted the stress on local glory as a constituent element of Ausonius' *'Professores'*. Charles Favez, for example, considered patriotism the prime reason why Ausonius wrote the work in the first place (Favez 1948: 224). Yet we should not be mistaken to believe that local renown excludes a sense of imperial identity. Also, in the *'Professores'*, Ausonius' account of Arboreus stresses the Byzantine connection of his uncle: "*Byzanti inde arcem Thressaeque Propontidis urbem / Constantinopolim fama tui pepulit*" (vv.13-14).

In fact, the local and the global level go hand in hand. On the one hand, the more universal elements

²⁰ See also the contrast between "Gallia" and "Latio sermo", noted by Green 1991: 305.

²¹ About Constantinople's early days, see predominantly Dagron 1974. See also the reference to Constantinople in Ausonius' *'Ordo Urbium Nobilium'* and see Beck 1969: 43; Smolak 2021: 515. See about Constantinople (predominantly focused on Ausonius' *Mosella*) further Opelt 2016.

encountered in the ‘*Professores*’ back up the praise of Ausonius’ native environment, because the locals from Bordeaux thrive all over the empire. On the other hand, Bordeaux’ ties to its immediate surroundings are softened by the focus on the empire-wide renown of its teachers.

The latter element also occurs in the very first poem of the series: Ausonius’ praise of his teacher Minervius. His teaching activity, Ausonius recounts, made not only Constantinople but also Rome and his fatherland famous (Prof. 1, vv.3-4). The most important one though was the fame of his fatherland, for even if Bordeaux could not vie with the two aforementioned cities (v.5), it had more strength in name alone, because it was Minervius’ (and Ausonius’) fatherland (v.6 “*solo set potior nomine, quod patria*”). Does this imply that a kind of primacy is attributed to the local as is customarily assumed?²² Or does it indicate that Ausonius wants to adapt the “local” reference to integrate a universal claim to success? I prefer the latter option. An argument for such a reading could be provided by the sixth entry of Ausonius’ catalogue, devoted to Alethius Minervius, the son of the Minervius mentioned above.²³

Already at a young age, Minervius could rival his father and Patera, another famous rhetor of Bordeaux (number four in Ausonius’ list) (Prof. 6, vv.12-15). But unlike his father, who taught in Rome and Constantinople, Minervius – now even designated “*maior utroque*”, “greater than both [his father and Patera]” – was happy to teach the famous cohort (“*clara cohortis / vexilla*”, vv.23-24) of his native Bordeaux (vv.19-20). The combination of greater rhetorical skill and a local professorship underlines the wide-ranging glory Ausonius predestines for his native Bordeaux. More than just “powerful in name”, it also boasted an impressive array of rhetorical talent, a talent that could even dethrone the Empire’s capitals.

Also in Gregory’s epigrams, local rhetoricians pop up who made fame outside of their city gates. An interesting example is Martinian, probably a pagan Cappadocian well-versed in rhetoric. He probably held the urban prefecture of Rome at some point (cf. Hauser-Meury 1960: 117–18). But it was not Rome alone that mourned Martinian, Gregory tells us in epigram A.P. 8.106 (= Epitaph. 42).

1. Ἦνίκα Μαρτινιανὸς ἔδω χθόνα, μητέρα πάντων
πᾶσα μὲν Αὐσονίων ἐστονάχησε πόλις·
πᾶσα δὲ Σικανίη τε, καὶ εὐρέα πείρατα γαίης
κείρατ’, ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων οἰχομένης Θέμιδος.
5. Ἦμεῖς δ’ ἀντί νυ σεῖο τάφον μέγαν ἀμφιέποντες,
αἰὲν ἐπερχομένοις δώσομεν ὥς τι σέβας.

1. When Martinian went beneath the earth – the mother of us all –
the entire city of the West lamented,
as well as the whole of Sicily and the earth’s broad borders
cut their hair of sorrow, now Justice had left the human kind.
5. Whilst we, we honoured you with large a tomb,
so granting you an honour for all the times to come.

There is an interesting opposition between the glory bestowed on the late Martinian in the regions where he thrived and the unspecified “ἡμεῖς” that will look after Martinian’s posthumous fame. On the one hand, the “ἡμεῖς” could simply refer to Gregory himself, as a “*pluralis modestiae*”. Like Ausonius in his commemorative poems, Gregory presents himself as the author who holds the power over memory

²² See Bonjour 1987: 64. Compare Pucci 2002: 89–90 and Hartman 2016: 70–71.

²³ The father-son relationship is highly likely, but not beyond doubt. See Green 1991: 340 for less plausible options.

and remembrance. On the other hand, the plural could also be a “real” plural, thus referring to the inhabitants of Martinian’s home-region Cappadocia.²⁴ But of course, there is not a single right option here: the poem simultaneously expresses both possibilities.

The regions Gregory mentions in the first part of the epitaph are deliberately kept vague. It has been suggested that the “εὐρέα πείρατα γαίης” (v.3) refers to the diocese of Africa, where Martinian held the office of “vicarius” (Hauser-Meury 1960: 118). Although this is certainly a historically plausible explanation, it is clear that the wording was chosen to make Martinian’s reputation appear as universal as possible. The same holds true for the description of Rome as the “city of Westerners” (“Ἀύσονίων [...] πόλις”, v.2).

Once again, we see a combination of a local community (the “ἡμεῖς”), who will honour him after his death, and an empire-wide importance. This duality aptly is described in another epitaph on Martinian where Gregory calls him the “Καππαδοκῶν Πρώμης πρόθρονον εὐγενέων” (“the foremost among Rome’s honourable Cappadocians”, A.P. 116, v.2). In A.P. 107 (= Epitaph. 43), the same duality is conjoined, or rather we should say that Gregory demonstrates that there is no opposition between them. Now Martinian has turned into dust (“νῦν κόνις εἴμ’ ὀλίγη”, v.4) and he has left behind both emperor and fatherland, both family and prefectian glory: “πάντα λιπῶν, βασιλῆα, πάτρην, γένος, εὖχος ὑπάρχων” (v.5).

On the one hand, this allows Gregory to present himself as someone with an impressive network and to boast about the importance of his fellow Cappadocians.²⁵ On the other hand, A.P. 8.106 subtly suggests that it is only the “local” environment, nay only the poet himself, who can truly make sure the memory of Martinian survives. In A.P. 115 (= Epitaph. 51) Rome, the empires and earth’s limits are deemed grave monuments for Martinian (“Πώμη καὶ βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ καὶ πείρατα γαίης / στῆλαι Μαρτινιανῶ τὰς χρόνος οὐ δαμάσαι”). But even there, the poet (“ἐμοί”) is necessary for this make-believe in toponyms as tags of remembrance. Of course, commemoration is the entire point of commemorative poetry, yet it is insightful to notice how place references are used within these remembrance strategies and how the poet can create a network in which he takes the central position.

A cosmopolitan home

Another kind of spatial network returns in Ausonius’ ‘Professores’. Here, Bordeaux is unmistakably presented as a city where the (knowledge of the) world is gathered.²⁶ A series of two parallel poems drives this point home. The eighth entry in the catalogue consists, in fact, of a series of grammarians, the connecting element being that they all taught Greek in Bordeaux. The epigram is mirrored in another series of teachers, number ten in Ausonius’ poem, which discusses several Latin Grammarians. Just like both Rome and Constantinople were mentioned in the aforementioned entry on Minervius (Prof. 1), Ausonius here positions Bordeaux in both the Latin and the Greek tradition.²⁷

The last grammarian mentioned in the tenth entry provides an example of a recurrent theme in Ausonius’ ‘Professores’. Although born in Bordeaux, Anastasius’ ambition brought him to the Poitou (vv.46-48),

²⁴ For Codá: 44–45, the plural seems to refer to the Christian community around Gregory (“que parece denotar a atualidade crista do autor”).

²⁵ See also A.P. 8.121 – about two brothers Euphemius and Amphilochus

²⁶ About the link between school education and cosmopolitanism, see the first issue of JOLCEL, Latin Education and European Literary Production. 2019.

²⁷ See also Prof. 2, vv.9-10; 13, vv.3-4; 14, v.8.

where he later passed away without the glory he enjoyed in his native town (“*gloriolam exilem / et patriae et cathedrae / perdidit in senior*”, vv.51-53). Even so, he was not completely lost, because Ausonius’ poem in a sense offered a posthumous homecoming:

54. *set tamen hunc noster*
 55. *commemoravit honos,*
ne pariter tumulus
nomen et ossa tegat.

54. And yet this mark of honour
 55. of ours remembered him.
 So that his tomb need not cover
 name and bones alike.

The same motif returns in the laudatory pieces for other professors. Dynamius, for example, fled his native Bordeaux accused of a crime and died in a place far away (“*diversis [...] in oris*”, Prof. 23, v.15), probably in Spain (cf. Wedeck 1933: 138). Victorius (Prof. 22) died at the coasts of Cuma, but could still hope for Ausonius’ memorial to reach his tomb (vv.19-22). Exuperius died in Cadurca, modern-day Cahors, although “the force of your fatherland and the origin of your parents call you back so that you might grant Bordeaux your acclaim as rhetor again” (“*sed patriae te iura vocant et origo parentum, Burdigalae ut rursum nomen de rhetore reddas*”, Prof. 17, vv.16-17). Another interesting example is the entry devoted to Sedatus, a rhetor from Toulouse (Prof. 19).

1. *Religio est, tacitum si te, Sedate, relinquam,*
quamvis docendi munus indeptum foris.
communis patria est tecum mihi: sorte potentis
fati Tolosam nactus es sedem scholae.
 5. *illic coniugium natiq̄ue opulensq̄ue senectus*
et fama, magno qualis est par rhetori.
quamvis externa tamen a regione reducit
te patria et civem morte obita repetit,
cumq̄ue vagantem operam divisae impenderis urbi,
 10. *arbitrium de te sumit origo suum.*
et tua nunc suboles morem sectata parentis
Narbonem ac Romam nobilem studiis;
*sed † velit nolit famae † * **
** * * Burdigalam referet.*

1. It would be a religious offence if I left you, Sedatus, unmentioned,
 although you obtained your teaching position abroad.
 You share a fatherland with me, but due to the powerful fate’s will,
 you received your school chair at Toulouse.
 5. There you found a wife and children and wealth for your old age,
 and renown, as much as it befits a great rhetorician.
 And from that region, though afar, your fatherland
 brings you back and claims you as a citizen after death has struck.

- You may have wandered and spent effort in a far-away town,
10. your origin claims authority over you.
Your progeny is cut from the same cloth as their father,
rendering Narbonne and Rome famous through their learning,
But † like it or not † * *
* * * will bring [them] to Bordeaux.

Several elements that were already pointed out above return in this poem. First and foremost, we see the idea of a surplus of glory for famous cities (in this case Rome and Narbonne) as a means of boosting the “*origo*” of the person praised and of the author himself. But like in the case of Minervius the younger, these cities are the locations where either their father or sons were active, not the place where they worked themselves. This points to a subtle contrast between cities like Rome and the local “*origo*”. Although the comparison makes Bordeaux slightly more “imperial”, it does not entirely hold true, since both Minervius and Sedatus are emphatically linked to their local origin. The contrast is used to uplift Bordeaux’ status and illustrate that some of its prodigious sons chose Bordeaux over Rome. The combination of fame and belonging returns, albeit blended with the “*topos*” of the lost son, in Sedatus’ case above: in fact, Sedatus opted for Toulouse rather than Bordeaux, but as vv.7-10 indicate his “hometown” draws him back. The grammatical insistence on the town itself as an active factor in calling Sedatus home is somewhat misleading, however. The author himself plays no mean part in this homecoming. To illustrate this while also coming full circle, I will briefly return to the first entry of Ausonius’ poem, –Ausonius praise of Minervius (the elder) –, which was also the first one I mentioned.

Even though a considerable distance separates Minervius’ tomb from Bordeaux, he is still remembered in Ausonius’ catalogue of praise (“*commemorat maestis te pia cura elegis*”). In the end, the author Ausonius decides who makes it to the list and who not, and in fact, that is also indicated at the beginning of Prof. 19, where Ausonius states that it would be a “*religio*” if he passed over Sedatus. That also points to another essential element. The references to a universalised Bordeaux that retains its distinguishable local characteristics, also influence the reader’s perception of Ausonius himself; if he stems from a small town with great glory and if Bordeaux is not merely a local city, but also has a cosmopolitan touch to it, that is also reflected in Ausonius’ self-image. In the end, it is not his family or his colleagues alone that Ausonius singles out for praise; Ausonius himself should not be passed over lightly either.

A Christian nowhere?

Gregory dedicates two epigrams to his deceased friend Bassus, presumably a priest by profession (Waltz 1957: 77 n.1). In the first epigram (A.P. 8.147) Gregory speaks of his death in a faraway place:

1. Βάσσε φίλος, Χριστῶ μεμελημένος ἔξοχον ἄλλων,
τῆλε τεῆς πάτρης ληϊστορι χειρὶ δαμάσθης,
οὐδέ σε τύμβος ἔχει πατρώϊος- ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπησ
πᾶσιν Καππαδόκεσσι μέγ’ οὔνομα σεῖο λέλειπται,
5. καὶ στῆλαι παγίων μέγ’ ἀμείνονες, αἷς ἐνιγράφθης.
Γρηγορίου τόδε σοι μνημῆϊον, ὄν φιλέεσκες.
1. Bassus my friend, who was dear to Christ like no other,
you were felled far from your homeland by the hand of a robber,

- nor do you rest in your family tomb, but nevertheless
 your great name lives on for all Cappadocia;
5. Stronger than stone is the tomb your name is carved in.
 This memorial was given to you by Gregory, whom you once loved.

The epigram is based on A.P. 7.715 of Leonidas of Taranto (cf. Salvatore 1960: 42–45; Vertoudakis 2011: 185–86). According to Salvatore, in comparison with his model Leonidas, Gregorius emphasised the Christian love of Bassus rather than the commemorative power of Gregory (Salvatore 1960: 45). But this opposition is not as strong as Salvatore suggests. The comparison with Ausonius elucidates how Gregory could also use the “μνημῆϊον” in another way than purely emphasising Christian love. Gregory’s souvenir is not just a gift, but a tombstone more durable than stone epitaphs (“στῆλαι παγίων μέγ’ ἀμείνονες”) (cf. Korzeniewski 1972). The “*exegi monumentum*” motif is traditionally an essential component of epigraphic poetry,²⁸ which is an additional argument – together with the many Homeric parallels – in favour of a more classical interpretation of the epigram instead of the Christian interpretation suggested by Salvatore.²⁹

Gregory uses this epigrammatic tradition to resolve the same tension that arose in Ausonius’ poem on Dynamius: those who do not have a tomb in their homeland can still receive “local” fame from the poet in the form of a verbal monument. According to Gregory’s epigram, this fame is even worth more than the one stemming from a real tombstone. Both the epic undertone and the motif of the poet’s commemorative power emphasise the importance of the poet’s active role. Gregory not only registers fame but is also actively fashioning it.

Conclusion

As has been emphasised, the image the epigrams of Ausonius and Gregory convey is not one of a local or a universal “identity”. Both authors operated in an imperial context. We can clearly see how the “city of the Westerners” – to lend Gregory’s description of Rome – still occupies an important place in the imaginative geography that underlies both poets’ commemorative works. Simultaneously, we see how there still is a sense of a single empire, as demonstrated by Ausonius’ references to Rome and Constantinople or by his shifting between Greek and Rome. Moreover, I tried to demonstrate how both Ausonius and Gregory used spatial references as a way to present their native regions as donned in a “imperialized” cloak.

I tried to highlight some recurring themes in these still understudied poems, especially the idea of the universally successful but locally anchored rhetorician and the “*topos*” of a wandering family member or colleague granted a poetic return home. This last point allowed us to return to Ausonius and Gregory themselves and helped us answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of this paper. Did Ausonius and Gregory feel more locally than imperially anchored? And what should we call their “fatherland”? These questions are themselves problematic, I stressed, since they pay little or no attention to the nuanced use of spatial references throughout their commemorative poetry. In Gregory’s as much as in Ausonius’ poems, the “local” and the “universal” level are not simply opposed

²⁸ Compare “ἔξοχον ἄλλων”, “τεῆς”, “ληϊστορι” (cf. Od. 15, v.427), “πατρῷος”, “ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης” (cf. Il. 19, v.422), “οὔνομα σεῖο”. The “model” A.P. 7.715 is much less imbued with Homeric vocabulary. See Gain 2016: 219 for Homeric language in Gregory’s epigrams and see Griffin 1976 for the importance of the theme of a faraway death in Homer.

²⁹ For the importance of a local network within the epigram, cf. Métivier 2016: 323.

to each other, but interrelate in a complex way, thus enabling their authors to present themselves at the centre of a local network with wide-ranging renown.

Accordingly, there is a certain malleability, a shift from a real “map” to a poetical, imaginative geography, where regions and cities are used metonymically rather than topographically. This malleability also has an important impact on the self-image of both authors. The image they project, I would argue, should be perceived with a focus on ambivalence rather than a focus on the all too rigid concept “*patria*”.³⁰ While focusing on a limited number of texts, I hope to have demonstrated that a rhetorical reading of place unearths a far more complex situation that defies narrow traditional categories and terminologies. This is not to say that we simply have to replace the label “fatherland” with a more fashionable one. On the contrary, I do hope to have brought to light the complexity and ambiguity that a spatial reading can bring about.

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³⁰ See de Jonge 2022 for the importance of “ambivalence” – among other comparable concepts in so-called “migrant literature”.

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La dispersión del culto martirial de santos y santas locales por el territorio de Hispania entre los siglos IV-VI

Víctor Gómez Guinovart

Introducción

Una sentencia célebre de Tertuliano afirma que la sangre de los mártires fue semilla de cristianos. A tal efecto, los primeros documentos literarios del cristianismo relativos al culto martirial consistieron en actas y pasiones de hombres santos y mujeres santas que dieron su vida en aras de la fe¹. Estos textos, que se caracterizan por poner el interés narrativo sobre el hecho, tan terrible como glorioso, de su martirio y muerte, sirvieron a las primeras comunidades cristianas para reflejar las particularidades de su forma de vida y conciencia.

Junto con los libros y cartas del Nuevo Testamento, estas narraciones martiriales locales, que constituyen la base del género hoy conocido como hagiográfico, estuvieron estrechamente ligadas a la liturgia, los sermones, los calendarios o los actos festivos. Con el tiempo, acabaron trascendiendo el aspecto cultural y calaron tanto en la construcción de nuevas costumbres populares como en la religiosidad íntima de los individuos. No obstante, esta misma proyección, que hizo gozar de prestigio público al género hagiográfico y al culto martirial, fue la que transformó con sucesivos retoques los relatos oficiales, dando lugar tanto a falsificaciones como a leyendas sobre la vida de mártires que nunca existieron².

En este sentido, con la voluntad de otorgar el debido tratamiento de rigor y encaje histórico a los hombres santos y mujeres santas, se ha iniciado dentro de los estudios de la Antigüedad Tardía un proceso de reinterpretación de los textos hagiográficos. El hecho más característico de este cambio, que a día de hoy sigue abierto a nuevas reflexiones e interpretaciones, es, sin duda alguna, la búsqueda y discernimiento de aquellos aspectos de veracidad en los relatos hagiográficos, de diferentes momentos y lugares, para establecer una nómina de santos y santas históricamente aceptables.

Esta renovada labor de investigación sobre las narraciones hagiográficas, en lo que al estudio de la dispersión del culto martirial se refiere, tiene a su disposición no solo las primitivas actas y pasiones, sino que dentro de este mismo género aparecen con el tiempo las vidas, los milagros y las translaciones (Velázquez, 2005). Asimismo, fuentes antiguas tales como los textos patrísticos, las actas conciliares, las crónicas, los libros litúrgicos y, en especial, los calendarios y los martirologios, así como las inscripciones sepulcrales y los recientes hallazgos arqueológicos, jugarán un papel determinante en su desarrollo.

¹ Fue en el último cuarto del siglo pasado cuando Peter Brown introdujo en la disciplina histórica su particular visión respecto a la importancia del hombre santo (*uir sanctus*) en la Antigüedad Tardía. No exenta de crítica, esta, por así llamarla, revolución en la comprensión de la sociedad europea tardoantigua se sostiene, por un lado, en el nacimiento del culto al santo en el seno de una comunidad local; y, por el otro, en los fines extraculturales por los que se promovió y consolidó dicho culto durante siglos. En buena medida, esta propuesta ha marcado las tendencias actuales en la investigación, siendo el *The Cult of the Saints* de Brown, de 1981, la obra de referencia en el desarrollo de cualquier estudio sobre el tema.

² Sobre la existencia o no de santos y santas y el carácter legendario de la tradición hagiográfica será en la obra de Hippolyte Delehaye *Légendes hagiographiques*, de 1905, donde se analizará y criticará por primera vez en base a criterios historiográficos. Esta cuestión marcará un antes y un después en el desarrollo de los estudios hagiográficos (Velázquez 2005: 7-8).

El o la mártir como objeto de devoción. De los tiempos de las persecuciones a la consolidación del culto martirial en Hispania (siglos IV-V)

En lo que concierne a la cuestión del origen y la dispersión del culto martirial en Hispania³, hay que remontarse a la época de las persecuciones llevadas a cabo contra los cristianos entre mediados del siglo III y principios del IV. Si bien poseemos testimonios literarios de las persecuciones emprendidas por los emperadores Decio y Valeriano, la mayor parte de las noticias de mártires en suelo hispano que poseemos son de la época en la que el gobernador Publio Daciano habría ejecutado las órdenes de los edictos imperiales durante el gobierno del emperador Diocleciano. Esta persecución, desatada en el año 303, supuso desde un inicio tanto la quema de templos y libros sagrados como la tortura de todos aquellos cristianos que se opusieron a las nuevas órdenes imperiales. No obstante, siendo una persecución que incrementó su severidad edicto tras edicto con el fin de desacreditar culturalmente al cristianismo, apenas se tienen fuentes escritas historiográficamente fiables sobre ella (Roperio 2010: 310).

En este marco general, pese a la inventiva del autor y al carácter poético de su obra -lo que le resta credibilidad⁴-, el *Liber Peristephanon* o *Libro de las Coronas*⁵ destaca por la manera como se da buena cuenta de los males que acontecieron al cristianismo y a algunos de sus seguidores en aquellos tiempos. Escrito en el siglo IV por el poeta cristiano Aurelio Clemente Prudencio, se trata de unas de las obras más antiguas y, por tanto, más cercanas, a los hechos que ocurrieron en Hispania.

Para componer los catorce himnos en los que presenta la muerte dolorosa de héroes y heroínas que obtuvieron la gloria del martirio, Prudencio, hombre versado en las letras y de dilatada carrera política en el seno del Imperio, hizo presumiblemente acopio de las primitivas actas martiriales en el caso de disponer de ellas y, cuando no, de las tradiciones orales conservadas por las comunidades locales y los textos litúrgicos. En los versos de Prudencio, la gracia del martirio, de la que podía participar cualquier devoto o devota independientemente de su posición social, atribuye a los mártires el título (*titulus*) de testigo (*martyr*) de la fe en Cristo el día de su muerte -que se conoce como *dies natalis*⁶.

³ El mejor estudio disponible sobre el culto al hombre santo en Hispania es la monografía de Pedro Castillo *Los mártires hispanorromanos y su culto en la Hispania de la Antigüedad Tardía*, de 1999. Este trabajo, en sintonía con la línea de investigación iniciada por Brown, sigue siendo hasta la fecha la obra más completa sobre el tema. De inestimable valor para abordar su estudio, complementa y revisa los anteriores trabajos sobre hagiografía hispana, de entre los cuales hay que destacar el de Carmen García, *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda*, de 1966.

⁴ Sobre la cuestión de la veracidad de los relatos de los y las mártires que aparecen en el *Liber Peristephanon*, Pedro Castillo hace notar que el propio Prudencio afirma que en algunos de sus relatos martiriales se inspira en su imaginación por la falta de testimonios escritos y, a esta cuestión, hay que sumar que en otras narraciones es difícil determinar historiográficamente si su composición se ha servido de algún relato local (Castillo 1999: 411-413).

⁵ Para este estudio han sido utilizadas y comparadas la edición del texto latino de Thomson, de 1953, y las traducciones de Bayo, de 1943, y de Rivero, de 1997, incluidas en la bibliografía.

⁶ El *dies natalis* es el día del verdadero bautismo del o la mártir. Mientras que para el común de amplias capas de la comunidad cristiana la muerte es un paréntesis hasta que no llega el día de la resurrección, para el o la mártir es la fecha en la que ha vencido a la muerte dando su vida por la fe. La manera cómo comprender esta cuestión pasa por asimilar que los y las mártires son aquellos y aquellas que con su estilo de vida y muerte han podido entrar en contacto directo con Dios; en consecuencia, este acto llega a interpretarse por los fieles como una realidad de ayuda y comunicación con la divinidad en la Tierra, gracias a la intercesión de los mártires. Esta circunstancia, en palabras de Peter Brown, se resume en que la figura del mártir es el enlace (*umbilicus*) que conecta el Cielo y la Tierra; por consiguiente, un vehículo del devoto para llegar a Dios (Brown 2021: 41).

Las primitivas instalaciones martiriales hispanorromanas. Cambios en la movilidad intraurbana en torno a nuevos espacios de privilegio y reunión

Fueron muchos y muchas, desde los albores del cristianismo, quienes dieron su vida, o se hizo creer que la dieron, por esta nueva fe. Esta circunstancia, sobre el terreno, se tradujo en la proliferación de un gran número de lugares santos (*loca sanctorum*)⁷. Levantados por los y las fieles de las comunidades locales donde ocurrieron los hechos del martirio, o sobre la misma tumba del o la mártir, eran espacios ideados con el fin de conmemorar y honrar la *memoria*⁸ del santo o santa.

En el transcurso de los siglos IV y V, como recoge Castillo, tanto literaria como arqueológicamente se atestigua la creciente voluntad de preservar el recuerdo del martirio de un héroe o heroína de la fe por todos los rincones del mundo romano (Castillo 1999: 11-14). Siendo esta práctica cultural el inicio del culto martirial en Europa, fue concebida como un fenómeno eminentemente urbano y que, en palabras de Brown, entendió la tumba, el espacio circundante, la *memoria* del mártir y el ceremonial religioso como un marco de relaciones entre Dios, los muertos y los vivos completamente distinto y ajeno a la relación entre el individuo y la divinidad en el mundo clásico (Brown 2021: 48).

En este marco de cambio, tras el abandono de los edificios que representaban el orden de la tradición clásica, como dice Pablo de la Cruz, los nuevos espacios de la liturgia cristiana se convirtieron en el centro de la actividad arquitectónica (De la Cruz 2000: 151). A pesar de que, paradigmáticamente, la sepultura del o la mártir y sus restos estuviesen, en su mayoría, en las afueras de la ciudad, el espacio funerario dejó de ser un espacio periférico para pasar a ser un espacio central monumentalizado. Por consiguiente, los suburbios (*suburbia*) se concibieron como un lugar privilegiado y de reunión, lo que también acabó por alterar la movilidad de los habitantes dentro de las ciudades durante la Antigüedad Tardía.

No obstante, estos espacios primitivos, que también pueden definirse como instalaciones martiriales primarias⁹, en muchos casos solo son conocidos por las noticias que se tienen de ellos en los relatos hagiográficos, dado que no se ha encontrado ni un solo vestigio material que atestigüe el lugar de la sepultura martirial original¹⁰. Es por esto que el hallazgo de una *tumulatio ad sanctos* o *ad martyres*¹¹ se ha considerado historiográficamente como el indicador arqueológico más fiable respecto a la presencia de dichas instalaciones martiriales en los siglos III y IV.

⁷ Las fuentes hagiográficas denominan con varios términos las estructuras martiriales que se irán levantando con la proliferación de su culto. Para simplificar esta cuestión, Fernando López lo reduce a tres grandes tipos: los *martyria*, aquellos sepulcros de mártires monumentalizados en los que se centralizaba su culto, o aquellos recintos que terminan acogiendo sus restos corporales tras un traslado; las *memoriae*, aquellos recintos construidos en un lugar clave en la vida del mártir, como por ejemplo su pasión, aunque no contengan sus restos; y las basílicas martiriales, aquellas que guardan restos de mártires en su interior y están dedicadas a su persona (López 2011: 128).

⁸ La *memoria* conmemora un hecho real o no del pasado ligado a la figura martirial (Castillo 1999: 270).

⁹ Castillo define de esta manera a los lugares vinculados al origen del culto martirial (Castillo 1999: 510-521).

¹⁰ Este hecho ya es advertido por Yvette Duval, quien contrasta la popularidad y cantidad de testimonios hagiográficos que se tiene de muchos santos y santas mártires locales en Hispania, con las pocas evidencias materiales que puedan servir para constatar históricamente su existencia (Duval 1993: 173-174).

¹¹ Así designamos a los enterramientos sucesivos que se dan alrededor de teóricos restos martiriales con el fin de buscar la influencia que estos mismos emanan. Véase la nota 7 respecto la influencia milagrosa de la tumba del mártir.

En este sentido, las excavaciones en el centro urbano de *Valentia* (Valencia) o en las necrópolis de los suburbia de *Emerita* (Mérida) y *Tarraco* (Tarragona)¹² han acabado por convertirse en ejemplos muy representativos de cómo los lugares vinculados a una *tumulatio ad martyres* pueden constatar la ubicación y evolución arquitectónica de una instalación martirial primaria, de la cual solo se deducía su existencia por las menciones hechas en un texto de carácter hagiográfico¹³. De aceptarse la hipótesis según la cual la gran concentración de enterramientos en los sitios citados respondió a la presencia cercana de los sepulcros de san Vicente en *Valentia*, de santa Eulalia en *Emerita* y de los santos Fructuoso, Augurio y Eulogio en *Tarraco*, el *Liber Peristephanon* de Prudencio se convertiría en un texto de gran interés historiográfico pues, sin prescindir de la cautela interpretativa anteriormente citada y a falta de nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos, con él se podría determinar, como en los casos anteriormente mencionados, el origen de distintos *loca sanctorum* en el entorno de al menos nueve ciudades de las provincias imperiales hispanas¹⁴.

El favor de los restos martiriales y las peregrinaciones. Cambios en la movilidad interurbana en torno al establecimiento de nuevos itinerarios

Respecto a los actos ceremoniales y ritos celebrados sobre la propia tumba y su entorno cercano, el trabajo de Robert Wiśniewski destaca la importancia de los que se relacionaban con el poder que los cristianos atribuían a los sepulcros y los huesos de los santos y santas mártires (Wiśniewski 2019). Asumiendo que, en un inicio, servían para atormentar a los demonios y, luego, perseguirlos; acabaron siendo, más tarde, elementos a los que hacer la petición de una gracia como la sanación, la protección e, incluso, la adivinación. Tanto privados como colectivos, estos anhelados favores promovieron una relación cada vez más particular y familiar entre los restos de los y las mártires y la comunidad que los albergaba. Estos mismos restos, que acabaron siendo conocidos como reliquias, suscitaron la llegada de grandes multitudes, entre las que había desde pobres y enfermos en busca de refugio, cura y/o limosna.

Para el fiel, acercarse físicamente a los monumentos funerarios o a los espacios litúrgicos martiriales era una manera de establecer un contacto con el o la mártir más directo; se pretendía con ello que se cumpliesen con mayor certeza los milagros y rogativas esperados (Castillo 1999: 321). A tal efecto, nuevos itinerarios y formas de relación codificaron los espacios urbanos y sus alrededores. Esto supuso que, a

¹² Sobre la descripción y evolución de estos espacios, véase los estudios referenciados en la bibliografía de Josep Maria Gurt e Isabel Sánchez (Gurt y Sánchez 2010: 20) y Alexandra Chavarría (Chavarría 2015: 13-45).

¹³ De la instalación martirial primaria o *martyrium* de san Vicente, el *Liber Peristephanon* da noticia de la siguiente manera: *si rite sollemnem diem / ueneramur ore et pectore, / si sub tuorum gaudio / uestigiorum sternimur, / paulisper huc inlabere, / Christi fauorem deferens, / sensus grauari ut sentiant / leuamen indulgentiae* (Prud., *Peristeph.* V, vv. 562-568, ed. Thomson 1953: 202; «Si veneramos debidamente este día de fiesta con nuestra voz y nuestro corazón, si nos postramos con gozo al pie de tus reliquias, baja un momento entre nosotros y tráenos el favor de Cristo, para que nuestras almas abrumadas noten el alivio de su perdón.», trad. Rivero 1997: 183); para el *martyrium* de santa Eulalia: *sic uenerarier ossa libet / ossibus altar et inpositum: / illa Dei sita sub pedibus / prospicit haec populosque suos / carmine propitiata fouet* (Prud., *Peristeph.* III, vv. 211-215, ed. Thomson 1953: 156; «Así deseo venerar sus huesos y el altar sobre sus huesos situado; ella, colocada a los pies de Dios, lo ve desde arriba y, ganada a nuestra causa por mi canto, tutela a su pueblo.», trad. Rivero 1997: 158); para los *martyria* de los santos Fructuoso, Augurio y Eulogio: *sed ne reliquias resuscitandas / et mox cum domino simul futuras / discretis loca diuidant sepulcris, / cernuntur niueis stolis amicti, / mandant restitui cauoque claudi / mixtim marmore puluerem sacrandum.* (Prud., *Peristeph.* VI, vv. 136-141, ed. Thomson 1953: 212; «Mas con el fin de que su emplazamiento en distintas urnas no disperse los restos que han de resucitar y estar luego juntos al lado del Señor, se dejan ver tocados de néveas estolas; encargan que el polvo sagrado sea devuelto y guardado todo junto en hueca urna de mármol.», trad. Rivero 1997: 190).

¹⁴ Concretamente en los himnos I, III, IV, V y VI se atestigua la existencia en *Calagurris* (Calahorra) del *martyrium* de Emeterio y Celedonio; en *Emerita* (Mérida), del de Eulalia; en *Caesaraugusta* (Zaragoza), de los de Engracia y los dieciocho mártires; en *Corduba* (Córdoba), de los de Acisclo, Zoilo y las Tres Coronas; en *Gerunda* (Gerona), del de Félix; en *Barcino* (Barcelona), del de Cucufato; en *Complutum* (Alcalá), de los de Justo y Pastor; en *Valentia* (Valencia), del de Vicente; y en *Tarraco* (Tarragona) de los de Fructuoso, Augurio y Eulogio.

lo largo del siglo V, las muestras de veneración martirial estuvieran presentes por toda la Cristiandad, estimulando el intercambio cultural y la creación de nuevas rutas para conocer los lugares santos. Es así, por tanto, como empezó un nuevo tipo de movilidad, el de las peregrinaciones.

No pudiéndose valorar la importancia y alcance de estos movimientos de larga distancia en Hispania debido a su escasa mención en las fuentes¹⁵, cabe pensar que en el territorio ibérico eran comunes las peregrinaciones de carácter local o vecinal. Principalmente, el motor de tal circulación de devotos y devotas serían los prodigios, la penitencia o, simplemente, la obtención de reliquias, ya fuese para enriquecer basílicas o para un fin privado.

Para Castillo, no obstante, la verdadera peregrinación era la de larga duración o de lejanías, dado que ir a estos lugares martiriales suponía la conjunción de los ideales ascéticos con el deseo de conocer y beneficiarse del lugar del martirio (Castillo 1999: 278). La ubicación de algunos lugares martiriales en vías de gran importancia fue una realidad que facilitó la existencia de un mayor número de peregrinos y, por consiguiente, la extensión del culto de sus titulares a otras zonas.

Como ejemplos de ello cabe citar los casos de la mártir Eulalia y del mártir Vicente, cuyo culto fue de los más extendidos desde fecha temprana: ya en el siglo V se erigió en Montady (Francia) una basílica dedicada a estos dos santos junto a santa Inés (Castillo 1999: 413).

A este respecto, el de santa Eulalia fue el culto que más multitudes atrajo, extendiéndose su devoción por toda la Cristiandad. Su sepulcro fue objeto de peregrinación no solo en Hispania, sino en todas partes del mundo romano. Un testimonio esclarecedor de este hecho es la construcción de un *xenodochium* (hospital) a las afueras de la ciudad de *Emerita* en el siglo VI¹⁶; o, también, los numerosos hagiotopónimos repartidos por la geografía de Hispania que derivan de Eulalia, como Santolaja (Burgos) o Santa Olaria (Zaragoza); y aun fuera de Hispania, como Sainte-Aulazie (Francia).

¹⁵ De la Cruz 2001: 151-152. En este sentido, cabe destacar que una de las pocas menciones a las peregrinaciones existentes es la que hace Prudencio en el himno I del *Liber Peristephanon* donde menciona la llegada de peregrinos al *locus sanctorum* de los santos Emeterio y Celedonio de la siguiente manera: *nec non et orbis huc colonus aduenit, / fama nam terras in omnes percucurrit proditrix / hic patronos esse mundi, quos precantes ambient. / nemo puras hic rogando frustra congegit preces; / laetus hinc tersis reuertit supplicator fletibus / omne quod iustum poposcit impetratum sentiens exteri* (Prud., *Peristeph.* I, vv. 10-15, ed. Thomson 1953: 98; «También llega aquí el colono del mundo exterior, pues por todas las tierras ha ido corriendo un rumor, publicando que aquí se hallan patronos del orbe a los que pueden acudir suplicantes. Nadie que aquí haya rogado ha acumulado en vano sus preces sinceras, contento se vuelve de aquí el suplicante, enjugadas sus lágrimas, al sentir que ha conseguido todo aquello que con justicia ha solicitado», trad. Rivero 1997: 121-122).

¹⁶ Las *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* recuerdan que fue el obispo Masona quién promovió la construcción de tal *xenodochium* como se puede observar en este fragmento: *Deinde xinodocium fabricauit magnisque patrimoniis ditauit constitutisque ministris uel medicis peregrinorum et egrotantium husibus deseruire precepit talemque preceptum dedit, ut cuncte urbis ambitu medici indesinenter percurrentes quemquamque seruuum seu liberum, Xpianum siue Iudeum, repperissent egrum, ulnis suis gestantes ad xenodocium deferrent, straminibus quoque lectuli nitide preparatis, eundem infirmum ibidem superponentes ciuos delicatos et nitidos eousque preparantes quosque cum Deo egroto ipse salutem pristinam reformarent. Et quamlibet a prediis xenodocii conlatis multis deliciarum copia pararetur, adhuc uiro sancto parum esse uidebatur. Sed his omnibus beneficiis adiciens maiora precepit medicis ut sagaci sollicitudine gererent curam ut de omnibus exeniis ab uniuersis actuariis ex omni patrimonio ecclesie in atrium inlatis medietatem acciperent, ut eisdem infirmis deferrent* (VSPE V, III, 13-26, ed. Maya 1992: 50-51; «Después edificó un hospital y lo enriqueció con un gran patrimonio, equipándolo con sirvientes y médicos; mandó que se atendieran las necesidades de los peregrinos y enfermos y dio orden de que los médicos, recorriendo sin cesar los alrededores de toda la ciudad, llevaran en brazos al hospital a cualquiera que, siervo o libre, cristiano o judío, encontraran enfermo, y que allí mismo, también en esteras, en camas acondicionadas y limpias, tendieran al enfermo, preparándole alimentos delicados y saludables hasta que devolvieran, con la ayuda de Dios, la antigua salud del enfermo. Y aunque el hospital se abastecía del cultivo de sus campos, se disponía de una gran abundancia de delicados alimentos para muchos refugiados, todavía le parecía que era poco al santo varón. Y añadiendo a todos estos beneficios otros mayores, ordenó a los médicos que, con atenta solicitud, se preocuparan de recoger la mitad de todos los bienes del patrimonio de la iglesia traídos al palacio por todos los tesoreros, a fin de entregársela a los mismos enfermos», trad. Velázquez 2008: 89).

Las reliquias como objeto de devoción. El papel del obispo en la dispersión del culto martirial por Hispania (siglos V-VI)

Tras el momento de reordenación y desorientación política y social resultante de la llegada de los pueblos bárbaros a Hispania entre los siglos V-VI, el aspecto del culto martirial se promovió con otros fines más allá de lo estrictamente milagroso y litúrgico. Sin unas autoridades políticas supralocales eficientes, se estableció un nuevo mandato político y religioso a nivel local, el de los obispos. La ciudad seguirá siendo un centro administrativo en cuanto sede de un gobernador o *comes*, pero, desde ahora, también en el sentido eclesiástico la presencia del obispo marcará un antes y un después en el ejercicio del poder en Hispania¹⁷.

Ante la importancia creciente de los cultos y fiestas martiriales en el seno de las comunidades locales hispanas, la presencia de la elite, encabezada por el obispo, será constante en su desarrollo. La posición preeminente del obispo dentro de la jerarquía eclesiástica, estrechamente ligada a las oligarquías locales, se había ido construyendo mediante la conmemoración ritual de la *memoria* del mártir en las fiestas y la liturgia. Lo conmemorado en dichas celebraciones será concebido y asumido como una representación del triunfo de la Iglesia, haciendo del obispo su máximo valedor (Castillo 1999: 270).

