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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS OR PUBLIC BODIES? THE GEROUSIAI OF THE GREEK CITIES IN THE IMPERIAL PERIOD[*]

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Summary: The article explores the position of the Gerousia in the associative universe of the Greek cities of the Imperial period. The first section examines the public dimension of the Gerousia, as it emerges from its interaction with the civic institutions, the local notables and the imperial power. The second section focuses on the Gerousia's similarities with private associations, both in their organizational form and in several of their activities, such as the protection of graves and the administration of funerary endowments. The third section draws a comparison between the public role of the Gerousia and that of private associations. Finally, the last section proposes a taxonomy of the various corporate bodies of the Greek polis in relation to their access to events, acts and symbols that expressed the sovereign power of the civic community and its collective identity. In these terms, the Gerousia occupied an impressively high position which brought her very close to the Council and the People.

Introduction

During the Imperial Period organised bodies of elders styled *Gerousiai* or simply – and more rarely – *gerontes* and *geraioi* are attested in numerous Greek cities, especially in Asia Minor but also in the Aegean islands and in certain important centres of mainland Greece including Athens and Thessaloniki.[1] These Gerousiai first appear in the Late Hellenistic Period

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1 Five monographs have been devoted to this institution: Oliver 1941; Van Rossum 1988; Bailey 2006; Giannakopoulos 2008a; Bauer 2014.

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but from the mid-1st century B.C. onwards they multiply and flourish in a spectacular fashion. Unlike the homonymous bodies of the Archaic and Classical periods – for example, the Spartan Gerousia – they did not perform functions directly relating to civic government and did not acquire or exercise any kind of administrative competence over public affairs. They were not involved in law-making, the administration of justice or in proposing decrees to the popular assembly. Their most characteristic feature, one on which all modern scholars agree, was the fact that they were centred on the gymnasium. Indeed, about two dozen cities provide us with epigraphic evidence of *gymnasiarchoi* in charge of these Gerousiai and of gymnasial amenities used by them.[2]

In the late 19th century certain students of the civic institutions in Roman Asia Minor, especially those focusing on Ephesus, where a Gerousia perhaps involved in civic administration already appears under Lysimachos,[3] treated the Gerousiai of the Imperial Period as public bodies

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2   The origin of these gymnasial Gerousiai is not clear and the subject cannot be treated here. In a few cities late Hellenistic associations of *presbyteroi* predate the Gerousia, which emerges later in the Imperial Period. But sometimes the two terms are used in the same document, referring to what seems to have been a single body of elders. According to Van Rossum (1988: 238-39) the Gerousia in these cities may be seen as the continuation of the *presbytero*i. Zimmermann (2007: 1523-27) argued that at least in some cities the Gerousia may have emerged as the representative council of a broader body of *presbyteroi*. I have elsewhere argued (Giannakopoulos 2008a: 13-27) in favour of an institutional evolution from associations of *presbyteroi* to Gerousiai that were more fully integrated in the public sphere (the term *presbyteroi* remaining in use when referring to the purely gymnasial activities of the members). Focusing on the *presbyteroi* themselves and not on their relation with the Gerousia, Fröhlich (2013: 49) rightly re-emphasised that local variations constituted the decisive factor (a point already noted by Van Rossum, Zimmermann and Giannakopoulos). Whatever the relation between the *presbyteroi* and the Gerousia might have been, it should be stressed that in most cities a gymnasial association of elders appears only – and right from the start – with the name Gerousia or *gerontes/geraioi*.

3   The evidence for the Gerousia of Ephesus under Lysimachos consists in a passage of Strabo (14.1.21), who remarks that this body was attached to the *epikletoi* and two honorific decrees (*I. Eph.* 1449, 1470). These testimonies have generated various interpretations regarding the Gerousia's involvement in the local government (see more recently Bailey 2006: 45-58; Bauer 2014: 81-90).

analogous to the Council and exercising some kind of authority and control over religious affairs.[4] However, in the first part of the 20th century it was Mommsen's view that prevailed: Gerousiai were characterised as primarily social organisations composed of respectable citizens of mature age.[5] For example, Jones, in his seminal book on the Greek city from Alexander to Justinian, treated the Gerousiai as the equivalent of the groups of *neoi*: indicatively, he wrote about a society for men of a mature age, characterising it as an aristocratic club.[6] A fairly similar approach was adopted by D. Magie, who also linked the Gerousiai with the groups of *neoi* and the gymnasium, writing about associations and organisations of social character resembling modern clubs.[7]

In an extremely important study published in 1941 James Oliver redefined the problem in many important ways by distinguishing between:

a) social organisations of elder citizens, private or semi-private in character, corresponding to the organisations of *epheboi* and *neoi*.

b) public bodies or corporations involved in sacred affairs, what he called the 'sacred Gerousiai', mainly on the basis of evidence from Athens and Ephesus.[8]

Oliver's views were criticised and never widely accepted.[9] It was only in 1988 that a comprehensive and systematic study of the Greek Gerousia in the Roman Period was compiled by Van Rossum.[10] The value of this book cannot be overstated and has been widely recognised. Van Rossum

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4   See e.g. Menadier 1880: 52-63; Hicks 1890: 82; Hogarth 1891: 70-74. The most recent extensive summary of the various views expressed on the nature of the Gerousiai is provided by Bailey 2006: 4-15; Bauer 2014: 66-77. Cf. also Oliver 1941: 9-13; Van Rossum 1988: 1-16; Giannakopoulos 2008a: 7-12.

5   Mommsen 1894: 326 n. 2.

6   Jones 1940: 225-26.

7   Magie 1950: 62-63.

8   Without any reservations Oliver (1941: 3, 8) characterises both the Athenian and the Ephesian Gerousiai as public bodies or corporations, as opposed to the (semi)private 'Asiatic' or 'Ionian' Gerousiai centred on the gymnasium.

9   See the review compiled by Jones 1944.

10 Van Rossum 1988.

studied in detail the prosopographical data and concluded that the Gerousia was composed both of councillors and rich commoners, frequently related to the former. He rightly rejected Oliver's distinction, claiming that any Gerousia could under certain circumstances be called *hiera* and be involved in religious ceremonies, as a passive agent, invited by rich benefactors.[11] For Van Rossum the Gerousia was 'an institution through which the members are established as a privileged group'.[12] At a formal level, its political role was not significant and was expressed through the means of honorific decrees. Informally, the Gerousia provided a forum for discussion for respectable influential men living in cities where 'patronage and personal relationships were of vital political importance'.[13]

Hence, there has already been a considerable scholarly discussion about the character and nature of the Gerousia and the main objective has been to define whether the Gerousia was a social or a public corporation, or in Oliver's case, to what extent we may distinguish between public Gerousiai with religious functions and social ones. Attention should be paid to the choice of terms: the discussion has evolved mainly around the dipole social-public and not private-public. However, as noted above, Oliver did define his social Gerousiai as private or semi-private; moreover, the fact that 20th-century Anglo-American scholars frequently compared the Gerousia with modern clubs suggests in my view that they tended at least implicitly to treat it as a private organisation. The use of the term 'social' on their part was rather dictated by the fact that they quite rightly focused on the Gerousia's relation with the gymnasium and on its similarity to the age-groups established and functioning within and around this institution. In reality, though, the characterisation of the Gerousia as a social organisation rested on a notion similar to the one underlying the juxtaposition between private bodies and public ones: the assumption that private – and, as a matter of fact, social – bodies do not, by definition, perform any function relating to the administration of state affairs.

This is of course true but in my view does not suffice to place the Gerousia exclusively in the realm of private-social institutions. Above all, the

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11 Van Rossum 1988: 87-145, 170-73.
12 Van Rossum 1988: 241.
13 Van Rossum 1988: 242.

Gerousia's involvement in the award of civic honours, a phenomenon entering the realm of civic politics and deeply rooted in the public sphere, and its presence in various acts symbolising the civic community's political identity call for another perspective. Thus, in a dissertation compiled in 2004 and published in 2008 I tried to highlight what may be termed as the public, even political, dimension of the Gerousia, a subject left relatively unexplored in Van Rossum's study, which is nevertheless valuable and very illuminating on a wide range of issues.[14] Likewise, in a still unpublished dissertation submitted in 2006 and compiled independently from mine, Colin Bailey also emphasised the semi-public character of the Ephesian Gerousia. Quite recently Ennio Bauer drew our attention to the local variations that characterised the Gerousiai of the Asia Minor cities. Finally, Eckhardt has examined the Gerousia in the light of his general thesis about an officialization and institutionalization of associations, based on the Roman model. In this line of thought, the Gerousia (and the associations of *neoi* as well), whose establishment and privileges are frequently recognized by the Roman state, enters the scope of Roman law more fully than other associations and tends to resemble the Roman *collegia licita.*[15]

My intention in this paper is to present and discuss the Gerousia's public dimension, mainly by focusing on evidence relating to its publicly visible activities and to certain of its organisational aspects. Within this framework I attempt a brief comparison with similar activities deployed by religious and professional associations which we conveniently, but perhaps not always completely accurately, characterise as private. In order to better illustrate the differences between the Gerousia and the other associations commonly characterised as private, I also take into account the similarities between the Gerousia and another gymnasial association with a considerable public dimension, the *neoi*. However, as limitations of space do not permit a fuller treatment of these similarities here, the reader should refer to B. Eckhardt's works cited in note 15.

A terminological clarification is necessary: first of all, the public sphere is not to be equated with the government and the state. Moreo-

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14 Giannakopoulos 2008a.
15 Bailey 2006: 18; Bauer 2014; Eckhardt 2016; Eckhardt 2021; Eckhardt 2023: 340-41.

ver, even what we call private associations, as they interacted with various social and political agents – by awarding honours, entering into patronage relations with high-standing individuals, cultivating bonds with sanctuaries and official cults, engaging in economic activities and adopting the organisation model of the *polis* –, may be seen as creating and obtaining access to what has been recently termed as a 'rather novel form of public space', perhaps similar in some respects to the modern notion of Civil Society.[16] Being very much akin to private associations, in terms of internal organisation and activities (see below Section II), the Gerousiai also participated in this process. However, several of the Gerousia's features and the nature of its interaction with the state authorities (summarised in Section III points a-i) demonstrate a considerable degree of access to what may be termed a 'traditional' public space which, although not completely identified with governmental institutions, was nonetheless directly related to and controlled by the state and its agents (for example, the various civic organs and officials). It is in this sense that the 'public' dimension of the Gerousia is examined in this paper. Although this distinction is rather artificial, it may be useful and fruitful in comparing the position held by the Gerousia with that of the various private associations.

I. The public role and public dimension of the Gerousia

To a large extent, Van Rossum's conclusions were based on an implicit underestimation of the significance attributed to the awards of civic honours. However, the latter cannot be treated as a mere formality; they constituted important political acts which articulated a political discourse on the part of the honouring party, regarding both the honoured person and the values that he or she promoted through his or her public presence. The award of honours was a matter of thorough debate and discussion, mainly because of a keen awareness that honours functioned as means of enhancing the political capital of each individual benefactor,

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16 For this line of thought see Gabrielsen & Thomsen 2015: 12-16.

within the wider framework of an intense intra-elite competition. Bene-factors needed the visible honours that the *polis* and various institutions within it could offer and this in turn gave to all the potential honouring groups a considerable political power and a significant degree of control over the public behaviour of the local political class.[17] In other words, the attribution of honours was the necessary condition which enabled the system of euergetism to continue to function as an important element for the promotion of civic life, in accordance with long-established pre-vailing norms and cultural expectations regarding the nature of civilised life within the *polis*.[18]

In this respect, the Gerousia's frequent co-operation with the local Council and People in the award of honours, as evidenced by dozens of honorific inscriptions mentioning these three institutions as co-grantors of honour,[19] demonstrates how well-rooted the Gerousia was in local civic life. The language of these honorific inscriptions, in terms of what it indicates about the procedures resulting in the award of honours, is revealing. Frequently found in honorific inscriptions, formulas such as ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν may in fact indicate that the Gerousia first issued a separate decree temporally coordinating its ac-tions with the Council and the People and subsequently cooperated with the latter in the erection of a joint monument. The exact form of the pro-cedures behind this cooperation between the different institutions is not

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17 Van Nijf 1997: 113-20 rightly stresses this point. On the political significance of hon-ours in Roman society see Lendon 1997: 31-57, who rightly insists on the fact that a notable's *time* depended on the public recognition of his deeds and merits, a function performed by the honours attributed by the community. On honours as a means of establishing a social distance between the *euergetai* and the rest of the citizens see Sartre 1991: 164-65. For a recent comprehensive treatment of these issues see Heller-Van Nijf 2017: 5-15.

18 For the diverse ways in which the Greek *polis* of the Imperial Period defined itself by reference to the cultural values of Hellenism, embodied in various aspects of civic life partly financed by euergetism, see the recent synthetic treatments by Zuiderhoek 2009: 71-112; Pont 2010. Cf. also the insightful remarks of Mitchell 1993: 80-81, 198-99. On the various considerations taken into account in euergetic choices between games and buildings see now Kokkinia 2012; NG 2015.

19 The evidence is assembled and discussed in Giannakopoulos 2008a: 185-247.

easily discernible, but at least two inscriptions of the late Hellenistic Period may provide a clue.

The first one is a decree issued by the Council and the People of Minoa at Amorgos in honour of the *gymnasiarchos* Eunomides.[20] Only the last part of the justification clause is preserved; it refers to the fact that Eunomides had also been honoured by a *koinon ton aliephomenon* and that the People did not want to lag behind. The Council and the People decided to award a crown, an event that was to be proclaimed at certain festivals: the proclamation recorded the People as the sole grantor of the honour. However, the decree also prescribed the erection of an image in the gymnasium with an inscription which referred to both the People and the *koinon ton aleiphomenon* as the honouring bodies.

The second inscription is the well-known decree of Sestos for Menas.[21] In l. 41 there is a reference to the fact that the *epheboi* and the *neoi* had crowned Menas when he served as *gymnasiarchos* for the first time. Lines 54 ff. refer to Menas' deeds during his second term of office as *gymnasiarchos*. The Council and the People recognised and approved of the crown given to him by the *epheboi* and the *neoi* (l. 95) and decided to erect a bronze image of him in the gymnasium with an inscription mentioning both the People and the *neoi* as the honouring bodies.

Two points need to be stressed here. First, it is hardly accidental that the honouring bodies which cooperated with the Council and the People in the aforementioned decrees were, just like the Gerousia, centred on the gymnasium. The case of the *neoi* deserves special attention: as has already been noted, this officially recognised gymnasial association bore numerous similarities to the Gerousia in terms of integration into the public sphere (more on this below). Second, in both cases the Council and the People first took into consideration and then accepted the honours voted separately by other associations and then proceeded with the erection of an honorific monument with an inscription mentioning all the parties involved as grantors of the honour. Different institutions inside the *polis* responded to and honoured a great benefactor at the same time, initially functioning in a formally independent manner but subsequently

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20 *IG* XII 7 235.
21 *I. Sestos* 1.

working together at the final stage of the honorific process. The Gerousia's frequent appearance alongside the Council and the People in honorific inscriptions was probably the result of formal procedures similar to those described in the decrees for Eunomides and Menas. These procedures brought the Gerousia into official contact and interaction with the Council and the People and ended with the association of the names of all three parties in public monuments, i.e. in the civic landscape.

Other verbal formulas in honorific inscriptions demonstrate the participation of the Gerousia in a common decree issued jointly by all the honouring parties. Such seems to be the case in Akmonia, as the honorific inscription for L. Egnatius Quartus demonstrates. The Council, the People, the Gerousia and a civic tribe awarded honours κατὰ ψήφισμα πάνδημον.[22] At Patara the honorific decree for the Lykiarch Iason explicitly mentions the Gerousia as one of the issuing bodies (ἔδοξε Παταρέων τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους τῇ βουλῇ καῖ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ).[23] Once again, it is not easy to understand what exactly the Gerousia's role was in a procedure usually and normally involving the popular assembly examining a *probouleuma* issued by the Council. Nonetheless, this participation in a joint decree marks an even fuller institutional integration and interaction than the one indicated by the honorific formula ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν ... The crucial point here is that, whether as a co-operator in the award of honours or as a participant in a common decision-making process, in the language of these inscriptions the Gerousia appears to stand in the same capacity as the Council and the People. It may occupy the third position in the formula but it is placed at the same level as them.

Clearly, the Gerousia's praise was in many cases considered as a necessary element for the full expression of the civic community's gratitude towards its benefactors. The obvious question is why the civic bodies entrusted with local government were willing to accept the Gerousia as a formal institutional partner in their honorific practices. In my view, the Council and the People tended to exploit in this way the political potential created by the existence of organised bodies composed exclusively of mature men. What this political potential actually meant can be seen

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22 *IGR* IV 642.
23 *IGR* III 704 II B.

in contemporary discussions about the political role of the elders, of which Plutarch's 'Should an Old Man be engaged in Politics?' is a characteristic example. Plutarch emphasised that the elders should not hold administrative posts[24] but rather devote themselves to the role of educators.[25] The truly politically active elder advises those who have power, instructs those who need instruction, helps those who take decisions, corrects those who behave wrongly and supports and encourages those who act rightly.[26] What is of interest here is that the answers that Plutarch put forward do not essentially differ from the way in which the Greek cities of Asia Minor treated the Gerousia. If the attribution of honours was a necessary condition for the continuance of euergetism, the inclusion of the Gerousia amongst the civic agents conferring honour enhanced the honorific arsenal of the civic community and served the purpose of further encouraging public acts of euergetism, which were seen as contributing to the normal function of the local political and social system.

To a large extent this inclusion may be explained by reference to two factors. The first is what may be described as the respectability of old age. The notion that old age was inherently associated with good counsel and practical wisdom, and, consequently, that old men were still able to provide services to the community, was neither originally nor exclusively Plutarchean: it constituted a *topos* in the Greek and Roman literary tradition and a well-established conviction regarding the status and public role attributed to the older members of the community. Admittedly, the negative treatment of old age, with emphasis laid on old men's physical and mental disadvantages, was equally widespread.[27] Hence, one may plausibly argue, as Parkin does, that in reality 'old age did not grant

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24 Plut. *Mor.* 793c-794b.
25 Plut. *Mor.* 790e.
26 Plut. *Mor.* 796e-f.
27 Both approaches to old age are systematically treated by Parkin 2003: 57-89 (analysis of the relevant literary tradition), 100-10.

automatically authority or superiority'.[28] In this respect we cannot auto-matically assume that the Gerousia of the Imperial Period was an insti-tution embodying the respectability of old age.[29]

Although this is true, it is not, however, the whole truth. When we are faced with corporate bodies whose identity was at least allegedly based on the old age of their members,[30] we come upon a predetermined posi-tive answer to the problem of whether old age deserved or was entitled to claim public respect. The very choice of the name 'Gerousia' inevitably evoked associations with historical entities such as the Spartan Gerousia or the Roman Senate that was so highly regarded in the Greek East, bod-ies perceived to be characterised by the qualities of *consilium*, *ratio* and *sententia*.[31] In this respect, it is by no means accidental that in their cor-respondence with the Ephesian Gerousia, one of the notions that the Ro-man emperors and proconsuls used so as to justify the privileges awarded to this body was its πρεσβεῖον.[32] In fact, there is no reason to question the fact that in the ideological climate of the Imperial Period this notion was a defining element of the Gerousia's identity.[33]

The second factor that accounts for this inclusion is related to the fun-damental fact that the Gerousia was centred on the gymnasium. In the Imperial Period the possession of Greek *paideia* was considered as an in-dispensable element of individual and collective self-definition[34] in civic communities which prioritised the promotion of Hellenic culture and its various material manifestations (festivals, buildings), placing them at the

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28 Parkin 2003: 111; cf. 128.

29 Bauer 2014: 72 criticising Giannakopoulos 2008a: 251-59, 496-99.

30 There is no specific information regarding the age limit for entering the Gerousia. Such a limit surely existed (*I. Sultan Daği* 29 refers to a man who, after reaching the appropriate age, was admitted to the *synedrion geronton*), but the age limit does not seem to have been very high. A funerary inscription from Nikaia records a *Gerousi-astes* who died at the age of 45 (*I. Iznik* 275).

31 See Cicero, *De Senectute* 18-19 and Plut. *Mor.* 789d-e. Cf. Byl 1977: 108 n. 8 (on a prob-able influence of Cicero on Plutarch); Talbert 1984: 80-98 (on contemporary attitudes towards the Senate and the high esteem enjoyed by this body in the Greek East); Parkin 2003: 103.

32 *SEG* XLIII (1993) 765, 767.

33 Giannakopoulos 2008a: 497-502; Spawforth 2012: 172-74.

34 Cf. Kleijwegt 1991: 83-88.

epicentre of their construction of civic identity.[35] In this respect, the *gerontes*' attachment to the gymnasium was a public statement about their continuing devotion to a particularly Greek way of life through their participation in the activities of an institution which constituted the very core of Hellenic cultural values and identity.[36] Within this framework the Gerousia could be seen as an organised body which championed these values by investing them with the authority stemming from the prestige of old age. The combination could surely have worked the other way round as well, the Gerousia itself deriving a high status and authority from its commitment to the gymnasium, as it was also the case with associations of *neoi*.

Since the institutional framework, legitimised by tradition, of the Greek city still revolved around a tripartite political structure which comprised the magistrates, the Council and the Assembly of the People,[37] there was obviously thought to be no space for the Gerousia to acquire and perform purely administrative functions. On the other hand, another way to make use of the Gerousia was to assign to it a special position in the politics of civic honours. The public praise awarded by the Gerousia to civic benefactors was nothing more than a material manifestation of the *gerontes*' duty to act as the educators of the community: ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῷ γέροντι παιδείας ἕνεκα τῶν νέων καὶ διδασκαλίας πολιτευτέον ἐστίν, as Plutarch eloquently stated.[38] Praise of euergetism

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35 See the works cited above in n. 18.

36 Cf. Van Nijf 2001: 321-29 who points out that gymnasial activity constituted an essential element of the way in which local elites conceptualised civic identity in the Imperial Period and relates this development to the growing popularity of athletic games. See also Zuiderhoek 2009: 89-91. On physical exercise as an indispensable aspect of the way of life of those *gerontes* who did not resign from civic politics see Plut. *Mor.*793 B. Cf. Galen, Ὑγιεινῶν Λόγοι, 5. Parkin 2003: 253 n. 62 assembles other relevant literary testimonies. A decree passed by the Gerousia of Magnesia on the Meander stated that ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλαίου χρῆσίς ἐστιν κατάλληλος μάλιστα καὶ ἀνανκαιοτάτη τοῖς σώμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πλέον τοῖς τῶν γερόντων (*I. Magnesia* 116 ll. 9-10).

37 Cf. Van Nijf-Alston 2011: 9-11. On the interaction among Council, Assembly and officials in the cities of Roman Asia Minor see Fernoux 2011: 189-236, 348-88; a detailed discussion of civic officials may be found in Dmitriev 2005: 109-246.

38 Plut. *Mor.* 790e.

was perfectly compatible with the Plutarchean notion of the *gerontes* being responsible not for providing leadership but for ensuring that the community possessed the proper leadership. Hence, the very existence of organised bodies embodying the respectability of old age and the cultural values of the gymnasium, combined with the particular significance of the politics of honour in the Greek cities of the Imperial Period, gave to the Gerousia an important public, even political – in the wide sense of the word – dimension. The Gerousia appeared as an important additional provider of honour, which was highly esteemed both by the traditional honouring parties, the Council and the People, and the honorands themselves. Furthermore, the very fact of the Gerousia's frequent cooperation with the Council and the People, gave to the associations of old men a considerable advantage in their competition with other associations equally not involved in the local government and administration.[39]

The Gerousia's close association with the world of civic institutions is also manifest in the benefactions directed to this body so as to support its infrastructure and activities. Two examples are particularly indicative. As is well known, under Hadrian Smyrna underwent an extensive programme of urban embellishment and renovation, partly financed by the emperor himself and partly by local magnates. The stele recording the relevant promises includes a reference to the *prytanes* Klaudianos' commitment to repair the roof of the Gerousia's *aleipterion.* Other such interventions included the reconstruction of public gardens, works in two *basilikai* and the construction of a temple of Tyche.[40] At Thyateira a local benefactor who supervised the construction of an aqueduct and the erection of statues of Eros was also involved in building an *oikobasilikos* for the Gerousia.[41] In both cases general schemes of more or less public character aiming at associating the benefactors' excellence with a variety of civic institutions accorded to the Gerousia a prominent position.

Moreover, as a recipient of distributions, the Gerousia always appears along with the Council, the civic tribes or the citizen-body as a whole.

39 On the competition between different associations as grantors of honour see Van Nijf 1997: 120.
40 *I. Smyrna* 697 (see ll.16-18 for the Gerousia).
41 *TAM* V 2 991.

Admittedly, these distributions were private initiatives, although they were nonetheless addressed to civic categories and corporate bodies. Thus, local magnates like Menodora from Sillyon or the anonymous Lycian benefactor whose services are recorded in an inscription from Xanthos included the Gerousia among the beneficiaries of their generosity.[42] At Aphrodisias, a dining-room was dedicated to Aphrodite and the *patris*, and the donor promised to finance on a regular basis banquets offered to the councillors, the *diakosiaprotoi*, the Gerousia and the civic tribes.[43] In Philadelpheia and Aphrodisias the Gerousia appears next to the Council as a recipient of commemorative donations prescribing annually repeated distributions of money, sometimes held before the statue of the donor.[44] The benefactor Gaius Stertinius Orpex, a freedman serving as *scriba librarius* in Ephesus, deserves special mention. He bequeathed money to the Council and the Gerousia for annual distributions. The councillors were gathered for that purpose in front of his honorific monument erected in the market-place and the *Gerousiastai* in front of his honorific monument erected in the stadium. The Gerousia was also the recipient of another distribution in front of the donor's grave, where a banquet also took place.[45] Orpex's public presence included the Gerousia in a particular way, corresponding to the body's distinct functions relating to its involvement in athletic activities and the perpetuation of the memory of important benefactors.

Another point that should be taken into account is the fact that, when appearing as a participant in banquets or as a beneficiary of distributions of sacrificial meat, the Gerousia attended events that were organised by local sacral magistrates in their official capacity. Thus, a priestly couple at Stratonikeia (Theophilos and Tryphaina) proudly recorded in an inscription summarising their deeds during their term of office that they offered the sacred banquet-hall for the use of all the social and age categories of the *polis* and that they organised a banquet for the Gerousia, the only local institution to be treated in this way.[46] Several priestesses of

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42   See *IGR* III 800-2 and *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII 67 respectively.
43   *IAph2007* 12.26 d (*MAMA* VIII 413d).
44   See *IAph2007* 11 23, 12 317, 12 1111 from Aphrodisias and *CIG* 3417 from Philadelphia.
45   The inscriptions for Orpex are *I. Eph.* 411, 720, 2113, 4123.
46   *I. Stratonikeia* 270.

Artemis at Ephesos distributed sacrificial meat to the Council and the Gerousia, as part of their official duties.[47] Following the same example, two Milesian *gymnasiarchoi*, after performing the regularly prescribed sacrifices to Herakles, Hermes and the local hero Antiochos, distributed the sacrificial meat to the Gerousia.[48] At Stratonikeia another couple of priests (Oulpios Ariston and Ailia Tryphena Drakontis) completed their term of office by distributing equal sums of money to the Council and the Gerousia,[49] while at Seleukeia in Cilicia, the buyer of the local priesthood of Athena was obliged to offer cash handouts to the councillors, the citizens and the *gerontes*, the latter being more generously treated than the former.[50]

Furthermore, special mention should be made to a similar well-established practice in Syros. From the middle of the 2nd century A.D. the eponymous *archontes*, the *stephanephoroi*, organised various ceremonies during the first days of their duties, including sacrifices, distributions of money and wine and of course banquets.[51] The beneficiaries were roughly the whole free male population of the island divided into the following categories: the Gerousia, the citizens, the *katoikoi*, and the foreigners from the neighbouring islands. Sometimes the women and the children also took part. The Gerousia was the only corporate body that participated (note the absence of the Council) and it occupied the most privileged position as far as the amount of distributed money was concerned. Moreover, it was recorded that the privileges of the Gerousia derived from a long-established custom, while those of the other categories resulted from a decree issued by the Council and the People.[52] Among these ceremonies there were banquets offered by the *stephanephoroi* to the Gerousia and to whomever else they wanted to invite[53] and this implies that the position of the Gerousia was independent from the will of

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47 *I. Eph.* 987-88; *SEG* XLIII (1993) 779.

48 *I. Milet* 368.

49 *I. Stratonikeia* 237 ll. 9-15.

50 Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998: 371 Seleukia 124.

51 *IG* XII 5 659-66. See Van Rossum 1988: 157-58; Nigdelis 1990: 282; Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 268-69; Giannakopoulos 2008a: 376-385; Le Queré 2015: 217

52 *IG* XII 5 662 ll. 12-18.

53 *IG* XII 5 663 ll. 20-21 and *IG* XII 5 667 ll. 14-18

the current *stephanephoros*, who had to comply with the precedent established by the custom. When a ritualised representation of the civic hierarchy took place, the Gerousia was positioned at the top. Unsurprisingly, according to a sacred law of Magnesia on the Meander regulating an annual procession, the members of the Gerousia occupied the second position right after the *stephanephoros* and the priests of Artemis.[54]

What defined the Gerousia's role in these events was not the fact that it acted as a passive agent[55] – every invited group may be considered as passive in such a context, in the sense that it did not organise the event – but the fact that it was chosen by the organisers precisely because as a highly esteemed body it was considered suitable to participate in public ceremonies which dramatised the civic institutional landscape.[56] In this respect, the Gerousia appeared as an essential element of civic identity.

It is in this light that we may interpret the presence of images personifying the Gerousia in the iconography of civic coins issued by cities such as Hierapolis, Aphrodisias, Tiberiopolis (where the Gerousia is depicted along with the Council), Antiocheia on the Maeander and Aizanoi.[57] Similarly, in Akmonia the statue of the Gerousia stood next to those of the People and the *Polis*, as an honorific inscription dated to 68 A.D. informs us.[58] The absence of the Council is again worth noting in this case, the Gerousia being considered as a corporate body perfectly suitable to stand in the former's place as an institutional embodiment of the local civic community. It is hardly accidental that prominent citizens of Kos and Attaleia bearing the honorific titles of *hyios poleos* and *hyios boules kai demou* respectively were awarded the title of *hyios Gerousias* as well. The resulting mixed titles (*hyios poleos kai Gerousias* at Kos and *hyios boules,*

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54 *I. Magnesia* 98 dated to 197/6 B.C.

55 As Van Rossum 1988: 156-77 argues in his thorough analysis of the banquets offered to and attended by the Gerousia.

56 On the function of banquets and distributions as events reflecting and at the same time shaping the civic reality and hierarchy see Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 10-11, 417-20; Van Nijf 1997: 150-57.

57 Hierapolis: BMC Phrygia 240-41 nr. 78-81; see also *RPC* IV 9789-90 (temporary). Aphrodisias: *RPC* IV 2200-1 (temporary). Cf. Leschorn-Franke 2002: 79. Tiberiopolis: *RPC* III 2521. Antiocheia on the Maeander: BMC Caria 17 nr. 18 and 18 nr. 25. Aizanoi: BMC Phrygia 39 nr. 112. Cf. Leschorn-Franke 2002: 79 and Giannakopoulos 2008a: 259-63.

58 *SEG* XLVI (2006), 1490.

demou kai Gerousias at Attaleia) expressed the institutional weight of a corporate body which was considered important enough to stand next to the traditional civic organs or even next to the inclusive notion of the *polis* as a distinct element of the civic community in a fictive filial relation that underlined the moral duty of the honorands towards their fatherland.[59]

That the citizens and the authorities of a Greek city under Roman rule perceived their local Gerousiai as essentially public institutions becomes equally evident when we examine the language of some of the inscriptions pertaining to benefactions and financial subsidies addressed to this body. In the 3rd century A.D., a lady from Thessaloniki who wished to console herself for the premature death of her son, a local councillor, donated to the city – for the benefit of the Gerousia – the sum of 10,000 drachmas (Αὐρ(ηλία) · Ἰσιδώρα| ἡ μήτηρ εἰς παραμυ|θίαν ἑαυτῆς, ἐπι|δοῦσα τῇ πόλει ἐπ' ὀνόματος| αὐτοῦ εἰς γερου|σίαν Ἀττικὰς| μυρίας).[60] Taken literally, this shows that the civic authorities were the first to receive the donation, which was to be subsequently handed over by them to the local Gerousia. The reason why the donor chose not to address her donation directly to the Gerousia eludes us.[61] But it is equally important that in the donor's mind a gift addressed to the city could be ultimately directed to the Gerousia precisely because the latter was conceived as being an institution fully integrated in the local civic landscape.

A similar notion underlies the construction of a *stoa* and a bathing-room for the Gerousia of Teos under Augustus.[62] This was a project financed by the interest produced out of the money that a local benefactor had left to the city. The fragmentary honorary inscription which provides the relevant information enables us to grasp some of the details of

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59 For Attaleia see *IGR* III 780; *An. Ep.* 1974: 635. For the evidence from Kos see Buraselis 2000: 160-62. Cf. Giannakopoulos 2008a: 273-91; ibid. 2008b.

60 *IG* X 2 1 207.

61 A somewhat similar parallel may be found in the donation of 5,000 denarii by Caius Caninius Synallasson to the city of Iasos for the expenses of the *stephanephoria*. The city decided to use the money for the benefit of the gymnasium of the *neoi*. An *epimeletes* was to invest the capital in loans and the interest was to be handed to the *dioiketai* of the *neoi*, who were to spend the entire sum on the purchase of oil. See *I. Iasos* 248 (dated under Hadrian) with Forbes 1933: 42-43.

62 *IGR* IV 1572.

this enterprise. It is clear that it was the donor's son who had taken the initiative to use the money bequeathed to the city in order to improve the Gerousia's infrastructure. Admittedly, references to this son's other cash donations to the Gerousia, in addition to those given by his parents, demonstrate that strong bonds between the two parties had already existed. But the use of the bequeathed paternal money, that is, the use of public money, for the benefit of the Gerousia, is something strikingly different. It presupposes that the donor's son considered this particular enterprise as perfectly compatible with the testator's intentions and that the civic authorities ultimately gave their approval, envisaging this course of action as one leading not to an alienation but to a useful utilisation of public property. In this respect, it is highly indicative that a civic *agoranomos* at Magnesia on the Meander was praised, amongst other things, for supplying the Gerousia at his own expense with the oil that the city customarily gave to this body each day.[63] Further information on this practice is provided by the well-known decree of the Magnesian Gerousia regulating its internal finances and issued precisely because the daily portion of oil allocated by the city was simply not adequate.[64]

In the second half of the 2nd century A.D. the Council and the People of Termessos in Pisidia voted to inscribe their decrees on *stelai* which were to be erected inside Zeus' sanctuary. This decision included the Gerousia's *syngrammata* as well. Both these civic decrees and the Gerousia's *syngrammata* were considered to have been passed 'for the interest and the salvation of private and public affairs' and to have been tested in time; henceforward they were to be protected as 'sacred'.[65] It is quite possible that internal problems and unrest of a political and social character (cf. the explicit mention of private affairs in the decree) had preceded and led to the aforementioned decision. But what matters most for

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63 *I. Magnesia* 179 ll. 15-19.

64 *I. Magnesia* 116.

65 *TAM* III 1 3A: περὶ][τῶν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το]ῦ [δ]ή|[μου ψη]φισμάτων κ[α]ὶ τῶν ι-|.... τοῦ] σ̣υ̣ν̣ε̣δρίου τῆς γε|[ρου]σί[α]ς συνγραμμάτων|ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι καὶ ἐπὶ|τῆ σωτ̣ηρίᾳ τῶν τε ἰδιωτι|κῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων|πραγμάτων γεγραμμέ|νων καὶ πείρᾳ δεδοκιμασ|μένων γνώμην ἐξήνεν|κεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ σύμπας|δῆμος ἀναγραφῆναι αὐ|τὰ ἐν στήλαις καὶ ταύτας|στ<αθ>ῆναι ἐν τῶ ἱερῶ τῶ τοῦ|Διός, ἵνα καὶ ὡς ἱερὰ φυλάτ|τηται καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξῇ|παραβαίνειν αὐτὰ μη|δὲ διὰ τοῦτο. Cf. Rhodes-Lewis 1997: 539; Giannakopoulos 2008a: 267-69; Bauer 2014: 241-43.

the purpose of this paper is the undisputable fact that for the civic authorities of Termessos the respect for the Gerousia's decisions constituted an indispensable factor of stability.

After all, whenever we may trace evidence relating to the establishment of such associations, it is absolutely clear that the relevant decision stemmed from the civic authorities. The best-known example is the Gerousia of Sidyma, established by a decree issued by the Council and the People under Commodus.[66] There is a little detail in the justification clause of this decree which in my view clarifies the way that this initiative was conceptualised by the *polis* of Sidyma:

ἐπεὶ διὰ τοὺς [εὐ]τυχεστάτους καιροὺς τοῦ θειοτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνείνου] ⟧ Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου Γαίου Πομπωνίου Βά[σ]σου Τερεντιανοῦ περὶ τὰς πόλεις αὔξησιν **καὶ** ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις ἐψηφίσατο σύστημα γεροντικὸν.

The use of καὶ here clearly shows that in establishing a Gerousia, the city of Sidyma was adapting itself to a widespread pattern, in an effort to fill what was felt to be a local institutional vacuum.

An equally well-known series of letters sent by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Areios Pagos, the Council and the People of Athens also testifies to long-term deliberations regarding the establishment of a Gerousia, its financial assets and the conditions of membership.[67] Moreover, inscriptions from Astypalaia, Thessaloniki, Kallatis and Patara attribute the creation of the respective Gerousiai to initiatives taken either by a *demiourgos* (in Astypalaia) or by a *gymnasiarchos* (in Thessaloniki, Kallatis and Patara), that is, to civic magistrates acting in their official capacity.[68] It is a fair assumption that at this initial stage the civic authorities also decided who was going to be enlisted in these newly founded Gerousiai. Indicatively, the civic decree of Sidyma mentioning the establishment of the local Gerousia was followed by a membership-list. An inscription

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66 *TAM* II 175.
67 See Oliver 1989: 401-13 nos. 193-203.
68 See Peek 1969: 37-38 no. 86 (Astypalaia); *IG* X 2 1 195-96 (Thessaloniki); *IGLScMin* III 31 (Kallatis); Engelmann 2012: 191-92 nr. 11 (Patara).

from Pompeiopolis refers to a certain Klaudios Asklepiades who was honoured by the city with citizenship and membership of the Gerousia.[69] It is not clear whether he was an original member of a newly established body or a new member of an already functioning institution; if the second hypothesis is correct, it suggests the possibility that the civic authorities exercised a considerable degree of control over the admission of new *gerontes*, and this, in turn, could again be seen as an indication of the public character of the association in question.[70]

Another relevant hint may be found in the careers of the Gerousia's officials. The leaders of the Gerousia were usually styled *gymnasiarchoi*, a clear allusion to the association's main focus of activity. The greatest part of the relevant testimonies comes from honorific inscriptions which enable us to conclude that these *gymnasiarchoi* were prominent politicians occupying important local magistracies as well. One can hardly escape noticing that for these men the *gymnasiarchia* of the Gerousia was part of a wider cursus honorum in local politics.[71] Indicatively, an inscription from Xanthos equates the *gymnasiarchia* of the Gerousia with other civic magistracies *(politikai archai)*.[72] Prominent members of the local political class were more than willing to include the tenure of the Gerousia's internal offices among their purely civic distinctions, and those who erected these honorific inscriptions, be it their relatives or the civic organs, adopted the same attitude as well.

Quite often what characterises these careers is some sort of specialisation: certain *gymnasiarchoi* of the Gerousia are also attested as having held the *gymnasiarchia* of the *neoi* and the *paides*.[73] An Ephesian secretary of the Gerousia is also attested as secretary of the *polis*,[74] while at

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69   Marek 1993: 147-48 no. 38

70   Cf. Giannakopoulos 2013: 18-23.

71   See on this topic Giannakopoulos 2008a: 57-98.

72   *TAM* II 294: ἱ]ερασάμεν[ος πατρῴ]]ου θεοῦ Ξάνθου, γυ|μνασιαρχήσας τῆς | σεμνοτάτης γερου|σίας, τελέσας δὲ καὶ|ἑτέρας πλείονας πο|λειτικὰς ἀρχάς, τῇ | πατρίδι τὸν ἀνδρι|άντα κατὰ τὰ ἐψη|φισμένα ἐκ τῶν ἰδί|ων ἀνέστησα.

73   *I. Milet* 309 (Iason). *I. Didyma* 258 (Epikrates). *I. Perge* 56 (Demetrios). *I. Magnesia* 164 (Moschion). *IGR* IV 1676 (Gaios Sauphios Maker). *I. Iasos* 250 (Sopatros). *SEG* XLVII (1997) 1573 (Andronikos). *I. Magnesia ad Sipylum* 34 (Dikaphenes).

74   This is Poplios Routilios Bassos. See *I. Eph.* 1486 l. 16 (secretary of the Gerousia) and *I. Eph.* 1233, 2038 (secretary of the polis).

Kadyanda a *tamias* of the Gerousia also served as *tamias* of the People.[75] What is even more important is that sometimes the relevant inscriptions demonstrate the simultaneous tenure of magistracies belonging to the Gerousia's and the city's apparatus. This is so in the cases of the *gymnasiarchoi* Dikaphenes and Epikrates and the secretaries Markos Aurelios Soterichos and Markos Aurelios Onesimos.[76] All this raises the possibility that at least occasionally appointments to the Gerousia's internal offices did not depend on an exclusively internal decision but were subject to a certain degree of collaboration and coordination with the civic authorities.[77]

It should be finally noted that the imperial power followed a consistent policy of support towards the Gerousia in various Greek cities. Exchanges of embassies and letters and awards of privileges and fiscal immunities are attested for the Gerousiai of Ephesus, Athens, Apameia, Sardeis, Tralleis and Chios.[78] The imperial appreciation of the institution of the Gerousia as such is perfectly illustrated by the short but fully comprehensive and significant answer given by the proconsul to the request

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75 *TAM* II 661.

76 See *TAM* V 2 1367 (Dikaphenes), *I. Didyma* 258 (Epikrates at Miletos), *I. Tralleis* 66 (Markos Aurelios Soterichos at Tralleis), 67 (Markos Aurelios Onesimos).

77 Based on the fact that the *gymnasiarchoi* of the *neoi* frequently acted as *gymnasiarchoi* of the *epheboi* as well, Forbes 1933: 22-23 argued that the former were elected by the *polis*. Admittedly, it is not uncommon to encounter individuals recorded as *gymnasiarchoi* of various age-groups (*paides, epheboi, neoi, gerontes/Gerousia*), but there is always the problem of determining whether these *gymnasiarchiai* were held successively or simultaneously (cf. Poland 1909: 40 and Forbes 1933: 31). In the latter case an involvement on the part of the *polis* is quite certain. But there is absolutely no evidence to demonstrate that Forbes' view that all the administrative officials of the *neoi* were appointed by the *polis* (Forbes 1933: 30-36) necessarily applies to the Gerousia as well (or to the *neoi* themselves as a matter of fact). In any case, the frequent appearance of the *gymnasiarchia* of the *neoi* in inscriptions recording municipal careers indicates the public status of this gymnasial association as well (see below, Section III).

78 Ephesus: *SEG* XLIII (1993) 757-72; *I. Eph.* 1486 (Oliver 1989: 170-73 no. 71); *I. Eph.* 25 (Oliver 1989: 346-51 no. 11). Athens: Oliver 1989: 401-13, nos. 193-203. Apameia: Oliver 1941: 163-64 nr. 52. Sardeis: *I. Sardis* 8 V-VI. Tralleis: *I. Tralleis* 41. Chios: Zolotas 1908: 234 no. 45.

of the Sydimeans to ratify their decree enacting the foundation of a Gerousia: τὰ καλῶς γενόμενα ἐπαινεῖσθαι μᾶλλον προσήκει ἤ κυροῦσθαι.[79] It is clear that the Romans saw in the Gerousia an institution worth encouragement and promotion, as it embodied at the local level values which were central to the ideology of the Augustan regime as well: conservatism, respect for (and revival of) tradition, paternalism.[80] The various Gerousiai on their part displayed a great zeal for erecting imperial monuments (sometimes of a clear cultic character) and for organising cultic events for the emperors,[81] in a conscious effort[82] to function as a vehicle for diffusing imperial ideology and for expressing the community's imperial loyalty. It is by no means accidental that a Roman provincial governor, Pliny the Younger, communicating with the emperor Trajan about the destruction that a fire caused in Nikomedeia, included the building of the Gerousia among the destroyed *publica opera*.[83] His view of the Gerousia perfectly corresponds with contemporary conceptions of this institution at the local level, as expressed in the epigraphic record.

II. The Gerousia's function as a private association

Although I have so far dwelt on the Gerousia's features that demonstrate its public dimension, we should also constantly bear in mind that in many other ways the Gerousia did not differ from private associations. It had its own assemblies and its own officials (*gymnasiarchoi, Gerousiarchai,*

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79 *TAM* II 175 ll. 11-12.

80 See in this respect Giannakopoulos 2008a: 496-501; Spawforth 2012: 172-74.

81 For the relevant evidence see Giannakopoulos 2008a: 407-71.

82 Under Marcus Aurelius, the Ephesian Gerousia possessed images of all the past emperors in its own building (*I. Eph.* 25).

83 Plin. *Ep.* 10.33: *Cum diversam partem provinciae circumirem, Nicomediae vastissimum incendium multas privatorum domos et duo publica opera, quamquam via interiacente, Gerusian et Iseon absumpsit.* This point had already been noted by Menadier 1880: 52; cf. Bailey 2006: 9. Commenting on this letter, Sherwin-White 1966: 606-7 characterised the Gerousiai as 'civic centres for the elder men of substance'. It is noteworthy that Pliny explicitly distinguishes between the private residences and the two *publica opera*, the *Gerusia* and the *Iseon* destroyed by the fire.

archontes, *grammateis*, *tamiai* and *ekdikoi* are some of the titles used to de-note them).[84] It had its own common treasury – we hear of *symbolai* paid to the Gerousia –[85] and its own financial assets which comprised agricul-tural land and urban real property as well, sometimes even a gymnasium and baths of its own. Although there is usually no information on how the Gerousia came to own agricultural land, a fair assumption would be that this was the result of donations to the body. Indeed an inscription from Perge explicitly refers to vineyards donated to the *geraioi* by a cer-tain Markos Pheridios.[86] Needless to say, such gifts were frequently awarded to private associations as well.[87] Admittedly, individual Gerou-siai such as those of Magnesia and Ephesus appear as great land-owners or great lenders on a scale not attested in private associations; but the difference is exactly that: one regarding the scale of financial assets not their nature.[88]

Another point of convergence between the Gerousiai and private as-sociations concerns their involvement in the various strategies relating to the protection of the memory of the dead. Various Gerousiai appear in our sources as recipients of endowments destined to finance posthu-mous commemorative rites;[89] sometimes these are the *rosalia*.[90] The Ger-ousia of Hierapolis received *stephanotika* for the crowning of graves. In Hierapolis, Ephesos, Smyrna and Kos the local Gerousiai are called upon to look after tombs, the formula used being *κήδεται τοῦ μνημείου*. Finally, funerary inscriptions frequently record various Gerousiai as recipients of fines in the event of a violation of the tomb.[91] Once again, the same functions were performed by private associations as well.[92]

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84 For the internal organisation of the Gerousia see Van Rossum 1988: 189-200; Gianna-kopoulos 2008a: 57-98.
85 Cf. Giannakopoulos 2013: 16-18.
86 *I. Perge* 66.
87 Cf. Arnaoutoglou 1998: 74.
88 On the Gerousia's financial assets and activities see Van Rossum 1988: 201-16; Gian-nakopoulos 2008a: 98-129.
89 See Giannakopoulos 2008a: 293-312, 362-68.
90 *I. Iznik* 95.
91 See Giannakopoulos 2008a: 314-32.
92   Van Nijf 1997: 31-68; Harland 2013: 68.

III. Comparison between the Gerousia
and private associations

The argument presented in the first section regarding the public dimension of the Gerousiai rests mainly on the following points:

a) the appearance of the Gerousiai next to the Council and the People as equal co-grantors of civic honours;

b) the inclusion of the Gerousiai in euergetical schemes addressed to the civic community;

c) the inclusion of the Gerousiai in distributions which might have been privately initiated but were nonetheless addressed to some or all the constituent parts of the civic community (Council, civic tribes, citizens);

d) the Gerousiai's participation in distributions, banquets and festivals which were organised in an official, sometimes religious, context by state officials and dramatised the institutional civic landscape as they involved categories of participants defined by purely political criteria (Council, citizens, civic magistrates);

e) The use of the Gerousia as a symbol of civic identity in various ways and contexts (coins, statues, honorific titles expressing a combined filial relation with the *polis* and the Gerousia as well);

f) The financial aid given to the Gerousiai by the *polis*;

g) The foundation of Gerousiai by decisions and initiatives taken by the *polis* and its magistrates;

h) The conceptualisation of the Gerousia's internal offices as part of the civic cursus honorum in honorific inscriptions;

i) The imperial support and recognition which expressed the notion that the Gerousia was part of the local public institutions.

The Gerousiai of approximately four dozen cities had at least one or several of the features described in the aforementioned points. Local variations probably played an important role. For example, the Ephesian Gerousia is known to have been continuously and considerably supported by the Roman emperors, but did not join the Council and the People in the award of honours, which is one of the most frequent and significant

public features of this institution. The Gerousiai of the Bithynian cities as a rule did not meet the aforementioned criteria. Finally, it seems that the Gerousiai of the old Greek cities of coastal Asia Minor and the adjacent islands were not as active in the joint award of honours as those of the more recent *poleis* of the hinterland (inner Caria, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycia) .[93]

We may now proceed to draw a comparison between the public role of the Gerousiai and that of religious and professional associations, which we commonly characterise as private.