Es a partir de entonces que también el o la mártir, por un lado, pasan a ser patronos (*patronus*) de una agrupación urbana; y, por el otro, asumen el papel de defensores de la ciudad (*defensores civitatis*). El o la mártir se convierte en el patrono de una colectividad que, a su vez, busca de él o ella una seguridad. Esta realidad también se extiende a la figura del obispo, el cual, a partir de entonces, ya no será tan solo el representante de la ciudad, sino también el vicario del propio mártir (Castillo 1999: 261).

Junto a estas ceremonias y fiestas, que protagonizaron los obispos en íntima conexión con los mártires, la consagración y dedicación de nuevos edificios y altares a los y las mártires dio paso a otra ceremonia, la de la deposición de reliquias (*depositio reliquiarum*). Estas fiestas, según Castillo, llegaron a estar tan íntimamente unidas, que una consagración no podía darse sin una deposición de reliquias. Allí donde el o la mártir no era oriundo, el obispo local encabezaba una procesión portando las reliquias, haciéndose así partícipe del amparo y gracia (*potentia*) proporcionados por él o la mártir (Castillo 1999: 272). Una vez depositada en un nuevo espacio de culto, la fecha de deposición de dicha reliquia establece para la nueva comunidad un *dies natalis*¹⁸, significando su reconocimiento y el inicio de una nueva festividad.

La instrumentalización política del culto martirial para el control del territorio y la consolidación del poder visigodo. De la deposición a la translación de reliquias

Este proceso ha de ser entendido no sólo como la cristianización del territorio y la ruralización de la Iglesia sino, también, como un método de control, de establecimiento de una red de influencias y de una administración clientelar, sobre formas cristianas extraepiscopales. Es decir, mediante la creación de nuevos títulos martiriales, con la necesaria consagración por parte del obispo, se aseguraba el control eclesiástico sobre los nuevos emplazamientos religiosos y sus comunidades.

¹⁷ Para este periodo comprendido entre los siglos V-VI, como ya advierte Santiago Castellanos, es frustrante en el caso de Hispania la escasez de textos narrativos y diplomáticos para poner en consonancia con realidades históricas, más aún y paradójicamente, en un periodo en el cual el sistema hispanovisigodo gozaba de una situación social, cultural y religiosa principal (Castellanos 2004: 11). En este sentido, los textos hagiográficos escritos en los siglos VII-VIII como las *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* o las actas conciliares, tomarán especial relevancia para el estudio de este periodo.

¹⁸ Véase la nota 6 respecto a la conceptualización del *dies natalis*.

El extraordinario desarrollo que adquirió el culto martirial en esta época permitió al obispo dirigir la construcción, consagración y mantenimiento de nuevos espacios, en cuanto actor a la cabeza de su ciudad como evangelizador del territorio circundante. Por consiguiente, esta circunstancia supuso no solo la extensión del culto de una comunidad urbana a otras ciudades, sino, también, a las rurales. De esta manera, dejando de ser el cristianismo un fenómeno eminentemente urbano, los casos, de nuevo, de la mártir Eulalia o el mártir Vicente, entre otros, son ejemplos de cómo por toda la geografía se extendió su culto gracias a la presencia de epígrafes que conmemoran actos de consagración de los siglos V-VI en adelante¹⁹. A su vez, hay casos en los que estos nuevos lugares depositarios de reliquias, o deseosos de ellas, acaban reinventando su culto lo que lleva a la creación de otros mártires de carácter local. Buena muestra de ello podría ser la duplicidad en el culto de la mártir Eulalia entre las ciudades de *Emerita* y *Barcino* (Barcelona) en el siglo VI²⁰.

A este respecto, Manuel Sotomayor apunta que la cristianización del territorio y la ruralización de la Iglesia hispana en época visigoda se producen también como fenómenos relacionados con la mayor autonomía de los grandes propietarios de extensas fincas rurales, como ya venía sucediendo desde el Bajo Imperio romano (Sotomayor 1982: 645-646). La presencia de edificios y objetos de culto, tales como necrópolis e inscripciones cristianas (en su mayoría), cercanos al contexto de villas bajomiperiales, remite a la profesión de fe cristiana de sus dueños y quizás, también, indica que estas villas de poseedores cristianos fueron centros o focos de difusión rural del culto martirial²¹.

Como apunta Jordina Sales, el siglo VI se puede definir como la eclosión de «una fiebre constructora cristiana», dando por supuesto que en este momento la mayoría de la población de Hispania está ya cristianizada (Sales 2013: 405). En este sentido y ante la importancia creciente de dicho culto, se aumentó paralelamente, dado su inestimable valor ya no sólo cultural sino también político, el patrimonio de reliquias en Hispania. Esta realidad tendrá su expresión máxima, de un lado, en la *inuentio*, que consiste en el descubrimiento de las reliquias de un o una mártir por medio de una revelación divina; y, del otro, en la *translatio*, que hace referencia al desplazamiento de los restos martiriales a un nuevo sepulcro (López 2011: 128). A partir de este momento, tal y como expone De la Cruz, la posesión de un o una mártir, o simplemente de sus reliquias, tiene como objeto primero la búsqueda de peregrinos y la promoción del lugar y, por tanto, su origen o procedencia pasaran a un plano secundario (De la Cruz 2000: 155).

Esta realidad se tradujo en época visigoda en el desarrollo de nuevos complejos martiriales, entre los que destaca el dedicado a la mártir Leocadia en *Toletum* (Toledo). Se pondrá fin así a más de un siglo de vacío tanto en la creación de instalaciones martiriales como en la redacción de textos hagiográficos. A su vez, es muy posible que nuevos espacios litúrgicos, como monasterios o lugares sacros situados al

¹⁹ De estos epígrafes decir que hay desde aquellos que ilustran la titularidad de las reliquias hasta otros más complejos donde se recoge todo el proceso de deposición. Este tipo inscripciones están bien catalogadas, pero son escasas y en su mayoría son fechables después del año 600 (Duval, 1993: 177)

²⁰ Sobre la duplicidad del culto de la mártir Eulalia véase el trabajo referenciado en la bibliografía de Joaquín Mora (Mora: 2019).

²¹ Un aspecto interesante de la transformación de las villas es la connotación del espacio funerario en cuanto a la posición privilegiada de los individuos inhumados, lo que tal vez se deba a una relación ad martyres. Un ejemplo de ello puede ser el *martyrium* de la Alberca, en Murcia. En este caso se encuentran también algunas tumbas alrededor del edificio, aparentemente jerarquizadas según su proximidad al ábside. Se ha especulado con la posibilidad de ubicar en el ábside de esta estructura, que se sitúa junto a una villa, los supuestos restos martiriales (López 2011: 129-130; Palol, 1967 106-115). Otro caso se halla en Marialba, en los alrededores de la ciudad de León. Se trata de una edificación en cuyo ábside se encuentran trece tumbas. En el trabajo de López se recoge que estos sepulcros, según diversos estudios, se disponen de forma tal que revela una veneración martirial; también se señala la posibilidad de que el *sanctuarium* del templo se ubicara encima. Es, por tanto, bastante probable la identificación del monumento con el sepulcro de trece mártires (López 2011: 131-132).

amparo de los lugares martiriales, se nutriesen de devotos llegados de todas partes y favorecieran la dispersión de los préstamos hagiográficos y el culto martirial.

A tal efecto, el culto a la ya mencionada mártir Leocadia, de cuyo martirio no se tiene noticia en el *Liber Peristephanon* pero sí en unas actas martiriales posteriores, es un claro ejemplo de cómo la *inuentio* de unas reliquias promovió el culto a una santa que alcanzó su apogeo tras la conversión al catolicismo de los visigodos en el III Concilio de Toledo del 589. Presumiblemente inventada con el fin político de contrarrestar la imagen de santa Eulalia de Mérida y la influencia de esta ciudad, urbe cosmopolita y de gran relieve político en el momento (Arce 2002: 501-506), el hallazgo de las reliquias de Leocadia por parte del obispo de la ciudad de *Toletum* Ildefonso, puso de relieve el conflicto que generaba el establecimiento de dicha ciudad como capital del nuevo estado visigodo en detrimento de *Emerita*. En apoyo de esta hipótesis cabe citar el episodio narrado en las *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* donde el obispo Masona niega a Leovigildo la entrega de la túnica de santa Eulalia, que el rey visigodo quería instalar en *Toletum*²². En este mismo sentido, Sabine Panzram ha llamado la atención sobre la falsificación de listados de obispos toledanos como medio de autorrepresentación municipal en medio de esta pugna de poder entre *Toletum* y *Emerita* (Panzram 2010).

Conclusión

De acuerdo con la teología cristiana, la naturaleza humana, que inicialmente era buena, había caído y quedado maltrecha por el pecado y solo podía ser restituida por la redención de la gracia de Dios. En este punto, como se ha visto, la figura del o la mártir, desde el siglo IV en adelante, será entendida no solo como un ejemplo de vida y redención, sino como un vehículo del devoto o devota para llegar a Dios.

Ahora bien, más allá de determinar si los hispanorromanos creían o no en tales santos o mártires y si sus manifestaciones sobrenaturales, como los prodigios, se manifestaban en el ámbito de lo público o lo privado, lo que hemos querido apuntar es si la religión cristiana, y la fe en sus mártires, se convirtieron, de un lado, en las aglutinadoras de las comunidades locales y, del otro, como la dispersión de sus creencias alteró la movilidad de los devotos y devotas tanto dentro de las ciudades como por el territorio de Hispania.

Para dar respuesta a esta cuestión ha cobrado especial relevancia el arquetipo de hombre santo y mujer santa recogido en las fuentes hagiográficas, como en los himnos del *Liber Peristephanon* de Prudencio. Estos textos, que alcanzaron gran popularidad, jugaron un papel determinante en el cambio de costumbres y la mentalidad de los individuos y que, junto con los mecanismos de consagración y celebración sobre los ámbitos funerarios martiriales, sirvieron para gestar nuevos rituales de posesión y de ostentación por parte de los obispos. Habiéndose extendido este proceso durante el siglo V en todas las provincias occidentales, dado que, al haber desaparecido la administración imperial, la motivación

²² El fragmento da noticia de tal hecho de la siguiente manera: *Cuius constantia magis magisque permotus insanissimus rex multo magis cepit rauido ore rauidoribus aduersus Dei famulum infrendere latratibus. Deinde ut tunicam sanctissime uirginis Eolalie ei presentaret, quam in basilicam Arriane prauitatis ibidem in Toletu habere deueret, cepit minis terroribusque inpellere. Ad hec uir Dei respondit: "Conpertum tibi sit quia cor meum sordibus Arriane supprestitutionis numquam maculabo, tam peruersi dogmatis mentem meam numquam inquinabo. Tunicam domine mee Eolalie sacrilegis hereticorum manibus polluendam uel etiam summis digitis contrectandam numquam tradebo neque a te repperta quoquumque tempore possideri potest"* (VSPE V, VI 46-56, ed. Maya 1992: 65-66; «Después le ordenó con terribles amenazas que le trajera la túnica de la santísima virgen Eulalia, porque él debería tenerla en la basílica de la herejía arriana, allí en Toledo. A esto el hombre de Dios respondió: "Debes saber que jamás mancharé mi corazón con la suciedad de la herejía arriana, jamás infestará mi alma con tan perverso dogma, jamás permitiré que la túnica de mi señora Eulalia sea ensuciada por las manos sacrílegas de los herejes, ni sea manoseada con la yema de sus dedos, y no es posible que si la encuentras permanezca en tu poder ni un solo momento"», trad. Velázquez 2008: 96-97).

primera de estas elites, encabezadas por los prelados, era la de buscar nuevas vías de subsistencia, presentó a los obispos como «representantes» de los y las mártires en la Tierra.

Esta cuestión que acabó por fortalecer la autoridad episcopal frente al poder político secular y, subsidiariamente, articular la estructura social y territorial de Hispania entre los siglos IV y VI, es la manera cómo se ha querido constatar que tanto la heterogeneidad como las transformaciones acaecidas sobre el paisaje urbano y rural hispano, y sus repercusiones en la movilidad de los individuos respecto al orden del mundo clásico anterior, responden, en parte, a la difusión del culto martirial.

Como último apunte, expuestas las comunidades locales de este periodo, en la mayor parte de los casos, a los procesos de consolidación de los poderes aristocrático y episcopal, para el caso de Hispania, la conversión al catolicismo de los visigodos en el III Concilio de Toledo del 589 parece acentuar la extensión de los títulos martiriales tanto primitivos como de nueva creación, lo que creemos que se enmarca en el contexto de la formación del nuevo reino visigodo y la búsqueda de la unidad territorial.

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IV. POLITICAL TRENDS AND PRACTICES

Whistles, applause and the welcoming of politicians by the Italic people: non-verbal expression of the crowd in the Late Ancient Republic

Agata Otranto

One of the most debated issues of the last century in Roman historiography is the degree of participation of the people in political life and decisions. This topic has been investigated by many scholars since the 80s, and after 40 years it could seem to be an oversaturated avenue of research. Yet space remains for reflection, and some aspects have not been discussed yet. The majority of studies on the ancient Roman world focused on “Macro history”, so on the life and actions of the biggest characters of history (the historian Fernand Braudel developed for the first time the concept of Macro history in his work of 1979, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme XVe-XVIIIe siècles*, as opposed to another kind of history: the “Microhistory”). This is also due to the fact that most sources focus on major events. The topic that I am going to inquire about in this article does not belong to this kind of narration of ancient history but I will briefly focus on the role of the “normal people” excluded from the previous narrations in the Late Ancient Republic.

In the last years, studies have been produced about the role of the people in the assemblies, such as in *contiones*, and more broadly, about the characteristics of ancient politics. The first historian to start the debate was Theodor Mommsen, in his *Römische Geschichte*. The vision of Mommsen followed the political categories of the 19th century: he reread the political history of Rome from the perspective of the opposition between ‘parties’ and ‘majorities’ with different agendas, in the manner of a liberal democracy clashing with each other for reasons of social order. From this historical-political reconstruction, a historiographical debate started. The first scholar who resumed this debate in the early 20th century was Matthias Gelzer. He based the Roman political system on the relationships of *fides*, *amicitia* and *clientelae*. This structure placed citizens belonging to the noble classes at the top. Starting from Gelzer’s position, some historians – such as Friedrich Münzer and Ronald Syme – developed the prosopographical method. The position of these historians – mostly the position of Syme – was deconstructed by Christian Meyer, the progenitor of the German anthropological school. Meyer emphasized the mobility of client and factional relations and emphasized the importance of the political culture of the elites. But the real turning point can be found in the studies of Fergus Millar, who stresses the role of the *populus* in the political life of the Roman ‘state’ in the republican and, above all, Late Republican. According to Millar, with the evolution of democratic structures in the institutional system, all social classes had gained importance and political space. From this point onwards, the debate on the nature of politics in the Roman Republic became polarised around the presence and role of a new subject: the people. Some scholars embraced Millar’s ‘popular’ position, while others reverted to an ‘oligarchic’ view of the political structure (for example, the scholars of the German school, such as Egon Flaig, Martin Jehne, Karl J. Hölkesskamp e Henrik Mouritsen).

Although numerous scholars have discussed the role of the popular masses in late republican Rome and their relationship with power, the research about the expression of the people, occurring mostly in non-institutional contexts, remains a mostly uncharted field, in which the perspective of C. Rosillo-Lopez’s

studies is an interesting one about popular opinion (C. Rosillo-Lopez, 2017). Another interesting aspect that I analysed in the paper, linked to the popular participation, is the importance of the movement of the population – politicized crowds. In the Late Republic, we see how the Roman politic is no longer limited to the capital but involves all of Italy. So all the peninsula's citizens moved from their regions to vote or greet the most-known politicians.

The analysis of non-verbal communication among the crowd can help us better understand popular participation in political life. In particular, the paralinguistic aspects of the popular expression, by which I refer to the elements of vocal communication – separated from actual language – that includes factors such as tone of voice, loudness, inflection, and pitch, have not been studied despite their potential. The focus of this work is on applause and whistles. Through these *signa* all segments of the population could take part in political life, either displaying approval towards politicians and their choices with applause or disapproval with whistles.

Through the inquiry of these popular expressions, we can investigate in what way and to which degree people took part in public life and whether politicians took into account these *signa* or not. The main author that gives information about the reactions of the *populus* and his way of taking part in politics is Cicero: his work is crucial to understanding the situation in the city of Rome at the end of the 1st century BC. It is important to remember that Cicero is a partial informer, given he was a prominent politician at the time.

In his speech *pro Sestio*, delivered in 56 BC, Cicero suggests where we could find *iudicium populi*. The author legally represented Publius Sestius, a tribune elected in the same year, who was accused *de vi* and *de ambitu* by M. Tullius Albinovanus, a supporter of Clodius.

In the paragraph 106 of the *Pro Sextio*, Cicero says:

Etenim tribus locis significari maxime de populi Romani iudicium ac voluntas potest, contione, comitiis, ludorum gladiatorumque consessu.

In truth, there are three places in which the opinion and inclination of the Roman people may be ascertained to the greatest degree; the assembly, the comitia, and the meetings at the games and at exhibitions of gladiators.

(Translated by C. D. Yonge 1891)

So, according to Cicero, *contiones*, *comitia*, and games are places where the expression of the *iudicium ac voluntas populi* was voiced.

Those places, which excluded the *comitia*, are not institutional contexts. This is an interesting piece of information because the orator outlines that people also expressed their “political opinion” in non-institutional places and ways.

So, to consider the role of popular opinion in late-republican politics, it is important to pay attention to the politician's reaction to the people's non-verbal communication.

Cicero himself usually describes the non-verbal reactions of the crowd during the *Ludi* and the *contiones*. The orator evaluates these popular *signa*, but the comments of the author differ depending on the

situation and context. We could assume that the orator considered the popular expression according to his political position, approving of expressions that he agreed with and disapproving of those he did not.

Some examples of these expressions are useful to further analyze this notion.

In the *First Philippic*, the speech against Antonius delivered on the 2 of September of 44 BC at a senatorial meeting, Cicero positively comments about the paraverbal communication of the crowd. In paragraph 37, the author stresses the importance of popular expression in the theatre and the assemblies with some examples. Cicero's positive opinion regarding the expression of the people is obvious – he defines it as *iudicium populi Romani*. He encourages the consuls to listen to the judgement of the Roman people, expressed by *versus* and *clamores* during the games. For example, the applause under the statue of Pompey meant that the people agreed with Pompey's politics and that he was a well-liked statesman. Cicero asks the consuls if these popular expressions are not indicative enough of the people's will and he concludes, saying:

Equidem is sum qui istos plausus, cum popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper contempserim. Idemque cum a summis, mediis, infimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit, cumque ei qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto.

I myself, indeed, am a man who have at all times despised that applause which is bestowed by the vulgar crowd, but at the same time, when it is bestowed by those of the highest, and of the middle, and of the lowest rank, and, in short, by all ranks together, and when those men who were previously accustomed to aim at nothing but the favour of the people keep aloof, I then think that, not mere applause, but a deliberate verdict.

(Translated by C. D. Yonge 1903)

He stresses how the expression of the people is a *iudicium* for him, not just applause and whistles.

On the other hand, we can observe a different view that Cicero gives us in the *Pro Flacco* §19 where he writes an opposite statement, only three years after the *First Philippic*.

Mementote igitur, cum audietis psephismata, non audire vos testimonia, audire temeritatem volgi, audire vocem levissimi cuiusque, audire strepitum imperitorum, audire contionem concitatam levissimae nationis.

Remember, therefore, that when you hear decrees you are not hearing evidence; that you are listening to the rashness of the common people; that you are listening to the assertions of all the most worthless men; that you are listening to the murmurs of the ignorant, to the voice of an inflamed assembly of a most worthless nation.

(Translated by C. D. Yonge 1856)

In the *Pro Flacco*, a speech in the defence of L. Valerius Flaccus, dating from 59 BC, we witness a negative opinion regarding people's behaviour. Cicero blames the politicians who listened to the crowd, gathered in a *sedens contio*. He outlines that the voice of these people is no more than rumours, *strepitus imperitorum*.

In a famous letter, that Cicero sent to Attic on 11th July of the 44 BC (*Letters to Attic*, XVI.2.3), he also complains about the fact that:

Populus Romanus manus suas non in defendenda re publica sed in plaudendo consumere.

I feel that the Roman people used up its hands in clapping, rather than in defending the constitution.

(Translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh 1908-1909)

It is easy to find in other works of Cicero more references to the fact that people expressed important judgments, which the politicians would do well to listen to.

We can sum up, at this point, that there is not a univocal opinion of Cicero regarding the reliability of the crowd in a public context. The judgement of the author depends on the harmony between popular expression and his political interest.

Nevertheless, the judgement of the people was extremely important for politicians. In order to understand this, it is interesting to read Cicero's letter sent to Atticus in the July of 59, where he reports the reactions of politicians to popular expression. In this letter, letter 19 of the second book §2-4, he describes to Atticus, who was away from the capital, the situation in Rome.

The orator underlines once again the places where it is possible to find the expression of the *populus*:

Populi sensus maxime theatro et spectaculis perspectus est.

Popular sentiment has been most manifest at the theatre and the shows.

(Translated by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey 2001)

Here, the author describes to Atticus what happened during the *Ludi Apollinares*, which had taken place some days earlier. Cicero refers to the reaction of the crowd connected to the entrance of each politician in the theatre during the *Ludi*.

During these games, the actor Diphilus starred in a play where Pompey – protégé of Cicero – was attacked covertly. The people understood the allusion to Pompey and showed approval for the criticism. We see, later on, the "*sensus populi*": Caesar received *mortuus plausus*, Curio, instead, claimed strong applause: *huic ita plausum est ut salva re publica Pompeio plaudi solebat*. Caesar was not pleased about his unenthusiastic welcome: *Tulit Caesar graviter*.

At the beginning of the same letter, we can read another contradiction in Cicero's reasoning. He starts the second paragraph of the epistle, by blaming the people for their unawareness:

Scito nihil umquam fuisse tam infame, tam turpe, tam peraeque omnibus generibus, ordinibus, aetatibus offensum, quam hunc statum qui nunc est, magis mehercule quam vellem, non modo quam putarem. Populares isti iam etiam modestos homines sibilare docuerunt.

I assure you there never was anything so scandalous, so shameful, so offensive to all sorts, Conditions and ages of men alike, as the present state of affairs. It is more so, by Hercules, than I could have wished, but not more than I had expected. Your populares have now taught even usually quiet men to hiss.

(Translated by S. Shuckburgh 1908-1909)

The following question naturally arises: why does he report the loud “opinion” of the people if the applause is only a pointless teaching of *populares*? Perhaps, the expression of the crowd was not meaningless, and the relationship of the politicians to caring about the masses support was vital.

Up to this point, I have analysed the situation in Rome. But the scenario in the late Republic was not only restricted to the capital of the expanding Empire. It is interesting to extend the perspective beyond 1st century BC Rome in the first half of the I Century BC and understand how the Italic people expressed their opinion and took part in Roman politics.

After the Social War, there were many political and administrative changes in Italy. An illustrative source of the situation in the whole Italy is the *Commentariolum petitionis*, a brief work summing up the rules of an elections campaign. The *Commentariolum petitionis* – also known as *De petitione consolatu* – was supposedly written by Quintus Tullius Cicero in the 65-64 circa and addressed to his brother, Marcus Tullius Cicero. This work stressed paying attention to Italic peoples as “voting people” and, potentially, as a part of Cicero’s *clientela*. Indeed, Quintus suggests to Cicero (*Commentariolum petitionis* §30-31):

Deinde habeto rationem urbis totius, conlegiorum omnium, pagorum, vicinitatum; ex his principes ad amicitiam tuam si adiunxeris, per eos relinquam multitudinem facile tenebis. Postea tota Italiam fac ut in animo ac memoria tributim discriptam comprehensamque habeas, ne quod municipium, coloniam, praefecturam, locum denique Italiae ne quem esse patiari in quo non habeas firmament quod satis esse possit perquiras et investigates homines ex omni regione, eos cognoscas, appetas, confirmes, cures ut in cuius vicinitatibus tibi petant et tua causa quasi candidati sint.

Then, look after the entire city, all *conlegia*, districts and neighbourhoods. If you would be able to be a friend of their bigger delegates, thanks to them, you could conquer the whole mass. Then, remember all of Italy, divided into tribes, in order to have enough support in each municipality, colony, prefecture, in each place in Italy. Search for and find men from all regions, know them, go to them, make yourself sure of their fidelity, get them to support you in the electoral campaign with their neighbours and they will be almost candidates for you.

(Translated by the author)

Italy became the theatre of political campaign for the elections in the year 64 – the year before Cicero became consul. From that moment onward, the Italic people were always been taken into account by Caesar, who cultivated their political support (Plutarch *Pomp.* 58).

During the last years of the Republic, Italics increasingly became actors in the political games and *tota Italia* is one of the most important characters of political life in the 1st century BC. Consequently, there was a need to extend the sphere of action during election campaigns.

Plutarch provides important information about this interesting movement of politicians throughout Italy, in search of support, for example in his biography of Pompey. He was very popular across Italy at the time, and in the narration of his life, we read several times about the appreciation the Italic populations showed when Pompey crossed their regions.

The first event narrated dates back to the year 67 BC. That year Pompey obtained the *imperium navale* to fight against the pirates in the Mediterranean sea. On this occasion, the consul Piso was envious of him and he tried to get rid of the navy assigned to Pompey. After rescuing the fleet at the harbour of

Brundisium, Pompey came back to Rome, crossing Etruscan lands. Plutarch describes – in the §27 of the life of Pompey – the warm welcome that he received:

τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν εἰς Βρεντέσιον περιέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Τυρρηνίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέβαινεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ πάντες ἐξεχύθησαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπέμψαντες αὐτόν, ἐποίει δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς τάχος, ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀφθονίαν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐχούσης.

Pompey, therefore, sent his fleet round to Brundisium, while he himself went up by way of Tuscany to Rome. On learning of this, the citizens all streamed out into the road, just as if they had not escorted him forth only a few days before. What caused their joy was the un hoped for rapidity of the change, the market being now filled to overflowing with provisions.

(Translated by B. Perrin 1917)

Plutarch shows how the people were extremely attached to Pompey and went out into the streets to welcome him.

After the military campaign against Mithridates, the masses that Pompey met in Italy showed him their support (in the §43.4-5 of the *Life of Pompey*):

οὕτω δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς σκεδασθείσης καὶ πυνθανομένων ἀπάντων πράγμα συνέβη θαυμαστόν, ὀρῶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις Πομπηΐον Μάγνον ἄνοπλον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν συνήθων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἄλλης ἀποδημίας διαπορευόμενον, ἐκχεόμεναι δι' εὐνοίαν καὶ προπέμπουσαι μετὰ μείζονος δυνάμεως συγκατῆγον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἴ τι κινεῖν διενοεῖτο καὶ νεωτερίζειν τότε, μηδὲν ἐκείνου δεόμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος.

When the cities saw Pompey the Great journeying along unarmed and with only a few intimate friends, as though returning from an ordinary sojourn abroad, the people streamed forth to show their good will, and escorting him on his way with a larger force, brought him with them back to Rome, where, had he purposed any revolutionary changes at that time, he had no need of the army that he had disbanded.

(Translated by B. Perrin 1917)

Another example of the relationship between the Italic populations and the Roman politicians, based on the life of Pompey, is the celebration that the Neapolitans organised when Pompey recovered after a long illness. Plutarch states that, in the year 50 BC, Pompey fell ill in Naples and, after the recovery, the inhabitants of Naples and other towns around offered sacrifices. In a short time, all the towns of Italy started to sacrifice to the Gods and celebrate Pompey.

This event is described in §57 of the life of Pompey. I think that the most illustrative description of what happened is the following one:

μιμουμένων δὲ τούτους τῶν προσοίκων καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὕτω περιϊόντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη πόλις ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἐώρταζε.

Their example was followed by the neighboring peoples, and so the thing made its way throughout Italy, and every city, small and great, held festivals for many days.

(Translated by B. Perrin 1917)

The author stresses out that people from all Italy followed him and celebrated him.

Plutarch's political commentary regarding the situation is interesting. In the same paragraph, after the aforementioned description, Plutarch writes that Pompey from that moment started to make mistakes. Because of his arrogance, the ὑβρις, gained due to this popular acclamation, the leader began to act without caution and underestimated the power of Caesar, triggering the Civil war.

Also in this case, we can realise how important the support of the people for the politicians was. We see how they viewed acclamation and popular backing– so much so, that they could lose their political balance.

Finally, we perceive the importance of public non-verbal expression – through the *rumores*, such as *sibilus* and *plausus* and through the public ovation and support. These non-institutional expressions are reported by the authors and are a sign of popularity or a lack of support. We also consider the importance of the concept of *Fides* (Pani-Todisco 2018: 70-72), in the Late Ancient Republic, a value that linked the public and the private domain, a “social contract” that linked the magistrates with the citizen and with his function. The power that the magistrates had was granted by the people, through their vote. And in the name and respect of the *populus* they had to act.

Non-verbal expressions are not a clear and institutional manifestation of the *iudicium populi* (like for example voting), however, they were also taken into account. These were an expression of a larger and diversified sample. The approval of the people, ranging even to the lowest classes of the society, was extremely important in a “face-to-face society”, such as ancient Rome. As K. Hölkeskamp writes in his 2010 work “*Reconstructing the Roman Republic*” – the “struggle for acceptance, approval, applause, allowances and attention, of all kinds, “a struggle of the few for the many just as of the many for the few” (K. Hölkeskamp 2010). The social context was a huge factor in this process. Arguably, the struggle for acceptance was the most important element in a politician's career.

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Rhetoric and mobility: an innovative vision of mobility in the post-Diocletian era

Antonio Avilio

In one of the most complicated periods of the Ancient world – the post-Diocletian years – army, bureaucracy and the figure of the Emperor became central, and first Rome and then Constantinople became the most important centres of the Empire. In those circumstances, one wonders: what space did local communities occupy? What role did their elites play? Many careful reflections about rhetoric led it to become a technical matter, with clear and specific rules, to the point that there are many manuals designed to train the future local establishment. For local communities affected by Diocletian's administrative reforms, rhetoric represented a crucial instrument to appeal to authorities. Little attention has been paid to rhetoric as a tool for the mobility of many intellectuals that, all over the Empire, welcomed, visited, and celebrated proconsuls, officials and especially emperors. Through rhetoric, there was a strong political and intellectual mobility. I intend to examine how rhetoric, in all of its manifestations, can help us consider ancient Mediterranean mobility in an innovative way.

The aim of this paper is to point out the relationship between rhetoric and mobility interpreted as a social and cultural phenomenon, focusing on one of the most difficult and problematic periods of the Roman Empire, the 3rd century A.D. A season of struggles, invasions and civil wars started for Rome and its Empire after the Severan dynasty, leading to short-lived emperors and many other centrifugal forces that undermined the unitary nature of the imperial body. This chaotic situation culminated in a remarkable event: Valerian's capture by the Sassanids in A.D. 260. After this tumultuous time, the Tetrarchs' reforms bequeathed some administrative reorganizations, such as Greece becoming part of the larger Achaia province, whose capital was Corinth and was ruled by a proconsul appointed by the emperor. The Constantinian era brought even more changes. For our purposes, there are a few that are especially relevant. The adoption of Christianity led to a renewal of the figure of the emperor into an expression of divine power on earth. Simultaneously, the gradual centralization of bureaucracy; the strengthening of a strongly pyramidal society which tended to fix people in their own status; and the foundation of Constantinople all contributed to centralizing political power further. In this context it is legitimate to wonder what space did local communities occupy? What role did their elites play? How could they interact with the central power in an Empire that was becoming increasingly centralized? How could they communicate their own problems and needs? Rhetoric represented, in this sense, one of the most important and useful tools. To the first Athenian sophists, it had become an object of study, analysis, training and, over time, an instrument of social promotion, all things that led it to have a very close relationship with power. Elites always kept rhetoric in high regard, because it was seen as key for the formation of future ruling classes. In fact, starting with Antoninus Pius and Lollianus (see Kennedy 2008: 134)¹ up to the Justinian period, the central and local power appointed and funded with public money rhetoricians and their schools (Kennedy 2008). The sources are extremely detailed in listing their salary, tax privileges and the number of rhetoricians in each city,² and the link between

¹ Phil., VS, 1 says that Antoninus Pius appointed Lollianus «municipal chair of rhetoric in Athens».

² For example, we know that 3 official rhetoricians were established in Athens, 5 in Constantinople and so on, for a salary that amounted to 250 denarii per pupil per month. Kennedy 2008, 134.

community and rhetoricians was so tight that Menander Rhetor (II, 423, 28) will say that these «τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ φωνὴν εἶναι πάσης τῆς πόλεως» («The rhetor’s voice is the ambassador’s voice, that is the whole city’s voice») and Himerius (*or.* 13, 6-8) will observe that «Κρατεῖ δὲ καὶ ἰατρὸς τῆς νόσου τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ ῥήτωρ δήμου τοῖς λόγοις» («the doctor gets control over the illness with the doctrine while rhetor gets control over the people with his speech»). We can therefore imagine the role that the rhetorician could have, for the city, as a sounding board for its needs and as a bridge between the local and the center. In this work we will focus on two aspects that intertwine rhetoric and mobility: the mobility of students and that of imperial officials. As we have already mentioned, rhetoric was an object of study, and with the development of manuals and handbooks, a training tool for the future establishment and an integral part of Greek-Roman education.³ It was a frequent phenomenon for students from all over the world to attend the so-called “schools of rhetoric”, scattered across cities like Athens, Constantinople, Antioch and Gaza, animated by sophists of a certain reputation.⁴ In this framework, important figures, such as Libanius, Himerius and Themistius, moved regularly between several cities, in a context that wasn’t always quiet and serene. In fact, there was a sort of “war” between schools to ensure the greatest number of students possible, trying to lure them. Indeed Gregory of Nazianzo (*or.* 43,15) writes

Τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ πάσχουσι ἀτεχνῶς περὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν διδασκάλους καὶ ἀντιτέχνους, ὅπως πλείους τε ὥσι αὐτοὶ κάκεινους εὐπορωτέρους ποιῶσι δι’ ἑαυτῶν σπουδῆν ἔχοντες· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ἐπικεικῶς ἄτοπον καὶ δαιμόνιον. Προκαταλαμβάνονται πόλεις, ὁδοὶ, λιμένες, ὁρῶν ἄκρα, πεδία, εσχατιαί, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μέρος ἢ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἑλλάδος⁵

This climate was dictated by economic reasons - since the income of a teacher depended on the number of his pupils - but also by prestige reasons. The biographer Eunapius of Sardis writes (*VS.*, 10, 3, 8) that, when Julian Cappadocian died, a rivalry broke out between various aspirants to his succession, and specifies that each of the contenders competed for «not only eloquence», but rather for «all the provinces where to exercise eloquence», underlining almost a territorial division of the teaching. In fact he claims that the East was given as a reward to Epiphanius, Arabia to Diophantus, and Pontus, Bithynia, Hellespont, up to Caria, touching Lycia, Pamphylia, Taurus and Egypt to Proeresius. The student component, in its vastness and heterogeneity, became such a fundamental element to the rhetorician’s prestige that Eunapius (as well as Libanius in *or.* 1, 76) often speaks of the mediocre who «had only the name of the sophist» (*VS.* 10, 3, 11) that is, teachers without students, and therefore without prestige. This is fundamental for us to understand a competition that also sometimes involved, in a very violent way, rhetoricians, and that could even lead to physical clashes, as well as trials and arrests.⁶ Our gaze, however, will focus with much more detail on Himerius from Prusia. The 4th century rhetorician, active in Athens as a teacher, he married a distant descendant of Plutarch, entering a family that had made of their civic and religious commitment, connected with rhetoric, a distinguishing trait.⁷ That would later be the basis of Himerius’ cultural and paideutic project. As a pagan, he actively promoted the rediscovery

³ «In the Fourth Century the national system of education was standardized by law» Kennedy 2008, p. 134.

⁴ Kaster to describe the diffusion of late antique literary culture spoke of «archipelago of cities». See Kaster 1988, 21.

⁵ «It just happens to them about students and rivals, to make them more numerous and more experienced with effort. The operation is quite strange and successful. The cities, the roads, the ports, the peaks of the mountains, the plains, the countryside and nothing that is not the middle of the city or of all Greece are occupied»

⁶ Precisely because this violent climate, Libanius refused any invitation to be appointed chair of rhetoric in Athens boasting that he had never been in a trial before the proconsul in Corinth, which instead happened to the rhetorician Proeresius, involved in a trial to the detriment of his teacher, following an arrest for clashes with the Apasine’s rival students, a Spartan rhetorician of whom we know very little. See *Lib., or.*, 1; *Eun. VS.*, 10.

⁷ Himerius, speaking before the Areopagus in favor of his son Rufino in order to have his political rights recognized, appoints as ancestor a certain Minucian who «διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φωνῆς πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἐλευθερώσαντος» that is «he broke free many people with his speech». See *Him., or.*, 7, 2.

of the role of Athens, relaunching its centrality (based on traditional and aeropagitic motifs) as a cultural center of reference. He was involved in Julian's plans (who called him to court in Constantinople), but he enjoyed little critical success among scholars because he was always seen as a «rhetorician who says nothing» (Cuffari 1983: 102). The relationship with pupils was central for Himerius. They are always present as a reference in his orations, often called *paides* or even *etairoi*,⁸ and they are frequently an active part of his speeches. To get an idea of who his pupils would have been, and therefore understand their origin and mobility, we can observe what he says in *or.* 69, 8-9:

κοινὸν μὲν πάντων τὸ κήρυγμα, μάλιστα δὲ ἔστι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὧ νεοί, τοὺς ἀρτιτελεῖς τε καὶ νέον παρ' ἡμᾶς ἦκοντας, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ἀργαῖος⁹ ἔπεμψεν,

ὅφ' ὧ γένος ἐμὸν χρυσοῖς βλαστάνει τοῖς ὄρηξι, τὸν δὲ Γαλατῶν δῆμοι καὶ πόλεις, πρώτην ταύτην τὴν ἀποικίαν παρὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐκπέμψασαι. ἤκουσι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ μυστηρίῳ καὶ ποταμῷ Καΐκῳ γείτονες, ὃν χρυσοῖς οἶμαι τότε κυμῆναι τοῖς νάμασιν, ὅταν ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ξυνωρὶς αὐτῆ πορεύηται. ἔστι δὲ τις ἄρα ἐν μύσταις καὶ Νειλῶος χορὸς, ὃν ἀπ' Ἰλισσοῦ Μουσῶν κοσμήσαντες στέμμασιν Αἰγύπτῳ σὺν λύρᾳ πέμψομεν, ἵν' Ἀττικοῖς σειστροῖς ὑμνήσῃ τὴν Νείλου θάλατταν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρόρρησις καὶ δὴ προεῖρηται: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἱερὰ μύσταις καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ φαίνωμεν

which Penella translates

This pronouncement is for everybody, but it is especially directed, my young men, at those of you who are newly initiated and have recently come to me. Of these new students, [Mt.] Argaeus sent one—a mountain at whose foot sprout golden saplings of my family. The peoples and cities of the Galatians sent another, and this is the first “colony” they have dispatched to learn rhetoric [under me]. Some come to the mysteries who live close to the river Caicus; and when this pair leaves us and returns to that river, I think that it will swell with golden waters. Of course, among the initiates there is also a chorus from the Nile. When I have bedecked them with the Muses' garlands, I shall send them from the Ilissus [River] to Egypt with a lyre, so that, with Attic frenzy, they may hymn the Nile's sea (Penella 2007: 104)

The context for this speech is the return of the rhetor to eloquence after a period of forced distance, due, as the *titulus* says, to a τραῦμα, an injury.¹⁰ With a series of antiquarian and geographic periphrases, he provides us some information about the origin of his pupils. The κοινὸν is composed of «ὧν τὸν μὲν Ἀργαῖος ἔπεμψεν» with the correction of Wernsdorff who considered the reference to the Aegean (as expressed by the text handed down) impossible. The mention of this place has created many problems: the first publisher of Himerius, Wernsdorff, immediately realized this and wrote: «sed quis ille Argeus mons? Num ille Cappadociae, ad cuius radices Caesarea sita est», remembering however that «At Caesarensis profecto non fuit Himerius, sed Bithynus» which would therefore be difficult to reconcile it with the emphasis shown in the mention of this mountain with the expression «ὅφ' ὧ γένος ἐμὸν χρυσοῖς βλαστάνει τοῖς ὄρηξι». Therefore he proposed the solution that perhaps, near Prusia, a mountain of similar name could be found: «Imo ipsa eius urbs patria Prusias montem habuit similis fere nominis Arganthum seu Arganthonium» so he said «Crediderim ergo apud Nostrum aut legendum esse Ἀργάνθος aut putandum, hunc montem, cui Prusias apposita erat, etiam Argaei nomen habuisse, maxime cum ab Argo navi, quae ab radices eius

⁸ «which I take to mean “a student” and not merely “a friend.”» Penella 2007, p. 69.

⁹ The codes hand down the most banal Αἰγαῖος. See Colonna 1951.

¹⁰ «μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος θεραπείαν.» Some have wanted to read in this reference a stab, or in any case a wound due to clashes between students. See Demandt 1995, 665; Völker 2003, 352; Civiletti 2007, 586.

appulerat, nobilitatus esset ab eademque» (Wernsdorff 1790: 762) reasons why the publisher maintains that the place in question has to be traced to the rhetor's birthplace. Penella proposes the suggestive idea that Himerius is referring to Cappadocia, for the simple fact that «nothing, however, prevents us from assuming that Himerius had relatives in Cappadocia» (Penella 2007: 104) which would have made him aware of the existence of this mountain. But the question remains open. The second student comes from Galatia, to which particular emphasis is given, since he speaks about a *proten apoikian*, clearly understood in the rhetorical sense of the term. The third reference mentions a couple of students (ἡ ξυνωρίς αὐτή) arrived ἐπὶ μυστηρίῳ. They seem to be of Mysian or Pergamene origin, as implied by the mention of the Caicus river, accompanied by the mention of the Ilisos, a local Athenian river, here used as a symbol. Lastly, Himerius presents a group (a χορός) that comes from Egypt: the mention of the Nile river is a synecdoche. He says that when students return home they will be covered by the garlands of the muses, and will have learned the notions and the art of eloquence so much so that, Himerius notes, they will be able to return to their homeland and play the «Attic sistrums». It should be noted that the use of the adjective «Attic» to denote an instrument whose origin is purely Egyptian, connected to Isis, is an attempt to emphasize the supremacy of Athenian rhetoric. This offers us an overview of some *topoi* used by Himerius to indicate different origin places, making use of rhetorical precepts but also forms and expressions that may appeal to the feelings of listeners. He writes in fact «Φίλον γὰρ οἶμαι ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, κἂν Αἰγύπτιος ἦκη τις ἀνὴρ, εὐρήσει τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν Νεῖλον διὰ τῶν λόγων ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου κυμαίνοντα» (or. 23, 2) («Every person, I think, is fond of what belongs to his own country. If an Egyptian should come here, he will find the Nile — that is, our conception of it — swelling in orations we deliver on Egypt», Penella 2007: 225) using the same *topos* seen in the previous passage. Referring to a Cypriot student, he refers to Aphrodite, assuring however that (or. 17.4): «Δῆμοι τὴν γλῶτταν ἀκριβῶς Ἑλλήνας»¹¹, or tells the story of the river Melas (or. 18). If these textual references help us put Himerius' rhetoric in the greater context of student mobility, others (some also by him, but not only) allow us to grasp how problematic the complementary phenomenon was, i.e. students who go away in search of new schools and new rhetoricians. This circumstance afflicted many rhetors: Libanius felt the weight of the affair, warning that «κίδων δὲ τοὺς παιδαγωγοὺς ἰσχύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ πωλεῖν τοὺς νέους καὶ τὸν ἐν μουσεῖοις κόσμον ἀπολωλότα συμβουλεύω τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις μὴ ταῦτα περιορᾶν, ἀγανακτῆσαι τε καὶ κωλύσαι» (Ep., 405.8)¹² and in fact he argued the need to establish so-called *synthēkai*, the agreements, with the rhetoricians so that they would not accept new students who had not paid the due remuneration to the previous teacher (or., 43, 6, 9, 13). He even went so far as to clarify that, in case of a student deserting, a special commission composed by fathers and teachers should ascertain the diligence of the teacher, and if demonstrated, there should be no transfer, since the student would have not kept their agreement (or., 43, 16). Himerius, for his part, strongly complains about pupils abandoning his school, with a tone that seems really full of rancor (or. 54,1):

ὦ τίνες μὲν ἐκείνων τόλμαι, τίνες δὲ ἄρα καρδίαι τῶν ὅσοι ποτὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλίας ἦνεγκαν ὅσον ἡμέραν μίαν ἀυλίζεσθαι; θρασεῖς τινες ὄντες καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι καὶ μικρὸν ἐρώτων φροντίζοντες. ὡς ἔγωγε, εἴ πως ἐνήν, ἥδιστα ἂν ἠρόμην αὐτοῦς τί μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας γλώττης ἦδὺ ἄκουσμα; τί δὲ σχῆμα ἰδεῖν φαιδρότερον; τίνες μὲν ἠρινοὶ ὠδικοί τε τὴν φύσιν ὄρνιαθες οὕτως ἦδὺ καὶ χαρίεν φθέγγονται; τίς δὲ χορὸς εὐμελής τε καὶ εὐρυθμὸς ἀυλοῖς ἐπηχῶν ἢ δόναξι τοσοῦτον τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἤψατο, ὅσον ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεάτρων ἦχος;

The American scholar translates:

¹¹ «its inhabitants [are] genuinely Greek in language» in Penella 2007, 110.

¹² «then, seeing that the pedagogues ruled the roost from the sale of their students and that discipline in the schools had been ruined, I counselled my fellow citizens not to turn a blind eye to this, but to resent and stop it», Norman 1992, 367.

What an act of daring, what hearts they have! They are insolent and reckless and have little regard for love. If it were at all possible, how gladly would I ask them some questions: What sound is sweeter to them than my tongue? Whose bearing is more cheerful to behold than mine? What naturally musical birds of spring speak as sweetly and pleasantly as I do? What melodious and rhythmical chorus, resounding with the music of the aulos or the donax, ever touched their souls as much as the sound that comes from my lecture halls? (Penella 2007: 131)

It is interesting to observe how big Himerius' pride is for his own rhetorical art, and how music and poetry play a decisive role as metaphorical and metaliterary tools¹³ but even the tone and some lexical components are relevant. A pact, a bond of love, has been broken in an insolent way, in fact the verb *τόλμαι*, as well as the use of *καρδία*, makes the negative and impudent sense of the students' action clear, they are defined as *θρασεῖς* and *ἀτάσθαλοι*, two Homeric adjectives¹⁴ which, especially the last, indicate "bad students" (Cribiore 2007: 194).

But alongside student mobility, both on arrival and departure, we can look at the mobility of imperial officials. In an increasingly centralized world, with the growth of new big cities, the figure of the imperial official acted as an effective bridge between the center and the periphery. They, in their visits to the various provinces over which they had control, represented the Roman central power, and thus provided the local communities an opportunity to be able to present their demands and requests through rhetoricians. To this end, specific rhetorical typologies of speeches were developed that, despite the variety of forms, provided for a laudatory component. For example the *ἐπιβατήριος λόγος* (the speech of arrival) or the *προσφωνητικός λόγος* (the addressed speech) are illustrated in detail by Menander Rhetor (II, 378-381; 415-418): they celebrated, in particular, the cases of proconsuls arrivals, the *adventus*. The relationship that linked rhetorician and proconsul was based on mutual utility, since it was beneficial for the official to maintain a bond with and receive praise from the most prominent rhetoricians, since it eased advancement in his own *cursus honorum*. But if we look at the case of Himerius, we are in front of a specific case. He was engaged in a project that aimed at the revival of Athens in its traditional image, especially reviving the Areopagus and the Eleusian Mysteries. Yet he had great difficulties reaching out to the central government, since the last visit of an emperor to Athens following all the prerogatives of a traditional philhellenism, including the mystic initiation and the inclusion in the Areopagus, was that of Gallienus around 264 – 265 (so Hist. Aug., *Gall.*, 11, 3-6. See Raimondi 2012). An exception is Julian's visit in 355, during the reign of Constantius the second, himself committed instead to promoting Constantinople (Raimondi 2012: 57-70). It is clear that for Himerius the proconsul's visit was the only opportunity he had to try to win his support for his rhetorical activity and his cultural project. An example of this can be seen by *or.* 46.1, 3 when he writes:

Τίς ἄρα σὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ὦ φίλε, λόγων ἔρωσ κατέσχηκε; τίς ἐρριμμένην τε καὶ ἄτιμον μουσαν οἶον δὴ τι μέγα καὶ πάγκαλον τῶν σῶν εἶσω παράγειν ὥτων ἀνέπεισεν; [...] . ἄρ' οὖν ἔγνωσ, ὦ φίλε – φίλον γὰρ σέ τε καὶ Μούσας καλῶ – , ὡς ἀτεχνῶς δὴ τινι πολιορκία μακρᾶ καὶ τοῦμόν προσέοικε πρᾶγμα; ἐμοὶ γὰρ πολεμεῖ μὲν ἅπας λεῶς, ὁ μὲν ἐκῶν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρων σύνθημα· ἔγκλημα δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα οὐδέν.¹⁵

¹³ See Call., *Aetia* fr. 1 Pfeiffer; Eur., *Erac.*, vv.637 ss.

¹⁴ For the first see *Il.* 12, 60, 210; 13, 725; 16, 604; 22, 455; 24, 72, 786; *Od.* 10, 435. For the second see *Od.* 16, 86; 24, 352.

¹⁵ «What love of my eloquence, dear friend, has got hold of you? Who persuaded you to let my Muse, cast out and dishonored as she is, into your ears like something great and splendid? [...] In any case, do you understand, my friend – and I call you, as well as the Muses, my friend – that it is just as if I am under a long siege? For the whole population is at war with me, some of their own accord, some by agreement with others. I have no idea of what complaint against me has caused this war.», Penella 2007, 249 - 250.

In this oration dedicated to the proconsul Basilius, whose identity is unclear, Himerius is strongly committed to protect his school and his career by guaranteeing the support of the highest political authority as a shield from a possibly unfavourable, maybe even adversarial, civic context, of which we do not know any details.¹⁶ Himerius speaks about warlike proclamations, mentions a «dishonored muse», referring to his own activity, and paints a proconsul as not believing these charges. However he is also defined as a «friend of the Muses», an expression that serves to connote the occasion not only as Himerius defending himself from attack from his contemporaries, but also an opportunity to push his cultural project, in which power must necessarily support and defend rhetoric. An opportunity that only the mobility of this official, a young western man (as we can see in 46, 8) could offer.

In other places, Himerius voices some criticisms which, most likely, came from the community, without making them explicit but with small lexical tricks. This is the case of *or.* 31 dedicated to Ampelius, a much better known proconsul than Basilius: born in Antioch (Syria), he held the proconsulate in Greece between 359 - 360 after having been *magister officiorum*, and then he was appointed proconsul of Africa and finally urban prefect in Rome in 371 - 372. Remembered and celebrated as a great builder, his activity was focused not only on Athens (*or.* 31, 12) but also on Sparta and on the whole Peloponnese (*or.* 31, 11). He received, for his building and urban planning activities, funding directly from the municipal coffers, while we know that usually, as regards public buildings, capitals came from subscriptions or emperor's generosity. And it is singular that, in a laudatory framework, Himerius compares the Ampelius' urbanization with buildings made by Pericles or with the efforts made by the Persian kings Darius and Artaxerxes. In fact, he writes (*or.* 31, 11):

Περικλεῖ μὲν Προπύλαια πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ἤρκει καὶ Παρθενῶν, καὶ οἶκος Δαρείῳ βασίλειος, καὶ ἄμπελος Ἀπταξέρξη χρυσῆ, Θεοδώρου Σαμίου ποίημα, ἄχρηστον ἔργον τρυφῶντος Μήδου κατὰ τῆς φύσεως¹⁷

First of all, it is curious that the construction of the Propylaea and the Parthenon are defined as dictated by *φιλοτιμία*, ambition, in open contrast to the vulgate of authors such as Isocrates (15, 234) or Plutarch (*Per.*, 12 -14.) who celebrated the greatness of the work above all as an expression of Greece superiority over the barbarians. This comes across as a cold and not so enthusiastic tone, especially if we consider that these buildings are placed side by side with the οἶκος of Darius and the opera made by Theodore, with a judgment that recalls the *cliché* of the Persian and oriental *tryphe*, luxury. But there is more: a rhetor attentive to the musical component could never have escaped a certain sound similarity between the adjective ἄμπελος, useless, and the name of the proconsul Ἀμπέλιος. Perhaps Himerius is subtly suggesting the idea that the proconsul's activity is not entirely useful to the city, but indeed, probably the germ of ambition and luxury lurks in it (Raimondi 2012):

Finally, a small space must be dedicated to the mobility of Himerius himself. According to what Eunapius reports Himerius «πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διαβὰς Ἰουλιανὸν κατ'ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς, διὰ τὴν ἐς Προαιρέσιον ἀχθηδὸνα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀσμένως ὀφθήσομενος» (VS., XIV, 1, 3-4) and in fact, from the *tituli* of his three orations (*or.* 39; *or.* 40; *or.* 41) and from a passage of Photius (*Bibl.*, 165) it appears that Julian invited him to his court in Constantinople. To these references are added both some words spoken by

¹⁶ Sources such as Eunapius of Sardis tend to highlight a rivalry between Himerius and Proeresius, which is actually a bit banal because based on the simple contrast between a Christian rhetorician and a pagan one. See Eun., VS., XIV. The story appears more complex, so see Raimondi 2012.

¹⁷ «The Propylaea and the Parthenon were enough to satisfy Pericles' ambition, a royal residence was enough for Darius, a golden vine was enough for Artaxerxes — a work of Theodorus of Samos, the useless object of a Mede luxuriating unnaturally» Penella 2007, 236.

Himerius himself,¹⁸ and a passage, in truth doubtful, in which Julian mentions seven foreigners who would make his Antiochene entourage (*Mis.*, 25, 354 c)¹⁹ as well as a mention in John Tzetzes' works (*Chil.*, VI, *Hist.* 46, 322) according to which Himerius was "the king of grammaticists". This makes it clear that the relationship between them was much closer than what Eunapius's testimony might suggest. Himerius was certainly called to court in AD 362 by the new emperor Julian, but during the journey he stopped at important cities to which he dedicated orations following the rules of coeval rhetorics. The cities were Thessalonica and Philippi, to which orations 39 and 40 were addressed, to which oration 41 must be added, dedicated to Constantinople. Obviously, in each there is always a praise to the city, but it is never self-referential but always connected with the general design that Himerius intends to pursue: the Athenocentric Hellenistic revival. In fact, for Thessalonica he writes that «τοιγαροῦν πάντα Ἑλληνικὰ τὰ παρὰ τῆ πόλει, καὶ φωνή, καὶ τεῖχη καὶ σχῆμα» (*or.* 39, 6)²⁰ because he wants to emphasize the indissoluble bond between every lands and Greece, where by Greece he basically means Athens. While regarding Constantinople he writes:

πάλιν Ἀτθίδες παρ' ὑμῖν Μοῦσαι· πάλιν Ἀθηναί τὰς αὐτῶν ὠδῖνας προσφθέγγονται. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι ἅπαντες μὲν λόγοι φίλοι τῆς πόλεως· ταῦτά τοι καὶ βασιλέως τύχην ἔνθεον ὠδίνειν μέλλουσα, Μούσαις ἐπέτρψε τὴν τούτου φύσιν μαιεύεσθαι [...] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδει τούτους [...] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γῆν ἐξ Ἀττικῆς λόγων ἀρόσαι σπέρμασιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Ῥῆνον ἦγεν ἐσπέριον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ μυθώδη θάλασσαν καὶ τούτοις τὴν ἀποδημίαν²¹

where, in some way, he reinterprets the relationships between his personal story, the city of Athens, Constantinople and the emperor himself. Constantinople has an ancient relationship with Athens, through its *logoi* (who are Himerius'), and again the Athenian *logoi*, in the city, «make their contractions resound» since in it «the divine fate of the emperor will be born», which was possible thanks to the rhetoric itself. Through this complex reference, Himerius in Constantinople proclaims his project of Athenian rebirth based on the role of rhetoric which thus becomes the only real instrument of Attic and pagan revival sealed by the Julian's experience. Rhetoric at the service of mobility.

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¹⁸ *Him.*, *or.*, 41.2 where Himerius writes that the *logoi*, after the Attic contest, having to fertilize the other lands, were brought not towards the Rhine in the West, but towards the East.

¹⁹ For someone among these strangers there was Himerius.

²⁰ «So everything about this city is Greek—its language, its walls, its dress.» Penella 2007, 51.

²¹ *Him.*, *or.*, 41. 2-3. «Again there are Attic Muses [i.e., Himerius] in your midst; again Athens addresses its own progeny. It seems to me that the whole of learning is a friend of this city. That is why, when Constantinople was about to bring forth a man divinely fated to be emperor [i.e., Julian], the city left it to the Muses [...] For this reason it was necessary [...] to leave Attica and sow the rest of the earth with the seeds of learning it got there, fate did not take it to the Rhine in the West, nor did it carry it to the fabulous waters of Ocean. No, fate brought it, [...] to you» Penella 2007, 59.

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Changes in late-antique Gaul: Gregory of Tours as an exceptional witness of social, economic and political mobility

Davide Vago

My work will focus primarily on the aspect related to the socio-political mobility in Late Antique Gaul, a region that presents a great amount of documentation in relation to the society of the time. The discussion will attempt to present the most recent studies and create parallels with the most famous Latin historiographer of the period: Gregory of Tours (AD 538–594).¹

Introduction: a quick overview on Late Antique Gaul.

Already in the 4th century AD Gaul was a province with a strong cultural and social identity, as John Matthews' studies (1975: 338-351) have shown. This process of autonomy and identity formation became more pronounced in the 5th century AD, until it became of crucial importance in the years 476–480 AD: once the figure of the Western Roman emperor disappeared, the only political link that could still hold Gaul and Italy together was lost (Mathisen 1993; Wickham 2009:197).

The political situation in Gaul at the twilight of the 5th century AD was multifaceted, with the settlement of Germanic peoples in several of its regions: the Visigoths in the southwest and Provence, the Burgundians in the Rhône valley, and the Franks in the north. The latter were the ones with the greatest expansionist ambitions.

Gallo-Roman aristocratic society was often in the position of having scattered land holdings in regions subject to different Germanic groups. This element of fragmentation, which at first glance might appear as negative, in truth was an important element in maintaining the cohesion of Gallo-Roman society until the Frankish conquest. It was precisely the networks of friendship and kinship woven by the Gallo-Roman aristocrats that held this former imperial province together.²

It was essential for the Franks to conquer southern Gaul in the years AD 507–533, as it placed the entirety of former Roman Gaul under their control for the first time. After the death of Clovis, there was seldom a single king to rule the fortunes of the Frankish kingdom, especially in the years 558–561 AD, in AD 613–623, and after AD 679 (Wickham 2009: 130). Often the kingdom had two or even three courts that held their own troop of officials, their own treasury, and were ruled by one of the Merovingian family members. These courts were not static, they wandered across their territory, for example the court of Neustria frequently moved between Paris and Compiègne.

¹ On the characters of Gregory's historical writing cf. Goffart 2005: 112–234.

² On the kinship and friendship relationship of Gallo-Roman aristocratic families cf. Wood 2001: 434–436.

Galic society: a laboratory of social integration and mobility?

Within that complex society, which included Gallo-Roman and Frankish aristocratic elements (Pietri 1986: 307–323, in part.: 314 and nn. 699–703), a clear distinction could be made between an ecclesiastical career (and thus in civil administration) and a military career.

The military career was, in the Merovingian world, closely linked to the figure of the king, that is, the one who could allow any possibility of career advancement by linking the military world to the sphere of political power, as evidenced by the comital families, at the head of small city territories.

The city represented that space of friction between episcopal and comital/military power: the bishops were the actual city leaders, while *comites* were the direct representatives of the ruler in urban centres. Both offices owed their power to the king: counts, as mentioned, were appointed directly by the king, while bishops only saw their appointment confirmed by the sovereign. However, this should not obscure the fact that the bishop's role was more closely linked to the city than that of the *comes*: the bishop in fact had to lead the community of the faithful, represent the city and defend it.³

The bishop therefore, because of his close ties to the city, was also a political actor; it should therefore come as no surprise that the Roman senatorial families of southern Gaul sought to expand their power network through the appointment of some of their scions as bishops (Brown 1982: 243–250; Wickham 2009: 204 n. 62).

The 'Germanisation' of the high military ranks, at first glance, might lead one to infer that the military was composed exclusively of Franks,⁴ however, many Romans were also within its ranks. Examples of this tight integration are the names of some military figures who bore Roman names such as, for example, Victor of Clermont, Mummulus of Auxerre, Bonitus of Clermont, and Maronton of Provence (Wickham 2009 p. 204).

However, the opposite phenomenon also turns out to be true; and on that I will focus the first part of my study: ecclesiastical careers were not only the preserve of Roman aristocrats. The Franks, for promotion and legitimization of their families' power, had their sons enter episcopal careers as well (Brennan 1985: 145–161).

This process of exchange is symptomatic of a distinct social mobility, so much so that Giuseppe Sergi (2005: chap. IV) qualified this late antique society as a sort of "laboratory of integration". If this phenomenon is clear in current historiography (Brown 2017; Wickham 2009, Gasparri and La Rocca 2012, *etc.*) it is more difficult to detect in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours: in fact, his work is well known for not distinguishing between Franks and Romans well, since he linked ethnicity to political loyalty to the ruler and senate, than to birth into a family of Roman or Frankish extraction (James 1998: 51–66; Wickham 2009: 205).

Let us now analyse some passages from the *Historia Francorum*⁵ in which we can see the rise to the episcopal seat of some bishops in Gaul. In order to gain a better understanding of the social mobility that characterised the 6th century AD Gaul, it is necessary to take a step back to read how, still in the 5th

³ On the power exercised by the clergy within the cities of the Lower Empire cf. De Clareuil 1935: 26–53, especially pp. 33–48 (on bishops); Gassmann 1977; Harries 1992: 77–98.

⁴ This was rather the case in Ostrogothic Italy: cf. Wickham 2009: 203.

⁵ The Latin text of the passages I will present is the one chosen by Massimo Oldoni in his edition: cf. Oldoni 2001. For a critical edition of Gregory's text cf. Krusch 1993.

century AD, bishop's seats were held by members belonging to the high Roman senatorial aristocracy. Exemplary turns out to be the pitch of *HF* 2.14 discussing the episcopate of Sidonius Apollinaris (430–486), who was bishop of Auvergne.

HF 2.21 *Defuncto autem apud Arvernus Namatio episcopo, Eparchius successit, vir sanctissimus atque religious. Et quia eo tempore ecclesia parvam infra muros urbis possessionem habebat, ipsi sacerdoti in ipso, quod modo saluatorium dicitur, mansio erat atque ad gratias Deo tempore nocturno reddendas ad altarium ecclesiae consurgebat. Factum est autem, ut nocte quadam ingrediens, plenam ecclesiam a demonibus repperiret ipsumque principem in modum ornatae mulieris in throni illius cathedra resedentem. Cui ait pontifex: 'O meretrix execranda, non sufficit tibi loca cuncta variis pollutionibus infecire, adhuc et cathedram a Domino consecratam fetida sessionis tuae accessione coinquinas? Abscende a domo Dei, ne a te amplius polluat'ur'. Cui ait: 'Et quia mihi meretricis nomen imponis, multa sibi parabo insidias ob desideria mulierum'. Et haec dicens, sicut fumus evanuit. Verumtamen sacerdos temptatus est per commotionem corporis a concupiscenza; sed signo crucis sanctae munitus, nihil ei iniicus nocere potuit. [...] Quo migrante, Sidonius ex praefecto substituetur, vir secundum saeculi dignitatem mobilissimus et de primis Galliarum senatoribus, ita ut filiam sibi Aviti iperatoris in matrimonio sociaret. [...]*

HF 2.21 When Bishop Namatius came to death near Clermont, he was succeeded by Eparchius, a most holy and religious man. And since at that time the church owned within the city walls a small plot of land, the bishop had his residence in that same place that is now called the 'parlor', and in the hours of the night that one would get up to give thanks to God at the altar of the church. So it happened that, upon entering, he found the church full of devils and the prince of demons himself sitting on the episcopal chair in the manner of an adorned woman. The bishop told him: 'Filthy harlot, is it not enough for you to defile all places with various pollutions? Now you want to pollute with the filthy contact of your butt even the Lord's consecrated chair? Get out of the house of God, so that you will never have to defile it again.' And the prince of demons replied: 'Since you called me a harlot, I will provide you with many temptations for lusting after women.' And, saying these words, he dissolved like smoke. Thus the priest was tempted by concupiscence in the lusts of the body; but since he was comforted by the sign of the holy cross, the Enemy could not harm him in anything. [...] And when he died, he was replaced by Sidonius [*scil.* Apollinaris], who had been a prefect and a most noble man according to the nobility of the century, coming from one of the senatorial families [*scil.* Roman] of Gaul, so much so that he was united in marriage with the daughter of the emperor Avitus [*scil.* Papienilla]. [...]

This passage from the second book is of great interest for several reasons. In addition to providing a section of the episcopal chronotaxis of the Clermont diocese for a period for which we have no documentary evidence, it testifies that on this episcopal seat sat, in the last phase of the 5th century AD, a man belonging to the Gallo-Roman nobility, Gaius Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris, a son-in-law of the Western emperor Avitus himself. The man was perhaps one of the highest representatives of the Gallo-Roman nobility of the time; and he was a senator, *comes*, *praefectus urbis*, *patricius*, poet, epistolographist.⁶

⁶ It is certainly not the intent of this paper to study the figure of Sidonius Apollinaris in depth. For *Letters* cf. Dalton 1915 and for *Poems* cf. Loven 1960–1970. On Sidonius Apollinaris in general cf. Harries 1994.

The reading of this passage is illustrative of what was happening in the episcopal seats during the last phase of the Western Roman Empire (Barnish 1988: 120–155; Gilliard 1979: 685–697). However, to study the integration of Frankish and Gallo-Roman upper classes it is necessary to wait for the fall of the empire, the stable settlement of the Franks and, most importantly, their conversion to Christianity. This came after Clovis chose to take the Christian Clotilde as his wife and also embrace her religion. The passage recounting the baptism of Clovis (HF 2.21) and the mass conversion of a large part of the Frankish army is the moment that allows the Frankish elite to finally integrate with the Roman aristocratic world and, as mentioned earlier, with the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Wood 1985: 249–272).

Clovis was baptised on Christmas night in a year between AD 496 and 507/8. Attempts to arrive at a more precise date have led scholars to lean toward two hypotheses that, regardless of further distinctions, tend to place the event either before the year AD 500 (the most likely years are given as AD 498–499) or somewhere between AD 506 and 508.⁷

HF 2.31 Tunc regina arcessire clam sanctum Remedium Remensis Urbis episcopum iubet, depraeacans, ut regi verbum salutis insinuet. Quem sacerdos arcessitum secretius coepit ei insinuare, ut Deum verum, factorem caeli et terrae, crederet, idola neglegerit, quae neque sibi neque aliis prodesse possunt. At ille ait: ‘Libenter te, sanctissime pater, audiebam; sed restat unum, quod populus, qui me sequitur, non patitur relinquere deus suos, sed vado et loquor eis iuxta verbum tuum’. Conveniens autem cum suis, priusquam ille loqueretur, praecurrente potential Dei, omnes populus partier adclamavit: ‘Mortalis deus abigimus, pie rex, et Deum quem Remegius praedicat inmortalem sequi parati sumus’. [...] Rex ergo prior poposcit, se a pontifeci baptizare. Procedit novus Constantinus ad lavacrum, deleturus leprae veteris morbum sordentesque maculas gestas antiquitus recenti lattice deleturus. [...] Igitur rex omnipotentem Deum in Trinitate confessus, baptizatus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti delevitque sacro crismate cum signaculo crucis Christi. De exercito vero eius baptizati sunt amplius tria milia. [...]

HF 2.31 Then the queen secretly commanded Saint Remigius, bishop of the city of Rheims, to present himself, begging him to introduce the word of salvation into the king’s mind. Upon reaching him, the bishop gently began to ask him that he believes in the true God, creator of heaven and earth, that he abandons idols, which can benefit neither himself nor others. But Clovis replied: ‘I would gladly listen to you, most holy father; but there is one thing: the army, which follows me in everything, does not admit of renouncing its gods; yet, equally, I go and speak to them according to what you have told me’ Finding himself then with his own, before he could speak, for the power of God had gone before him, the whole army cheered in unison: ‘We reject mortal gods, O pious king, and are prepared to follow the God whom Remigius preaches as immortal. ‘ [...] Then the king asks to be baptized first by the bishop. He approaches the washing as a new Constantine, to erase the disease of ancient leprosy, to dissolve in fresh water filthy stains created far back in time. [...] Thus the king confessed God Almighty in the Trinity, was baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and was marked with the sign of the sacred chrism with the sign of the cross of Christ. Of his army, then, more than 3,000 were baptized. [...]

The text thus represents an essential moment both for the history of the Frankish kingdom and for the

⁷ For a survey of the different positions cf. Spencer 1984: 97–116.

issues we discuss. This conversion features Clovis as the protagonist, along with the entire Frankish army; however, one should not forget the two characters who make this event possible. His wife Christiana Clotilde was the real architect of this conversion, in fact it was she who pushed Bishop Remigius so that he would convince Clovis to understand the benefits of Christianity. Remigius, in this event, thus represents the queen's *longa manus* and the ecclesiastical conduit capable of ferrying the king – and all the Franks – to Catholicism, inaugurating the integrative process described above that will create a strong social mobility in Late Antique–Early Medieval Gaul.

It is interesting to read a passage from the *Historia Francorum* (HF V 8) which recounts some prodigious events that occurred at the death of Germanus, bishop of Paris. Reading this very short chapter testifies to the great affection shown by the people to this bishop of Frankish, not Roman, extraction (as his very name testifies). The passage also exemplifies an exemplary role with regard to Gregory's narrative style: indeed, we note his love of recounting prodigies and popular piety with regard to his own episcop.

HF 5.8 Eo anno et beatus Germanus episcopus transit. In cuius exequiis multis virtutibus, quas in corpore gesserat, miraculum confirmationem fecit. Nam carcerarius adclamantibus, corpus in platea adgravatum est, solutisque eisdem, rursus sine labore levatur. Ipsi quoque, qui soluti fuerant, in obsequium funeris usque basilicam, in qua sepultus est, liberi pervenerunt. Ad sepulchrum autem eius multas virtutes, Domino tribuente, credentes experiuntur, ita ut quisque iusta petierit velociter exoptata reportet. Quis tamen strenuus virtutes illius, quas in corpore fecit, sollicite vult inquirere, librum vitae illius, qui a Fortunato presbitero conponitus est, legens, cuncta reperiet.

HF 5.8 Blessed German (496-576), bishop of Paris, also passed away in that year. During his funeral honors a prodigy gave confirmation of the many miraculous deeds he had performed even in his lifetime. In a square, where some prisoners invoked him, his body became very heavy; then when those were freed, then his body was again lifted without effort. And these, who had been set free, from free came to the basilica where Germanus was buried to pay homage to his burial. At his tomb, then, with the Lord's permission, the faithful still have proof of his great miraculousness today, so much so that anyone who has asked for right things immediately obtains what he desires. Those, however, who want to know in detail the miracles he performed in his lifetime will find every description by reading the book of his life that was composed by the priest Fortunato [*scil.* Venantius Fortunatus].

Another interesting passage in which Gregory bears witness to social advancement through the attribution of episcopal office is that of the priest Cato and the archdeacon Cautinus. The event, recounted in the fourth book of the *Historia*, contains all the typical stylistic features of Gregory's narrative: intrigue, the quest for power, the ineptitude of the royal court, the loyalty of the people to their bishop. The priest Cato, a man of piety and great ambition, upon the death of Bishop Gallus, seeks to obtain the bishop's office for himself. He immediately began to act like a bishop, despite the fact that the position had not yet been confirmed by the king. Cautinus, a man of modest origins and in hatred of Cato, tried to appease the alleged bishop, who wanted nothing to do with him. Cautinus thus went to the Merovingian king to inform him of the death of Bishop Gallus: upon learning the news, the king conferred the bishop's office on Cautinus, much to the disappointment of Cato, who was deprived of his power.

HF IV 6 *Episcopi tamen qui advenerant ad sanctum Gallum sepeliendum, postquam eum sepelierant, dixerunt Catoni presbitero: ‘Videmus, quia te valde diligit pars maxima populorum; veni, consenti nobis, et benedicientes onsecremus te ad episcopatum. Rex vero parvulus est, et si qua tibi adscribitur cupla, nos suspicientes te sub defensione nostra, cum proceribus et primis regni Theodovaldi regis agemus, ne tibi ulla excitetur iniuria. [...] Ad haec ille coturno vanae conflatus gloriae, ait: [...] Vos igitur revertimini ad civitates vestras, et si quid utilitati vestrae competit, exercete; nam ego canonice adsumpturus sum hunc honorem’. Haec audiens episcopi et in eum vanam gloriam exsecrantes, discesserunt. [7] Igitur cum consensu clericorum ad episcopatum electus, cum adhuc non ordinatus cunctis ipse praeesset, Cautino archidiacono diversas minas intendere coepit. [...] Hic vero cum se cerneret humiliari atque calumniae subiecti, languore simulato et per noctem civitatem egrediens, ad Theodovaldum regem petiit, adnuntians transitum sancti Galli. Quod ille audiens vel qui cum eo errant, convocatis sacerdotibus apud Metensem civitatem, Cautinus archidiaconus episcopus ordinatur. Cum autem venissent nuntii Catonis presbiteri, hic iam episcopus erat. [...] Qui a civibus et clericis libenter exceptus, episcopus Arvernus est datus. Grandis postea inter ipsum et Catonem presbiterum inimicitiae orate sunt, quia nullus umquam potuit flectere Catonem, ut episcopo suo subditus esset.*

HF IV 6 However, the bishops who had come to bury the holy Gallus⁸, after they had buried him, told the priest Cato: ‘We see that a very large part of the population loves you very much; come, agree with us and, blessing you, we will consecrate you to the episcopate. The king, now, is still a child, and, if any blame is ascribed to you, we, taking you under our protection, will deal with the most important and leading people of king Theodobaldus’ reign, so that no insult will be done to you. [...] To these words the man, puffed up with the pride of a vain glory, replied: ‘[...] So go back to your cities and, if something is within your competence, do it; I, meanwhile, will now assume this honor, according to the canons. ‘The bishops, hearing these words and blaming his boastfulness, left. [7] Thus, then, elected to the episcopate with the approval of the clerics, Cato exercised his power over all without yet having been ordained and began to rage with various threats against the archdeacon Cautinus. [...] That one then, when he saw himself humiliated and covered with infamy, feigning sickness, went out of the city at night, went to king Theodebaldus, announcing to him the death of the holy Gaul. As soon as the king heard about this, together with those who were with him, he summoned the priests to the city of Metz, and Archdeacon Cautinus was ordained bishop. When the priest Cato’s messengers arrived, the latter was already a bishop. [...] And there [*scil.* in Clermont], greeted festively by citizens and clerics, Cautinus was installed as bishop of the Alverni. Thereafter great discord arose between him and the priest Cato, for no one could ever persuade Cato to become subject to his own bishop.

The passage testifies to the extent to which an ecclesiastical career could be a means of upwards social mobility. It can be seen, moreover, how this advancement was now possible to all the ethnic components present in the catholic Church of Gaul: no longer just families of Roman senatorial extraction, but also humbler elements of society such as Cautinus.

Another important *notabilium* consists in the fact that the episcopal office, as we mentioned above, needed royal approval to be effective: indeed, Cautinus’ appointment as archbishop of Clermont is

⁸ St. Gallus’ death occurred in the year AD 551.

characterised by greater legitimacy and solidity than Cato's, which was only endorsed by an *entourage* of some bishops but not by the sovereign (Coates 2000: 1133–1134).

The passages we examined allowed us to see how from the 5th to the 6th century AD the church and the ecclesiastical career represented an instrument of integration of the Gallic population within the ecclesiastical hierarchies of the Roman tradition. Merovingian kings and queens themselves sought to place their relatives as bishops. The strong integration of the Frankish component can also be seen in the value of the bishop's royal appointment: the so-called *voluntas regis* played an essential component in their appointment, so much so that it had to be formalized by the fifth synod of Orleans in 559.⁹

Economy

It should be pointed out that the economy of Gaul was at the time roughly divided in two spheres: on the one hand, the south had closer links with the Mediterranean Sea, and on the other hand, Northern Gaul, which still received products of the Mediterranean trade penetrated via the Rhone River.

Since the south of Gaul was conquered by the Carolingians only in the 8th century AD and the great system of *latifundia* functioned following separate dynamics, different from those in the north, we prefer to focus on the developments in the north, to which we will add some excerpts from *from the Historia Francorum* to try to see the trade and economy through the eyes of Gregory of Tours.

Between the 4th and early 5th centuries AD, Argonne pottery was a popular trade item (Van Ossel 1994: 221–230; Wickham 2009: 830–831),¹⁰ which boasted a distribution from the Loire Valley to Britannia. The crisis of the second half of the 5th century AD reduced long-distance trade, so local small-scale craft activities experienced growth as a result (Van Ossel 1986: 63–71; Van Ossel 1994: 221–230; Wickham 2009: 831–832). The socio-political crisis that characterized this period was, as we have already mentioned, brought about by the political fragmentation of the regions of northern Gaul. It would only be with the unification brought about by Clovis and the flourishing of the 6th century AD that the situation would change.

Indeed, during the 6th century AD there was a resurgence in trade. Merchants in Gaul traded in fairs or markets, or exchanged between each other. Fairs, it seems, were organised hierarchically: there were some major ones (such as Saint-Denis), and all cities had their own, while at the lowest rung weekly markets (*nundianae*) were held in the smaller towns (Lebecq 1998:185–202).

Professional merchants – called *mercatores* or *negotiatores* – could act not only locally but also over a wide area. Known are the names of merchants such as Priscus, John *negucians*, Eusebius *negotiator genus Syrus*.

For trade to the north, along the Meuse, the nodal point was the city of Verdun: the merchants of this city in fact obtained a loan of seven thousand *solidi* from King Theodebert I in order to stabilise their trade, as Gregory of Tours himself testifies. There were many things these merchants traded on: some dealt in luxury goods, but most trade concerned wine, olive oil, animals, slaves, manufactures, and everyday goods such as clothes. It seems that there was active exchange of mass-produced products, at least between neighbouring territories, throughout the Merovingian age. This was possible thanks to river traffic, which extended between the Loire, Seine, Meuse, Moselle and Rhine rivers (Wickham 2009: 836–837, while for merovinge farms and their related traffic: 312–314).

⁹ On the synod of Orleans V and, in general, on the mechanisms of bishop's election cf. Berarducci 2014: 8–29, especially pp. 8–16.

¹⁰ This is a type of orange or gray pottery made in the Argonne forests, often decorated with wheel molds or cog wheels.

The hierarchy of exchanges that we have summarily laid out is reflected in both literary–documentary sources and archaeology, which testifies that goods from the Mediterranean counted for only a small part of finds, meaning they were likely niche products demanded by the aristocracies and high prelates of the church and wealthy monasteries. In exchange, monasteries also produced goods, which were often traded in a southerly direction, toward the Mediterranean.¹¹

If the 5th century AD thus represented a period of stagnation, the 6th century AD saw a brisk revival of trade in Merovingian Gaul, but without rebuilding the very large-scale exchange networks of the 4th and 5th centuries, such as those used for the Argonne pottery trade.

Let us read short passages from the *Historia Francorum* in which mention is made of trade or in which figures of merchants are mentioned. The first section (*HF VI 5*) recounts the meeting of Gregory himself and king Chilpericus with a Jewish man named Priscus, a wealthy merchant. The text is of interest because it attests to a flourishing trade and the role of Jewish people in it, but it also shows the attitude that king Chilpericus held toward them. Since Gregory – formerly bishop of Tours – was present, the king took the opportunity to have him bless the merchant, who backed away. Priscus' refusal then led to the king rebuking the trader for his beliefs.

HF VI 5 Igitur Chilpericus rex [...] Parisius venire disponet. Ad quem cum iam vale dicturus acciderem, Iudaeus quidam Priscus nomen, qui ei ad species quoemendas familiaris erat, advenit. Cuius caesariem rex blande adpraehensa manu, ait ad me, dicens: 'Veni, sacerdos Dei, et inponi manum suoer eum'. Illo quoque retinente, ait rex 'O mens dura et generatio semper incredula, quae non intelligit Dei filium sibi prophetarum vocibus repromissum, non intellegit ecclesiastica mystiria in suis sacrificiis figurata.'

HF VI 5 King Chilpericus [...] arranges to go to Paris. When I was already approaching him to greet him, a Jew named Prisco, who was familiar to him from buying some goods, showed up. The king, flatteringly passing his hand over his hair, turned to me and said: 'Come,' priest of God, 'and lay your hand on him.' But as the other was backing away, Chilpericus added: 'O obstinate mind and ever unbelieving race, which does not understand that the Son of God was foretold to it by the words of the prophets and does not understand the mysteries of the Church expressed in her sacrifices.'

The passage can be accompanied by that of the merchant Eusebius (*HF X 26*). The latter, of Syrian origin, through his economic power managed to acquire the archbishopric of Paris by inserting his friends within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Again we see how an ecclesiastical office was a source of prestige and social advancement and how even a merchant of foreign origin, with the right manoeuvres, could succeed in obtaining such an honour.