Point a: As is well known, publicly visible honours were also awarded by private associations. The honorific inscriptions and monuments set up by them reflected their attempt to claim a distinct position in the civic sphere, presenting themselves as caring 'about the city's wider interests, and not merely about their narrow ones'.[94] Moreover, insofar as the erection of these monuments presupposed the approval of civic authorities, it becomes clear that the latter were willing to enter into formal relations and interaction with private associations, allowing them to inscribe their

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93 It is important to note that in mainland Greece organised bodies of elders appeared that were officially affiliated to specific deities or heroes of their hosting cities. I characterise this affiliation as official because it forms part of the collective's identity, as expressed in its name, something that is completely absent from the Gerousiai under examination here which are always defined, especially in their correspondence with the imperial authorities, with the civic ethnic. The 'Sacred Gerousia of Asklepios' at Hyettos was a private religious association (*IG* VII 2808; see Oliver 1941: 29-30; Roesch 1982: 159; Van Rossum 1988: 66-68; *cf* CAPInv 984 (F. Marchand). In the Peloponnese we encounter groups called 'the Argive gerontes descended from Danaos and Hypermestra' in Argos and 'the sacred gerontes of Upesia descended from Kresphontes' in Messene. A body defined as 'Upesia' (an alternative name for Artemis) is also on record in Thuria. These were also cultic associations closely related to constitutive elements of their hosting cities' political and religious identity and involved in the attribution of honours, usually on their own and not in conjunction with the Council and the People. However, an honorific inscription from Korone dated to the 3rd century A.D. was erected according to a decree of the polis and the *hiera Gerousia.* See on these bodies, Makres 2011 and Spawforth 2012: 169-79 who comment on the relevant testimonies and on the similarities between these public bodies and the other Gerousiai under examination here.

94 Van Nijf 1997: 121 commenting on the honours awarded by private associations.

name and presence in the civic landscape.[95] This process was in itself a mark of some kind of public significance attributed to private associations. Admittedly, when the Gerousia was conferring honours alone, it was acting and being treated in a way similar to that of professional or religious associations.[96] However, the very fact that Gerousiai frequently co-operated with the Council and the People in the award of joint honours represented a significantly fuller integration in the civic institutional framework than that any private association might have achieved. The latter might also appear in honorific inscriptions together with the Council and the People, but they did so mainly as executive agents of decisions taken by the aforementioned civic organs. Their name was not normally placed next to that of the Council and the People as grantors of honour. On the contrary, their involvement consisted in financing and realising the erection of the honorific monument voted by the Council and the People, as was the case with the *bapheis* at Thyateira,[97] the *technitai* at the Skytike Plateia at Apamea,[98] the *epi to geuma pragmateuomenoi*

95 Van Nijf 1997: 121-26. Gabrielsen 2007: 196. Three texts illustrate the relevant processes. The first is a decree issued by the *demos* of Termessos in Pisidia which allowed a body of *technitai* to set up a statue of Atalante (honoured separately by the *demos* as well) and to engrave on its base whatever inscription they chose (*TAM* III 1 4, dated to the 2nd century AD). The second is an honorary decree issued by a *koinon* of priestesses at Mantineia which prescribes the erection of a stele in the *Koragion* in accordance with a decision taken by the *archontes* and the *synedroi* (*IG* V 2 265 dated to 46-43 BC). The third is the well-known decree of Kyzikos for Antonia Tryphaina which records both a petition addressed by a group of foreign merchants and the subsequent permission given to them to set up an image of Antonia Tryphaina in the temple of Athena Polias (*IGR* IV 144 with *SEG* IV 2 (1930) 707).

96 According to a fragmentary decree dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC from Magnesia on the Meander, the local Gerousia first decided to honour a certain Euboulides with an image and subsequently approached the Council and the People seeking permission to erect the image in question at the palaestra. See *I. Magnesia* 102 with Wilhelm 1906: 69-71 and Derenne 1933: 72-73.

97 *TAM* V 2 989. Another similar collaboration is attested in *TAM* V 2 1098: an association of *Iouliastai* constructed the monument consecrated by the People to Gaios Ioulios Xenon. See Hughes 1999: 172.

98 *IGR* IV 790. In *IGR* IV 791, also from Apameia, the statue voted by the Council, the People and the Roman settlers is erected by the *epi tes Thermaias plateias ergastai* in accordance with a decree of the *polis*.

at Ephesos,[99] and the *pragmateuomenoi* from Alexandria at Perinthos.[100] Hence, if it is possible to see in these acts an indication that the private associations in question were accepted as 'quasi-official institutions',[101] it has to be stressed that their treatment was not equal with that reserved for the Gerousiai, frequently appearing side by side with the civic bodies, in the nominative case, as a full partner in the award of honours.

Sometimes the verbal formulas used in honorific inscriptions denote that a private association functioned as an honouring body in accordance with decisions taken by the Council and the People.[102] But such formulas simply demonstrate that the honours awarded by the associations (for example, the erection of a statue in a public place) were – and needed to be – approved by the Council and the People.[103] The initiator and the grantor of the honour remained the association alone, not the association in conjunction with the Council and the People, as was the case with the Gerousia.

Only very rarely do we find in honorific inscriptions verbal formulas placing the name of cultic or professional associations next to that of the Council or the People in the nominative case, as co-grantors of honour on an equal basis.[104] The *synodos ton tes theou myston* at Smyrna honoured two female *theologoi* along with the Council and the People,[105] but this particular group, perhaps identical to the *synodos ton myston tes megales theas pro poleos thesmophorou Demetras*, known by another honorific inscription as a sole grantor of honour,[106] was devoted to a prominent local deity and thus seems to have cultivated strong bonds with the civic or-

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99   *I. Eph.* 728.

100   *I. Perinthos* 27-28.

101   See Eckhardt 2016: 153-54.

102   See for example *I. Kibyra* 34: κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ|καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς λαμπρο|τάτης Καισαρέων Κιβυρα|τῶν πόλεως ἡ σεμνοτάτη|συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβυρσέ|ων Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον|Πολέμωνα, ἀσιάρχην, ἱπ|πικόν... Other examples include *TAM* V 3 1491 (*skyteis* at Philadelphia), *I. Smyrna* 715 (*synergasia kyrtobolon* at Smyrna), *IG* IV 365 (*thereutores* at Corinth honouring a physician *psephismati boules*).

103   See above n. 95. Cf. Ustinova 2005: 187 commenting on *IG* XII 2 1033.

104   The evidence is assembled and summarised in Suys 2005: 206-7.

105   *I. Smyrna* 653.

106   *I. Smyrna* 655.

gans. The manifestly political overtones of the cultic association of Pompeiastai at Delos, who honoured their patron Pompey along with the Athenian People, may also explain this co-operation.[107] In both cases the crucial factor was the public significance attributed to the divine figures venerated by the associations in question, and consequently, to the specific associations as well.[108] Finally, oecumenical athletic and artistic associations – and perhaps their branches as well – that were highly esteemed and officially recognised by the Roman State also appeared in this capacity, in cities like Tralleis,[109] Hierapolis[110] and Erythrai.[111]

The case of various associations of Roman settlers in Greek cities needs also to be briefly considered in this framework. From the 1st century BC onwards such corporate bodies often appear side by side with civic organs as grantors of honours.[112] The political importance of these formally organised groups of Roman citizens in a world governed by Rome may easily explain the willingness of the civic organs to collaborate with them on an equal basis in the award of honours. In this respect, a comparison with the aforementioned case of the Alexandrian traders

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107   *I. Delos* 1641 (CAPInv 893, A. Cazemier). Le Queré 2015: 37 and 43 associates the Delian Pompeiastai with Pompey's victory against the pirates and the relevant Pompeian propaganda.

108   Cf. on these associations the remarks made by Suys 2005: 206-14. On the collaboration between private associations and civic bodies in the award of honours see also Harland 2013: 86-87, who, however, does not always distinguish between the joint award of honours and the execution of a decision to award honours. Some of the inscriptions he cites (*I. Lindos* 391-92) do not record a joint award of honours, or any kind of collaboration, but simply record the names of the various bodies that had independently honoured a distinguished person on various occasions. This is a not uncommon practice in both honorific and funerary monuments. See *IG* II² 4013 (Athens); *IGBulg* V 5464 (Philippoupolis); Segre – Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951, no. 78 (Kamiros); *IG* XII 3 104 (Nisyros); *I. Hierapolis* 32 (Hierapolis); *I. Smyrna* 534 (Smyrna); *LBW* 1743n (Troas).

109   *I. Tralleis* 65. Cf. CAPInv 1729 (M. Carbon). See also *I. Tralleis* 112, 133.

110   *SEG* XXXV (1985), 1380-81. Cf. CAPInv 138 (B. Eckhardt).

111   *I. Erythrai* 60. Cf. Harland 2013: 87. On associations of athletes see Forbes 1955; Pleket 1973; Caldelli 1992. For the Dionysiac artists see Le Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003. For the Imperial Period cf. Aneziri 2008; Aneziri 2014.

112   Zoumbaki 2017: 254-62 assembles the relevant evidence from Greece. See also Zoumbaki's contribution in this volume. On associations of Romans in Phrygia see now Eckhardt 2016: 149-50.

active at Perinthos may be useful. The latter also constituted an organised group of foreigners although, as opposed to the Romans, it was not so important as to be accepted by the local civic bodies as equal partners.

Points b-d: A comparison between the position held by the Gerousia and the role of private associations in distributions and banquets leads to similar conclusions. As mentioned above, the Gerousia appeared in distributions addressed to corporate civic bodies such as the Council, but also in distributions to non-corporate categories defined by political and legal criteria, such as the citizens, the *sitometroumenoi*, and even the *paroikoi* or the *metoikoi* and the freedmen. On the other hand, private associations seldom did so. Most of the distributions and the banquets which involved them did not include categories of participants defined by political/legal criteria; hence these events, even if organised by influential local statesmen and benefactors, normally did not sanction the presence of private associations next to that of civic institutions, as was the case with the Gerousia.

A notable exception is the distributions offered by Aurelios Hermippos at Philadelphia: the beneficiaries were the Council, the Gerousia and the seven tribes of the city, some if not all of them named after professions.[113] As Van Nijf has noted, the inclusion of the term *phyle* in the official name of these professional associations shows how the latter strove – and presumably succeeded – to gain political recognition.[114] It is by no means accidental that it was such professional groups, invested with the name of a traditional civic institution, that were deemed worthy of taking their own share in a scheme also addressed to the Council and the Gerousia.

Another exception is the distributions organised by Aba in Histria.[115] But even in this case the professional association of *tektones*, the *Hieroplateitai*, presumably a neighbourhood association, and the *Herakleiastai*, a religious association, received a distribution of wine, as opposed to the

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113   *IGR* IV 1632. See also *TAM* V 3 1490.
114   Van Nijf 1997: 184; cf. Gabrielsen 2007: 197; Harland 2013: 84-85. Eckhardt 2016: 156 n. 167 sees in the use of this term an attempt 'to incorporate professional groups into a Romanized civic order'.
115   *I. Histria* 57.

Council and the Gerousia, which received donations in cash. Admittedly, occupational associations like those of the physicians and the teachers, along with the *Taureastai*, a private religious association devoted to the cult of the important local deity Poseidon-Taureas, were treated just like the Council and the Gerousia.[116] Another city on the western coast of the Pontus, Dionysopolis, also furnishes examples of distributions including both the councillors and occupational associations of teachers, physicians and *agoraioi*.[117]

It is equally interesting to focus on the well-known involvement of certain religious associations in festivals belonging to the official civic cult, as V. Suys and Ph. Harland have recently done.[118] The *Poseidionastai* from Berytos participated in the Delian Apollonia by offering an ox to the procession;[119] a *thiasos* of Herakles in early-4th-century B.C. Athens was headed by the official priest and therefore probably participated in the official cult.[120] The *orgeones* of Bendis at Piraeus, Dionysiac *thiasoi* at Magnesia on the Meander and Miletus, associations of athletes, performers and *hymnodoi* also did so.[121]

Points e-i: To the best of my knowledge, private associations did not function as symbols of civic identity in coins, statues etc. No honorific title indicating the filial relation of the honorand to both the *polis* and

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116   On Aba's distributions and the status of the various beneficiaries see the detailed analysis offered by Van Nijf 1997: 160-85.

117   See *IGBulg* I² 15bis (organised by a priest of Dionysos and *gymnasiarchos*) and *IGBulg* I² 15ter. Cf. Van Nijf 1997: 170-71. For distributions in Ephesus including the Council, the Gerousia, and groups of sacred victors and worshippers of Artemis see CAPinv 1625 (B. Eckhardt).

118   Suys 2005: 209-11; Harland 2013: 103-6.

119   *I. Delos* 1520; cf. Van Nijf 1997: 198.

120   *IG* II² 2343, 2345.

121   For the *thiasoi* see *I. Magnesia* 215a and *Milet* VI 3 1222. Cf. Jaccottet 2005. On the participation of *hymnodoi* and other religious groups such as *chrysophoroi* and *kouretes* in festivals see Van Nijf 1997: 165-68; Harland 2013: 103-6. Cf. Price 1984: 61-62, 70-71, 88-90, 118, 129, 191, 209. For a detailed study of associations of *chrysophoroi* in Asia Minor see Kuhn 2014: 74-81 (with particular emphasis on their participation in processions and distributions). For the *orgeones* of Bendis see below n. 124.

one or several such associations existed. Furthermore, honorific inscriptions for members of the local political class normally did not mention private associations' offices as part of a civic cursus honorum. In the Hellenistic Period the aforementioned *thiasoi* of Maenads at Magnesia on the Meander were established by the *polis*, as was presumably the *demosios thiasos* active in Miletus.[122] But whether these *thiasoi* may be characterised as private is not at all certain.[123] A substantial degree of official recognition was attributed to, or at least claimed by, the *orgeones* of Bendis in Athens as well.[124] During the Imperial Period, the *hymnodoi*, established with imperial encouragement if not initiative,[125] corresponded with the emperor.[126] So did the associations of athletes and performers.[127] The recently published letter of Hadrian to the civic authorities of Miletus shows the *polis* and the emperor entering into negotiations about the constitution of a professional association of *naukleroi*: the foundation and the function of this association were a matter of civic concern, if not initiative, and of imperial interest as well.[128] This may be explained by reference to the vital role played by the *naukleroi* in the normal provision of supplies to the cities of the Empire.[129] But there is no other relevant testimony as far as I know. In my view, the typical way of establishing an

122 According to Suys (2005: 207-9) a considerable degree of public recognition may also be discerned in other religious associations which incorporate the civic ethnic in their name such as *the mystai kai embastai tes Kores en Smyrnei* (*I. Smyrna* 726), the *synodos* of *Dionysos Breiseus en Smyrnei* (*I. Smyrna* 600; but in both cases it is the toponym not the civic ethnic that defines the association), and the *Trallianon hoi mystai* (*I. Tralleis* 74), and in associations called *pro poleos* such as the Demetriastai at Ephesus (*I. Eph.* 1595, 4337).
123 Suys 2005: 209 considers them as public associations.
124 Gabrielsen 2007: 192, 203 with n. 52-54.
125 Price 1984: 118.
126 *I. Eph.* 3801. On the petition addressed to the Roman proconsul by an Ephesian association of initiates performing mysteries to Demeter and the emperors see *I. Eph.* 213 with Harland 2013: 96-98
127 Oliver 1989: nos. 24, 29, 37, 86, 96, 128, 212, 225.
128 Ehrhardt & Günther 2013.
129 Cf. Eckhardt 2016: 157 on private associations with 'high relevance to the city'.

association is best described in the well-known charter of the *eranos philias* from Paiania, which records an initiative taken by several individuals outside any civic framework and with no public intervention at all.[130]

At various points in this paper it has been noted that it was the various associations of *neo*i, or other organised bodies centred on the public institution of the gymnasium, which were closer to the Gerousia in terms of integration into the local public life. Indeed, the *neoi* sometimes worked together with the Council and the People in the erection of common honorific monuments (point a).[131] They participated in civic processions (point d).[132] Under Elagabalus Laodicea in Phrygia issued coins bearing the inscription *συνεδρίου νέων* (point e).[133] The offices of the *neoi*'s administrative apparatus also appear in honorific inscriptions as part of the local cursus honorum (point h).[134] Communication with the emperors and recognition by the representatives of the Roman Imperial power are attested for the *neoi* of Pergamum and Kyzikos (point i), while financial and legal aid by the *polis* is recorded for the *neoi* of Iasos (point f).[135] But the *neoi* can hardly be regarded as a private association;[136] more importantly, the evidence regarding their integration into the local public sphere is, in absolute numbers, nowhere near as great as that concerning the Gerousia.

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130   *IG* II² 1369. Cf. Arnaoutoglou 1998: 70-71; ibid. 2003: 129.
131   For the *neoi* as co-grantors of honours with the Council and/or the People see *SEG* XXIX (1979), 527 (Larisa); *EKM* I, 113-14 (Beroia); *I. Sestos* 1 (Sestos); *I. Iasos* 90 (Iasos); *CIG* 2944, Ramsay 1883: 272-74 no. 15 and Kontoleon 1886: 520 no. 17 (Nysa); *I. Tralleis* 77, 93, 112 (Tralleis); *I.Aph2007* 7.8, 8.84, 12.105, 12.202, 12.215 (restored), 15.262 (Aphrodisias). Cf. Forbes 1933: 43. For the institutional interaction between the *neoi* and the civic authorities in the award of honours see also Van Bremen 2013: 47-54.
132   Forbes 1933: 26, 52-53.
133   *RPC* VI 5497 (temporary). See also Forbes 1933: 17.
134   Cf. Forbes 1933: 22-23, 30-36. See also above n. 77.
135   Forbes 1933: 38-43.
136   On the public character of the *neoi* see Forbes 1933: 42-44. Van Bremen 2013: 52-53 characterises them as a civic sub-group.

Final remarks

It has recently been pointed out that the purpose of forming an association, its raison d'être, eludes us and that it is methodologically unwise to draw relevant conclusions from the functions that an association performed.[137] In many ways, this remark applies to the Gerousiai as well. No ancient document gives any account of the reasons for establishing a Gerousia. The closest we can get is the need to fill a vacuum in the civic institutional landscape, as the decree of Sidyma implies. Studying the associations of *presbyteroi*, Fröhlich has related their emergence to the development and opening of the gymnasium to men over thirty, with the general proliferation of gymnasial (such as the *neoi*) and private associations and with the need of individuals of mature age still wishing to frequent the gymnasium to find the necessary means to finance their activities.[138] Similar factors may account for the creation of the Gerousiai as well, the facilitation and encouragement of an ongoing and perpetual use of gymnasial amenities by influential and respectable men of mature age being the main purpose of such associations. After all, the gymnasium was at the very core of the Gerousia's activities. However, the historical significance of any association does not lie only – or even primarily – in its purpose, however well-defined this might have been (and there is no evidence suggesting that the Gerousiai had such a well-defined purpose). It is in terms of the association's functions and interaction with other political and social agents that we may more effectively perceive its position in contemporary society.

So were the Gerousiai under examination public or private bodies? To a large extent this is a matter of perspective. If we examine the Gerousiai from the viewpoint of a student of state institutions administering state affairs, they do not belong to them. But if we consider them from the viewpoint of a student of private religious and professional associations, they do not fit in either (indicatively, Van Nijf defined the Gerousia as a semi-public institution).[139] Their characterisation as social associations may appear to be a way of solving this problem, but in reality this is a

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137 Arnaoutoglou 2014: 259.
138 Fröhlich 2013: 98.
139 Van Nijf 1997: 74.

way of avoiding it and bypassing it: this approach runs the risk of treating the Gerousia as nothing more than a convivial gathering of individuals with greater prestige than others and of strongly downplaying its public dimension, which constitutes one of its most dominant aspects as an institutional entity.

But we need to clarify what this public dimension was all about, and for that purpose a different perspective is needed. Taking into account the Gerousia's features summarised above in Section III, I would argue that the crucial point in assessing the public dimension of the Gerousia and in comparing it with that of the various private associations active in the Greek cities is neither its governmental competence nor its presence in the public sphere alone: it is the nature and the character of its involvement in the public sphere that matters. The basic criterion is the specific way in which the sources of state authority allowed each individual association access to acts, events and symbols that expressed the sovereign power of the civic community and/or its political identity. Equally important is the extent to which the sources of state authority were involved in the foundation and the internal function of an individual association. Finally, one should also take into account the particular way in which the place of the association was conceptualised in the contemporary public discourse, as recorded in documents emanating from the agents of political power. In all these respects the Gerousia emerges as an institution that was very closely affiliated and attached to the various formal organs of the *polis*.[140] Lacking any serious governmental competence, it still had its own share in the politics of civic honours which, as has already been noted, was a fundamental function of the civic community in the Imperial Period (see above Section III point a). Founded by the *polis*, unlike nearly all the private associations that we know, it enjoyed civic support and recognition, at a material, symbolic and also conceptual level, being treated in the same capacity as purely political categories belonging to the state apparatus and organisation (see above Section III points b-h). It is in this sense that we may speak of the Gerousia's public dimension, which was further enhanced and consolidated by a

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140   Lack of formal affiliation to the *polis* may be seen as a fundamental attribute of private associations. See Gabrielsen 2007: 186.

mutually beneficial relationship cultivated with the Imperial power (see above Section III point i).

On the other hand, the best that most private associations could ever achieve in terms of access to events, acts and symbols that expressed the sovereign power of the civic community and/or its political identity was to gain the permission to erect honorific monuments and inscriptions of their own or to acquire distinct seats in the theatre.[141] There were of course important exceptions. Certain associations could occupy a distinct position in events that dramatised the civic identity, as a constituent part of the *polis* next to traditional civic organs such as the Council; they could participate in religious ceremonies organised by the state authorities; they could even appear as equal co-grantors of honour along with the civic organs. But their participation in this last act, which formally expressed the sovereign will of the civic community, was extremely rare. Moreover, I would argue that the associations involved in the aforementioned areas of civic life were hardly the typical private associations of the Greek world (this is surely the case with the groups of Roman settlers abroad).[142] However, they did share with the Gerousia an important common feature: an associative identity which was held to be fundamental by and for the civic community. The Gerousia's public dimension ultimately rested on the combination of the *presbeion* with the continuous commitment to the cultural values of the gymnasium as a way of life. Likewise, associations either devoted to important deities or related to the proper functioning of civic life (associations of teachers, physicians, athletes, *naukleroi*) could also under certain circumstances claim and be attributed a public dimension, in the sense described above.[143]

With respect to the taxonomy of the various corporate bodies of the Greek *polis*, we may thus establish a kind of scale, susceptible of changes and dynamic developments. We could then place most of the religious,

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141 Van Nijf 1997: 209-40.
142 It is hardly accidental that Van Nijf, studying private professional associations, defined groups such as the *hymnodoi*, the *kouretes* and the *chrysophoroi* as public religious associations (Van Nijf 1997: 168). Kuhn 2014: 74-81 highlights the position of the *chrysophoroi* next to the Council and the Gerousia in acts of euergetism.
143 On such associations cf. Eckhardt 2016: 156-57.

cultic, neighbourhood or kinship associations enjoying minimum or comparatively little access to the public sphere (mainly indicated by the authorisation to erect honorific monuments either on their own or as executive agents of the civic authorities) at the lower end of the scale, the less typical religious or even occupational associations discussed above, the *neoi* and the Gerousia higher up the scale, together with purely state/civic institutions, such as the various civic subdivisions, and ultimately the People and the Council at the top.[144] We could also describe a similar taxonomy by using the metaphor of a continuum. But the ambiguous nature of the Gerousia (a non-governmental corporate body with a strong public dimension and an internal organisation similar to that of private associations) may also invite us to focus on the particular way in which the institutional/associational landscape of the Greek city was conceptualised by its inhabitants, mainly with respect to the various collective and individual needs and services covered and provided by these institutions/associations. Two examples seem to me especially indicative. The Greek city of the Imperial Period needed to display its loyalty towards its gods and emperors and to award honours so as to ensure the ongoing operation of euergetism; we can see that policy-making bodies such as the Council and the People, public bodies such as the Gerousia and various private associations were all active in this area, usually in separate contexts and events, but sometimes in the same ones, formally interacting with each other. The inhabitants of the Greek city searched for ways to perpetuate and protect their posthumous memory and we may easily observe them turning not only to the Gerousia and to private associations but also to the Council for that purpose. It is in these areas, perhaps in others as well, that the boundary between the state, public and private spheres tends in practice to fade away, although it still remains strong and of vital importance in many fundamentally significant ways. Such approaches, ones taking into account what the inhabitants of the Greek city expected from the various corporate bodies that formed part of the civic universe they lived in, may allow us to see all these in-

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144   I would agree with B. Eckhardt (2016: 155) that private associations approached the status of official institutions 'as closely as they could'. But not as closely as the Gerousiai did. This is the point stressed here.

stitutions as parts of a pluralistic society encompassing multiple formally organised subgroups, which constituted a strongly hierarchical, heterogeneous, but nonetheless internally coherent and meaningful whole.

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MONASTERIUM IN KALA: COMMENTAIRE LINGUISTIQUE DE TROIS AUTHENTIQUES DE RELIQUES PROVENANT DE L'ABBAYE ROYALE NOTRE-DAME DE CHELLES

By Joseph Reisdoerfer

Summary: In an article published in the Revue des Langues Romanes (2012), Professor Banniard insisted on the linguistic interest of authentics, i.e. relic tags or labels, dating from the Merovingian period. In my contribution, I studied the language of relic labels originating from the abbey of Chelles by presenting a linguistic commentary of three tags. The stunning results of this study allowed me to illustrate the passage from Merovingian Latin to Old French.

Das Material, das Gegenstand dieses Sammelbandes ist, gilt als schwierig. Vielleicht ist das der Grund, warum eine breite Forschung dazu bisher nicht in Gang gekommen ist ... Die Authentiken oder Reliquienauthentiken ... sind eine Form randständiger Schriftlichkeit. Jeder, der schon einmal eine Barockkirche mit Schaureliquiaren betreten hat, kennt sie. Kaum einer mag sich vorstellen, dass sie einen signifikanten Aussagewert bereithalten. (Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021, IX)

## 1. Les authentiques de reliques : un témoin négligé du latin mérovingien

Dans un article publié en 2012 dans la *Revue des Langues Romanes* 116/1, 47-62, M. Banniard avait attiré l'attention sur l'intérêt linguistique des *authentiques de reliques* rédigées à l'époque mérovingienne.

«Établis aux VIIe-VIIIe siècles en Gaule du Nord, des authentiques de

reliques dont les originaux ont été conservés jusqu'à nos jours portent en graphie courante des énoncés qui ont retenu naturellement l'attention des archéologues et des historiens… mais moins des linguistes. Ils méritent pourtant eux aussi d'être étudiés du point de vue langagier, d'autant plus que leur publication récente y donne un accès de première qualité, puisque ce sont des originaux dont les éditeurs ont soigneusement établi la lecture tout en en procurant d'excellents fac-similés».

Dans une communication présentée au Congrès LVLT XIV de Gand, nous avons suivi les recommandations du professeur Banniard en étudiant trois authentiques mérovingiennes particulièrement intéressantes du point de vue linguistique. Cet article est fondé sur notre communication de Gand.

Avant d'aborder le commentaire linguistique des authentiques, il s'avérera toutefois indispensable de donner quelques informations sur l'*abbaye de Chelles* et les *reliques pourvues d'authentiques* qui y étaient conservées ; nous ajouterons des précisions sur l'*état des recherches sur les authentiques* et les *approches scientifiques* appliquées dans notre étude.
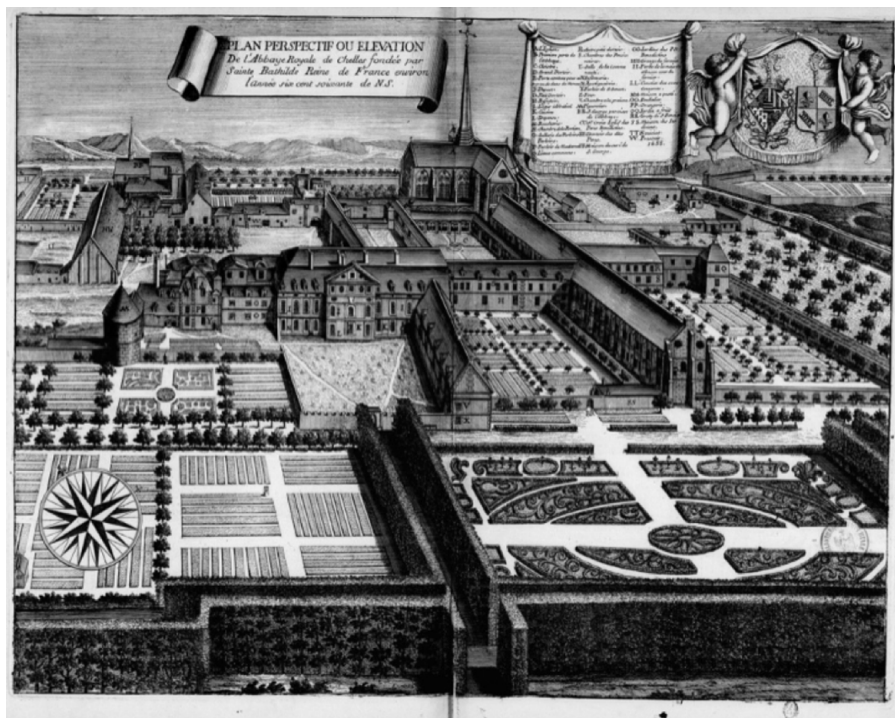
Gravure de l'Abbaye royale Notre-Dame de Chelles au XVIIe s.[1]

2. La langue des authentiques de reliques de l'abbaye de Chelles

2.1. Remarques préliminaires

2.1.1 Monasterium in Kala: Éléments sur l'histoire de l'abbaye de Chelles

Au VIe siècle, Clotilde (c. *474/475-c. †545), épouse de Clovis (c.*466-†511), fit transformer le *palatium* royal de la villa mérovingienne de Chelles en petit monastère. Vers 658/659, sainte Bathilde[2] (c. *630–†680), une reine des Francs d'origine anglo-saxonne, épouse de Clovis II (*635–

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1   Source: *Monasticon Gallicanum* commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Monasti-con_Gallicanum?uselang=fr.
2   Sur sainte Bathilde, cf. Prinz 1988: 274-75; 293-96; 491-93 ; Folz 1975; Bührer-Thierry/Mériaux 2010: 264-69.

†657), transforma et agrandit le *coenobiolum* en abbaye soumise à la règle colombano-bénédictine.[3]

Les églises Sainte-Croix et Saint-Georges construites en enfilade dans l'enceinte de l'abbaye de Chelles:[4]

« ... On peut souscrire à l'idée que la fondation de Clotilde remaniée par Bathilde se situe sous ou très près des églises Sainte-Croix et Saint-Georges... » Berthelier-Ajot 1986: 355.

Grâce aux recherches de B. Bischoff (1957/1966), nous savons qu'au cours du VIIIe-IXe s., sous l'abbatiat de Gisèle[5] (*788-†810), Chelles possédait un excellent scriptorium où les moniales confectionnaient de remarquables copies de manuscrits religieux:[6]

3   Sur l'archéologie de la villa mérovingienne de Chelles, cf. Berthelier-Ajot: 1986.
4   Source: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%89glise_de_Chelles.jpg.
5   Helvétius 2015: 161-67.
6   Cf. Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021: XIX-XXII.

La constitution d'un trésor de reliques avait été probablement initiée au VIIe s. par la fondatrice de l'abbaye, la reine Bathilde, puis complétée par l'abbesse Gisèle, VIIIe-IXe s., sœur de Charlemagne qui offrit également des reliques à l'abbaye.

C'est également sous l'abbatiat de Gisèle que la plupart des authentiques ont été rédigées.[7]

Sachets de reliques entourés de leur authentique lors de leur découverte à Chelles en 1983.[8]

2.1.2 Reliques et authentiques de reliques

Afin de pouvoir assigner une relique, c.-à-d. «les restes sacrés du Christ, des saints et des bienheureux... et par extension, [les] objets sanctifiés par leur contact»,[9] à un saint précis, il était d'usage, au moins depuis le VIe s., Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021; XXXIV, de lui adjoindre une pièce, une *authentique de reliques*, renseignant le nom du saint:

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7   Sur le constitution de la collection, cf. Hen 1999: 82.

8   Source: Laporte 1988: 117, pl. IX; Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021: XXI-XXII.

9   George 2018: 36 et ibid. 33-85; *LThK* 8: col. 1091-94; sur la *virtus* des reliques, c.-à-d. leur pouvoir, leur force céleste capable de guérir et de protéger ceux qui les possédaient, cf. Angenendt 2007²: 155-56 et George 2021: 98-101.

AB/XIX/3971, n°. 20; *ChLA* XVIII 669 XX, p. 87 ; [750-800] *Rel(iquias) s(an)c(t)i Baudilii*[10] *marty(ris)*; authentique écrite à Chelles même.[11]

Ces *authentiques* sont généralement constituées de bandelettes de parchemin ou de papier d'une hauteur de 1 à 2 cm et d'une largeur comprise entre 5 et 8 cm et servent à identifier et à authentifier la relique par l'indication de son origine ou du nom de la sainte ou du saint avec qui elle serait en relation.[12]

Aujourd'hui, la collection d'authentiques chelloise composée de 177 unités, dont 139 ont été écrites avant le IXe s. PCN (Rousseau 2015), est déposée aux Archives Nationales de France à Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, sous la cote AB/XIX/3971.

2.1.3 État des recherches; approches scientifiques

C'est au niveau des *éditions* d'abord qu'un travail important a été réalisé. Ainsi pour la France, l'ensemble des authentiques antérieures à l'an 800 ont été éditées dans les tomes XVIII - 665 : Baume-les-Messieurs, Église Saint-Pierre ; 668 : Chartres ; 669 : Chelles - et XIX - 682: Sens ; 683: Solignac - des *ChLA*.[13] En 2015, l'importante collection de Chelles a fait l'objet d'une édition électronique exemplaire sous la direction du M. Emmanuel Rousseau, conservateur aux Archives nationales de France, utilement complétée en 2015 par un inventaire du même auteur. À ces collections

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10 Sur saint Baudile, cf. *GM* 77: 222-28.

11 Sur les authentiques rédigées à Chelles, cf. Laporte 1988: 125-27; Vezin 2004: 261; Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021: XIX-XXIII; sur l'écriture chelloise de *type-b* caractérisée par un trait reliant *b* à la lettre suivante, (*baudilii*), cf. Bischoff 1966: I 16-34; *CLA* I, 105; Vezin 2004: 253-54; 261; 270-72; Wallenwein/Licht/ Frenk 2021: XIX-XXII.

12 Sur les authentiques, cf. George 2018: 98-105; Bertrand 2006: 363-74; id. 2013, 122-35 et Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021: IX, XIII-XIX, XXIII-XXXV.

13 Sur les authentiques mérovingiennes publiées, cf.Vezin 2004: 259-61.

d'authentiques conservées en France, il conviendrait d'ajouter par exemple celles conservées en Suisse, à Saint-Maurice d'Augaune, éditées dans les *ChLA* I 14-39 et dans l'article de Smith (2015, II 232-57) ou l'excellente édition des authentiques du *Sancta Sanctorum* de Rome publiée en 2004 par B. Galland.[14]

Les *études* sur les authentiques sont moins nombreuses. Certaines cherchent d'abord à saisir la nature même de ces textes telles deux publications importantes du professeur P. Bertrand parues en (2006) et (2014). Le sujet a été repris en 2021 dans un article d'E. Ferro.

Les études plus générales sur les authentiques, qui ont souvent une orientation historique, se répartissent en deux groupes: les unes, de nature philologique, cherchent à garantir l'accessibilité à l'authentique en lui adjoignant un apparat explicatif comportant, selon les cas, une traduction, des remarques paléographiques, hagiologiques et historiques; les autres, axées sur l'histoire, utilisent les authentiques comme des documents recelant de précieuses informations sur certaines périodes historiques.

À la première catégorie se rattachent des introductions à des éditions d'authentiques, notamment celles de B. Galland (2004: 19-89), ou de J. Smith (2015: II 221-31). À ces études, il conviendrait d'ajouter les articles de H. Röcklein sur les authentiques du couvent de Gandersheim (2021: 225-53) et de K. Wallenwein sur les authentiques de Baume-les-Messieurs (2021: 225-53); ces deux études présentent par ailleurs l'originalité d'ajouter des remarques linguistiques aux commentaires proprement historiques.

Les études de la 2e catégorie utilisent les authentiques comme documents permettant de mieux saisir certains aspects de l'histoire médiévale.

Dans son étude magistrale sur les origines de l'économie européenne, l'historien américain M. McCormick se sert des reliques et des authentiques, notamment celles de Sens (2001: 290-308) et de Chelles (2001: 308-18) pour analyser les échanges commerciaux en Europe à l'époque carolingienne (McCormick 2001: 284).

On trouve la même approche dans deux études du professeur Hen.

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14 Pour un aperçu sur les authentiques publiées à ce jour, cf. Vezin 2004: 259-61 et Galland 2004: 39-40.

Dans le livre intitulé *Culture et religion en Gaule mérovingienne*, il reconstruit le calendrier liturgique des saints de l'abbaye de Chelles à partir des authentiques conservées (1995: 92-96). Dans un article de 1999, il analyse entre autres l'histoire des pèlerinages en Terre Sainte durant le haut Moyen Âge à partir des authentiques de reliques de Baume-les-Messieurs, Chelles, Sens, Solignac et Tournus.

Mais, jusqu'à présent les études sur les authentiques ont négligé les questions d'ordre linguistique:

> «Angesichts des überschaubaren Textumfangs einer herkömmlichen Authentik scheinen Sprachstudien nicht verheißungsvoll und sie sind selbstverständlich nie versucht worden. Und doch führt an der Sprachanalyse kein Weg vorbei.» [15]

Nous estimons que la collection d'authentiques de Chelles vaut sans conteste le *détour scientifique.* Elle se distingue par son *volume,* par ses *pièces souvent datables et parfois localisables*, par son *intérêt hagiologique et historique*, par sa remarquable *accessibilité numérique*,[16] enfin par *la langue des authentiques*, un beau spécimen du *latinum circa romançum*,[17] qui parfois laisse entrevoir les balbutiements de ce qui deviendra bien plus tard le français.

Pour pallier le manque de travaux linguistiques, notre étude présentera un *commentaire philologique*[18] de trois authentiques axé d'abord sur la langue: les micro-textes seront analysés sous l'angle de la linguistique diachronique et de la *sociolinguistique historique*.[19]À cela s'ajouteront une *traduction* en français, une *réanalyse de la datation paléographique* fondée

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15 Wallenwein/Licht/Frenk 2021: IX; cf. également ibid.: IX-XII.

16 A côté de l'édition électronique des Archives nationales, nous disposons de deux autres éditions, la première, partielle, de Atsma/Vezin, *ChLA* XVIII: 84-108, la seconde, complète, de Rousseau, sous la forme d'un inventaire du corpus dressé en 2015.

17 Lüdtke 1964: 19; l'expression est tirée de Menéndez Pidal 1964: 459.

18 Pour une présentation de la philologie, cf. Vàrvaro 2017.

19 Sur la sociolinguistique historique ou diachronique, cf. Cotelli 2009: 6.

sur les données linguistiques et, le cas échéant, de brèves *remarques hagiologiques et historiques.*[20]

2.2 Étude linguistique de trois authentiques de reliques

2.2.1 Les reliques de saint Cassien: Le latin écrit mérovingien (VIe-VIIIe s.)
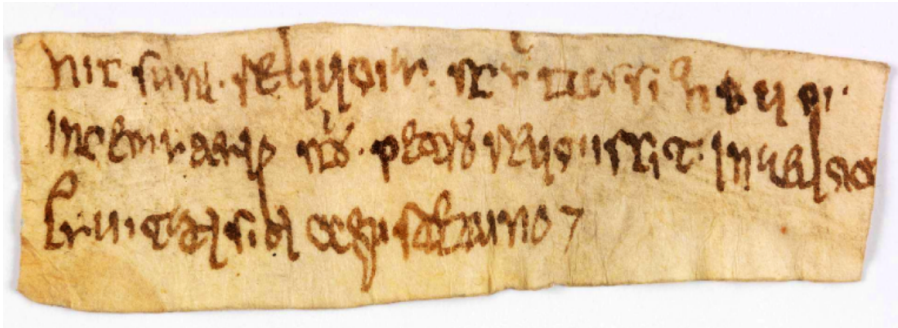
AB/XIX/3971 n° 25; *ChLA* XVIII XXV, p. 88

-   *r./1/Hic sunt reliquias s(an)c(t)y Cassiano qui/2/in cemyterio s(an)c(t)o Petro requiiscit, in Aeduo/3/cyvitatis, ibi Agustetuno. v. S(an)c(t)o Cassiano;*
-   *r.* Ici sont les reliques de saint Cassien qui repose au cimetière de Saint-Pierre, dans la cité des Eduens, autrefois Augustodunum ; *v.* de saint Cassien ;
-   Cursive mérovingienne, *type ab* de Chelles;[21] R 650-800 ; *ChLA* VIIe-VIIIe ; JR VIIIe s.;[22] les lettres penchent légèrement vers la gauche ;[23] lettres caractéristiques : *a* de type cc:[24] a dans *Cassiano* ; b avec trait horizontal vers la droite dans *ibi* ; cf. également le *q* très ouvert

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20 Sur la nécessité de dépasser le traditionnel commentaire linguistique, cf. Vàrvaro 2017: 107-10.
21 Vezin 2004: 271-73; Ganz 2020: 199; Bischoff 2009[4]: 144-45.
22 R = Rousseau 2015; JR = Joseph Reisdoerfer.
23 *CLA* V: 579.
24 *CLA* V: 579.

dans *qui*;[25] le texte semble avoir été corrigé par une main plus récente, *reliquias* avec *a* final *superscriptum*, *Cassiano* avec le 2e *a superscriptum* et le *o* corrigé en *i* (?).

- Reliques de saint Cassien, évêque d'Autun au IVe s.;[26] s. Cassien fut inhumé dans une nécropole située à proximité de l'église paléochrétienne de Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier près d'Autun. [27]

Commentaire linguistique:

1. Reliquias… :
La désinence *–as* représentant un ancien acc. fém. pl. et marquant à la fois le sujet et le COD est bien attestée en lat. mérovingien.[28] La structure classique, nom. pl. *rosae*/acc. pl. *rosas*, a été probablement transformée en nom. pl. *rosas*/acc. pl. *rosas* sur le modèle, *rosa/rosa (m)*, m final s'étant amuï depuis le 1er s. PCN.[29]

Des nom. en *–as* sont attestés dès 100 ACN en vieux lat. et apparaissent également dans les graffiti de Pompéi;[30] les attestations en Gaule et en Espagne devraient se situer vers la fin du VIe — début du VIIe s. en latin parlé tardif de phase II (LpT II)/lat. mérovingien pour l'écrit: [31]

«There is, however, no uncertainty about the credentials of the feminine plural — as used as a nominative… . For centuries this is found mainly in non-standard inscriptions. By the early medieval period, in Spain and France, it had become the standard nominative plural form. It had risen in status, and its history represents the phenomenon of change from below… .»[32]

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25 Cf. Steffens 1909: pl. 43a.
26 *LThK* 2: col. 969.
27 Sapin 1982; INRAP 2020.
28 Vielliard 1927: 109; Politzer 1949: 70.
29 Sas 1937: 75; la structure survivra en anc. fr. et anc. catal ; Moignet 1988: 15-18; Buridant 2019: 73-74; Allières 2001: 42-43.
30 Väänänen 1981: § 238, 108.
31 Gaeng 1977: 192-93; Sas 1937: 75-80.
32 Adams 2013: 377; Tagliavini 1998[2]: 198.

L'acc. s'est finalement imposé comme forme unique en raison de sa fréquence.[33]

2. (reliquias) sancty Cassiano :

Le syntagme nom + CN se distingue par un marquage *hybride*, l'adjectif conservant la marque *-i* du lat. cl., le nom propre présentant au contraire le marquage du lat. mérovingien de type cas régime en *-o* exprimant les fonctions attachées à l'acc., au dat., au gén. et à l'abl.;[34] en général, l'adjectif accompagnant était attiré au cas régime comme dans le toponyme in *cemyterio sancto Petro* ; le maintien du gén. dans le *nomen sacrum sancty* devrait s'expliquer par le caractère fréquent et stéréotypé du syntagme *sanctus + nom propre*, immuable en quelque sorte par son appartenance au langage religieux.[35]

3. requiiscit :

Le lat. cl. *requiescit* avec un ē accentué et entravé était passé à ẹ vers le IIe siècle PCN;[36] la graphie *-i*, souvent attestée en lat. mérovingien, devrait s'expliquer par une prononciation très fermée de ẹ.[37]

4. in Aeduo cyvitatis :

Si le sens du syntagme paraît clair — dans la cité des Éduens —, l'analyse grammaticale pose problème. *Aeduo* pourrait éventuellement dépendre de *in + abl* ; dans ce cas, *cyvitatis* est complètement agrammatical. Il vaudrait mieux corriger *Aeduo* en *Aeduorum*, la forme s'expliquant par un manque de place ou une coupure maladroite de l'étiquette. *Cyvitatis* reste plus difficile à expliquer. On pourrait invoquer une attraction de l'abl. au

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33 Politzer 1949: 72; Joly 2018[3]: 26-27. Relevons que Ledgeway 2012: 328-35 au contraire propose une explication structurelle intéressante en posant un remplacement de la structure nom./acc. par une structure actif/statif. Or, dans la structure *Hic sunt reliquias ...*, *reliquias* est justement un *sujet non actif* qui dans un système actif/statif sera encodé de la même façon que l'objet direct, à savoir à *l'acc.*

34 Sur le cas régime en -o, cf. Pei 1932: 154-58, 208-13, 218-22 et Adamik 2019: 34-35; id. 2014: 657-60.

35 Sur le marquage du CN dans le lat. des authentiques de Chelles**,** cf. Reisdoerfer 2019: 214, 215.

36 Väänänen 1981: 29-31 §42-45; Zink 2013: 50; La Chaussée de 1989: 93-96 §6.2.1.1.

37 Pei 1932: 25, ibid.: 20-25;Vielliard 1927: 5-10.

gén. exercée par *Aeduorum* et favorisée par une maîtrise chancelante du système casuel.[38]

5. Agustetuno :

Augustodunum, fondé sous Auguste pour remplacer l'ancienne Bibracte comme capitale des Éduens, deviendra un pôle de romanisation et un centre politico-administratif, économique et culturel important.[39]

La graphie probablement archaïsante *Agustetuno* avec *Au-* initial réduit à <u>*A*</u>- par dissimilation et -*to*- devant accent affaibli en ę devraient plus ou moins correspondre à la prononciation du LpT I (IIIe-Ve s.);[40] pour le LpT II (VIe-VIII₁e s),[41] on peut déjà admettre une prononciation du type *Aoustun.*[42]

Conclusions:

Le latin de cette authentique s'inscrit dans un diasystème lat. tout en introduisant quelques innovations, notamment dans le système de la morphosyntaxe nominale, marquée par la *déflexivité* accompagnant le passage du latin au français.[43]

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38 Vielliard 1927: 189-91.
39 *RE* II, 2: col. 2368, (Ihm 1896); *DNP* 2: col. 301, (Lafond 1997).
40 Latin parlé tardif de phase 1 selon la terminologie de Banniard ; pour l'évolution phonétique, cf. Bourciez/ Bourciez 2006: 117 §104 II; 40 §18.
41 Latin parlé tardif de phase 2 selon Banniard; sur les caractéristiques linguistiques du latin du LpT I & II, cf. Banniard 2006: 552a.
42 Bourciez/ Bourciez 1967: 139 §126; *DÉRom* s.v. **/aˈgʊst-u/ (Celac 2020); *FEW* 25: 910a-928a.
43 Sur la *déflexivité*, cf. Darbord/Pottier 1994:100-1 §132 et Begioni/Rocchetti 2010.

2.2.2 Les reliques des Sept Dormants : Le naufrage de la syntaxe
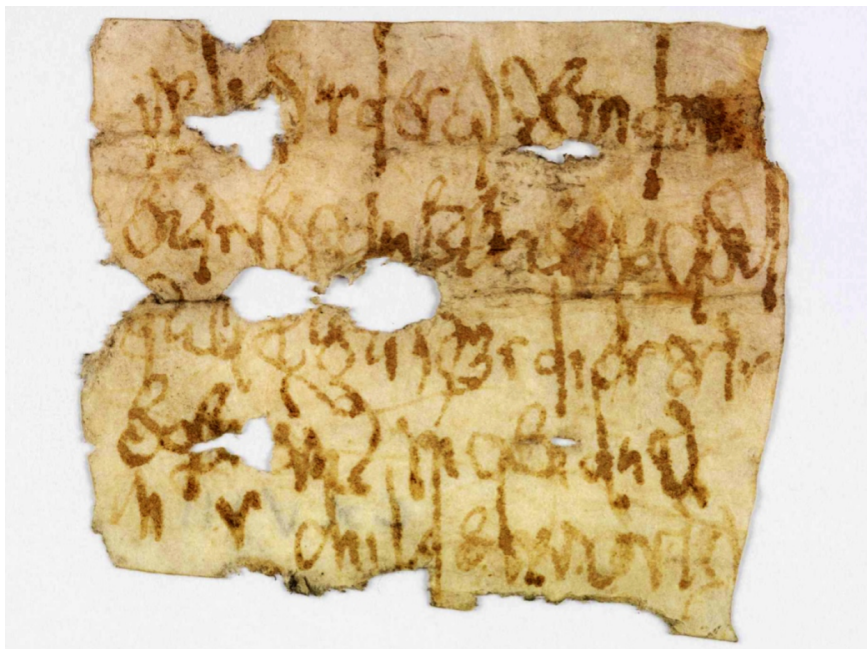
AB/XIX/3971 n° 118; *ChLA* XVIII CXVIII, p. 104

- /1/*Reliquias de Septem Dormi — /2/entis festivetas eor (um) quod/3/facit agustus dies tris/4/et fuerunt invenduti/5/a(nnis) V (?) Childeberto rigi.*
- Correction : a (nno)
- (Trad. libre) Reliques des Sept Dormants dont la fête se fait le 3e jour d'août, et ils furent trouvés la cinquième année du règne de Childebert.
- Cursive mérovingienne ; R 650-800 ; *ChLA* VIIe-VIIIe ; JR VIIIe[ex.] s. ; écriture difficilement déchiffrable, support abîmé ; les hampes et les hastes de d sont allongées avec la hampe élargie à la fin.[44]
- Le récit miraculeux des *Sept dormants*[45] rapporte qu'en 250, à Éphèse, sept jeunes hommes se seraient opposés à l'ordre de l'empereur Decius de sacrifier aux dieux. Decius les fit emmurer dans la grotte où ils s'étaient réfugiés. Dieu les plongea alors dans un

44 Steffens 1909: pl. 40.
45 *HLH*: 301a-302a.

sommeil profond dont ils se réveillèrent lorsque, sous le règne de Théodose II (408-450), la grotte fut ouverte par un maçon. La légende des Sept Dormants, qui reprend la thématique de la résurrection, fut rapportée par saint Grégoire de Tours, *GM* 94, 273-79. Les datations indiquées par l'authentique sont plus ou moins fantaisistes.