HF X 26 Ragnimodus quoque Parisiacae urbis episcopus obiit. Cumque germanus eius Faramodus presbiter pro episcopate concurreret, Eusebius quidam negotiator genere Syrus, datis ultis muneribus, in locum eius subrogatus est; hisque, accepto episcopato, omnem scola decessoris sui abiciens, Syrus de genere suo ecclesiasticae domui ministros statuit. [...]

¹¹ For the important role played by monasteries cf. Lebecq 2000: 121–148.

HF X 26 Ragnemodus, bishop of the city of Paris, also died. And his brother, the priest Pharamond, competed for the episcopate; but a merchant of Syriac origin named Eusebius, bestowed many gifts, was elected to his place. Once he occupied the episcopate, the Syriac dismissed all of his predecessor's staff, and he preordained ministers of his own race to the ecclesiastical house. [...]

Finally, the last passage we will consider testifies to King Theodebert's choice to favour the city of Verdun: the poor citizens were given a sum of money so that they could foster trade. Thanks to this income, the city prospered and became a very important trading centre for northern Gaul.

HF III 34 *Desideratus Viredunensis episcopus [...] misit ad eum (scil. regem Theudoberthum) legationem, dicens: 'Fama bonitatis tuae in universam terram vulgatur, cum tanta sit tua largitas, ut etiam non petentibus opem praestis. Rogo, si pietas tua habet aliquid de pecunia, nobis commodis, qua cives nostros relevare valeamus; cumque hi negotium exercentes responsum in civitate nostra, sicut reliquae habent, praestiterint, pecuniam tuam cum usuris legitimis reddimus'. Tunc ille pietate commotus, septim ei milia aureorum prstitit, qua ille accipiens per cives suos erogavit. At illi negotia exercentes divites per hoc effecti sunt et usque hodie magni habentur. Cumque antedictus episcopus debitam pecuniam obtulisset regi, respondit rex: 'Non habeo necessarium hoc recepire; illud mihi sufficit, si dispensatione tua pauperes, qui oppremebantur inopia, per tua suggestionem vel per meam largitatem sunt relevati'. Et nihil exigens, antedictus cives divites fecit.*

HF III 34 Desideratus, bishop of Verdun, [...] sent to that (scil. king Theodebert) a legation, telling him: 'The fame of your goodness is now spread over the whole earth, for so great is your magnanimity that you offer help even to those who dare not ask for it. Then I beseech you, if your mercy also possesses money, give it to us, that we may help our fellow citizens; and as soon as those who engage in commerce can make themselves guarantors of our city, as the others already have guaranty, we will return your money to you with legitimate interest.' Theodebert, moved to compassion, lent Desideratus seven thousand *aurei*.¹² When the bishop received them, he distributed them among the people. And those who practiced trade, as a result of this initiative, became rich and to this day are still held in high regard. Then when the aforementioned bishop returned the money owed to the king, the king sent this reply: 'I don't need it back; it is enough for me, with your distribution, that the poor oppressed by narrowness have been uplifted through your relief and my generosity!' And not wanting anything back, Theodebert thus made the citizens rich.

The passages we have analysed have shown a Gallic society in which merchants play an important role, in which they are close to kings and can obtain, thanks to their income, prestigious positions, thus climbing to the top of society, as in the case of the merchant Eusebius.

During the 6th century AD, the economy was thus active, and trade allowed cities like Verdun to prosper and become one of the flagships of the Merovingian market.

¹² The Latin text uses the word *aurei*, but adopts an archaizing expression for *solidi*: cf. Wickham 2009: 835.

The reading Gregory of Tours gives us regarding the economy allows us to get a sense of the merchants and trades' world of the time; but he is more attentive to the plots of the merchant Eusebius, the theological dispute of Priscus, or the celebration of king Theodebert's magnanimity, rather than an economic analysis of these facts.

Conclusions

To analyse the socio-political and economic mobility of 6th century AD Gaul, we made use of two basic tools: on the one hand, the results of the most recent historiographical studies concerning the early medieval society of Gaul, and on the other hand, we sought to understand how Gregory of Tours saw his society at this time. Is Gregory therefore an outstanding witness to socio-economic mobility? The answer to my notice is positive: Gregory, with his account, makes posterity a participant in the socio-economic mobility that involved 6th century Gaul, but without being totally aware of it.

Gaul, between the 5th and 6th centuries AD, experienced remarkable social and economic mobility. In terms of social mobility, in the 6th century the Frankish component of the population managed to become firmly embedded within the ecclesiastical hierarchies, thus gaining strong control over the cities and the population. In relation to the economy, on the other hand, Gaul experienced an important revival of trade and commerce, with major expansions of trade routes and market development. In the face of this evidence, how then did Gregory of Tours stand? The author, as we have had the opportunity to observe several times, recounts past history and that contemporary to him with an eye that looks more at the description of what happens, the providential will that intervenes in the events of men, the intrigues of power, the miraculous tales, the presence or absence of value and morality of a king or archbishop. The facts are nevertheless recounted, so Gregory continues to be an indispensable source for learning about the events of Merovingian society in the 6th century, as he provides us with essential testimony. Modern historiography has made use of archaeology to redraw changes related to trade and the economy, as well as the archival record to delineate the social situation, yet none of this can ever replace Gregory's information, which, though cloaked in a chronistic intent interested in the everyday particular and the miraculous, minutely describes certain aspects of Merovingian society of the time.

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Episcopal correspondence in fifth-century Gaul. Leadership in times of crisis

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Introduction

The 5th century marked the end of the Western Roman Empire and the beginning of the new Germanic kingdoms that would flourish during the Early Middle Ages. It was a turbulent and violent period, characterised by political instability at the Imperial Court and the advance of the Germanic peoples into Roman territory. Although the imperial administration gradually withdrew from the provinces, the majority of the population living in them did not. The provincial cities were left to their own devices and had to fend for themselves, creating more regional political realities. In these new realities we see the rise of bishops in positions of power. They became some of the only authority figures left behind, charged with maintaining the proper functioning and defending their cities and their hinterland.

The bishops were not alone in their new positions of influence, for they had the support of their peers. Their rule over these cities would not have been possible without the help and advice of fellow bishops. And to this end, the sending of letters was commonplace. The exchange of ideas and favours, the pleas for help and the maintenance of networks of influence and friendships enabled Roman cities to resist the Germanic invasions and to maintain, to some extent, their Roman identity.

In this chapter we focus on the Gallic case, especially on the letters of the poet and bishop of Clermont, Sidonius Apollinaris. His collection of letters is one of the greatest compilations that has come down to us today, becoming one of the greatest and most important accounts of how the end of the Western Roman Empire was experienced in the provinces. The subjects it deals with are varied and numerous. Among those that concern us on this occasion, we find evidence of what communication and mobility were like in a context of war, as well as how the very act of sending letters helped these ecclesiastical elites to govern their cities.

Getting to know the author

C. Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius is a figure about whose life we know little, only from his literary works and in a very fragmentary way. We can assume that he was born in *Lugdunum* (Lyon) around 429 or 432 into a senatorial family, and that he therefore received a classical education typical of Greek *paideia*, albeit in an already Christian environment. Both his grandfather and father held the office of *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum*, while his mother had ties with the Aviti family, from which the emperor Eparchius Avitus (455–456) was born. During his youth he was educated in letters and rhetoric, and at the same time he got to know other influential people in Gaul who would later become part of his network of influence (Van Waarden 2020: 26).

Between 452 and 455 he married Papianilla, daughter of Eparchius Avitus, with whom he had a son and three daughters. In the brief reign of his father-in-law, Sidonius travelled to Rome and held a minor office, probably that of *Tribunus et Notarius*. He left the city after his father-in-law's removal from the throne

in 456 and retired again to his estates in Gaul. In 461 he received the title of comes from the emperor Majorian (457-461), which was also short-lived due to the death of the emperor in the same year (Van Waarden 2020: 27).

After this brief political career, Sidonius retired to the family villa of Avitacum and devoted himself to a literary life with his group of friends. During this period, he was baptised by his friend Faustus, bishop of Riez. In 467 he returned to public life and was part of a delegation from the Auvergne to welcome the new emperor Anthemius, as well as to ask for his help in the face of the growing threat that King Euric was becoming for Gaul. During his stay in Rome, he was promoted to the rank of *patricius* and appointed *Praefectus Urbi*. In late 468 or early 469 Sidonius left the city because of the trial of his friend Arvandus, then *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum*, which he himself was to preside over. Arvandus had been accused of treason by the Provençal circles close to Sidonius and therefore his friendship with him put him in danger (Van Waarden 2020: 27).¹

Between 469 and 471, Sidonius was appointed bishop of Clermont, a position he probably held until his death (482/486?). This period is best documented by the nine books in which he compiled a selection of his private letters. Shortly after taking up his new post, the Visigothic army of Euric laid siege to the city of Clermont. Sidonius was in charge of the defence and resistance of the city until 475, when four influential bishops of Provence agreed to surrender of the city to Euric. Sidonius was exiled to the Livia fortress, probably near Carcassone, until he was pardoned by Euric and returned to his former see in 476 or 477, all thanks to the influence of his friends at the Visigothic court. As far as we know, Sidonius ended his days as bishop in Clermont, since his last recorded writings are the publication of the ninth book of letters in 482 (Van Waarden 2020: 28).

The corpus of Sidonius' letters that has come down to us consists of a total of 146 letters in nine books, a compilation which he selected, revised and published during his lifetime, largely with the support of his friend Constantius of Lyons. These books were published between 469 and 482, with the last being the last work that has come down to us from Sidonius. The letters do not follow any chronological or thematic criteria, a typical characteristic of Pliny the Younger's epistolography.² The letters were revised both by him and by his friends Constantius of Lyons and Lupus of Troyes (Bellès 1997: 8-12). This prior selection and revision allowed him to modify the style, to add mentions of topical elements important to his political context or to eliminate information that could harm other people or Sidonius himself. He was well aware that 'a book as surely reflects a man's mind as a mirror his face'.³

Letters as a means of communication and survival of aristocratic identity

Letters have always been one of the main means of communication throughout History. Letters not only exchanged greetings and information, but also included literary and artistic compositions. Epistolography was a genre that was cultivated by Roman aristocracy from the times of the Republic.

¹ Although Arvandus was considered a traitor to the Roman state for sending a letter to King Euric urging him not to make peace with the emperor Anthemius, Sidonius did not deny his friendship with him. In letter 1, 7 he recounts this episode, in which he accepts that Arvandus committed treason, but this does not prevent him from feeling sorry for his friend. Some authors (Harries 1994: 161-166, 179) consider that the fact that he continued to defend his friendship with the traitor was the reason why he had to flee Rome and was given the see of the bishopric of Clermont. Having risen to the position of *Praefectus Urbi*, one of the most important positions among secular magistracies, the new office of bishop could be seen as a demotion.

² Sidonius already announces in his first letter (*Epist.* 1, 1), addressed to his friend Constantius of Lyons, that his epistolary models to follow are the letters of Pliny the Younger and Symmachus.

³ '[...] *quod ita mens pateat in libro uelut uultus in speculo*' (*Epist.* 7, 18, 2).

Among the main authors who marked this genre in Roman literature are Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Marcus Cornelius Fronto and Symmachus (Castillo 1974: 429-436; Mratschek 2020: 218). This genre received special attention among the Gallo-Roman aristocracies of the 5th century. In the period from 420 to 520, about 475 letters were written by some 45 Gallo-Roman authors (Mathisen 1993: 116).

The crisis of the Roman state in the 5th century pushed the Gallic aristocrats to look for other criteria on which their identity as aristocrats should be based and how this identity could be manifested. Some were able to compensate for the disappearance of imperial administrative offices by a career in the ecclesiastical office. The highest office, that of bishop, was reserved for a few cities, so only a few could attain it, leaving the majority out of the social competition. At the same time, the status of aristocrat became increasingly restrictive and elitist, based on a common classical literary culture. This interest in literature had always been a basic element among Roman aristocrats. But in this period, it became a key element in the construction of their identity and the maintaining of their status (Mathisen 1993: 105).

Even then, there was talk of a decline in literary production, and it even became a cliché to comment on this fact in aristocratic correspondences of the time.⁴ Sidonius repeats that there is less and less interest in literature.⁵ Instead, he does not fail to praise the works and styles of his fellow aristocrats in his correspondence with them. In fact, many of the letters we have from Sidonius are simply praise for the letter-writing style of his colleagues, or just to celebrate the fact that they have written him a letter. Ralph W. Mathisen (1993: 106-108) believes that this was a false perception, since the interest of this discourse lies in the fact that only 'a few' remained interested in literary life. And these 'few', of course, were Sidonius and his circle of aristocratic friends. In general, they saw this decline not in the quality of the literature they produced, but in the quantity of those who participated in this classical literary culture.

In 5th century Gaul, literary activities at an early stage of his life allowed someone born an aristocrat to remain an aristocrat. It offered a terrain where Gallo-Roman upper-class men could continue to compete on equal terms. Literature allowed nobles to differentiate themselves from the lower classes, as had always been the case. But now it also allowed them to distance themselves from their Germanic rulers, positioning themselves in a culturally superior position in a non-violent way. The survival of the Latin language and literature, and the feeling that it was the aristocracy who were chosen to maintain and appreciate it, became even more important after the fall of the Western Empire.⁶ Literary achievements and acceptance into a literary circle kept these dynamics alive and offered an oasis of Romanness for this group (Mathisen 1993: 109-110). The role of literature as a unifying element became the greatest below blood ties. Literary circles were created in the cities where nobles, both secular and ecclesiastical, could show their literary compositions to their colleagues and comment on them. These circles could be extended to other Gallic cities, which, if the political situation did not make it feasible to meet in person, could be maintained through correspondence (Mathisen 1993: 111). A repeated topic in these circles was words of encouragement to other colleagues to write more (*Epist.* 6, 10).

⁴ For the evolution of this topic throughout the 5th and 6th centuries in Gaul, see Mathisen, R.W. 1988. The Theme of Literary Decline in Late Roman Gaul. *Classical Philology* 83: 45-52.

⁵ 'quapropter si quis post vos Latiae favet eruditioni [...] sodalitati vestrae [...] optat adhiberi. Quamquam [...] pauci studia nunc honorant' (*Epist.* 5. 10. 4.).

⁶ '[...] nam iam remotis gradibus dignitatum, per quas solebat ultimo a quoque summus quisque discerni, solum erit posthac nobilitatis indicium litteras nosse.' (*Epist.* 8, 2, 2). In this letter written in 479 to a teacher named Iohannes, he urges him not to give up the teaching of Latin, since now that Gaul has been conquered by the Germanic peoples and the Roman imperial administration has disappeared, and therefore the magistracies that gave them social status, only literature will enable the nobles to differentiate themselves from the lowly.

Ultimately, the act of composing was the most important way of expressing these literary interests. The final goal was the publication and distribution of one's own works among the literary circles to which one belonged. This act was usually a joint task with friends who showed an interest in having these works published, who took on the role of 'literary patrons'. These were also sometimes responsible for revisions of the work and for its publication and distribution (Mathisen 1993: 110-112). In the case of Sidonius' compilations of letters this is much more evident, since the first and last letters of each book he published were addressed to the 'literary patron' who had urged him to publish. In most of Sidonius' books we find his friend Constantius of Lyons as this 'patron'.

The exchange of letters made it possible to maintain friendships among the aristocracy, which was becoming smaller and increasingly thinly spread across a fragmented Gaul.⁷ In a context of war and political instability such as the second half of the 5th century, letters also had a more practical purpose. They also served as a means of overcoming difficulties in communication, especially those caused by the Germanic occupation. Besides this, epistolography was well regarded by clerics as a literary genre, a consideration made all the more important by the fact that aristocrats were now entering these positions. For example, Sidonius gave up his secular poetry on becoming a bishop to adopt prose letter-writing alone. It was even seen as a duty to write letters for the maintenance of friendships (Mathisen 1993: 115-116).

Communications at the end of the Empire

The act of writing letters, or at least writing them repeatedly, was a well-spread activity among aristocracy, since they were educated and had the financial means to afford the material with which to write them and the resources to send them. Throughout the Empire there existed the *cursus publicus*, a veritable postal service created by Augustus to send information, supplies and soldiers to all corners of the Empire. It was based on military lines with rest stations located at certain intervals along the main roads and paths where messengers could rest or change horses for a fresher one. This service was exclusively for state use, although certain influential people were allowed to use it to send letters and travel. Constantine allowed bishops to use it to send letters and move to councils (Blumell 2014: 46-47). In the Theodosian Code (*Cod. Theod.* 8, 5, 62-63) there are certain edicts that explicitly forbid private persons to use the system under penalty of fines.

Sidonius tells us about it in one of his letters when he used this service on his official journey to Rome in 467 to appear before emperor Anthemius. He explicitly says that he was able to use this service because he had been summoned by an imperial letter. He adds that his delay on the road was not due to the state of the roads or the postal service, but to his detours to visit the houses of his friends and relatives along the way. In fact, he comments that the state of the Roman public roads was still good, especially those in Italy. Apart from horses, the service also included boats (*Epist.* 1, 5, 2-8).

Around 469, before receiving the bishopric, Sidonius sent a letter to his friend Pannychius, an Auvergnian of senatorial rank, in which he told him how a certain Evanthius gathered labour and repaired the road between Clermont and Toulouse, clearing the litter and filling the holes in the road with earth (*Epist.* 5, 13).⁸ Soon after ascending to the episcopal chair in about 471, the Visigoths attacked Clermont in

⁷ 'per quem saepenumero absentum dumtaxat institutorum tantus colligitur affectus, quantus nec praesentanea sedulitate conficitur.' (*Epist.* 7, 14, 2). Sidonius said that it was the educated men (*instituti*) who lived apart who had the greatest affection for each other, thus emphasising the importance of letters for the survival of these bonds of friendship.

⁸ Although the context of this letter is totally different from this topic, we do not know if this Evanthius was a public person who was still in charge of the infrastructures of his region or if he was a private motivation to maintain these infrastructures

their plan to expand westwards into Gaul and Sidonius was involved in a siege which lasted until the surrender of the city in 475. At this time, communications would naturally be affected by the siege, especially as Sidonius could use letters to call for outside help. But the large number of letters we have from this period and could sometimes be considered banal given the situation, as they mostly do not address the ongoing siege. In fact, most of the mentions we find in his letters about the disruption of correspondence are complaining about the disinterest of his friends and family in answering him, rather than the siege and occupation of the territory by the different Germanic peoples (*Epist.* 3, 7; 4, 5).⁹

Where we do find evidence of this reduction in Sidonius' freedom of movement as a consequence of the siege is in the apologies the bishop gives to his addressees for sending them letters instead of visiting them in person. At some point between 470 and before the beginning of the siege of Clermont in 471, Sidonius had the duty of electing the bishop of Bourges, the metropolitan see of the province *Lugdunensis* IV, and he went there to study the candidates. We have two letters sent to the bishops Agraetius of Sens and Euphronius of Autun where he asks them for advice in choosing the right candidate and invites them to travel to Bourges with him, since they had more experience in the episcopal office (*Epist.* 7, 5; 7, 8). On the one hand, therefore, we can see that Sidonius could move from one city to another without any problem, even though practically the whole of Gaul was already under Germanic rule. On the other hand, it is odd that the election of the bishop of a metropolitan see was entrusted to a minor bishop like Sidonius, rather than to other bishops of metropolitan sees or more experienced in their jobs. It may be that the other bishops closest to him were unwilling to travel or that the political situation simply prevented them from doing so.¹⁰

In the winter of 471-472, Sidonius took advantage of the fact that the siege had been lifted, and the Visigoths had withdrawn to their winter quarters, to send a letter to Bishop Eutropius of Orange (*Epist.* 6, 6). This indicates that, if he could not really communicate with the outside world during the siege, he did take advantage of the windows of freedom that the winter season gave him. In 472 he sent a letter to Bishop Auspicius of Toul in which he apologises that he can only send letters instead of meeting in person, since he is in the midst of two 'brother' kingdoms at loggerheads, these being the Visigothic and the Burgundian kingdoms. He goes on to express his gratitude for the fact that at least their friendship can be maintained through epistolary exchange (*Epist.* 7, 11).¹¹ In 474 we know from his letter to his uncle Apollinaris that Sidonius was able to leave Clermont when the Visigothic siege was lifted in winter. He

that could no longer be taken care of by the imperial administration.

⁹ Sidonius gives us very few details about the siege of Clermont. We have just some descriptions about the state of the wall and its defenders, but never as the main topic of the letter (*Epist.* 3, 7; 6, 6; 7, 1; 7, 11). The harshest description of the siege was in *Epist.* 7, 7 to his friend Graecus of Marseille. In this letter Sidonius receives the news of the surrender of Clermont by Graecus and other three bishops and begs them not to do it. He felt betrayed by his own peers, but, in reality, they were just the messengers of emperor Julius Nepos and had no power to stop it. We know that Sidonius used his publications of letters to show a controlled image of himself among his equals. It should not be a coincidence that these letters of betray by the Roman administration were published in the same book as those where he demonised Euric and his court. The seventh book was also the same book where the election of Bourges was included, an event where Sidonius could show that he could cooperate with other bishops in important matters. Joop Van Waarden thinks that this book served as a public statement when it was published in 477. Sidonius wanted to show with this book that he was a victim both of the Visigoths and the Roman Empire. He thought that only a well-organised and strong network of Catholic aristocratic bishops could help Roman Gaul cities to survive. We do not doubt that Sidonius sent more letters about the siege, but he was already under Visigothic rule when these books were published and he had to be careful about what he published. He accepted their new lords as long as the Catholic Roman aristocracy remained in advantaged positions in their cities (Van Waarden 2011: 555-561).

¹⁰ For the process of the election of bishops in the second half of the 5th century, see Loftus, S. 2011. Episcopal Elections in Gaul: The Normative View of the Concilia Galliae versus the Narrative Accounts, in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S.W.J. Keough and C. Nicolay (eds) *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*: 423-436. Berlin: De Gruyter.

¹¹ There is also a reference to the war between Germanic kingdoms in letter 3, 4.

travelled to the city of Vienne, which was then under Burgundian rule (*Epist.* 5, 6).¹² In the same year he sent a courtesy letter to Bishop Graecus of Marseilles, informing him that the city walls were weak and apologising for not being able to visit him because of the siege (*Epist.* 7, 10). In the years 480-482, when Gaul was already divided into different kingdoms, Sidonius apologised to Bishop Principius of Soissons for not being able to visit him as much as he would like because they were in different territories. The bishopric of Principius must have been already under the Frankish rule of Clovis I (481-511) (*Epist.* 9, 8; Halsall 2012: 319-321).

Where we see a special concern of Sidonius to send letters is already under Visigothic rule. In 476 he sent a letter to Bishop Faustus of Riez during his confinement in Bordeaux. He comments that it was better not to send many letters because of his delicate situation. He says that messengers were not allowed to circulate on public roads without passing military checkpoints where they were searched and interrogated. Because Sidonius was under arrest for his resistance at Clermont, and his circle of friends was under suspicion, he feared to endanger his addressees with his messages (*Epist.* 9, 3). Once restored to his former position as bishop in 476-477, Sidonius sent a letter to Bishop Julianus. It is a simple courtesy letter to exchange greetings, but it informs us of the political situation in which they lived. He laments that because they lived in opposing kingdoms they could not have as much epistolary exchange as they wished. He hoped that the treaty being negotiated would allow them to send more letters to each other, bearing in mind, he continues, that now they were no longer suspicious persons (*Epist.* 9, 5). If we accept the chronology, we would be talking about these opposing kingdoms being the Visigothic, on the part of Sidonius, and the Burgundian, on the part of Julian, although his see has not been identified. This treaty of which he speaks could be the division of the territories of Gaul after the disappearance of the imperial government and the peace between the two kingdoms (Kelly 2020: 188).

This reading leads us to believe that there were more obstacles to sending letters under Germanic rule than when Gaul was still under Roman control, or even in the midst of a war. Although we have no further clarification from Sidonius, we could think that this is due to the relationship that Sidonius had with his new overlords. Sidonius was at one point critical of the Germanic monarchs, as some of his letters show, until his personal situation made adopt a more favourable attitude once they consolidated their power.¹³ It is therefore possible that once he was under Visigothic rule, he had to be more careful about what he wrote or even decided to reduce the flow of letters he wrote. The same would be true of sending letters to other kingdoms, especially at a time when these kingdoms were still competing to

¹² On several occasions Sidonius expresses a favourable view towards the Burgundian kingdom, most probably because it was an enemy of the Visigoths and offered its support to the border town of Clermont. In letter 5, 7, written in 474, he ends with high praise for the Burgundian king Chilperic and his wife, possibly intending the letter to be read at his court.

¹³ *Epist.* 1, 2 written around 455, probably the oldest in his collection, is a description of the Visigothic king, Theodoric II, in the form of a *laus* or eulogy. Theodoric II not only took care of problems in Roman territory on behalf of the emperor, but in 455 he placed Eparchius Avitus, Sidonius' father-in-law, on the imperial throne. However, to illustrate one of many examples, in *Epist.* 6, 6, Sidonius calls the Visigoths '*foedifragam gentem*' or 'treaty-violating people'. Since this letter is dated between 471 and 472, it is possible that this new opposition to the Visigoths was due to their attacks on Auvergne or on Euric's campaign on the Roine Valley, which affected the see of the recipient bishop, Eutropius of Orange.

In the case of *Epist.* 7, 6, Sidonius vents all his anger against Euric after years of siege. In this letter addressed to the then priest, and later bishop, Basilius of Aix-en-Provence in 475, Sidonius tries to convince his colleague, and the other Provençal bishops charged with surrendering Clermont to Euric, not to do so, since the Arrian Visigoths represented evil for the Catholic Christians and would not respect them after surrendering.

On the other hand, in 476, while Sidonius was still held in Bordeaux, his friend Lampridius, an influential person at Euric's court, asked Sidonius for a poem, probably with the intention of reading it before the court and thus favouring Sidonius' situation in Visigothic eyes. Sidonius, in the letter he sent to Lampridius in reply, took the opportunity to add a eulogy to King Euric and his court within the poem (*Epist.* 8, 9).

define their territories.¹⁴

Bearers of letters

Because the *cursus publicus* service was for the exclusive use of the state, private individuals had to find other ways to send their letters. There were usually two options: to ask the favour of a friend or acquaintance who was going to travel to the same destination as the letter, or to pay a letter carrier to take it to the desired destination. This second option presented a significant additional cost to the delivery. For this reason, the first option was preferred. This meant that letters were sent sporadically or that many of them did not reach their destination. As a consequence of this fact the letters of complaint about letters that did not arrive or replies that were not received became a *cliché*, even a literary convention in some cases (Blumell 2014: 47-49).

In Sidonius' collection the letter-bearers are referred to several times, some even by name. The most common forms he uses to refer to letter-bearers are *portitor*, *gerulus* and *tabellarius*. At other times he uses other forms which may have other meanings, but in this context, they can also be translated as letter-bearers or emissaries. These are *viator*¹⁵ (traveller, messenger, bearer), *baiulus*¹⁶ (bearer) and *apicum oblator*¹⁷ ('offerer' of letters, letter-bearer).

The origin of these bearers is varied, and sometimes dependent on the message they carry. Most of the bearers of private letters were clients of the sender of these letters, whether they were secular or ecclesiastical patrons. It was also common for there to be a specific bearer for each correspondent. To illustrate a few examples, in the various letters that Sidonius had with his friend Felix, an aristocrat of Narbonne, he names the bearer, a Jewish person named Gozolas who was part of Felix's *clientela* (*Epist.* 3, 4; 4, 5). The same is true of Sidonius' correspondence with his colleague in office, Bishop Graecus of Marseilles. The first letter we have with this bishop is a request that Sidonius made to Graecus to recommend a cleric of his community, named Amantius, and to ask Graecus to help him make his way as a merchant in Marseilles (*Epist.* 6, 8).¹⁸ From this point on, Amantius became the main messenger among these bishops, possibly taking advantage of the freedom of movement offered by Amantius' commercial travels (*Epist.* 7, 2; 7, 7; 7, 10; 9, 4).

Taking advantage of the journey of acquaintances was the most cost-effective way to send letters, although this did not ensure that they would reach their destination in a timely manner. Sidonius claims to take advantage of the journey made by an Auvergnian nobleman from Clermont to send a letter to Bishop Theoplastus, possibly from Geneva. The sole purpose of the letter is to recommend this nobleman and his company to the bishop and that he should welcome them (*Epist.* 6, 5). In another more curious case, Sidonius takes advantage of the fact that a cleric named Caelestius is passing through Clermont on his way to Langres, where this cleric may have come from. He sent a letter with him to the bishop of that city, Aprunculus, and gave him, and recommended to him, a cleric servant of his who had fled the

¹⁴ Sidonius' character changed considerably after the Visigothic occupation of the Auvergne. In *Epist.* 4, 10 written to his friend Felix in 476-477, he apologises for not having been able to write as much as he would have liked because of his exile and asks to reactivate the epistolary exchange again, provided that his new patron, 'who has made his return possible', allows him to do so. This new patron from whom permission must be sought was to be *comes* Victorius, the Gallo-Roman who was charged with conquering and governing the Auvergne for Euric.

¹⁵ *Epist.* 3, 7, 2; 7, 2, 1; 9, 4, 1.

¹⁶ *Epist.* 4, 7, 1; 6, 4, 1.

¹⁷ *Epist.* 4, 6, 4; 6, 8, 1.

¹⁸ Clerics at this time were not forbidden to engage in other lucrative activities, such as agriculture—as is the case in letter 7, 15—or trade, as long as they did not practice usury (Buenacasa 2004: 65-66).

community of Clermont and taken refuge in Langres. Instead of claiming him as a fugitive, he gives him to his colleague and exhorts him to treat him as a free man, provided he does not run away from his new patron again (*Epist.* 9, 10).

Even so, the occasions where Sidonius mentions the bearer most often are in letters of recommendation or litigation in which the identity of the bearer is important.¹⁹ Among these we find the letter he wrote to bishop Leontius of Arles asking him to help the bearer of the letter, possibly a cleric in his ministry, and to recommend lawyers to solve a testamentary problem (*Epist.* 6, 3). As a matter of fact, the next letter we find in this book deals with a request to Bishop Lupus of Troyes to settle the dispute of the bearers of this letter, since the problem lay in Troyes where Lupo had jurisdiction (*Epist.* 6, 4). Many letters of this type are requests to other bishops to help the bearers of these letters. Normally these people were from Sidonius' community, who had previously appealed to him but he preferred to delegate them to other colleagues, either because of his inexperience in the office or because of the jurisdictions of each bishop. They were not always solutions to judicial problems; they could also be simple recommendations that Sidonius made to another bishop in favour of the bearer. This case would be that of the merchant cleric Amantius we have already seen (*Epist.* 6, 4). Or it would even be just good faith recommendations for the receiving bishop to help the bearer as he needed, without going into detail (*Epist.* 6, 11; 7, 4; 7, 11; 8, 13).

The sending of letters was essential for the maintenance of friendships between the aristocracies of the time. Many of the letters that have come down to us from Sidonius focus on the friendship that unites sender and recipient and the good maintenance of this friendship. In fact, sometimes these letters are simply messages of courtesy to keep this friendship alive by epistolary means. Even so, this desire to cultivate friendship by letter was intensified when the bearer had been sent exclusively to deliver this letter. In an epistle to his earlier mentioned friend Felix in 469, he remarks that he rejoices that he has received the honour of the patriciate, but that he is even happier to have received the news by a messenger sent expressly to communicate it to him (*Epist.* 2, 3). Years later, in 471/472, Sidonius sent a messenger with a letter to Bishop Eutropius of Orange just to know how he was and to apologise for not having answered the letter of courtesy that this bishop had sent him earlier. He took the opportunity to send this letter when the Visigothic siege of Clermont had been lifted due to their retreat to winter quarters (*Epist.* 6, 6).²⁰

We know that the letters could be accompanied by oral messages given to the bearer, sometimes instructions that could help the understanding of the letter itself or even messages that one did not want to leave in writing for fear that they would be read by other people's eyes. In 471-472 Sidonius sent a letter to his uncle Apollinaris in which he was glad that he had renounced the pilgrimage he was about to make thanks to the precautions he had given to the bearer by means of an oral message. Curiously enough, this same letter was used as an opportunity to ask his uncle to settle a dispute between a client of his and the bearer of this letter, a cleric of Sidonius (*Epist.* 4, 6). Shortly before this letter, Sidonius gives us another example in a letter sent to his two uncles Simplicius and Apollinaris. In it he explains to them that the messenger, with whom he had sent them a letter, had lost the letter of reply from his uncles and did not carry with him any oral message that might help to find out what it was about. For days Sidonius did not allow this messenger, who was a cleric of his community, to send any more letters for him. Finally, he forgave him and sent this letter to ask his uncles to write to him again (*Epist.* 4, 12).

Sometimes the sender needed to have full confidence in the bearer, since oral messages were not beyond

¹⁹ *Epist.* 4, 23; 6, 3; 6, 4; 6, 8; 6, 9; 6, 11; 7, 4; 7, 11; 7, 16; 8, 13; 8, 14.

²⁰ This is the same letter where he names the Visigoths as '*foedifragam gentem*' and begins his animosity towards Euric's Goths.

the scrutiny of those who controlled the roads. During his imprisonment in Bordeaux in 476, Sidonius wrote a letter to Bishop Faustus of Riez. In it he advised him that it would be better to stop sending letters to each other, as Sidonius was in a delicate situation and did not want to compromise anyone with his words. He commented that no messenger could pass the controls of the public roads without being searched. And if they do not find any written message, they interrogate the messenger harshly in order to extract any oral message he could carry (*Epist.* 9, 3).

On the other hand, letters could also accompany gifts or requests for books that were made to Sidonius. We must remember that what united the aristocratic circle of friends and acquaintances for the most part was their shared taste for classical literature. In 476 he sent a letter to his friend Ruricius, before his elevation to the episcopal dignity of Limoges, accompanied by copies of books of the Bible as a gift. The bearer was the copyist himself and he asked him to thank him in person (*Epist.* 5, 15).²¹ As earlier stated, at the beginning of his career as a bishop Sidonius found himself in the situation where he had to choose the bishop of the city of Bourges. He asked for advice from more experienced colleagues (*Epist.* 7, 5; 7, 8), and once the perfect candidate was chosen, he sent a letter to Bishop Perpetuus of Tours with the speech he had delivered after the election of the new bishop of Bourges (*Epist.* 7, 9). This is the only instance we have of a public speech by Sidonius, who added it to the compilation together with the letter. But it was not only books, texts and the occasional poetic composition that Sidonius was commissioned to write. During his imprisonment in the Livia fortress in 476, while awaiting sentencing by the Visigothic court for his resistance at Clermont, he sent a gratitude letter to an abbot named Chariobaudus for his letters of encouragement, and with this he sent a cowl as a gift. The bearers he used were the same freedmen that Chariobaudus had used to send his letter to Sidonius (*Epist.* 7, 16).

Conclusions

As we can see, letters were vital not only for the survival of the aristocracy as a ruling class, but also for the preservation of classical Latin culture and Roman infrastructures. Without the numerous epistolary exchanges at this time, cities could not possibly have been effectively governed and the figure of the bishop would not have achieved the preeminence it did later. Sidonius' letters are a reflection on a constantly changing era where those living through it had to adapt constantly. Without his letters, as well as those of other contemporary bishops, we would know little of life in the provinces in the twilight of the Western Empire.

This is, of course, a very partial view of how this time was really lived. It is still the experience of an aristocrat, with the added bonus of having been a very influential figure in his region. Moreover, this view is very fragmented due to the nature of the sources themselves. As we have already noted, Sidonius' published letter-books were revised and corrected before distribution. We do not know how many letters he left out of his compilation or what corrections he made to those he did select. This allowed him to modify his image or anyone else's in his letters. Ultimately, these works were then distributed among the same literary circles to which he belonged. Modifying and publishing private letters was a good way of controlling one's public image.

On the other hand, Sidonius' letters offer us a good example of how ideas moved around and of the limits of the power of bishops in this convulse period. We have seen that the exchange of letters affected not only Sidonius' circle of friends and family, but the whole community of which Sidonius was the leader. Sidonius was still a Roman aristocrat and, as such, still part of the classical *clientela* system. As

²¹ The same is also the case in *Epist.* 7, 3.

a patron and bishop his power extended to the whole city of Clermont, and he used his network of contacts and influence to benefit his clients, both from the ecclesiastical and secular community of his city. This allowed him in return to remain de facto ruler and help his friends to maintain the same position in their respective cities. For this reason, the largest number of bearers we have mentioned in Sidonius' letters are people who were part of Sidonius' community, mostly clerics. These letters, therefore, would be a clear testimony to the survival of this system, as well as to the continuation of the Roman aristocracy in positions of power after the fall of the imperial administration.

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V. TRADE AND MOVEMENT OF GOODS

The journey of a ceramic shape: trading black-figure amphorae to Iberia*

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Table amphorae were one of the most popular shapes of Athenian pottery in the Archaic period, being exported across the Mediterranean basin. Nevertheless, the presence in the Western Mediterranean of its black-figured variant has been largely misstudied, although it is well documented in various colonial and Protohistoric sites from the Gulf of Lion to the Huelva Bay, evidencing large-scale commercial dynamics. Studies on Attic pottery trade in the West started in the second half of the 20th century, with specialised works focused on the presence of Greek vases in specific territories, such as those of F. Villard (1960) for Marseille and of G. Trías (1967-1968) for the Iberian Peninsula. Although research on Greek trade dynamics experienced an important evolution during the last decades of the century, few studies focus on the distribution of specific series in the Iberian Peninsula. In this respect, we highlight a monographic volume by J. M. García-Cano and F. Gil-González (2010) on the trade of Attic red-figured pottery from the 4th century BC³, or D. Rodríguez's latest works (2019; 2021), focused on the presence of Castulo cups in Iberian contexts. However, as far as black figures are concerned, this type of analysis is almost non-existent. Given this circumstance, a study of the trade of Attic black-figured amphorae to -and in- Iberia becomes a pending task that this work aims at accomplishing.

To this end, in the first place, we characterize the study material by identifying the series and workshops represented, fixing production dates and other relevant commercial features. For this purpose, specialized literature and Greek pottery databases (i.e. BAPD and CIG) have been consulted. Secondly, we explore the vase-trading process, establishing points of arrival and possible distribution routes. Broader pan-Mediterranean trade dynamics and relevant archaeological contexts (i.e. ports and shipwrecks) are considered. This study is completed with micro-analyses of the reception process of Attic black-figure amphorae among peninsular peoples, as we examine contexts of use and deposition of these imported ceramics (Figure 1). As a result, a full picture of the commercial life of the studied series is given for the first time.

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³ All dates hereafter are BCE, unless otherwise note.



Figure 1. Map of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Gulf of Lion: sites mentioned (own work). 1. Huelva (Huelva). 2. Málaga (Málaga). 3. Medellín (Badajoz). 4. Alarcos (Ciudad Real). 5. Villaricos. 6. Cabezo Lucero (Guardamar del Segura, Alacant). 7. La Fonteta (Guardamar del Segura, Alacant). 8. La Albufereta (Alacant). 9. Pozo Moro (Chinchilla, Albacete). 10. València (València). 11. Cabanyal-Malvarrosa Anchorage (València). 12. Tossal de Sant Miquel - Edeta (Llíria, València). 13. Sagunt (València). 14. Cala Sant Vicenç (Mallorca). 15. Tarragona (Tarragona). 16. Ullastret (Girona). 17. Emporion (Girona). 18. La Liquière (Languedoc). 19. Lattara (Occitanie). 20. Massalia (Provence). 21. Pointe Lequin 1A (Provence).

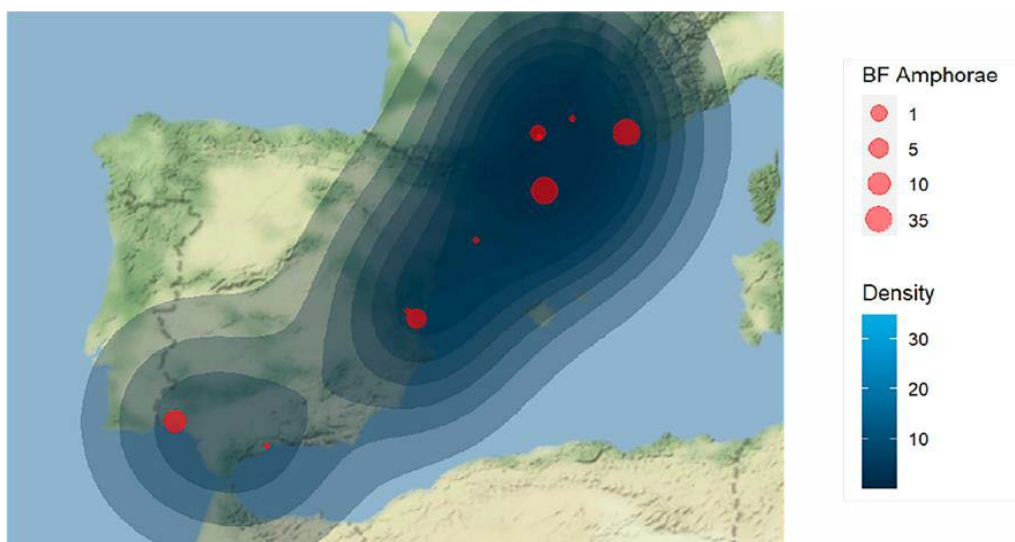


Figure 2. Distribution and concentration density of Attic black-figure amphorae findings: the Iberian Peninsula and the Gulf of Lion (own work using R© ‘ggplot2’ package: Wickham (2016)).