Commentaire linguistique :

1. Reliquias — rigi :
Le texte se distingue par sa syntaxe déstructurée comme le dévoile une traduction littérale: Les reliques des Sept Dormants, leur fête qui fait — scil. est faite/se fait — le trois août et ils furent trouvés la 5e année du roi Childebert *ou* Childebert étant roi. Cette syntaxe chancelante résulte en partie de modifications ou de lacunes au niveau de la morphologie. Suite à la réduction du système des relatifs[46] à *quod* ou au couple *qui/quem,* le cas du relatif sera exprimé par l'anaphorique *eorum* placé devant le relatif invariable; la morphologie du passif à l'infectum et a fortiori les formes anomales du type *fio* n'étant plus maîtrisées à l'oral, la/le scribe emploie l'actif.[47] Les formes casuelles, gén., abl., ne sont plus maîtrisées de telle sorte que le CN et les CC de temps ne sont plus marquées : *agustus dies tris*, lat. cl. *die tertio augusti.* Le texte se termine par une indépendante en anacoluthe *et fuerunt invenduti...* au lieu de *quod fuerunt invendutae.*[48] Les deux premiers phénomènes dénotent une maîtrise dégradée du lat. alors que le dernier relève de l'oralité du texte.[49]

2. Reliquias de... :
Formule introductive du type *reliquias/-ae* + CN, la plus employée du corpus ; elle présente l'avantage d'être plus brève que celle utilisée pour la 1re authentique *Hic sunt reliquias* + CN... . Le CN est introduit par *de,* une construction utilisée avec des noms de choses et des noms se rapportant à des groupes de personnes.

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46 Reisdoerfer 2016: 166-67.
47 Sur la diachronie complexe de la morphologie du passif, cf. Banniard 1997: 61-62 et Herman 2000: 75-77.
48 Lat. cl. *quae sunt inventae*; sur la coordination de relatives, cf. Schauer /Burkard 2009[4]: 868-70.
49 Herman 2000: 87.

3. Dormientis :

La désinence-*is* devrait représenter un acc. pl., lat. cl. *dormientes*; le passage de ē inaccentué en position finale à *i* est bien attesté en lat. mérovingien.[50]

 De + acc. est attesté au moins depuis le IVe s. PCN dans la langue écrite[51] avec une première attestation au Ier.-IIe. s. PCN.[52] L'apparition d'un cas prépositionnel unique a été certainement favorisée par la fusion phonétique de l'acc. et de l'abl sg. en lat. parlé dès le Ier. s. PCN[53] ainsi que le mouvement vers le syncrétisme des cas dans les langues indoeuropéennes.[54]

4. festivetas :

L'ouverture du i bref posttonique en e, *festivetas,* est très bien attestée en lat. mérovingien;[55] le phénomène devrait se rattacher au bouleversement quantitatif.[56] Les premières attestations remontent au lat. parlé de l'époque classique.[57]

 Le maintien du e dans les textes mérovingiens est purement orthographique, les posttoniques s'étant effacées au milieu du IVe s. .[58]

5. tris:

La forme *tris*, lat. cl. *tres*, s'explique par la fermeture de ē tonique en *i*, survenue lors du bouleversement du vocalisme lat., vers la fin du IIIe s. PCN.[59] C'est d'après Vielliard «Un des traits les plus marquants du latin mérovingien... . »[60]

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50 Vielliard 1927: 22-23; Stotz 2022: 3, 14-15 §11-12, 18-19 §14-14.1.

51 Hofmann/Szantyr 1972: 264, § 146c; Stotz 2022: 4, 252 § 12.2.

52 Väänänen 1981³: 112 §247.

53 Herman 2000: 52, 53-54.

54   Serbat 1994: 66; Lüdtke 2009: 72-75 §3.4.

55 Vielliard 1927: 24-26; Stotz 2022, 3, 34-36 §27-28.5.

56 La Chaussée de, 1989³: 93-96 §6.2.1.1.

57 Väänänen1981: 36 §55.

58 La Chaussée de, 1989³: 186 §15.2.4.2.1.

59 Id. 1989³: 93-96 §6.2.1.1.

60 Vielliard 1927: 5-10; Pei 1932, 20-25.

6. fuerunt invenduti:

Ind. parf. passif décalé au lieu de lat. cl. *sunt inventi* ; la forme est rare en lat. cl. écrit et même en lat. parlé tardif, IIIe -Ve s. PCN, mais commence à s'imposer à partir du lat. écrit mérovingien — VIe s.-VIII₁e s. —, au moment où s'amorce la réfection générale du passif de type synthétique-analytique vers le type analytique et où la forme *inventi sunt* devient un ind. prés. passif.[61]

Invenduti devrait représenter le part. passé refait sur le type -*utus*,[62] très répandu en latin mérovingien,[63] **invenutus* ou **invendutus*[64] de *invenire*, "trouver"; ce verbe, bien qu'appartenant à la langue populaire, n'a guère survécu dans les langues romanes.[65]

7. rigi :

Sur la fermeture de ē tonique en i, lat. cl. *rege > rigi*, cf. supra 5) ; la fermeture de ě atone final > ĭ, VIIIe s.,[66] est bien attestée en lat. mérovingien.

Conclusions :

Le lat. de la rédactrice/teur révèle une transmission brouillée d'une littéracie en lat. ainsi que d'importantes lacunes au niveau des paradigmes morphologiques qui impactaient la syntaxe et la rédaction de messages signifiants. On se rapproche de la rupture du diasystème lat. et il est possible qu'au niveau de la langue quotidiennement employée nous ayons déjà atteint le protofrançais.

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61 Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr 1972: 322 §179b; Stotz 2022: 4, 328-29 §64.1-64.2; Vielliard 1927: 158-59; Pei 1932: 263-65; 273-77.

62 Stotz 2022: 4, 215-16 §121; Väänänen 1981³: 144-45 §341; Fouché 1981: 356 §178 A 2b, 365 §187b.

63 Stotz. 2022: 4, 215 §121.

64   Le -*d*- pourrait venir de *inventus*: *inventutus > invendutus* (?).

65 van Nes-Hi. " invenio , -vēnī , -ventum , -īre . " *TLL* online: 7, 2, pp. 134-51; *FEW* 4: col 788a-b.

66 Pei 1932: 39-44; Vielliard 1927: 18-19.

2.2.3 Les reliques des saints Médar, Germain et Marcel : Les prodromes d'un nou-veau diasystème : l'ancien français

AB/XIX/3971 n° 86 ; *ChLA* XVIII LXXXVI, p. 99

- *Reliquies s(an)c(tu)s Medar, s(an)c(tu)s Germani, s(an)c(tu)s Marcel, s(an)c(tu)s Filodde [...]* (?)
- Reliques de saint Médard, saint Germain, saint Marcel et saint (?).
- Cursive mérovingienne tardive ; R. VIIIe s. ; *ChLA* VIIIe s. ; JR VIIIe$_{ex.}$-IXe$_{in.}$ s . ; *d* présente des hampes allongées, *a* de type cc, medar, mais aussi *a* fermé par une barre transversale,[67] *Marcel* ; moins de ligatures, un graphisme plus aéré facilitant la lecture.[68]
- Triade de saints évêques en lien avec Paris : Saint Médard, vers *470-†560, évêque de Noyon[69] dont des reliques sont conservées à Paris, saint Germain, vers *496-†576, évêque de Paris[70] et saint Marcel, IVe-Ve, évêque de Paris.[71]

Commentaire linguistique :

Reliquies — Marcel

Le système casuel ne fonctionne pratiquement plus : à l'exception du l'acc./nom. *Reliquies* et du génitif *Germani,* l'auteur n'emploie que le nom., *sanctus* ; les noms propres *Medar* et *Marcel* n'ont même plus de désinence casuelle et sont de fait des mots d'anc. français ; derrière la graphie légè-rement archaïsante *reliquies* devrait également se cacher une prononcia-tion française, *e* transcrivant un e central < a final lat. (VIe s.).[72]

67 Bischoff 2009[4]: 153.
68 Steffens 1909: pl. 40; *CLA* 10: 1571.
69 *BBKL* V: col. 1151; Beaujard 2000: 291, 521.
70 *BBKL* XVII: col. 456-57.
71 *BBKL* XVI: col. 984.
72 La Chaussée de 1989[3]: 194 §16.1.2.4.

Conclusions :

La *déflexivité*, un élément central du passage du latin vers le français, caractérise la langue de l'authentique. On y trouve même des mots qui relèvent déjà de l'anc. français, des attestations à situer vers 800-820,[73] légèrement avant les serments de Strasbourg prononcés en 842.

3. À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin en Gaule? …

Le titre de notre conclusion a été emprunté à un article célèbre du latiniste, Dag Norberg, paru dans les *Annales* 1966: 21/2, 346 sqq. . Dans son étude, p. 355, il situe le passage du latin au proto-français aux alentours du VIIe s. PCN.

Or, il s'avère que notre commentaire sur les petits parchemins de Chelles nous amène *in fine* à rouvrir le dossier épineux de la naissance du français.

L'authentique des reliques de saint Cassien datée au VIIe-VIIIe s. se rattache encore à l'Antiquité tardive romaine. Cassianus, IVe s. PCN, originaire d'Alexandrie ?, devient évêque d'Autun, un centre économique et culturel majeur de l'Antiquité tardive romaine, et sera enterré in *cemyterio sancto Petro,* une importante nécropole où se côtoient rites funéraires romains et germains. L'authentique est rédigée dans un lat. mérovingien passable, adapté au latin parlé du VIIIe s. . Tout ici reste imprégné d'une *romanitas* tardive de bon aloi. Rien d'étonnant à cela: les barbares francs «n'étaient pas venus pour faire disparaître l'Empire», comme l'écrivent à juste titre G. Bührer-Thierry et Ch. Mériaux, «mais pour se faire admettre en son sein.»[74]

Tout changera avec la dernière authentique analysée que nous avons datée au VIIIe$_{ex}$-IXe$_{in.}$ s. Le contexte n'est plus gallo-romain, mais *parisien, Saint Germain, Saint Médard,* et la langue est devenue une sorte de *sabir latino-français:* l'orthographe légèrement latinisante *Reliquies* cache à

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73 Cf. le Concile de Tours, 813, qui dans son Canon XVII évoque une *romana rustica lingua.*

74 Bührer-Thierry/Mériaux 2010: 50.

peine un *reliques* déjà français et les syntagmes *sanctus Medar et sanctus Marcel* sont composés de noms propres bien ancien français.

Si notre datation de l'authentique est exacte, nous sommes ici en présence de traces linguistiques du français attestées environ cinquante ans, soit vers la fin du VIIIe– début du IXe s. PCN,[75] avant le premier texte en ancien français, les Serments de Strasbourg qui datent de 842.

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75 Sur cette datation, cf. Muller 1921: 334: «In conclusion, evidence both positive and negative, internal and external, points to the following considerations: (i) that in spite of the introduction of very important phonetic and morphological changes, Latin cannot be said to have lost its character and become a dead language until the latter part of the eighth century; (2) that the breaking down of the Latin passive voice, coinciding as it does with this event, was very likely its one immediate cause. The reform of Charlemagne which severed the common people's speech from its natural support, the written language, accelerated the linguistic changes to such an extent that less than thirty years later it was officially recognized and its use recommended under certain circumstances.» (Nous avons mis en évidence). Cf. également Lot 1931: 106 ; Richter 1983: 445 ; Uytfanghe 1976: 81 et Berschin 2019: 115-17.

76 Les abréviations des journaux scientifiques sont celles utilisées par la Société de linguistique romane.

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COSMOLOGY, PLACE, AND HISTORY
IN VARRO'S *DE LINGUA LATINA* 5

By Jordan Rogers

Summary: This article interprets Varro's etymological discussion of *locus* in book 5 of *De lingua Latina* (1-56) as representative of a Varronian "place-based" history. It argues that Varro's reconstruction of Rome's *loci* as cosmically essential and structuring elements of both the city and Roman culture in his present day depended upon the author's peculiar understanding of the past and of historical truth – namely, that fundamental principles of truth manifest both on different levels of reality, and at different points in time. Places – temples, hills, groves, or otherwise – therefore were particularly significant in providing access to the essential meaning of Rome's institutions, religion, and people. Varro's consideration of the *Septimontium* is then analyzed within this framework. The argument demonstrates how Rome's natural environment, construed as part of an original *cosmos*, could explain the social and political facts of the present in Varro's reconstruction of word-history. In particular, the religious importance of the Capitoline hill, and the separation of the Aventine from the rest of the city in the first century BCE, are both given etymological explanations that depend upon the long-lost natural topography of the city.

I. Introduction

In book 5 of his *De lingua Latina* (*LL*), Varro presents an extended etymological discussion of the etiologies of Rome's rural and urban *loci*.[1] After an introductory consideration of the philosophical and historical value of his endeavor, as well as a description of the natural and rural world – beginning with terms denoting natural phenomena and ending with those concerning rural production – Varro attempts to elucidate the shadowy names of Rome's urban places and the stories associated with them. In this discussion, Varro outlines the spatial development of the

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1   The text of *De lingua Latina* in this article is from de Melo 2019. All translations are my own.

city of Rome, from the original Septimontium (5.41) to the Shrines of the Argei (5.45-54), themselves divided among the four Servian regions, which were conveniently associated in Varro's day with Rome's urban tribes (5.56).[2] Varro then transitions from place, *locus*, to the things that exist therein, *corpus*, for the remainder of the book. This tour de force treatment of all things *locus* explores the cosmos and Rome's place within it, beginning with the *caelum* and *terra* and ending with Rome's four regions (Subura, Esquiline, Colline, Palatine), in merely forty-two densely packed paragraphs.

This first section of *LL* 5 has received significant scrutiny, most notably for its tidy narrative of Rome's urban development. Varro's depiction of Rome's topography in *LL* 5, in fact, still exerts an enormous influence on modern reconstructions of the Republican city, which typically accept the historical stages of the city's development in their attempts to "map" the extent, for instance, of the Servian regions, or even the precise locations of the Argei shrines.[3] Varro's image of the city, however, is

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2   Elsewhere in his *oeuvre*, according to Solin. 1.17, Varro had described the original foundation of Rome on the Palatine by Romulus, dubbed *Roma Quadrata*, presumably for its division into four equal parts. It is unclear from what Varronian work Solinus draws. See Wiseman 2015 for an account of the relationship between the text of Solinus and the possible text of Varro, and Ziółkowski 2019: 111-46, for a detailed review of all the primary sources mentioning *Roma Quadrata*.

3   Many of these modern scholars uncritically accept Varro's reconstruction in pursuing their own mapping of the city, the four regions, and the shrines of the Argei, e.g. Platner 1904: 46; Palmer 1970: 308; Ziółkowski 1998-9: 212; Rodriguez-Almeida 2002: fig. 7; Carandini and Carafa 2012: tav. 1a; Palombi 2017: 27. The idea that Rome was divided into four administrative units, based upon the Servian regions, has long been criticized. Graffunder 1913: 481, comments upon the tendency of modern historians and topographers to conflate territorial divisions with political ones through a sarcastic statement, 'Sie hätten sie besser Viertribusstadt genannt.' Indeed, there is little reason to believe that the four urban tribes, especially by the first century BCE, were strictly territorial entities, especially since the enrollment of non-resident freedpeople and criminals in the urban tribes had taken place since the third century BCE, cf. Taylor 1960: 11 n. 24. Fraschetti 1990: 185 goes as far as to state that the city of the four regions was 'un'invenzione dei topografi Tedeschi,' who misinterpreted Varro's reference to the four *regiones*. Rather, Fraschetti argues, Varro's use of the word *regio* merely referred to the original spatial attributes of both rural and urban tribes rather than to a territorial delineation of the city for administrative purposes,

partial. Not only does he omit any mention of *Roma Quadrata*, which he identifies elsewhere as the site of the original Romulean foundation on the Palatine, he also neglects to include other divisions of urban space known to him, including the epigraphically attested *mons*.[4] He was certainly aware of the latter's existence, given his discussion of them in other places within the same work.[5]

It is clear that a mere historical explanation of the step-wise development of Rome and its *loci* was not Varro's primary interest in this part of *LL*, even if scholars treat his testimony as unproblematic evidence for the city's growth. I will argue in this article that Varro's discussion of the city of Rome must be considered within the overall context of his etymological books, and in particular within the methodological framework that Varro painstakingly describes in the first fourteen paragraphs of book 5. While unique to *LL*, Varro's methodology for etymological inquiry, as a necessarily historical endeavor, shares much with his approach to uncovering the past of Rome's religious and civic institutions in his other works. In *LL* 5, however, Varro seeks to locate the origins of the Latin language not just in words connected generally to Roman culture, but also in the cosmic structure that he reconstructs in his etymological books. This structure can be understood as both a guiding principle in the organization of his books, and as an explanatory mechanism that places significant meaning in the cosmic and natural world.

My reading of Varro as a cosmologist is not in itself novel – the rotunda of his *aviarium*, described in *De re rustica* (3.5.9-17), has been convincingly interpreted as a cosmic representation in its own right, with

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Cf. Varro *ap* Non. 62: *extra urbem in regiones XXVI agros viritim liberis adtribuit.* Compare to his remarks at *Ling.* 5.46: *In Suburanae regionis parte princeps est Caelius mons.*

4   Precisely how the *mons* developed as a territorial unit is unclear. *CIL* 6.32455, an inscription recording a dedication made by the *montani montis oppi* and dated to the late second century BCE, strongly suggests that this territorial administrative unit was partly autonomous, as they both maintained a common fund and held property in common: *M[ag(istri)] et flamin(es) | montan(orum) montis | Oppi | de pe<c=Q>unia mont(anorum) | montis Oppi | sacellum | claudend(um) | et coaequand(um) | et arbores | serundas | coeraverunt.*

5   Varro discusses the organization of the *mons* in reference to the ritual of the Septimontium at Varro, *Ling.* 6.24. Another, more informal, division of space can be adduced in the *vicus*, which comes up for discussion twice, at *Ling.* 5.145 and 5.160.

guests seated "in the middle of an evocation of the *kosmos*, placed exactly at the boundary between the supralunar world ... and the part of the world beneath the moon."[6] Varro's interest in cosmological thinking is especially evident in his apparent obsession with numerology. The number three, for instance, was especially attractive to Varro, who followed the Pythagoreans in understanding the number as *perfectum*.[7] He would utilize this same number as the structuring principle for the types of Roman gods in *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* (*ARD*), as well as the basic organizational template for archaic Roman society (3 *tribus*; 30 *curiae*; 300 *turmae*).[8] Yet Varro was also extremely flexible in employing different, radically contradictory numerological systems across his scholarship, and even within the same works; he also did not hesitate to ignore them altogether. His *Hebdomades*, for instance, utilized the number seven (in its multiple of 700) to structure his discussion of famous men, while he appears to satirize attempts to apply numerological systems to the messiness of the real world entirely in *De re rustica* (*RR*).[9] In any case, it is clear that Varro found such numerological systems to be valuable, both through their ability to structure information descriptively, and to imbue information with essential, normative meaning that explained how

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6   Sauron 2019: 233.

7   Serv. *Ecl.* 8.75-7.

8   Palmer 1970: 5-26, for a discussion of Varronian numerology and the relevant sources.

9   Volk 2019. Scrofa's and Stolo's characterizations in *RR* have been interpreted by Kronenberg 2009 as satirizing the type of pedantic systematization (in which Varro himself often engaged) common in first-century BCE intellectual culture, including attempts to trace Roman agriculture back to the fundamental elements of the *cosmos* (cf. *Rust.* 4.1: *Eius principia sunt eadem, quae mundi esse Ennius scribit, aqua, terra, anima et sol.*). Scrofa, after outlining his division of agriculture into four parts, each with a subsequent two subdivisions (*Rust.* 1.5), for instance, does not hesitate to depart from his systematization throughout his discussion (cf. Skydsgaard 1968). His discussion of farm equipment, for example, posits three subdivisions (*Rust.* 1.17: *instrumenti genus vocale et semivocale et mutum*) rather than the two he initially claims. Given Varro's framing of the work at the outset (*Rust.* 1.1: *Annus enim octogesimus admonet me ut sarcinas conligam, antequam proficiscar e vita*), it is difficult not to imagine that the author is also poking some fun at his previous self, too, in his old age. But see, too, Nelsestuen 2011, who argues that Varro depicts Scrofa with a combination of genuine praise and self-aware parody.

the world should operate.[10] The intellectual culture of the first century BCE was especially typified by this penchant for cosmological thinking, which manifested in as varied generic contexts as philosophical dialogue (e.g. *de Re Publica* and the *somnium Scipionis*), didactic texts (e.g. Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and Ovid's *Fasti*), and epic poetry (e.g. Virgil's *Aeneid*).[11]

In the following, I first examine to what extent Varro's etymological project in *De lingua Latina* can be interpreted as making historical claims about the city of Rome and, as a consequence, about Roman society more generally. While not explicitly engaging in the *genre* nor techniques of historical writing, Varro nevertheless clearly considered etymological study to be a valid means of understanding Rome's past, as he communicates in several places throughout his treatise. He also presents his inquiry as a fundamentally historical exercise, even if he departs from the typical sequential approach to time, preferred by the annalistic historians, in favor of collapsing space and time together entirely.[12] Integral to Varro's approach to the past in *LL* is his interest in the long-lost natural environment of Rome. These natural spaces are imagined as existing as part of an original cosmic structure that persists into Varro's contemporary moment, in an evocation of a type of *imago mundi* found in literature as early as the Homeric Shield of Achilles;[13] in Varro's etymological cosmos, Rome itself emerges at the center as part of this natural landscape principally through its seven hills, the *Septimontium*. For Varro, the natural, the essential, and the cosmic – what he refers to as *natura* – are one and the same. As I suggest, in "re-naturalizing" Rome's urban environment and by "coopting the cosmos", as Katharina Volk has characterized

10 Horky 2019: 3, "*Kosmos*, as it was deployed by ancient thinkers for their understanding of the world that surrounded them, functioned both descriptively and normatively to structure the knowledge of reality."

11 Volk 2021: 239-312; Gee 2000: 21-65. The incredible popularity of Aratus' *Phaenomena* in first-century BCE Rome (for which see Gee 2000: 126-53), is surely in part responsible for the embrace of cosmic thinking, as was the dynamic political context, which saw numerous attempts to justify political ideology or hierarchy by making connections to the *cosmos*.

12 Ahl 1985: 275-76, citing *Ling.* 5.12, describes such a conception as a space-time continuum, a la Einstein's theory of special relativity, in which apparently sequential events are in fact coexistent.

13 Hardie 1985.

such intellectual endeavors,[14] Varro subtly construes the city of Rome, recently wracked by internecine bloodshed, in its essential cosmic form, conjuring images of a natural landscape where wooded hills and agricultural land abound. But far from simply depicting the city as an imaginary, divinely ordained sacro-idyllic environment, Varro locates historical "truth" in the environment itself, which, as part of his presentation of the cosmic structure, becomes integral to his understanding of Roman institutions, history, and language in the present.

This hypothesis is then tested on the first section of book 5, with special attention paid to Varro's discussion of the *Septimontium*. As both "place" (*locus*) and "ritual" (*action*), the *Septimontium* as presented by Varro has been widely discussed by scholars interested primarily in Roman religion or topography. I focus instead on how it both fits within Varro's cosmology of words, and demonstrates his general approach to uncovering historical "truth." The argument is particularly indebted to Van Nuffelen's reconstruction of Varro's approach to historical inquiry, which, he argues, seeks to define general principles as they manifest in "different guises on different levels of reality."[15] Varro's discussion of the *Septimontium*, for example, only explicitly treats two hills, the Capitoline and Aventine, which reflect his general principle of "elemental pairs" (5.13: *initia bina*) that structure the cosmos. Etymologies of names scattered around the Capitoline are tied to the civic development of the Roman *res publica* as well as the essential *actio* of agricultural production, the mark of the good Roman citizen. The Aventine, by contrast, is described as "cut off" (*disclusus*) from the city proper. Justifying this separation of the two hills, in Varro's presentation, is the original ecology of the region, as the two hills were understood to be divided by a marsh, resulting in the Aventine's nature as being located "outside" of the city (*ab urbe*). Each of the etymologies accepted by Varro demonstrate these fundamental natural (i.e. cosmic) principles, and are therefore powerful explanatory tools for Varro in his presentation of Roman history and the current state of the city in his own day.

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14 Volk 2021: 239-312.
15 Van Nuffelen 2010: 171.

II. History, nature, and cosmos in *LL*

It is important first to contextualize Varro's discussion of the city within his larger scholarly project in *LL* and especially the etymological books, in which he is explicit about the importance of antiquarian inquiry through etymological analysis, and its ability to recover the traditions and virtues of the Roman *maiores.* On the surface, it might appear questionable to assert social and cultural historical claims through an analysis of a work that concerns itself principally with the linguistic and morphological development of Latin.[16] Varro himself, though, was hardly restrained by the conventions of the genres within which he composed. Nelsestuen has convincingly demonstrated, for instance, the complex interplay of form and content demonstrated in Varro's *RR*, which simultaneously engages with political philosophy (through the form of the dialogue), with satire (through irony and humor), and with the traditional form of the agronomical treatise (through the content itself).[17] It is hardly a surprise, then, to find discussions of time playing such a large role in Varro's etymological interpretations. In the prefatory remarks to book 5, Varro discusses the difficulties that *vetustas* brings to any study of the past, including his linguistic one. Varro's choice metaphor is that of the aging person, once a beautiful boy but later ravaged by time and unsightly in his old age. So, too, Varro claims, are words barely recognizable by the third generation due to the constant change to which they are subject. There are few things, after all, that *vetustas* does not distort, and it razes many others (*Vetustas pauca non depravat, multa tollit*, 5.5).[18]

But Varro's sense of *tempus* moved beyond the strictly chronological or sequential. Varro sketches out a theory of time that applies not only to the etymological form, but also to cosmological and natural forms that feature in his account of word history. In this account, time represents only one of the organizing principles for how Varro conceptualized the past.[19] In his opinion, historical time could be separated into three parts

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16 Cf. Taylor 2011 and 2015 for bibliography on Varro as "language scientist." De Melo 2019: 40-43.

17 Nelsestuen 2015 and Nelsestuen 2017. Cf. Kronenberg 2009.

18 Volk 2019: 187, esp. n. 11.

19 Piras 2017: 8; cf. Piras 1998: 25-56 and Blank 2008: 59-61.

– the distant past, the near past, and the present. Giorgio Piras has demonstrated how these temporal distinctions are not necessarily defined by time itself, but rather by the reliability of information from each period in question. Uncertain data characterized the distant past; false data the near past; verifiable data the present.[20] But even if the distant past was characterized by uncertainty or the unverifiable, Varro argues that etymology, as a methodology for studying the past, can at least play a role in arbitrating between uncertain alternatives and, therefore, in finding the truth in fact.[21] His vivid metaphor of tracking escaped slaves in a dark wood, chasing fugitive etymological prey down untrodden paths beset with obstacles, not only is typical of his aristocratic perspective, but also betrays a certain confidence in a project in which others, such as the great jurist Mucius Scaevola, whom he cites explicitly, had failed (5.5).[22] In any case, contemporaries found Varro's methodology influential and persuasive. Cicero, for example, commented on Varro's success in the *Academica*, famously remarking that Varro's books led the Romans back home again to their city through an elucidation of its history, institutions, and, as intimated by the spatial metaphor of wandering (*peregrinantis errantisque*) Romans, its topography.[23] Besides demonstrating the intellectual relevance of Varro's project to his contemporary moment, Cicero's comments about Rome's spaces and places reveal the broader cultural desire for knowing the city's physical environments in all their current and previous iterations, and the difficulties inherent in undertaking such a process persuasively.[24]

The antiquarian method, and especially etymological science, allowed Varro to arrange and explicate information about the city's past and its

20 Piras 2017: 13-14. Censorinus, *DN* 21.1–2.
21 Moatti 2015: 150, "the prime vocation of an antiquarian is to be 'an archaeologist of memory and language', an analyst of societies." See also Blank 2008 and Blank 2019.
22 Spencer 2011: 52-53.
23 Cic. *Acad. Post.* 9: *nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt.*
24 Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 259-60. Cf. Moatti 2015: 94-163.

historical development.[25] His choice metaphor for this process was an arboreal one, in which he compares his intellectual labor and the Latin language with the naturally sprawling root-system of a tree (5.13):[26]

> *Sed qua cognatio eius erit uerbi quae radices egerit extra fines suas, persequemur. S<a>epe enim ad limitem arboris radices sub uicini prodierunt segetem. Quare non, cum de locis dicam, si ab agro ad agrarium hominem, ad agricolam peruenero, aberraro.*

> But where there may be an affinity of a word, an affinity which pushes the roots beyond their own borders, we will follow it. For often the roots of a tree on a property line have spread below the neighbor's field. And so I won't err if I move from *ager* to *agrarius* to *agricola* when I talk about places.

For Varro, finding the correct root could take him further down the untrodden path of history's darkened forests.[27] In doing so, he argues that the relationship between things as represented through language is itself of the utmost importance, because it represents identifiable historical relationships that could be found nowhere else in his sources. Although explaining the origin of *equus* might ultimately prove impossible, its family tree – cavalry, cavalrymen, etc. – can nevertheless tell us something

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25 This connection between Varro's antiquarian and etymological interests has long been noted and remarked upon. See McAlhany 2003: 119-21.

26 Garcia 2008 on Varro's understanding of *veritas* as stemming from universal systemization; Piras 2017: 17-18, discusses Varro's approach to the four *gradus* of etymology as being parallel to his understanding of the chronological stages of the past. While Rüpke 2014: 253-59, focuses only on the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, his emphasis on Varro's narrativizing – and historicizing – of Rome's religious past displays some parallel with the etymological etiologies of the *De lingua Latina*. Other approaches to Varro's relationship to the past focus more on the material aspect, literal or metaphorical, that Varro's archaeological method entails. Spencer 2011 (and more recently Spencer 2019) sees Varro's annunciation of Rome's topography and the language used to describe it as defining a cultural identity of "Romanness" that consists in a shared cultural memory attached to place.

27 Macdonald 2012: 198.

about the historical and social development of the Roman people.[28] In his reference to "talking about places", Varro also implicitly refers to his quadripartite model of etymology, which categorizes words into four different categories – place (*locus*), body (*corpus*), time (*tempus*), and action (*actio*). This model will receive further scrutiny below, but for now it is enough to remark that Varro did not understand these categories to be mutually exclusive. As he states, the spreading roots of the tree could also lead him away from the category of *tempus* into the property of *locus*, *corpus*, or *actio*. Doing so, Varro contends, would neither be in error nor destabilize his quadripartite model of language, but would only lead to further illumination of obscure words and, by extension, obscure truths about the world.[29] Varro's arboreal metaphor is also revealing in that the terminations of the roots, while physically further from the tree trunk, are nevertheless part of a single organism existing in a single moment; the metaphor would suggest, then, that words and word-histories were simultaneously historical and timeless. In any case, the antiquarian could only start from the trunk that they observed, whether that was the usage of a word or the name of a place.[30] The contemporary world, therefore, was both Varro's vast source material and greatest limitation. As in the case of *equus*, however, Varro at times embraced the historical uncertainty of a word's original meaning and admitted *aporia*,[31] yet he nonetheless is surprisingly forthcoming with etymological etiologies for Rome and its peoples, customs, and institutions. The same, too, can be said for Varro's etymological excavation of Rome's topography, through

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28 Varro, *Ling.* 7.4: *Quare qui ostendit equitatum esse ab equitibus, equites ab equite, equitem ab equo neque equus unde sit dicit, tamen hic docet plura et satisfacit grato, quem imitari possimusne ipse liber erit indicio.*

29 Volk 2019: 198-99. Volk remarks on the "flexibility" of his quadripartite system that Varro admits in this passage. It is interesting to note that Varro here implicitly reveals the limitations of human systems of categorization for the natural world, though he does not suggest that such systems are fruitless. This may in part be due to his understanding of fundamental philosophical principles manifesting on different planes of reality (see below, p. 79-80).

30 Cf. Bernard 2014-2015.

31 Piras 2017: 15.

which he sought to explain Rome *as it is* through a plausible narration of Rome *as it originally was*.[32]

Even with his overwhelming interest in historical reconstruction, pursued in many of his other works, Varro nevertheless demonstrates a type of historical thinking in his *oeuvre* that eschews both typical narrativization in sequential time and the historiographical tendency to treat the pursuit of historical truth as a zero-sum endeavor.[33] Consider, for instance, Varro's often discussed treatment of Roman aniconism in *ARD*. As reported by Augustine, Varro had originally stated that the Romans worshiped their gods without the aid of images, while noting that this practice represented a more pure form of veneration than that practiced later, when images of the gods had become widespread and had led worshippers into "error".[34] Later in *ARD*, however, Varro claims that the images of the gods were "created" (*finxisse*) by the *antiqui*, who sought to allegorize the cosmos by giving the "immortal soul" a human-like manifestation, just as the mortal soul was housed in a human body.[35] The result, according to Varro, was that viewers of these images could better understand the immortal soul through the direct comparison to their own. This apparent contradiction gave Augustine – whose own stance on the images of the pagan gods must be acknowledged – an opportunity to both emphasize the seeming inconsistency in Varro's position and propose his own doctrine regarding the true "immortal soul" (*immortalis animus*) in his work. But Augustine's understanding is built upon a misreading of the Varronian method, which, as van Nuffelen has argued, embraces the notion that "truth," which is understood by Varro as a set of fundamental principles,[36] can manifest on different levels of reality – whether cosmic or human – as well as at different points in time. From

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32 Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 260-64.

33 See Momigliano 1950 and Moatti 2015 for antiquarianism more generally.

34 Aug. *Civ.* 4.31 (*ARD* 18): *antiquos Romanos plus annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulacro coluisse. Quod si adhuc ... mansisset, castius dii observarentur ... qui primi simulacra deorum populis posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis et metum dempsisse et errorem addidisse.*

35 Aug. *Civ.* 7.5 (*ARD* 225).

36 Varro uses different words to express the general idea of "principles", including, e.g., *initium* (*Rust.* 1.5; *Ling.* 5.11), *principia* (*Rust.* 1.4), and *elementa* (*ARD* 24). Van Nuffelen 2010: 165-170.

this perspective there is nothing contradictory about Varro's two statements, as each posits the same historical, qua cosmological, truth about the nature of and relationship to the divine, though the latter case requires the expert knowledge of an individual like Varro to fully explicate.

Rather than attribute this tendency towards apparent contradiction to a failure of the Varronian method, I suggest that it can be profitably understood to be one of its greatest attributes, as it more closely aligns with how historical knowledge was formed and transmitted, especially in the guise of collective memory and monumentality.[37] This type of "both-and" history was especially useful for explicating Rome's topography, as many of the city's physical spaces, monuments, and natural features communicated multiple and apparently contradictory meanings through the stories and memories associated with their pasts. A case in point is that of the *vicus Tuscus.* Several stories are preserved concerning the origin of the neighborhood. Each places the moment of settlement at a different point in time: Propertius' *signum Vertumni*, as an Etruscan representative, settles in the quarter in 264 BCE, after the sack of Volsinii;[38] Livy and Dionysius both connect the settlement to Etruscan refugee migration in the aftermath of the Battle of Aricia in the early fifth century BCE;[39] and Varro explains that the quarter was originally inhabited by

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37 See Galinsky 2016: 1-21, for a useful overview of memory studies and their application to the study of the Roman world.

38 Prop. 4.2.3-4: *Tuscus ego et Tuscis orior, nec paenitet inter | proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos.*

39 Liv. 2.14.9; Dion. 5.36.3-4. Alföldi 1967 has argued that Livy and Dionysius in this instance followed the fabrication of Fabius Pictor, though Dionysius himself appears to have consulted the presumed Cumaean Chronicle preserved in Timaeus in dating the Battle of Aricia. For a recent assessment of the Cumaean Chronicle, see Gallia 2007. Gagé 1976: 91-92 argues that the story masked an emigration event from Aricia, and that it further proves the good relations between Porsenna and Rome as communicated by the Roman annalistic tradition; Dovere 1984 has suggested that the Vicus Tuscus was territory ceded to Porsenna as part of the settlement between Rome and Clusium, and that his defeat led to his withdrawal. Therefore, the now derelict space of the Vicus Tuscus could be given over in kindness to the refugees from Aricia. Hirata 1986: 7-22, contended that the inhabitants of the Vicus Tuscus were merely the remnants of those living in Porsenna's siege camp across the Tiber. See Ridley 2017 for an overview of how the figure of Lars Porsenna has been treated by scholars since the Renaissance.

followers of the Etruscan hero Caeles Vibenna, as part of the *triplex civitas* of Romans, Sabines, and Etruscans that Varro posits in *de Vita Populi Romani* (*VPR*).[40] The historical contradictions are apparent, but ultimately unimportant. Connecting each story – and revealing the "truth" of each – is a common principle of migration and marginalization. The *Signum Vertumni* finds itself in Rome as a war captive; the Etruscans of Livy and Dionysius arrive in the quarter as refugees; and Vibenna's followers are forced to settle in the neighborhood because their former abode on the Caelian hill, given its natural defenses, prompted suspicion among the Romans. Varro, of course, concerns himself in *LL* only with the most ancient story in his explanation of the origins of the *vicus Tuscus* (though he does mention the presence of the *Signum Vertumni* in connection with this origin story, again collapsing historical time to comment upon the essential "Etruscanness" of the *locus*), but he also is the only one to emphasize the role of Rome's natural topography in characterizing the essential nature of the place and, as a result of this connection, of Etruscan identity within Rome.

This connection between the natural environment of Rome and the corresponding historical development of the city is representative of Varro's tendency in *LL* to locate essential meaning in the natural, cosmological world. In his opening remarks in book 5, Varro explains that the subject of the book – *locus*, followed later in the book by *corpus* – is merely one of the four categories (*locus*, *corpus*, *tempus*, *actio*) that he uses not only to organize his treatise but also as an epistemological system in itself.[41] This "*quadriga* of first principles" (5.13: *initiorum quadrigae*), as Varro dubs it, cites ostensibly Pythagorean notions of the cosmos, in which first principles (*initia*) manifest in contrasting pairs (*bina*). The two etymological books are constructed as reflections of this basic principle. Varro begins by comparing "finite and infinite, life and death, day and

40 *VPR* 2(P). See Wiseman 2016 for a discussion of the meaning of *triplex civitas*.

41 For Varro's fondness of the quadripartite model, which appears also in *ARD*, *ARH*, and *RR*, see Piras 1998: 25-56 and McAlhany 2003: 63-88 and 119-32. Dahlmann 1932 argued that this quadripartite division can be seen throughout Varro's oeuvre as a fundamental principle of his organizational schema. Blank 2008: 59, remarks that Varro's quadripartition, while gesturing towards Pythagorean influence in *LL*, has "a Stoic ring to it" (cf. also Dahlmann 1932 16-17). Skydsgaard 1968 reads the influence of rhetorical training, and not Stoic cosmology, into the quadripartite schema.

night" to the fundamental pairing *status* and *motus*, which is then used to explain the four categories:

> *quare fit, ut ideo fere omnia sint quadripertita et ea aeterna, quod neque umquam tempus, quin fuerit motus; eius enim intervallum tempus; neque motus, ubi non locus et corpus, quod alterum est quod movetur, alterum ubi; neque ubi is agitatus, non actio ibi. Igitur initiorum quadrigae locus et corpus, tempus et actio.*

> "Therefore it is the case that, for this reason, nearly everything is quadripartite, and these things are universal, since there is never time without there being motion; indeed, motion's stopping is also time; nor is there motion where there is no place or body, since the latter is that which is moved, the former where it's moved. Nor where there is movement is there not action. Therefore, place and body, time and action, are the four-horse chariot of first principles."

Varro is admittedly difficult to follow here, especially as he quickly pivots from the pairing of *status* and *motus* to a discussion of these four *initia*.[42] But, Varro clearly indicates other pairings in addition; that between the physical (*locus*, *corpus*) and the temporal (*tempus*, *actio*), which serves as the structuring principal for books 5 and 6, and that between the container (*locus*, *tempus*) and things that occur within each (*corpus*, *actio*). This latter point is clarified by Varro, as he states explicitly at 5.57 and 6.1 that *corpus* refers to "things which are in places" (5.57: *de his quae in locis esse solent*; 6.1: *locorum et ea quae in his in priore libro scripsi*), while *actio* refers to "things that come about with some element of time" (6.1: *earum rerum quae in agendo fiunt aut dicuntur cum tempore aliquo*). Whether Varro was a "Pythagorean" or not – the ancient tradition certainly marks him out as influenced by Pythagorean ideas, at the very least[43] – he does make

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42 This sudden, almost inexplicable movement from Pythagorean dualism to an apparently Stoic quadripartite model of essentials has prompted a fruitless search for Varro's intellectual sources. Yet, as McAlhany 2003: 70-72 remarks, each ignores the possibility of Varronian originality in the creation and application of his quadripartite model in *LL*.

43 Plin. *NH*. 35.46.

explicit his reliance upon Pythagoras in this particular instance (*LL* 5.5). Varro's cosmic *quadriga* would then provide him a justification for the value of etymological inquiry, as well as a structuring principle for the entirety of Rome's past.

This abstract cosmological framework has significant implications for the *loci* that subsequently appear in Varro's account, as it intimates their essential role within the ordered cosmos, which Varro refers to in book 5 explicitly as *natura*.[44] In books 5 and 6, *natura* is equated with the deepest recoverable origins of the Latin language, which, in Varro's reconstruction, in fact includes essential human (read: Roman) activity; this world of words, an etymological cosmos of sorts, imbues the Latin language and Roman history with essential meaning. After the word *locus* itself, the very first words Varro treats in the book are *terra* and *caelum*, what he refers to as the *loca naturae ... prima duo*, recalling the cosmic *initia bina* mentioned earlier in the book. These two words, Varro insists, account for the entire cosmos: "The places of the sky are 'upper' places and belong to the Gods; the places of the earth are lower, and belong to men" (*LL* 5.16). This same idea is communicated also in *ARD*, where Varro similarly posits the fundamental bifurcation of *caelum* and *terra*.[45] While Varro presents two etymologies for *caelum* that he will eventually dismiss,[46] he advocates for the word's ultimate connection to the primordial Greek Χάος through the word *cavum*, citing Hesiod's cosmography in the *Theogony* as his evidence.[47] The emptiness of the cavernous sky – where the gods are said to reside – is then made to be an appropriate pairing for the tangible earth; for the final words mentioned by Varro as derivatives

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44 For a discussion of the flexibility of the term *natura* in Latin literature and in Varro's *LL*, see McAlhany 2003: 132-35.

45 Tert. *Nat.* 2.3 (*ARD* 24): *Itaque quod mundi erit, hoc elementis ad[scri]betur, caelo dico et terrae et sideribus et igni ...* "And so, that which will characterize the world, will also be ascribed to the elements – I mean the sky, the earth, the stars, and fire ..."

46 The first, attributed to Aelius Stilo, is from *caelare*, "to raise up," while the second is from *celare*, "to hide." The first he dismisses as a reversed etymology, since it is "much more likely that *caelare* is from *caelum* than that *caelum* is from *caelando*." The second is not summarily rejected, though he does raise the issue of *caelum* not, in fact, being hidden at night.

47 *Ling.* 5.20: *sic ortum, unde omnia apud Hesiodum, a chao cavo caelum.* "Thus the sky arose from empty chaos, whence all things arose in Hesiod." Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 123.

from *caelum* each necessitate a lack of *terra*, from cavities (*cavea*) to hollowed valleys (*cavata vallis*). Over and against the *horror vacui* of Chaos we find, then, the realm of men and, most importantly, of Rome.

While Varro's *caelum* represents the divine and, by extension, the incorporeal, *terra* is explained as representing the tangible and the human. The word, Varro claims, lends its root to a number of other words – the shared land of farmers is called *territorium*, because it is a place that is "trodden", *teritur*, by farmers; the word *termini* rounds out his discussion, since the Romans used them to impose their own social order onto the natural one of *terra*. Nearly all of the words connected to *terra*, in fact, are in one way or another associated with agriculture (*territorium, tritura, tribulum*) or agricultural property (*terminus, terimen*). Read in combination with the preceding discussion of *caelum*, *terra*, as a place belonging to humans, is construed as an essentially agrarian *locus*. The significance of these two *prima loca naturae* is attributed to the cosmic structure itself, which situates the immaterial *caelum* opposite the material *terra* and the divine opposite the mortal. While emptiness and the divine are by definition unknowable, the human *terra* is revealed by Varro in its cosmic essence to be a space destined for agricultural *actio* and, importantly, private property – both fundamental to the notion of the Roman *bonus vir*.[48]

Although the Varronian *terra* presumes agriculture, Varro's etymological *imago mundi* is supplemented, too, with considerations of other natural and geographical features. These include words such as *humus* (soil), *lacus* (lakes), *fluvius* (rivers) and *amnis* (more rivers), which then serve as points of departure for considerations of as varied topics as wells (*putei*), swamps (*palus*), and circuits (*ambitus*). Such a generic image of the natural world is finally given a specific location with his discussion of the Tiber, at 5.29, from which Varro departs towards examinations of the peoples beyond Latium (5.31-2) and a discussion of the different types of land (5.33-40) found and utilized within this etymological world. Varro's cosmos is unsurprisingly centered on the Tiber valley and, as we will observe in the following section, eventually on the city of Rome itself. But his account of this development can be read as a sort of creation myth in

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48 Cf. Cato, *Agr*. praef.: *Et virum bonum quom laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum.* "And when they praised the 'good man', they also praised the 'good farmer' and 'good cultivator'."

its own right, beginning with the vast emptiness of chaos, which, alongside *terra*, created the conditions within which other Roman "places" can come to be (*locus*), where Roman "things" can exist (*corpus*), where "time" can pass (*tempus*), and where Roman "actions" can be undertaken (*actio*).

Varro returns to the fundamental cosmic structure of *caelum* and *terra* twice more in his etymological books, at 5.57 (when he transitions to a discussion of *corpus*) and at 6.2 and 6.12 (where he describes celestial and mortal *tempus* respectively). As a simple structuring device, this pairing undoubtedly provides Varro with an organizational schema within which to present his inquiry into the Latin language – a vast and likely impossible endeavor without some framework to help curate the information available to the etymologist. Yet, as an image of the *cosmos*, it also allowed Varro to make claims as to how the world *should* be ordered, both historically and in his contemporary moment. His discussion of the city of Rome, understood as arising within this cosmic structure, can be profitably interpreted, therefore, as both descriptive and normative. That is, as an attempt both to describe the past, and to demonstrate to his readers the "correct" order of things in their own world.

III. Rome's natural places: the case of the Septimontium

The cosmological perspective presented by Varro in the initial sections of book 5 continues with his discussion of the city of Rome itself. *Natura* once again takes precedence in the description of the *Septimontium*, the seven hills of Rome that he states were encircled by the Servian wall (5.41):

> *Ubi nunc est Roma, Septimontium nominatum ab tot montibus quos postea urbs muris comprehendit.*

> Where Rome stands now was the Septimontium, named for the number of *montes* which later the city enclosed within its walls.

Varro proceeds to describe only two of the seven hills in question, the Capitoline and the Aventine, before moving onto a description of the Rites of the Argei, which ultimately elucidates the divisions of the remaining five hills within the city's walls. As Varro makes clear in the above passage, the *Septimontium* was a proto-urban concept (*ubi nunc est Roma*), a spatial division dependent upon the natural environment that preceded the Servian encirclement of the city and evoked the image of seven hilltop communities united only loosely by proximity. Fortuitously, this pre-Servian geography in Varro's estimation anticipated the later construction of the Servian walls, which merely encompassed the naturally occurring *Septimontium* in an urban space (*postea urbs muris comprehendit*). The hills of the city of Rome itself, then – the Capitoline, the Aventine, the Palatine, the Esquiline, the Caelian, the Viminal, and the Quirinal – are construed as being merely a result of the cosmological order proposed in the preceding paragraphs.[49]

Recent research has revealed that Varro's notion of the *Septimontium* is unlikely to correspond to any historical proto-urban settlement in and around Rome; rather, the archaic *Septimontium* likely corresponded with Antistius Labeo's more geographically limited designation of the Palatine, the Velian, the Fagutal, the Cermalus, the Oppian, the Caelian, and the Cispian.[50] Antistius Labeo's testimony could very well present a more accurate picture of the earliest extent of Rome's urban history, as many scholars believe it does.[51] Varro's interest, however, was in locating the

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49 Although Varro does not explicitly state the seven hills in *De lingua Latina*, Lydus, *Mens.* 155, appears to have taken these seven hills as constituting the Septimontium from Varro's discussion elsewhere: "On this [day] also the festival they called 'Septimundius' was celebrated – that is, the circuit around the city, since the walls of Rome were spread over seven hills. And the names of these are: Palatium, Esquilium, Tarpeium, Aventinum, Tiburtium, Praenestium, Viminalium. But among the ancients, [they were named] differently, as follows: Aventinus, Caelius, Esquilius, Capitolinus, Velinensius, Quirinalius, Palatinus."