The ceramic record (Figures 3-5)

From our study, we have been able to individualize up to 30 Attic black-figure table *amphorae* found in the Iberian Peninsula (Figure 2). Most of these vases concentrate in the main archaic colonial nuclei of the peninsula: **Huelva** and **Málaga** in the South, and **Emporion** in the North-east. Apart from these enclaves, in the central-eastern regions controlled by the Iberian *oppida* we document three sites where black-figure table amphorae have been found. These are **Tarragona** and **València**, two coastal enclaves, and **Edeta** (Llíria), a local centre of power and redistribution.

Southern sites

Huelva, ancient *Onuba*, is the earliest enclave in the Iberian Peninsula where a continuous Greek import flux is attested. Founded as a Phocaean emporium to trade with Phoenician and local Tartessian populations, Huelva has given a unique record of archaic Attic pottery from the first half of the 6th century. Regarding black-figure table amphorae, 9 MNI (Minimal number of individuals) have been registered in a series of urban interventions in the current urban centre of Huelva: Puerto Street 9 (no. 1-2, 5-6 and 8), Méndez Núñez Street (no. 3-4 and 7) and Tres de Agosto Street (no. 9). These pieces were found in relation to coetaneous structures of economical and religious nature in the ancient harbour area (Domínguez 2001-2002: 191). According to Cabrera (1988-1989: 48-74), three main archaic import phases are detected.

Phase 1 (c. 600-580)

1. Gorgon Painter amphora. Two body sherds attributed by Cabrera (1988-1989: 55, figure 10, no. 172-173) to the circle of the Gorgon Painter, c. 600-570. One of them features a character that has been identified as a sphinx.
2. Horsehead belly amphora. Sherd of the upper part of the figurative panel corresponding to a horse's mane (Figure 3.2), c. 600-570 (Cabrera 1988-1989: 55, figure 10, no. 171; Cabrera and Sánchez 2000: 248, no. 22). Horsehead amphorae series seem to be related to the Gorgon Painter circle (Boardman 1974: 17-18; Alexandridou 2011: 20).

Phase 2 (c. 580-560)

- 3-4. Tyrrhenian amphorae. 3. Mouth and neck sherd. The mouth, of echinus shape, is completely glazed. The neck features a vegetal decoration of intertwined lotus and palmettes. 4. Neck sherd decorated with vegetal and geometrical motifs. Both pieces were found together at a late and disturbed level (Fernández *et al.* 1994: 74). This amphoric series dates to c. 570-550.
5. Amphora near the Ptoon Painter. Figurative body sherd decorated with part of an animal frieze: a floral motif, a feline and a goat are preserved. Cabrera and Sánchez (2000: 247) attribute this vase to either the Ptoon Painter or the Camtar Painter. These painters' production corresponds to the latest phase of animal-frieze decoration for Attic amphorae, dating c. 575-565 (Boardman 1974: 35-36).
6. Amphora. Body sherd with an unrecognizable decorative program (Cabrera 1988-1989: 100, figure 14, no. 289). The piece's quality suggests a dating of c. 570-550.

Phase 3 (c. 560-540)

7. Botkin-class neck-amphora. Sherd with accessory decoration (below handles). Part of a non-figured motif made up of an inverted black lotus bud flanked by spirals made up of five circles. Underneath, a lotus frieze. Almagro-Gorbea *et al.* (2018) have recently published this piece as a sherd of a Botkin-class amphora near the Phrynos Painter, dated c. 550.

8. Neck-amphora near Amasis. A. Body sherd with a possible Dionysiac scene: two figures can be distinguished, one masculine and one feminine –satyr and maenad?-. B. lower body sherd decorated with radial rays (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 104, figure 12.2-4). The piece can be attributed to a painter of the circle of Amasis, c. 550, considering style and parallels (Boardman 1974: 54-56; BAPD 24088 and 310452).

9. Belly amphora. Body sherd depicting a masculine figure. Underneath, a red glaze line (Rufete 2001: 74-75, pl. 29, no. 2). The small size of the sherd does not allow a specific attribution, but it can be dated towards the third quarter of the 6th century on stylistic grounds.

The Phoenician enclave of **Malaga** is, after Huelva, one of the southern colonial sites where a major arrival of Greek imports is registered, especially from the mid-sixth cent. on. Archaeological interventions at The Palacio de Buenavista, within the current urban space, have provided an interesting deposit filled with archaic ceramic imports dating towards c. 550. Among them, an Attic table amphora is recorded.

10. Tyrrhenian amphora. mouth and neck sherd. The echinus-shaped mouth is completely glazed and the neck preserves a vegetal decoration of lotus and palmettes intertwined (Cisneros *et al.* 2000: 189-205, figure 6).



Figure 3. Amphorae from Huelva and Malaga: no. 2, 5, 8 and 10 (own work).

Eastern sites

The Greek colony of **Emporion** is, by far, the peninsular site where the greatest number of black-figure *amphorae* have been registered. Based on published data, up to 13 different vases can be individualised. This information relates to the excavation campaigns carried out before 2016 (Santos *et al.* 2015: 122-127). However, over the last six years, new systematic excavations have been conducted in the Greek port sector. The harbour archaic levels are offering an interesting horizon of Greek imports of the last third of the 6th century and, among them, some pieces correspond to Attic black-figure amphorae (Santos *et al.* 2022).⁴ Two import phases are detected. Phase 1 corresponds to the second third of the 6th cent., and it is directly related to the foundation of the *Neapolis* or Emporion inland settlement. The studied series from this period are reduced to five pieces of the greatest quality that, when their context is known, always come from habitat levels of the northern part of the *Neapolis*.

11-12. Tyrrhenian amphorae. **11.** Neck sherd decorated with a single lotus that would form part of an addorsed lotus or lotus-palmette frieze (Almagro 1949: 101). **12.** Figured sherd to which Almagro-Gorbea (2015) has dedicated a complete study. It can be attributed to the early work of Lydos (Boardman 1974: 52-54). This piece shows part of the *klamys* of a feminine character –Aphrodite?– depicted as a ‘penguin-woman’. Both vases can be dated c. 560-550, or a little bit later.

13-14. The Group E. **13.** Sherd of the upper part of a panel belly amphora. Of the figurative panel, we preserve a palmette-lotus festoon and the head of two men. The first character is a warrior that wears a high-crest helmet and a spear. The second character, a senior man, follows him –warrior farewell?–. Some details are painted in added purple and white (Cabrera and Sánchez 2000: 275). **14.** Pair of sherds corresponding to the shoulder of a neck-amphora (Figure 9.1). Part of the vase’s accessory decoration is preserved –enclosed tongue pattern, palmette with tendrils and lotus bud– and the onomastic *dipinto* ‘ONETOPIΔE[Σ]’ (CIG 4498). Both parallels and technique relate the two vases to the late phase of the Workshop of Exekias, also known as ‘Group E’, c. 540-525 (Mommmsen 1997: 859f). Indeed, in the case of **no. 11**, we find two close parallels signed by Exekias himself as both painter and potter (BAPD 310383; 310389). Moreover, on these vases, the same *dipinto* occurs: it is a ‘Kalos name’ (Beazley 1956: 143.1, 686 and 144.7, 672; 1971: 59-60).

15. Neck-amphora near the Group E. Figurative sherd, broken into two pieces. It features a scene of great dynamism: a chariot race between warriors in front of an altar. According to Trías (1967-1968: 38.19, pl. IV.4-5), Shefton relates the scene to the myth of Pelos and Oenomaos. For Trías, it is a Northern Aegean production. After a close re-examination of the sherd, its clay of salmon-orange tonalities with low degreasing, the thick glaze coating and the technic has allowed us to identify it as Attic. The vase quality, the complexity of the scene, and the way of drawing relate this piece to some of the mid-century greatest amphora series, outstanding productions of Group E (i.e. BAPD 310390).

Phase 2 of black-figure amphorae imports in Emporion lies in the last third of the 6th century. The products of this period are superior in number to the previous one, but poorer in quality. Second-phase amphorae are not only found in habitat levels but also at the colony’s necropolis. A total of 9 MNI may be registered from excavations before 2016.

⁴ We want to thank curator Marta Santos (MAC-Empúries) for this helpful information.

16-18. Late miniature amphorae. **16.** Neck-amphora of light-make class type. Non-figured decorative programme: palmette chain in silhouette on the neck, stripped body and radial rays above the foot. Consistent formal and stylistic characteristics attribute this vase to the Group of Catania (Beazley 1956: 599-600). **17.** Miniature *amphorae* of belly type whose shape and decoration reassemble to a sketchy version of a Panathenaic amphora. Vertical lines on the neck and, on the body, a naked young athlete is depicted running to the left. Beneath the figure, a glaze band. Some details are painted in added purple. This pseudo-Panathenaic amphora is associated with the Group of Vatican G52 (Beazley 1971: 203). Both amphorae are part of the burial goods of Bonjoan Necropolis grave 69, dated towards the turn of the century (Cabrera and Sánchez 2000: 282-283). **18.** Undiagnostic (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 64).

19-24. Amphorae of various types. **19.** Sherd of a Panathenaic amphora dating to the last quarter of the century. **20.** Sherd of a belly amphora. **21-24.** Undiagnostic, four MNI (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 64; Trías 1967-1968: 59.94 and 101.250). The dating of the later examples is based on stylistic grounds. Specific series cannot be established.



Figure 4. Amphorae from Emporion: no. 12 (edit from Almagro-Gorbea 2015), 13 (edit from Sánchez and Cabrera 2001), 15-17 (Museu de Prehistòria de València and MAC-Empúries – own pictures).

In modern-day **Tarragona**, we find the northernmost Iberian enclave where evidence of black-figure *amphorae* is documented. In Tarragona's lower town, archaeological works have unveiled a series of structures corresponding to the Protohistorical *oppidum* of the city. In one of the excavated areas, Pere Martell, a sherd of a black-figure neck amphora has been found (Adserias *et al.* 1993: 207, figure 31.1).

25. Neck-amphorae. Shoulder fragment –next to handle– where part of the vase's accessory decoration is preserved: enclosed tongue pattern and a palmette. The ornament style is typical of the neck *amphorae* of the standard type of the last third of the 6th century (Boardman 1974: 105-114). The figurative program of the vase is missing, preventing a specific workshop attribution.

South Tarragona, within the limits of the actual city of **València**, another four interesting examples of these Attic series have been documented. These pieces were found in a series of excavation campaigns conducted in the historical centre of València. Pérez-Ballester and Bonora-Andujar (2014: 261-265) published and studied these materials. At La Almoina Roman site, parts of two different amphorae have been recovered. The first vase, represented by one sherd (no. **26**), lacks a specific context. The second piece, contrarily, is made up of three sherds (no. **27A-C**). These three sherds were found together in the same stratigraphic unit, at a later and disturbed level, on the proximities of a natural spring that, in Roman Republican times, was consecrated to Asklepios (Ribera and Jiménez 2012: 78-79). Besides, in the excavations at Unió Street (no. **28**) and Las Corts (no. **29**), a couple of black-figure amphora lids have been found. No archaic structures have been recorded.

26. Neck-amphora near the Lysippides Painter. Figurative body sherd that depicts a hieratic masculine character taking part in an unidentifiable scene (a chariot procession?). The man has a trimmed beard and wears a chiton, suggesting a certain age and status. Some details are painted in added red. For Pérez-Ballester and Bonora-Andújar (2014: 264-265), this piece constitutes a transitional production between the archaising works of the mid-sixth cent. painters and the more dynamic and figurative scenes of the late black-figure workshops. Among the later generation, the authors outstand personalities like the Lysippides Painter, c. 530 – 510 (Boardman 1974: 105). We consider that Lysippides' figures are the closest to this fragment in terms of quality and style (i.e. BAPD 302262; 302220). Moreover, earlier productions are not documented in the study area.

27. Neck-amphora by the Leagros Group. 27A. Body sherd depicting Athena *Promachos*. Torso wearing a chiton and a cloak with intertwined snake-headed tassels: the *aegis*. The goddess' arms, in added white, are partially preserved. The right-hand holds presumably a spear, and the left upper arm is lifted. In the field, some schematic vines. **27B.** Shoulder sherd with enclosed tongues. **27C.** Sherd with accessory decoration (below handles). Part of a vegetal motif made up of palmettes and lotus buds with interlacing stems that create a polygonal pattern. Glaze cross in the centre.

We attribute this vase to a neck amphora of the late phase of the Leagros Group production, c. 510 – 500. The compositional scheme and the stroke employed in the vase's decorative program relate it to the Leagros Group (Boardman 1974: 110-111). Moreover, a large number of the neck amphorae of this group depicts a war-like goddess Athena holding a spear obliquely with one hand while flexing up the contrary elbow, either to lift her shield (e.g. CVA British Museum 4: III.H; pl. 53, 1) or to rise her hand (e.g. CVA Getty Museum:30-33; pl. 33, 1-2). The rather 'poor' quality of the studied piece and its closest parallels (Beazley 1956: 354-391) is what places the piece within the last phase of the workshop.

28-29. Amphorae lids with concentric circles. **28**, a schematic dot-ivy wreath in the exterior band. In both cases, the knob is missing. Parallels date them to the last third of the 6th cent. (i.e. BAPD 9029715 and 1010454).

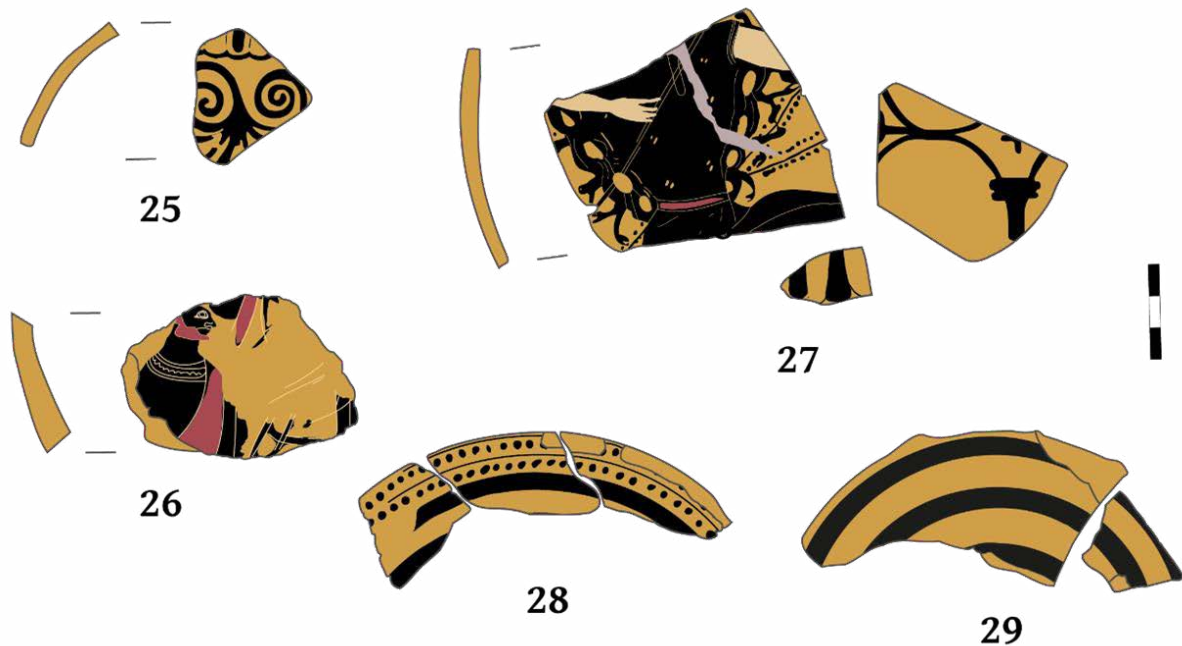


Figure 5. Amphorae from Tarragona and València: no. 25-29 (own work).

Following the Túria River inland, in Lliria, we arrive at the Iberian *oppidum* of Tossal de Sant Miquel, or **Edeta**. This site concentrates a significant number of Greek imports (Bonet 1995: 382-390). Among them, we find a possible black-figure amphora.

30. Black-figure large vase. Sherd decorated with radial rays corresponding to the lower body of either a column krater, a stamnos or a table amphora. Last third of the 6th century (Bonet 1995: 382, figure 58). In peninsular contexts, we only document clear parallels for the last option (i.e. **no. 4, 15 and 16**).

Black-figure amphorae reach the West (c. 600-570)

The Southern coastline of the Iberian Peninsula represented a target market for archaic Greek trade due to its metal resources. The neuralgic point of these commercial interactions was Huelva, ancient *Onuba*, the Tartessian centre of metallurgical activity. In this regard, ‘Tartessos’ was the name that ancient sources give both to one of the most thriving Iron Age cultures of Southern Iberia and the territory they occupied.

Both ancient authors (Hdt. 1. 163, 4. 152; Avien. 178, 264-303) and archaeological works have documented an intense presence of Phocaeen merchants in this port enclave since the late 7th cent, constituting the Western-most filo-Greek *emporium* known (Domínguez 2001-2002: 191). Phocaeans’ enterprises at Huelva supposed a stable supply line of Greek pottery. In fact, the archaeological excavations effectuated in the harbour area of modern Huelva have provided a uniform import record corresponding to this

early commercial phase (Figure 6): Eastern Greek fine wares (i.e. cups, table amphorae and olpai) predominate, and the first Attic series make their appearance (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 6-13). Regarding transport amphorae, although some Etruscan and Corinthian A examples are attested, most of them correspond to Eastern Greek and Athenian productions (i.e. Ionian 'à la brosse', Samian and Attic 'SOS' type amphorae).

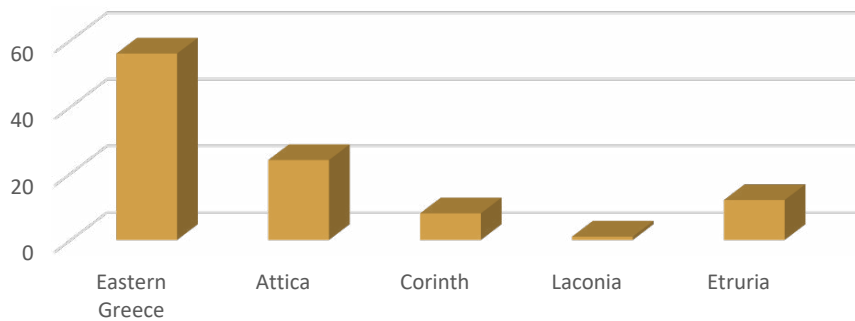


Figure 6. Main imported series at Huelva (c. 600-570): provenances in percentages.

In this period, we already find at Huelva vases of great quality, highlighting two Attic table amphorae (no. 1-2), which sherds were found associated with a series of archaic storage and craft structures at the excavations of Puerto Street 9 (Cabrera 1988-1989). Both vases are attributed to the Circle of the Gorgon Painter, the main production of the second generation of Early Athenian black figures, c. 590-580 (Boardman 1974: 17-18): they constitute the earliest evidence of archaic Attic series in Iberia. Contemporary to these amphorae, we register two dinoi that are also attributed to the Circle of the Gorgon Painter –or to his follower Sophilos–, and a series of cups and skyphoi by the pioneers of the Komast Group, the KY and KX painters, c. 580-570 (Almagro-Gorbea 2018: 305-307; Alexandridou 2011: 41-43). Thus, in this initial import phase, the Attic series are represented at Huelva by a limited number of vases that correspond to two unique contemporary early productions. Moreover, the studied table amphorae, dinoi and drinking vessels relate to a wine service assemblage, constituting a consistent import lot. Tartessians, and the Greek and Phoenician merchants from Huelva, would easily include these vases in their ceramic repertoire, as both communitarian wine consumption and the orientalising images of the Early Athenian black figures were familiar to them (Cabrera 2000: 78-79).

The vases from the Circle of the Gorgon Painter are also present in other Mediterranean emporia, highlighting Ionian Naucratis in Egypt or Etruscan Gravisca: judging from their Greek import records, they seem to be the prospective ports from which the studied vases were traded towards Huelva (Cabrera 1988-1989: 56). The low percentage of Etruscan productions found in Huelva contrasts with the Ionian filiation of Naucratis. Naucratis is, in fact, the site outside Athens where the greatest number of vases attributed to the Gorgon Painter circle and to the Komast Group has been registered: BAPD lists up to 13 vases by the Gorgon Painter circle and 26 by the Komast Group coming from the 20th cent. excavations at Naucratis. Thus, it can be concluded that this early phase of Attic black-figure *amphorae* import is characterized by a limited but long-distance Phocaeen trade between Huelva and other filo-Ionian Eastern emporic enclaves like Naucratis: a Southern Mediterranean route may be proposed. Regarding internal redistribution, the large vases of the Circle of the Gorgon Painter are not documented outside Huelva. Despite this fact, the commercial footprint of this Phocaeen emporium is already attested in South and Southern-East Iberia, as

the early series of the Komast Group are recorded in colonial settlements like Phoenician Villaricos and La Fonteta (Garés-Molero 2023 forthcoming).

Meanwhile, at this stage, the Phocaeans from colonial Massalia are founding in the Gulf of Roses the enclave of Emporion on a coastal island, constituting the northern-most archaic colony of the peninsula (Sanmartí-Grego 2000: 109-110). In the earliest levels of this archaic settlement, or *Palaiapolis*, we already document evidence of the Greek ceramic trade. However, most of the registered pottery consists of Etruscan and Western Ionian productions, while the Attic series are just represented by a pair of black-figure cups (Aquilué *et al.* 2001: 308). It seems that, at this early stage, Emporion worked as an auxiliary post. Thus, table amphorae are absent from the *Palaiapolis*, as import consumption dynamics of greater colonies cannot be expected.

The Tyrrhenian amphorae horizon (c. 570-550)

The second quarter of the 6th cent. is a period of stability for the Iberian Peninsula's markets: Huelva reaches its golden age and Emporion configures itself as an emporic colony. Now South and Northeast Iberia receive parallel productions of Attic amphorae of a specific class, the Tyrrhenian type, and in similar amounts. C. 570, the number of ceramic imports reaching Huelva has grown exponentially, leading to the commercial peak of the emporium. Moreover, although Eastern Greek pottery continues predominating in the import record –about 80%–, other productions start counting on an interesting representation (i.e. Laconian cups, Corinthian table ware and type A transport amphorae). Attic figured series consolidate their presence at the beginning of this phase.

At this time, the workshops from the Athenian Kerameikos enter a period of great experimentation, where a major interest is put in figurative and narrative scenes, and new shapes and series start to be produced. Some of them, like Tyrrhenian amphorae or Siana cups, continue using some orientalisng decorative devices and their production seem to be largely directed to western audiences (Boardman 1974: 31-37; Spivey 1991: 141-142). Huelva offers us an interesting account of this scenery: we count on more diffused series like Siana cups but also on the works of great personalities like Kleitias, for which an olpe and a Gordion cup have been attributed (Almagro-Gorbea 2018: 305-307). Large vases are represented by a group of four black-figure amphorae (**no. 3-6**). One of them (**no. 5**) is in the manner of the painters of Ptoon and Camtar –c. 570-560– and shows the remaining part of an animal frieze. Animal friezes and orientalisng vegetal motifs are also representatives of the contemporary Tyrrhenian amphoric series, represented in Huelva by amphorae **no. 3-4**. In other words, Huelva is now receiving a greater number of Attic vases but from limited and related workshops, as just happened in the previous phase. Moreover, the table amphorae and the other Attic imports seem to relate to a Southern Mediterranean supply line, as the studied series continue to be found in areas of Ionian commercial influence like Egypt, Libya or Sicily (BAPD, 'Ptoon P'-'Camtar P'). At the same time, Etruscan-Massalian products still do not count as a significant representation in Huelva.

The onsite contextualization of the table amphorae of this phase results of interest to understand the consumption patterns of this series in colonial Huelva. The Ptoon-Camtar amphorae and the nondiagnostic **no. 6** were found in the archaic storage area of Puerto Street 9, along with three Siana cups showing palmette friezes (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 11). According to Boardman (1974: 35), this cup series may be related to the Ptoon-Camtar workshop. Thus, we are dealing with the deliberated stocking of a production lot, precisely in the same limited space where the earlier amphorae **no. 1-2** had been stocked. The Tyrrhenian amphorae (**no. 3-4**), on the contrary, have been found together but in a usage context,

a religious area at Méndez Nuñez Street 5, that has been interpreted as an emporic sanctuary (Osuna *et al.* 2001: 177-188). Hence, these series at Huelva were not only stocked for redistribution but also used internally, as they were deposited as offerings and, therefore, showing special significance for the emporium's merchants and inhabitants.

In the case of the Northeast, the first Attic table amphorae series reached Emporion in this period. At that time, the Greek colony started to expand inland, configuring a second enclave, the *Neapolis*, around a natural port (Santos *et al.* 2013: 106-111). In the foundational levels of this new settlement, Western Ionian wares and Etruscan transport amphorae predominate in the ceramic record (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 64-69; Varenna 2017: 130-145). Meanwhile, the Attic series are represented by a few individuals, but that corresponds to some of the greatest productions of the time (i.e. a lekane by the Polos Painter, a Krater by Lydos or a Lekythos by the Sandal Painter). Among these early Attic imports, we stand out two mid-century Thyrrenian amphorae related to the workshop of Lydos (**no. 12** with security; **no. 11** as a possibility). Hence, we see that, in the zones of study, the second import phase is marked by a limited arrival of Thyrrenian amphorae and related series, a fact that may suggest a common import horizon from Huelva and Emporion. Nevertheless, the Attic pottery findings of both colonial areas show two unrelated commercial scenarios, as the series and productions represented in Huelva are not recorded in Emporion and vice versa. For instance, the presence of the production of Lydos in the West is circumscribed to the Gulf of Lion, more concretely, to the Phocaean colonies of Emporion, represented also by a column krater, and Massalia (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 64; Scaravilli 2016: FN57-62). Almagro-Gorbea (2015) documents a concentration of vases by Lydos in southern Etruria, and we claim that some of them constitute close parallels to the amphora **no. 8** (i.e. BAPD 310232 and Figure 7). Apart from that, Thyrrenian amphora has been said to be a shape primarily produced for an Etruscan audience, as c. 87% of the surviving vases of this type have been found in Thyrrenian-Etruscan contexts (Spivey 1991: 141-142). Hence, it seems highly probable for the Lydian Thyrrenian amphorae found in the Gulf of Lion to have been imported via southern Etruscan ports.

Regarding internal peninsular trade, this phase is characterized by a lack of redistribution of Attic table amphorae with local populations. In the South, the traces of commerce with Huelva are only attested in the Phoenician colony of Malaga, ancient *Malaka*, by the presence of a Thyrrenian amphora neck (**no. 7**). This vase has been documented in an urban intervention at Palacio Buenavista, forming part of a closed deposit dated c. 550 and related to an archaic defensive wall system (Cisneros *et al.* 2000: 192-204). The deposit gives us a good image of the traded goods that were commercialized with Attic table amphorae at this time: Eastern Greek fine wares –mainly Samian cups–, other Attic black-figure vases, and some Greek transport amphorae, predominating the Corinthian A production. In the Northeast, table amphorae are only recorded in Emporion itself, meanwhile evidence points out that, on the other extremity of the Gulf of Lion, Marseille had already started trading these vases with the local populations of its hinterland. For instance, a Thyrrenian amphora sherd has been documented in the indigenous settlement of La Liquière (Py *et al.* 1984: 140).

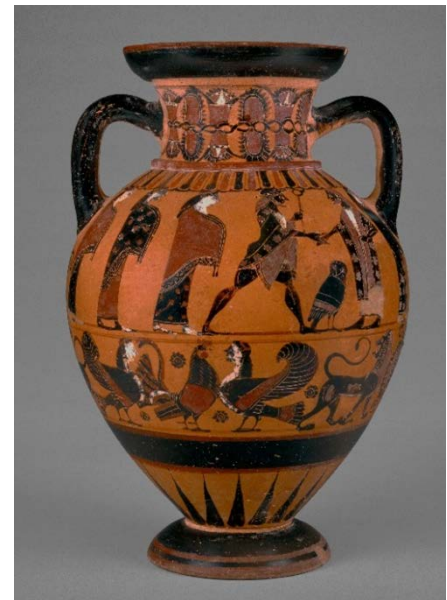


Figure 7. Thyrrenian amphora near Lydos, found at Cerveteri. © J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu, no. 86.AE.52.

Changing times and the great workshops (c. 550-530)

In the mid-century, aroused in the Mediterranean a generalized situation of political turmoil, supposing to the Iberian Peninsula a period of important changes. Regarding Phocaeen trade, Huelva receives the finest but last imports of black-figure amphorae, while the Northeast configures itself as an incipient market for these series. In South Iberia, the Greek pottery supply started to decrease gradually at the beginning of this period because of the decline of the Tartessian world and the weakening of the Phocaeen commercial power. According to Herodotus (1.170), in the decade 550-540, the Persian Empire of Cyrus II conquered Ionia, including Phocaea, which meant the loss of political autonomy of the Ionian poleis. Almost at the same time, the Phocaeans were defeated by the Etruscans and the Carthaginians in the battle of Alalia, Corsica, losing control of the Western trading routes. As a result of these scenarios, Eastern Ionian merchants and their products were gradually overtaken in the West by other agents and production centres like the Etruscan ports or Massalia, which would pass to monopolize the supply of Attic goods (Cabrera 1988-1989: 72; 2000: 81).

Consequently, archaic Huelva experienced a progressive loss of its emporic character: its supply of Attic series seems to cease after c. 530, for both transport and fine pottery. But for a single tripod-pixis fragment, the last archaic figured imports are just represented by Little Master cups and three table *amphorae* (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 11, fig. 12-13). Amphorae **no. 7-8** are both of neck standard type and can be dated c. 550, as they can be considered early works of the Circle Amasis and of the Botkin-Class Workshop, respectively. Amphora **no. 7** comes from the storage contexts of Puerto Street 9, while **no. 8** was documented in the harbour sanctuary of Méndez Nuñez Street. Again, we can see that, in the mid-century, the storage and deposition patterns of these series inside Huelva did not change for 50 years. Lastly, the belly amphora **no. 9**, though unattributed, seems to be slightly later, c. 540-530 and, therefore, constitutes the only studied example from Huelva that dates after the Phocaeen crisis' aftermath. On this occasion, the amphora sherd was recorded within a habitat context in the Tres de Agosto 9-11 site (Rufete 2001: 74-75). The stratigraphic unit where the vase was found –level II– provides an interesting image of the latest archaic import phase of the city (Figure 8): the black-figured sherd appeared associated with abundant local and Phoenician wares, and with a few other Greek imports, all of Attic origin (i.e. two 'SOS' transport amphorae and a black-glazed skyphos). No Eastern Greek productions are documented.

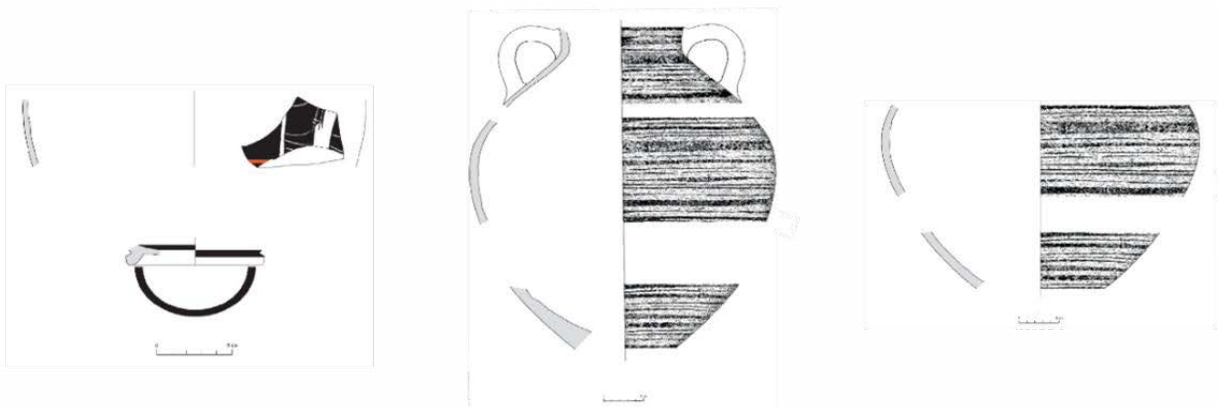


Figure 8. Greek imports from Tres de Agosto 9-11 site (level II) at Huelva (edit from Rufete 2001: pl. 28-29).

In parallel, from mid-century to c. 530, Emporion continued receiving a small portion of Attic fine wares accompanied by a major volume of Etruscan and Western Ionian series. Black-figure amphorae are once more represented in the Greek colony by a single production of the finest quality, that of the ‘Group E’. Group E constitutes the most prolific Attic workshop of the mid-sixth century. One of the youngest and most talented painters of the group is Exekias, who would be active until c. 525 (Mommsen 1997: 859f). Group E, characterized by mastery of details and figurative innovation, produced two main amphoric types, belly-amphorae (no. 13) and neck-amphorae (no. 14-15). Both are represented in the archaic levels of the Emporitan Neapolis. Amphorae no. 13 and 15 are attributed to this group without being able to go any further. The attribution of vase no. 14, on the contrary, has been more productive. The *dipinto* ‘ONETOPIΔE[Σ]’ (Figure 9.1), present in one of the sherds of the vase, only occurs in amphorae signed by Exekias, as both painter and potter, and the handwriting matches. The amphorae of Group E are also present in Marseille –2 MNI– (Scaravilli 2016: 67, FN64 and FN127) and Southern Etruria. In fact, the examples recorded in the later region represent c. 75% of the total found to the west of Athens, as the data extracted from BAPD and CIG show.

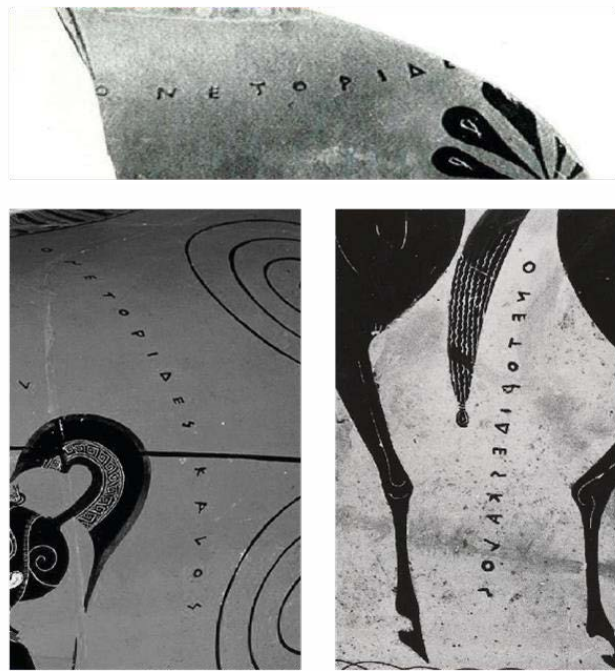


Figure 9. ‘Ονετορίδες’ *dipinti* in Exekian amphorae (detail): Clockwise, amphora no. 14 from Empúries, and amphorae 310383 and 310389 (BAPD) from Vulci.

Going back to the ‘Ονετορίδες’ *dipinto*, the other three Exekian amphorae with such a ‘*kalos* name’ come from the same site: the Etruscan necropolis of Vulci (Figure 9.2-3). Moreover, these vases constitute close parallels to the amphorae no. 13 and 15. from Emporion, suggesting that, in origin, they may have formed part of the same production lot. Thus, chances are Exekian amphorae from Emporion –and Marseille– would have been the product of a redistribution enterprise from a Thyrrenian port close to Vulci, for instance, Orbetello or Gravisca. This hypothesis strengthens if we take into account that a great part of the Etruscan transport amphorae reaching the Gulf of Lion in this period seems to have been produced in the area of Orbetello-Vulci (Varena 2017: 344-347). In sum, the middle phase of black-figure amphora imports in Emporion relates to a consolidated Etruscan-Massaliote trade, and the series represented,

scarce in quantity, seem to correspond to a limited and peripheral redistribution of surpluses from Thyrrenian markets. In fact, there is a rich record of 6th cent. Etruscan shipwrecks following this route (Long *et al.* 1992: 229).

Regarding internal peninsular trade, this import middle phase is characterized by a lack of redistribution of this series with local populations. In the South, we see that, before the c. 440s crisis, some of the Little Master cups reaching Huelva had been traded to the indigenous communities of the interior of the peninsula, as a pair of examples had been found in Alarcos settlement (CIG 10842) and Medellín necropolis (CIG 4595; Eucheridos as a potter). Despite this fact, amphoric series seem to not participate in these redistribution enterprises. In the Northeast, table amphorae are also only recorded in Emporion itself, meanwhile, evidence points out that, on the other extremity of the Gulf of Lion, Marseille had already started trading these vases with the local populations of its hinterland. The lack of amphoric distribution within the area of Emporion could be related to a later start of the colony's commercial relations with non-Greek settlements. However, in this phase, we already register, in Iberian enclaves like Ullastret, the presence of other types of Greek imports operated via Emporitan trade: at Ullastret, we even find an eye cup by the Group E (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 73-76). Thus, we could conclude that, in this middle phase, table amphorae were, both in the North and in the South, imported goods deliberately circumscribed to colonial use, while other typologies of Attic fine wares, like cups, started to be introduced in the Iberian world.

Emporion, the Iberians and late black figures (c. 530-500)

The abrupt decay in the 540s of the Phocaeen commercial activity of Huelva supposed a shift of the Greek import flux towards the Northeast. From c. 530 on, Emporion passed to monopolize the intermediation of Mediterranean trade with the peninsula. The colony also starts a slow process of breaking ties with its metropolis, Massalia, configuring an authentic emporic force by itself (Cabrera 2000: 83). Archaeologically, this prosperous scenario translates into an intense constructive activity in the harbour sector of the Neapolis, accompanied by an exponential increase of the presence of Attic series within the pottery record (Santos *et al.* 2022). In this late archaic horizon, black-figure amphorae are well represented. Moreover, the pottery workshops of Emporion and Massalia will even end up producing their local versions of this shape from the late 6th cent. onwards (Nieto and Santos 2008: 105-107). Among these, now we evidence a great diversity of Attic shapes and productions, ranging from Panathenaic amphorae (**no. 17** and **19**) to miniaturist series (**no. 18**). In this period the neck-amphora type has imposed, but some belly panel amphorae (i.e. **n. 20**) are also present: they recall earlier models. The studied vases from this period have been mainly recovered from habitat levels but, for the first time, they are also documented in the funerary contexts of Emporion.

From this late phase, up to three shipwrecks with Attic black-figure pottery have been recorded in the Western Mediterranean. One of them, Point Lequin 1A, helps us understand the trade dynamics of the studied series. Point Lequin 1A is a late archaic merchant ship –c. 515 – that wrecked near the coast of modern-day Marseille: it is famous for its preserved large cargo, mainly made up of different ceramic types of Greek origin (Long *et al.* 1992: 203-228). Attic vases are well-represented, with nearly one-third of the total of the fine ware, and by both black-figure and glazed series. Among them, table amphorae are also present with less-cared variants of the neck and belly usual formats. Despite being present, this shape is only represented by three individuals –0,15% of the fine ware total–, while black-figure cups sum up to 350 MNI –c. 17%-. In other words, Attic table amphorae constituted a very marginal part of this shipment. If this specific case can be extrapolated to the broader picture, we come to an interesting

hypothesis on the lack of redistribution of these series. Merchant ships reached colonial ports such as Emporion or Massalia, where the entire import cargo would be sold. Less common vases, like Attic black-figure table amphorae or column kraters would remain in the colony for self-consumption, as they arrived in limited amounts and were intended to satisfy specific Greek consuming practices (i.e. symposia). Meanwhile, an exceeding part, the surplus, of the more abundant types of ceramic imports (i.e. figured or glazed cups) would be traded with nearby local populations, entering into circulation within the indigenous world.

Attic table amphorae reach the Iberian world

Since the 530s, Emporion commercial policy radically changes and large-scale distribution of imported goods towards the eastern coast of the peninsula begins. On the record, we have been able to document two different areas of the Iberian world where evidence of the Emporitan commerce of the studied series is attested. The first environment corresponds to the Catalan region of Camp of Tarragona, north of the river Ebro, within the Iberian Ilercavonian territory. Both archaeology and ancient sources confirm that modern day Tarragona was already populated in Protohistoric times, with a well-established Iberian *oppidum* on a high promontory near the coast (Adserias *et al.* 1993: 177-179). This Iberian settlement, with its unusual seaside location, was an optimal enclave for maritime trade. In fact, archaeological findings have proven it operated as a functional port opened to Mediterranean trade, at least, from the early 5th cent.: a compelling repertoire of Greek imports linked to Emporion's mediation –i.e., mainly, Attic vases and Massaliote transport amphorae– have been registered (Adserias *et al.* 1993: 216-217). Among the site's Attic record, we find a sherd of a late black-figure neck-amphora (**no. 25**) that can be dated c. 530-500, constituting the earliest evidence of the commercial activity of the enclave. Although there is a lack of parallels in Tarragona, several examples of Attic black-figure cups are recorded in the surrounding inland sites, suggesting a possible redistributive activity from this coastal enclave (see CIG).

Reception of Attic black-figure amphorae is also solidly attested at this stage in the sites of València and Edeta, Centre-Eastern enclaves pertaining to the same Iberian territory, the Edetania. The case of València stands out for both its proximity to the coast and the particularity of the studied record. The first known human settlement in this area has been considered the Roman colony of *Valentia*, founded in 138 on a fluvial island near the mouth of the Túria River, as a Protohistorical occupation of the site has been traditionally disregarded. Despite this fact, ancient sources already tell us about the existence of an archaic sanctuary on the island that, according to Avienius (487-489), was consecrated to Minerva (Ribera and Jiménez 2012: 78-79). During the last decades, a series of archaeological discoveries have started to change this image: on the other side of the riverbank, a Punic-Iberian sacred space dating back –at least– to the 4th century has been documented (Albelda 2016: 259-326). On this line, archaic human activity on the island of València has been also confirmed by the finding of four examples of black-figure amphorae (**no. 26-29**) in the centre of the city. The finding of four imported vases of the same type and chronology in a reduced area –less than four Ha– cannot be understood as circumstantial phenomena, despite the lack of coetaneous structures. Moreover, an example of a Greek archaic 'à la brosse' transport amphora and some Attic red-figured sherds are also documented in the same contexts (Pérez-Ballester and Bonora-Andújar 2014: 265-266). Hence, this case must be studied considering broader trade and settlement dynamics. The existence of pre-Roman occupation in the area is attested, although absent at Túria paleo-island, which would act as a frontier space. Iberians conceived these kinds of liminal and unspoiled spaces, especially those with remarkable natural features like springs or caves, as sacred sites where supra-regional encounters could take place (Machause and Quixal 2018: 126-130). The fluvial island of València, with its

sacred spring, could have played this role, as other Iberian in-land water cult spaces are known (Rueda *et al.* 2021). Moreover, research shows that Attic figured vases were considered valuable items by indigenous peoples and were offered in both cult and funerary contexts (Rodríguez-Pérez 2021: 4-6). Thus, it seems interesting to interpret the deposition of black-figure amphorae in the spring area as archaic offerings, constituting the earliest evidence in Iberia of such a practice. In fact, a half century later, an Attic red-figured amphora near the Pan Painter would have been offered at the Iberian sanctuary-cave of Cova dels Pilars, in Agres, Alacant (González 2002: 68-70, fig. 7B).

From a trade perspective, we can consider the import ware record of València as the possible result of a single commercial activity. The four amphoric specimens are confined to the last third of the 6th cent., the vessels (**no. 26** and **27**) are attributed to parallel productions –the circles of Leagros and of the Lysippides Painter– and the lids (**no. 28** and **29**) seem to pair with the two vases. Hence, we could talk of a consistent import lot. Regarding the arrival of these materials to the site, two entry points may be considered. The first one, on the north, is Grau Vell, the port of the Iberian *oppidum* of *Arse-Saguntum*, which the first phase dates to the 6th cent. (Albelda 2016: 112-117). However, the archaic material repertoire of Grau Vell 1 is scarce and mostly limited to Phoenician tableware. The second entry point, though imprecise, is related to El Cabanyal-Malvarrosa ancient anchorage (Fernández-Izquierdo 1989: 607-613). This site, located in the vicinity of modern-day València, has yielded some underwater findings dating back to c. 525–475. Among them, a group of transport amphorae of Greek (i.e. Corinthian and Massaliote), Etruscan, and Phoenician origin are recorded. We also find ‘à la brose’ amphorae. The presence of this last ceramic type links the anchorage with València archaic findings.

Edeta is emplaced following the Túria River inland. This Iberian *oppidum* seems to be the main aristocratic centre for the Edetania region, and, as such, shows an accumulation of import products that is unknown to the surrounding settlements. From the archaic age, we find a sherd of a possible late 6th cent. table amphora (**no. 30**), and another rather unique Attic piece, a large black-figure shoulder *lekythos* that we attribute to the Emporion Painter –c. 500-480-. On the contrary, coetaneous cups of Attic origin – both in black-figure and black glaze– are indiscriminately attested in most of the coetaneous Edetanian settlements.

At present, the Iberian sites of the South-East have not reported any evidence of archaic table *amphorae* distribution. However, we register in this area some examples of singular Attic large vases dating to the late 6th cent. which may be related to the arrival of black-figure *amphorae* to the Northern territories. We find: at La Albufereta necropolis, two figured sherds of a column-krater; from Cabezo Lucero necropolis, a fragmentary pelike; and, from the funerary monument at Pozo Moro, Chinchilla, a large shoulder *lekythos* (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001: 39-40, fig. 36; Almagro-Gorbea 2009). These sites correspond to local elite funerary contexts where a strong Phoenician-Greek influence is denoted. Moreover, the last pair of vases stated, the pelike and the *lekythos*, have in common a dionysiac iconography and can be attributed to the same production: the Leagros Group, attribution shared with the neck amphora **no. 27** from La Almoina of València. Thus, we can put forward that the Emporitan trade of Attic black-figure large vessels in both the Centre-east and Southern-east is co-related and confined to a quite short period of time –the turn of the century-. In fact, the possibility exists that we are in front of a single commercial enterprise.

Thus, regarding intraterritorial distribution, the areas where Attic table amphorae are registered in this late phase, Emporion circle, Edetania and Ilercavonia, show a common distributional pattern. Both Attic black-figure amphorae and cups are documented in the three environments of study but, while

cups are primarily attested in most indigenous sites active in this period, table amphorae are only recorded in the main centres of maritime reception and inland redistribution of each territory. Part of this phenomenon can be explained by commercial facts. In the first place, there is an asymmetrical reception of both ceramic shapes in Iberia, as the import record from the Point Lequin 1A wreck has shown. *Iberia Graeca Database* (CIG), in fact, registers a total of 344 Attic black-figure vases found in the Iberian Peninsula, from which 148 individuals are cups -43%-, and 24 are table amphorae -c. 7%-. Secondly, large vases are less practical and more fragile to transport via terrestrial transportation, in comparison with the more robust, stackable and -usually- reduced in size archaic cups series reaching the Western Mediterranean (Walsh 2014: 163). According to J. Walsh's ideas on Greek pottery consumerism (2014: 158-163), consumption practices constitute a crucial factor to explain this phenomenon. Greek drinking vessels (e.g. cups and *skyphoi*) find easy parallels in functionality, shape and capacity with typologies of the Iberian ceramic repertoire, outstanding calix-form vases and Iberian cups. The table amphora, on the contrary, is an exogenous type for the Iberian world and, therefore, unrelated to local consumption patterns. By contrast, colonial audiences, as discussed earlier, would find in this shape a familiar piece to be used at the symposium. As an original take, the current study shows local but coastal enclaves, like Protohistorical Tarragona and València settlements, also share the colonial appreciation for black-figure table amphorae, possibly linked to their direct relation to the Mediterranean world and trade.

As it has been mentioned, the archaic Massaliote wreck of Cala Sant Vicenç (Pollença) replicates the exposed ideas on peninsular redistribution. This western Greek ship must have been stowed at either Emporion or Massalia, and had a local Eastern peninsular or Balearic port as a final destination (Nieto and Santos 2008). Regarding the Greek fine ware shipment, it is mostly made up of stemmed cups - around 15 MNI; both black-figure and of Ionian type-, while large vessels are only represented by a table amphora and a column-krater, both Massaliote productions (Nieto and Santos 2008: 81-109; Figure 10). Therefore, the cargo of this archaic ship, oriented to inner redistribution, shows a market reading by the Greek merchant, who had an idea of the local audiences' demands in terms of shape's consumption: drinking vessels. At the same time, the Massaliote table amphora recorded constitutes proof of the great appreciation of this shape by the Western Phocaeen colonies, who even produced their own versions.



Figure 10. Some Greek imports from Cala Sant Vicenç wreck (Museu de Mallorca - own pictures).
The latest black-figure amphorae series (c. 500-480)

The turn of the century supposes to the Athenian Kerameikos the imposition of red-figured vases and the great decay of black-figure productions, especially of large vessels like table amphorae. The latest series of this type reduced shape and quality and were exported in smaller numbers to the West. North of the Pyrenees, in Lattara, an isolated example can be reported: it seems to correspond to a fragmentary miniature neck-amphorae near either the Red Line Painter and the Diosphos Workshop, c. 495-460 (Boardman 1974: 148-149). A parallel situation is found in the Iberian Peninsula, as these late productions are only attested in Emporion by a handful of examples (**no. 16-18**). At the Emporitan Bonjoan Necropolis, we find a peculiar, closed context, tomb 69 (Fig. 11), starred by two amphorae from this period (**no. 16-17**), c. 500-490. This burial, of inhumation type, presents a rich dowry exclusively made up of imported goods. We highlight a group of late black-figure vases, from which six of them correspond to miniaturist versions of earlier prototypes (Cabrera and Sánchez 2000: 277-288). **No. 16**, a neck amphora, pairs up in shape –‘Light make’ class– and style –Group of Catania– with three oenochai of the burial. Further, the second amphora (**no. 17**), attributed to the Group of Vatican G 52, matches stylistically with the fourth oenochoe of the grave’s dowry. In other words, these six vases of the tomb Bonjoan 69, with similar shapes and sizes, form a coherent production set. We can say that late black-figure amphorae do not longer fulfill their specific and original utilitarian function but are equated as serving vessels.



Figure 11. Bonjoan Necropolis 69: the tomb’s dowry, c. 500-490 (MAC-Empúries – own picture).

The vases found West of Athens of these two groups, Vatican G 52 and Catania –Light-made class–, are concentrated in the two same areas: Southern Etruria and Southern-east Sicily. From Southern Etruria and its environs, in fact, we find examples of these series that can be attributed to the same production sets that those found in Bonjoan 69 (i.e. BAPD, 305983, 303280), suggesting a common commercial enterprise between this zone and Emporion, as already stated in the previous import phases. At the same time, the closest parallels to the studied amphorae from the Group of Vatican G 52 come from the Sicilian Greek colonies of Gela and Agrigento (i.e. BAPD, 5218, 340603). On the coast of Gela, a late-archaic Greek shipwreck is recorded which dates c. 500-480 (Panvini 2001). Precisely, this undersea site has yielded an interesting Greek import cargo, with an Attic black-figure oenochoe attributed to the Athena Painter and close to the studied Catania Group vases (Panvini 2001: 38). Among the rest of the shipment, we find other ceramic pieces that also relate to the dowry from tomb Bonjoan 69: it could be

said the inhumation's materials constitute a single trade set. Altogether, the latest Attic black-figure amphorae in Iberia are few and come from Emporion. They follow Greek-Etruscan trade routes operated between the ports of Southern-East Sicily and Southern Etruria, as it seems to be the norm throughout a century. From southern Etruscan ports like Gravisca, late table amphorae would finally reach Emporion, not as singularized items but as a part of varied trading lots. From c. 480 on, at the dawn of the Classical period in Athens, red-figured table amphorae would impose in western markets.

Conclusions

Attic black-figured amphorae are well represented in the Iberian Peninsula, from their genesis in the early 6th cent. to the latest black-figure series of the first third of the 5th cent. In the first 50 years of this studied period, the archaic Phocaeen emporium of Huelva concentrated both the consumption and redistribution of Attic table amphora with other colonial enclaves like Málaga. These products reached the South of the peninsula via indirect trade that Phocaeans agents seemed to carry out from Eastern emporia like Naukratis and through south-central Mediterranean routes, as the striking similitude of the pottery records of these sites has shown. In the mid-century, the weakening of Phocaea and Tartessos will allow Emporion to start monopolizing the Greek pottery flux towards Iberia. From that moment on, the peninsula received greater imports of these series, reaching its peak at the end of the 6th cent. The reason behind this increase seems to be related to greater Western Mediterranean trade dynamics. The peninsula is no longer importing Attic goods through an Eastern supply but from the Central Mediterranean circuits controlled by Greek-Etruscan enterprises, and thanks to the intermediary role of Phocaeen Emporion and Massalia. In other words, Iberia ends up becoming a peripheral territory of the Thyrrenian trading economy, the greatest receptor market of black-figured amphorae, importing parallel series but in lower quantities (Figure 12).

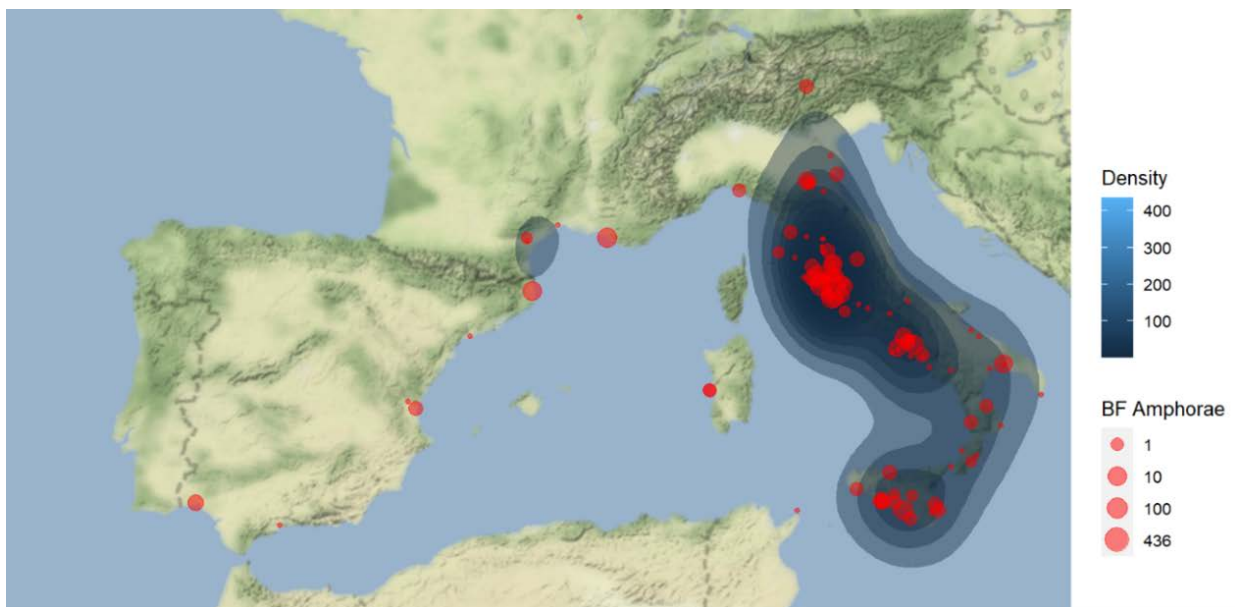


Figure 12. Distribution and concentration density of Attic black-figure amphorae findings: the Western and Central Mediterranean (own work using R© 'ggplot2' package: Wickham (2016)).

Moreover, it has been proven that Attic black-figure amphorae were consistently traded to Iberia in already defined production lots throughout more than a century: each trade phase has provided no more than one or two production series that tend to be consumed in cohesive groups. In fact, these table amphorae lots seemed to reach the peninsula in consistent pottery cargos along with other imports of Greek origin. For instance, Corinthian A and ‘à la brosse’ transport amphorae are present in all the peninsular contexts where Attic Black-figured amphorae are documented: they participate in the same import horizon. Regarding inner redistribution and consumption, our study has also shown that this genuine Greek shape was highly accepted in colonial and port enclaves, where they were used for communitarian wine consumption in social and religious assets. The record of inland Iberian *oppida*, on the contrary, presents a quite different scenario, marked by the absence of these closed vessels in favour of Attic cups, which would find closer functional parallels within the indigenous ceramic repertoire.

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Marmora* and commerce: the case of the mortars in public spaces of *Baetulo*

Andrea Collado Padilla

Introduction

*Marmora*¹ have been extensively used across history for producing different elements, such as revetment, statues and architectural elements, among others (Lazzarini, 2004: 65). The roman city of *Baetulo* is not an exception. There, we find a large variety of *marmora* coming from around the Mediterranean, employed for different uses (Collado, 2022). In this study, a set of mortars and pestles found in public spaces of *Baetulo* have been studied in order to contribute to the knowledge of the city and its public spaces, as well as to compare them and the materials with which they were elaborated with other pestles and mortars from the era.

Baetulo was a Roman city founded *ex novo* during the first century BC. It lays under the modern-day neighbourhood of Dalt de la Vila and its surroundings in Badalona, a coastal city in the north-eastern Iberian Peninsula (Comas *et alli*, 2000: 429; Padrós, Sánchez, 2011: 215). In the upper part of the city, several big *domus* were located; while in the lower part a maritime and commercial neighbourhood has been found, with *tabernae*, public baths and modest dwellings. This lower section was crossed by the Via Augusta. The city forum was located between the higher and the lower part of the city (Pérez, 1998: 34; Padrós, Sánchez, 2011: 216).

The location of the mortars within the Roman city

According to a recent study on marbles from the public spaces of *Baetulo*, materials from all the Roman Empire arrived to the city. These materials were employed as epigraphic support, for sculpture and as architectural material. Moreover, it was also used for other elements, such as furniture, mortars and pestles, among others (Collado, 2022).

Specifically, nine mortars made of *marmora* have been found in public spaces in *Baetulo*. Six of them were made of white marble, most of them probably made of Luni-Carrara² marble (Figure 1). Another two

* This study has been possible thanks to the Museum of Badalona, who helped produce this work and provided access to the necessary information. The support of the team Arqueometria i Produccions Artístiques (ICAC) has also been essential, and we thank them as well.

¹ The term *marmora* refers to all kinds of ornamental stone that, by being polished, acquires a brilliant appearance (Cf. Lapuente, Àlvarez, 2012: 75-76). Therefore, this term not only includes marbles in the geological sense.

² To determine the provenance of the *marmora* used for the mortars and pestles studied, first a macroscopic identification was carried out. In the case of coloured *marmora*, its identification is easier, as colour varieties and the presence of veins usually allow for easy identification (Lapuente I Àlvarez, 2012:76). However, the identification of white marbles is more complex. Their aspect is similar and so we must look at parameters such as the grain size, the presence of veins, the translucence and tonality, among others (Lapuente I Àlvarez, 2012: 76-78). A first proposal of identification can then be put forward with help of reference publications that gather the *marmora* exploited in Antiquity (Àlvarez *et al.*, 2009; Borghini, 2001; Lazzarini, 2004b).

Nevertheless, in order to determinate with precision the kind of *marmora* – both for coloured *marmora* and white marbles – archaeometric studies are needed, that is the reason why when we refer to a kind of *Marmora* we talk about a first microscopical approach, but it still needs to be confirmed.

mortars were made of *giallo antico*, with the last one made of *rosso antico*. Regarding pestles, all of them were made of white marble, some of them present characteristics that can be attributed to the white marble of Luni-Carrara³ (Figure 2).



Figure 1. Decontextualized mortar from a public space of Baetulo elaborated in white marble. Photography by the author.



Figure 2. Decontextualized pestle from a public space of Baetulo elaborated in white marble. Photography by the author.

³ See “Els marbres dels espais públics de Baetulo (Laietània). Revisió, estudi i noves propostes.” (in press).

Most of mortars and pestles are decontextualized finds, due to the fact that they were recovered during unsystematic excavations. However, as we know which parts of the city had been excavated by then, and therefore we know that the materials come from an area known as Clos de la Torre⁴ and its surroundings, where most public spaces of the ancient city were located. Two baths were found here, on set dating to the republican period under the modern-day Museum of Badalona, and the imperial ones, located close-by at the other side of Via Augusta (Cuyàs, 1977: 191-275). Under the church of Santa Maria, the remains of the main temple of the forum were found (Guitart, 1976: 29-40), while the theatre was located in Plaça de la Constitució (Padrós, Comas, 2000: 15; Padrós, Sànchez, 2014: 98). Finally, in the Font i Cussó area *tabernae*, the *decumanus maximus* and two *cardines* were found, among other roman buildings (Padrós, Comas, 1997: 1; Padrós, 2007: 5-6).



Figure 3. One of the two giallo antico's mortars found in Font i Cussó. Photography by the author.

We know the origin of some of our objects of study however. Specifically, five mortars were documented in Font i Cussó: both Giallo antico's mortars (Figure 3), the one made of rosso antico (Figure 4) and two mortars carved in white marble, macroscopically identified as marble of Luni-Carrara (Figure 5) (Collado, 2022: 16). We also know the origin of a pestle included in this study. It comes from an excavation in the Hisenda building. It is not possible to identify the building remains there (Comas *et alii*, 1989: 29), however, we have decided to include this archaeological site in the study because of its proximity to the imperial baths and Clos de la Torre.

⁴ The area known Clos de la Torre was the ancient property of the marquises of Barbarà, located between Temple street and President Companys avenue. It also extended from Fluvià street to Assemblea de Catalunya square and Germà Juli street (Guitart, 1976: 135).



Figure 4. Rosso antico's mortar found in Font i Cussó. Photography by the author.



Figure 5. One of the two mortars found in Font i Cussó elaborated in white marble. Photography by the author.

A pestle elaborated in white marble has been found there (Figure 6), and, in fact, it was the only artefact made of marble found in this archaeological site.



Figure 6. Pestle elaborated in white marble found in Hisenda. Photography by the author.

Uses and commerce

Marmora mortars were mostly made of imported stones, independently of their morphology. They were used for different activities, such as food preparation or ritual uses, among others (Soler, 2010: 244). Nevertheless, considering that most mortars were found in Font i Cussó, a space associated to *tabernae*, the presence of these objects is probably related to these spaces, where food preparation likely took place⁵.

The exposed archaeological artefacts were elaborated with imported materials, such as Luni-Carrara marble, from Luni (Italy) (Borghini, 2001: 248); *giallo antico*, from Chemtou (actual Tunisia) (Borghini, 2001: 214-215); and *rosso antico*, from Cap Matapan, in the south of the Peloponnesus (Greece) (Borghini, 2001: 279-281). This sample of nine mortars and six pestles reflects the mobility of *marmora* during Roman times around the Mediterranean.

Interestingly, no mortar elaborated with Santa Tecla stone has been documented. This material is very abundant in the Roman city of *Baetulo* – due to the fact that it comes from the outskirts of Tarragona – and has been extensively documented for other uses, but not for this one (Collado, 2022: 14), even Santa Tecla stone is a capable material to produce mortars. As mortars usually are made of ceramics, *marmora* mortars would be a sign of importance and the lack of Santa Tecla stone for producing *marmora* mortars could be related to the importance associated of this artefacts and its prestige related to this public spaces of the Roman city.

⁵ It is important to keep in mind that some mortars and pestles could also have been found in other public spaces of the city, such as the forum area, where the remains of the temple have been discovered and where some of these artefacts could have been used for ritual purposes.

Where they elaborated in *Baetulo*?

Marmora mortars may have been elaborated by a local workshop or they might have arrived to the city already carved.

In *Baelo Claudia*, a coastal city in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, a mortar made of a foreign material was found. It broke during the process of fabrication, and it was thrown away. This demonstrates that it was carved by a local workshop (Didierjean *et alii*, 1979: 556). Probably it was carved from an imported premade blank or from a block of marble. This is not strange, due to the fact that most stone intended for sculpture and other products would have been quarried and transported either as unshaped or roughly squared blocks (Russell, 2015: 191).

In the case of *Baetulo*, we cannot determinate if they were imported as a finished product, as a blank, or if they were entirely fabricated by a local workshop from a block. However, near *Baetulo*'s Roman theatre an accumulation of *marmora* of different kinds was discovered. These materials could not be studied by the Museum of Badalona, nevertheless, the discovery was documented and a marble worker examined them during the excavation, who determined that all different kinds of marbles were Italian. This find was interpreted by archaeologists as coming from a marble workshop located nearby and associated with the construction of the (Cuyàs, 1977: 151-152; Padrós, Moranta, 2002: 210).

Thanks to this find know that imported *marmora* were worked locally, in this case it probably was a workshop dedicated to architectural elements related to the theatre, but it is possible to think that there were also some marble workers in the Roman city capable of carving other products, for example mortars and pestles, as it has been documented in *Baelo Claudia*.

Conclusion

Independently of their use, *marmora* provides a lot of information. The use of *marmora* from around the Mediterranean for artefacts such as mortars and pestles demonstrate the importance and the symbolism that the material could have. *Marmora* mortars and pestles are one more piece of evidence regarding the representation of power and/or wealth that imported *marmora* had, in this case through elements used for food production.

As started, it is difficult to determinate if the artefacts presented were elaborated in *Baetulo* or not, in fact, it is even possible that there were marble workshops in other cities – such as *Tarraco* – and they were elaborated there, which would mean that they were elaborated neither in the place of origin, neither in the place of arrival.

To conclude, it is also important to highlight the need of future archaeometrical studies in order to better understand the provenance of white marbles, because macroscopic studies are usually not enough. Moreover, such archaeometrical studies would allow us to develop knowledge, not only about the marbles used for these artefacts, but also about the white marbles that arrived at *Baetulo* and their mobility.

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Greek amphoric epigraphy and Mediterranean trade through the study of Rhodian amphora stamps in the CEIPAC database

Oriol Morillas Samaniego

A brief history of Greek amphoric epigraphy database

In the past years the study of Greek amphora stamps has seen a growing academic interest. Together with various international projects aiming to include new technologies in this field of study, this has resulted in an increasingly promising panorama for research into the socio-economic dynamics in the Hellenistic world.

The collection of Greek stamps in the RomanOpenData database is the result of many years of attempts to hold the huge number of documented Greek stamps in a single place. Beyond its value as a collector's categorization and compilation, this database should allow us in the future to carry out statistical studies of a large number of epigraphic data. Through an algorithmic analysis, it can be used to study the amphoric production, amphora manufacturers and their chronologies, and their dispersion across different markets. Ultimately, this database allows for a large-scale, global overview to different aspects of the Ancient economy.

At this present moment, it is estimated that there are currently around 300,000 Greek stamps recorded. In the face of this large number of stamped amphora handles, we are presented with a systematization task that has required great efforts, beyond the lack of consensus.

Some prominent researchers have dedicated their career to the categorization of Greek amphora stamps. One of the most renowned pioneers in this field is Martin P. Nilsson¹. Virginia Grace also stands out especially since she dedicated much of her life to the study of Rhodian stamps and the classification of the copies from the Benaki collection of Alexandria. Together with those from the city Museum, this represents around 100,000 stamps. To these can be added those from recent excavations in Delos, Athens and Knidos, among many others, which end up adding close to 150,000 stamps (Empereur, 2017: 144.). This is only a part of the huge number of stamps that, at this point, still have not been introduced into a standardized digital storage system.

Despite all these efforts, it was not until 1984 that the real need for a computerized database to gather this large number of findings was realised. Alain Bresson proposed the creation of a database for the storage and study of Greek stamps (Bresson, 1984: 241-259), together with a standardized form (especially for Rhodian amphora stamps) where both internal and external features could be recorded.

¹ Martin P. Nilsson did an enormous amount of work on the study of Greek amphora stamps, and more specifically on Rhodian stamps. Bruno Garozzo (2011: 11) paraphrases Virginia Grace when in 1970 she talks about Nilsson's monography from 1909 saying that his work: «had been the indispensable handbook for this category for fifty-eight years. It will not be replaced as such until the abundant new material which has become available since its publication is treated with similar competence and thoroughness and against an equally mature and scholarly background».

Later, further support for the attempt came from J.- Y. Empereur and A.- M. Guimier-Sorbets². They both emphasized the importance and need of digital data processing. Subsequently, in 2003, Yvon Garlan and Gerald Finkielsztein³, within the framework of the UAI (Union Académique Internationale), proposed a standardized model for the systematization and publication of Greek stamps, developing the ideas that Alain Bresson put forward years back.

More recently, projects have emerged such as The AMPHORAS Project –which aimed to digitize the Virginia Grace archive⁴–, or the online catalogue of the CEA (Centre d’Études Alexandrines)⁵, where you can consult the stamps from the Benaki collection and those from the Alexandria Museum and excavations carried out in the city. This Rhodian stamps were recently compiled into four-volume corpus with a publication system that suited the unified parameters of the database. This online catalogue contains more than 12,000 entries of Rhodian stamps.

Finally, despite the projects and contributions mentioned above, there wasn’t a database that collected and studied the thousands of Greek stamps from the Ancient World. This is why CEIPAC (Centro para el Estudio de la Interdependencia Provincial en la Antigüedad Clásica), which has already created a database that processes information related to Latin amphoric epigraphy, decided to start this ambitious task, within the project “Corpus des Timbres Amphoriques” of the Union Académique Internationale (UAI). It was ultimately, thanks to the European project The EPNet Project that CEIPAC was able to develop the RomanOpenData database for Greek stamps⁶.

Methodology in the CEIPAC Database and RomanOpenData

The Greek stamp database allows us to search through the various categories and characteristics of the stamps. On the paragraphs below we will briefly explain the methodology followed for the introduction of stamps into the database.

The standardized system for the epigraphic recording of Greek stamps draws directly from its Latin brother, the CEIPAC database. While the older Latin database has more than 50,000 entries, the Greek database, currently only has 2,000 entries.

Since 2011 a team of CEIPAC specialists, including Manel García Sánchez and, Valentina Porcheddu with the assistance of Gérald Finkielsztein and Tania Panagou (Remesal Rodríguez; García Sánchez and Rull, 2017: 174), have been working on the development of this database. It was designed to be free access and to register all kinds of Greek stamps from the Ancient World, so that this constantly improved and updated tool was accessible to the public.

Three figures take part in entering each stamp in the database: the collaborator, the assistant researcher and the specialist. The collaborator and the research assistant are usually in charge of entering stamps collected in corpus books and articles. The specialist is then responsible for reviewing and correcting all

² Following an international conference in Athens in 1984, they showed the need to automate data processing on a database under the control of the École française d’Athènes, although unfortunately it cannot be consulted online. Cf. Empereur and Guimier Sorbet, 1984: 127-141.

³ Cf. Finkielsztein, 2004: 55-66.

⁴ The archive brought together the Greek stamps of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens with the stamps from the Agora of Athens. Although the project was halted, the database is accessible online at: <<http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/cgi-bin/amphoras/well>>.

⁵ <http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/requete.php>

⁶ <<https://romanopendata.eu/greek>>

data before it is finally entered.

The database is structured in five different tables to accurately and exhaustively classify each object with epigraphic value.

The **Object** table is the main table, which can be searched through a form. There, a CEIPAC inventory value is assigned to each piece. The table also includes basic data such as the typology, place of origin of the object, geographical coordinates, place of conservation and related bibliography, as well as a section of observations containing details of the type of epigraphy that the piece preserves.

The form dedicated to the **Stamp** contains several labels that specify its formal and epigraphic characteristics: position, measures, directionality of reading, typology of the letters and symbols or devices that accompany the inscription, that will later allow to establish dating and relations between manufacturers or magistrates. Moreover, the table includes other additional fields like a Greek transcription of the stamp as well as the graphic material like images, calcs or drawings of the stamp.

The third table is intended to record the **Epigraphic variants** of the stamp. This section highlights the variables in relation to each matrix, workshop, or character (usually the magistrate). It transcribes the reading of the text in Greek as well as the type of matrix of the stamp. Lastly, it shows the relationship between the character and the matrix. Finally, it also includes the month in which the handle was stamped, both the Greek month and its correlation in the current calendar⁷.

The information about the **Character** (that is, the person associated with the stamp) is entered in the fourth form. This table collects the reference to the individual that appears on the stamp as well as all the information that can be extracted about his identity (if he is an eponym, a producer, an astynomos, a demiurge), his ethnicity and his patronymic. The relative and absolute chronology is also directly related to the character.

The last table of the form is the **Bibliographic** field, designed to manage the references on the stamps. It is noteworthy that the table has a field indicating the name of the researcher and the status of the degree the publication consulted has been included in the database.

Having all this information entered, the database interrelates the different tables, then it is presented the form with all the categories that can be searched. **Figure 1** shows the attributes that can be used to refine searches, and an example of a stamp fully entered into the system.

The Greek stamps in RomanOpenData

The RomanOpenData database currently has around 2000 Greek stamps. These come from the selection of various corpus books that have been either completely or partially introduced.

The vast majority of stamps introduced in the database come from the corpus of Rhodian stamped handles found in Alexandria. The corpus recently published in 4 volumes by Gonca Cankardeş Şenol (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015), groups the large number of Rhodian stamps from the CEA excavations. These Rhodian stamps come almost entirely from Alexandria, although a large part also comes from Crocodilopolis and Delos. There is also smaller group of stamps from Thasos compiled by Yvon Garlan (Garlan, 1999); and those from Sicily appearing in Bruno Garozzo's book (Garozzo, 2011).

⁷ Cf. Nilsson, 1909: 121-137.

Formulario de búsqueda

Sello (texto)
Texto del sello (en griego)
[Teclado griego](#) [ayuda](#)

Tipo anfórico

Lugar de hallazgo
[Seleccionar lugar](#)

Variante (nombre en latín)
Nombre de la variante del sello

Variante (transcripción)
Transcripción de la variante del sello (en griego)
[Teclado griego](#) [ayuda](#)

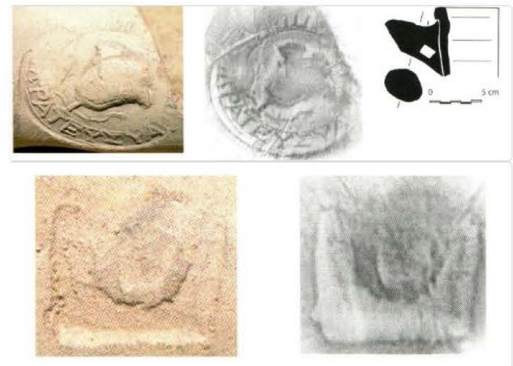
Personaje (nombre)
Nombre del personaje en la variante del sello (en griego)
[Teclado griego](#) [ayuda](#)

Mes
Nombre del mes en la variante del sello
[Teclado griego](#) [ayuda](#)

Cronología relativa

Número CEIPAC 42091 (Sello 46508)

ID del sello	46508
Conservación	ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛ[Ι]ΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΥΑΚΙΝ[ΘΙΟΥ]
Posición del sello	
Forma de la cartela	circular enmarcada
Dirección de lectura	directa
Relieve	en relieve
Símbolo	rosa
Posición del símbolo	centro
Observaciones	El epónimo Καλλικράτης II aparece con los meses Αργιόλιος, Αρταμίος, Δάλιος, Θεσμοφόριος, Πάναμος, Σμίνθιος y Ύακίνθιος y se asocia a los fabricantes Αγοράναξ, Αριστοκλής II, Δαμοκράτης I, Δίος I y Μαρσύας.



Objeto

Número CEIPAC (ID del objeto)	42091
Tipo anfórico	Rhodian
Lugar de hallazgo	Alexandria, Egypt
Lugar de conservación	ALEX ABC 0148.01 (MGR P. 18667)
Bibliografía	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol. Lexicon of Eponym Dies on Rhodian Amphora Stamps, vol. 2 (2015) Alexandria
Observaciones	

Variante del sello

ID de la variante	255
Lectura	Επι Καλ[Ι]κράτους Ύακιν[Θίου]
Nombre	KallikratesII002-Yakinthios003
Tipo de matriz	RE-KA\ΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ 02-YAKINΘΙΟΣ-003 (MC: RTS-T-014)
Mes	

Figure 1. View of the RomanOpenData Greek database interface and an exemple of a stamp (Num. CEIPAC 42091).

From the database website, the interface allows the user to search stamps based on their origin and in the next tab you can find a distribution map of the findspots. In this way, for example, one could search for all the Rhodian stamps found in Delos, and quickly generate distribution maps useful to observe both distribution densities and the mobility of a particular set of stamps. However, this aspect will be set out later.

At the present time and due to the currently incomplete state of the database, the most represented set of stamps (accounting for 75% of the total) is that of the Rhodian stamps found in Alexandria. They can be used to illustrate the complex nature of the searches that can be done in the database interface. As we have seen, entries can be filtered by geographical position of both origin and conservation, chronology, and eponyms, among others. These two attributes are closely linked. Eponyms are usually useful to attribute a chronology to Rhodian stamps from Alexandria. We have in that regard the chronology for Rhodian eponyms established by Virginia Grace, Jean-Yves Empereur and Gerald Finkielsztejn in 7 periods divided at the same time into several subperiods (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015: 21). The full list of eponyms and Rhodian producers with their relative chronology appears in the Cankardeş-Şenol's aforementioned corpus volume (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017: 203-220).

From here, one can further refine the search by character (producer, eponym...). This aspect is still debated. Briefly, it is still considered that the eponym was also the priest of sun god Helios, who was in charge of the wine production administration, commercial activities, and probably other administrative procedures during his year as a magistrate. This theory, which Martin P. Nilsson set out at the beginning of the century, is still accepted. Nilsson makes a study on the different theories behind the stamping that proposes the private or public nature of this procedure, as well as the usefulness of adding the name of the month (Nilsson, 1909: 58-61). Therefore, the appearance of the eponym would represent the relationship between the state and wine production for export, control and guarantee. Also providing information on the year of production of the amphora and its wine (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015: 19).

Thus unlike Latin stamps, Rhodian stamps contain the name of the month. Following the Doric calendar, the appearance of the month's name indicated the period or time when the amphora was produced and when it was filled with wine, in other words, it was the very month when the wine was poured out of the *pithos* into the amphora in a certain year that was indicated by means of the eponym name⁸. This factor can help us to quantify annual production month by month. With the described filters applied, the data collected can allow us to generate production graphs such as the one shown in **Figure 2**⁹.

The case of Alexandria allows us to have a more visual paradigm. This graph shows that during the period between the 3rd century and the 1st century BC, when Rhodian wine amphorae were exported to Alexandria, production was mainly focused on the summer months. Production begins to grow significantly from April-May (Ἀρταμίτιος) to August-September (Δάλιος). Therefore, given the filter established by the chronology of the character and the geographical location, it has been possible to establish which months there was more production of amphorae. If we focus on an even more specific case, more specifically the Period Va –which goes from c.145 to c.133 BC– in the magistracy of the two eponyms that attest more stamps (Ἀνδρίας and Ἀστυμήδης II) we can see how the pattern of production remains the same. In both cases, the months of

⁸ Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015: 19. The month name also indicate the moment when the amphora was stamped, having in mind that later on they would be filled with the wine produced and stored in the *pithos*. As Lawall (2005: 196) indicates: «Rhodian amphoras' stamps with indications of month indicate clearly the rise of production through the summer in anticipation of September/October grape harvest and vintage».

⁹ A similar study can be observed in the work of Lund (2011: 287-289; figs. 13.3 and 13.4) where the chronological distribution of Rhodian amphorae in the Eastern Mediterranean between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC is studied carefully.

(NOT) ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME: INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO MOBILITY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

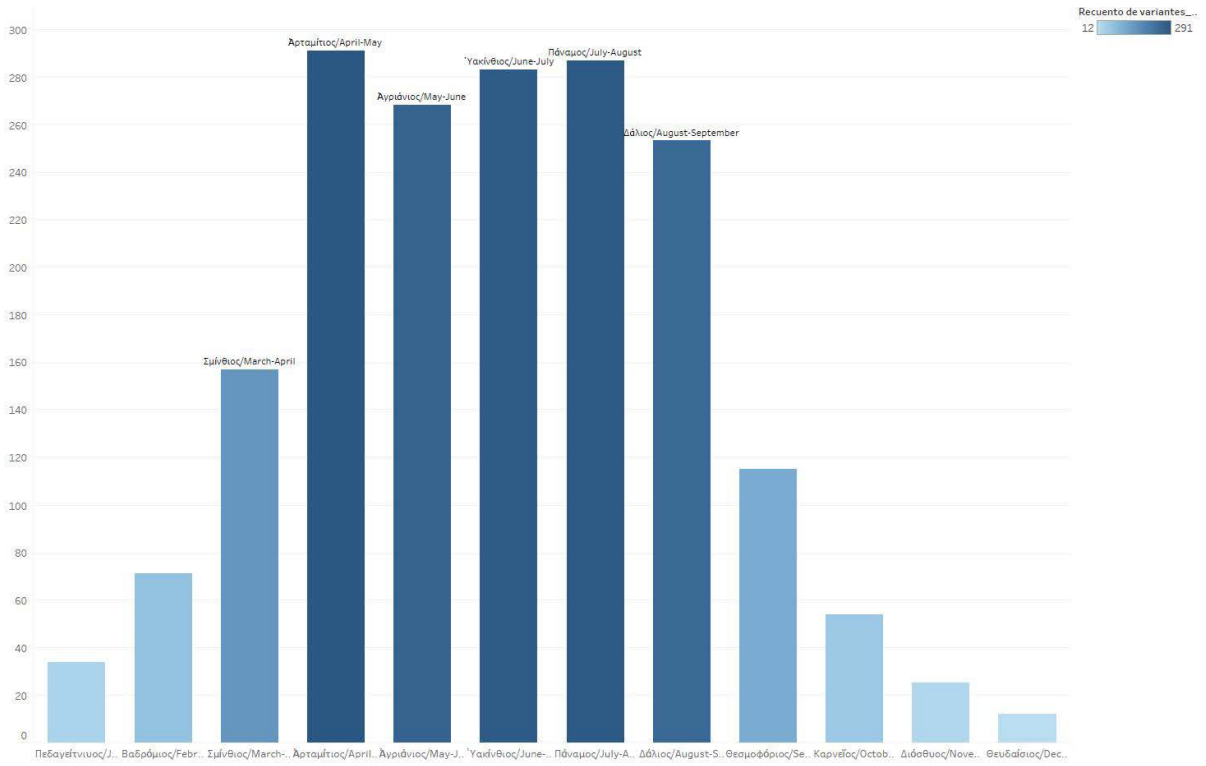


Figure 2. The monthly amphoric production from Alexandria between c. 233-c.40 BC. (©Tableau Public 2021 - data and graph prepared by Oriol Morillas).