50 Fest. 458-59L, 474L, 476L. Confusingly, Festus and Paulus both list eight locations, including the Subura, instead of seven. Erkell 1985: 36, has argued that this is due to the fact that the Subura and Fagutal were considered to be one location. Cf. Holland 1953 for an analysis of Antistius Labeo's and Varro's differing versions of the *Septimontium*.

51 E.g. Platner 1911; Holland 1953; Poey 1978; Fraschetti 1990; Ziółkowski 2019; De Melo 2019: 50 is non-committal.

origins of his contemporary world as it stood before him. This was not a story of incremental development, but rather of intentional creation and foundation (*finxisse*) by the *maiores*, one that found its truth echoed in the natural environment. Considering Varro's own world makes this abundantly clear – in the first century BCE, authors often referred to Rome as the *septem montes* enclosed by the Servian Wall, rather than those preserved in Labeo.[52] The point here is not that Varro was correct in his interpretation of the *Septimontium*, whatever being correct may have meant. Rather, it is that he was responding to a particular conception of the city of Rome prevalent in his own day. Varro, that is, was responding to topographical evidence that he observed around him and connecting those observations to the antiquarian documents or words he sought to illuminate.[53]

For the *Septimontium*, identifying the *locus* of the word also allowed Varro to explain its broader cultural significance. In the first century BCE, the *Septimontium* was not simply a geographic determination, but also a religious ritual celebrated by the "hill-dwellers" (*montani*) of Rome (6.24):[54]

52 Vergil twice references the seven hills, stating that the city *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces* (Verg. *Aen.* 6.783; *G.* 2.534), with the *Georgics* looking back to the distant past from the present, and the *Aeneid* looking forward to the present from the distant past. Tibullus also uses *septem montes* metonymically for Rome (Tib. 2.5.55: *carpite nunc tauri de septem montibus herbas, dum licet | hic magnae iam locus urbis erit*); Cicero wrote to Atticus in June of 50 BCE, describing the city of Rome as ἐξ ἄστεως ἑπταλόφου (Cic. *Att.* 6.5.2); and Aulus Gellius cites the consul of 53 BCE, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, as describing the city as *septem Urbis montes* (Gell. *NA* 13.14).

53 Vout 2012 focuses on the number seven in Varro's treatment of the *Septimontium* as reflecting an important structural principle for the antiquarian, not unlike his use of the number 3 as the fundamental organizational principle of the Roman constitution under Romulus. See Palmer 1970: 34.

54 The Septimontium ritual is shrouded in mystery and is only referenced a handful of times in our sources, typically by later lexicographers or antiquarians. Besides the purported date of December 11th and our knowledge of the feast held for the *montani*, it is difficult to know what other practices characterized the ritual. Tert. *Ad Nat.* 2.15.3-5 suggests that the rites took place alongside the worship of other architectural features characteristic of urbanization, such as arches and doors, while Lydus, *Mens.* 4.155, indicates that a procession was involved. See Palmer 1970: 50-52.

Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus, in quis sita Urbs est; feriae non populi, sed montanorum modo, ut Paganalibus, qui sunt alicuius pagi.

That day is called the *Septimontium* from those seven hills on which the city is situated; it is not a festival for the entire *populus*, but only for the *montani*, as is the case with the *Paganalia*, which is attended only by those who are of some *pagus*.

Varro comments upon this ritual in book 6, where he concerns himself with *tempus* and *actio*. His discussion of the rites of the *Septimontium* is presented in the midst of a description of the different fixed festival days (*feriae*) in the Roman calendar. From other sources, it is clear that the *Septimontium* ritual had its own historical development, as is evidenced by the fact that, in the Imperial period, the festival seems to have come to include the entire *populus* (Suet. *Dom.* 4.5).[55] The restriction of participation in the festival of the *Septimontium* during the Republic to only those dwelling on the seven hills in question (*sed montanorum modo*) then follows from Varro's understanding of the location of the *Septimontium* itself; as urban spaces, only those living within the city walls, the *montani* of Rome's seven hills, could take part.[56] Religious *actio*, performed by the

Ziółkowski 2019: 41-60, reads Varro's interpretation of the Septimontium as diverging from his contemporaries' understanding of the toponym since "he did not accept the list in its entirety," therefore he ends his "tour" after treating only two of seven hills. Varro does, however, explain the other hills in question immediately afterwards, though under the rubric of the Rites of the Argei and the Servian Regions.

55 But see also Fraschetti 1984: 54, who suggests that Domitian's extension of the Septimontium feast to the entire population may have been a singular event.

56 Spencer 2019: 134 argues that the exclusion of the *pagani* from the *Septimontium* represents the symbolic hierarchical divisions of Roman society, separating those who live upon the heights from those who live in the valleys. While Varro certainly utilizes this spatial metaphor to make claims about status elsewhere (e.g. *Ling.* 5.46, on the transposition of Etruscan settlers to the *vicus Tuscus* from the Caelian hill after the death of Caeles Vibenna), it is not operative here; the implication that the seven hills referred to are those surrounded by the Servian wall would rather suggest that all of those living within the circuit wall participated, called "the hill dwellers" (*montani*), since they lived in the "city of seven hills" (*Septimontium*).

urban *corpus*, framed within the calendar of Republican *tempus*, logically proceeds from the cosmic *locus* of the *Septimontium* itself.

Varro's discussion of the Capitoline and Aventine hills is illustrative of how Varro applied his unique blend of etymology, history, and cosmology in *LL* to provide explanations of the world around him to his readers. The choice to describe the origins of only two of the seven hills under the rubric of the *Septimontium* is also notable. Admittedly, Varro's decision could simply have been due to constraints of space within the overall work. And Varro would ultimately consider the other hills under the rubric of the Rites of the Argei, as I discuss below. Yet limiting his discussion of the *Septimontium* to only the Capitoline and Aventine also implies an essential character to each that could be representative of the *Septimontium*, and Roman history, more generally. Significant, too, is Varro's insistence on emphasizing the natural separation of the two locations through his etymological and environmental explanations, which consistently stress the cultural, spatial, and symbolic divisions between two of Republican Rome's most notable spaces.

In the three names and associated "histories" that Varro presents for the Capitoline hill, the fundamental principle underlying each is its original connection to Saturn, and especially the notion of "seed" or "insemination" that Saturn represents more generally in the Varronian corpus.[57] Varro's etymological excavation of the Capitoline begins from the contemporary name for the hill in his own day, the *Capitolinus*. In the case of the Capitoline, currant usage possessed a deep Republican antiquity, as the origin of the name "Capitolinus" was traditionally tied to the transition between Monarchy and Republic. As Varro states, during the construction of the foundations for the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus – according to legend, dedicated in the Republic's inaugural year[58] – a human head, *caput*, was discovered (*cum fundamenta foderentur aedis Iovis,*

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57 Van Nuffelen 2010: 169. Cf. Aug. *Civ.* 7.19.

58 Legend and historical tradition at Rome agreed that the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, though begun by the King Tarquinius Priscus, was formally dedicated in the transition from monarchy to Republic, though the precise year sees some disagreement. Aside from Tac. *Hist.* 3.72 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.35.3, who attribute the dedication to M. Helvitius Pulvillus during his second consulship of 507 BCE, all other sources agree that the dedication came in the inaugural year of 509 BCE by the same man during his first consulship, including Liv. 2.8, Polyb. 3.22, and Plut. *Popl.* 14.

caput humanum dicitur inventum, 5.41).[59] In this version of events, the Romans interpreted the interred head to portend their ultimate domination of the Mediterranean and transformation into the *caput orbis*.[60] Varro was not the first to record the story. Gemstones dating to the third century BCE represent a scene in which an Etruscan *haruspex* is engaged in the examination of a *caput*,[61] and Fabius Pictor seems to have included the legend in his history.[62] Although the etymological connection is sound, the story of the *caput Capitolini* appears to resemble a popular folk legend meant to explain contemporary usage.[63]

59 Spencer 2019: 136 n. 41 states that this is the only time that the words *dicitur inventum* are found together, citing Lacan to make a claim about performed *auctoritas*. While it is true that this is the only occurrence of the two words together, Varro consistently uses the passive voice of *dico* to refer to information as being sourced orally, i.e., from conversations, from folktales, or from generally held knowledge among the *populus*. The participle *inventum* is merely the verbal idea expressed in *oratio obliqua*.

60 Cf. Liv. 1.55, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.59.2, Flor. 1.7.9, *De vir. ill.* 8.4, and Zonar. 7.11 for other versions of the *caput Capitolini* story.

61 Zazoff 1983: 294-5. The disembodied head in these depictions is sometimes interpreted generically as a "prophesying head" of Orpheus or Tages, referencing a moment of epiphany during Etruscan divinatory practice. Cf. de Grummond & Simon 2006.

62 *FRHist* Q. Fabius Pictor F30 (Arnob. 6.7). The story is further fleshed out by Livy (1.55), who mentions that the excavated head possessed a "perfect face" (*integra facie*) that portended the future greatness of Rome. The provenance of the *facies* described by Livy, as in Varro, remains mysterious in both narratives, but one cannot help but think of the *imagines* of Republican Rome; the *integra facies* appears again in Servius (*ad Aen.* 8.634), who mentions that *fictores*, working with bronze or wax, were responsible for the production of *imagines* that resembled the faces of the deceased (*et ad integram faciem arte producere significat; inde fictores dicuntur qui imagines vel signa ex aere vel cera faciunt*). And Polybius (*Hist.* 6.53.5), too, found the uncanny resemblance of the wax masks remarkable (ἡ δ' εἰκών ἐστι πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξειργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφήν).

63 Nicolaisen 1976: 153; Baker 1972: 368. Varro's inclusion of the legend evokes his earlier statement that etymological inquiry itself can be divided into four increasingly difficult-to-attain levels as regards the origins of words (*quattuor gradus*). The lowest level, Varro explains, is that reached 'even by the common folk' (*infimus [in] quo populus etiam venit*), and therefore is of less interest to the antiquarian (*Ling.* 5.7-9). In *LL*, Varro rather aims for the subsequent levels – the origins of poetic diction, common language, and, finally, archaic *verba* concerning Rome's religion and culture, the latter obscured to the greatest extent by the dreaded *vetustas* mentioned above. See

As Varro promises, his investigation of the Capitoline goes beyond the "common" etymology posited in the name itself and probes further back into the depths of legendary time with two other names for the hill. "Before this, the hill was called Tarpeia," Varro writes, inspired by the Tarpeian Rock that he subsequently refers to as a *monimentum relictum* (5.41).[64] There, according to L. Calpurnius Piso, some urban-dwelling Romans participated in an annual sacrifice during the Republic in which libations were made at the tomb of Tarpeia.[65] This hint – a *locus* complete with religious *actio* – prompts a Varronian metonymy, in which the *Tarpeium Saxum* refers not only to the tomb and place of cult, but also to the entire hill where the young Tarpeia legendarily met her end. Here, Varro traces his metaphorical root into uncertain territory, unraveling the historical obscurities of the *monimentum* and claiming to recall its former topographical importance. Following the likes of Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, Varro can confidently place the Tarpeia story in the twilight years of Rome's formation, before the Sabine rapprochement, the revelation of the *caput Capitolini*, and the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; as the single event of importance for that era, Tarpeia's death and burial, Varro implicitly argues, must have lent its name to the entire hill. As for Varro's abbreviated version of the Tarpeia story, it appears on the surface to maintain a neutral stance towards the

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Piras 2017: 17-18; Piras 1998: 57-71; and Blank 2008: 69-71, for a discussion of the *quattuor gradus* and *Ling.* 5.7-9.

64 *Hinc mons ante Tarpeius dictus a virgine Vestale Tarpeia, quae ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta; cuius nominis monimentum relictum, quod etiam nunc eius rupes Tarpeium appellatur saxum.* "Before this, the hill was called Tarpeia, from the Vestal Virgin Tarpeia, who was killed by Sabine arms and buried there; a reminder of her name remains, namely that, even now, the hill's cliff is called the Tarpeian Rock." The precise location of the *Tarpeium Saxum* is disputed by modern scholars; cf. Neel 2019.

65 *FRHist* L. Calpurnius Piso F7 (DH 2.38.2-40.3). Piso's Tarpeia cuts a positively heroic figure next to the images provided in other Republican histories, including those of Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus. In these stories, Tarpeia is represented as either misguided by love for a Sabine man, or merely drawn greedily to the gold bracelets adorning their arms (cf. Liv. 1.11.9). Crawford's commentary at *FRHist* F7 (cf. also *FRHist* Fabius Pictor F7) suggests that Piso's rationalizing account of the Tarpeia story was more his own reworking of the traditional account than evidence for local traditions.

actions of the young woman, merely describing the events – *Vestale Tarpeia, quae ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta* – instead of ascribing motivations of forlorn love or greed that are advanced in traditional accounts of the story.[66]

Yet Varro does in fact make a significant claim regarding the nature of Tarpeia's legendary behavior in his indication that Tarpeia was a Vestal Virgin, a role that appears to have been a novel addition to the story made by Varro himself.[67] Varro's language is therefore revealing. Tarpeia's death by Sabine arms and subsequent burial (*ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta*) could be read instead as simultaneous actions, with the *Sabina arma* acting at once as the instruments of death and burial.[68] Given Varro's insistence on Tarpeia's status as a Vestal, one is also reminded of the ritual interment of unchaste, living Vestal Virgins in the Campus Sceleratus during the Republic.[69] By assigning Tarpeia to the Vestals, Varro subtly draws a connection between the death and interment of Tarpeia, Rome's first Vestal in his retelling, and the ritual practice of live inhumation as punishment for unchaste Vestals in his own day. In any

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66 Welch 2015: 9-17 examines the various treatments of Tarpeia's story by Roman authors from the Republic to the Empire and from the Roman to the Greek. Greed is the typical motive for Tarpeia's actions, as communicated by Fab. Pict. *FRHist* F7 (cf. Dion. Hal. 2.38.2-40.2), Liv. 1.11.6-9, Ov. *Fast.* 1.260-62, Val. Max. 9.6.1, and Plut. *Rom.* 17.2-4, amongst others. Prop. 4.4, picking up on the treatment of Tarpeia by Hellenistic poets such as Antigonus and Simyllus, ascribes love to the maiden as her principal motivation.

67 Welch 2015: 105. Welch reads this addition by Varro as a commentary on the social and political crises of the first century BCE. Varro's Tarpeia, a traitorous Vestal, not only transgresses the expected political role of a Roman citizen but also the expected social role of the Vestal (for the gender nonconformity of the Vestals, see Beard 1980). Cf. Neel 2019.

68 Two later visual representations encourage this interpretation. A denarius of Augustus minted by a Turpilianus, dated to 19 BCE, shows Tarpeia on the reverse half buried by shields (*RIC* 299). The same motif appears earlier on a denarius of 89 BCE, minted by L. Titurius Sabinus (*RRC* 344/2). The most evocative of representations, however, appears on the frieze relief of the Basilica Aemilia. The image shows Tarpeia flanked by two men and half-buried under shields, which metamorphosize into stone as they approach the ground, clearly connecting her death, her burial, and the hill that once bore her name (Vacinová 2017: 44).

69 Schultz 2012: 122-35.

case, much as the interment (and discovery) of the *caput Capitolini* signaled the transition from monarchy to Republic, so too did Tarpeia's interment indicate the passing of an old, Roman, order for a new, Roman and Sabine, one.[70]

Where Varro's first two explanations of the Capitoline toponym connect transitional moments of the *Res Publica* to human interment, his explanation of the original name of the hill reveals the general principle that links each of these "historical" explanations together (5.42):[71]

> *Hunc antea montem Saturnium appellatum prodiderunt et ab eo Latium Saturniam terram, ut etiam Ennius appellat. Antiquum oppidum in hoc fuisse Saturnia<m> scribitur. Eius vestigia etiam nunc manent tria, quod Saturni fanum in faucibus, quod Saturnia Porta quam Iunius scribit ibi, quam nunc vocant Pandanam, quod post aedem Saturni in aedificiorum legibus privatis parietes postici muri <Saturnii> sunt scripti.*

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70 In Varro's own day, in which the Social War and Italian municipalization had raised concerns regarding 'Romanness' and citizenship in the Italian peninsula, the morbid story of Tarpeia and its Capitoline *locus* was particularly relevant; in 89 BCE, the aptly named L. Titurius Sabinus oversaw the minting of *denarii* bearing the head of Titus Tatius on the obverse, and the scene of Tarpeia's burial under Sabine shields on the reverse (fig. 7-8), emphasizing Sabine loyalty in the midst of the Social War (Crawford 1996: 344). The Tarpeian rock itself would also serve as a focal point for public execution during the Civil strife between Marius and Sulla (Cadoux 2008: 215-17): in 88 BCE, Sulla had the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus executed by fall from the Tarpeian rock (Plut. *Sul.* 10); in 86 BCE, Marius in turn ordered the senator Sextus Licinius be hurled from the rock, along with an unnamed tribune of the people (Liv. *Per.* 80, cf. Plut. *Mar.* 45 and Cass. Dio *Frag.* 31, 103.12); and in 84 BCE, one tribune, P. Laenas, condemned the tribune of the previous year, Sextus Lucilius, to death by mortal plunge (Vel. Pat. 2.24). The Tarpeian Rock would again serve as the stage for the public execution of Roman citizens in the aftermath of Caesar's death (App. *B. Civ.* 3.3.1; Cass. Dio 44.50). Varro's recovery of the toponym *Mons Tarpeius*, therefore, with its associated legend of the Vestal Tarpeia's death, also explained the contemporary deaths of Roman citizens on the Capitoline itself; while hardly justifying such actions, it nonetheless provided a believable precedent that implied the treasonous acts of those put to death on the craggy rocks of the Tarpeium Saxum.

71 Spencer 2019's reading of the 'patriotic Capitoline' comes to a similar conclusion as mine, though taking far different steps to arrive there.

There is a tradition that this hill was earlier called the Saturnian and because of this that Latium was called the Saturnian land, as Ennius also calls it. It is written that there was an ancient town on this hill, Saturnia. There are three remnants of this fact today: first, the Temple of Saturn sitting along the approach to the hill; second, the Gate of Saturn which Junius writes is there, which they now call 'Pandana'; and third, behind the Temple of Saturn, in the private laws of construction, the posterior walls of these buildings are written about as 'Saturnian walls.'

Varro here provides his reader the deepest recoverable origins of Rome's most important religious and political space, the Capitoline hill. The connection with Saturn, as Varro explains, is evident given the spatial evidence he martials for his explanation, including the Temple of Saturn itself, the former *Porta Saturnia*, called Pandana in Varro's day, and the *muri Saturnii* indicated in the *leges privatae aedificiorum*.[72] Elsewhere in book 5, Varro provides two hints for the importance of the foundational, Saturnian moment of Rome's religious center – first, the fact that Saturn "was named from *satus*," sowing (5.64), and therefore referenced the *bonus labor* of the Roman citizen, discussed by Varro in his *Res Rusticae* (*RR* 2.praef).[73] Second, Varro picks up on the Sabine thread woven into his story of Tarpeia; the name Saturn, he explains, has roots in both the Latin and Sabine languages and could refer to either one (5.74). Varro revisits the arboreal metaphor of the tree on the boundary line, proclaiming that the name Saturn especially is like a tree that "springs up along the property line and spreads through both fields" (*ut arbores quae in confinio natae in utroque agro serpent*, 5.74). Allegorically, for Varro, Saturn "symbolizes

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72 Enn. *Ann.* 21 refers to all of Italy as *Saturnia terra*, cf. Skutsch 1985: 179-81. See Guittard 1983 for a discussion of the location of the Temple of Saturn and this passage.

73 Spanier 2010; Nelsestuen 2015: 31-72; Blandenet 2016. *Pace* Kronenberg 2009: 94-107, who reads Scrofa's account as deeply satirical rather than a genuine reflection of Varronian thought.

all processes of insemination, covering all kinds of seeds, from the cosmic cycle of the *seminalia caeli* to human sperm."[74] The previous two etymologies then are construed as acts of sowing in their own right, each of which yields new forms of state as a result. The fundamental nature of the *locus* of the Capitoline hill, as Varro explains, is one that is characterized by *satus*, both in an agricultural and metaphorical sense. Coincidently, Varro's description of the Capitoline hill also emphasizes the cosmic origins of agriculture in the *Saturnia tella*, itself a golden-age image that would later be explored in Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*.[75] Seen from his present moment, the contemporary urban city paradoxically finds its true, essentially rural nature in Varro's excavation of the urban edifice and recovery of the cosmic *terra* upon which it was situated.[76]

The cosmic significance of the Capitoline hill is emphasized by Varro's subsequent reading of the Aventine hill. Where he reconstructs the names of the Capitoline hill as all centering on the nature of the Roman *civitas* and its place within the structure of his etymological *cosmos*, here he provides what reads as a chaotic competition between etymologies for the Aventine (5.43):

> *Aventinum aliquot de causis dicunt. N<a>evius ab avibus, quod eo se ab Tiberi ferrent aves, alii ab rege Aventino Albano, quod <ibi> sit sepultus, alii A<d>ventinum ab adventu hominum, quod co<m>mune Latinorum ibi Dianae templum sit constitutum.*

> They call it "Aventine" for several reasons. Naevius says it's due to birds, since birds conveyed themselves there from the Tiber. Others mention that it's because of the Alban King Aventinus, since he is buried there. Still others that it's *ad*ventine, from the arrival of men, since the Temple of Diana was built there in common for the Latins.

Varro's competing tricolon sows etymological uncertainty. Naevius' connection with birds would appear to reference the augural competition

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74 Van Nuffelen 2010: 169. Cf. Varro *ARD* 239: *penes quem sationum omnium dominatum est.*

75 Whittaker 2007.

76 Discussed by Spencer 2019: 129-60.

between Romulus and Remus, and therefore the state of the *pomerium* itself, which excluded the Aventine hill in Varro's day.[77] The connection with King Aventinus taps into the well of Alban kings, whose connections to Aeneas and his descendants had been carefully constructed by the end of the third century BCE.[78] And the youngest of the etymological explanations, the construction of the Temple of Diana by Servius Tullius, depicts the Aventine as a *locus* of the Latin federation and of plebeian secession.[79] Although diverse in their temporal characteristics, each nevertheless describes the Aventine as something of an outlier: the etymologies surrounding Remus' failed foundation, the Alban King Aventinus' presence even before the Romulean foundation, and the center of religion for the Latins and secession for the *plebs* share a desire to understand why the Aventine was different, including why it was excluded from the *pomerium* in the first century BCE and why it had become associated so closely with the *plebs* and their secessions.

Unlike in his exploration of the Capitoline, Varro disagrees with these other attempts at understanding the mythical, legendary, and religious exclusion of the Aventine. The nature of the Aventine, he argues, can only be understood by reference to its original place within the environment and, therefore, the etymological *cosmos* that he has to this point established (5.44):

> *Ego maxime puto, quod ab advectu: nam olim paludibus mons erat ab reliquis disclusus. Itaque eo ex urbe advehebantur ratibus, cuius vestigia, quod ea qua <vec>tum dicitur Velabrum, et unde escendebant ad <in>fimam Novam Viam locus sacellum <Ve>labrum.*

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77 Mignone 2016b: 391-405, esp. 399 n. 36. As Mignone argues, the Aventine was not accursed by Remus' augury (suggested by Gellius) but rather was the seat of Romulus' own *augurium*.

78 Serv. *ad Aen*. 7.657. Servius remarks that some referred to King Aventinus as the king of the *Aborigines*. See Syed 2004: 217-24 for further comment on Vergil's interest in cultural identity and ethnicity in the *Aeneid*. For the constructed relationship between Aeneas and the Alban kings, see Casali 2010: 48, who demonstrates that it was Fabius Pictor (cf. Plut. *Rom*. 3.1-3) who first made this connection.

79 Mignone 2016a: 17-47.

But I actually believe that it is called this because it comes from "conveyance": for long ago, the hill was cut off from the others by marshes. And so people were carried *from the city* (*ex urbe*) to the hill on rafts, evidence of which is the fact that the area where the conveyance took place is called the "ferry" (*Velabrum*), and where they landed, at the lowest part of the Via Nova, there is a shrine there too called "ferry."[80]

As with his description of the Capitoline hill, Varro's articulation of the Aventine's sordid history depends upon the essential environmental nature of the place.[81] For the Capitoline, agricultural practice, represented by Saturn, defined the use of the Saturnian lands and the lives of those living on and around the Saturnian hill. But for the Aventine, the hill's consistent exclusion in the historiography of the Republic – from the death of Remus to the Gracchan Secession of 121 – painted it as the "other" location outside of Rome, located *ex urbe.* Again, the truth of the historiographical tradition is hardly relevant; it is difficult, in fact, to assert the historicity of any of the Plebeian secessions and their connection to the Aventine.[82] Yet Varro's stated goal was to describe Rome as it appeared to him, including the social and cultural data as he perceived and understood them to be in his own day. And by leading the reader on a journey from the golden, grain-gilt lands of Saturn near the Capitoline to the *disclusus* Aventine, located outside of the political development of the city as represented by the Capitoline and in the midst of marshes, only reachable by Velabrum, he depicted a very specific version of how Rome's deepest origins contributed to its present social and cultural state.[83] Varro depicts his reconstruction as both environmentally deter-

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80 According to De Melo 2019: 687, Varro's preferred etymology for *Aventinus* from *advectus* is in fact the weakest of the bunch due to the phonological dissimilarities between the two words.

81 Spencer 2019: 139, interprets Varro's environmental explanation of the Velabrum as demonstrating the "Roman hydraulic innovation" in the transformation of the city.

82 Mignone 2016a.

83 According to coring data in the Velabrum, Varro was correct that the area was marshy, though never so inundated as to be navigable by boat, see Ammerman 1990 and 2018.

mined (through the *disclusus Aventinus*) and cosmically justified, the Capitoline-Aventine *bina* fitting neatly within the cosmological system that Varro emphasizes from the outset of book 5.[84]

In reality, the Aventine was always an important part of Rome's urban fabric in the middle Republic, as Ennius suggests in his placement of the augural contest between Romulus and Remus on that hill, and as archaeological evidence indicates. In the middle Republic, the Aventine was the site of numerous manubial temple dedications, public infrastructure projects, and important religious festivals. The majority of public construction was undertaken there from 318 BCE to 228 BCE, with further dedications throughout the second century BCE to the west and north of the hill in the *forum Boarium*.[85] Strikingly, after 121 BCE there appears to have been no public construction on the Aventine or its slopes; whether a result of C. Gracchus' failed attempt at secession on the Aventine in that year or for other reasons, the hill likely saw no major public infrastructural investment until Agrippa's aedileship in 33 BCE. From Varro's perspective, then, the very material fabric of much of the Aventine's civic and religious architecture would have betrayed their exclusion, for some time, from the typical acts of construction and renovation undertaken by Rome's aediles and censors in other parts of the city. To sharpen the irony, the archaic *Septimontium* was more likely to have corresponded to Antistius Labeo's description as containing the Palatine, the Velian, the Fagutal, the Cermalus, the Oppian, the Caelian, and the Cispian – entirely excluding the Capitoline and Aventine hills that Varro makes central to Rome's place within the etymological cosmos of book 5.

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84 The historical reality of Varro's depiction of Rome's urban development, of course, does not account for what we know of the middle Republic. In the first instance, the exclusion of the Aventine from the city described by Varro in geographical terms found a parallel in a first century BCE account of that hill's exclusion from the pomerial boundary. M. Valerius Messala Rufus, who was made augur in 81 BCE and elected consul in 53 BCE, wrote in *de Auspiciis*, published in the second half of the first century BCE, that the Aventine was not included in the pomerium due to its ominous location southwest of Romulus' *auguraculum* on the Palatine. See Gell. *NA* 13.14.4-6. Cf. Mignone 2016c: 400-2, for a discussion of Messala's augural authority and his role in propagating this idea.

85 Davies 2017: 82-83.

IV. Conclusion

Varro's treatment of the *Septimontium*, then, must be understood with regard to its engagement with contemporary topography and the reimagined cosmic structure posited in book 5 of *LL*. While his discussion should not be utilized as evidence for the historical development of Rome's cityscape and the divisions of the city as actually experienced by its inhabitants in previous centuries,[86] it is nevertheless an important datum for understanding the shifting perceptions of urban space in the first century BCE and, most importantly, their ideological implications. By construing the etymological books of *LL* within this cosmological framework, Varro engages in a far more interesting exercise than simple etymology; he presents, in fact, a unique way of engaging with the past, in which place and time collapse to reveal fundamental truths about Rome, its citizens, and its institutions.

If one were to extend the foregoing analysis to the remainder of the *locus* section of *LL* 5, other observations of interest arise. The infamous Shrines of the Argei, which have attracted immense interest principally for their role, again, in Roman ritual and in the spatial divisions of the city, become merely vehicles for Varro to access the long-lost natural landscape of the city.[87] In each instance, religious *actio* is guaranteed by *natura* – the name of the Esquiline is derived from the oak trees (*aesculi*) that once populated the hill, evidence of which is apparent in the Beech

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86 Mommsen 1876: 143-44 and 163, interpreted Varro's description of the city's development, alongside other evidence recounting the Servian tribes of Rome, to reflect the existence of the "dual cities" of Republican Rome, of which one was claimed by the *patres*, the other by the *plebs*. Mommsen's analytical framework necessitated that the *plebs*, if they were to be considered an essential and primary "community" (*Gemeinwesen*) of Rome, possessed their own legal and political institutions, along with their own communal spaces. Given that the Aventine itself was only connected to Plebeian secession after 121 (cf. Mignone 2016a), and that the entire notion of the patrician *gentes* and their privileges was a constantly contested "fiction" (cf. Smith 2006), the idea of "essential" communities of patricians and *plebs* stretching back to Rome's foundation is suspect.

87 For a recent bibliography on the rites and shrines of the Argei, see Palombi 2017: 15-47, esp. 16 n. 2-3.

Tree Grove (*fagutalis*) and the chapel of the oak-grove Lares (*Larum Quer-quetulanum sacellum*); the Viminal is explained as having been populated by willow-copses (*vimineta*); the Palatine, rather than being named from Evander's or the Latins' settlements, is connected to flocks (*pecus*), and in particular the bleating (*balare*) sheep that once roamed the hill (*Bala-tium*); the Germalus, while referring to the brothers Romulus and Remus (*germani*), focalizes the *Ficus Ruminalis* under which the boys were found; and, finally, the Velia, in an incredible leap of etymological reasoning, is demonstrated to have been named from the Balatine shepherds who plucked (*vellere*) the fleeces (*vellera*) from their sheep there. To be clear, few of these etymologies are supported in the ancient world or by mod-ern etymological method, but they nevertheless together form an essen-tial, natural, and cosmic image of the city of Rome that serves as the basis for Varro's exploration of *locus*, *corpus*, *tempus*, and *actio* in books 5 and 6.

I have made the case in this article that Varro's project in *LL* 5 should be examined both for the sophisticated cosmological structure that guides his etymological inquiry and for how it creates a persuasive, all-encompassing image of the Roman past, present, and future, an ap-proach reminiscent of contemporary engagements with cosmography among the Roman literati. The sacro-idyllic image conjured by Varro in *LL*, written, we think, in the years between the end of the civil war be-tween Pompey and Caesar and Caesar's assassination, could plausibly be read as a retreat into the arcane past by a man whose political fortunes were complex and varied – a partisan of Pompey who, nevertheless, was named by Caesar as the director of his public library.[88] But one would also be justified in interpreting this image as simultaneously a representation of Rome's perceived place as the *caput mundi*, and a stark reminder of the civic, religious, and social institutions, and the resulting *mores*, that had led Rome to its apex. Elsewhere it is clear that Varro did not consider many of his contemporaries to be fulfilling those traditional ideals that he painstakingly illuminated elsewhere in his *oeuvre*.[89] The etymological books of *LL*, then, might be fruitfully understood in a similar light, as an expression and embrace of the shared word-history that united Romans

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88 Horsfall 1972: 121-22.
89 E.g. *Rust.* 1.13.7, 2.praef.2-4, 3.3.10, 3.6.6; *VPR* 65 and 115-16 (P).

and cosmically guaranteed their place at the center of the Mediterranean world – if only those living in Rome could remember it.

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COMMUNITIES OF ROMANS AND ITALIANS ABROAD: REFLECTIONS ON THEIR ELUSIVE NATURE AND ORGANIZATION

By Sophia Zoumbaki

Summary: This paper focuses on groups of Romans and Italians attested outside Italy, in all parts of the Roman *oecumene*, from the Iberian Peninsula and Britain to Asia Minor and the eastern frontier in Syria as well as from the Rhine and Danube to northern Africa. Groups of Romans and Italians are attested at different times in various places, in towns of varying legal status, of various size and importance, even in villages or settlements next to camps of legions. The duration of their presence and the terms adopted for their (self-)definition also display a certain variety. Out of an abundant source material and numerous local particularities that require a closer examination, I will attempt to focus on those data that could elucidate the nature, the legal status, and the organization of these groups. Taking all this into account, I will reassess the possibility to classify groups of Romans and Italians abroad as private associations, as they are often mentioned in the related bibliography, the term used either consciously or just with the intention to show that these groups were clearly visible and identifiable in the host-societies.

> *...The men who sailed, and found, and fought,*
> *They too can delve and build,*
> *And carve the image of their thought...*
> *...Fearless of war, yet keener still*
> *To bridge the drift, and mine the hill,*
> *And lead the harvest home...*
>
> (Lance Fallaw, "Cives Romani",
> in *Silverleaf and oak*, London 1906)

Lance Fallaw worked as an itinerant journalist in the early 20th century in South Africa where he met people of the white race pursuing high profit through the exploitation of the land's rich natural resources. To

these people he dedicated his poem "Cives Romani" alluding to the fact that it was not for the first time in human history that people in such a rush to search for the "horn of plenty" left their homes for remote and unknown lands. From the 3rd c. BC onwards, people defined as *cives Romani* /ʹΡωμαῖοι or *Italici*/ʹΙταλικοί spread en masse outside Rome and Italy, in every part of the Roman *oekumene*, from Spain to Asia Minor and from the Danube to North Africa.

Written sources mention Romans and Italians abroad as individuals or groups, while in some cases their presence can also be deduced from numismatic and archaeological finds. This paper focuses on groups of immigrant Romans and Italians in an attempt to shed light on their nature, their legal status and internal organization, namely issues which remain to a large extent elusive despite the considerable number of related inscriptions as well as a few literary texts available. From the first examinations of the topic in the 19th century, scholars debated whether we are dealing with loose, shapeless groups or with organized collectivities structured in an associational form.[1] In the related bibliography,

1   Schulten (1892: 71-82) and Kornemann (1892: 50-61) define the groups of Romans and Italians as associations. On the contrary, Hatzfeld (esp. 1912: 146-83, mainly 146-47) does not accept an associational organization of Italians and Romans focusing especially on the most important community of Delos; Ferguson 1911: 355-356, 396-397 also saw a "loose group" in the Italians of Delos and Poland 1909: 111 did not identify generally communities of Romans and Italians abroad with associations.
Generally on the topic see also Morel 1877; Kornemann 1900; Hatzfeld 1919; Wilson 1966; Gogniat Loos 1994; Van Andringa 2003; Purcell 2005. On "associations" of Roman citizens in Greece, see Ramgopal 2017; in Asia, see Güler 2020.
Several unpublished doctoral theses are also to be mentioned: E. Pétry-Beauzon, *L'intégration des Italiens dans le monde grec: IIe-Ier av. J.C.*, Paris EPHE, 2003; M. Bourigault, *Les* ciues Romani consistentes *et leurs pratiques religieuses dans l'Occident romain d'après l'épigraphie*, thèse sous la direction de Mme Rita Soussignan. Laboratoire: CReAAH, Université du Maine (see https://www.academia.edu/5047685/La_citoyenneté_romaine_en_question_sinstaller_dans_les_provinces_de_lEmpire); M. De Taeye, *De conventus civium Romanorum. Over verenigingen van Romeinse burgers in de westelijke pronincies van het Romeisnse Rijk tijdens het Principaat*, Universiteit Gent 2008-2009; a Leiden MA thesis by Hermann Roozenbeek known to me by a reference of Onno Van Nijf 2009: 14; L. Eberle Pilar, *Law, Land, and Territories: The Roman Diaspora and the Making of Provincial Administration*, Diss. University of California, Berkeley 2014; S. Ramgopal, *Romans Abroad: Associations of Roman Citizens from the 2nd Century BCE to the 3rd Century CE*, Univ. of Chicago 2016.

these groups are frequently named "associations," "collegia," or "clubs." Some of these references are obviously general or superficial and do not intend to use these terms in their legal sense, but only aim at showing that these groups were clearly visible and identifiable in host-towns; other scholars do recognize in them organizational features of private associations. It is therefore imperative to undertake a systematic examination of this intricate historical phenomenon on the basis of concrete criteria which will enable us to recognize associational characteristics in the groups of Romans and Italians residing abroad. This would require a definition of clear and indisputable criteria for the classification of a collectivity as a private association. A basic set of associational features can be recognized by a mere look at the contents of the fundamental work of Poland 1909. Over the past two decades, much progress has been achieved on this study including serious attempts to define significant characteristics of private associations,[2] the most recent endeavour being the extensive and systematic consideration of clearly demarcated features of private associations undertaken by the Copenhagen Associations Project on the basis of an exhaustive analysis and systematic registration of an enormous bulk of evidence.[3]

Before I proceed to the examination of these criteria in the collectivities of Romans and Italians abroad, an overview of the chronological and geographical diffusion and a comparative observation of these groups are necessary. In the following overview, I don't aspire to offer an exhaustive presentation of the evidence, since there is abundant source material and numerous local particularities that require closer

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2   A part of the related bibliography focuses mainly on a taxonomy of associations and on the question of classification of Christian groups, but refers also to general descriptions of associations: see selectively Ascough 2002; 2008 with a review of earlier bibliography; Ascough 2015; Harland 2013: 13-14 and 19-69. Gabrielsen 2009 attempts a definition of the basic features of public and private associations; see also Gabrielsen & Thomsen 2015.

3   See the Inventory of the Copenhagen Associations Project http://copenhagenassociations.saxo.ku.dk/capinventory/ and the principles of this examination as they are described by Gabrielsen & Thomsen 2015: 10-12, who stress that "a set of reliable criteria can presumably be established only *after* the extant material has been thoroughly examined."

investigation. I will try firstly to focus on the earliest attestations of collectivities of Italians and Romans abroad and secondly to stress those elements that could elucidate uncertainties related to the nature and internal organization of the groups in question, in the hope that it will produce comparisons and might finally provide a helpful pattern for this specific research.

Geographical and chronological overview

Groups of Romans and Italians are attested in towns of varying legal status, of various sizes and importance, even in villages or settlements next to military camps. All of this is further characterized by a great diversity: The groups appear at different times in various places; for how long they were attested and how they are (self-)identified varied as well.

First, it must be stressed, that attestations of Romans and Italians as collectivities are not to be found at every place where the presence of individuals of this origin is known through references in the local epigraphic record or in literary sources. A striking example is Athens. The presence of Italiote Greeks from the Classical period and of Romans from the 2nd c. BC onwards is evident in numerous Athenian inscriptions and in literary texts, yet they never appear collectively in these sources[4]. Further, whereas in some regions individual Romans and Italiote Greeks are attested as early as the 3rd or the 2nd c. BC, their collective attestations –wherever they are to be found– are dated to much later, as it will be shown below.

The overview that follows, does not offer a full record of the attestations of Romans and Italians settled in every part of the Roman world, but only an introduction to the complexity of the phenomenon which

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4   Cf. Kapetanopoulos 1965: 50-51 and nn. 24-25, who stresses the fact that the community of Roman residents in Athens is so far not attested as a separate group; epigraphic evidence which could be regarded as an indication of the opposite, such as the extremely fragmentary inscription from Sicily *CIL* X 7350 which has been restored as *[c(ives) R(omani) et A]thenienses*, is according to Kapetanopoulos to be associated with Delos. On Romans in Athens see Follet 2002; for an open access data base of Roman and Italian residents in Athens see https://romanattica.eu/dbs/romansdb.html.

is to be observed in different periods at different places where different circumstances prevailed and led to specific evolutions. All these local particularities will not be analyzed here; there will be a reference to them, if this can contribute to our main question on the nature of the alien groups. For this purpose, it is important to take into consideration the first epigraphic attestations of Roman and Italian communities in each region; this is the focus of this overview.

Epigraphic mentions form a more official and direct source for the (self-)definitions of these groups, while their references in literary sources do not necessarily reflect the manner in which they were consciously and officially differentiated within a host community. From this point of view, archaeological finds, although they can also point to the massive presence of people of Italian origins at various places, cannot be taken here into consideration, since they cannot contribute to our basic question on the nature of the resident groups. We need, therefore, to focus mainly on written evidence of their (self-)definitions as distinct groups and on indications of their internal organization. The following overview aims at showing how these communities spread out of their homeland, settled in new residences and began to appear in the local epigraphic record; it will be clear that they had to face different political and social realities, to which they adapted in various ways.

SICILY

The earliest attestations of groups of Romans and Italiote Greeks outside the Italian peninsula are encountered on Sicily. People *Italici generis* existed already there, when Scipio Africanus came to Syracuse in 205 BC, and according to Livy, they had seized properties by force during the war.[5] The date of their first epigraphic attestation is however disputed. If an inscription from Halaesa is correctly dated to 193 BC,[6] it would be the earliest epigraphic attestation of *Italicei* as a group which moreover takes a collective action. This date is based on the identification of the individual honoured by the *Italicei* with L. Cornelius Scipio, the praetor

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5   Livy 29. 1, 16. On the early presence of *Italici* on Sicily see Wilson 1966: 19-22.
6   *CIL* I² 612; *CIL* X 7459 =*ILS* 1864; *ILLRP* 320: *Italicei | L. Cornelium Sc[ip]i[one]m | honoris caussa.* Wilson 1966: 20 and n. 1 and Prag 2011: 91, n. 53 accept the date to 193 BC. On *negotiatores* in inscriptions in Sicily, Amela Valverde 2006.

of Sicily in 193 BC and *consul* of 190 BC. However, E. Badian[7] expressed some hesitation and instead, he was inclined to identify L. Cornelius Scipio with the homonymous *praetor* of 78 BC. In any case, the presence of Italians in Sicily in the 2nd c. BC is further mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (34-35.2, 27 and 32), who refers to Ἰταλιῶται/Ἰταλικοί landowners, stock-breeders and slaveowners, when the slave revolt of 134 BC took place.[8] *Cives Romani* and *Italici* are still mentioned in Sicily in literary and epigraphic sources of the 1st c. BC.[9] It is characteristic that inscriptions attest to *Italicei* and *cives Romani* in the important harbours of Agrigentum and Panhormos, on the sourhern and northern coast of Sicily respectively.[10]

THE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN PART OF THE ROMAN WORLD
The Greek mainland, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, the Aegean and Cyprus
Although Romans and Italians[11] are already in the 3rd c. BC present in towns of the East – e.g. on the western coast of the Greek mainland and

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7   Cf. Badian 1967: 94 n. 1 (review of Wilson 1966).

8   Wilson 1966: 20 discerns Ἰταλιῶται, perhaps Italian-Greek, from Ἰταλικοί, of Italic origin.

9   From the literary sources see selectively some Ciceronian passages: *Verr.* 2.5.10 (for the Roman community at Lilybaeum): *Testes enim sunt qui in consilio fuerunt, testes publicae tabulae, testis splendidissima civitas Lilybitana, testis honestissimus maximusque conventus civium Romanorum: fieri nihil potest, producendi sunt. Itaque producuntur et ad palum alligantur*; 2.15: *cives Romani, qui in Sicilia negotiantur;* 2, 153: *quantum ab negotiatoribus qui Syracusis, qui Agrigenti, qui Panhormi, qui Lilybaei negotiantur;* 5, 158: *omnium civium romanorum qui in Sicilia negotiantur*; it is interesting that Cicero (*Verr.* 4.138) also mentions a *conventus Siculorum* in Rome.
    Cf. also Kornemann 1892: Appendix 97-98; Wilson 1966: 55-67; Fraschetti 1981; Pinzone 1999: 381-402.

10 An inscription from Rome mentions *Italici* in Agrigentum honouring Pompeius Magnus, cos 70 BC: *CIL* I² 2710 = *CIL* VI 40903 = *ILLRP* 38 (*AE* 1937, 11): *[Cn.] Pompeio | Magno | [i]mperatori | [I]talicei qui | Agrigenti | negoti[antur].* An inscription from Terracina refers to *cives romani* in Panhormos of Sicily: *CIL* I² 836 = *ILLRP* 387 = *ILS* 8962 (*AE* 1900, 178): *M(anio) Sabidio M(ani) f(ilio) | leg(ato) | cives Romani in | Sicilia Panhormi qui | negotiantur.*

11 On *Italiotai* in the East see Nochita 2012; generally, on Romans and *Italici* in the East see Hatzfeld 1919; Cassola 1971; Van Nijf 2009.

the Ionian Islands[12] as well as on Rhodes in the Aegean –,[13] their first collective epigraphic attestations are to be dated to the 2nd c. BC.

The first systematic and frequently recurring epigraphic mentions of a community comprising Romans and Italians are to be found on Delos in a period extending from 167 BC to the first half of the 1st c. BC.[14] Delos is certainly, as it has been several times stressed in the related bibliography, a unique case, since the island flourished during this period as a duty-free port under Athenian supervision, being an ideal multi-ethnic environment for traders from many parts of the Mediterranean and from the East. The violent events of 88 BC, known as "Ephesian vespers," namely the massive massacre of individuals of Italian origins by the King of Pontus, Mithridates VI and his followers in towns of the province of Asia and on Delos,[15] and the ravage of the island by the pirate Athenodoros in 69 BC put a tragic end to its prosperity. The massacre of 88 BC reveals that by the late 2nd/early 1st c. BC, many thousands of Romans and Italians resided in the East, even if we accept that the number of victims given by ancient sources, ranging from 80,000 to 150,000, is exaggerated.[16]

Beyond Delos, Italians and Romans are documented, in some cases already in the early 2nd c. BC, at various locations as distinct groups

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12 Zoumbaki 2011; 2012; 2018.

13 E.g. *Lindos* II, 92, ca. 250 BC.

14 For a prosopography of Romans on Delos see Hatzfeld 1912 and supplement to his catalogue by Ferrary 2002b.

15 Cic. *Flac.* 60: *revocarem animos vestros ad Mithridatici belli memoriam, ad illam universorum civium Romanorum per tot Urbis uno puncto temporis miseram crudelemque caedem….*

App. *Mith.* 21: Ἐφεσίων δὲ καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰκόνας τὰς παρὰ σφίσι καθαιρούντων, …; 23: Καύνιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν καταφυγόντες ἕλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, τὰ βρέφη σφῶν πρῶτα ἔκτεινον ἐν ὄψει τῶν μητέρων, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκείνοις… τοιαύταις μὲν τύχαις οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄντες Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεφέροντο, ἄνδρες τε ὁμοῦ καὶ βρέφη καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ. ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσει Ῥωμαίων τοιάδε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι.

16 Val. Max. 9.2.3; Memnon 22. 9; Plu. 24.4. Cf. App. *Mithr.* 28 (Archelaos, Mithridates' general, killed about 20,000 men on Delos, the majority of them being Italians).

within local societies, yet during this period they did not act collectively as instigators of significant actions. They participated in local life, but are only to be found in inscriptions set up by others. For example, they were invited as a group to events, such as festivals or public banquets, e.g. the one organized on Amorgos by the endowment of Kritolaos[17]. Scattered mentions of *Rhomaioi parepidemountes* or *paragenomenoi* are also encountered in the 2nd c. BC in Eretria,[18] Amyzon,[19] Klaros,[20] Pergamon,[21] Chios[22] and later at other places.

Sulla's victory over Mithridates marks a crucial turning point in Roman presence in the East, as the subsequent restoration of the order facilitated the reactivation of the Roman communities in the region,[23] with the exception of Delos, since the island never regained its earlier vigour. During the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD, attestations of Roman communities in the eastern Mediterranean reach their peak. Stray epigraphic occurences of Roman communities in Asia Minor date to the first half of the 1st c. BC, but from the second half of the 1st c. BC their number increases, especially in the most important towns of the region,[24] mainly in Ephesos where a Roman community of a considerable

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17 *IG* XII 7, 515, ll. 55-58: … [το]ῖς τε πολίταις πᾶσιν τοῖς παρα|[γε]νομένοις εἰς τὴν Αἰγιά[λη]ν [καὶ παροίκοις κα]ὶ ξένοις τοῖς παρα|[γε]νομένοις, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν υἱ[ῶν].... On the participation of Romans in public banquets, cf. Robu 2019; Vlamos 2023: 181-90.

18 *IG* XII 9, 234, ll. 29-30 (ca. 100 BC): τούς τε πολίτας καὶ | Ῥωμαίων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας.

19 Robert 1983: 204-10, no. 23, ll. 19-20 (*BE* 1984, 424; Piejko 1985: 617-18 [review of Robert 1983]) (ca. 190-180 BC): Ῥωμαίων τε παρεπιδημούν[των].

20 Robert 1989: 63-66, col. I, ll.15-16; *SEG* 39, 1244 (after 120/119 BC): τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν παραγινομένους Ῥωμαίων.

21 Kirbilher 2007: 20. Cf. *OGIS* 764; *IGR* IV 294: Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν.

22 Sarikakis 1975; Moretti 1980; Derow & Forrest 1982; cf. *SEG* 30, 1073; 60, 930; cf. Salvo 2013: τοὺς παραγινομένους Ῥωμαίων, τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσι Ῥωμαίων.

23 Cf. Kirbihler 2016: esp. 217-25.

24 There follow attestations from Asia Minor from the 1st c. BC:
    Adramytteion: 1. Schwertheim 1992: 126-28, no.1 (last quarter of the 1st c. BC?): οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι. 2. Schwertheim 1992, 128-29, no.2 (last quarter of the 1st c. BC ?): [οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι]
    Attaleia: *SEG* 6, 646 (7-4 BC): οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι

size and importance existed, as the epigraphic evidence for individual members of this community as well as collective mentions of Roman

Ephesos: 1. *CIL* III 14195; *IEph* 2058 (70-45 v. Chr.): *[Italicei, quei] |[Ephesi negotiantur]*. 2. *IEph* 658 (AE 1990, 938) (37 BC): *[Italicei* or *cives Romani ?] quei Ephesi [negotiantur]*. 3. İplikçioğlu, Engelmann & Knibbe 1989, 235-36, no. B 2; Alpers & Halfmann 1995: 1320 (36 BC): *conventus c. [R.] quei Ephesi negotiantu[r]*.

Knidos: Chaviaras 1910: 425, no. 1 (*BE* 1912, 63) (second half of the 1st c. BC): τοὶ κατοικ[εῦντες] [ἐν τᾶι πό]λει Ῥωμαῖοι

Milyas, Pisidia: Bean 1959: 116, n. 87 (bl. C); Hall 1986: 137, no. 1 (*SEG* 36, 1207), (5/4 BC): Μιλυάδεις καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι [π]αρ' αὐτοῖς Ῥωμα[ῖ]οι.

Pergamon: 1. *IGR* IV 450 (1st c. BC): [κατοικ]ουμένοις Ῥωμ[αίοις]. 2. *OGIS* 764; *IGR* IV 294: Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν.

Priene: 1. *IPriene* 112 (84-1 BC): ἐν δ]ὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τοῖς πολείταις πᾶσιν καὶ παροίκοις [καὶ κα]τοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις. 2. *IPriene* 113 (84-1 BC): δειπνιεῖν γὰρ τοὺς πο[λ]ίτας πάντας κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐφηβευκότας τῶν παροίκων καὶ κατοίκων καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Μιλησίων καὶ Μαγνήτων καὶ Σα[μί]ων καὶ Ἐφεσίω[ν,] ἔτι δὲ καὶ Τραλλιανῶν 3. *I.Priene* 55 (128/7 BC): Ἴωσι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις 4. *I.Priene* 123: πολίτας ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐφηβευκότας τῶν παροίκων καὶ [Ῥω]μαίους ἅπαντας.

Sardeis: *SEG* 46, 1521; 52, 1174 (early 1st c. BC): Italic[ei, quei Sardibus] nego[tiantur]/Ἰταλικο[ὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς? Σάρδεσιν] πραγμα[τευόμενοι.

Smyrna: *ISmyrna* 534 (2nd/1st c. BC): ἡ γερουσία | οἱ κάτ<οι>κοι | οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι | οἱ θιασῶται

Lesbos: *CIL* III 7160: *cives Romani qui Mythileneis negotiantur* (31 BC)

Chios: *SEG* 22, 507; *IGRR* IV.943; *SIG*[3] 785; cf. Sherk 1969: no. 70; Marshall 1969; Bitner 2014: οἵ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες Ῥωμ[αῖ]οι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούωσιν νόμοις (under Sulla); cf. Appian, *Mith*. 46 (...πρῶτα μὲν ἐδήμευσε τὰ ὄντα Χίοις τοῖς ἐς Σύλλαν φυγοῦσιν, ἑξῆς δ' ἔπεμπε τοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐρευνησομένους ἐν Χίῳ...), 47 (ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων on Chios)

Kos: 1. *IG* XII 4.2, 1026; *AE* 1947, 55; *ILLRP* 408: *[c(ives) R(omani) qui C]oi negotiantur*. 2. *IGR* IV 1087; *IG* XII 4.2, 1142: ...τοὶ κατοικεῦντες | ἐν τῶι δάμωι τῶν Ἀλεντίων καὶ το[ὶ] | ἐνεκτημένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωργεῦντε[ς] | ἐν Ἄλεντι καὶ Πέλῃ, τῶν τε πολειτᾶν | καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων... Cf. Tac., *Ann*. 4.14 for Romans during the First Mithridatic War.

In the 1st c. AD the evidence from Asia Minor proliferates. For a list – not complete– of groups of Romans in Asia Minor see Harland 2014: esp. 79-80. Generally on Romans and Italiote Greeks in Asia Minor see Ferrary 2002; Kirbihler 2007; Terpstra 2013: 171-220. On Ephesos, Magnesia and Tralles, Apamea see Terpstra 2013: 194-207 and 207-19 on the Roman settlers' social position.

residents show.[25] Roman communities are epigraphically attested from the first half of the 1st c. BC on the Greek mainland too,[26] from the Peloponnese up to Macedonia and the Aegean Thrace.

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25 See Terpstra 2013: 194-97; Kirbihler 2016.

26 Attestations from the Greek mainland dated to the 1st c. BC/1st c. AD:

Thespiai: 1. Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Θεσπιαῖς (*I.Thesp* 373; 1st c. BC). 2. Θεσπι[έω]ν οἱ παῖδες καὶ παροίκων [κα]ὶ Ῥωμα[ίω]ν τῶν πρα[γματευ]ομένων (*IG* VII 1862; 1st c. BC)

Locris, Opous: [ὁ] δῆμος Ὀπουντίων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ο[ἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐν Ὀποῦντι] (*IG* IX 1² 5, 1935; 1st c. BC ?)

Pagai (Megaris): [- - -] εἰς τὰν [δαπάναν τ]ὰν τᾶς θυσίας εἰς τὸ δ[εῖπ]νον [ο]ἶνον τοῖς τε π[ο]λίταις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ Ῥωμαί[οις τοῖς πα]ροικοῦσι καὶ δούλοις πᾶ[σιν] (...); ll. 27-28: (...) καὶ ἐδίπνισε τοὺς πολείτας πάντ[ας κ]αὶ παροίκους καὶ τοὺς [παρεπιδ]αμοῦντας Ῥωμαίων | καὶ τοὺς πάντων τούτων δούλους [καὶ το]ὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν κα[ὶ τὰ δ]οῦλα παιδάρι[α] (*IG* VII 190, ll. 15-16; cf. *SEG* 50, 480; 64/3-56/5 BC)

Eretria: *IG* XII 9, 234, ll. 29-30 (ca. 100 BC): τούς τε πολίτας καὶ | Ῥωμαίων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας

Argos: 1. *Italicei quei negotiaṇ[tur Argeis]*/ Ἰταλ[οὶ οἱ ἐν Ἄργει πραγματευόμενοι (*IG* IV 604; 67 BC). 2. *Italici quei Argeis negotiantur* (*CIL* I² 746; *ILLRP* 320; *CIL* III 531; *ILS* 867; 69 BC). 3. Ῥωμ[αῖ]οι οἱ ἐν Ἄργει κατοι[κ]οῦντ[ες] (*IG* IV 606; 1st c. AD). 4. [Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ] πραγματευ[όμενοι ἐν] Ἄργει (*IG* IV 605; 1st c. AD?)

Aigion: *Italicei quei Aegei negotiantur* (*ILLRP* 370; *ILGR* 80; Rizakis 2008: no. 131; ca. 74 BC)

Pellene: ἡ πόλις τῶν Πελληνέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κ[α]τοικοῦντες (Rizakis 2008: no. 193; Early Imperial period)

Gytheion: *cives Romani in Laconica qui habitant, negotiantur*/ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς πραγματευόμενοι (*ILGR* 40; first half of the 1st c. AD)

Boiai: ἁ πόλις καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι (*SEG* 29, 383; Augustan period)

Mantinea: 1. ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἀντιγονέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ο<ἱ π>ραγματευόμενοι ἐν αὐτᾷ (*IG* V 2, 268; 10 BC-AD 10). 2. ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἀντιγονέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν αὐτᾷ (*IG* V 2, 307; 10 BC-AD 10)

Megalopolis: ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τ[ῷ δάμ]ῳ [κ]αὶ Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς πραγματευομένοις ἐ[ν Μεγάλ]ᾳ πόλει (*IG* V 2, 515; after AD 14)

Olympia: 1. [τὸ κοινὸν τ]ῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν [Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐνγαιοῦντες] (*SEG* 17, 197; 100-70 BC). 2. Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμ[αί]ων τῶν ἐνγαιούντων (*SEG* 17, 198; 100-70 BC). 3. ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων καὶ Ῥωμ[αίων] οἱ ἐνγαιοῦντε[ς] (*IvO* 335; Augustan period)

Messene: 1. ... σὺν τοῖς τετιμαμένοις ἐν τᾶι φυλᾶι Ῥωμαίοις... (*IG* V 1, 1433; 1st c. BC). 2. ἀπόλοιπα Ῥωμαίων (*IG* V 1, 1434, 1st c. BC/1st c. AD). 3. [Οἱ πραγματευ]ταὶ

Ῥωμαῖοι (Themelis 2009: 76-78 [*SEG* 59.415]; 2013, 70-71; Augustan/Tiberian period). 4. Ἁ πόλις καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν αὐτᾷ κατοικοῦντες (Themelis 2013: 68-69; perhaps of AD 2/3). 5. [ἁ πόλις καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν αὐτᾶι κατοι]κοῦντες (ll. 14-15), ἁ πόλις καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ [ἐν αὐτᾶι] κατοικοῦντες (l. 34), Ῥωμαῖοι in ll. 12, 30 (Themelis 2013: 70-75; AD 2/3). 6. Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐν αὐτᾷ κατοικοῦντας (Migeotte 1985 [*SEG* 35, 343]; ca. AD 3-14). 7. Ephebic catalogues of the 1st c. AD where Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ξένοι are mentioned (Themelis 2005, 55-56; 2015, 112).

Larisa: 1. Ἰταλικοὶ ἐν Λαρίσῃ (unpublished, mentioned by Bouchon 2007, 271; 86/5 BC). 2. Τηβεννοφοροῦντες (Arvanitopoulos 1910, no. 3, col. 344-349 [dated the text to the early 2nd c. BC]; Bouchon 2007; early 1st c. BC)

Beroia: οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι (*IBeroia* 59; 57-55 BC)

Idomene: οἱ συμπραγμ[α]τευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι (Josifovska 1959 [*SEG* 19, 438], AD 41-44)

Edessa: Gounaropoulou, Paschidis & Hatzopoulos 2015: 180: οἱ συνπρα[γ]ματε<υ>όμενο[ι] Ῥωμαῖο[ι] (1st c. AD)

Thessaloniki: 1. [οἱ συμπραγματευόμενοι] Ῥωμαῖο[ι] (*IG* X 2.1, 32). 2. [οἱ] συμπραγμα[τευόμενοι Ῥ]ωμαῖοι (*IG* X 2.1, 33). 3. [οἱ συμπρ]αγματευόμε[νοι Ῥωμαῖ]οι (Velenis 1996 [*SEG* 46, 812])

Styberra (nowadays Republic of North Macedonia): οἱ συνπραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι (*IG* X 2. 2, 330)

Akanthos: οἱ συνπραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ παροικοῦντες (Tod 1918-19: 67-97, 85-86, no. 13 [*SEG* 1, 282]; Samsaris 1985-1986: 33-44; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1996: 348; Kloppenborg & Ascough 2011: 297-99)

Maroneia: γνώμῃ βουλευτῶν καὶ ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ Ῥωμαίω[ν τῶν νυν] [τ]ὴν πόλιν κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολειτῶν ἀπά[ντων] (Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005: E 180, AD 41/2 or 46).

Amphipolis: 1. [οἱ κα]τοικοῦν[τες Ῥωμαῖοι] (?) (Nigdelis and Anagnostoudis 2017: 305-311, ca. 30 BC). 2. A further unpublished inscription from Amphipolis, known to me from the reference by Nigdelis 2018: 102-3 and n. 40 and Arnaoutoglou 2020: n. 48: *cives Romanei quei Amphipolis negotiantur*.

Kalindoia: [Ῥωμαῖο]ι οἱ κατοικο[ῦντες] (Paschidis, Martín González, Athanasiadis and Graikos 2023: no. 177, AD 14-37)

Macedonia, Crestonia, precise origin unknown: [οἱ συμπρα]γματευόμενο[ι Ῥωμαῖοι] (Paschidis, Martín González, Athanasiadis & Graikos 2023: no. 65, AD 41-54).

Ainos (nowadays Turkey): Ῥωμαῖοι κατοικοῦντ[ες] (Başaran 2022: 145-46).

On communities of Romans in various regions of the Greek mainland and the adjacent islands, see Donati 1965 (Aegean); Müller & Hasenohr 2002 (including contributions on Athens [Follet], Boiotia [Müller], Thessaloniki [Rizakis], Asia Minor [Fer-

Despite the hostilities stimulated by Pontic forces and their followers during the Mithridatic Wars and despite some other minor cases of hostilities against Romans in Greek towns,[27] the tide of Roman immigrants to the East could not be stopped. Given their economic success and their privileged position due to their relation to the dominating power, the role of Romans in social and economic life of their host societies became increasingly important. Romans gradually integrated into local communities. They were accepted into the local institution of the *ephebeia*,[28] which was a decisive step in their gradual integration into the public life of the host town. This signifies that Romans were established as complete familial units and, at least, intended to live there indefinitely. A further indication of their consolidation in their newfound residences is the participation of Roman women in public life, as in the case of a joint honour of an *archiereia* in Akmoneia (Phrygia) by Greek and Roman women.[29] Grants of *enktesis* and the opportunity to own real estate as well as involvement in rural economy (e.g. in Chios, Kos, Beroia, Olympia, see ns. 24 and 26) fostered closer connections of Roman residents with towns of Greece proper and of the province of Asia.

Further north, Romans were apparently encountered in the 2nd/1st c. BC in areas of what is today north and north-western Bulgaria. This is to be deduced from stray mentions of individual Romans in written

rary], Rhodes and Caunos [Bresson], Delos [Hasenohr, Deniaux, Baslez, Mavroyannis]); especially on Delos see Hatzfeld 1912 and supplement to his catalogue by Ferrary 2002b; on Thessaloniki see Rizakis 1986; on Macedonia see Youni 2013, on Thrace see Samsaris 1985-1986; on Chalkidiki see Loukopoulou 1996; on the Peloponnese see Zoumbaki 1998/1999; on the Cyclades see Zoumbaki 2014; on western Greece and Ionian islands see Zoumbaki 2011; 2012; 2018; 2019.

27 E.g. cf. Dio 54.7 (Cyzicus, 20 BC); 60. 24 (Rhodes, AD 43).

28 For example in ephebic catalogues of Messene (Peloponnese), Romans appear under the rubric Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ξένοι, listed after the ephebes of local tribes, see Themelis 2005: 55-56; 2015: 112. On the admission of Romans to ephebeia and the other activities in the gymnasion, see Zoumbaki 2023.

29 On the women of Akmoneia see Thonemann 2010; Edelmann-Singer 2013 (AD 6/7). An analogous case is to be seen in a bilingual inscription recording the joint action of the wifes of *coloni* and *incolae* in the Roman colony of Dion (Macedonia): *colonarum et incolarum coniuges |Anthestiae P(ublii) l(ibertae) Iucundae honoris causa* | Κολώνων καὶ παροίκων αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀνθεστίαι Ποπλίου | ἀπελευθέραι Ἰουκούνδαι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν. Cf. Padermalis 1984: 277 (*AE* 1998, 1210; *SEG* 34, 631).

sources or from archaeological and numismatic finds that indicate either the pass of Roman soldiers or trade and economic transactions with the West.[30] Their collective epigraphic occurences in this region are however of a later date. An inscription from Bizye (Thrace), which records divine honours offered to the King Kotys, displays difficulties in its restoration.[31] Luigi Moretti interpreted divine honours paid to the king as an action on the part of private Romans who needed royal protection, as they resided in a foreign land: [β]ασιλέα Κό[τυ]ν βασιλέως Ῥησκουπόρεως υἱ[ὸν] | Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πρώτως κατακληθέντες εἰς | [Βιζύ]ην τὸν ἐατῶν θεόν; this restoration seems to have been widely accepted. Romans are still later attested in this region as collectivities.[32]

References in literary sources show that at least in the second half of the 1st c. BC Roman settlements existed on the western part of the Balkan Peninsula as well, specifically on the Dalmatian coast.[33] In fact, Ceasar mentions a *conventus* of Roman citizens only in Lissus and Salona,[34] while the existence of such communities in Narona, Epidaurum and Iader can

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30 Velkov 1981: 474.

31 Dawkins & Hansluk 1905/1906: 177-78; Dessau 1913: 700; Kalinka 1926: 118-19; Sullivan 1979: 196; Moretti 1984: 266-67 (*SEG* 34, 702); cf. Delev 2016.
    The restoration of the third line is crucial for the understanding of the text and specifically of the role of the Romans. Dawkins and Hansluk restored it as εἰς | κῆνσον, Kalinka as εἰς [ἀρ(?)]|χὴν and Moretti suggested εἰς | [Βιζύ]ην. Moretti's restoration is accepted by Delev 2016, who attempts a historical reconstruction of the events connected with the King Kotys dating the inscription to the second half of the 1st c. BC, more possibly after the sea-battle at Actium.
    The word κατακαλῶ/κατακαλοῦμαι means according to Liddell-Scott (s.v.) "call-down, call upon, invoke, appeal to, call back, recall."

32 E.g. *IBulg* I² 58 from Odessos (AD 79-81): ... πολείταις κ[αὶ] Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ξένοις.

33 Wilson 1966: 70-71 for a presentation of more indirect evidence; cf. also Wilkes 1962: 320-35, 346-49; Dzino 2010: 84, 88-89, 95, 120-21, 183 (with earlier bibliography).

34 Lissus: Caes. *B Civ.* 3.29.1 *quo facto coventus civium Romanorum, qui Lissum obtinebant ...*; 3.40.5: *Lissum expugnare conatus, defendentibus civibus Romanis, qui eius conventus erant...* Salona: Caes. *B Civ.* 3.9.2-3 *conventum Salonis cum neque pollicitationibus neque denuntiatione periculi permovere posset, oppidum oppugnare instituit. est autem oppidum et loci natura et colle munitum. sed celeriter cives Romani ligneis effectis turribus sese munierunt ...*

be deduced from indirect indications.[35] An inscription of the Imperial period (*CIL* III 2733) refers to a *summus curator* of the Roman settlers of the whole province Dalmatia.

Although the earliest epigraphic attestation of Roman *negotiatores* on Cyprus, an inscription from Paphos, has been dated to the late 2nd c. BC, a date in the 1st c. BC, perhaps in the first half of the 1st BC, is more likely.[36] However, contacts of the island with Italy go back to the 3rd c. BC, as imported amphorae show.[37] Moreover, Cicero (*Att.* 114.6) informs us that by his age "*ne cives Romani pauci qui illic negotiantur ius sibi dictum negarent*". A further inscription from Paphos is perhaps to be dated to the Augustan age,[38] while an epigraphic attestation of Romans in Salamis is of an undetermined date.[39]

In the 1st c. BC Romans also appear on Crete.[40] Their relatively late attestation is explained by Jean Hatzfeld as a result of the conflicts among Cretan towns, of Cretan piracy as well as of rumours about cruelty of Cretans; Ioannis Tzamtzis stressed in addition to these factors the

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35 See Dzino 2010: 89 and n. 47 for references; Matijašić 2018.

36 *CIL* III 12101; *ILS* 7208; *IGR* III 965; Mitford 1961, 41, no. 113 (*SEG* 20, 212); Moretti 1981: 263 (*SEG* 31, 1360): [*cives · Romani · qui · Pa*]*phi · negotiantur...* [οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν] Πάφωι ν Ῥωμαῖοι. Mitford dated the inscription to the late 2nd c. BC (followed by Krigos 2008: 32 n. 181), Moretti on the basis of the lettering some decades later, up to the middle of the 1st c. BC; Christina Kokkinia and Anne Kolb who study the inscriptions of Palaipaphos date the attestations to the 1st c. BC based on the lettering and historical criteria (personal communication, for which I am grateful).

37 Bajtler 2021 for amphorae and stoppers of Adriatic production; cf. Kaldeli 2013 for the broader exchange network of Cyprus. Generally on the Roman presence on Cycpus see Zoumbaki, Karambinis 2022, 252-253.

38 *CIL* III 12101=*ILS* 7208: *M. Vehilio pontif(ici) proco(n)s(uli) ciues R(omani) Paphiae diocen(seos).*

39 *CIL* III 6051; Pouilloux, Roesch, Marcillet-Jaubert 1987: 29, no. 58; Krigos 2008: 1443, no. Αμμ. 59: [*cives Rom*]*ani · qui · in Salam*[*ine*] | [*negot*]*iantur.*

40 On Roman presence on Crete see Zoumbaki & Karambinis 2022: 252-53. A Roman community is documented in Gortys: *IC* IV 290 (1st c. BC): [- - -] | [*c(ives) R(omani) qui Gortynae*] |*negotịạṇṭụṛ.* | *Doiae L(ucii) f(iliae) Pro*|*cillae c(ives) R(omani) qui* |*Go*[*r*]*ṭynae nego*|*tiantur.* On Roman *negotiatores* in Gortys see Magnelli 1998; Tzamtsis 2013: 173-78 on this inscription and 182-187 on the inscription *IC* IV 278 recording a *c(onventus) c(ivium) R(omanorum) q(ui) G(ortynae) c(onsistunt)* under L. Septimius Severus, which according to Tzamtzis included also indigenous bearers of Roman citizenship. Cf. also the fragmentary inscription *IC* IV 291: *c(ives) R(omani)*] *qui Gortyna*[*e negotiantur*].

Ptolemaic presence which did not encourage massive Roman integration, despite the fact that isolated traders were settled on Crete, as thorough prosopographic studies by Martha Baldwin-Bowski show.[41]

Africa, Palestina, Syria and places far beyond the eastern frontier

The Roman presence in Africa is to be dated to before the Third Punic War (149-146 BC), as Appian's reference to Italian residents in Carthage shows.[42] Later, in 112 BC, during the war between Adherbal and Jugurtha, *Italici* (Sall. *Iug.* 26.1) – also called *togati* (21.2) – resident at Adharbal's capital Cirta, were massacred along with Numidians.[43] Sallust refers further (*Iug.* 47) to the *oppidum Numidarum* Vaga, a much frequented place of trade, where numerous Italians resided and traded, "*ubi et in-colere et mercari consueuerant Italici generis multi mortales*"; they are apparently to be identified with the *negotiatores* who are mentioned by Sallust.[44] In Utica, the important port that became the seat of the governor of the province Africa, Roman merchants were active by the late 2nd/early 1st c. BC, since by this time Marius enjoyed their support (Sall. *Iug.* 64-65), while thereafter Marian army families were settled "in compact groups ... on large allotments of land in the valley of the middle Bagradas ... Uchi Maius, Thibaris, and Thuburnica and perhaps others."[45] Roman residents, still to be encountered in Utica some years later, offered their support to Pompeius (Cic. *Lig.* 3) and were humiliated by Caesar who refers to them as "*conventus qui is ex variis generibus constaret*" (*B Civ.* 2. 36). In 47 BC, Caesar (*B Afr.* 36.2) mentions *negotiatores* and *aratores* in Thysdra.[46] Further, he refers to *qui cives Romani contra populum Romanum arma tolerant* (*B Afr.* 97) in Thapsus and Hadrumetum, who were punished with the payment of enormous fines. Although literary

41 Hatzfeld 1919: 159-60; Tzamtzis 2013: 173-204; cf. Baldwin-Bowsky 1999. Prosopographic and ceramic studies show that Romans are to be found also in other places of Crete beyond Gortys, as e.g. in Eleutherna at the latest from the second half of the 1st c. BC, see Baldwin-Bowsky 2009a: 157-223 and a general presentation, 2009b: 207-13.

42 Appian, *Punica* 92; Wilson 1966: 43-54.

43 Löffl 2014, also on the impact of this massacre on the political life in Rome.

44 See Eberle Pilar 2017: 325-27.

45 Wilson 1966: 45.

46 Cf. Cadiou 2015: 234.

sources, such as those mentioned above, refer to Romans and *Italici* as collectivities residing at various places in North Africa as early as the 2nd c. BC, epigraphic attestations occur much later. In a bilingual inscription from Delos *Alexandreae Italicei quei fuere* / οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι [παραγενόμενοι Ἰταλικ]οὶ honoured the legate C. Marius in 99 BC.[47] With the exception of an inscription from Cyrene[48] dated to 67 BC – where a community of Romans is still later attested –,[49] all remaining inscriptions from Africa are dated to the Imperial period, at the earliest under Augustus or Tiberius.[50] Collectivities of Romans in Africa are still to be found in the 2nd and early 3rd c. AD.[51] Certainly Roman traders were numerous at crucial locations around the Mediterranean. This arises from evidence recording individual entrepreneurs or groups of merchants who were obviously Romans, although the defintion *cives*

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47 *ID* 1699=*ILLRP* 343.

48 Cyrene: Reynolds 1962: 98, 4; 101-3 (*SEG* 20, 715): *[cives Romani qui Cyre]nis negotiantur.*

49 Casperini 1971: 15-16.

50 The earliest inscriptions are: **Suo**, Africa proconsularis: *AE* 1937, 71; *ILTun* 682: *cives Romani qui Suo morantur* (AD 4-19).

   Siagu, Africa proconsularis: a dedication to Augustus by Roman businessmen, *AE* 1912, 51; 1978, 836; *ILS* 9495; *ILAf* 306; Cadotte 2007, 517, no. 176: *cives Romani qui Thinissut negotiantur* (under Tiberius).

51 All evidence is collected by Beschauch 2009 and is not reproduced here. A few more attestations, where the exact meaning of *cives Romani* is not, however, fully clear:

   Pagus Fortunalis, Africa proconsularis: *AE* 1909, 158; *ILAf* 301; cf. Stoll 2015: 162: *cives Romani pagani veter(ani) pagi Fortunalis /quorum parentes benficio divi Augusti / [---] Sutunurca agros acceperunt p(ecunia) p(ublica)* (AD 206).

   Hr El Haouaria, Africa Proconsularis: *AE* 1997: 1642; Saastamoinen 2010: no. 339: *decuriones c(ives) R(omani),* which is perhaps to be understood as *decuriones c(ivium) R(omanorum)* (AD 195-198)

   Oppidum Thisiduens, Africa Proconsularis: *CIL* VIII 1269: *decuriones c(ivium) R(omanorum) et [mun]icipes [T]hisiduenses* (AD 117-138); cf. Van Andringa 2003: 56. On decurions in Africa see Ben Romdhane 2011.

   Aubuzza, Africa Proconsularis : *CIL* VIII 16367: *[cives Romani qui] Aubuzza consistunt*

   Tipasa, Mauretania Caesarensis: AE 1848, 40: *cives Romani cul/tores Larum et / imaginum Aug(usti) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt)* (AD 119)

   An interesting case is the double community of **Thugga** (Tunisia), where from the Augustan period until its development as a *municipium* (AD 205), Roman citizens (*pagus*) and Thuggenses (*civitas*) coexisted, see Thomson 1965 and Khanoussi, Ritter & von Rummel 2004-2005 with bibliography.

Romani or *Italici* is not included in their name, such as two *mercatores qui Alexandr[iai] Asiai Syriai negotiantu[r]* mentioned in an inscription from Puteoli (of the Augustan age?).[52] Thus, Romans should have been based in Alexandria and other commercial posts in northern Africa, forming part of a wide network of trade and communications across the Mediterranean and further in the East, links in this trade chain being also the merchants settled in southern Asia and Syria.[53] The important economic hub of Alexandria was the terminal port for the imported products from the Red Sea, which from Coptos traveled via Nile; this was one of the trade routes which brought here goods not only from the Red Sea region, but also from other parts of Africa as well as from Arabia, India and further east as far as China.[54] From Alexandria the imported items were channelled to further markets – Rome being the biggest consumer –, either as raw materials or as (re)manufactured products.[55] Literary sources, papyri, and inscriptions attest to Roman individuals engaged in various branches of this business or generally to Roman interest in

52 *CIL* X 1797, referring to two individuals, L. Calpurinius L. f. Capitolinus and C. Calpurnius L.f.

53 De Romanis & Maiuro 2015; Tchernia 2016: 42-51.

54 On the items, volume, routes and generally on the organization of this commerce see Young 2001; especially 16-22 on the trade routes, 24-80 on the origin of imported products and the role of Egypt in their trade. On Roman trade via the Red Sea in the 2nd c. AD see Nappo 2015; on Roman trade with lands further in the East see Terpstra 2015; Terpstra 2017; Galli 2017, all with earlier bibliography.

Products imported from the East are frequently defined as "luxury items", a definition which is not generally appropriate, since also materials for medical use or other everyday uses were also imported, see Young 2001: 13-16; certainly also luxurious goods were also brought from exotic lands, such as pearls, silk etc.; especially on pearls' import from India, Sri Lanka and the Persian Gulf as well as the routes of this trade see McLaughlin 2014; Schörle 2015; on silk see Galli 2017: 5-7 with previous bibliography and an appendix of ancient sources.

On taxes on imported goods in Egypt see Nappo & Zerbini 2011. On the importance of Nile as a means of transportation see Adams 2017.

55 On the role of Alexandria in the eastern trade see Young 2001: 45-47. On manufacturing of raw materials or reprocessing of items in Alexandria see Young 2001: 20-21, 47; Galli 2017: 6-7.

goods coming from the East and show that Roman merchants were stationed in Alexandria and other places in Egypt and were also involved in the trade network that reached as far as Far East.[56]

Roman merchant communities were apparently installed even further in the East, although they are not explicitly mentioned in written sources, as e.g. the communities that apparently existed in Muziris and Arikamedu in India, if we judge from a number of indirect indications.[57] Even for the areas of Palestine and Syria attestations of Roman communities are rare. It is unclear whether Caesar, in referring to tax-farming in these regions (*B Civ.* 3. 32, 6: *neque minus ob eam causam civibus Romanis eius provinciae, sed in singulos conventus singulasque civitates certae pecuniae imperabantur*), alludes to such communities. In any case, in the age of Tiberius, Roman residents were among the crowd in Jerusalem, who witnessed the Apostles' preaching in various languages (*Acts* 2.11: ... καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ...). Although important routes of the Eastern trade passed over Syria, especially via Palmyra[58] and Bostra, epigraphic attestations of communities of Romans are extremely rare and of a later date. In Syria, Roman residents are for the first time collectively attested under Marcus Aurelius. In an inscription from Bostra they appear as *cives Romani consistentes Bostrae* dedicating a temple for the well-being and victory of the emperor.[59] It is probably not a coincidence that Bostra is situated on Via Traiana, a *limes* road that connected the town with the port of Aela in the Gulf of Aqaba, and on one of the Eastern *limites* of the Empire, where military units were based;[60] thus Bostra was an important location for both trade routes and defence. As will be discussed below, *cives Romani consistentes* are to be found in numerous inscriptions of the northern *limites*, at similarly crucial points on the frontier and on natural routes of commerce and communication. *Limites* were devel-

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56 Young 2001: 48-54; Galli 2017: 5. Ῥωμαῖοι are mentioned in several papyri, e.g. *BGU* 5.1210, *BGU* 9: 1894.

57 Young 2001: 26-27; Nappo 2021.

58 Young 2001: 123-68; Meyer, Seland & Anfinset 2016.

59 *IGLSyr* XIII 2, 9475: *cives Romani consistentes Bostrae*; cf. Stoll 2015: 162.

60 Generally on the emergence and function of the *limites* see Thorne 2007: 228-32, on the *limes* of the East see Wheeler 2007 (on Bostra see pp. 250, 252). On the role of Bostra see Young 2001: esp. 107-10.

oped in the East in regions with a Hellenized or semi-Hellenized advanced infrastructure and political as well as social patterns, while in a great part of the western and northern areas a lower stage of political and societal development prevailed.

THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN PART OF THE ROMAN WORLD

In the western part of the Roman world, epigraphic attestations of Romans as collectivities appear only from the 1st c. AD, although their presence at earlier dates in various places is verified by literary sources and archaeological finds.[61]

The Iberian Peninsula

Romans became familiar with Spain in the late 3rd c. BC during their fight against Carthage. The first centre of Roman settlers was formed, when Scipio in 206 BC gathered soldiers wounded at the battle at Ilipa, a town north of Seville, which was renamed to Italica (Appian, *Iber.* 38) and was to become later the homeland of two Roman emperors, Trajan and Hadrian. It was the beginning of several Roman foundations in the Iberic peninsula, which attracted a large number of Romans and Italians due to the rich natural resources[62]. In the Guadalquivir valley a colony,

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61 For a short overview of the first contacts of Romans with the western part of the Mediterranean, see Ñaco del Hoyo, Principal & Dobson 2022.

62 Bandelli 2002: 105-42. The size of the Italian population of Spain is evident in Strabo's (3.5 [168]) reference to the settlement of 3,000 of these men from Spain to Balearics in 122 BC; cf. Wilson 1966, 22.
    On an overview of the Romanization of Spain and emigration of population from Italy to the Iberian peninsula see Tsirkin 1993: esp. about a Roman settlement that sprang into existence after Cato installed a camp in 195 BC at Emporion, on an connection of a wave of migration with M. Iunius Silanus around 100 BC (p. 277); Carthago Nova "attracted Romans and Italics immediately after its seizure, as has been testified by the findings of Campanian vessels back to 250-180 B.C." and these people were also drawn to the region by the rich mines whose exploitation by Italians is verified by the stamps on lead ingots (pp. 281-82); for Italian migration to Baetis, foundation of Italica and Corduba, but also their establishment in rural areas outside of these towns (p. 293); generally on questions related to the Italian migrants see pp. 302-5.

Corduba, was established at some disputed date, most probably in the first half of the 2nd c. BC, and a small number of outstanding locals were admitted into the colony (Strabo 3.2.1 Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι).[63] The exploitation of Sierra Mořena mines in Baetis valley attracted Romans already in 197 BC.[64] During the first period a co-existence of Romans and Italians with locals in the valley is evident, but in clearly divided settlements. Rich mines were exploited by Italians in Carthago Nova too (Strabo 3.2.10), as is verified by stamps on lead ingots.[65] Over time Roman entrepreneurs were involved not only in the exploitation of mines, but also of further sea- and land-resources, such as olive oil production in Baetica.[66] Gradually, both Roman settlers and the indigenous elite exploited the land's abundant resources.[67]

The merging of Romans with locals in Spain becomes quite clear in Caesar's speech in Hispalis, who makes no distinction between them (*B Hisp.* 42). Caesar's prevalence marked the establishment of *coloniae* at several places where Roman communities existed before. As previously noted by Kornemann and further analysed by other scholars, in the Romanized regions of the Iberic Peninsula and in the southern part of Gaul, settlements of private individuals from Italy were apparently absorbed into Caesarean or Augustan colonies or *municipia*, generally mentioned

On Valentia, its foundation in the second half of the 2nd c. BC (possibly 138 BC), its intense trade (as the extensive *horrea* show) and its Roman-Italic character see Ribera i Lacomba 2006. On the controversial situation of Tarraco, which is described by Pliny (3. 21) as *opus Scipiorum,* see Ruiz de Arbulo 2006.

Generally on Roman towns in the region of Valencia see Abad Casal 2014. On early Roman towns of Hispania Tarraconensis see Abad Casal, Kreay & Ramallo Asensio 2006. On Roman towns in Catalonia see Guitart i Duran 2010.

63 Wilson 1966: 24 and Funari 1994: 90 (152 BC); Bandelli 2002: 107 (between late 3rd and early 2nd c. BC); Jiménez & Carillo 2011. Caesar, *B Civ*. 2.19.3 speaks of a *conventus* (Tsirkin 1993: 308: "i.e. the Roman citizens' community") in Corduba. On settlements in the Guadalquivir valey see Adab Casal 1975.

64 Strabo 3.2.9; Plin. *HN* 34.165; Diod. 5.36; Liv. 32.28.11; cf. Tsirkin 1993: 299, 302-3; Rowan 2013. On Romans in Baetis see also Wulff Alonso 1994; García Vargas 2019.

65 Tsirkin 1993, 281-82; Diaz Ariňo & Antolinos Marin 2013; Stefanile 2015; Panzram 2020: 224-27.

66 For the rich olive-oil production of the region see Strabo 3.2.6. Curchin 1982; for more bibliography see Zoumbaki 2021: nn. 36 and 38.

67 On the economy of Baetica see Funari 1994.

by Pliny[68] as *oppida civium Romanorum*.[69] This pattern is observed in various instances in Spain where clusters of Italians evolved into towns, some of which became capitals of *conventus iuridici*.[70]

All this resulted in the acculturation of the locals to the Roman way of life, μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι (Strabo 3.2, 15).[71] Nevertheless, despite the presence of individuals from Italy in Spain dating back to the late 3rd c. BC and progressively expanding in various locations, explicit epigraphic attestations of Roman collectivities are hardly to be encountered. In the first half of the 1st c. AD in Tarraconensis, *cives Romani qui negotiantur in Bracaraugustae* are mentioned.[72] Tarraconensis is regarded as the area which displays the largest sample of Italians or their descendants during the Imperial period.[73] However, no other inscription from Iberia explicitly mentions a Roman community under a

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68   E.g. Pliny, *N.H. 3.3 Citerioris Hispaniae ..., quarum mentione seposita civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIIII continet, oppida CLXXVIIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV* ("Hither Spain ... but the province itself contains, besides 293 states dependent on others, 189 towns, of which 12 are colonies, 13 are towns of Roman citizens, 18 have the old Latin rights, one is a treaty town and 135 are tributary").

69   Kornemann 1900: 1186-87; Wilson 1966: 38-39; Sherwin-White 1973: 225-36. According to Sherwin-White, *oppida civium Romanorum* in Spain as well as in Africa and in the northern part of the Roman world were amalgams of immigrant Roman citizens from central Italy, who formed 'convental' associations (in Sherwin-White's words) within the native townships, as well as of enfranchised native inhabitants.

70   Generally on the huge Italian population in Spain and the development of their communities, see García Fernández 1991: esp. 32; Rodríguez Neila 2017: 372. For *conventus civium Romanorum* in Spain, which developed in capitals of *conventus iuridici*, see Arrayás Morales 2004: 297-98, who mentions a *conventus civium Romanorum* in Tarraco and more *conventus* in Spain; see also Abascal Palazón 2006: 68-70 (with earlier bibliography) on the existence of a *conventus civium Romanorum* at Icosium, which is based on Pliny's (*NH* 3.19) mention of the contribution of Icositani to the Augustan colony of Ilici.

71   Wilson 1966: 24-25; Funari 1994: 88-91. On the spread of Romanization in Spain and the adaptation of local elites see Klein 2007-2008. On the development of bilingualism in Iberia in the Republican period, see Lowe 2014.

72   *CIL* II 2423 (AD 42-44); cf. Haley 1991: 28 who interprets them as "Spanish-Roman citizens" citing views identifying them as Italians.

73   Haley 1991: 28-30, 113-17 cites several individual Italians attested in Baetica and Tarraconensis.

formal definition, such as *conventus civium Romanorum* or *cives Romani qui ...*

Gallia and the northern frontier

Romans were active in Gallic and Germanic regions as well. The early foundation of a colony at the important port of Narbonne (118-116 BC) reveals the interest of the Roman state in the area and archaeological finds and graffiti testify to the presence of individuals from the Italian peninsula.[74] Huge quantities of Italian amphoras discovered in excavations and shipwrecks point to extensive wine imports into Gaul from approximately 150 BC to the late 1st c. BC.[75] Cicero reports *a civibus Romanis qui negotiantur in Gallia*, a group that was numerous and dominant in every kind of entrepreneurial endeavor in Gaul; he further reports of individual profit-seekers in the region, such as Sextus Naevius in his *Pro Quinctio*.[76] Caesar refers to *cives Romani* settled at Cenabum and Cabillonum in Gaul for the purpose of conducting trade and highlights instances of trade with various Gallic and Germanic tribes.[77] This indicates that by the 1st c. BC, Roman traders had already established residency in Gaul. However, in the epigraphic record of the Gallic provinces, as also in Germania Superior, Romans are not attested as collectivities before the 1st c. AD.[78]

There is a similar situation along the north frontier stretching from Britain to the *limes*-line of the Rhine and Danube, encompassing namely the regions from modern Scotland to the Black Sea. Along the *limes* of the Rhine and Danube, namely in the provinces of Germania, Raetia,

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74 Christol 2002: 44; 2020.

75 Kay 2014: 141-47, 186.

76 Cic. *Font.* 11 *Referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum. Nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quicquam negoti gerit, nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur ... est praeterea <maximus> numerus civium Romanorum atque <equitum,> hominum honestissimorum*; *Quinct.* 12.

77 Caesar *B Gall.* 7.3.1 (*Cenabum signo dato concurrunt civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant*); 7.42.3; 7.55.5 (*quique eo negotiandi causa convenerant*); for further mentions of traders in Gaul and Germania, e.g. *B Gall.* 1.39; 2.15; 3.1; 4.2-3, 4.5, 4.20-21; 6.37; 7.42, 7.45. Cf. Riggsby 2006: 97, 189.

78 For example *AE* 2000, 948 (Lugdunum); *CIL* XIII 1194 = *ILS* 197 (Avaricum), cf. Gmyrek 1998, 39; *CIL* XIII 6797 (Mogontiacum). Cf. Van Andringa 1998.

Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia,[79] Romans were in full action already in the 1st c. BC, yet their communities are epigraphically attested only from the 2nd c. AD. Regional studies have shown that from about the mid. 1st c. BC Dacia was full of Roman merchants and other specialists who partially worked for local kings and chieftains.[80] However, groups of Romans are attested in inscriptions of Dacia as well as of Moesia and Pannonia only from the 2nd c. AD and continued to exist until late in the 3rd century.

Romans are to be found as a collectivity in Britain as well; it is clear that they were civilian Romans who lived in a village (*vicus*) near the Fort Veluniate, although they are not called *cives Romani*, but *vikani consistentes castello Veluniate*,[81] while *vicani* are mentioned in three more inscriptions from Britain.[82] It is questionable, whether they are to be identified with *cives Italici et Norici* who appear in an inscription of an altar erected by the *milites* of the Legio VI from Castlecary; the late date (AD 140-190) makes the reference problematic and it is not to be excluded that the definition *cives Italici et Norici* refers to the origins of the soldiers, as Mann suggested,[83] and not to civilians.

Along the *limes* where castles and legionary camps were installed, Roman communities of civilians were settled next to them. Civilian settlements in the vicinity of legion quarters initially consisted of merchants, grocers, wine-traders, manufacturers who earned their living through trade activities with soldiers and perhaps with natives who lived beyond the *limes*; Roman merchants were in some cases active in

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79 For the emergence and function of the *limites* see Thorne 2007: 228-232. For a general overview on the situation in the regions of the northern *limes* see (selected out of an extend bibliography): Dacia: Oltean 2007; Ardevan and Zerbini 2007; Cupcea 2011; Nemeti and Nemeti 2014. Dalmatia: Wilkes 1962; Pannonia: Kovács 2013; especially on the role of Roman army see Petculescu 2006; Avram 2007; Ruscu 2014; Matei-Popescu 2014.

80   Parvan 1928: 153-54.

81 Richmond & Steer 1959.

82 Salway 1967: 10-11 with an analysis of the terms *vicus, vicanus, consistentes*, and *canabae*; cf. also Salway 1993: 417. A discussion of those people living at the frontier see Birley 1979: 107-14.

83 *CIL* VII 1095; *RIB* 2148; cf. Birley 1952: 178; Mann 1963: 487-88.

those remote lands even before Roman legions arrived[84]. Civilians who followed the Roman army lived in *canabae*, settlements developed near the military camps, and *vici*[85]. The land surrounding a fortress was determined as *intra leugam* (*i.e.* the perimeter of a Gallic *leuga* = 2.2 km).[86] In some cases a civilian settlement, a *vicus*, was founded *extra leugam*.[87] Roman citizens frequently lived together with peregrine communities in *vici* and are defined as *cives Romani consistentes.* Some *vici* bearing names, such as *Vicus Quintionis, Vicus Secundini* etc., were apparently named after Roman settlers, perhaps their founders.[88] In the course of time, *veterani* were also settled at the places where initially traders and manufacturers lived; gradually soldiers were not obliged to live in the quarters of the legion and became inhabitants of the civilian settlements too.[89] Romans who lived there were named *cives Romani consistentes ad legionem, cives Romani consistentes ad canabas / (in) canabis* or later *canabenses* ("people of the Canabae"), *cives Romani consistentes vico* ... In some inscriptions *veterani* and *cives Romani consistentes* appear side by side. How far these settlements were under the jurisdiction of the military commanders is a subject of discussion.[90] Furthermore, there is a lengthy and ongoing debate on the legal status of these communities, especially whether they possessed the *domicilium* of the places where they are attested, but closer investigation has shown that their exact legal status varied.[91] Hence, certain settlements are defined as *canabae*,

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84 On the organization and administration of the *canabae* see Reid 1913: 196-99; Vittinghoff 1971; Petrikovits 1979; Petrikovits 1981; Piso 1991; Bérard 1992: 80-88. On the interaction of Romans with people beyond the northern frontier, see various contributions in Wells 2013.

85 Hanel 2007.

86 For an extensive discussion of *intra leugam* see Piso 1991, 139-141.

87 Kovács 2013, 132.

88 See Parvan 1928: 184.

89 Reid 1913: 196-97; Hanel 2007: 412-13; Handy 2009: 218.

90 Piso 1991: 138 the military authorities exercised no administration on the *canabae*, but were certainly interested in everything running outside, but close to, the legionary camps.

91 Mommsen 1910: 188 argued that these people did not possess the *domicilium* of the places in question and that's why they are not defined through the region where their settlement was located, but only through the *canaba* of the *legio* with which they were connected. On this question see also Gagliardi 2006: esp. 433-35.

others as *vici*, some of them continued to exist even after the withdrawal of military forces, others were developed as *municipia*. Gradually some of these settlements resembled to towns, as they were supplied with buildings, such as theatres, *porticos* etc., and their administrative staff included *magistri, aediles, quaestores*, even a local senate called *ordo*.

The role of the army for the "Romanization" of the frontier area, especially after the organization of Moesian *limes* by Vespasian, was pivotal.[92] The presence of Roman settlers in these regions was important for local societies, as army and traders who accompanied military units introduced monetized economy and markets as an institutional phenomenon into these regions.[93] It is, in any case, evident that not only the local inhabitants "underwent a process of "Romanization," but there is also a noticeable assimilation of Roman settlers into indigenous life.[94] The strategic placement of these regions at crossroads connecting the Roman *oecumene* with the external world, combined with the presence of extensive navigable rivers, undeniably attracted Romans due to their commercial significance. This was apparently the situation with an association of worshippers of Cybele in Tomis, *matrem Romanorum subscriptorum*.[95] In this context, we are dealing with a religious association which did not encompass the entirety of the Roman residents in Tomis, but only a number of individuals, all of whom were Roman citizens originating from Asia Minor. Their presence in this strategic commercial location on the Black Sea was certainly motivated by the lucrative opportunities it presented. Vasile Parvan's (1928: 184) words, "Danube, with its tributary the Save, had once again done its duty as a highway between the Adriatic and the Black Sea", stress the importance of this region for commerce. The maritime line of shipping in the Black Sea from Tomis and other outlets towards the commercial centres in Bithynia, functioned further as a connection with the eastern provinces.[96]

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92 Petculescu 2006: esp. 31.
93 Verboven 2007; in the same sense also Parvan's (1928: 184-85) comments.
94 Hoehn 2009.
95 Bounegru 2000: esp. 128-29; cf. *CAPInv*. 1205.
96 Bounegru 2014.

What arises from the overview of Romans and Italians abroad?

From this short and general overview of the expansion and gradual pro-
liferation of groups of Romans and Italians outside the Italian peninsula,
it arises that we are dealing with a phenomenon that displays no uni-
formity in chronological terms. Moreover, we have to take into consid-
eration that these communities are dispersed in a world –the Roman
world– whose parts lack uniformity in historical background, traditions,
settlement patterns, urban development, civic and public life, and cul-
ture. The old tradition of the *poleis* with their fully developed civic insti-
tutions, especially in the East (yet not everywhere, as there were local
diversities, e.g. in Asia Minor[97]), co-existed in the vast Empire with un-
der-urbanized regions where different forms of settlements and admin-
istration prevailed. The Roman world comprised a mosaic of communi-
ties: *civitates stipendiariae, municipia*, colonies and the territories in-
cluded *vici*, *pagi* and smaller nuclear communities (e.g. *castella*). Our
knowledge about these forms of settlement is not always adequate[98], es-
pecially in Rome's western and northern provinces during the Republic.
The status of various communities is being debated, whilst epigraphic
and literary sources only allow us to gain a very patchy image of the
organization of these regions which were to a large degree urbanized
only under Roman rule.

The establishment of Roman nuclei in all these diverse environments
was not an instantaneous event but rather a long-lasting process giving
rise to various modes of coexistence between Romans and indigenous
populations. This evolutionary process is evident e.g. in Pliny's *oppida
civium Romanorum* in Spain, Africa and Dalmatia, which have been inter-
preted as amalgams of enfranchised native inhabitants and immigrant
Roman citizens.[99] A different evolution is to be observed in a variety of
settlements at the north frontier, ranging from colonies and *civitates
peregrinae* to military *vici* which were developed in the interior of prov-
inces along important communication routes and along the *limes*, in

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97 E.g. for Phrygia see Thonemann 2013: esp. 31-37.

98 Edmondson 2006: esp. 256-260.

99 Cf. n. 69 above. Sherwin-White 1973: 225-36, 344-50; on *oppida* in Germania Superior,
    Raetia and Noricum see also Pazmany 2019: 13-49.

proximity to castles and legionary camps. The fact that these people set-
tled on the borders of the Roman world, frequently among locals with
different administration structures and cultural background, led them
to organize themselves in common with veterans who decided to estab-
lish themselves permanently on these lands after their retirement. It is
evident that in many cases they cooperated with veterans and local pop-
ulations in order to erect honorific monuments or buildings. They ap-
pear, however, as separate groups in the inscriptions and they are still
mentioned as *cives Romani consistentes* even after the *Constitutio Anto-
niniana* (e.g. *IScM* I 349, AD 246). Although in some cases it is feasible to
identify some officeholder of the host settlements as originating from
the milieu of Roman residents and despite the fact that locals acquired
Roman citizenship or worshipped Roman deities along with Roman ci-
vilians and veterans, namely despite the hints of an integration of Ro-
mans into local societies and the adaptation of local people –at least of
a part of them– to Roman status and culture, it is remarkable that in
official texts Romans keep on advertising a separate identity. An attach-
ment to Rome is also evident in dedications set up by these communities
to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and sometimes to Juno Regina *pro salute* of
some emperor. It is remarkable that Roman residents are only rarely
connected with cults related to commerce, such as Hermes/Mercury,
despite their economic activities (for an exception see e.g. *CIL* XIII 7222
= *ILS* 7077).[100]

The catalytic role played by the Roman and Italian settlers in the Ibe-
rian Peninsula is evident, for instance, in Strabo's writings about the re-
gion. Their presence is said to have brought, together with the fertility
of the land, civilization and an urban lifestyle to the Turdetanians as
also among the Celts (3.2, 15: τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἥμερον
καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς, καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς
δὲ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν). The co-existence of Romans with locals in the

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100   Bourigault 2007: 85 stresses the fact that festivals and religious actions where *cives
Romani consistentes* are involved are always important cults for Rome, imperial cult
as well as Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, and Terra Mater and only rarely cults
related to commerce. Van Andringa 2003: 55 for Roman cults implanted by Roman
residents in their new settlements, e.g. in Lausanne; 57 for Turda in Dacia and Car-
nuntum.