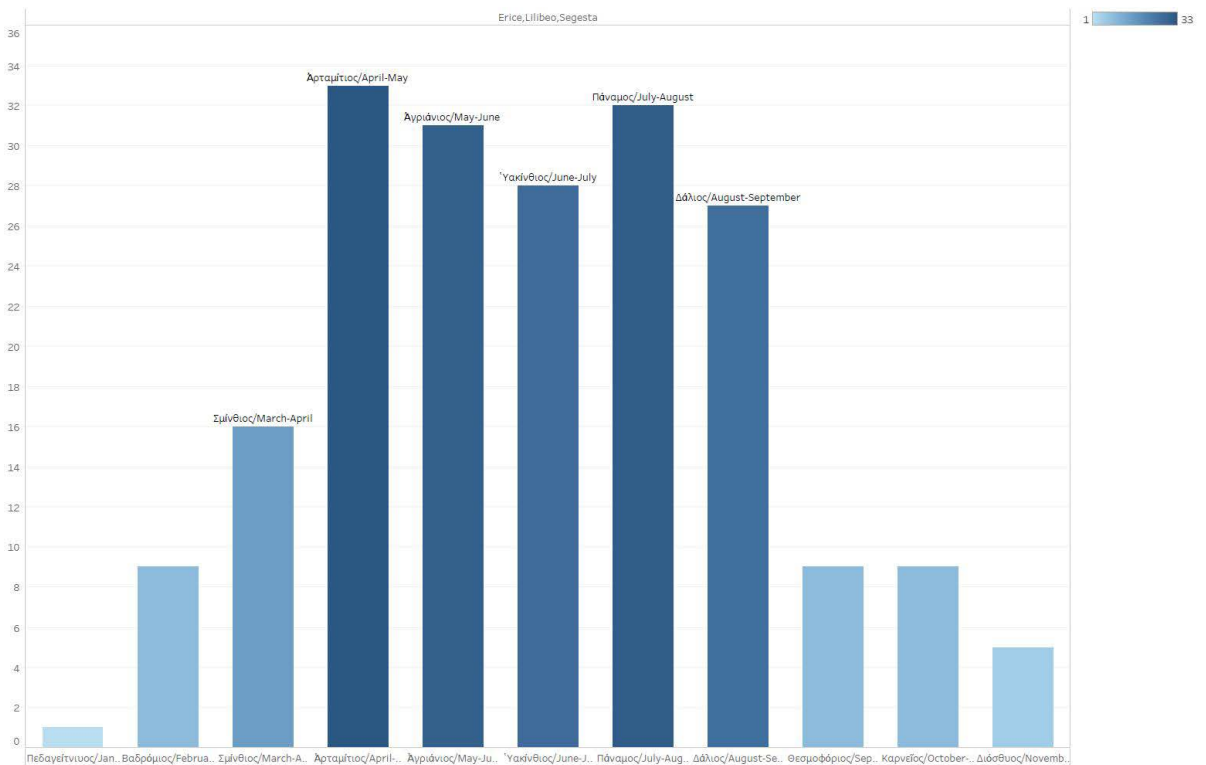


Figure 3. The monthly amphoric production from Erice, Lilibeo and Segesta between c.233-c.86 BC (©Tableau Public 2021 - data and graph prepared by Oriol Morillas).

greatest production are those from the summer (Ἀρταμίτιος, Ἀγριάνιος, Ὑακίνθιος, Πάναμος and Δάλιος).

With this example in mind, focusing on the findings of Rhodian stamps in Sicily, what is observed again is that, apart from the fact that the largest number of remains are found in the city of Erice, followed by Lilibeo and Segesta, it can be seen (**Figure 3**) that again the monthly distribution is the same as in the case of Alexandria.

Mobility through the Rhodian stamps in RomanOpenData

Having done this preliminary study and keeping in mind the different attributes that the database interface can filter, we need to ask ourselves: how can we study the mobility of amphora stamps through the database? It is therefore of great interest to observe the data selected to analyse the dynamics of mobility that these goods had in the geographical area of the Mediterranean in its various commercial centres.

As earlier stated, the database allows us to search for the origin of the stamp and at the same time the location where it was found. With this can quickly map networks and connectivity. In the case of Rhodian amphorae, we see, as shown in **Figure 4**, that these amphorae reached many islands and coasts around the island of Rhodes, the coast of Anatolia, the Syrian-Palestinian coast, the Egyptian coast, and Sicily.

It should be noted that this distribution is, at the moment, limited to the objects entered into the database, and so is the density map of the Rhodian stamps found in the different centres. The vast majority of those entered in the database were found in Alexandria, Sicily, and Delos. Beyond the biased nature of the data introduced so far, the fact that these centres have large masses of Rhodian stamps makes it clear that trade relations in this period were very close with these large trading ports. Rhodes had been a very important trading power throughout the Hellenistic period, but it was during the third century BC that it became the main exporter of wine amphorae (Rostovtzeff, 1967: 729). This island-state during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC markedly increased its political power due to alliances with the other Aegean islands –organized around the Insular League–, but especially due to the alliance with Rome, which consequently came with tighter economic ties to the Western Mediterranean. Rhodes became the centre of the wine trade and banking in the Hellenistic world (Rostovtzeff, 1967: 731). For this reason, given the close relations with Alexandria, the port they had at Delos, and the relations with the Romans, it should come as no surprise to find so much Rhodian amphora presence in these commercial centres.

Therefore, although Alexandria stands as one of the points with the most presence of Rhodian stamps in our database, Sicily follows it in second place in terms of magnitude. As mentioned and can be seen in the map in **Figure 5**, the island of Sicily has a large concentration of Rhodian seals, especially in its western part. Again, the presence in these areas of Rhodian amphorae is an indication of the commercial power of the island of Rhodes. It can be speculated, from the publication by Manel García Sánchez on the Rhodian stamps found in Empúries¹⁰, that these findings represent a possible distribution route where the Western Sicilian ports of Erice and Lilibeo would function as a bridge for the later scattering of amphorae towards the Western Mediterranean¹¹.

¹⁰ García Sánchez, 1999: 223-242; Cf. Tremoleda and Santos, 2013: 61-110.

¹¹ Another example of this dispersión to the west can be found, among many other examples, in the study of the finds of Rhodian amphora stamps in Carthage. Cf. Lund, 1993.

(NOT) ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME: INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO MOBILITY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD



Fig. 4. Maps of the distribution and density of the centres with rhodian amphorae stamps atested in the data base (©Tableau Public 2021 - maps and data prepared by Oriol Morillas).



Figure 5. Map of the density of Rhodian amphora stamps found in Sicily
(©Tableau Public 2021 – map and data prepared by Oriol Morillas).

The distribution of Rhodian stamps, as has been shown, is estimated to be the really widespread. It covers almost all parts of the ancient Mediterranean and in the context of amphoric stamps Rhodian amphorae makes up two-thirds of the total. If the total estimated known amphora stamps are around 300,000, Rhodian stamps could number up to 200,000, spread over 300 centres from end to end of the Mediterranean. A recent study by Tania Panagou shows the count of Rhodian stamps during the Hellenistic period in the global context of Greek stamped handles in the Eastern Mediterranean (Panagou, 2015: 207-222). With approximate numbers we can get a real picture of the distribution that these stamps had. The centres with the most stamped handles are Alexandria (c. 100,000), the North Black Sea (c. 15,000), Athens (c. 6000), Cyprus (c. 3,500), Delos (c. 1600), Sicily (c. 1,700), and a huge number of centres throughout the Eastern Mediterranean with numbers between 50 to 500 (Panagou, 2015: 222-223, tab. 9.5).

All these data, when they are collected in the database together with all the other types of Greek stamp, will allow us to study in a more uniform, systematic and precise way, the networks of economic mobility that took place between the various points of the ancient Mediterranean.

Conclusions

As shown throughout this study, we are currently dependent on the work of entering objects in the database and the collaboration of researchers in a task that has always been described as titanic. However, seeing the repercussion of the Latin database of the CEIPAC in the academic world it can be speculated that in the future, when a more representative number of the data is available, the studies will be able to be more exact and definitive, more varied and much more dynamic.

In our case we have seen that the availability of significant numbers of stamps in a standardized and

well-systematized database allows us to generate a wide variety of analyses and studies. We only ought to look at the scattering of Rhodian amphorae. The availability of a greater number of data has allowed us to observe how this Hellenistic power, which was organized economically and socially as a mercantile oligarchy, spread its commercial influence throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and much of the West. Big Data is always much more accurate and shows us a much more complete picture of the great puzzle that configure the empty spaces of the Ancient World.

It is relevant to note that, although the database is currently represented in a quite biased way, it is clear that Rhodes was a major exporter of wine in the third and second centuries BC. And it is no coincidence that so many stamps are counted in Alexandria. Rhodes, at the end, depended on the export of wine to import the grain they so desperately needed, and the granary of the Mediterranean was the best place to get it. This explains the expansion of these relations in a context of a developing economic power.

Ultimately, it is only necessary to point out that uniform and systematized databases are the best mechanism to be able to generate, in the future, all sorts of large-scale economic, social and political studies, that show the dynamics and relationships that existed between and within ancient societies. And in the future, with the CEIPAC Greek amphora database we will be able to produce better and more accurate studies of ancient Mediterranean amphoric trades.

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Amphora typology and commercial mobility. Thoughts on the *Tarraconensis* case

Carlos Palacín Copado

Catalan amphorae and productive diversification

Amphorae have always been treated as elemental evidence in cultural and economic studies of the Roman world, thus being one of the first ceramic objects to attract the attention of academic studies. Their importance is even greater when it comes to the *minuzie epigrafiche* (Berni 2013: 63; Dressel 1878: 192; Remesal 2016), stamps or epigraphy present on amphorae. For this very reason, the latter have become a pillar of social and economic studies of Roman republican and imperial times. All this evidence has revealed over the years a much more complex productive and commercial reality than initially imagined (Finley 1973; Molina 2020).

Recent advances in studies of ceramic production and trade have increased our knowledge of amphorae typologies and their evolution, making it possible to reconstruct important food production and supply dynamics within the Empire. The most important products traded were olive oil, wine and fish sauces. The case study analysed in this chapter is one of them. The amphorae studied are containers linked to a very specific context of consumption, chronology and geography. Despite the well-defined setting, there are some difficulties in this study.

These referred amphorae are known as Catalan amphora typologies,¹ produced in the Northeastern region of the *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis* province, specifically the *conventus Tarraconensis*, whose area approximately Catalonia currently occupies. These amphorae typologies attracted the attention of Spanish, French and Italian scholars in the 1970s and 1980s (Beltrán 1970; Mayet, Tobie, 1986; Pascual 1962; Pascual 1977; Sciallano, Liou 1985; Tchernia 1971; Tchernia, Zevi 1971) due to their widespread presence in the Roman West as well as in some important archaeological sites in Italy such as Ostia. Another important factor that encouraged those studies was the easy identification of the most characteristic typologies, the Pascual 1 and Dressel 3-2, as well as through its epigraphy and/or the *Tarraconensis* ceramic fabric, particularly the so-called “Laetanian fabric”.² This, however, excluded other typologies that were not as widespread in most provinces as well as other pottery fabrics that were not so easy to recognise.

Studies of these containers and their distribution became less prominent after Jordi Miró’s doctoral thesis in 1988, apart from a small number of notable, if very localised studies (Berni, Miró 2020; Berthault 2008; Carreras, Guitart 2009; Carreras, González Cesteros 2012; Dell’Amico, Pallarés 2007; González Cesteros 2015; Laubenheimer 2015; Martínez Ferreras 2013; Revilla 2018; Revilla, Carreras 1993). Meanwhile,

¹ In studies in other languages these typologies are catalogued simply as *Tarraconensis* amphorae. Sometimes they are also catalogued as Laetanian amphorae in cases exclusively whose origin is from the central Catalan area (*Laetania*).

² Brick red fabric with medium and large size degreasers formed by characteristic white quartz particles and golden mica.

studies of winemakers and pottery production centres in the *Tarraconensis* produced over the last decades (Carreras, Guitart 2009; Carreras, Folch, Guitart 2019; López Mullor, Guitart, Carreras 2013; Revilla 1995; Revilla 2011-2012; Tremoleda 2000; Tremoleda 2007) have revealed how these amphorae are evidence of complex economic dynamics developed in this historical context in the Northeast of the *Tarraconensis*.

Most amphorae produced in the *conventus Tarraconensis* region between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD were linked to an economic phenomenon visible in the proliferation of vineyards and amphorae production centres. Their scale and output clearly went beyond simple productions for local supply. The scale of the wine-producing centres and pottery workshops, together with their wide distribution throughout the territory, proves a clear objective of generating surpluses in order to obtain profits with their commercialization.

This phenomenon is visible especially on the central Catalan coast, within the Iberian *Laetania* region. From the beginning of the 1st century BC a growth of these productions is noticeable in the coastal area with imitations the Italic Dressel 1 typology (López Mullor, Martín Menéndez 2007; López Mullor, Martín Menéndez 2008; Revilla 1995; Tremoleda 2000). However, from the second half of the 1st century BC there was a clear shift of local productions towards large-scale production aimed towards the export market. Many amphora production sites appeared specialising on mass-production of ceramic containers for the transportation of wine. The first amphora that seems to clearly represent this economic phenomenon, whose boom would last for as century, is the so-called *Tarraconense 1*.

Catalan amphorae typologies have been the basis of most study of this phenomenon, being sometimes very easily identifiable by their epigraphy, characteristic typologies or the famous “Laietanian fabric”. The presence of these amphorae in a market certifies the arrival of wine from the *Tarraconensis* to the area, and often it is possible to trace the place of production and the approximate route taken and the destination or consumption market. However, this material evidence can be problematic in some ways. One of them, covered in a recent study (Palacín in press a), is the data visualisation and the traceability of potential container transfer sites. Some archaeological sites may present over-represented samples, as they were regional markets and container transfer sites. This is because of the limitations of amphorae beyond maritime transport. In fluvial and land routes, amphorae turn out to be unwieldy to transport due to their weight and bulk, which also makes them uneconomical (De Soto 2011; Morillo 2000; Morillo 2006; Morillo, Morais 2019; Palacín, Pérez González, Revilla 2022; Palacín in press a; Palacín in press b). This situation led to their replacement by complementary containers such as jars, flat-bottomed amphorae, barrels or wineskins; containers which sometimes are difficult to identify or that have left no archaeological trace at all. These circumstances break all traceability and complicate the commercial networks reconstructions and the final and consumer market research.

The *Tarraconensis* containers case study presents well-differentiated “hegemonic” typologies with their own chronologies that would facilitate the identification of their place of origin and even the dating phases or relative chronologies. But even then, in many cases, the limits of each chronological productive phase are very diffuse and there are cases where some workshops produced some of these containers simultaneously (Figure 1).

This formal variety of amphora produced in the same pottery workshops is one of the main problems that this study wants to consider. Obviously, both in *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis* and in the rest of the Roman Empire, there have always been pottery centres manufacturing different ceramic types at the

same time (Berni 2019; Colom 2021: 683-689; Etienne, Mayet 2000: 209; López Mullor, Martín Menéndez 2007; Miró, Berni 2020: 206-210; Revilla 1995: 41-68; Vila Socias 2011: 112-122). Even so, the fact that there are workshops manufacturing different types of amphora simultaneously, all with a presumably similar function is still curious and raises questions.

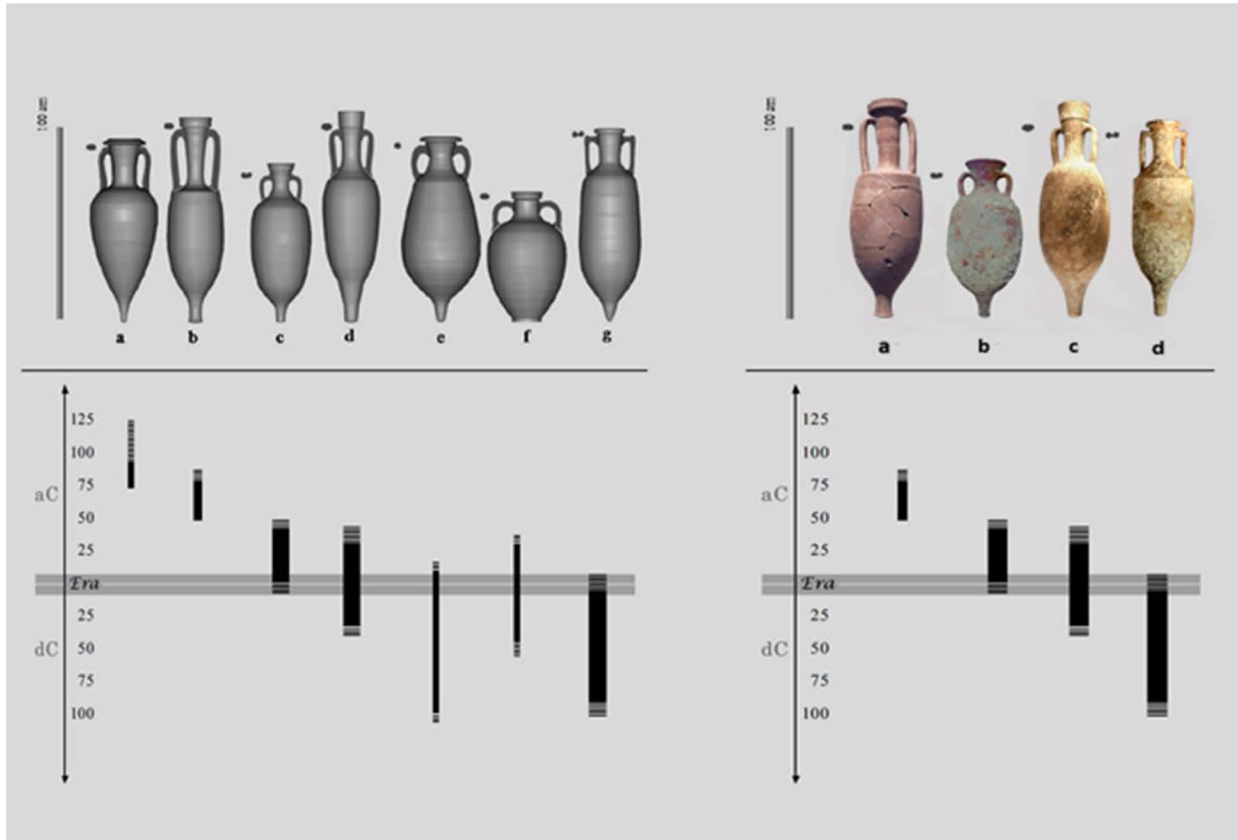


Figure 1. On the left, local production amphorae typologies documented at Hispania Citerior Roman province. In the right, main amphora forms documented in Laetania region. (Martín Oliveras, Palacín, Pérez González 2022, 73).

Workshops from different regions of the *conventus Tarraconensis* such as l'Aumedina, Can Viader, Can Feu or Collet de Sant Antoni de Calonge show a series of phases of amphora production (Colom 2021: 20-664; Revilla 1995; Tremoleda 2007; Vila Socias 2011: 179-181), where in each phase there was a predominant or hegemonic typology accompanied by smaller amounts of other typologies. Often these secondary forms appeared after the primary ones had already been under production for some time. Over time, one of the secondary typologies may become the primary one, with the rest slowly disappearing (Carreras, Guitart 2009: 11-20; Carreras 2013: 323-346; Folch 2019: 52-56; López Mullor, Martín Menéndez 2007; Miró 1988: 195; Revilla 1999: 40). In the case of the *Tarraconensis*, Pascual 1 were eventually replaced by Dressel 3-2 amphorae (Figure 1, left b and g, right c and d). However, some typologies always remained secondary in importance.

As stated above, it is not a unique phenomenon from the *Tarraconensis* province, as similar events also happen in Gaul or Italy (Desbat, Dangréaux 1997; Laubenheimer, Schmitt 2009). Several authors have wondered what interest a pottery workshop would have in creating such variety which, in fact, would only complicate mass production. Containers that, in fact, were basically a subsidiary technology, something

accessory to wine which did not attract the attention of end consumers by themselves. Some studies noted that amphorae did not represent, under normal conditions, more than 0.5 to 6% of the total price (Peña 2007: 27-31, 47-56; Vila Socias 2011: 585-587).³

The possibility that each amphora typology represented a different variety or quality of wine has been put forward by some authors. Y. Peña Cervantes and A. Marzano point out that perhaps the typologies “with a lower manufacturing volume” (Peña Cervantes 2010: 160) would contain wines of higher quality and price (Marzano 2013: 119; Peña Cervantes 2010: 160; Rico 2016: 212), specifically pointing to secondary amphorae typologies such as Oberaden 74 and Gauloise 4 imitations. However, there is no evidence to back this hypothesis. On the one hand, the *tituli picti* mentioning prestigious wines such as *Lauronense* appeared in widely produced and distributed Catalan amphorae such as Dressel 3-2 (Berni, Miró 2020: 132; Carreras, Escudero, Pilar 2016: 233-235; CIL XV: 4577- 4579; Liou 1998: 91-102; 94, f.5; 112-114, f. 32.3, 112; Miró 1988: 242-243; Tchernia 1971: 73-75). On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence that invites us to avoid this possible typology-variety relation. The Oberaden 74 and the Gauloise 4 imitations have brief chronologies and a limited geographical distribution, something that would represent discontinuities and an anomaly for a supposedly prestigious wine. In addition, the Oberaden 74 and the Gauloise 4 were amphora typologies that were not produced throughout the territory (Colom 2021; López Mullor, Martín Menéndez 2007; Revilla 1995), appearing in a very testimonial way in the prestigious wine-producing regions of *Tarraco* and *Lauro*.

V. Revilla, in his thesis published in 1995, already indicates two possible explanations for this diversification. One hypothesis indicates that the choice of amphora typologies would respond to the needs of the production centre itself. Another possibility that he raises is that typology was selected by the contract between the winemaker and the potter. According to V. Revilla: “It is very likely that this diversification should be related to storage, sale and transportation needs. It is, therefore, the result of the internal needs of agricultural estate, rather than the initiative of the artisan” (Revilla 1995: 51).

As stated by V. Revilla himself in 1995 (Revilla 1995: 51), is necessary to develop more studies on production centres to understand not only these typological diversifications, but also the evolution of the productions themselves and to better understand these phases of the workshop’s active life along with a more appropriate identification of the typological sets produced in the pottery workshops.

Pascual 1. Understanding productive and economic evolutions from destination and consumer markets

To understand the reasons that could have led producers to this diversification of products, it is important to analyse the purpose that these amphorae. There must have been a multiplicity of factors that led pottery workshops to choose to produce an amphora typology, over others such as traditions, beliefs, values (Vila Socias 2011: 75-88), needs of the centre or contracts (Revilla 1995: 51; Revilla 1999: 40-47). However, transporting a liquid or semi-liquid from its production place to a determined destination/consumption market was always the main reason to produce amphorae. Therefore, I think it is important to focus on analysing the evolution of markets that

³ “sed quia credibile est mentem testantis eam esse, ut voluerit accessioni esse vino amphoras” Ulpian, *Digesta* 33.6.3.

were supplied by *Tarraconensis* wines, something which both local producers and merchants would be aware of. This must be evaluated through the amphorae that reached those target markets.

I shall not embark on the case of *Tarraconense* 1 amphora, as it had an early and limited diffusion, even being considered by some authors as an experimental typology (Miró, Jàrrega 2019: 169), perhaps because it is the first phase of this economic phenomenon. That being said, its successors entered into distant markets such as *Gallia Narbonense*, Aquitaine (Berni, Miró 2013: 65-66; López Mullor, Marín Menéndez 2007: 54-55; Miró, Jàrrega 2019: 166-167) or even Italy (Dell'Amico 1998: 108-110; Palacín in press b; Radaelli 2019: 247). It represented a new competition for the centenary monopoly of Italian wine in the markets of *Gallia* and even a proxy for a growing Gallic demand for wine facing an Italic offer that was clearly in retreat (Berthault 2008; Berthault 2013: 120-127; Miró 1988: 190-193).

Around 40 BC, pottery workshops started producing Pascual 1 amphorae, an original Catalan amphora typology that according to some authors took the Italic Dressel 1B as its model.⁴ In this period, the *Tarraconensis* economic phenomenon was at its peak, as its amphorae production increased, and its wine reached the markets of the Empire. Between the second half of the 1st century BC and the first decades of the 1st century AD, North-eastern *Tarraconensis* wine established almost a commercial monopoly in the markets of *Gallia Narbonense* and Aquitania (Dell'Amico, Pallarès 2007: 78; López Mullor, Marín Menéndez 2007: 55) (Figures 2 and 3), reached the markets of *Britannia*, the *limes germanicus*, the rest of Hispania and even made an appearance in the typically exporting Italy (Figure 4) and Africa (Berni, Miró 2020; Freed, Moore 1996; Miró 1988).

As the maps visualize, the spread across the markets of the Roman West indicates a high prominence in *Gallia Narbonense* and *Aquitania*, regions where, in some areas and archaeological sites, Catalan amphorae reached a quasi-monopolistic pre-eminence (Berthault 2008; Berthault 2013; Etienne, Mayet 2000: 231-232; Miró 1988: 190-193; Palacín in press b; Rico 2015: 213-214). High concentrations can be seen in the Pascual 1 distribution map in the *Narbo* region, the Aude-Garonne axis or the Orb and the Herault valleys, these representing some of the greatest consumption areas of *Tarraconensis* wines in the empire. These regions already had their own wine and pottery production centres, which imitated Italic typologies and even the *Tarraconensis* Pascual 1 in addition to the Gauloise types (Laubenheimer, Schmitt 2009; Marimón 2017). In this period, local Gallic wine production was surely not enough to supply the local markets and even less the growing demand in the inland and Atlantic regions. In fact, although municipal elites and local producers do not seem to have had sufficient strength to supply such a high demand until the second half of the 1st century AD, it seems that they promoted and had close relationships with wine producers from the *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis* province, the former acting as intermediaries and redirecting this trade along the Aude- Garonne (Christol, Plana 1997; Márquez, Molina 2005: 50-53; Palacín in press a; Pena, Barreda 1997; Pena 1998; Tremoleda 1998; Tremoleda, Cobos 2003).

⁴ Although A. López Mullor, Martín Menéndez (2008: 694) and E. Colom (2021: 689) affirm an influence or direct relation with the *Tarraconense* 1E typology.

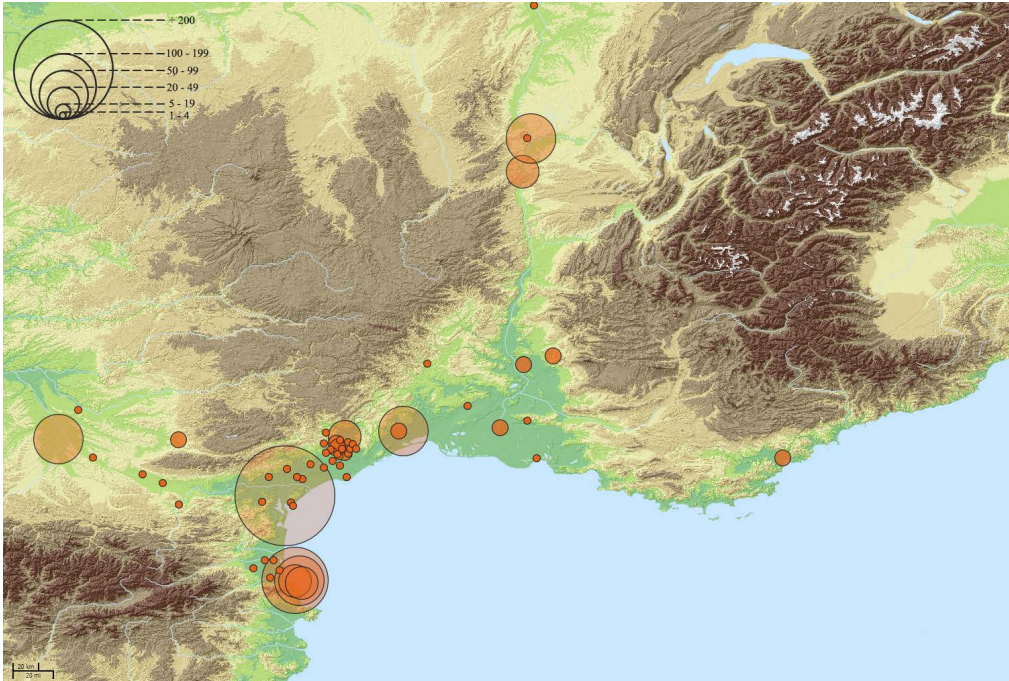


Figure 2. Density and distribution map of the Pascual 1 amphorae in Gallia Narbonensis.
©AWMC base map – Map and data prepared by C. Palacín.

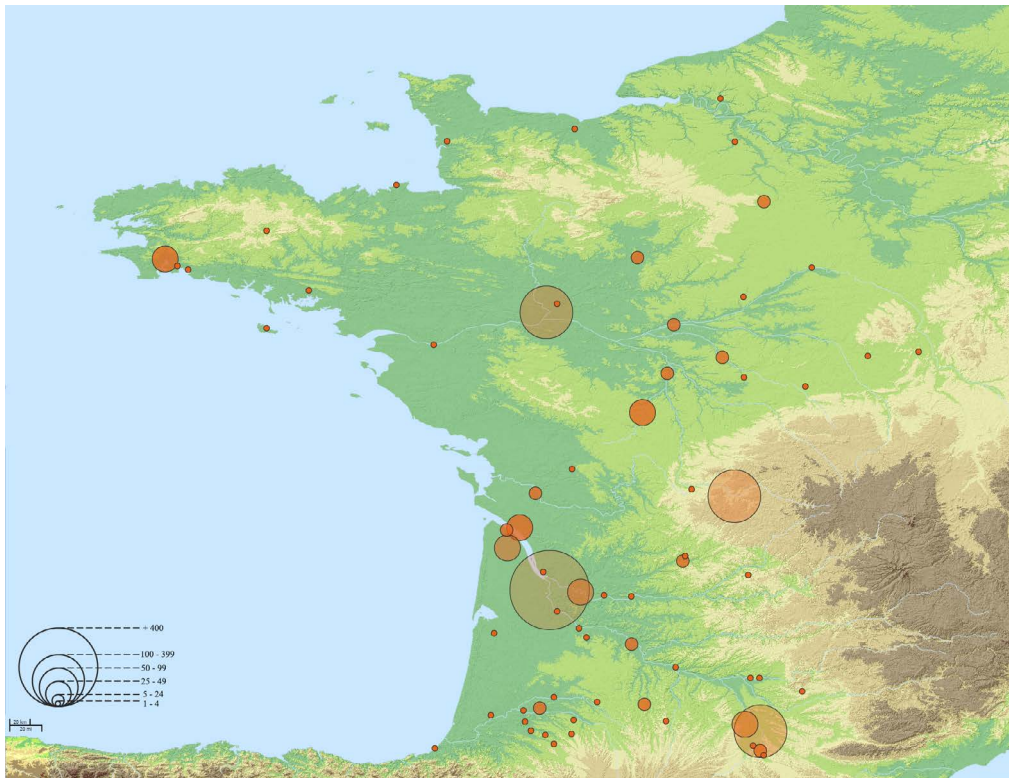


Figure 3. Density and distribution map of the Pascual 1 amphorae in Aquitania (Palacín in press b).



Figure 4. Density and distribution map of the Pascual 1 amphora in North and Central Italy.
©AWMC base map – Map and data prepared by C. Palacín.⁵

Its presence in other markets such as *Hispania* itself (Palacín, Pérez González, Revilla 2020; Palacín in press b) or Italy is very small, sporadic and likely the result of indirect trade. This imbalance in distribution and the close relationship between *Tarraconensis* production and Gallic consumption could lead to the hypothesis that the change from *Tarraconense* 1 to Pascual 1 was promoted by intermediary and endmarkets. Gallic markets were traditionally used to the Italic Dressel 1 typologies, especially the 1B (Berthault 2013; Loughton 2003; Loughton 2015). Perhaps the Pascual 1 typology was chosen to adapt the *Tarraconensis* wine transport to the demands and tastes of the Gallic markets, with a typology that would not represent a huge change as it complied with quantities, weight and size with which the Gallic merchants and markets were already familiar. This would therefore facilitate some of the most basic business procedures, from transportation, storage to calculating quickly and easily prices or taxes on units or large stocks. In addition, in more regional or secondary markets, it would be easier for merchants or consumers to identify the product through the container. There are, therefore, factors in the destination market that could have caused the choice of the Pascual 1 typology.

It is worth highlighting the significantly low presence of Catalan amphorae in the Rhône axis (Figure 2). Here the presence of Catalan amphorae would be more limited because of the notorious wine production

⁵ All the data visualized in these maps (NMI) is extracted from hundreds of studies consulted during a doctoral thesis currently done by the author, date March 2022. The remaining database and bibliography will be presented in the referred thesis.

in the area (Desbat, Dangréaux 1997; Laubenheimer, Schmitt 2009). However, it was an important axis through which large quantities of wine and other food products circulated towards Gallic markets, especially to supply the high demands of the troops encamped in the *limes Germanicus* (González Cesteros 2014: 474-485; Marimón 2017: 38-44, 63-64, 246-264). It was, therefore, an area very saturated by wine circulation.

Dressel 3-2. Adaptation and evolution of a productive phenomenon

As previously mentioned, during the decades prior to the change of Era, pottery centres of the *conventus Tarraconensis* were progressively producing new amphora typologies connected to the wine trade, such as Oberaden 74 and Dressel 2-4. These amphora typologies also took part in the trade to Gaul but, as argued below, further reinforce the correlation between the destination market, the mobility of the container and the amphora typology selection; emphasising that it was not a casual phenomenon. The Oberaden 74 amphora, a secondary typology coetaneous with both Pascual 1 and Dressel 2-4, is further addressed due its special characteristics.

The amphora *Tarraconensis* Dressel 2-4 is also known as *Tarraconensis* Dressel 3-2 as only types 3 and 2 were produced in that specific order (Berni 2015; Berni 2019; Colom 2021; Dell'Amico, Pallarès 2007: 86-107; López Mullor, Martín Menéndez 2008: 701-705). This typology shared chronologies and production centres with the other Catalan amphorae and would progressively prevail throughout the first decades of the first century AD, until it became the great standardised Catalan wine amphora until the 2nd century AD. Despite having shared initial phases with other amphorae, its spread presents us a commercial reality in transformation, already different from the scenario seen with the Pascual 1 (Figures 5, 6 and 7).

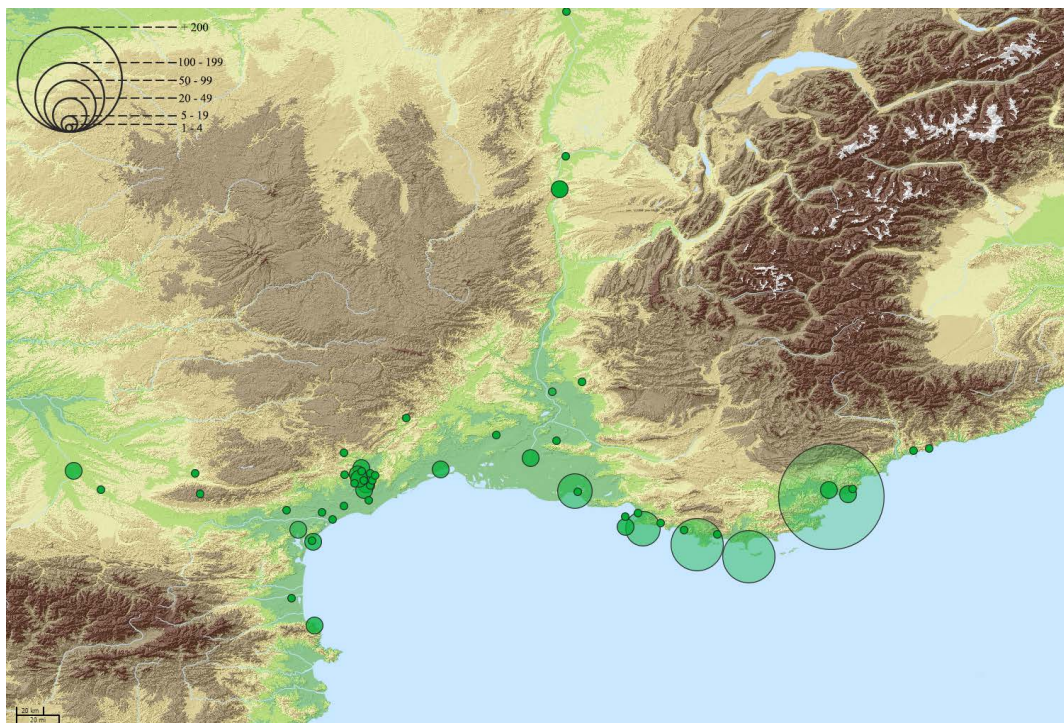


Figure 5. Density and distribution map of the Dressel 3-2 amphorae in Gallia Narbonensis.
©AWMC base map – Map and data prepared by C. Palacín.

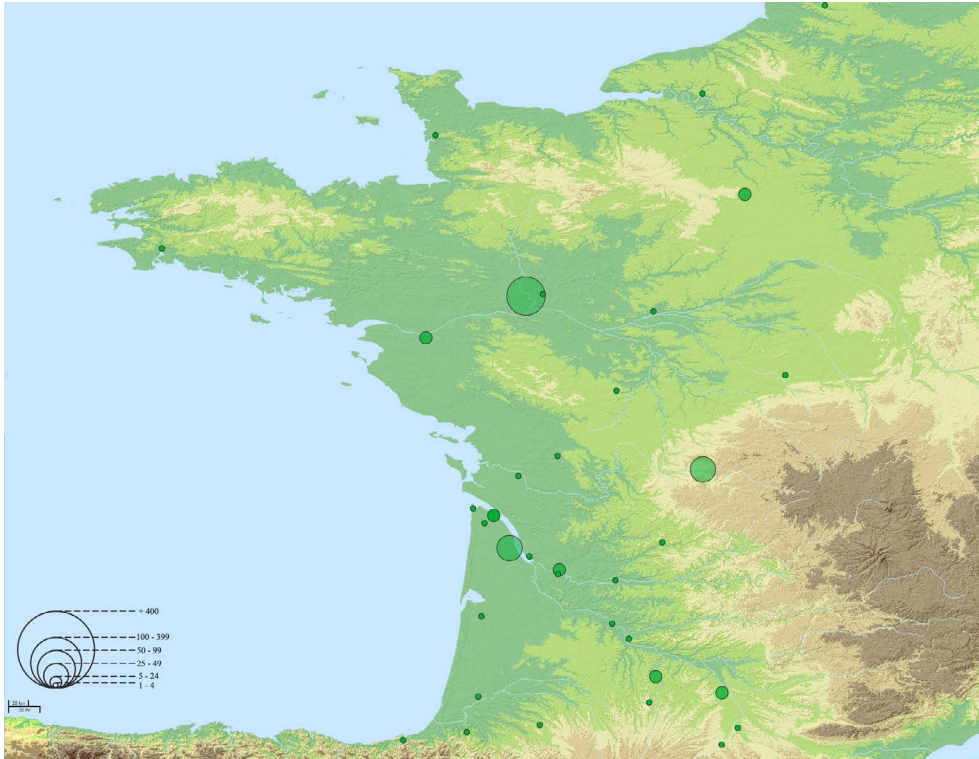


Figure 6. Density and distribution map of the Dressel 3-2 amphorae in Aquitania (Palacín in press b).