Iberian Peninsula, coupled with the high degree of the assimilation of the indigenous population, particularly the elites, into the Roman realities, resulted in a relatively swift transformation of society. This situation is described by Strabo (3.2, 15) as μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι. From this point of view, it is understandable why groups of Romans in Spain are hardly explicitly mentioned in our sources as distinct enclaves within local societies.

Integration of Roman and Italian residents into local communities followed a different path in regions with a long tradition of civic life. In the eastern part of the Roman world, *poleis*, especially the most important commercial centres, interacted for centuries with foreigners who passed by or settled, and often granted them certain privileges either as individuals (*proxenia, proedria, ges enktesis* etc.) or as groups (for example the permission to possess some places in order to conduct their own cult activities, e.g. the Kitian merchants residing in Athens, *IG* II² 337). Therefore, in Greek *poleis*, Romans could readily find their place in an already existing pattern of social development. The settlement of a considerable number of Romans in the *poleis* certainly involved some adaptation to the reality of life in the host towns on the part of these settlers. It is clear that Roman residents were interested in establishing themselves economically, in cultivating relations with local society and authority, in acquiring certain rights and privileges that might encourage and support both their professional activities and their gradual integration into the host community.[101]

Evidently, Italians and Romans who ventured far from Italy, motivated by diverse reasons and enticed by various opportunities, were compelled to acclimate themselves to diverse environments. Consequently, their settlements evolved diversely, and their communities may display different features.[102] However, in order to perceive the phenomenon of the Roman diaspora it is useful to specify the common characteristics of the divergent groups of Romans and Italians abroad and to shed light onto their nature and formation.

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101   On their strategies see Zoumbaki 2023.

102   For a comparative assessment of the fundamental features of the Roman diaspora in the eastern and western parts of the Mediterranean, see Zoumbaki & Karambinis 2022: 253-55.

Specific features of the groups of Romans and Italians abroad: An analysis in the light of the basic characteristics of private associations

Since our sources provide hardly any direct information about the character of the Roman communities attested in numerous diverse settlements in the Roman world, it is important to consider every enlightening indication as to whether they are to be regarded as entities with a concrete legal status and an organization based on certain prescribed regulations, namely whether they are to be defined as private associations. In this respect, the attestations are to be analyzed on the basis of the criteria for categorizing a group as an association by Gabrielsen and Thomsen (2015: 10-12), namely on the basis of their name and further descriptive terms, internal organization, membership and durability.

<u>Proper name and accompanying terminology</u>: The proper names of the collectivities of Romans and Italians abroad, along with further descriptive elements are crucial for our examination. Of special importance are inscriptions set up by the host communities or by the groups themselves, which, as official documents, accurately reproduce the precise (self-)definition of these groups. The various definitions of the groups can be summarized in the following table.

ROMANS	Greek	Latin
Simple mention	Ῥωμαῖοι	Cives Romani
Descriptional definition of the group	Κονβέντος Ῥωμαίων τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων	Conventus civium Romanorum
Terms stressing residence	Ῥωμαῖοι παρεπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι παραγινόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι κατοικοῦντες / Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐξ ἀρχαίου κατοικοῦντες	Cives Romani qui … consistunt Cives Romani consistentes Cives Romani qui … morantur Cives Romani qui … habitant

		Cives Romani ... diocen(seos) Cives Romani + epithet derived from a toponym
Terms stressing occupation	Ῥωμαῖοι (συμ)πραγματευόμενοι [πραγματευ]ταί Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι γεωργεῦντες (Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνκεκτημένοι)	Conventus civium Romanorum/ cives Romani qui in ... negotiantur
Terms in partitive genitive	Ῥωμαίων οἱ ναύκληροι καὶ ἔμποροι Ῥωμαίων οἱ κατοικοῦντες, οἱ καταπλέοντες (εἰς τὴν νῆσον) ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι (καὶ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τῇ τραπέζι)	
Terms stressing political status (?)	Ῥωμαῖοι συμπολ(ε)ιτευόμενοι	
ITALIANS	**Greek**	**Latin**
Simple mention	Ἰταλικοί	Italic(e)i
Terms stressing residence	Οἱ ἐν ... παραγινόμενοι Ἰταλικοί Ἰταλικοί οἱ... κατοικοῦντες	
Terms stressing occupation	Ἰταλικοὶ οἱ ἐν ... πραγματευόμενοι	Italicei ... quei negotiantur

The definitions of communities of Romans and Italians abroad always include a ethnic name, *Romani/Italic(e)i* or Ῥωμαῖοι/Ἰταλικοί. It is remarkable that in Latin inscriptions these groups are never called simply *Romani*, but always *cives Romani*, which is probably not an expression of

mere ethnic identity but rather of legal status. It is, however, question-able, whether the Greek rendering Ῥωμαῖοι always indicates a legal sta-tus or points to an ethnic origin or to a more complicated identity which comprised a number of characteristics stressing a special relationship of these people with Rome, such as origin from Italy, Latin language skills, use of Roman practices in their transactions etc.[103] Individual Ital-ians, where they did not mention their particular town of origin, in Greek as a rule defined themselves as Ῥωμαῖος, since Italicus/Ἰταλικός was never used in singular.[104] Self-definitions of individuals in private bilingual documents are to be taken into consideration: in the Latin ver-sion the specific town of origin is accurately mentioned, whereas the Greek version always gives the origin as Ῥωμαῖος.[105] Therefore, Ῥω-μαῖος might not necessarily in such cases indicate their legal status. It is moreover significant that even in certain official documents set up by Greek *poleis,* individuals defined as Ῥωμαῖος lack a Roman name and consequently, as it seems, Roman citizenship.[106] This possibly shows

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103   On Ῥωμαῖοι who did not possess Roman citizenship, see Brunt 1971: 205-9.

104   There is, as far as I know, only a gravestone of Χρησίμου Ἰταλιώτα from Argos Am-philochikon in Epirus (3rd c. BC): *SEG* 32.562; Antonetti 2011.

105   As far as private bilingual documents are concerned, there are two characteristic examples. In a funerary bilingual inscription from Athens, the deceased, a member of the prominent family of Porcii, defines himself as *[M(arcus) Por]cius [M(arci) f(il-ius) Cato Tus]cula(nu)s* / [Μᾶρκο]ς Πόρκιος [Κάτων Ῥ]ωμαῖος (*IG* II² 10163). In a bi-lingual gravestone from Rheneia the deceased is mentioned as Q. Avili G. f. Lanuvine /Κόιντε Ἀύλλιε υἱὲ Ῥωμαῖε (*EAD* XXX 495). Apart from questions regard-ing specific status of the towns of origin –Tusculum being a municipium with full privileges of citizenship (see Astin 1972), Lanuvium a town of problematic status, perhaps a *civitas sine suffragio* (see e.g. Mouritsen 2007: 157; Capogrossi Colognesi 2014: 99 n. 4) –, it is striking that the Greek version renders the origin generally as Ῥωμαῖος and omits accurate mention of the hometown.
See also Hasenohr 2007a: 222-23 on the use of Ῥωμαῖος on Delos.

106   A characteristic example is Νίκανδρος Μενεκράτεος Ῥωμαῖος attested in a cata-logue of *proxenoi* at Delphi in 173/2 BC (*Syll*³ 585; *SGDI* 2581 [*SEG* 17.236; 19.383]). In a list of *technitai* of Dionysos from Argos (first quarter of the 1st c. BC) an individual is mentioned as [Δημ]ήτριος Δημητρίου Ῥωμαῖος (Vollgraff 1919: 252). An entry in one of the temple inventories of Delos is: ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· στεφάνιον [ἀργυ]ροῦν δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Ἀχιλλέως Ῥωμαίου... (*ID* 1442, B. l. 47).

that Greeks tended to define as Ῥωμαῖος individuals from Italy in general, irrespectively of their personal status or the status of their town of origin. It is perhaps useful to recall that the term "Hellenes" in Hellenistic Egypt could include people of non-Greek origin, such as Hellenized Jews.[107]

The exact meaning of Ῥωμαῖος/Ῥωμαῖοι both for individuals and for groups remains therefore an open question. We should further mention Claire Hasenohr's observation that *Italici*/Ἰταλικοί never appear in Delian inscriptions recording common actions with Athenians and other foreigners or "other Hellenes", but in such cases Ῥωμαῖοι are recorded. here are, however, some exceptions where *Graec(e)i*/Ἕλληνες and *Italici*/Ἰταλικοί/Ἰταλοί are jointly mentioned.[108] Taking all this into consideration, we should bear in mind that collective definitions as Ῥωμαῖοι could also include people who were not *cives Romani*. The question regarding the exact meaning of Ῥωμαῖος/Ῥωμαῖοι and the purpose of its use in various documents as well as its implications for individual or collective identities, extends, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

Only two descriptive terms of the collectivities under examination are included in their definitions, *conventus*/κονβέντος and τὸ συνέδριον, and both are rarely used. The Greek terms κονβέντος and τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων[109] seem simply to render in Greek the term *conventus*. Kornemann regarded the term *conventus* as equivalent to the Greek σύνοδος and stressed that *conventus* implies a durable community ("dauernde Gemeinschaft").[110] That the communities were durable, is evident from their repeated occurences. However, the term σύνοδος is never used to define groups of Romans and Italians,[111] and similar terms which

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107 See Thompson 2001, Sänger 2013: 60 and Kruse 2015: 291, 297 with previous bibliography on the topic.

108 Cf. Hasenohr 2007a: 224. Exceptions are *ID* 1620, 1694-96, 1698.

109 Κονβέντος Ῥωμαίων: Thyateira: 1. *TAM* V 2, 1002; *IGR* IV 1169 (τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντου); 2. *TAM* V 2, 1003: κουρατορεύσ[αντα κονβέντου Ῥω]μαίων. Τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων appears only once in an inscription from Hierapolis in Phrygia, *Alt.v.Hierapolis* 32. On the term *synedrion* see Arnaoutoglou 2016: 283.

110 Kornemann 1900: 1181.

111 Scherrer 2007: 68 and n. 41 wonders, whether τῆι συνόδωι in a very fragmentary inscription from Ephesos (*IEphesos* 859) is to be identified with the *conventus civium*

are frequently used for private associations, such as *collegium, koinon, thiasos* etc., are never encountered in the sources in connection with Romans and Italians abroad either. As studies by historians of law have shown,[112] the term *conventus*, when it does not imply juridical districts of the Roman Empire, means nothing more than an assembly of Romans sojourning in a region. Purcell, however, refers to the "institution of conventus", which "enabled Roman communities to adopt something of the style of a formal body politic."[113] Moreover, we have to stress that although the term *conventus* (*civium Romanorum*) is very frequently used in the related bibliography in order to define all these communities, it does not appear abundantly in inscriptions, even in the West: specifically, only a handful of inscriptions from the region of the Helvetii,[114] one from Masculula in Tunisia[115] and two Latin inscriptions from Ephesos[116] refer to *conventus*, while the Greek versions κονβέντος Ῥωμαίων

Romanorum of the town, but there is neither a parallel of this definition nor an internal argument of the text leading to this clue.

112   Berger 1953: 416.

113   Purcell 2005: 95.

114   *CIL* XIII 5026 = *ILS* 7011 = *RISch* I, 51 = *AE* 2000, 1029 (Lausane): *Soli, Genio, Lunae / sacrum ex voto / pro salute Augus/torum, P. Clod(ius) Corn(elia tribu) / Primus, curator vika/nor(um) Lousonnensium (bis), / (se)vir Augustal(is), c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / conventus Hel(vetici) d(e) s(uo) d(edit).*

 CIL XIII 11478 = *RISch* I, 105 (Avenches): cf. Lamoine 2009: 134, no. 32: *D(ecimus) Iul(ius) C(ai) f(ilius) Fa[b(ia)] | Consors sac(erdos) augustal(is) mag(ister) | cur(ator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) conen(tus) Hel(vetici) ex vis[u].*

 CIL XIII 5013 (Nyon): *[- - -]no f. Corn(elia tribu) / [- - - C]antabro / cur(atori) c(ivium) R(omanorum) convent(us) / Helvetic(i), (duo)viro, / Iuliae C. fil(iae) Marcellae / Corneliae Q. filiae Marcellae.*

 CIL XII 2618 = *RISch* I, 21 (Geneva): *[- - - pojntifex trium[vir / loc(orum) publ(icorum) perse]q(uendorum), c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) con(ventus) He[lvetici - - -].*

115   *CIL* VIII 15775; *ILS* 6774/5; *ILTun* 1668: *[Div]o Augus[to] | sacrum | conventus |civium Romanor(um) |et Numidarum qui |Mascululae habitant.*

116   The term is restored in several Ephesian inscriptions, but it is preserved in the following texts:

 İplikçioğlu, Engelmann & Knibbe 1989: 235-36, no. B 2; Alpers & Halfmann 1995: 1320 (35 BC): *conventus c. [R.] quei Ephesi negotiantu[r].*

 IEph 3019 (AD 43/44): *conventus c(ivium) R(omanorum) qui in Asia negotiantur.*

and συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων are to be encountered only in two inscriptions from Thyateira and in one from Hierapolis in Phrygia.[117] The lack of descriptive terminology impedes our understanding of the nature of these groups.

The proper names of these collectivities often include a reference to their places of residence. It can be a *canaba* (e.g. *IScM* V 154: *veterani et cives Romani consistentes ad canabas legionis V Macedonicae*), a *vicus* (e.g. *IScM* I 324: *cives Romani consistentes in vico Quintionis*), a town (e.g. *IC* IV 278: *cives Romani qui Gortynae consistunt*), a region (e.g. *ILGR* 40: Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς πραγματευόμενοι), a wider administration unit (e.g. *CIL* XI 7288 = *ILLRP* 445: *[- - - qui in diocesi Synna]dica negotiantur*) or a province (eg. *CIL* III 12266 from Rhodes: *cives Romani qui in Asia negotiantur*). In some Latin inscriptions the residence is implied by an epithet derived from a toponym, such as *cives Romani Suenses* (*CIL* VIII 25850), *c(i)v(es) R(omani) Miciens(es)* (*IDR* III 3, 81).

Geographical references to the groups' residences are followed in Latin by verbs or participles, *qui ... consistunt, morantur, habitant* or *consistentes*, in Greek normally rendered as participles, παρεπιδημοῦντες, κατοικοῦντες, παραγινόμενοι. Leaving aside epithets derived from toponyms (e.g. *Suenses, Micienses*), which apparently do not bear a legal nuance, and the term παραγινόμενοι which seems to mean simply "present", it is questionable, whether the remaining terms have any legal implications. As for Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες, in Latin *cives Romani qui ... habitant*, the question arises as to whether we are dealing with equivalents of *cives Romani qui ... consistunt/cives Romani consistentes*, which are merely used as variations of Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες, or a different legal status is to be deduced. Inscriptions from Delos[118] mentioning both terms, οἱ κατοικοῦντες καὶ παρεπιδημοῦντες, show that there must be a difference between the two notions, perhaps the difference between

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117 Κονβέντος: 1. *TAM* V 2, 1002; *IGR* IV 1169 (τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντου); 2. *TAM* V 2, 1003: κουρατορεύσ[αντα κονβέντου Ῥω]μαίων. Συνέδριον: *Alt.v.Hierapolis* 32 (τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων).

118 Cf. for example *IDelos* 1659 (85-78 BC): Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ | τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κα|τοικοῦντες ἐν Δήλωι καὶ | οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες ἔμ|ποροι καὶ ναύκληροι etc.

permanent settlers and temporary residents. If they have chosen to set-
tle in a host-town on a permanent basis, it might imply that they are not
a community at the margin of a town, but they have acquired the so-
called *ius incolatus*, the right of *domicilium.* Van Andringa argues that Ro-
man *consistentes* could become *incolae*, if they received the right of *domi-
cilium* and thus they could participate actively in local life.[119] He rejects,
however, Kornemann's and Schulten's view that *consistentes* received
automatically the *ius incolatus*, since these two notions, *consistentes* and
incolae, are not identical, while only the latter implies a legal status.
Thus, the Roman κατοικοῦντες may have become *incolae*, which is a step
above simple *consistentes.* However, several indications point to the fact
that *incolae* are rendered in Greek as πάροικοι,[120] a term which, to my
knowledge, occurs only once in relation with resident Romans, in a re-
stored – thus not ascertained – text from Oropos (*IG* VII 190 Ῥωμαί[οις
τοῖς πα]ροικοῦσι). Moreover, it is not clear, whether the use of all these
variations in inscriptions was conscious and accurate. A bilingual in-
scription from Prymnesos[121] (Phrygia), for instance, should make us
doubtful about the use of these terms. The Latin version of this inscrip-
tion refers to *c(ives) R(omani) [qui (ibi) nego]tiantur*, whereas the Greek
version is ο[ἱ κατοικοῦν]τες Ῥωμαῖοι; although both versions of the text
are restored, the ending of the participle leaves no doubt that the Greek
text does not include the word πραγματευόμενοι, which is the usual
Greek rendering of *qui ... negotiantur*.[122]

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119 Van Andringa 1998: 172; Van Andringa 2003: 53-54. Generally on *incolae* and *domi-
cilium* and the previous bibliography see Hermon 2007 and Licandro 2007.

120 Gagliardi 2006; Gagliardi 2017: esp. 397-98 points to the meaning of an inscription
from Dion published by Pantermalis 1984: 277 (*AE* 1998, 1210; *SEG* 34, 631): *Colo-
narum et incolarum coniuges | Anthestiae P(ublii) l(ibertae) Iucundae honoris causa.|*
Κολώνων καὶ παροίκων αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀνθεστίαι Ποπλίου | ἀπελευθέραι Ἰουκούνδαι
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν, where *incola* and πάροικος seem to be used as equivalents. Gagliardi
further cites the jurist Pomponius (*liber singularis enchiridii*, in *D.* 50.16.239.2): "In-
cola" est, qui aliqua regione domicilium suum contulit: quem Graeci πάροικον appellant.
Nec tantum hi, qui in oppido morantur, incolae sunt, sed etiam qui alicuius oppidi finibus
ita agrum habent, ut in eum se quasi in aliquam sedem recipiant.*
On *katoikountes* on Delos see Müller 2017: esp. 98-99.

121 *CIL* III 7043; *ILS* 976; *IGR* IV 675 (cf. *SEG* 36, 1200).

122 On the vocabulary of these definitions see Verboven 2002.

Beyond the term πραγματευόμενοι, the variation συμπραγματευό-
μενοι is also to be found (see Idomene, Edessa, Thessaloniki, Styberra
and Akanthos, n. 26 above), perhaps indicating that Romans engaged in
business cooperatively or dealing with locals. It remains unclear
whether a less common term, Ῥωμαῖοι συμπολ(ε)ιτευόμενοι,[123] simply
denotes Romans residing in and interacting with a local community or
whether they were regarded as fellow-members of a town. In any case,
the term συμπολ(ε)ιτευόμενοι requires closer examination, especially
as to whether an allusion of a political status is to be traced in it, since
it recalls the term *sympoliteia.* In the unpublished Leiden MA thesis by
Hermann Roozenbeek, known to me only through a reference by Van
Nijf 2009, it is stated that the Roman communities were linked to the
cities in a kind of *sympoliteia* (joined citizenship) –a suggestion rejected
by Van Nijf.[124] The question has been posed by C. Brélaz[125] who examines
the term συμπολ(ε)ιτευόμενοι along with the term *colonus*/κολωνός
and takes into account indications for the existence of several types of
coloniae in the provinces. He inclines to the view that in the case of
συμπολ(ε)ιτευόμενοι we are dealing with associations considered not
merely "à l'égal de corps constitués, mais comme des entités quasi poli-
tique, à la manière de *politeumata*". In fact, communities of Romans and
Italians share some common elements with *politeumata*[126] which are at-
tested in the Hellenistic period in the Ptolemaic Kingdom, in the outer

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123   E.g. **Isaura**: *IGR* III 294: [Ἰσα]υρέων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἵ τε συμπολειτευόμενοι
      Ῥωμαῖοι. **Amisos**: *IGRR* IV 314: Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | θεοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸν |
      ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀμισηνῶν καὶ οἱ | συμπολιτευό[μενοι] Ῥωμαῖοι ‖ τὸν ἑατῶν σωτ[ῆρα καὶ
      κτίσ]την.

124   In an unpublished Leiden MA thesis, Hermann Roozenbeek argued that "these
      groups of Roman residents and traders *must* have had a kind of more formal status"
      and went on suggesting that "these *conventus* were linked to the cities in a kind of
      sympoliteia (joined citizenship), which would have given them a separate status and
      a close link to the city at the same time". Onno Van Nijf expressed his hesitation to
      accept such a formal status, a *sympoliteia*, for all Roman communities, mainly be-
      cause these groups sometimes extended beyond the limits of an individual town,
      as is shown, for example, by the attestations of groups of Roman residents in the
      province of Asia (e.g. CIL III 12266 from Rhodes).

125   Brélaz 2016.

126   Sänger 2013 generally on *politeumata*; Kruse 2015 on *politeumata* in Egypt.

Ptolemaic possessions and in regions under Ptolemaic influence; yet important differences between *politeumata* and collectivities of Romans and Italians exist as well: whereas the *politeumata* are characterized by the presence of a military component, the clear internal structure of self-administration, the connection with some districts in the towns, these features are not recognizable in the groups of Romans called συμπολ(ε)ιτευόμενοι and generally in groups of Roman/Italian residents abroad (see below, under the criterium Organization). Recent research has shown that *politeumata*, even if they arose as associations of compatriots in a foreign land, they could not be regarded as associations anymore after they received the privileged status of the *politeumata*.[127] Brélaz seems to accept Broughton's suggestion to regard συμπολιτευόμενοι of Attaleia as a community whose origins are to be found in the sale of portions of the *ager publicus* in the town, a view held also by St. Mitchell for the συμπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι of Isaura.[128] Brélaz does not exclude however the possibility that the term has no legal nuance, but just underlines the role of Romans in the host town and is used simply as a variant of *negotiatores* and *conventus civium Romanorum*.[129]

In more cases groups of resident Romans assumed an almost parallel status with civic institutions, as they appear side by side with public bodies.[130] Although no specific term, such as συμπολιτευόμενοι is employed, they clearly co-operated with public bodies, such as the *boule* and the *demos* or even super-civic bodies, the *koina*, such as the Koinon of the Achaeans (Olympia: *IvO* 335; *SEG* 17, 197 and 198). This indicates that these communities had already obtained an important position in the public life of the host-towns. Mentions of Ῥωμαῖοι along with civic bodies and subdivisions, such as tribes (e.g. in the ephebic lists from Messene, see above n. 26), do not display characteristics of an association. Private associations placed side by side with official bodies or civic

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127   Sänger 2013: 62-63.

128   Mitchell, 1978: 313-314.

129   Brélaz 2016. See also Broughton 1935 and Mitchell 1978.

130   See for example **Apameia:** *IGR* IV 794: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ [δῆμος καὶ οἱ] κατοικοῦντες Ῥω[μαῖοι]; **Iasos:** *I.Iasos* 90: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ νέοι καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἰασῶι πραγματευόμενοι; **Maroneia:** Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, E 180: γνώμη βουλευτῶν καὶ ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ Ῥωμαίω[ν τῶν νυν] [τ]ὴν πόλιν κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολειτῶν ἀπά[ντων...

subdivisions are not to be found in the sources, with certain exceptions which however do not imply cooperation or placement at the same lavel. An exception is to be recognized in some epitaphs where public bodies and private *thiasoi* are attested in separate wreaths engraved on the funerary stelae.[131] However, we are not dealing with common actions in these cases, but rather with a simple collection of public and private bodies that honour the memory of a prominent deceased individual. Moreover, we are not dealing with official civic, but rather with private texts whose layout on gravestones was based on private initiative. Furthermore, private associations in the plural, οἱ σύνοδοι, can rarely be found next to public bodies, as in an inscription from Hierapolis,[132] but that is again different from the mention of a single *synodos* taking action along with public institutions.

A definition whose exact use is obscure as well, τηβεννοφοροῦντες, is attested only in one inscription from Thessaly and probably renders in Greek the term *togati*,[133] a term which is also used by Sallust to define *Italici* (Sall. *Iug.* 21.2) resident at Adharbal's capital Cirta in Africa.

The occupations of Italians and Romans are not frequently mentioned in the titles of the groups and where they are mentioned, they are as a rule very general, e.g. πραγματευόμενοι, *qui in ... negotiantur*.[134] More concrete definitions are only exceptionally used, as in the case of those engaged in agriculture, ἐνγαιοῦντες and γεωργεῦντες[135]; the definition ἐνκεκτημένοι[136] shows that they have acquired the right to own land (*enktesis*), which perhaps implies their intention to engage in agriculture, yet ἐνκεκτημένοι is not the definition of an occupation, but of a privileged status in a Greek *polis*. Some closer mentions of occupations are to

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131   E.g. Aigina: *IG* IV 44-46; *IG* IV 2, 974. Cf. however, Poland 1909: 26, 104 argues that these *thiasoi* are rather to be regarded as public subdivisions.

132   *Alt.v.Hierapolis* 32: [ἡ λαμπροτάτη βουλὴ(?)] | [καὶ] ὁ λαμπ[ρ]ό[τατος] | [δῆ]μος Ἱεραπόλε[ως] | καὶ ἡ γερουσία | καὶ τὸ συνέδριον | τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ο[ἱ ν]έοι καὶ αἱ σύνοδο[ι]...

133   Arvanitopoulos 1910: no. 3, col. 344-49; cf. Bouchon 2007; Eberle Pilar 2017: 338.

134   On the term *negotiatores* see Eberle Pilar 2017.

135   Olympia: ἐνγαιοῦντες: *SEG* 17.197 and 198 (100-70 BC) and *IvO* 335 (Augustan period); cf. Zoumbaki 1994. Kos: γεωργεῦντες: *SGDI* III 1, 3698; *IGR* IV 1087. On Italians and Romans engaged in agricultural economy in Greece proper see Zoumbaki 2013.

136   Beroia: *IBeroia* 59 (57-55 BC).

be found in the use of partitive genitive in order to single certain professional groups out of a wider Roman population of a place, as e.g. on Delos (Ῥωμαίων οἱ ναύκληροι καὶ ἔμποροι).

The term κατακληθέντες which is included by certain scholars in the terminology used to define groups of Romans in Greek inscriptions,[137] should be rather expelled from our examination. It is attested only in an inscription from Bizye (Thrace), which records divine honours offered to the King Kotys and displays difficulties in the restoration of the crucial word that follows the participle κατακληθέντες εἰς...[138] Whatever restoration of the crucial gap of the inscription accepted, the word κατακληθέντες ('those who called upon, invoked', see n. 31) followed by the preposition εἰς seems not to form a fixed label, but to be associated with a concrete action on the part of the Romans, obviously in connection with Kotys. Furthermore, the adverb πρώτως (οἱ πρώτως κατακληθέντες εἰς ...), seems to accentuate the Romans' attitude towards the king.

Therefore, upon scrutinizing the proper names and accompanying descriptive terminology assigned to collectivities of Romans and Italians, it becomes evident that the terms commonly employed to delineate private associations, such as *synodos, thiasos, koinon*, *collegium*, etc., are never utilized in reference to these groups of Romans. Although the term *conventus* does sporadically appear, it primarily denotes an assembly of Roman settlers and is never employed to delineate private associations. Moreover, the accompanying definitions consistently emphasize factors such as place of residence, occupation, and potentially the political standing of the groups under consideration.

Membership: In our sources there is no allusion to rules for entrance (or exit) to the communities of Romans and Italians. This raises several questions, as to whether all people permanently or temporarily settled

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137   Van Nijf 2009; Ramgopal 2017: 410 n. 15.
138   Dawkins & Hansluk 1905/1906, 177-78, Dessau 1913: 700; Kalinka 1926: 118-19; Sullivan 1979: 196; Moretti 1984: 266-67 (*SEG* 34, 702); cf. Delev 2016.
       For the restoration of the third line see n. 31 above

at a certain place were automatically members, whether every new-comer joined the group, whether joining these groups or staying out of them were real options. William Ramsay argued that Paul's idea of the unified universal church and the local churches was analogous to the Roman view that "every group of Roman citizens meeting together in a body (*conventus civium Romanorum*) in any part of the vast Empire formed a part of the great conception of 'Rome' ... Any citizen who came to any provincial town where such a group existed, was forthwith a member of the group ..."[139] In a different way, Fabiène Gogniat-Loos regards groups of Romans as equivalents of British clubs during the expansion of the Commonwealth.[140] A further question which has been posed is whether local individuals who obtained Roman citizenship were considered members of the groups under examination. According to certain scholars,[141] *cives Romani consistentes* did not automatically integrate new Roman citizens into the *conventus*, while others expressed the view that they were included in the groups as new members.[142] The term "*cives Romani consistentes*" seems in any case to exclude that new bearers of Roman citizenship originating from the host communities could be integrated as new members of the *conventus,* since they were not *consistentes* but citizens of their hometowns.[143]

All aforementioned different views show that the situation, as it arises from written sources, is far from clear. If we are dealing merely with an ethnic group, there could perhaps be no limitation as far as entrance or exit were concerned, but if we are dealing with an organized

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139   Ramsay 1898: 125.

140   Gogniat-Loos 1994: 25.

141   E.g. Bourigault 2007: 84.

142   E.g. from the earlier bibliography see Mitteis 1891: 145 ("... eines Clubs römischer Bürger, der sich durch den Hinzutritt von Provinzialen, welche das Bürgerrecht erlangt hatten, verstärkte") and from the recent bibliography see Tzamtzis 2013: 185-86.

143   So also Van Andringa 2003: 50-51 rejecting older views on this issue. Van Andringa further points to the fact that during the Republic *cives Romani* and *Italici* came from Italy, while during the Imperial period the term *cives Romani* can comprise citizens originating also from other provinces, as the inscription from Celeia (*CIL* III 5212) shows.

association whose members were registered and had concrete obligations, then entrance and exit from it could not be left uncontrolled. Such data are not however available, not even for large and important communities of Romans and Italians, as e.g. on Delos where there is abundant epigraphic material dating to a relatively short period of time, from 167 BC to the first quarter of the 1st c. BC. Prosopographic and onomastic studies on Delos show that there were constantly new arrivals and departures of Romans and Italians.[144] A wider onomastic study by Olli Salomies has shown that new immigrants continued to move from the West to the East, still in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD[145]. If this is the case with all Roman communities abroad, then we are dealing with groups without a concrete body of members, but with free-floating entities that came and went.

A close examination of individual Romans and Italians who are encountered outside Italy from the 3rd c. BC onwards makes clear that we are dealing with groups that were not homogenous with regard to their internal composition. This heterogenous, mobile and opportunistic diaspora included Italians and Romans, freeborn and freedmen, from Rome, from Italy or from Roman enclaves outside Italy, such as the colonies. Especially characteristic are inscriptions showing the provenance of Roman residents in a province, such as an inscription from Celeia mentioning *cives Romani ex Italia et aliis provinciis in Raetia consistentes*, and another from Agro Valeria, which mentions *cives Romani ex Italia et aliis provinciis in Pannonia consistentes*.[146] Since members of the communities under examination may originate from various places in Italy and beyond, these groups did not consist of compatriots in the narrow sense of the word; they were not like numerous other communities of compatriots who, on the basis of common origin and cultural ties, formed homogenous enclaves in the foreign towns where they happened to be hosted. As for their occupations, they seem to have been diverse as well. Inscriptions only rarely mention their occupations in a general way, e.g. *negotiatores*, πραγματευόμενοι, while only ἐνγαιοῦντες

144   Wilson 1966: 111-13

145   Salomies 2007: 1279-80.

146   Celeia: *CIL* III 5212; *ILS* 1362a (AD 157-162). Agro Valeria: *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 1818-1849, 58.

and γεωργεῦντες are more concrete definitions. It is in any case evident that they were engaged in various professions and profitable business, "they turned a hand to pretty well anything that could bring in a nice profit and can appear almost anywhere, where reasonably ordered commercial conditions could be found."[147]

Thus, neither ethnic nor professional nor social homogeneity is to be recognized in the composition of the groups of Romans and Italians abroad. The question arises: What did they actually share as members of a group? What was the common identity that could be claimed, since their common identity was neither based on common cultural background, nor on common occupations, not even on the provenance from Italy? What bound them together was rather the pursuit of profit in a foreign land and their relationship to Roman power, either bearing the legal status of a Roman citizen or being slaves acting as agents of Roman citizens, sometimes indeed of high ranking members of Roman society.

Organization: Closely related to the question of membership is the problem of the organization of communities of Romans abroad. In an attempt to perceive whether they were organized as private associations, it is crucial to examine whether they had an internal hierarchy, administration, and officeholders who would be responsible for various aspects of their communal life.

From the eastern part of the Mediterranean only a handful of inscriptions offer some information about officials whose titles show that they exercised some coordinative duty in the context of the groups of Italians and Romans. These indications are to be found in inscriptions of Asia Minor. From the Greek mainland and the islands of the Aegean no inscription reveals any hint of an organization and hierarchization within these communities, not even on Delos where numerous related inscriptions have been preserved. In an inscription from Tralles (*I.Tral* 145, 1st c. AD [?]), a certain Ti. Iulius Claudianus is mentioned as γραμματεύσαντα καὶ τῆς φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας καὶ τῶν φιλοσεβάστων νέων καὶ Ῥωμαίων. In a further inscription from Tralles, Ti. Claudius Panychus Eutychus Coibilus (?) is mentioned as κουρατορεύσαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων (*I.Tral* 77, 2nd c. AD). It is remarkable that both individuals from Tralles

147   Errington 1988: 143.

have an impressive *cursus honorum* including numerous civic offices.[148] In two inscriptions from Thyateira[149] – perhaps referring to one and the same individual – the title κουρατορεύσαντα τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντου is to be encountered among the numerous titles of the honorand(s): One of these inscriptions (*TAM* V 2, 1002; *IGR* IV 1169) originates from a monument which was erected by the *skytotomoi* for T. Flavius Alexander, son of Metrophanes, of the tribe Quirina; the other inscription (*TAM* V 2, 1003) is so fragmentary that both the dedicants and the honouree are not preserved, but it is possible that it refers to T. Flavius Alexander too. An inscription from Hierapolis refers to C. Agelleius Apollonides as κονβεντα[ρ]χήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμα[ί]ων among numerous other offices.[150] A further inscription from Hierapolis dated to AD 211 (or 213)-217 records the impressive *cursus honorum* of C. Memmius Eutychus, which includes the office of Ῥωμαίων κωουέντα[ρ]χον.[151] As for the term *curante* mentioned in an inscription from Gortys (Crete), which refers to *conventus civium Romanorum*, it is rather to be excluded from the this discussion, since it probably concerned not an officeholder

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148 *ITral* 145: στεφανηφόρον καὶ γραμματέα | τοῦ δήμου, βουλαρχήσαντα, | εἰρηναρχήσαντα, ἀγορανομή|σαντα, σιτωνήσαντα ἀπὸ | [Ἀλεξα]νδρείας δίς, χρυσο-φο|ρήσαντα, [πα]ραφυλάξαντα, | παν[ηγ]υριαρχήσαντα, ἀργυρο|ταμιεύσαντα, δεκαπρωτεύσαντα, | γραμματεύσαντα καὶ τῆς φιλοσεβάστου | γερουσίας καὶ τῶν φιλοσεβάστων | νέων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ὑποσχόμενον | καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κίονας εἴκοσι, | σκουτλώσαντα δὲ καὶ μουσώσαντα | καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐξέδραν ἀντ᾽ οὐδενός· | ἀναθέντα καὶ τῆι Κλαυδίαι βουλῆι | ἀρ[γυ]ρ[ί]ου ὥστε λαμβάνειν καθ᾽ ἕ|κα[στ]ον ἔτος ἐνθάδε ἕκαστον βου|[λ]ευ[τὴ]ν [τῇ γενεθλίῳ αὐ]τοῦ ἡμέρᾳ σν´ ...
ΙΤral 77: στρατηγήσαν|τα τὴν νυκ{υ}τερινὴν στρα|τηγίαν, δεκαπρωτεύσαν|τα, ἀργυροταμιεύσαντα, | ἐκδανείσαντα, κουρατο|ρεύσαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, |σειτωνήσαντα ἀπὸ Αἰγύ|πτου καὶ ἔπεργον ποιήσαν|τα εἰς τὸν σεῖτον καὶ δόντα | εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ͵βφκ´, νε|ωποιήσαντα, στρατηγήσαν|τα, ἀγορανομήσαντα φιλο|τείμως, ἀναθέντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ὀψαριο|πώλει<δι> μαρμαρίνας τραπέ|ζας ιβ´ σ<ύν> ταῖς βάσεσιν <ι>β´...

149 *TAM* V 2, 1002; IGR IV 1169, ll. 6-7: κουρατορεύσαντα |τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντου. *TAM* V 2, 1003, ll. 5-6: κουρατορεύσ[αντα κονβέντου Ῥω]|μαίων.

150 *Alt.v. Hierapolis* 32: (ll. 10-23) ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρίστων βο|υλευτῶν, στρατη[γή]|σαντα τῆς πόλεω[ς] | καὶ ἀγορανομήσ[αν]|τα καὶ δ<ε>καπρωτε[ύ]|σαντα καὶ κονβεντα[ρ]|χήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμα[ί]|ων καὶ ἐλαιοθετή|σαντα καὶ ἐξεταστὴ[ν] | γενόμενον καὶ ἐρ[γε]|πιστατήσαντα | καὶ εἰς χρίας κυρ[ια]|κὰς εὔχρηστο[ν]| γενόμενον

151 Ritti 2003 (*SEG* 53, 1464); Ritti 2008 (*SEG* 58, 1510).

charged with some duty in the context of the *conventus*, but a civic officeholder charged with caretaking of the erection of the monument,[152] as in other monuments it is often mentioned *sub cura ..., curagentibus* etc.[153]

The exact content of all these offices, *grammateus, curator* and *conventarches*, is not known and their rare occurrences prevent a deeper understanding of the competences. The past participles γραμματεύσαντα, κουρατορεύσαντα, κονβενταρχήσαντα probably show that the offices were of a limited term. In none of the aforementioned cases is there an indication that the officeholders in question belonged to the communities of Romans. On the contrary, it arises that they were outstanding citizens of the host towns, since they had also held numerous civic and religious offices. It is therefore evident that they did not belong to a group separate from the citizens of the town. The fact, for example, that the individual from Tralles attested as a *grammateus* of the Romans was simultaneously *grammateus* of the town's *gerousia* and the *neoi* excludes the possibility that he was a member of a private group of Romans, but seems to be rather a citizen and officeholder of the *polis*. It is further remarkable that all these magistrates were responsible for several sectors of public life related to economy and especially to the market, such as *agoranomos, sitones, argyrotamias, ekdaneisas*, whilst some of them undertook embellishments of the market-place of the town, supplied the market with grain in times of shortage or are honoured by professional groups, e.g. the *skytotomoi* (leather-workers) honour T. Flavius Alexander in Thyatira. All this probably reveals the personal interest of these officials in the proper functioning of the market. Therefore, there could not be more appropriate persons to undertake offices related to the activity of Roman businessmen. In several cases, groups of Romans honoured officeholders, e.g. *agoranomoi*, who facilitated their economic activities.[154] As the expansion of Italians and Romans out of Italy was motivated by the pursuit of profitable opportunities, this state of affairs is

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152   *IC* IV 278; cf. Tzamtzis 2013: 185.

153   Similarly e.g. Africa Proconsularis, Tunisia, Siagu: *ILAfr*. 306; ILS 9495: *Augusto deo | cives Romani | qui Thinissut |negotiantur | curatore L. Fabricio.*

154   We mention, for example, *IG* IV 606 from Argos, an honorific inscription erected by the Ῥωμ[αῖ]οι οἱ ἐν Ἄργει κατοι[κ]οῦντ[ες] for Tib. Claudius Diodotos, who held

quite understandable. It seems, therefore, that all officeholders mentioned above did not belong to the communities of Romans, but were prominent locals.

Although the Latin term *curator* is attested in the context of private associations,[155] it is clear from the evidence analysed above that the aforementioned κουρατορεύσας of the Roman *conventus* in Thyateira was a civic magistrate and not a member of the *conventus*. Since the Latin word *curator* is often rendered in Greek as *epimeletes*,[156] we can assume that the office of κουρατορεύσας in Thyateira could be an equivalent of the *epimeletes.* An *epimeletes* of the foreigners (*epimeletes ton xenon*) is attested in Rhodian inscriptions; Xenophon refers to τῶν μετοίκων ἐπιμέλεια in Athens and to the possibility of founding there an office called *metoikophylax*; the office of *xenophylax* existed on Chios as well (late 1st c. BC).[157] All this shows that control of the foreigners was an important issue, especially for towns that hosted numerous foreign communities. No state could leave foreigners totally uncontrolled, the *praetor peregrinus* in Rome being a typical case.[158] Especially in Rome's important harbours, Ostia and Puteoli, local patrons and *curatores* were responsible for outsiders involved in trade.[159]

among other offices, the office of *agoranomos.* His further mention as [τ]ὸν ἐ[πιτ]ρόπων εὐεργέταν is to be connected either with *procuratores* of the imperial property or with managers of some private –certainly considerable– piece(s) of property.

155   See Verboven 2007a: 23-24. Terpstra 2013: 128. On this office see also Arnaoutoglou 2011: 266-67 and n. 26 who reviews the earlier bibliography, refers to the *curatores* of associations, but stresses the fact that the evidence for *curatores* of the Roman communities abroad is meagre and avoids giving a definite answer about the duties of the *curator* in the context of groups of Romans.

156   Mason 1974: 5.

157   Rhodes: *IG* XII 1, 49 (188/7 BC) and Pugliese Caratelli 1939-1940: no. 7 (early 1st c. BC); cf. the analysis and references to related bibliography by Maillot 2015: 156-158, also pointing to Xen. *Vect.* 2.1 (καὶ εἰ μετοικοφύλακάς γε ὥσπερ ὀρφανο-φύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταῖμεν) as well as to a Rhodian *epimeletes* of Samian refugees to Rhodes after the founding of the Athenian cleruchy on Samos. Chios: three inscriptions published by Studniczka 1888 and discussed by Robert 1929: 35-38.

158   Roselaar 2019: 124-25.

159   Terpstra 2013: 167-68: "groups of traders from distant communities organized themselves along lines of geographical provenance; some of their members settled

Equivalent competences had probably the *curator* in inscriptions re-lated to Roman communities in the West. In the 1st c. AD, at the earliest under the Julio-Claudians, some inscriptions from the capital of the tribal confederation of the Helvetii, Aventicum (Avenches), and a few more inscriptions from other places of the region of the Helvetii, namely from Lausanne, Geneva and Nyon, show that a *curator* was in charge of the *conventus*.[160] *Curatores* are attested in *tres Galliae*, Aquitania, Narbonensis and Lugdunensis, and in Germania Superior.[161] William Van Andringa who has studied thoroughly the Roman *conventus* in *tres*

in Rome. These groups had ties locally: they had local patrons and local curators; at least a number of them maintained a communal building, sometimes with a re-ligious function"; cf. 201-2 the pattern fits in the East.

160   **Aventicum** (Avenches): *CIL* XIII 11478 = *RIS* 105 (Iulio-Claudian period): *D. Iul(ius) C(ai) /f(ilius) Fa[b(ia tribu)] / Consors, sac(erdos) Augustal(is), mag(ister ou -ratus), / cur(ator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) conven(tus) / Hel(vetici).*
AE 1967, 32 (1st c. AD?): *[- - -]dio Quir(ina tribu) [F]lavo, magis[tro ou -trato, — cu]ratori civium R(omanorum)*
Lousonna (Lausanne): *CIL* XIII 5026 = *RIS* 51 (AD 150-250): *Soli, Genio, Lunae / sacrum ex voto / pro salute Augus/torum, P. Clod(ius) Corn(elia tribu) / Primus, curator vika-nor(um) Lousonnensium (bis), / (se)vir Augustal(is), c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / con-ventus Hel(vetici) d(e) s(uo) d(edit).*
AE 1946, 255 (2nd c. AD ?): *Herculi / sacr(um) / C. Maec(ius) Firm[u]s / (se)vir Aug(us-talis), / c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) desi[g(natus)] / ex voto.*
Genava (Geneva): *CIL* XII 2618 (Imperial period): *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*
Noviodunum (Nyon): *CIL* III 5013 (Imperial period): *[- - -]no f. Corn(elia tribu) / [— C]antabro / cur(atori) c(ivium) R(omanorum) convent(us) / Helvetic(i), (duo)viro, / Iuliae C. fû(iae) Marcellae / Corneliae Q.filiae Marcellae*
161   Douarnenez: *AE* 1952/22 (Imperial period): *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*; cf. Eveil-lard and Maligorne 2009.
Lugdunum: *AE* 1980/639; *AE* 2000/948 (1st c. AD): *curator civium Roma]noru[m]*
CIL XIII 1667 (Imperial period): *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*
Avaricum (Bourges): *CIL* XIII 1194; *ILS* 197; *ILTG* 338; cf. Gmyrek 1997: 39 A. 5 (AD 38-41): *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*
Ausci (Auch): *CIL* XIII 444 (Imperial period): *cur(ator) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*
Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes): *CIL* V 5747; cf. Kakoschke 2002, no. 1.109 (Impe-rial period): *Curator civium Roman[orum] Mogontiaci*
Vesunna (Périgueux, France): 1.*CIL* XIII 950-951; *ILA*, Pétrucores, 19: *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum,* 2. *CIL* XIII 954; *ILA*, Pétrucores, 21: *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omano-rum,* 3. *CIL* XIII 965; *ILA*, Pétrucores, 49: *c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum*
Seysell: *CIL* XII 2564 (Imperial period): *cur/[a]tor civi[u]m Roman[---]*

Galliae and at several places of the plateau of the Helvetii, observes that local notables or freedmen, just as much as foreigners to the host-towns of *conventus*, could serve as *curatores*.[162] Therefore, according to Van Andringa, a *curator* was not necessarily a member of the *conventus* – in fact in no case can he confirm that a *curator* belongs to the *conventus* –, but someone who could defend their interests in front of local authorities.

Hence, it seems that both in the East and in the West, *curatores* were not members of the foreign communities, but locals originating from the host-towns or from the wider region. It was perhaps important for the Roman residents that prominent individuals from the elites of the host-cities defended their interests and represented them in front of the authorities, given the fact that in some cases local populations were especially hostile against them.[163] The curator's role was on the one hand to represent the foreigners in their transactions and dealings with local authorities, and on the other to supervise foreign communities, being basically the local authorities' eyes and ears. That foreigners had the right to defend their economic interests, even if they did not have the *domicilium*, is shown by certain articles of the Justinianic Digest.[164] It is probable that they could defend their interests through the *curatores* and this seems to be a pattern that fits both in the East and the West.

In some cases, a *summus curator*, in charge of whole provinces, is attested: a *summus curat(or) c(ivium) R(omanorum) provinc(iae) Aqui(taniae)*,[165] a *summus curator* of the province Gallia Lugdunensis,[166] a *summus*

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162   Van Andringa 1998: 167-75.

163   Bourigault 2012: 22-23 for some examples.

164   Van Andringa 1998: 171-72. Cf. for example *Dig.* V 1.19.1 (Ulpian): *Si quis tutelam vel curant vel negotia vel argentariam vel quid aliud, unde obligatio moritur, certo loci administravit: etsi ibi domicilium non habuit, ibi se debebit defendere et, si non defendat neque ibi domicilium habeat, bona possideri patietur.*

165   Lugdunum (Lyon): *CIL* XIII 1900; *AE* 1974, 422; cf. Wierschowski 2001, 315-16; Burnand *2005, II, 492-494;* Lamoine 2009, no. 79: *PATRONO / OMNIVM CORPOR summo / curat(ori) c(ivium) R(omanorum) provinc(iae) Aquit(aniae)* (imperial period).

166   Lugdunum (Lyon): *CIL* XIII 1921; *ILS* 7024; cf. Koortbojian 1993: 54; Herz 2003: 134 n. 6; Walser 1993: 114, no. 45: *summus curator c(ivium) R(omanorum) provinc(iae) Lug(dunensis)* (imperial period).

c[urat(or) c(ivium) R(omanorum) prov(inciae) Dalm(atiae)][167] from the colony of Aequum (modern Sinj in Croatia). In an inscription from Lugdunum, where *[c]ives Romani in tri[b]us provinci(i)s Galli(i)s [c]onsistentes* honour the Emperor Elagabalus, the three *summi curatores*, one for each province, are mentioned.[168] Lothar Wierschowski[169] regards the office of *summus curator* as an honourary one and thus not to be taken literally as the supervisor of all Roman settlers of a province. However, since it has been observed[170] that *summi curatores* of the Gallic provinces are obviously prominent individuals engaged in commerce, their role was perhaps to represent Roman settlers in front of the governor, thus not in front of local authorities, but at a higher level. All these inscriptions which refer to *summi curatores civium Romanorum* demonstrate that Roman settlers could be united in wider collectivities comprising whole provinces. From Asia Minor there are some inscriptions from the capital of the province Ephesos,[171] Smyrna,[172] Laodicea,[173] and Rhodes,[174] which refer to Roman residents of the whole province Asia. An even higher level of a union of Roman settlers is apparently revealed by the inscription from Lugdunum mentioned above, where *cives Romani* settled in all three Gallic provinces are attested as *[c]ives Romani in tri[b]us provinci(i)s Galli(i)s [c]onsistentes* (*ILTG* 221; AD 220-221).

In rare cases there is also a reference to a *quaestor*. It is, however, unknown whether it was a function of the community of the Roman settlers, as it is not always clear what *cives Romani* without the participle

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167   *CIL* III 2733; cf. Galsterer 1971a: 79-89 (*AE* 1977, 613); Galsterer 1971b: 736; Schäfer 1989: 410 no. C95.

168   *ILTG* 221 (AD 220-221): ... *[c]ives Romani in tri|[b]us provinci(i)s Galli(i)s | [c]onsistentes ... sum|[m]is curatoribus Iulio |[S]aturnino prov(inciae) Lugud(unensis), | [-]ilio Sabino provinc(iae) {Belgic}ae, Auentinio Veris|[simo pr]ovinc(iae) Aquitanic(ae).*
See also Van Andringa 1998.

169   Wierschowski 2001: 316.

170   Van Andringa 1998: 175.

171   *conventus c(ivium) R(omanorum) qui in Asia negotiantur* (*IEph* 3019), *[cives Romani] qui in Asia habitant* (*IEph* 697 A). Cf. Also restorations in *IEph* 409; 1517.

172   *Ismyrn* 642: [οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας?] πραγματ[ευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι] κ̣αὶ Ἕλληνε̣[ς].

173   *IGR* 4, 860: οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαοδικέων.

174   *CIL* III 12266) to *c(ives) Romani qui in Asia negotiantur*. On Romans on Rhodes see Bresson 2002 and on associations of foreigners –including Romans- on Rhodes see Maillot 2015: 138-39.

consistentes in such cases means, as e.g. the obscure mention of *q(uaestor) c(ivium) R(omanorum) c(ivitatis) N(erviorum)*.[175] In Germania Superior, in Mogontiacum (Mainz) the *q(uaestor) c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) m(anticulariorum) neg(otiatorum) Mog(ontiacensium)*, L. Senilius Decmanus, defines himself as *c(ivis) T(aunensis)*.[176] This text relates perhaps to a group which seems to be a professional association that formed part of the entirety of Roman settlers.[177]

So far we checked attestations of communities of Romans and Italians in the context of towns, provinces or groups of provinces. As we have seen, Roman communities are encountered also along the *limes*, in settlements next to legion camps, in *canabae* or *vici*. There, Roman civilians earned their living by conducting trade with the soldiers or with foreign populations of these remote lands under the protection of the Roman army and often lived along with soldiers and peregrines as well as with veterans who after their retirement frequently joined the nearby settlements.

The organization of the Roman communities in these regions depended on the form of the various settlements where they resided. There is no common pattern of the development of the civilian settlements near military quarters[178] and their organization's form depended on several factors, the number of the inhabitants being one of them.[179] Carnuntum for instance, the settlement of veterans and other Romans in the *canabae* of the Legio XIV Gemina, was a small settlement with an elementary organization, as Ioan Piso has shown based on evidence from the inscriptions of Pfaffenberg; in other cases, veterans and the *cives Romani* were organized as quasi Roman municipalities possessing *magistri, aediles, quinquennales, quaestores*, even an *ordo decurionum*, and in

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175   Bagacum, Gallia Belgica (Bavay, France): *CIL* III 3573; Lamoine 2009, 185, no. 83 (1st c. AD?). Barrande-Emam 2012: 59 classifies this office as a municipal one; cf. e.g. *d(ecurio) c(ivium) R(omanorum) Mog(ontiaci)* or *Mog(ontiacensium)* (*CIL* XIII 6733; *ILS* 7079), where a civic authority is to be understood, see n. 181 below.

176   *CIL* XIII 7222; Lamoine 2009: 188, no. 91.

177   Cf. Andreau 1987: 248: "Il est probable que ces manticularii negotiatores, dont le collège faisait partie du conventus de citoyens romains de Mogontiacum."

178   Mommsen 1910; Piso 1991.

179   Piso 1991: 162.

some further cases, the settlements next to the legions' quarters developed into *municipia* or *coloniae*.[180] So, Carnuntum was incorporated into the nearby Colonia Septimia Carnuntina and in the 3rd c. AD *cives Romani consistentes* have already disappeared from the epigraphic record, which is not surprising, as they were not *consistentes* anymore, but they had acquired ownership rights on the land where they lived. Ioan Piso offers the same explanation for the disappearance of *consistentes* in an inscription of AD 276 from Mogontiacum, where Marcellinus Placidinus is attested as *d(ecurio) c(ivium) R(omanorum) Mog(ontiaci)* or *Mog(ontiacensium)*.[181] This is also shown by the inscription recording the veteran T. Florius Saturninus, *allectus in ordi[n]em c(ivium) R(omanorum) ... Mog[ontiaci]*;[182] it is rather the *ordo* of the town meant here and Gabriele Wesch-Klein[183] regards this inscription as an indication that T. Florius Saturninus "took up political life in Mainz as a member of the city council after he finished his military service as a standard bearer."

A considerable number of settlements of *cives Romani consistentes* are attested in inscriptions of Scythia Minor.[184] Alexandru Avram discerned the following categories of *cives Romani consistentes* in this area:[185] 1. *cives Romani consistentes* in a peregrine town; 2. *cives Romani consistentes* near a camp, either the *canabae* of the legionary camps (to be identified with those later called *canabenses*) or a *vicus* of a station of the Danubian fleet (*cives Romani consistentes vico classicorum*); 3. *veterani et cives Romani consistentes* in rural communities defined in inscriptions as *vici*; 4. *cives Romani consistentes*, sometimes along with veterans, "en «double commu-

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180   Piso 1991: 138 with bibliography; 160 on the organization in Carnuntum.

181   *CIL* XIII 6733; *ILS* 7079. Rushforth (1930: 122) also stresses that most of the *canabae* were converted into *municipia* or *coloniae* before the 3rd c., the community at Mainz being singularly late at receiving municipal rights (not before Diocletian); Piso 1991: 161-62.

182   *CIL* XIII 6769 = *ILS* 7078: *T. Florius Saturninus vet(eranus) ex sig(nifero) leg(ionis) XXII pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) Alexandrianae, m(issus) h(onesta) m(issione), allectus in ordi[n]em c(ivium) R(omanorum)..Mog[ontiaci].* Cf. the remark of the n. 51 above on *decuriones civium Romanorum*.

183   Wesch-Klein 2007: 448.

184   Bounegru 1986; 2006: 73-80; Avram 2007.

185   Avram 2007.

nauté» avec des peuples thraces colonisés, *Bessi* et *Lai*". Avram attempted to trace the differentiations in administration of the settlements of various status. *Canabae* and *vici* in Scythia Minor were also administered by *magistri*, whilst *quaestores*[186] are attested in some *vici*. It is not clear, whether *magistri* were members of the local population or of the Romans. Avram believes that in double communities, one of them was elected from the group of Romans and the other from the colonized Thracians. Further, he stresses the fact that a *quinquennalis* is at the head of *canabae* at Troesmis[187], where also *decuriones* are to be found, while the senate of the *civitas Troesmensium* is called *ordo* and that of *canabae* is called *curia.* He argues that it is to discern between *consistentes ad canabas* and Roman citizens *consistentes* in the *civitas Troesmensium*; "Pour ce qui est de ces derniers, on les verrait volontiers comme des *cives Romani consistentes qui negotiantur* (comme ceux de Callatis)."[188] It is further unclear what the phrase "*circa* + Accusative of a proper name" in an inscription from Callatis (*IScM* III 83) means: *civibus R(omanis) consistentibus Cal/latis* (sic) *circa C(aium) Iulium / Procuclum quinquennal(em) perpetuom.* Although this formulation seems to be an equivalent of Greek expressions using περί+accusative of a proper name, it remains unclear what exactly this *"circa"* in connection with the *cives Romani consistentes* means. It is in any case important that all these offices belonged to the administration of the various settlements where Romans lived along with other populations and not alone to the communities of Roman traders who followed the army in search for profit.

Several questions arise in regard to the relationship between *cives Romani consistentes* and the other groups, especially veterans. Do the inscriptions recording veterans and *cives Romani consistentes* imply that two different groups united into a single entity, or is it an indication that the two groups joined each other just for the erection of some monuments? Mommsen perceived this as a union of the veterans and the other Roman citizens, since the capacity of a veteran is closely related

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186   See e.g. Avram 2007: no. 16. On the administration of *vici* in Moesia Inferior, see
       Aparaschivei 2015.
187   Avram 2007: no. 6.
188   Avram 2007: 98.

to the acquisition of Roman citizenship.[189] Matthieu Bourigault regards the *veterani* as a separate group recognised by the emperor and rewarded with concrete privileges.[190] In any case, they collaborated with civilian Romans as well as with locals for the erection of honorific monuments or for building activities under the supervision of officeholders, either of the Roman imperial administration or of the local administration of the settlements where they lived, as a rule of two *magistri*, but also of *quaestores.*

It is important for our examination that in all these cases of the region of the *limes* and in the various categories of settlements of Scythia Minor, it is not the groups of private Roman settlers that were organized in a way resembling Roman municipal administration, but rather the common settlements of Roman veterans and civilians –both Roman and indigenous civilians–, which gradually developed in some cases into *municipia* or *coloniae civium Romanorum.* The administration staff of these mixed settlements, either Romans or members of local populations, is thus not to be considered as an indication of internal organization and hierarchization of the groups of private Romans residents and is certainly not a comparable phenomenon with the situation in the nuclei of private Roman settlers at more urbanized places. Despite indications that some officials mentioned in inscriptions, e.g. from *vici* or *canabae* of Scythia Minor, were members of the groups of Romans, their offices are part of the administration of the settlements where they lived along with other groups (veterans, soldiers, indigenous inhabitants), and not exclusively of the immigrant Roman communities. So, in these cases Roman communities were not organized as private associations. Although *magistri, curatores, quinquennales* and *quaestores*, are functionaries also to be found in the context of private associations[191] – as it is known that

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189   Mommsen 1910: 192: "Selbstverständlich ist die Bezeichnung *veterani et cives Romani* nicht gegensätzlich zu nehmen, sondern in dem Sinn, ‚die Veteranen und die übrigen römischen Bürger'; schon deshalb, weil wenigstens faktisch mit der Veteranenqualität der Besitz des römischen Bürgerrechts verbunden war. Darum nennt auch die Mehrzahl der Inschriften die Canabenses einfach *cives Romani*."

190   Bourigault 2007: 84.

191   This is shown, for example, in the *Lex eborariorum et citriariorum*, the statute of the association of dealers of ivory and citrus wood (AD 117-138, found in Trastevere),

private clubs were often structured on the model of the civic administration both in East and West[192]–, it is clear that all these offices attested in inscriptions of *canabae, vici* and *civitates* in the region of the frontier did not concern the group of Roman residents.

In municipalities developed at places near the northern frontier, it is remarkable that in many cases Roman settlers continue to appear as a separate group until late in the 3rd c. AD. The term *consistentes* continues to occur, although it does not reflect anymore the fact that all Roman inhabitants are temporary residents, since in some cases *consistentes* are attested for generations.[193] It is further remarkable that *cives Romani consistentes* in Scythia Minor co-operated with local populations, such as Lai or Bessi, but they continue to appear separately from them even after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, when Roman citizenship was granted to all free inhabitants of the Empire. Perhaps by maintaining their title, they continued to stress their different origin,[194] to declare their attachment to Rome, to advertise their old Roman citizenship as opposed to the newly acquired Roman citizenship of the majority of the local population.[195]

From the analysis attempted above it is clear that groups of Romans have to be examined separately in each region. The groups of Romans abroad display a primary stage of organization, as they appear as collectivities with some common identity, being repeatedly active, as a rule along with other collective bodies and local institutions in order to erect

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CIL VI 33885; cf. Bäumler 2014 with bibliography. See also Verboven 2009 on magistrates of collegia, esp. 160-62 on *magistri.*

192   Especially on the situation in the West see Edmondson 2006: 274.

193   Reid 1913: 199.

194   Cf. *ILTG* 221 from Lyon (dated to AD 220/221) analysed by Van Andringa 1998; cf. also Van Andringa 2003: 51.

195   Bourigault 2007: 80 suggests "Ainsi, même si les *Lai* devinrent, dès 212, citoyens romains, ils restaient attachés à leur cité d'origine (où *origo* et *domicilium* pouvaient se confondre) et en étaient membres à part entière à la différence des *ciues Romani consistentes* qui n'étaient que présents sur le territoire de la cité mais qui restaient attachés à Rome. ..... Il nous semble donc que les *Lai* et les *ciues Romani consistentes* avaient la même existence civique, le même statut et seule l'*origo* permettait de les différencier."

honorific monuments or to make dedications to divinities. For such actions it would be expected that a collective decision had to be taken. It is further expected that there was a common treasury or at least that some of the members were charged to collect ad hoc monetary contributions. In an inscription from Africa Proconsularis[196] *cives Romani qui Suo morantur* erected a monument in honour of Germanicus, but it is mentioned that it was financed by the individual who took care for its erection. In a further inscription from Mactar, it is declared that a monument was erected by the *cives Romani et civitas p(ecunia) s(ua)*,[197] while in Avula Roman residents financed building works *s(ua) p(ecunia)*.[198] In these cases it is not clear, whether they had a constantly fed common treasury or they raised money for this purpose. Mentions of a *quaestor* –which could perhaps indicate to the existence of a treasury– are, as we have already seen, extremely rare and problematic, as to whether they are to be associated with groups of Romans abroad or with the political administration of the host communities. As the groups of Romans are attested in numerous inscriptions recording dedications to deities or the erection of monuments in honour of various benefactors and other sumptuous actions, it seems evident, that there would be at least ad hoc fund-raising in these groups, since a treasury is not attested.[199]

No property of Romans as collectivities is recorded in the sources. Neither a special sanctuary nor a burial-plot nor a clubhouse of Romans and Italians abroad have been recognized so far. The suggestion to recognize the so-called "Agora of the Italians" on Delos as the headquarters of the Italians on the island has been strongly doubted. The title "Agora of the Italians" is in any case epigraphically not attested.[200] This is a

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196 *ILTun* 682: *Germanico / cives Romani / qui Suo morantur / C(aius) Aufidius Macer / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

197 Picard 1966; *AE* 1966, 514; Saastamoinen 2010: 85: *[- - -] Caes(ari) Aug(usto) [3] / [3 ci]ves Rom(ani) et civit(as) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(aciundum) c(uraverunt)*.

198 Saastamoinen 2010: 210: *... cives Romani Al/menses aedem et porticus s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt) / L(ucio) Volussenio Pastore et C(aio) Iulio Rogato / curatoribus*

199 On funding various monuments as well as on assemblies of these groups, see Müller 2017 for the case of Delos.

200 In the fragmentary inscription *ID* 2612 the text of l. 2 has been restored as [τῆς Ἰτ]αλικῆς π[αστάδος], which is in any case not certain. Rauh 1992: 300 does not exclude the restoration of the word π[αλαίστρας] and interprets this architectural

large architerctural complex that has been regarded as a slave-market, a *schola,* a meeting place of the Italians and Romans. More recent research seems to recognize in it a multifunctional building ensemble which might have also been used as an unofficial meeting place, however not exclusively of the Italians, but of greater parts of the multi-ethnic Delian society, as it is shown by the Greek or bilingual inscriptions found there, by the type of its decoration and the various origins of the contributors for its construction or repair (*ID* 2612).

As for laws in possession of the groups of Roman settlers – an element that could point to an advanced degree of internal organization – , no evidence is available. There is no document recording regulations of various aspects of groups' life and activity. Given the considerable number of related inscriptions from various places, the absence of this kind of documents would be somehow suprising, if we take for granted that these groups were private associations.

The officeholders mentioned in inscriptions related to the groups in question can hardly be identified as prominent members of the groups, but they are rather officers of the host communities, charged with the supervision or representation of the Roman settlers, as deduced from the preceding analysis. Furthermore, as an important element of the "associative order," as Koen Verboven calls it,[201] is what he aptly analysed as a framework offering a possibility for internal distinction within the associations to individuals of humble origin who would hardly have an opportunity for social mobility in the wider context of the public life of a town. Although social mobility of individual Roman

complex as a multifunctional recreational facility with bath, gladiatorial arena and a *palaestra* which perhaps also functioned as a banquet hall; its function as a slave-market cannot be excluded, but it does not seem to have been the aim of the primary design. Trümper 2008: 361-64 suggests that the Latin version of the name of this architectural complex could be *porticus Italica* or *porticus Italicorum* and interprets its initial function as a garden surrounded by colonnades (pp. 61-104), with later additions of facilities such as baths, which could also be used not only for leisure and walking, but also as an unofficial meeting place, not exclusively of the Italians, but of other parts of the multi-ethnic Delian society as well, as the Greek or bilingual inscriptions found there and its sculptural decoration imply.

201   Verboven 2007a.

settlers has been verified by prosopographic studies,[202] it is remarkable that in the numerous honorific inscriptions where Romans appear as instigators of the honour, the honourees are hardly to be recognized as members of their group.[203] Even in cases of certain honourees who are likely to originate from the milieu of the *negotiatores*, they are fully integrated in the host society and they appear as outstanding citizens of the town and not as members of the community of Romans. Verboven's examples are taken from professional or religious *collegia* whose members were Roman businessmen, but the apparent hierarchization or distinction or upward mobility is to be observed in the context of the *collegia* and not in the communities of Romans or Italians. There is thus no hint of an internal distinction or hierarchization, as it is detectable in private associations.

Beyond the elementary stage of collective actions, no further concrete organization is to be observed and no internal hierarchization is traceable within the groups of Romans and Italians abroad. The diversity of the political and social realities of the regions where Roman and Italian communities were settled, the variety of their (self-)definitions and the various ways of interaction with locals may point to different types or degrees of internal organization. Yet the evidence available does not allow us to observe a clear-cut internal structure. Moreover, there is no hint of introversion or inward-looking attitude, no trace of a close societal space of their own, as it is often observed in private associations.

Durability: The recurrent attestations of groups of Romans in one region show the durability of their unions, yet their first appearance and duration vary from place to place. On the Greek mainland, in the 2nd c. AD, no Roman community seems to be attested anymore. In the majority of the regions of Asia Minor groups of Romans are still attested in the 2nd c. AD, but not long afterwards. Remarkable from this point of view is an inscription from Konana mentioning Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐξ ἀρχαίου κατοικοῦντες, if it is correctly dated to the 3rd/4th c. AD (*SEG* 2, 744). How-

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202   E.g. Spawforth 2002.
203   Zoumbaki 2017.

ever, the lack of attestations does not necessarily mean that communities of Romans were dissolved and departed for other destinations. Perhaps the absence is instead to be interpreted as a matter of integration and acculturation into local societies, which were in their turn already "Romanized" to a large degree. By contrast, the attestations in Danubian provinces survive until late in the 3rd c. AD. There, Roman communities maintained and advertised persistently their identity and their special status in local life. In all cases where durable Roman communities existed, an evolutionary process is almost always evident: either they were absorbed into local societies and disappeared, as in several cases in the East, or they continued to be visible, yet as consistent part of settlements which developed over the course of time, as at the Danube frontier.

Closely connected with the durability of these groups is the question in regard to their foundation and dissolution. The process of foundation of these groups is completely unknown and there is no evidence for a process for a dissolution of them either. We do not know whether they were founded by one or more individuals acting in a private capacity or whether they were encouraged, promoted, and protected by the Roman state or by the host-state.

Host-states in the East from earlier on used to mention in their official documents foreign residents separately from the body of citizens. This does not presuppose any official foundation or organization of such groups.[204] A major problem remains the role of the Roman state behind

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204 An interesting inscription from Nysa shows how a *collegium* of Nysaeans was founded in Rome by a prominent citizen, T. Aelius Alcibiades: Clerc 1885 (*BE* 1924, 355; *SEG* 4.418; *BE* 1930, 209) (AD 138-161): (ll. 35-38) … τό τε κολλήγιον καλούμε|νον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολειτῶν ἐν τῇ | βασιλευούσῃ Ῥωμαίων πόλει συ|στησάμενος … In Rome and its harbours traders originating from the same town or province were united in *stationes* and played a vivid role in economic and social life. Another important inscription contains a letter of the members of the Tyrian *statio* in Puteoli to their hometown asking for aid in order to alleviate some economic problems (*IG* XIV 830; cf. Verboven 2011. From both documents, from Nysa and Puteoli, it is evident that the *collegia* had a close relation to their motherland. This relation is frequently stressed by the implantation of their own cults, of *patrioi theoi*, into the

the collectivities under examination. Rome was certainly interested in maintaining secure communication and trade routes,[205] as revealed by the Roman campaign in 228/7 BC, whose aim was to wipe out Illyrian pirates in the Adriatic Sea, who according to Polybius (2.8.1) robbed and killed Italian merchants sailing in the Mediterranean. It seems further that in some cases businessmen went hand in hand with army,[206] as was e.g. the case with traders who followed the legions in the Danubian provinces. However, it cannot be argued that the expansion of Roman traders abroad was centrally planned as part of a mercantilist policy or that their activities were canalized by Roman authorities. On the other hand, it would stretch reality to argue that Roman citizens were not fa-voured by Roman magistrates who administered the provinces where they sojourned or at least that they did not facilitate the handling of their affairs. Cicero who was *quaestor* in Sicily in 75 BC elucidates this sort of relationship very well.[207] J.-L. Ferrary[208] has argued that Romans were attracted mainly to towns where representatives of Roman rule were based, who could protect them in case of problems. It could be added that even civilian Romans at the remote frontiers of the empire, settled next to camps of the Roman army, certainly not only in order to trade with the soldiers, but also to secure their protection.

Before we proceed to the conclusions of this analysis, it is perhaps useful to refer to two points which were important factors of the life of Roman

foreign lands. Whether there was an analogous process for the foundation of orga-nized Roman communities abroad, is unclear. On the *stationes* see Moretti 1958, Noy 2000, Ricci 2005.

205   Shipley 2000: 371-72.

206   For example, traders accompanied Roman military units in Africa during the First Punic war, cf. Pol. 1.83.7ff.; Pol. 14.7.2ff; cf. Alföldy 2011: 55. See also Baldwin-Bowski 2001.

207   *On behalf of Plancius* 64: *negotiatoribus comis, mercatoribus iustus, mancipibus liberalis, sociis abstinens* ("I had been affable to the traders, just to the merchants, liberal to the citizens of the municipal towns, moderate as regards the allies"). Cf. also *Verr.* 2.2.6. Cf. Van Andringa 2003: 52 on requests of Romans from the central authority in Rome during the Republican period (evidence from Chios and Lesbos mainly on taxation) and in the Imperial period (mainly financial and commercial issues).

208   Ferrary 2001.

and Italian communities abroad, namely their professional occupations and their religious behavior, and examine whether these communities can be identified as professional or religious associations.

Communities of Romans and Italians abroad and their common features with professional associations

As the motives behind the movement of Romans and Italians outside the Italian peninsula were mainly economic, they were engaged in various professional activities. The occupations of these people ranged from trade, transportations, banking, shipping, tax-farming, in sum, they exploited various local resources and opportunities for profit that were available in each given place.[209] In a second phase, concomitant with their integration into the community, they also invested in land and engaged in agricultural activities.

Actually, the epigraphic documents related to collectivities of Romans abroad mention as a rule only rarely and in a general way their professional engagements. As already mentioned, the only definitions which describe in some concrete way their occupations are those showing their involvement in agriculture, ἐνγαιοῦντες and γεωργεῦντες, while the term ἐνκεκτημένοι shows their right to own land.[210] The most frequent definition of their activities is πραγματευόμενοι/*qui negotiantur*, while the restored word [πραγματευ]ταί in an inscription from Messene (Peloponnese) perhaps shows the engagement of the resident Romans in transport.[211]

In some cases, Romans who were active in various sectors of economy were organized as professional associations. Professional associations whose members seem to be exclusively Romans, as a rule include no ethnic identifier in their title. This pattern is exemplified for instance by the ἐλαιοπῶλαι/*olearii* of Delos. Their members, at least those

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209 On the engagements of Romans and their strategies and networks see Rice 2016.

210 On rural activities of Roman residents see Zoumbaki 2013; Eberle Pilar & Le Quéré 2017.

211 Themelis 2009: 76-78; 2013: 70-71.

charged with caretaking of the erection of a temple of Heracles, originated from Italy,[212] yet the association's name includes no ethnic identifier. In certain cases, the use of Latin overtly indicates that members of specific professional associations were predominantly or exclusively Roman, e.g. the *collegia saccariorum* in harbour towns of the Adriatic Sea[213] or the slave traders in Ephesos,[214] yet ethnic labels are absent from their titles. In further cases, it is obvious that only a part of the resident Romans was engaged in a particular profession; this arises from the partitive genitive Ῥωμαίων, which accompanies their occupations in Greek inscriptions (see table above) or from the composition of the text in Latin inscriptions, e.g. in the case of *c(ivium) R(omanorum) m(anticulariorum) neg(otiatorum) Mog(ontiacensium* in Mogontiacum (Mainz) in Germania Superior, whose association according to Andreau "faisait partie du conventus de citoyens romains de Mogontiacum."[215]

So, the use of the Latin language, Roman cults or other indirect indications point to the Italian origin of the members of some association. It is moreover clear that *collegia* including mainly Romans, played on the one hand an important role in the "Romanization" of the western provinces[216] and on the other hand, provided their members important advantages to tackle their business.[217] Such associations stress their common occupations which overshadow their common origin. Therefore, professional associations could form a specific part of the groups of Roman residents, but there is no indication that communities of Romans were in their entirety presented as associations.

212 *Olearii*: *ID* 1712. Ἐλαιοπῶλαι: 1. *ID* 1713. 2. Jouguet 1899: 74-77, no. 17; Hatzfeld & Roussel 1909: 492, n. 2. Cf. Zoumbaki 2021. Generally on *olearii* see also Panciera 1980.

213 Deniaux 2012.

214 *IEphesos* I, 3025: *[qui i]n statario ne[g]otiantur*; cf. Scherrer 2007: 65.

215 *CIL* XIII 7222; Lamoine 2009: 188, no. 91. Cf. Andreau 1987: 248.

216 Verboven 2009.

217 Broekaert 2011.

The religious profile of the groups of Romans and Italians abroad and their common features with cult associations

As we deduced, it appears that particular segments of communities comprising Roman and Italian residents, rather than the communities as a whole, established professional associations. These *collegia* did not define themselves as associations of Romans and Italians, but as professionals engaged in specific sectors of the economy. Let's now investigate whether the entire body of Roman/Italian residents in a given location could establish a religious association.

Thriving economic centres which attracted foreigners, such as Delos, Rhodes, Athens/Piraeus, are ideal fields in order to study how foreign communities were organized, what their features were, and how they interacted with their environment. Koen Verboven specifies the basic features of *collegia* of foreigners who resided especially at major centers of economic life: cult, commemoration and conviviality. Especially in regard to associations whose members were foreigners to a place, common worship has been considered as the most significant element that overshadows other copulative elements of these groups and creates networks of trust open even to "ethnic or professional outsiders."[218]

Businessmen' and traders' associations active on Delos and Rhodes were based on common cults as supreme bonds of trust, this being the most important condition in economic transactions.[219] Associations of this sort on Rhodes only rarely claimed an ethnic or cultural homogeneity, few had a common profession, but they had common cults –yet rarely of their *theoi patrioi*; indeed they accumulated several cults (including Rhodian) which were mentioned in their titles.[220] M.-F. Baslez investigated the organization of foreigners on Delos and stressed their common cults, mainly of their *theoi patrioi*, as a crucial element of their communal life.[221] Under the imposing label of religion, associations

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218   Quotation from Trümper 2006: 117; cf. also Baslez 1977; 2008: esp. 335-42.
219   Gabrielsen 2009: 188-89; see also Rauh 1993, Trümper 2006, Kay 2014.
220   Maillot 2015.
221   Baslez 1977: esp. 206-12; 2008: 338.

made up of foreigners were bound together, both on Rhodes and Delos.[222] It is remarkable that out of all common elements, their label stresses their common cult, only sometimes combined with their common geographical and ethnic origin as well as common profession. Claire Hasenohr[223] examined whether the deities worshipped by Romans and Italians on Delos were perceived as Greek or Roman. Her results lead to the conclusion that certain deities were perceived as Greek: Apollo is the ancient lord of Delos, the cult of Dea Roma was already founded by non-Romans and Poseidon worshiped by the *Poseidoniastai* is rather a Greek version, since he was not one of the most popular deities in Italy and his cult was served by the Italians in the old Delian sanctuary of the god; other deities are rather to be regarded as Roman: Hermes, as a rule associated with Maia, is the Roman interpretation of the god, namely Mercurius,[224] to whom Italians dedicated two small temples on Delos, while *Lares Compitales* certainly represent a totally Roman cult,[225] Hasehohr stresses that Italians on Delos used a "Greek" religious profile or a religious syncretism in order to integrate into numerous other levels of local life, while the identity used by them on an official level was not their ethnic identity, but the "superior identity" of their relationship with the power of Rome.[226]

Therefore, associations established by Roman members on the basis of some common cult, as the remarkable cases of the *Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, Poseidoniastai* and the *Competaliastai* of Delos[227] – in Latin called all *magistri* –, stress their common worship, but they never mention explicitly their common Italian origin. This taken into account, Jean Hatzfeld

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222   Cf. Maillot 2015: 138 on this analysis.
223   Hasenohr 2007a: 227-28.
224   Hasenohr 2008.
225   Hasenohr 2003 with earlier bibliography.
226   Hasenohr 2007a: 229-32.
227   On the organization of these collegia and the role of *magistri* see Boak 1916, Flambart 1982, Hasenohr 2002. Hasenohr suggests that Italians gathered periodically in order to vote for honours for benefactors and once a year they elected the new *collegia* of *magistri* (*Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, Poseidoniastai* and *Competaliastai*) whose competences were mainly related to cult, but perhaps also the coordination and representation of their compatriots (p. 76). She also stresses, however, the lack of a single text related to the administration of this big association.

observed that Romans and Italians on Delos were grouped in religious *collegia,* but excluded any organization of a common ethnic group of them[228] and rejected the existence of an association of "Romans" with a concrete activity, an autonomous organization, its own finances, with a president and representatives in front of local magistrates. Kornemann, on the contrary, accepted that *magistri* were the head of the major association of the *Italici*; Ferguson differentiated his view and stated that six *magistri*, the sacral officers of Hermes and Maia, the *Hermaistai*, stood at the head of the "loose group" of the *Italici* who were not a guild, given that membership to them did not depend on payment of a fee, but on Italian origin[229]. Claire Hasenohr[230] presented a thorough comparative analysis of the *Italici* with the Phoenician residents on Delos, the *Heracleistai* of Tyros and the *Poseidoniastai* of Berytus. She points to differences in respect to their features and internal organization, but she focuses on certain common elements and finally draws the conclusion, that *Italici* are to be recognized as an association, similar to those of the *Heracleistai* of Tyros and the *Poseidoniastai* of Berytus. Common elements stressed by Hasenohr pertain to cult activities of those groups, to the dedication of statues or altars to deities, to the organization of religious ceremonies, to the openness of these groups to external relationships and euergetism.

However, all these elements stressed by Hasenohr are in fact indisputably common between Phoenician associations on the one hand and the *Hermaistai, Poseidoniastai, Apolloniastai* and *Competaliastai* encountered on Delos on the other, not the *Italici* as a whole. On the contrary, the differences between the Phoenician cult associations and the *Italici* are striking: 1. The fact that the *Heracleistai* of Tyros are called *synodos* and the *Poseidoniastai* of Berytus are called *koinon*, whereas *Italici* never bear a title of this kind, is according to Hasenohr to be explained by the lack of systematic use of the term *collegium* in Italy. 2. The fact that there is no attestation of *Italici* organized around a specific cult is neglected, since the *collegia* of *Hermaistai, Poseidoniastai, Apolloniastai* and *Competaliastai* include exclusively Italians. 3. The heads of these *collegia* are the

228 Schulten 1892: 71-82; Kornemann 1892: 50-61; Hatzfeld 1912: 146-83, esp. 146-47.
229 Kornemann 1892: 59; Ferguson 1911: 355-56, 396-97 (quotation from p. 397).
230 Hasenohr 2007b.

magistri, but functions such as *archithiasites, grammateus*, treasurer, which are attested in the Phoenician associations, are absent in the Italian *collegia* and certainly in the group of the *Italici*. 4. The Poseidoniasts of Berytus owned a clubhouse in the quartier of Skardana, while the *Italici* were established at various places of the island ("Les Italiens, pour leur part, se sont établis en plusieurs endroits"), but Hasenohr accepts the identification of the so-called "Agora of the Italians" as their main headquarters, despite the fact that she admits that many features of this complex are not compatible with a clubhouse, the most important being the absence of a shrine (This seems incompatible with the fact that several times in Hasenohr's article cult is generally regarded as the chief element of an association). Recent research seems to recognize in the so-called "Agora of the Italians" a multifunctional architectural complex which might have also been used as an unofficial meeting place, however not exclusively of the Italians, but of greater parts of the multi-ethnic Delian society. 5. Two inscriptions recording donations (in one case a *laconicum*, namely the dry sweating room of Roman baths, in the other case it is not mentioned what was donated) of *magistri* to *Italiceis* cannot to be used as a proof that the *magistri* were officeholders of an association of *Italici*, since donations of certain individuals to Romans and Italians settled in a region were not uncommon.[231]

Taking all this into account, it seems irrelevant to define the *Italici* of Delos as an association similar to the Phoenician religious associations. Within the community of the Italians of Delos, religious *collegia*, such as *Hermaistai, Poseidoniastai*, etc. were active, but the Italian community as a whole displays no characteristics of a religious *collegium*. Whereas the worshipers of these associations were clearly of Roman and Italian origin, they did not mention their origin and are not to be identified with the whole western community of the island.

In the East, groups defined as *cives Romani*/Ῥωμαῖοι and *Italici*/Ἰταλικοί are often present at popular local festivals or dedicate monuments to divinities, including deified emperors and Dea Roma frequently in co-operation with authorities of the host towns or other foreigners or groups active in the towns. It is not the community of Romans and Italians who introduced the cults of the emperors and Roma, but the cults

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231   E.g. *ID* 1685 (a *porticus*); *IThesp* 373 (a gymnasion).

pre-existed.[232] Participation of Romans in local cults, such as Aphrodite Paphia in Cyprus or Apollo on Delos, and their dedications to local deities seem to be placed in the context of their strategy to integrate into local societies. In none of these cases did cults play a central role in the group's identity. This is the situation even with Roman cults which were introduced by Roman settlers into the western and northern provinces. Common Roman deities, such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Hercules Invictus, sometimes along with members of the imperial family, received dedications from the resident Romans along with veterans and local populations, but these cults do not seem to have been interwoven in the groups' identity.

To move further with Verboven's basic features of *collegia* of foreigners – cult, commemoration and conviviality –, there is no trace of commemoration and conviviality on the part of Roman and Italian communities abroad. Although there is evidence for common festivities organized by associations whose members were exclusively or mainly Romans and Italians (e.g. the Competialiasts on Delos), such events are not organized generally by *cives Romani* or *Italici*. There is not a single attestation of a deceased member of the community of the *cives Romani* or *Italici* receiving any post mortal care or honour, not a single attestation of a gathering of the communities devoted to commemoration or conviviality.

From the observations exposed above, it arises that parts of Roman collectivities abroad organized themselves in minor associations of a religious or a professional profile, which were active within the Roman or Italian communities settled at various places. However, groups that call themselves simply *cives Romani*/Ῥωμαῖοι or *Italici*/Ἰταλικοί, do not adopt a common cult and do not use it in their common definition. The impression is given that under the umbrella of the communities of Romans and Italians several associations developed, yet not a single one seems to have comprised the whole body of Roman or Italian settlers and to have labelled itself as such.

232 Scherrer 2007: 66-70 also argues for the fact that there was in Ephesos no special cult of *divus Iulius* for the *conventus civium Romanorum*. On imperial cult in Ephesos see Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: esp. 125-28 on the involvement of resident Romans.

Conclusions

Returning to our initial question, as to whether characteristics of private associations are to be recognized in groups of Romans and Italians abroad, we can reassess the results that arose from the analysis we attempted.

From the abundant epigraphic material related to the topic, it arises that Roman communities, as the other communities of foreigners, remained a clearly distinct group within the host societies. They were clearly recognizable bodies and their repeated occurrences show that they had a durable presence. Their visibility was not due to their exclusive membership of socially privileged individuals, since they included various status categories, but on their label "'Ρωμαῖοι." No further descriptive term is regularly used to define these collectivities; the term *conventus* which is to be found in some cases, is never used otherwise to define an association and seems to mean merely an assembly of Roman settlers.

It is both in the East and the West evident that Romans aimed at their consolidation in the host regions. In the East it is pursued through integration and acculturation, in the West through distinction and continuous advertisement of the superior Roman identity.

For their establishment in the foreign lands, they adopted various strategies, which perhaps points to a primary organization of their communities. The particular strategies adopted by them vary from place to place and from period to period. A common pattern of their collective strategies is the constant reminiscence of their presence in the public space through the erection of honorific monuments (for local benefactors, for Roman magistrates or for the imperial family), through their dedications –mainly along with other bodies– and their participation in local events, such as festivals, or in the gymnasion, even in the ephebic training in the East.

These strategies presuppose an elementary level of organization, the holding of a – loose at least – assembly[233] at which certain resolutions would have passed for vote. However, no resolution in the form of a decree has been preserved. We ignore whether they assembled at regular

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233   For reflections on such assemblies on Delos, see Müller 2017: 102-4.

intervals and what the schedule of such gatherings could contain. No regulation of their internal life, no clear-cut internal organization and no officeholders are attested. Where certain officeholders appear in connection to these groups, they were not members of the groups, but rather officeholders of the host communities charged with supervision or representation of Roman residents. Membership and regulations governing these groups are totally unknown. We completely ignore whether there were concrete rules for entrance and abandonment of the group, responsibilities of the members, such as prescribed monetary fees. The erection of monuments certainly presupposes expenditures. In the extremely rare cases of a reference to a *quaestor*, it remains unclear whether it was a function of the group of the Roman settlers or of the local community. Sometimes it is mentioned that certain individuals took over the costs of the erection of some monument. In the vast majority of attestations, there is no mention at all, which perhaps indicates that there were ad hoc collections of money, yet this remains a hypothesis, since there is no explicit or indirect reference to such actions.

All this points to an elementary level of organization. Could this be regarded as a sufficient condition to define these collectivities as voluntary associations? From the analysis attempted above, despite the diversity of the evidence from region to region and from period to period, we can generally observe that these collectivities lack significant characteristics of private associations. On the contrary, communities of Romans display in some cases characteristics which are not common in private associations. It is remarkable that they appear, especially in the East, as instigators of common actions with civic bodies and authorities, almost placing themselves on the same level. In the West they also place themselves on the same level with veterans and local populations. All this is unusual for private associations.

The role of religion is especially important for the classification of groups as private associations, since religion was a central element in all associations. In the East, no specific Roman cults were introduced by the groups of Romans and Italians; they were attached to local cults or to cults related with Rome, which however pre-existed. Where Roman cults were introduced, as on Delos, it was never the *Italici* or *cives Romani* as a

whole that were centred around them, but religious or professional *collegia* which were composed of members of Italian origin. However, the members of these *collegia* did not define themselves as associations of Romans and Italians, but as worshipers or professionals. In the West and on the northern frontier, Roman cults were implanted, but as a rule they were not served by private Roman residents alone, but also by veterans and by local populations. Although these cults could function as an advertisement of their Roman identity, they never appear in the label, in the name of the groups. It seems, that under a large umbrella of collectivities of Roman and Italian immigrants numerous minor groups with pure associational organization could develop, network, conduct business and establish themselves in local societies.[234]

Commemoration and conviviality which were central elements of private associations, do not appear in the context of the communities of Romans and Italians. Neither in the West nor in the East a clubhouse of Romans and Italians has been with certainty identified as such, neither in epigraphic record nor in archaeological remains. No hint of internal distinction within the groups of Roman residents is to be observed, no member of the community stands out or receives special honours.

Lack of evidence for all these issues does not necessarily rule out the possibility that all this existed. However, this lack of evidence does not allow us to fill the gaps of our knowledge with imagination or arbitrary statements. Thus, our source material does not preserve any clear indication of a common board of officials, of institutions, constitution, regulations, of the existence of headquarters of the groups of Romans and Italians abroad. All these basic features of private associations are absent. At any rate, they are recognizable collectivities displaying an elementary organization which in no case appears in such a clear-cut structure as in private associations.

Certainly, various questions remain open and many details concerning the very nature of these groups remain elusive. Historically assessed,

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234 Harland 2014: 80 suggests that multiple associations of Romans existed within the broad group of Italian and Roman settlers in a town "In larger centres, such as Ephesos in Ionia, there may have been more than one Italian association at a time"; these associations differentiated from the other associations of Romans according to their occupation.

the emergence and diffusion of Romans and Italians abroad took place during the Hellenistic and Roman period, namely a period of flourishing of the associational phenomenon, of an intense and vigorous presence of associations in every aspect of public life, which "enlarged tremendously the field within which people could act, connect, do business and communicate in a particular and considerably more effective way –that is, as members of one or more organizations" (Gabrielsen 2009: 180). It is possible that groups of Romans adopted various isolated features out of a wide range of mechanisms of the associational activity, which could be energized at will, where it was appropriate. Private associations perhaps affected, for example, the form of self-presentation and the rooting of groups of Romans in the host communities. However, collectivities of Romans and Italians tend to assimilate themselves rather to civic bodies than to *collegia*, as their verbose placement side by side with civic bodies shows. It is perhaps part of this verbose language that they in some cases call themselves *sympoliteuomenoi*, an allusion to their "political" place in the host towns. However, they are not civic bodies, not civic authorities, and on the basis of all previous remarks, they cannot be classified as private associations either, but they remain in a grey zone between private and public, between organized and loose entities.

What encourages and unites these people abroad is neither a common ethnic origin nor a common legal status nor a common cultural background nor a common religious faith, but only their relationship with Rome. This gives them a feeling of superiority and security or just allows them to advertise an identity of superiority in order to cover the uncertainty and anxiety about their establishment away from home. This identity of superiority is totally based on their relation to Rome, although their ethnic and social origins vary. As a rule they are of humble descent.[235] Their powerful lords, sometimes closely related to the ruling class in Rome, could function as a safety net and protective shield for the immigrants. Thus, they counted only on their relation to the

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235   Our sources reveal individuals of noble origin who were involved in business as well, but they as a rule preferred not to establish themselves in distant provinces and they sent out agents, often their slaves or freedmen. Equites involved in business: Nicolet 1966: 376-79; examples in Asia Minor Kirbihler 2007: 27 n. 56. On the social status of businessmen see Rice 2016: 108-10, on freedmen see Broekaert 2016.

power of Rome and this, regardless of cost and risk, drove them "to seas and lands they had never seen before", to use Cicero's comment:

> 'Poor men of humble birth sail across the seas to shores they have never seen before, where they find themselves among strangers, and cannot always have acquaintances to vouch for them. Yet such trust have they in the single fact of their citizenship that they count on being safe, not only where they find our magistrats, ... and not only among their own countrymen ...: no wherever they find themselves, they feel confident that this one fact will be their defence' (*Verr.* 5.167).

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THE SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION OF SPARTA, FROM THE BRONZE AGE TO THE ROMAN PERIOD

By Paul Christesen & Nathaniel W. Kramer

Introduction

The settlement organization of ancient Sparta has long remained something of an enigma.[1] For example, the *Companion to Ancient Sparta,* edited by Anton Powell and published in 2018, runs to 836 pages but has no chapter on Sparta as an urban center and does not include a single plan of the city. Compare that to the significantly shorter *Cambridge Companion to Ancient Athens*, edited by Jenifer Neils and Dylan Rogers and published in 2021, which includes eight chapters on the urban fabric of Athens and multiple plans of the city.

That discrepancy can be attributed to lacunae in both the literary and archaeological sources for the settlement organization of Sparta. The literary evidence bearing on the layout of Sparta is, given the city's importance, limited, and even the sources we do have are less informative than one might hope. The sole extant, detailed description of the city of Sparta – that provided by Pausanias[2] – has been an ongoing source of frustration for modern scholars. Pausanias' movements through the urban fabric are difficult to reconstruct, and, other than a handful of sites such as the sanctuaries of Athena Chalkioikos and Artemis Orthia, most of the architectural features he mentions cannot be connected to extant

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1   The term 'Sparta' is used here to refer to the urban center, located in the geographic region of Lakonia, that was the primary urban center of the *polis* of Lakedaimon. On the complicated terminology pertaining to Sparta and associated geographic and political entities, see Cartledge 2002: 4-5; Shipley 2004: 570-71.

2   Paus. 3.11-18.

remains.[3] Moreover, the relatively late date at which Pausanias visited Sparta means that we cannot blithely apply his description of Sparta to earlier periods.

The archaeological evidence is problematic because of the nature of the relevant excavations and how the results have been published. As will become apparent, there is a great deal of material evidence for the settlement organization of Sparta, but it has been uncovered and published in a piecemeal fashion over a long period of time and has, as a result, been underutilized.

This article presents the results of a research program intended to enhance our knowledge of the realities of the city of Sparta. We have built a spatially enabled database linked to Geographic Information System (GIS) software to compile, analyze, and visualize all the finds from excavations in Sparta that have been treated in excavation reports and other scholarly publications. We are, as a result, in a position to offer a more detailed diachronic history of the settlement organization of Sparta than has heretofore been possible.[4]

The text that follows is divided into ten parts. We begin with the topography of, and major landmarks in, Sparta and then turn to the history of excavations in Sparta and research on its topography. Next, we discuss the data used in our study and the format of the GIS database that we constructed before presenting a description of the settlement organization of Sparta during six different chronological phases: the Bronze Age and Submycenaean period, the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, the Archaic period, the Classical period, the Hellenistic period, and the Roman period.

The scholarly consensus on dates for those periods within the bounds of Lakonia is shown in Table 1.[5]

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3   See, for example, Gengler 2008; Sanders 2009; Tosti 2017.

4   We discuss the results of this program of research in another article – Christesen and Kramer Forthcoming – that focuses on the process of constructing the GIS database and methodologies for leveraging its capacities. There is a certain degree of overlap between the introductory sections of the two articles, but the focus here is on what the database can tell us about the settlement organization of Sparta rather than the database itself.

5   All dates in the table and in the text as a whole are BCE unless otherwise specified. We have, in the interests of brevity, not specified CE for obviously modern dates such

Table 1: Periods and Chronology in Lakonia

period	dates
Early Helladic	c. 3100-c. 2000
Middle Helladic	c. 2000-c.1600
Late Helladic	c. 1600-c. 1100
Protogeometric	c. 950-c. 775
Geometric	c. 775-c. 650[6]
Archaic	c. 650-480
Classical	480-323
Hellenistic	323-31
Roman	31 BCE-c. 600 CE

The gap in the middle of the table responds to ongoing difficulties in establishing a ceramic chronology in Lakonia for the period between approximately 1100 and 950. There was a local Submycenaean style, but, due to a paucity of stratified deposits, it is not clear when it came into and went out of production. In addition, it is possible that the earliest Lakonian Protogeometric ceramics should be dated to the late 11th or early tenth century.[7] Those issues are well beyond the scope of this article, not least because there is very little Submycenaean material from Sparta.

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as 1805. Greek words and names have here been transliterated in such a way as to be as faithful as possible to original spellings while taking into account established usages for well-known individuals and places.

6   The suggested dates for the beginning and end of the Lakonian Geometric pottery sequence vary somewhat, and there is some discussion as to whether the final phase (690-650) should be classified as sub-Geometric rather than Geometric (Boardman 1963; Coulson 1985; Pipili 2018). The date for the start of the Archaic period given here is linked to the end of the Geometric pottery sequence and the beginning of the orientalizing pottery style known as Lakonian 1. This chronology, which diverges from the starting date of c. 750 or c. 700 typically assigned to the Archaic period, reflects the fact that the discussion here relies on evidence from archaeological excavations in Sparta that in turn rely heavily on pottery sequences for dating purposes.

7   Demakopoulou 2009; Vlachou 2015: 114 and *passim*.

The chronological end point of our analysis is not precise because of the blurred boundaries between 'Late Roman' and 'Early Byzantine' material and because there is no firm scholarly consensus on the dates that should be assigned to either of those periods.[8] We follow the Lakonia Survey in setting the end date for the Late Roman period at c. 600 CE.[9]

Two notes on the parameters of our analysis are in order. First, our description of the settlement organization of Sparta relies heavily on archaeological data. We bring in epigraphic and literary texts at some points, but we make no attempt to reconcile Pausanias' description of Sparta with the archaeological evidence.[10] Second, we limit our observations to the settlement organization of Sparta, the topic that our research program most directly illuminates. The settlement organization of Sparta should be placed in the larger context of the history of the region of Lakonia and of the *polis* of Lakedaimon. That would, however, require addressing a series of complicated questions pertaining to the origins and expansion of Lakedaimon, something that we expect to undertake in future publications.

Topography and Major Landmarks

Sparta lies on the west bank of the Eurotas River, which flows through a valley defined by the Taygetos mountains to the west and the Parnon mountains to the east (see Figure 1). Three rivers create natural boundaries for the city: the Mousga to the north, the Magoulitsa to the south and southwest, and the Eurotas to the east (see Figure 2). The ancient city center lay on the Palaiokastro plateau. The space within the city was broken up by hills that were neither high nor large but which, because of their steep sides, influenced movement patterns and road networks. The most important of those hills for present purposes are Gerokomeiou and

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8   See, for example, Stewart 2013: 36 with Table 3.
9   Cavanagh 1996-2002.
10 There have been many such attempts (see the sources cited in n. 3), with significant but limited results. We do not believe that the newly available archaeological evidence, on which this article is based, makes possible substantial improvements in reading Pausanias against the archaeological evidence.