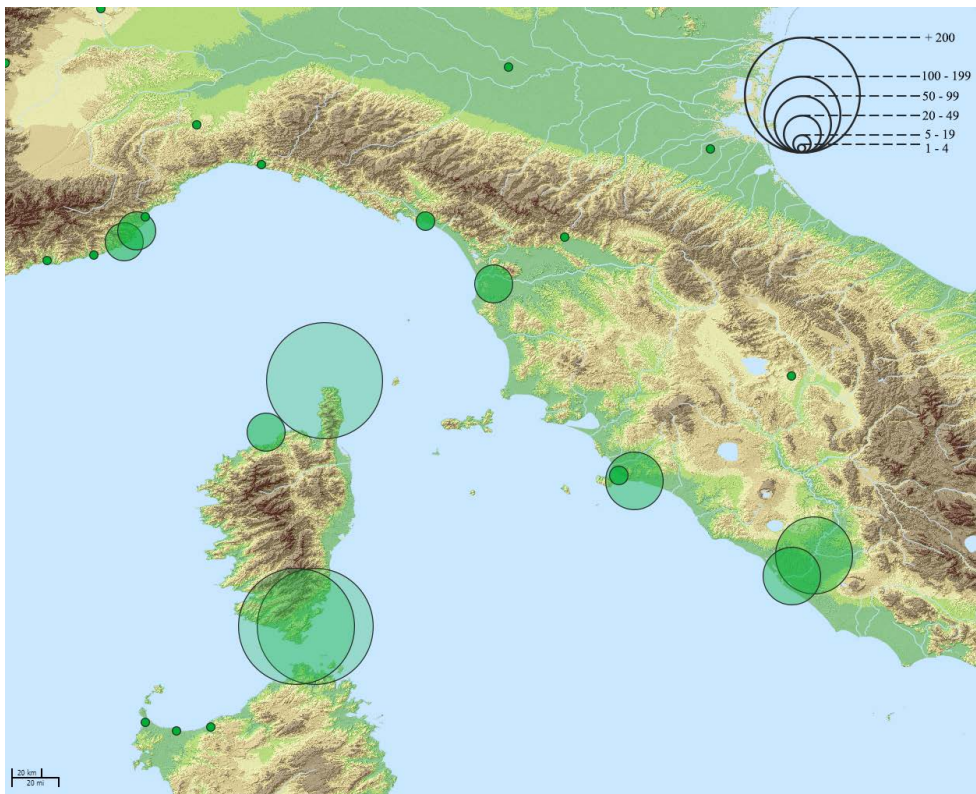


Figure 7. Density and distribution map of the Dressel 3-2 amphora in North and Central Italy.
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Its presence is noticeable in the markets of *Gallia*, however the *Tarraconensis* Dressel 3-2 distribution shows a clearly smaller presence compared to the Pascual 1. In this economic scenario, unlike the previous one, local Gaulish wine production was already monopolising the Gallic markets. Furthermore, through the Gauloise 4 amphora, Gallic wine was beginning to reach trans-provincial markets such as the *limes germanicus*, *Britannia* or Italy (González Cesteros 2018: 213-214, 451-457; Laubenheimer 1985; Marimón 2017; Miró 1988: 269-270; Revilla 1995: 54-56). In the density and distribution maps of Dressel 3-2 evidence a smaller presence of Catalan amphorae in Gaul can be clearly seen, reducing its spread and quantities both in Aquitania and in *Gallia Narbonensis* (Figures 5 and 6). A withdrawal from the Gallic markets that contrasts with the notorious entry into markets such as the Italian or African ones, where until then the arrival of *Tarraconensis* wines was anecdotic, as seen above with Pascual 1. The distribution of Dressel 3-2 clearly shows the emergence of these new trends, such as the shipwrecks with cargoes from *Tarraconensis* on the Gallic coast beyond *Narbo* and the Rhône (Figure 6) or even the development of new direct routes between Hispania and Italy through the Strait of Bonifacio, especially noticeable by the shipwrecks in Corsica and Sardinia (Dell'Amico, Pallarès 2007; Miró 1988; Sciallano, Liou 1985) (Figure 7).

The imitation of the Italic Dressel 3 (Berni 2016: 197-199) could have been an attempt by *Tarraconensis* producers to present their products as something new, or to mimic the Campanian amphorae that had adopted that typology and were becoming very popular in the Central Mediterranean markets (Berthault 2008: 622-623; Dell'Amico, Pallarès 2007: 86-91; Tchernia 2016: 304). A. Tchernia, R. Etienne and F. Mayet have already opened this debate theorising about the objective of imitations of Italic amphorae in the Roman provinces, raising the possibilities of typology as a mark of quality or even as an attempt to mislead potential consumers (Etienne, Mayet 2000: 136; Tchernia 2016: 108-111). R. Etienne and F. Mayet even hypothesise whether *Tarraconensis* producers tried to sell their mediocre wines by transporting them in amphorae that appeared to be of higher quality (Etienne, Mayet 2000: 136).⁶ This phenomenon of repackaging low-quality wines has been proposed elsewhere, for example in Lyon where bulk Italic wines might have been bottled in local amphorae that imitated the prestigious Campanian Dressel 2-4 as *tituli picti* of Hispanic and Italic products in Gaulish amphorae has suggest to some authors (Desbat, Dangréaux 1997; Etienne, Mayet 2000: 136; Rico 2015: 220-221, 224).

Undoubtedly, the repackaging phenomenon arises in a commercial and mercantile context, of redistribution in nodes and entrepôts, very different from that of *Tarraconensis* packaging. In the case of the *Tarraconensis* we should pay attention to the destination markets and their demand. F. Berthault proposes that the Pascual 1 – Dressel 3-2 typology change was conducted in order to compete with the growing Gallic wine production, differentiating them from the latter by choosing the Dressel 3 amphora as a quality brand (Berthault 2008: 622-623; Berthault 2013: 151). However, this progressive change may be understood not as an attempt to feign higher quality but simply an adaptation to a market that was in a constant state of transformation. Regarding trade with Gaul, it is possible that the *Tarraconensis* producers were unaware of the endmarket in which their wine containers would end up competing with other similar products, so the intermediaries of *Narbo* and other important trade hubs would be the ones who directly faced the production and demand problems.

The *Tarraconensis* producers' adaptation to market trends would fit perfectly on the noticeable new distribution that seemed to focus its attention and efforts on the export of wine to the markets of the Central Mediterranean and Hispania, gradually abandoning Gaul. These end markets not only had tastes that were very different from the Gallic ones, but also had their own wine-making traditions and

⁶ Here R. Etienne and F. Mayet refer to the aforementioned Laetanian wines of high productivity, but low quality.

customs. Then, as happened with the Pascual 1 compared to the Italic Dressel 1 on Gaul, the products from *Tarraconensis* would have a better reception in Central Mediterranean markets if they adopted the popular Dressel 2-4 form, a container whose capacity, weight, methods of storage, taxable potential and other characteristics the target market would be familiar with. An example could be the commercial system of tanker ships with *dolia*, developed by the *Piranius* Campanian family, whose shipments always had a main stock of Campanian or *Tarraconensis* Dressel 3-2, both on the routes to the west (*Gallia* and *Hispania*) or to Italy (Corsi Sciallano, Liou 1985; Dell’Amico, Pallarés 2007; Dell’Amico, Pallarés 2011; Rice 2016: 170-180; Rico 2015). In these cases, the merchants or the *navicularii* in the western ports would certainly know the quantities of *Tarraconensis* wine or Catalan amphorae they could carry back to Italy as it was the same amphora typology that they had previously exported. Therefore, the Dressel 3-2 typology adoption is an example of the *Tarraconensis* producers’ adaptation to the Roman market evolution and demand.

Oberaden 74. Selection in diversification?

The Oberaden 74 amphora typology is the case that better shows the adaptability of the *Tarraconensis* containers. An original typology from the northeast of the *Hispania Tarraconensis* province, it is a flat-footed amphora (Figure 8), whose production and commercialisation peaked in the decades around the change of Era (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012; Miró 1988: 91-95). The Oberaden 74 was always a secondary amphora in all the workshops where it was produced (Revilla 1995: 47-49, Revilla 2008: 198-208; Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 207-213). Even so, its mobility along the routes and markets of the empire as well as its context can give us important suggestions about the amphora diversification and the container selection.

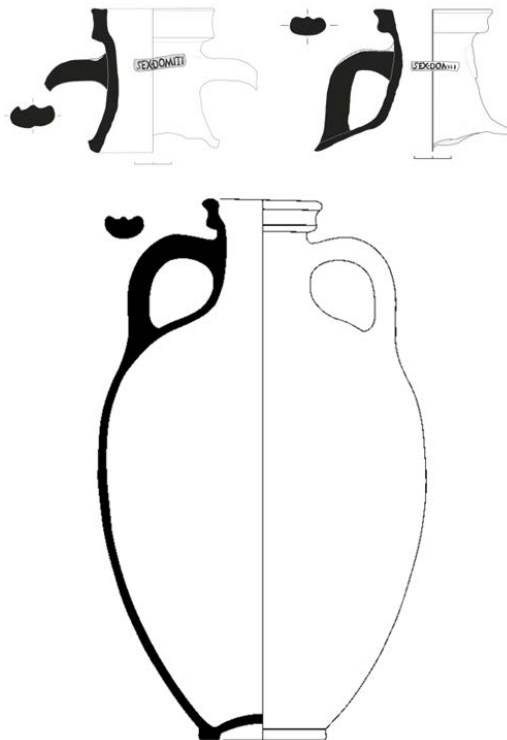


Figure 8. Amphora Oberaden 74. Found in Neuss, Carreras y González Cesteros, 2012; Found in Oberaden, Loeschcke, 1942.

Flat-based amphorae are known for being containers easily transportable on land and river routes, as the shape and pivot of traditional amphorae were an impediment that complicated their transport and made the product more expensive if distributed beyond maritime networks (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 214-215; Colom 2021: 695; De Soto 2011: 132-133,138; Morillo y Morais 2019: 167-169; Palacín, Pérez González, Revilla 2022: 89-90). These amphora typologies quickly became popular in Southern Gaul and the *Tarraconensis* in the early 1st century AD. The appearance in *Gallia Narbonensis* was facilitated by the existing important fluvial communications network throughout Gaul, river routes along which wine circulated and, in all probability, where it was consumed. As the main Oberaden 74 production centres are near or in the lower course of the Ebro River and appeared in the context of the military campaigns in the Cantabrian regions, it has been considered by some authors that flat-based Catalan amphorae, together with the Oberaden 74, were created to move around the Ebro fluvial area and supply the Roman legions in Hispania (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 217, 221). However, the latest investigations that have revealed more evidence of Oberaden 74 in the Ebro fluvial axis and the military camps, apparently do not show any significance of these amphorae or a clear link with the troops in Hispania (Morillo, Morais 2021: 67-69; Palacín, Pérez González, Revilla 2022: 86-88; Pérez González, Arribas 2021: 83, 96, 98-99, 102-103).

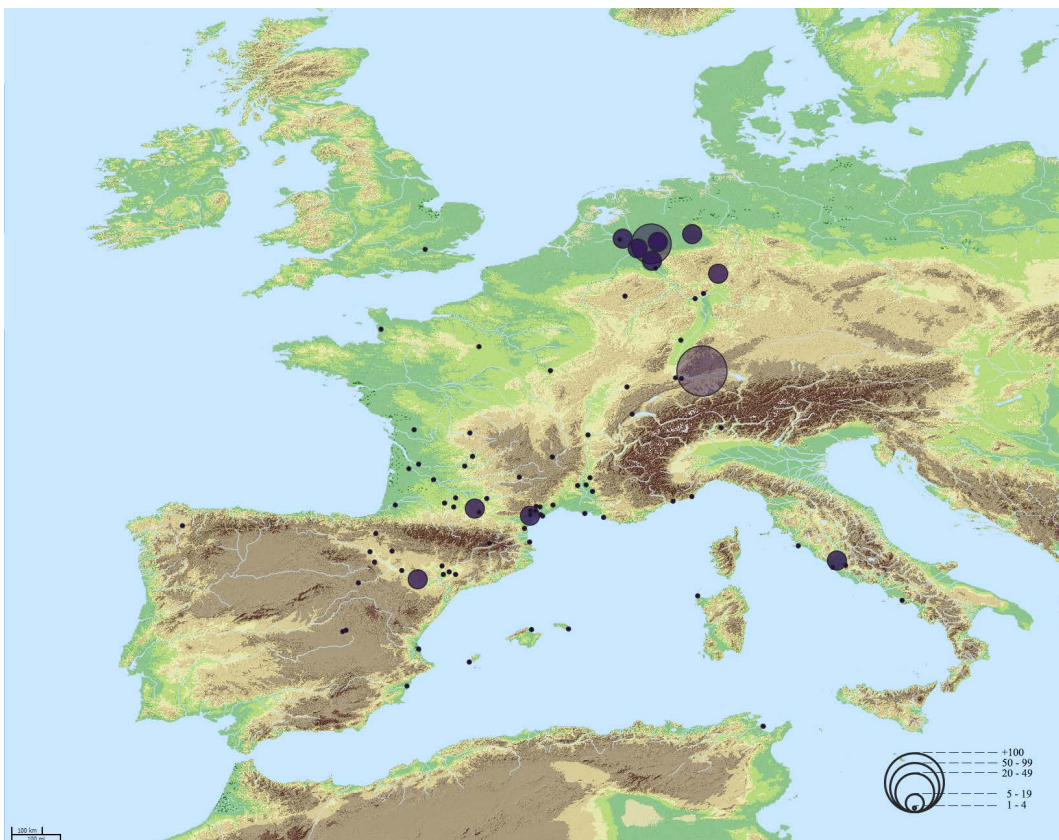


Figure 9. Density and distribution map of the Oberaden 74 amphorae in the Roman empire.
©AWMC base map – Map and data prepared by C. Palacín.

The global distribution of this form is very interesting. In the Oberaden 74 distribution and density map according to its Minimal Number of Individuals (MNI) (Figure 9) we can see how, despite being present in a large part of the western Roman markets, it shows a clear concentration in the *limes germanicus* area. In fact, the appearance of this amphora in the important markets for *Tarraconensis* wine exports such as

Gallia Narbonense or Aquitania is anecdotal compared to those destined for the limes.

Of the 288 Oberaden 74 amphorae individuals collected for this study beyond their productive area, 162 are found in *Germania Superior* and *Inferior* provinces, that is, 56.25%. The next region, far behind quantitatively, is the sum of individuals from all *Gallia* provinces with 61 (21%), followed by *Hispania* with 45 individuals (15,6%), the Central Mediterranean markets with 19 (6,59%) and *Britannia* with a single identified individual (0.3%). This clear Oberaden 74 distribution imbalance is noticeable through another example in the Dangstetten archaeological site, in the *limes germanicus*, where, with 62 Oberaden 74 amphorae, it presents more individuals than all the networks and markets in the entire *Gallia*.

Furthermore, many Oberaden 74 amphorae concentrations were formed in very short periods of time. For example, Haltern was occupied for 9 years, Oberaden for 3 years and the largest amphorae site, Dangstetten, was only occupied for 6 years (12/15 - 9/10 BC) (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 218-219; González Cesteros 2015: 211-212).

The proportion of Oberaden 74 in relation to the other Catalan amphorae, the Pascual 1 and the Dressel 3-2, was also very favourable in the *limes germanicus* in comparison with the rest of the markets of the empire. Both in Gallic markets, with a predominance of the Pascual 1, and in Central Mediterranean and Hispanic markets, dominated by the Dressel 2-4 (Palacín in press a), Oberaden 74 amphorae are a small percentage of finds. In the *limes germanicus*, on the other hand, they represent 31.34% of *Tarraconensis*' total imports, only slightly surpassed by the Pascual 1 amphora (37.5%).

All this suggests that some instances of deposition of Oberaden 74 amphorae in the *limes germanicus* cases could be explained as concentrated and significant, if temporally limited deliveries. These were probably single entire batches of Oberaden 74 amphorae coming directly from *Hispania Tarraconensis* province. This apparent direct trade could be the result of a contract between *Tarraconensis* wine producers and the agents responsible for supplying the army in the limes. This theory was already proposed by authors such as C. Carreras and H. González Cesteros (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 225), something viable if we consider that part of the troops that marched to the *limes germanicus* left the northwest region of the *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis* province after the Cantabrian Wars and, perhaps, were interested in creating or maintaining a previous supply contract.

Other evidence that some authors have highlighted when linking the Oberaden 74 amphorae with military supplies is their high stamp rate. This typology presents a higher stamp rate than the rest of *Tarraconensis* typologies. Furthermore, its stamps are always well-developed and clear reading of the *nomina*, *duonomina* or *trianomina* (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 218; Etienne, Mayet 2000: 134) something that has been interpreted as a form of registration and/or control by the administration.

It is worth noting that, even though Oberaden 74 productions seem mostly directed towards the *limes germanicus* military supply, it was only a small part of frontier legionary logistics. These amphorae present very low global percentages in all the archaeological sites, for instance the case of Dangstetten, where more Oberaden 74 amphorae have been found (MNI 62), it barely represents 2.8% of all amphorae imports (Ehmig 2010: 36). This reduced importance is a commercial reality that can be extrapolated to all amphorae imports from *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis*, which appear to never have had a great impact on the German markets (Carreras, González Cesteros 2012: 218; Revilla 2018: 195-197), not ever exceeding 8.8% of imported amphorae.

Returning to amphora diversity, the form and distribution of the Oberaden 74 amphora may suggest

a typological selection, between producers and/or marketing agents, for *Tarraconensis* wine trade in land and river commercial networks. However, evidence does not show that the spread of *Tarraconensis* wines along the Ebro or the Gallic fluvial networks fell too heavily on this amphorae typology, with more “maritime” Pascual 1 and Dressel 3-2 amphorae being used. Despite this, it is noticeable that on many occasions they selected the Oberaden 74 typology to transport *Tarraconensis* wines destined for *limes germanicus*.

This would imply that the amphora typology selection was in this case determined by the route that the wine would take from its production site to the consumer, with whom they surely had already agreed or even signed a contract to sell the wine. In the case of Pascual 1 amphorae, the destination ports would be especially *Narbo*, and perhaps *Agde* and *Lattara*, all of them sea ports. After the wine reached its one of these ports, other local merchants would act as intermediaries, selling the wine on to regional inland markets. In many cases they would keep the amphora container, but in others the wine would be transferred to smaller or more flexible containers (such as complementary ceramic containers, *cullae* or *cupae*) to transport it more easily and cheaply. These commercial and transport dynamics would also explain the high *Tarraconensis* amphora concentrations in some container transfer sites and river *entrepôts* (Palacín in press a).

Following this idea, it would make sense to choose the Oberaden 74 amphora to transport a wine that was destined, by some type of contract or agreement with the military administration, to the *limes germanicus* military camps. Since most of the journey took place on fluvial and land networks, the Oberaden 74 typology was almost ideal. Other *Tarraconensis* wine amphorae that arrived at the *limes*, Pascual 1 and Dressel 3-2, could also reach it directly, at the cost of making the product more expensive. No doubt many Pascual 1 and Dressel 3-2 arrived indirectly, being acquired by the administration while they circulated through the *Gallia Narbonensis* markets where, as mentioned above, Catalan amphorae had a notable presence.

Conclusion

It is worth emphasising the possibility that container or amphora typology selection was very influenced by the destination market and, above all, by the route that the product should perform from the production area to the destination market. A destination market that, it should be pointed out, did not have to coincide with its place of final consumption. The *Tarraconensis* producers’ preference for “traditional” typologies, such as Pascual 1 and Dressel 3-2, would be influenced not only because they were the most recognizable amphorae for wine and fashion at that time, but also because the main transport route to their principal destination market was totally maritime. The Oberaden 74, therefore, emerged as a great response to the need to transport wine to markets reachable mostly through river and land routes. Correspondingly, as shown before, in areas reachable by sea such as the Atlantic Gallic coast or Italian coast, Oberaden 74 amphora were rare.

We can observe these typological adaptations to the main trade routes in other amphorae producers of the Roman empire. The Gauloise 4 is an example of this phenomenon. It was the Gallic amphora par excellence and began its large manufacturing in the middle of the 1st century AD. Its flat base facilitated their transport through the Gallic River networks where their main consumer markets were located. As Gaul wine increased its penetration in Mediterranean markets, the pottery workshops progressively reduced its flat base (Laubenheimer 1985; Laubenheimer, Schmitt 2009), adapting the amphora to sea-borne trade.

The Oberaden 74 did not have a similar fate. Its production was always small-scale and limited geographically, with its commercial peak limited to the last decades of the 1st century BC and the first decades of the following century. Gradually, as throughout the 1st century AD *Gallia Narbonensis*' wine-growing centres became some of the largest and most successful of the empire, they displaced the *Tarraconensis* wine first from their domestic markets and later also abroad. They later monopolised peripheral regions such as *Britannia* and especially the *limes germanicus*, covering much of the demand of wine that had driven the rise of the Pascual 1, Dressel 3-2 and Oberaden 74 in the first place.

Faced with this change, the owners and producers from *Tarraconensis* started to concentrate growing efforts on the untapped markets of the Central Mediterranean, a fully maritime network scenario, with direct routes from *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis* to the large ports of Italy and Carthage. There, not only did more "traditional" amphora types stand out, but especially the Dressel 3-2, an amphora already popular in those markets and which would end up becoming the great Catalan wine standardised amphora from the 1st to the 2nd century AD.

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The regulation of maritime transport in the Edict on Maximum Prices, a major cause of its failure

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Abstract

The proclamation of the Edict on Maximum Prices of Diocletian in 301 AD was the most ambitious reform carried out by the government of the Tetrarchy. Its aim was to combat the escalation of prices that the Roman Empire was suffering due to inflation, in order to achieve a harmonization of living conditions between the different provinces. With this purpose in mind, they set the price of more than 1300 products, services and salaries. Among these regulations, the Edict on Prices specifies in its Chapter XXXV the cost of maritime trade. As is well known, the ability of the Diocletian's Edict to influence its socio-economic reality became a failure. The purpose of this paper is to show that the dispositions of Chapter XXXV played an important role in making inoperative the whole legislation of the Edict of Prices. A comparison between the different routes listed on Diocletian's Edict shows that maritime trade legislation was particularly arbitrary, as it displays an absence of correlation between the distance and the fixed transport price. In addition to the general miscalculations that the prices of a great number of products were subject to, that made the legislation regarding sea transport totally inoperative. Thus, the artificiality of the maximum prices detailed in Chapter XXXV played a key role in worsening the economic situation even further.

Introduction: historical context of Diocletian's Tetrarchy

The middle decades of the third century of the Christian Era were one of the most turbulent periods in Roman history. Beginning with the death of Emperor Alexander Severus in 235, fifty consecutive years of instability would begin in Roman civilization. As instability took over the Empire, the mechanisms of the state remained powerless in the face of the chronic systemic crises that threatened the survival of Rome.

The so-called Crisis of the Third Century, which was rather a combination of multiple crises, was mainly caused by the political crisis resulting from the discrediting of the imperial institution (Rostovtzeff 1988: 402). With the weakening of the emperor's authority, the Empire would experience usurpations, territorial partitions, civil wars and barbarian invasions at a frantic pace. These would cause an economic crisis marked by a devaluation of Roman monetary rates, constant famines and a worrying demographic decline, all factors that would lead to a crisis of Roman spiritual values that would lead to the advance of Christianity and other cults from the East. The best synthesis of the crisis continues to be that of André Chastagnol (1985: 37-88). As for the issue at hand, the Crisis of the Third Century also struck down the internal logics of trade.

It would not be until the year 284, with the rise of emperor Diocletian (*Diocletianus*, or Διοκλητιανός, which is the imperial name of Diocles), that this very dangerous dynamic would be reversed, completing the task of recovery initiated by Aurelianus (Bowman 2005: 77). Who would become the great architect of the Dominate was the son of a freedman of senator Anulinus. Diocletian had climbed Roman social

pyramid through the army and served at the time of his proclamation as *domesticos regens* (*De caesaribus*, 39, 1), an officer of Numerian's personal guard. His main goal was to reverse the general situation in which the Empire found itself at the same time as it sought new formulas to legitimize imperial authority after the hereditary succession of Carus in Carinus and Numerian failed.

Diocletian carried out the transformation of the empire using a dual strategy: first, the expansion of state power through an increase in the territorial presence of the administration, with an increase in civil servants and the military, and second, the implementation of a series of reforms in the public treasury based on increasing fiscal pressure.

The most important reform carried out by Diocletian was the restructuring of the Roman political system, which consisted of a reformulation of the institution of public power, establishing first the Diarchy and later the Tetrarchy. The Roman Tetrarchy was an institution of government in force between 293 and 313 (Barnes 1982: 4). Tetrarchy, according to Bernard Rémy, indicates nothing but “quatre souveraines de rang égal” (Rémy 1998: 32). It consisted in the division of the Roman Empire in two parts, East and West, each ruled by an emperor with the rank of Augustus. At the same time, two more emperors were elevated, each associated to one Augustus, who with the lower rank of Caesar ruled on their own a half of the East and West each. This resulted in four empires within the same Roman Empire, remaining each Caesar under the moral authority of his Augustus. In practice, however, the various tetrarchies that existed were either maintained by the unique influence of Diocletian or were totally dysfunctional. Once Diocletian abdicated the tetrarchic order imploded, with emperors succeeding at a frantic pace. This instability was the main critique of this new political formulation, as Lactantius testimonies (*De mortibus persecutorum*, 18, 5). This formulation of the Roman state was arguably the most complex in its history and sought once and for all to resolve the instability caused by the imperial succession since the time of emperor Augustus. A widely studied problem: mainly caused by the lack of constitutional laws during the Principate able to define a clear succession mechanism. The only attempt to codify emperor powers was the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (CIL VI, 930), but still, it did not incorporate a succession mechanism. The most recent study in this topic is that of John Grainger (2020: 48).

Besides these more abstract issues, it was also urgent to solve day-to-day practical problems. Most of Diocletian's interventions were in the fields of the army and the bureaucracy, in short, the structure of the state. His policy was ultimately the implementation of an expansive state. Diocletian tried to cope with steady population decline, caused by the chronic effects of fifty years of civil wars, barbarian incursions and the great plague that occurred between 250 and 270, the so-called Cyprian Plague. Named after the most useful author for its historical study (Harper 2015: 224; Harper 2016: 473-476). The bleak picture presented by Cyprian (*Epistulae*, 8, 1) would as a result of increased security and therefore confidence in the state, but Roman economic structures would not revert to the reality of the second century. A demographic theory developed by Arthur Boak determines that the new system helped to institutionalize economic decline, especially by making trades hereditary (Boak 1955: 23-35).

To restore security, Diocletian increased the size of the army. From 300,000 soldiers at the time of Augustus, the Roman army had grown to 400,000 men at the time of the Severan dynasty. And then, increased to 500,000 soldiers during the Tetrarchy (Dupuy, R. and T. Dupuy 1986: 147). The leading expert on the late imperial army, Yann Le Bohec, defines Diocletian's military reforms in the emergence of an army, which “se caractérise par un encadrement aristocratique, par un recrutement de qualité et par le choix de la stratégie de limes” (Le Bohec 1990: 275). In order to resolve the permeability of the frontier, Diocletian undertook a fortification campaign, especially in the east, where the Diocletian Strata was

built (Parker 2015: 843-848).

High military spending led to a need to increase revenue, leading to high fiscal pressure. This was achieved with the generalization of the following taxes: the *annonna* (tax for the food of the military), the *capita* (uniform tax applied to each citizen), the *iugum* (tax on agricultural production) and the *capitulum* (tax to large landlords, with the aim of funding large recruitment campaigns) (Rémy 1998: 75-79). The proliferation of all these taxes is the most frequent criticism of the emperor's detractors (*De mortibus persecutorem*, 7). He also carried out monetary reforms, which led to rising inflation due to the devaluation of the metal of the currencies. In the year 301 inflation of the gold pound skyrocketed, reaching a price one hundred and twenty times its price in the time of Augustus (Rémy 1998: 81), situation that would not reverse until Constantine's monetary reform of 310 (Chastagnol, 1985: 351-356).

Indeed, Diocletian's conception of the state led to a new dynamic that would accelerate the historical processes of the Late Roman Empire; if his stabilizing project found its mainstays in maintaining internal peace and preserving the integrity of borders, the only possible application of his ideas was to increase the army. Its forced recruitment program removed many workers from the productive economy, thus, dropping production. This was an unsustainable predatory policy that over the years would lead to an absence of manpower. It was unfeasible to respond to the demand generated by an army of the dimensions that Diocletian projected.

The Edict on Maximum Prices

The Edict on Maximum Prices of Diocletian, also known as Edict of Diocletian or Edict on Prices, is the English name of the the *Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium* (sometimes *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum...*) which exact translation should be "Edict of the sale price of things", was a major piece of legislation passed by Diocletian in 301. The general purpose of the Edict was to put an end to the hyperinflation that had dominated the Roman economy for decades, and at the same time to combat the speculative economy that had arisen as a result. Fighting *avaritia*, greed, is cited as the main aim of the Edict in its preamble as many as eight times (*Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium [Proemium]*, *CIL* III, 1913).

Just a few months later, Diocletian issued a drastic reform of the Roman currencies that tried to solve hyperinflation. A key aspect to the emperor, the first half of the Edict also addressed minting reforms. But most relevant would be the second half, that imposed price-control on thousands of products and services, all of them in *denarii*, the new basic unity of money introduced by Diocletian.

Among all those listed prices, being male lions and purple dyed silk the most expensive goods, both at 150 thousand *denarii*, those of interest to us, the freight charges for sea travels, are compiled in the last chapter of the Edict, Chapter XXXV, name given by Joyce Reynolds (1989: 301).

The Edict has not reached us through any historical-literary sources, and its study has had to be realized by means of the epigraphic evidence. The only evidence in this regard is the critique of Lactantius that we discussed earlier (again, *De mortibus*, 7). Four fragments of significant length have been known since the 19th century. The first, and most important fragment, was discovered at Stratonikeia in the early 18th century by the English consul of Smyra. The following in importance is an epigraph presumably from Egypt that has been preserved in France since 1807. Third, a fragment found in Greece in 1889, preserved in the museum of Athens. Finally, another fragment discovered in Greece, this one in 1892

(Hunt *et al.* 1892: 233-244). None of these, alone, gives complete information about the details of the Edict, but the sum of the set has made it possible to reconstruct it. (Kent 1920: 35-36). The first serious attempt to reconstruct the Edict was made by Theodore Mommsen in his work *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian* (Mommsen 1958), originally published in 1893. Mommsen himself was also the first to study fragments of the Edict (Mommsen 1873: 801-841; Mommsen 1892: 1909-1953).

The discovery, in the twentieth century, of several fragments of relative importance allowed us to expand our knowledge of the Edict on Maximum Prices. These are: a large fragment from Aphrodisias, in Caria, found in 1937 (Jacopi and Crema 1939: 202-225; 231-232); an epigraph found in Pettorano, at the Italian region of the Abruzzi, in 1940 (Guarducci 1940: 11-24); an unpublished fragment found in the museum at Afyonkarahisar, at Anatolia, in 1950 (Macpherson 1952: 72); a fragment from Argos found in 1953 (Bingen 1953: 650-652; 655) and another in Delphi the subsequent year (Bingen 1958: 603-606); one found in Ptolemais, Cyrenaica, in 1955 (Caputo, G. and R. Goodchild 1955: 107), a fragment from Aezani, Anatolia, found in 1975 (Crawford and Reynolds 1975: 159); and two fragments from Euboea discovered in 1976 (Doyle 1976: 80-81; 85-89). The sum of all these discoveries and the dozens of other smaller fragments from all over the Empire, especially from the East, have made it possible to carry out a reconstruction of most of the Edict. The most complete edition of the Edict nowadays, which offers a much more up-to-date version than Mommsen's of 1893, is the edition by Marta Giaccherio, which has become the reference work in recent decades (Giaccherio 1974). However, Giaccherio's work does not incorporate small changes to minor headings discovered in recent years.

Freight rates in the Edict: Chapter XXXV

Of all this evidence that we have listed before, that of Aphrodisias is the copy of the Edict that provides more information on the subject that interests us, maritime taxes. The epigraph has been largely studied by Joyce Reynolds, and can be found in: (Kenan, Erim and Reynolds 1970: 137-141) or (Erim and Reynolds 1973: 101-104). The one from Aezani (Crawford and Reynolds 1975: 159) is also a good source for the study of Chapter XXXV. This one is a Greek copy of the Edict. The only complete translation into English is that of Antony Kropff (2016: 66-69), which includes corrections made by Walter Scheidel (2013: 466) to the original publication by Marta Ghiaccherio. Pascal Arnaud also offers a translation of Chapter XXXV into English (Arnaud 2007: 336).

The prices corresponding to maritime travel are expressed in *denarii per modius castrensis* (a unit of volume approximately corresponding to 13 liters). The number of *denarii* is in addition, in correlation, or it was intended to be as we will see, with the duration of the travel. We have conserved several complete routes (origin, destination and freight rate listed), that figure in Chapter XXXV of the Edict, and most of them correspond to eastern ports. The routes we keep complete are as follows:

Alexandria to Rome (Scheidel: Ostia), 16; Alexandria to Nicomedia, 12; Alexandria to Byzantium, 12; Alexandria to Dalmatia (Scheidel: Salona), 18; Alexandria to Aquileia, 24; Alexandria to Africa (Scheidel: Carthago), 10; Alexandria to Sicily (Scheidel: Messina), 10; Alexandria to Ephesus, 8; Alexandria to Thessalonica, 12; Alexandria to Pamphylia, 6; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Rome, 18; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Salona, 16; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Aquileia, 22; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Africa (Scheidel: Carthago), 16; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Hispania (Scheidel: Tarraco or Carthago Nova), 20; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Southern Hispania (Scheidel: Gades), 22; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Lusitania (Scheidel: Olisipo), 26; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Gallia (Scheidel: Narbo), 24; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Byzantium, 12; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria)

to Ephesus, 10; Syria (Scheidel: Seleukeia Pieria) to Sicily (Scheidel: Messina), 16; Ephesus to Rome, 16; Ephesus to Africa (Scheidel: Carthago), 8; Ephesus to Dalmatia (Scheidel: Salona), 12; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Rome, ?; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Salona, 18; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Sicily (Scheidel: Messina), 6; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Hispania (Scheidel: Tarraco or Carthago Nova), 8; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Gallia (Scheidel: Narbo), 4; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Achaea (Scheidel: Corinthus), 12; Africa (Scheidel: Carthago) to Pamphylia, 14; Rome to Sicily (Scheidel: Messina), 6; Rome to Thessalonica, 18; Rome to Achaea (Scheidel: Corinthus), 14; Rome to Hispania (Scheidel: Tarraco or Carthago Nova), 10; Rome to Gallia (Scheidel: Narbo), 4; Sicily (Scheidel: Messina) to Gallia (Scheidel: Narbo), 8; Nicomedia to Rome, 18; Nicomedia to Ephesus, 6; Nicomedia to Thessalonica, 8; Nicomedia to Achaea (Scheidel: Corinthus); 8; Nicomedia to Salona, 14; Nicomedia to Pamphylia, 8; Nicomedia to Syria (Scheidel: Berytus), 12; Nicomedia to Africa (Scheidel: Carthago), 14; Byzantium to Rome, ?; Byzantium to Trapezunt, 18; Byzantium to Sinope, 8; Byzantium to Amastris and Sinope Tomis, 8.

To get more insight on how the Edict's mechanic worked, let's have a look at some examples of maritime routes. Travel days considered were calculated by Pascal Arnaud (2007: 330-331), and then corrected by Walter Scheidel (2013: 466).

The longest route preserved with freight charges, that used to departure from the Syrian port of Seleukeia Pieria to Olisipo, in Lusitania, had a freight charge of 26 *denarii*, and 36 days were needed to complete the voyage, which gives us a ratio of about a day and a half for each *denarius*.

The cheapest preserved, connected Africa with Gallia, through Carthago and Narbo and had a cost of 4 *denarii* and a week duration, which gives us a ratio of almost two days of travel for each *denarius* invested.

If we compare this last price with the shortest route preserved, the one that connected the Anatolian ports of Nicomedia, Diocletian's capital, with Ephesus, the biggest port of Asia Minor, it cost 6 *denarii* for 4 days of travel, a ratio of less than a day for each *denarius*. This route shows us how arbitrary some of the freight charges were. Less days of travel were taxed with more *denarii* than the prior route.

If we sum the total data conserved for the 48 routes, we get a result of 634 *denarii* that corresponds to 670 days of sea travelling, so to mathematical ratio is little over a day: 1,06. (Scheidel 2013: 467). From this we can conclude that roughly a day of travel should correspond to a *denarius* for each *modius castrensis*. At least, it seems that Diocletian's intention was for the routes to comply with this ratio. On this conclusion we can add that although only 9 routes meet the ratio accurately, most of them (45) move within expected parameters: None presents an excessive deviation from one day one *denarius*. Accepting this calculus as valid, the route that most closely matches these parameters is the one that connected Carthago Pamphylia, 14 *denarii* for a fortnight.

Criticism of the Edict

Taxation mechanics are not clearly specified throughout the Edict. With this in mind, we must add the major problem associated with maritime transport. Freight taxes did not affect final consumer's price. The ceiling price for each good and service was universally applied in each province. The price of cereals was the same in Egypt as in Rome, for example, so exporting them was an economic ruin.

The main criticism is that the Edict on Maximum Prices was, indeed, arbitrary. A statement with nuances: "the general scale of prices was arbitrary, but there is no reason to believe that the relation of one price

to another was distorted” (Jones 1974: 351). So, miscalculations must be understood as an involuntary error and not as a strategic decision. Simon Corcoran, in a long segment dedicated to the Edict (Corcoran 1996: 215-245), was the first to conclude that it was the result of a long period of gestation by Diocletian and his aides. This dialectic around the intentionality of the Edict is framed around a general discussion about the existence, or not, of a general plan behind Diocletian reforms.

The Tetrarchy has always been questioned for its ability to carry out long-term transformations, and whether these respond to fundamental political programs or political solutions resulting from the current situation. Traditionally, Diocletian’s government work has been understood as a series of improvised measures, which explains the general failure of the Tetrarchy. This was a widespread opinion by Christian sources until the eighteenth century, when Gibbon reversed the ideological burden of this discourse: “like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a New Empire” (Gibbon 1952: 142). In this Gibbonian historiographical current, the ideas of André Chastagnol should be highlighted. Chastagnol defends that the Tetrarchy is a far-reaching project of deliberate reform of the Roman Empire: “Dioclétien a révélé alors une fois de plus son intelligence vigoureuse et ses éminentes qualités d’homme d’Etat et d’organisateur” (Chastagnol 1985: 99). This idea today eclipsed by the historiographical proposal of Bernard Rémy, which states that the project of the Tetrarchy progresses as determined by events and that the perception of a devised political project is a mirage created by public iconography (Rémy 1998: 32).

Pascal Arnaud was the first to offer a general interpretation of the valuation mechanisms applied to the Edict’s chapter on maritime transport. For the scholar, Diocletian and his assistants were unaware of the reality of sailing and “simplifying was a technical choice made by the authors of the Edict, and it is one of the causes of its artificiality” (Arnaud 2007: 331). However, Arnaud considers that despite the artificiality of the valuation mechanisms, there was an express desire to match the days of navigation with the corresponding rate proportionally: “whatever the artificiality of the figures in the Edict, they seem to have been inspired by some simple rules, the key was voyage duration” (Arnaud 2007: 334). Once proven the hypothesis of Arnaud, that many of the routes were completely arbitrary, Walter Scheidel softens his colleague’s claims, “the present confirmation of Arnaud’s hypothesis does not tell us whether the price levels envisioned by the Edict were realistic” (Scheidel 2013: 468).

Conclusions

To sum it up, we must argue that regulation of the maritime transport was a major cause in the failure of the whole legislation. An unexplored reflection by scholars who have addressed the causes that led to the failure of the Edict is that freight rates should not impact on the consumer if prices are set by decree. Thus, there was no business at all for the intermediaries of the commodities. Since the flow of basic needs could not be stopped for the sake of population’s survival, what happened is that the Edict was quickly ignored by the Roman population. Miscalculations and artificial regulations did not help guarantee a prosperous future for the Edict, but this miscalculation about the operation of maritime transport made all legislative production dysfunctional, if not directly asocial.

Diocletian’s economic policy fiasco met with Diocletian’s successes in institutional reforms, therefore, an unrecovered economy had to maintain an ever-growing state, which resulted in an increase in fiscal pressure for the Romans. The failure of what should have been the most significant reform of the Tetrarchy only helped to worsen the economic situation of the Empire and its citizens even further.

Finally, it should be added that, in our opinion, the Edict was part of a planned economic policy, at the same time part of a general plan to reform the Empire. The debate over the Tetrarchy, and Diocletian's political project in general, has revolved around the question of whether the emperor carried out his reforms from a detailed planning or whether these were improvised reforms for the needs of the moment. The Edict is a clear example that Diocletian had, in fact, a general plan for universal reform of all aspects of the Empire. But of course, the viability of his projects ended up being questionable on most occasions.

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