Xenia, to the south of the Palaiokastro plateau, and Evangelistria, alongside the Magoulitsa. Other than the Eurotas, the ancient names for the various features topographical features of Sparta are unknown, and all the standard nomenclature is modern.

The city was protected by two fortification walls, one constructed in the Hellenistic period (#1 in Figure 3) and another, smaller circuit (typically called the Late Roman fortification wall; #2 in Figure 3) that was built around the Palaiokastro plateau sometime in the fifth century CE. We know from Pausanias that the primary feature of the acropolis was the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the location of which has, on the basis of epigraphic evidence, been securely established on a low hill (236 masl) at the western edge of the Palaiokastro plateau (#3).[11] A massive theater, built in the Augustan period and typically called the Roman Theater (#4), was positioned on the slopes below the acropolis. The known structures on the Palaiokastro plateau include an Archaic stoa (sometimes called Christou's Stoa after the excavator; #5), a stoa built in the second century CE (typically referred to as the Roman Stoa, #6), and a semi-circular terrace wall that was built in the Archaic period and maintained for centuries thereafter (typically called the Round Building, #7).

The west bank of the Eurotas was the site of several cult places: the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (#8), a heroon (typically referred to as the Heroon of Astrabakos or the Astrabakos monument, #9), a stone platform (typically referred to as the Eurotas, Lycurgus, or Great Altar, #10), and the Stavropoulos sanctuary (named after the former owner of the plot in which it is located, #11). Another sanctuary (typically referred to as the Achilleion, #12) was located just to the north of the city.[12] Within the city itself, a small, rectangular structure (#13) was probably a cult building,

11 Paus. 3.17.1-4.
12 The terminology for the Astrabakos monument, the Eurotas/Lycurgus/Great Altar, and the Achilleion are all based on associations made between physical remains and cult sites mentioned by Pausanias. That terminology is retained here in the interest of simplicity, with the caveat that those associations are speculative and cannot be confirmed from epigraphic or other finds.

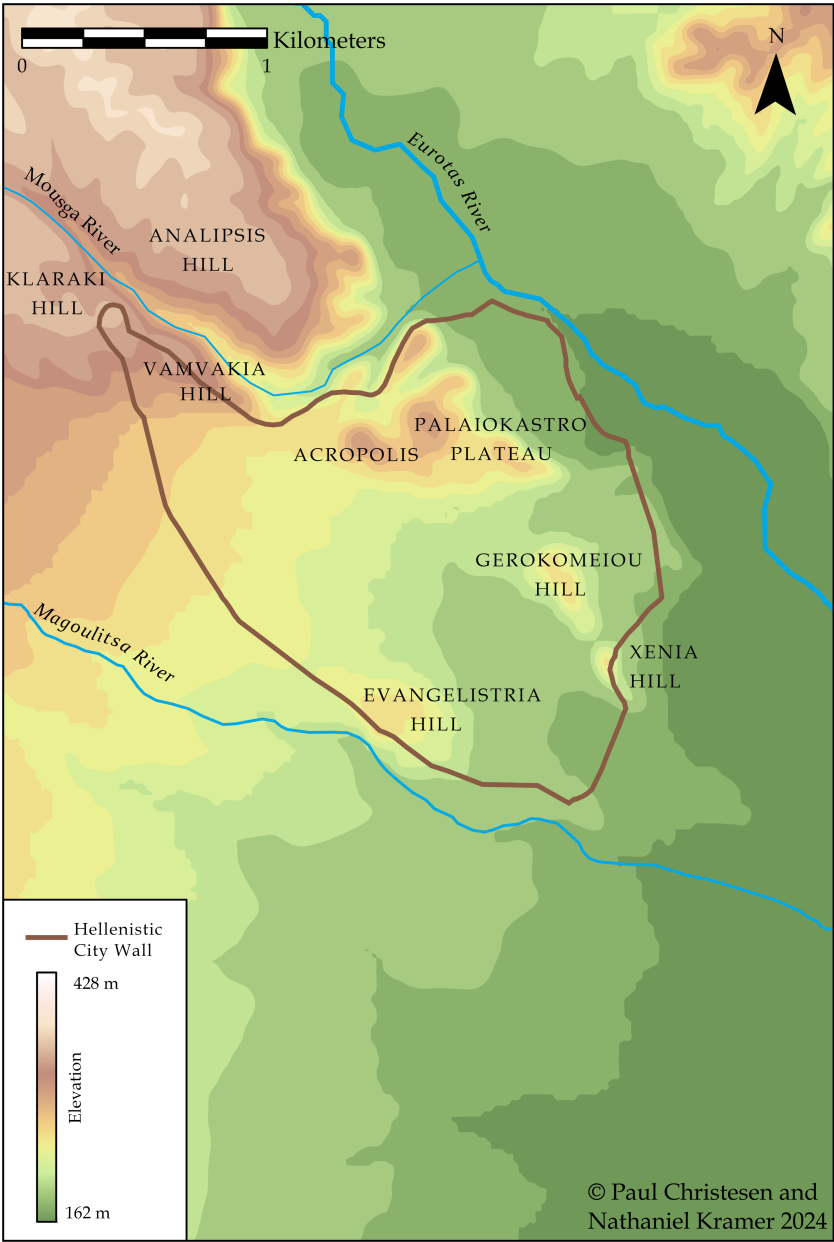Figure 1: Sparta and its environs.
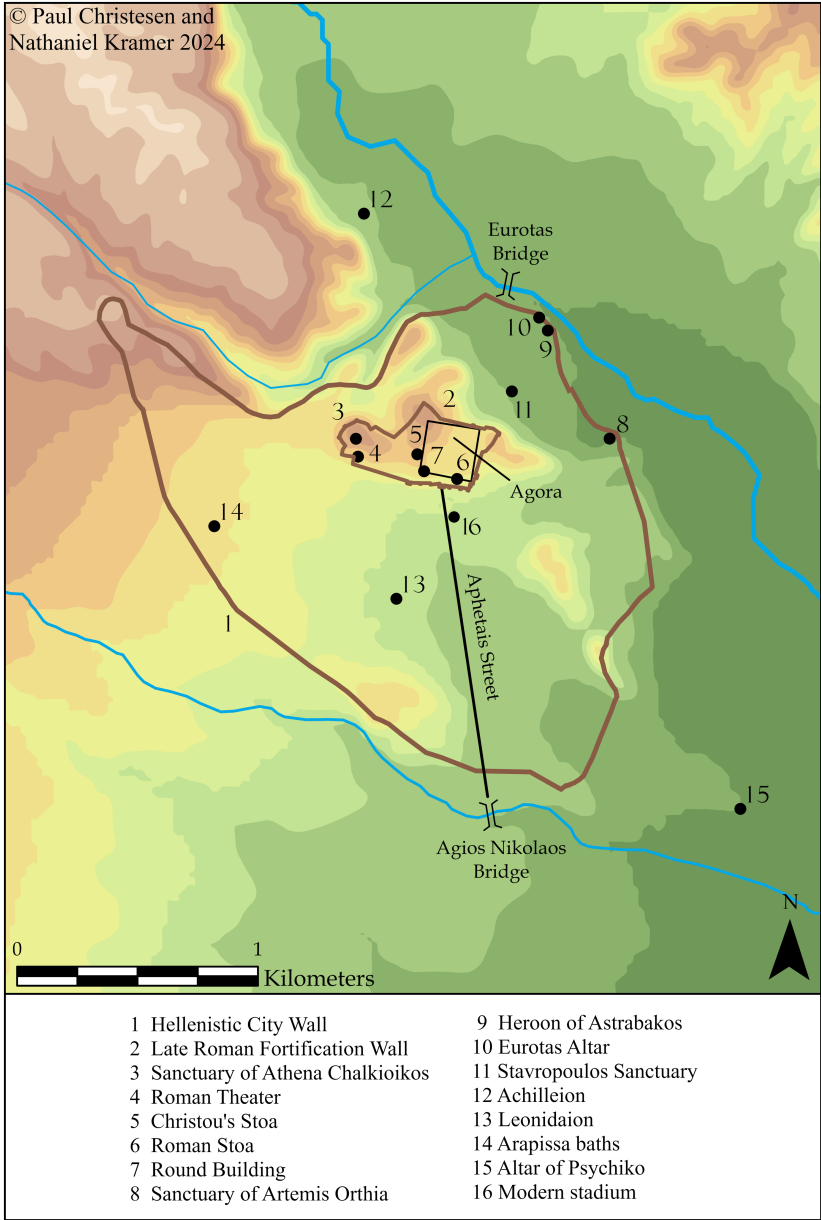
Figure 2: Topography of Sparta.

Figure 3: Landmarks in Sparta.

but is typically referred to as the Leonidaion based on the almost certainly erroneous belief that it is the tomb of King Leonidas. A Roman bathing complex (#14, typically called the Arapissa baths, because they were associated with a so-named figure in local legend) was located on the west side of the ancient city. The remains of a Roman burial monument (typically called the Altar of Psychiko, #15) are located in the southeastern corner of the city.

The current scholarly consensus is that the city of Sparta was divided into four ōbai (villages or urban wards) – Kynosoura, Limnai, Mesoa, Pitana – that were disposed around the west, south, and east sides of the Palaiokastro plateau.[13] The evidentiary basis for that consensus is less firm than it might appear, and, as we will see, the available archaeological evidence does nothing to support it.

The location of the agora in Sparta has been the subject of much discussion. The literary sources suggest that the agora of Sparta was already by the Classical period an extensive space. Xenophon claims that more than 4,000 people could fit inside the agora, and Pausanias describes nearly 20 structures in it.[14] However, the literary sources do not provide any certain indications about the precise location of the agora, and not one of the sites in the agora mentioned by Pausanias can be definitively connected with extant physical remains.

Pausanias begins his description of Sparta with the agora, after having entered the city from the north. Though Pausanias does not explicitly describe his path into the city, it seems probable that the agora was at the northern edge of the city. Later, he mentions going west from the agora and passing only one significant monument (the tomb of Brasidas) before reaching the theater.[15] Two probable locations for the agora have been proposed from this information: (1) the area to the southeast of the Roman Theater, roughly around or in the modern stadium (#16 in Figure 3), and (2) the area to the east of the Roman Theater, on the Palaiokastro plateau. The evidence for the latter location is much more compelling,

13 See below, in the section on Sparta in the Classical period, for more on the ōbai in Sparta.
14 Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.5; Paus. 3.11.2-18.5.
15 Paus. 3.14.1.

not least because multiple excavations have been conducted in and around the stadium, and nothing indicating a commercial or public use of that area has been discovered.[16]

On the other hand, there are two stoas on the Palaiokastro plateau, precisely the structures one would expect to find in an agora. The Roman Stoa runs E-W along the southern edge of the plateau, while Christou's Stoa is oriented N-S and is situated where the Palaiokastro plateau transitions from a gentle slope to being nearly level (see Figure 16b).[17] The space between the two stoas is occupied by the Round Building,[18] and the two stoas are set at near-perfect right angles to each other. The two stoas, in conjunction with the Round Building, probably defined the southwestern corner of the agora. Andrea Baudini made the plausible argument that the agora extended to the northern and eastern edges of the Palaiokastro plateau and that the Late Roman fortification wall was built at the edge of the agora.[19] If Baudini is correct, the agora in the Roman period occupied a square space measuring c. 200 m on a side. If there was an earlier agora located elsewhere in the city, little or no trace of it has survived.

The extant evidence indicates that the main bridge over the Eurotas in Sparta was located close to the modern bridge in the northeastern part of the city.[20] No remains of an ancient bridge have been found, but there do exist two piers from a Medieval bridge, situated just north of the modern bridge, that was constructed in the 11th century CE. Excavations carried out just to the southwest of the modern bridge uncovered a nearly 70 m long stretch of a major road from the Hellenistic and Roman periods; extrapolating the line of that road brings one almost precisely to the site of the Medieval bridge, suggesting that it had an ancient predecessor.[21]

16　Kourinou 2000: 104-8 n. 322; Baudini 2006: 22-23.
17　Paus. 3.11.1-2, 3.14.1; Waywell, Wilkes, Bailey et al. 1993; Waywell & Wilkes 1994; Waywell, Wilkes, Bland et al. 1997; Del Basso 2022.
18　Crosby 1893; Greco, Vasilogambrou & Voza 2009; Voza & Greco 2016.
19　Baudini 2006.
20　Xen. *Hell.* 5.27; Kourinou 2000: 78-84.
21　Maltezou 2011; Tsouli 2014. Wace, followed by Bölte and Armstrong, argued that the main bridge over the Eurotas was further to the south in antiquity (Wace 1907a: 9; Bölte 1929: 1370-71; Armstrong, Cavanagh & Shipley 1992: 306). The discovery of the

Pausanias makes it clear that the main road in Sparta was called Aphetais Street and that it ran south from the agora to the fortification wall at the southern edge of the city.[22] Eleni Kourinou has made a strong case that, when the Late Roman fortification wall was constructed, it preserved the pre-existing lines of communication and that Aphetais Street began roughly where the main gate in the southern part of the Late Roman fortification wall was built. She traces the route of Aphetais Street southward based on the location of the remains of a pre-modern bridge over the Magoulitsa near the Church of Agios Nikolaos and the discovery of inscriptions relating to the cult of Apollo Taenarios, which Pausanias places alongside Aphetais Street.[23]

History of Excavations in and Topographical Research on Sparta

A major break in the occupational history of Sparta came in the mid-13th century CE, when the city was abandoned because its inhabitants found it expedient, for reasons of security, to settle near the fortress of Mystras, c. 5 km to the west. A second pivotal moment came in the mid-1830s, when King Otto authorized the creation of a new city on top of the ancient city. The gradual erection of modern structures across much of the area covered by the ancient city has made systematic, large-scale excavation difficult.

Serious discussion of the topography of Sparta began with William Leake and the French Morea Expedition in the early decades of the 19th century CE. Working without the limitation of a modern city built on top of the ancient site, they were able to document the visible monuments. Leake visited Sparta on multiple occasions in the years 1805-1806 and devoted 40 pages of text in *Travels in the Morea* to a detailed description of the city that takes into account the topography, the extant remains, and the ancient textual sources. His published plan of the city (see Figure

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long stretch of wide road leading to the proposed site of the ancient bridge makes that view untenable.

22 Paus. 3.12.5-8, cf. Livy 34.38.5; *IG* V.1.210-12.

23 Kourinou 2000: 131-39.

4) includes not only visible structures, but also the 'conjectural position' of the *ōbai*, other structures known solely from literary sources such as the tombs of the Eurypontid kings, and the possible routes of major thoroughfares in the ancient city. Leake showed a remarkably good understanding of the site; for example, he offered some astute speculation on the position of the acropolis and agora.[24]

The report of the French Morea expedition on Sparta is more richly illustrated (nine pages of drawings accompany 20 pages of text) than Leake's account, but also much less thorough and analytical about the layout of the ancient city. The members of the French team evinced more interest in sculpture and epigraphy (14 of the 20 pages of text are dedicated to inscriptions) than anything else.[25]

The first formally organized archaeological excavations in Sparta were carried out by Ludwig Ross, after the creation of the modern city was authorized but before actual construction work began. The scope of Ross' work was restricted by the limited funds at his disposal.[26] Very little was done in the way of archaeological exploration of the ancient city from the 1840s through the 1880s. The first formally organized archaeological excavations in Sparta after those of Ross were carried out by the American Charles Waldstein, who spent two seasons excavating the Round Building in the early 1890s.[27] Some topographical studies were published in the 1890s, but the authors in question contented themselves primarily with attempts to connect Pausanias' account of the ancient city to the known topography and visible remains.[28]

In 1903, the Greek government gave the British School at Athens rights to excavate in Lakonia.[29] In 1906, a small team of British archaeologists began excavating in Sparta. R.C. Bosanquet oversaw excavations for one year before being superseded by R.M. Dawkins, who was assisted, among others, by A.J.B. Wace, Guy Dickins, H.J.W. Tillyard, Ramsay Traquair, and A.M. Woodward. The British team conducted excavations

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24 Leake 1830: vol. 1: 124-38, 144-87; vol. 2: 532-34; Macgregor Morris 2009.
25 Blouet 1833: 61-83.
26 Ross 1841; Moustaka 2005; Matalas 2017.
27 Waldstein 1892; Waldstein & Meader 1893; Waldstein 1894.
28 Stein 1890; Nestorides 1892; Crosby 1893.
29 For a detailed overview of the work of the British School in Lakonia, see Catling 1998.

in the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the Roman Theater, the Arapissa baths, the Roman Stoa, the Eurotas Altar, the Heroon of Astrabakos, and the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[30] The British planned to excavate widely in the city, but Artemis Orthia produced so many finds that the work there absorbed the majority of the available resources.

Despite the remarkable array of objects uncovered at the Orthia sanctuary, Dawkins and his colleagues were less than impressed with the results of their work in Sparta, and they terminated their excavations in the city after the 1910 campaign. The preliminary reports filed each year in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* (*ABSA*) remained the only published work on the British excavations in Sparta until 1929, when a single volume, edited by Dawkins, on the Orthia excavations appeared.[31]

The work done by British archaeologists from 1906 to 1910 resulted in important steps forward in our knowledge of the settlement organization of Sparta. The British team, working with an Austrian surveyor, Wassily Sejk, produced the first detailed, accurate plan of the topography of Sparta, the course of its fortification walls, and the location of some key structures (see Figure 5). Sejk's plan has remained to the present day the best available map of Sparta and forms the basis of the reference maps used and published by the Greek Archaeological Service.[32] However, the aforementioned limitations on the British excavations left much of the city untouched.[33]

A.M. Woodward, upon becoming director of the British School at Athens in 1923, decided to resume excavations in Sparta in 1924. Woodward's team consisted largely of women, including his wife, Jocelyn M.

30 On the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, see Dickins 1907; Dickins 1908. On the Roman Theater, see Dickins 1906b. On the Arapissa baths, see Wace 1906b. On the Roman Stoa, see Traquair 1906. On the Eurotas Altar, see Dickins 1906a. On the Heroon of Astrabakos, see Wace 1906a.

31 Dawkins 1929d.

32 On Sejk's plan, see Wace 1907a.
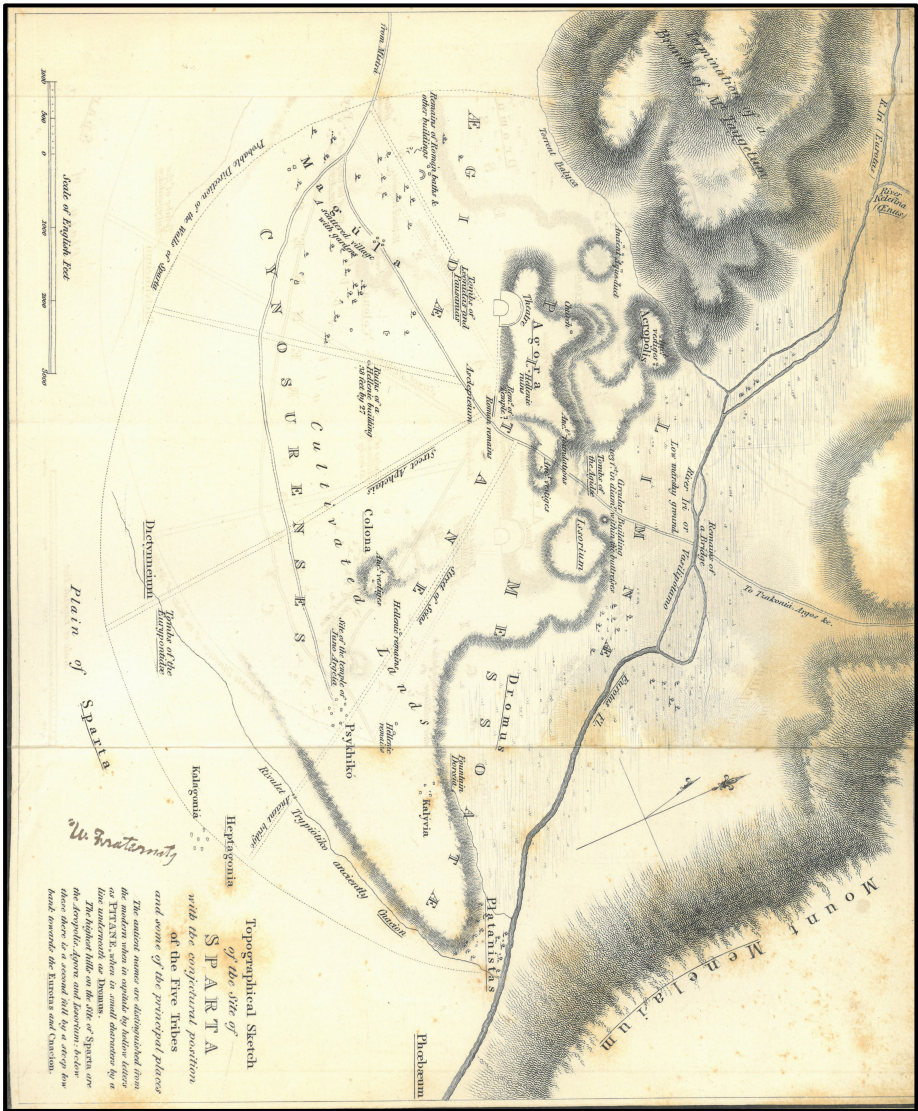
33 Dickins 1906c; Wace & Hasluck 1909.

Figure 4: Leake's plan of Sparta.

Woodward (née Pybus), Margaret B. Hobling, and Winifred Lamb. This
round of excavations, which continued through 1928, focused on the the-
ater and the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. The preliminary reports

filed in the *ABSA* are the only published accounts of this round of excavations.[34] When Woodward stepped down as director, the British work in Sparta ceased for an extended period, though Richard Nicholls did carry out a brief excavation in 1949 in advance of the construction of the modern stadium. In 1988, members of the British School, under the leadership of Geoffrey Waywell and John Wilkes, began four seasons of work on the Roman Stoa. Waywell and Wilkes subsequently turned their attention to the theater, where they excavated between 1992 and 1998. Further excavations were conducted in the theater in 2007-2008 as a *synergasia* of the British School and the Greek Archaeological Service to investigate Late Roman and Byzantine use of the space.[35]

British excavations from 1924 onward thus concentrated on sites that had already been excavated between 1906 and 1910. The resulting lack of anything significant in the way of new evidence for the layout of the city meant that scholarship on the settlement organization of Sparta produced between the end of the British excavations in the early 20th century and 1995 provided little in the way of new insights.[36]

Our knowledge of those portions of ancient Sparta not excavated by British archaeologists derives almost entirely from rescue excavations carried out by members of the Greek Archaeological Service. For an extended period, only a limited portion of the modern city had any significant degree of archaeological protection (see Figure 6), and few excavations were carried out in areas of the city that were not archaeologically protected.

That situation changed for the better in 1994-1995 when the Greek government made the entire area of the ancient city an archaeologically protected zone. This decision was taken during a period when there was quite a bit of construction activity in Sparta.[37] The result was a sudden,

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34 See Woodward 1925: 116-273; Woodward 1926; Woodward 1927.

35 Cook and Nicholls 1950; Waywell, Wilkes, Bailey et al. 1993; Waywell & Wilkes 1994; Waywell & Wilkes 1995; Waywell, Wilkes, Bland et al. 1997; Waywell & Wilkes 1999; Waywell 2002. See also https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=311; https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=879.

36 See, for example, Bölte 1929; Stibbe 1989; Armstrong, Cavanagh & Shipley 1992; Waywell 1999.

37 Tsouli 2012.

Figure 5: British map of Sparta, 1906. From Wace 1907a.

sharp increase in the number of rescue excavations conducted in Sparta
(see Table 2).

Table 2: Number of Rescue Excavations in Sparta
Reported in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*

years	number of excavations
1960s	19
1970s	26
1980s	42
1990s	165
2000s	90
2010s	135

Those excavations produced an assemblage of evidence that made possible major advances in our understanding of the settlement organization of Sparta. It is not coincidental that what Graham Shipley called 'the most important contribution to the topography of Sparta since the British campaigns of the early 20th century' – Eleni Kourinou's *Σπάρτη: Συμβολή στη μνημειακή τοπογραφία της* – was published in 2000.[38] Kourinou drew on newly available archaeological and epigraphic evidence as well as the literary sources and finds from earlier excavations to study a wide range of features of the ancient city.

Greek archaeologists who have worked in Sparta have been responsible for much of the scholarship on Sparta's settlement organization published in the last 20 years.[39] That scholarship takes the form of articles, published in journals and conference proceedings, that typically address specific issues arising from rescue excavations conducted by the author(s) in question. There has, in addition, been ongoing discussion of the locations and significance of sanctuaries and votive deposits.[40] Fi-

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38 Kourinou 2000; Shipley 2003: 132.
39 See, for example, Raftopoulou 2002; Steinhauer 2009; Vasilogambrou, Tsouli & Maltezou 2018.
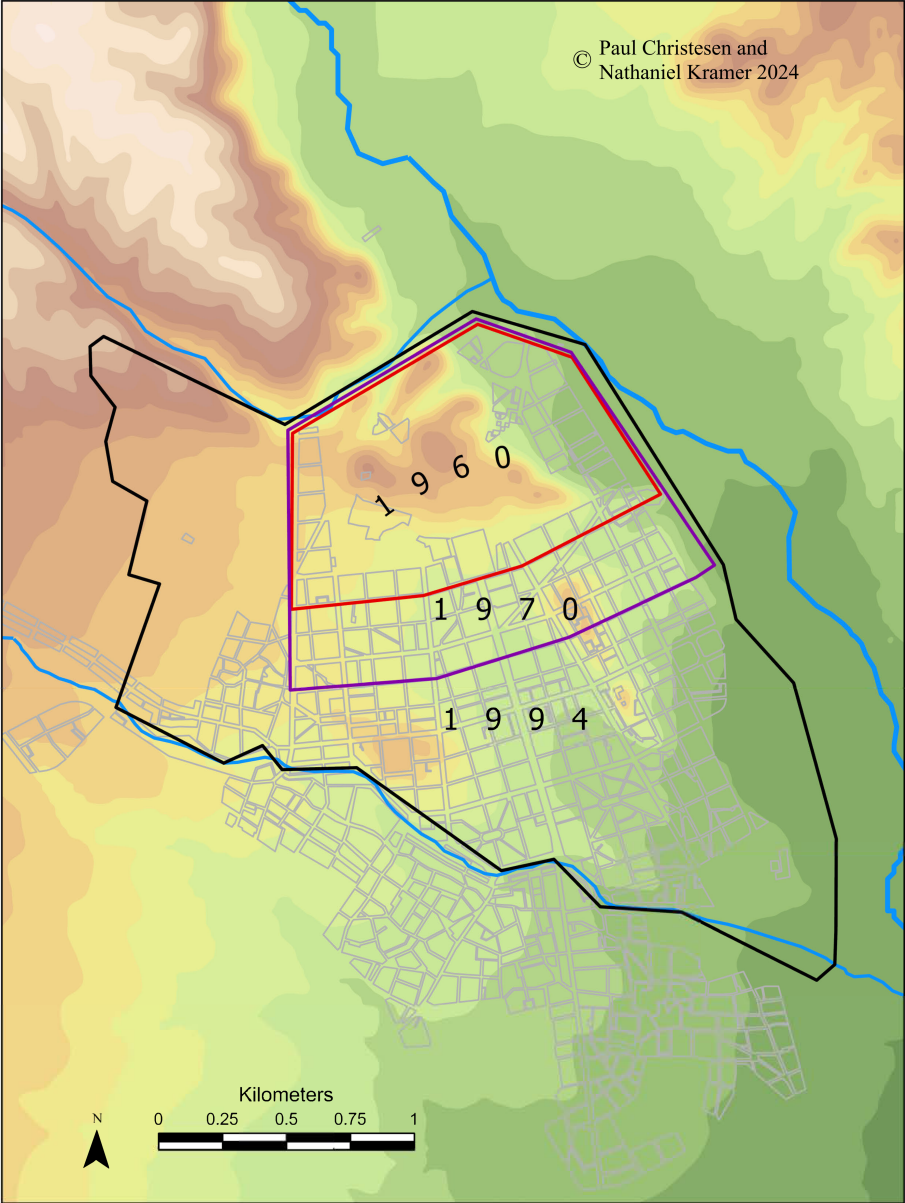40 See, for example, Flouris 2000; Pavlides 2023.

Figure 6: Extent of archaeological protection in Sparta.

nally, attempts to study the settlement organization of Sparta based on Pausanias have continued.[41]

One of the present authors, as part of a previous research project, compiled the first complete catalog of intramural burials in Sparta and published that material in an article that appeared in the *ABSA* in 2019.[42] That article included some discussion of the settlement organization of Sparta, but its scope was limited, both because it took only burial evidence into account and because its visualizations were produced using pre-existing maps and a simple graphics program.

The Data, Its Limitations, and Its Potential

Our analysis of the settlement organization of Sparta is based on data from two main sources: systematic excavations (most of which were conducted under the aegis of the British School at Athens) and rescue excavations (conducted under the aegis of the Greek Archaeological Service). We undertook no fieldwork of any kind in or around Sparta and relied entirely on published reports of archaeological finds, publicly available mapping resources, and mapping resources that we constructed ourselves (see below for details).

The data with which we worked is, in many respects, less than ideal. To begin with, all archaeological contexts suffer from two problems: incompleteness and blurring. The inevitable loss of material from the past requires no discussion here.[43] The blurring of archaeological contexts emerged as an important concern starting in the mid-20th century with the work of Robert Ascher and was subsequently most fully addressed by Michael Schiffer.[44] Schiffer and others highlighted a series of post-depositional processes, both environmental and anthropogenic; the former includes faunalturbation, floralturbation, graviturbation, erosion, and

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41 See, for example, Baudini 2006; Gengler 2008; Sanders 2009; Greco 2011; Greco 2016.

42 Christesen 2019.

43 Charles Lyell, writing in the first half of the 19th century, famously compared the fossil record to a census register with missing pages (Frank 1989: 378).

44 See Ascher 1968; Schiffer 1987 as well as the critiques and updates in Binford 1982; Lucas 2022.

sedimentation, while the latter includes re-use, recycling, plowing, and construction (this list is by no means exhaustive). Post-depositional processes not only destroy remnants of the past, but also disperse material that originally came from a single, distinct archaeological context. Objects are distributed over wider areas than they initially occupied, creating 'smears' across the fabric of a site or area. When that happens, material that originally came from separate temporal or spatial contexts can be jumbled together, resulting in contaminated fills.

The long, complicated settlement history of Sparta, which includes continuous occupation for centuries, an extended period of abandonment, and modern re-occupation, has heightened the destructive and blurring effects of both environmental and anthropogenic processes. For example, materials were intentionally moved and repurposed, as is evident in the Late Roman fortification wall, which is replete with spolia.[45] Objects from a single Archaic-period votive deposit from a sanctuary near the Eurotas River may have been dug up and dispersed by construction in the Roman period and subsequently further dispersed by flooding from the Eurotas River and modern construction.

The interpretive challenges created by post-depositional processes are particularly acute in Sparta because of the relative weighting of systematic versus rescue excavation and how the results of both types of excavation have been published. Systematic excavations have been carried out at a limited number of sites in Sparta, and the published reports of those excavations are less detailed than one might wish. For example, the assemblage of finds from Artemis Orthia has never been fully published, and the results of the excavations carried out in the 1920s are known only through preliminary reports.

Much of what we know about ancient Sparta comes from rescue excavations. The locations of rescue excavations and the area they cover are determined largely by modern-day construction projects rather than archaeological considerations, and the requisite work typically needs to take place in a compressed time frame. Leda Costaki has noted that rescue excavations are 'incidental, fragmented, dispersed, and not initiated

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45 Frey 2016: 87-89.

by a research question.'[46] Exploration typically cannot be extended to identify the limits of a site, and multiple rescue excavations may, over years or decades, be carried out at different portions of a single site. As a result of post-depositional processes and the limitations inherent in rescue excavations, it can be difficult to trace 'smears' of objects back to their original context.

The excavations included in this study were all located using a grid of 100 × 100 m tiles (see below for more details). We have chosen to report function by tile rather than engaging in guesswork to reconstruct site boundaries, because we are concerned that visualizations showing hypothetical site boundaries are potentially misleading, while visualizations based on tiles provide a more accurate sense of the data and its limits. While this approach is, in our view, methodologically preferable, it can lead to overestimation of the number of discrete sites of a given type or of a given period.

Sampling is another issue that must be borne in mind when working with data from rescue excavations. Although all archaeological exploration involves some degree of sampling (it is impossible to excavate the entirety of a landscape), archaeologists conducting rescue excavations cannot develop a rational sampling plan, and excavations may be unevenly distributed over a given area. That is certainly the case in Sparta, where the density of rescue excavations is higher in some parts of the city than others (see Figure 7). If, for example, sites of a particular type or date are particularly prevalent in a part of the city that has been, relative to the rest of the city, over-sampled, it is possible to arrive at erroneous conclusions about settlement organization.

The nature of rescue excavation can also exaggerate distortions created by variations in archaeological visibility. The material remains of some periods are more easily recognized than others, most obviously due to variations in the nature and survival of ceramic assemblages and the degree to which those assemblages have been studied. In the same vein, some site types are more easily recognized than others due to the materials that were originally present and how they survive over time. For

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46 Costaki 2021: 469. See also Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1988: 87 and Parlama 1996: 45-46.

example, residential sites, with a relatively low object density and a prevalence of ephemeral building materials, can be more difficult to recognize than sanctuary sites, which can have a relatively high object density and greater use of durable building materials. Philip Barker has pointed out that in rescue excavations it can, because of limited opportunities to study the surrounding stratigraphy, be particularly difficult to date structures,[47] and the same issues apply to recognizing more elusive site types. As a result, the data from rescue excavations may be particularly prone to overweight sites of certain periods and types.

Yet another issue is that the results of rescue excavations are typically published in less detail than systematic excavations, and this is certainly true for Sparta. The results of rescue excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service are primarily reported in brief articles in the *Archaiologikon Deltion.* Each article in the *Deltion* focuses on a single site, and reports for all the excavations carried out in a single year appear together. Hence, for example, excavations carried out at adjoining sites in different years are reported separately in different volumes of the *Deltion,* sometimes without any cross-reference.

The evidence from rescue excavations in Sparta thus has to be compiled to fully realize its potential for studying settlement organization. The process of synthesis is, however, complicated because the data has to be 'standardised and homogenously recorded, in order to be usable for various purposes,'[48] but the excavation reports present the relevant information in a heterogeneous fashion. Individual articles in the *Deltion* vary in length and the level of detail they provide. Some key objects are sometimes illustrated, but full datasets are not presented, making it difficult to assess the validity of statements about site function(s) and chronology. Furthermore, the articles in the *Deltion* are written by many different authors, who follow different practices concerning terminology, quantification, etc. As a result, the process of compilation entails making a long series of decisions that are interpretive and to some degree subjective.

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47 Barker 1993: 99-112.
48 Lampraki & Vakkas 2021: 74, describing the work done by the Mapping Ancient Athens project with evidence from rescue excavations in Athens; see below for discussion of that project.
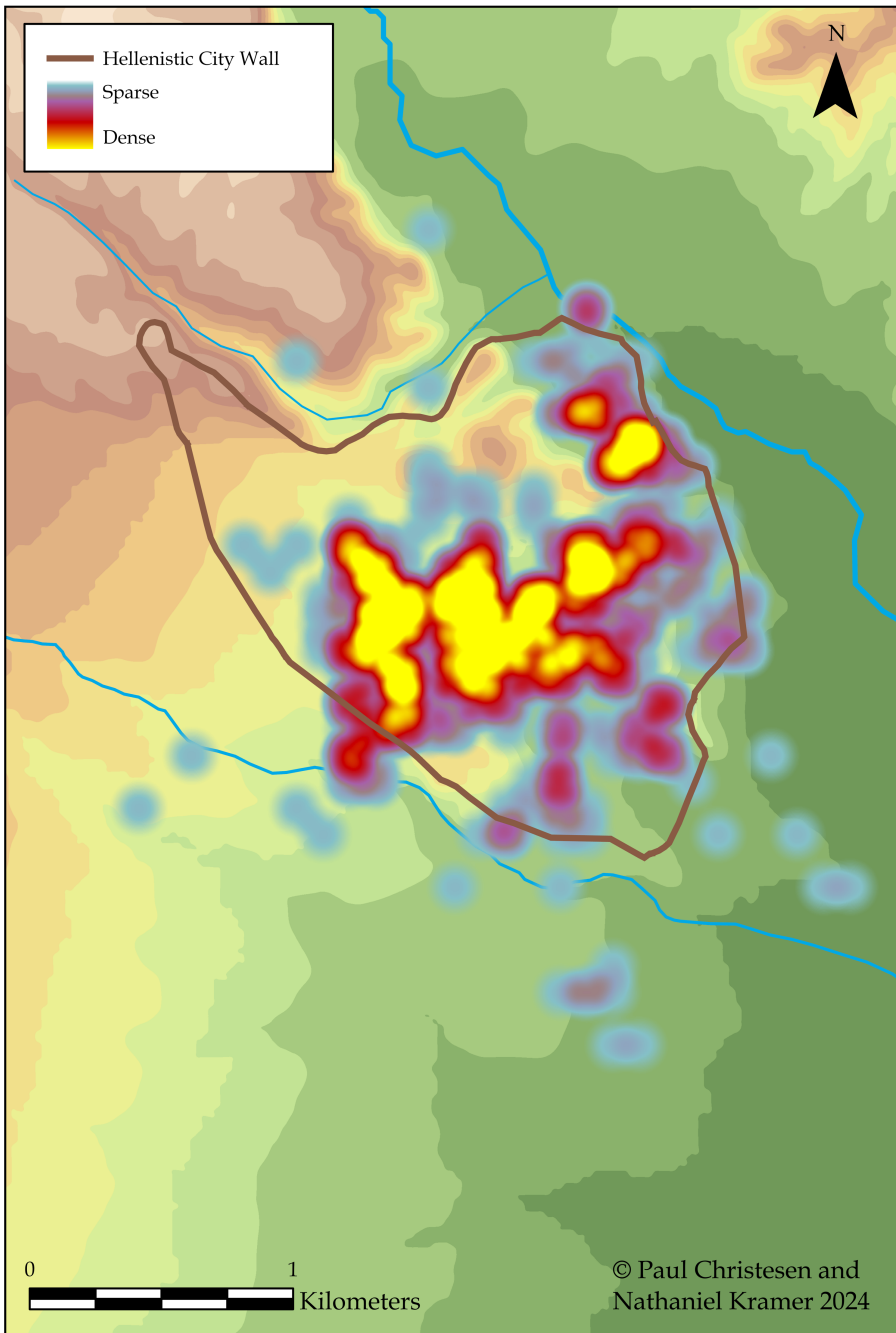
Figure 7: Heat map showing intensity of rescue excavations in Sparta.

All that said, rescue excavations can be an invaluable source of information about settlement organization; as Liana Parlama has observed, 'rescue excavations contribute to the slow but steady emergence of the physical appearance of ancient Greek cities.'[49] Because they are constrained in space, time, and collection strategies, rescue excavations can be carried out in much larger numbers than systematic excavations; a significant body of evidence can accumulate when rescue excavations are carried out in large numbers across a considerable proportion of a single ancient settlement. In addition, the more or less random placement of rescue excavations can lead to the inadvertent exploration of archaeological contexts that might otherwise receive less attention than they merit. Anna Lagia has pointed out that 'often it is on account of rescue excavations that the study of ordinary people and contexts can advance.'[50]

The importance of rescue excavations has increased over time due to the shift from extensive excavation strategies intended to uncover entire sites to intensive strategies intended to address one or more research questions.[51] Systematic excavations that study small areas in great detail are invaluable, but they leave major gaps in our knowledge of a site unless they are pursued over long periods in a limited space (e.g. the American excavations in the Athenian agora). At places where ambitious, long-term programs of systematic excavation have not been carried out, rescue excavations can be the only available means of arriving at some understanding of how the site developed over time. That is particularly the case at sites such as Sparta where the presence of a modern settlement precludes the use of intensive survey techniques.[52]

The potential value of data from rescue excavations for the study of the settlement organization of an ancient Greek community is perhaps most clear in the case of Athens. Approximately 1,500 rescue excavations have been carried out in the area (6.7 sq km) within and just outside the

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49 Parlama 1996: 46.

50 Lagia 2015: 164.

51 See, for example, Haggis 2015: 221-22.

52 As Alcock points out, 'one basic prerequisite for urban survey is a lack of modern over-burden' (Alcock 1991: 424).

city's ancient fortifications.[53] Much of our knowledge of the basic components of the settlement organization of ancient Athens, for example the course of the fortification wall and the locations of cemeteries, relies heavily on evidence from rescue excavations. Costaki is thus justified in stating that 'rescue excavations have contributed decisively to our knowledge of Athenian topography.'[54]

The value of the evidence from rescue excavations in Athens has been enhanced through the efforts of the Mapping Ancient Athens project, which was carried out between 2018 and 2021 under the direction of Leda Costaki, Vanda Papaefthymiou, Maria Pigaki, and Anna Maria Theocharaki. Costaki and her colleagues were aware of the reservoir of data that had been generated by rescue excavations in Athens, the full potential of which could only be realized through painstaking compilation.[55] They drew on all the published reports from rescue excavations in Athens to document pre-modern architectural remains, their location within the modern city, and their likely function. The results of the project are presented in a Web GIS map that offers a detailed conspectus of the settlement organization of Athens and how it evolved that would not be possible without the evidence from rescue excavations.[56] Our project on rescue excavations in Sparta was inspired in part by Mapping Ancient Athens.

We believe that the nearly 500 rescue excavations that have been carried out in Sparta, when studied collectively, make it possible to discern many important features of the settlement organization of the ancient city. We are aware that the limitations of the evidence bring with it limitations on the conclusions it can support: our understanding of ancient Sparta at different periods is inevitably incomplete, because of lacunae in the available evidence; blurry, because original contexts and findspots are not identical in some unknowable percentage of instances; and tentative, because additional finds can always upend earlier conclusions. Moreover, there is an inescapable element of subjectivity in how the available data is assembled and analyzed. What follows is thus not by any

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53 Lampraki & Vakkas 2021.
54 Costaki 2021: 472.
55 Lampraki & Vakkas 2021.
56 https://mappingancientathens.org/en/home/.

stretch of the imagination the final word on the settlement organization of Sparta, but we are now in a position to come to a deeper understanding of the diachronic development of the layout of the city than has heretofore been possible, and it behooves us to make good use of the evidence at our disposal to that end.

A GIS Database of Published Finds from Sparta

We have devoted much of the past two years to producing the first comprehensive database of reported excavations and related finds from Sparta.[57] In doing so, we have leveraged the sophisticated capacities offered by GIS systems, which consist of a combination of hardware and software designed to compile, store, display, and visualize data with a spatial component. That data is stored in a database with a tabular structure such that each row contains information about a specific location. The information in the database we compiled was drawn primarily from reports connected to the British excavations of 1906-1910 and 1924-1928 and articles published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* (up through and including Volume 69 [2014]) about rescue excavations in Sparta.

While GIS databases can contain both qualitative and quantitative information, their analytical and visualization capacities are strongly oriented toward numerical data. Reports in the *Deltion* typically provide good information about architectural features (e.g. walls, mosaics) that can be easily quantified. The situation is more complicated with movable finds, which are sometimes reported with a high degree of numerical precision and sometimes characterized in a more impressionistic fashion (e.g. 'several terracotta plaques'). In order to maintain as high a degree of consistency as possible, we established a system for translating qualitative descriptions of particular categories of objects into numerical counterparts (see Table 3). Quantities derived from qualitative descriptions are identifiable in the database because they all end in .1.

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57 More precisely, if there is a comparable database in existence, we have found no trace of it anywhere.

Table 3: Quantitative Assessments of Qualitative Descriptions

number inputted into database	pottery	common items (e.g. figurines, miniature pottery)	less frequent items (e.g. terracotta plaques)	rare items (e.g. statuary)
5.1	N/A	'a few'	'some'	'were found'
15.1	'a little'	'a good amount'	'fragments'	'many items'
50.1	'was found'	'many'	'a large amount'	a deposit
250.1	'much'	a deposit	a deposit	N/A

The information in the database about finds is divided into 42 categories, as indicated in Table 4.

Table 4: Find Categories in the GIS Database

|		
akroteria	coins	pipes
amphoras	domestic utensils	pottery
animal bones	glass objects	relief pithoi
architectural reliefs	hearth	road
architectural sculpture	inscriptions	roof tiles
architecture	iron objects	seals
bells	jewelry	statuary
bone carvings	lead figurines	stone objects
bone figurines	loom weights	stone reliefs
bone objects	miniature pottery	terracotta figurines
bronze figurines	mosaics	terracotta masks
bronze objects	musical instruments	terracotta plaques
bronze vessels	perirrhanteria	weapons
burial	pins	wells
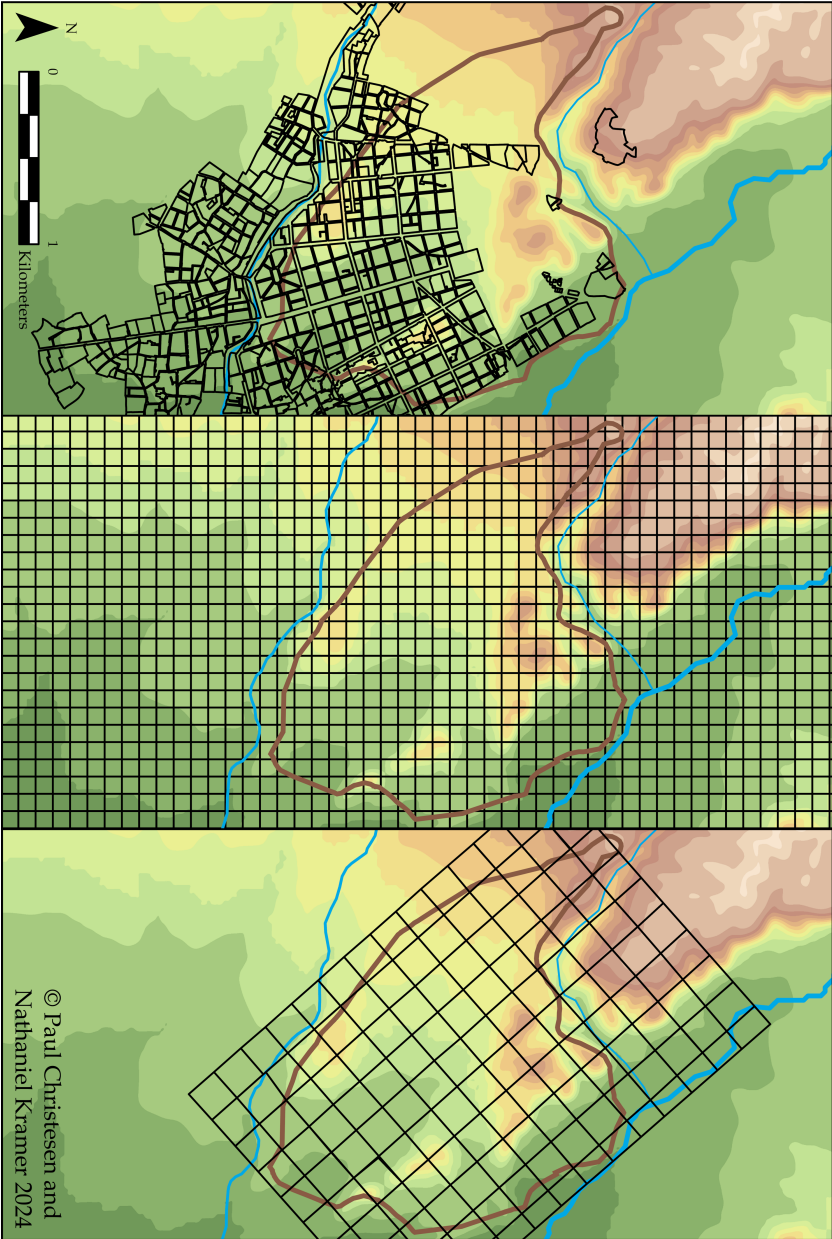
Figure 8: Spatial reference systems in Sparta:
Building blocks, 100-m tiles, British grid.

The finds are located within the text that follows using two different spatial reference systems: building blocks in the modern city of Sparta and 100-meter tiles (see Figure 8). The building blocks (typically referenced with the letters BB followed by a three-digit number) were initially laid out and numbered when the modern city was founded, and they are regularly used in the *Deltion* reports to indicate where a rescue excavation was carried out. They are, however, less than perfect spatial units (referred to in the GIS literature as 'enumeration units') because they vary in size and shape, do not cover the entirety of the area in Sparta that has been excavated, and can distort visualizations by making ancient Sparta look remarkably similar to modern Sparta. The British excavators of the early 20th century created a grid of squares (each 200 m on a side), but that grid does not cover the entirety of the area in Sparta that has been excavated, it is oriented NW-SE rather than N-S (which results in potentially confusing visualizations), and the squares are somewhat larger than are optimum for generating a detailed study of the settlement organization of an ancient Greek city. With that in mind, we created a grid system, oriented N-S and covering the entirety of the modern country of Greece, that contains four overlapping tiles of different sizes: 100 km square, 10 km square, 1 km square, and 100 m square. The excavated area in Sparta is covered by c. 3,600 of the 100 × 100 m tiles.[58]

Each tile was assigned to one or more functional use categories derived from the Mapping Ancient Athens project, with some modifications. We employed ten categories of functional space in Sparta, plus an additional category for activity of unknown type. Those categories are: bathing, commerce, domestic, fortification, funerary, production, public, religion/cult, transport, and water supply/drainage. Some tiles were assigned multiple functions in the same period, and some tiles were assigned different functions in different periods; for example, some tiles that were categorized under the heading religion/cult for the Archaic period were categorized as domestic in the Roman period.

We took a variety of factors into account when assigning a tile to a functional category. If the excavators attributed one or more functions

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58 We have discussed elsewhere, in considerable detail, the various spatial reference systems used in Sparta. See Christesen & Kramer forthcoming.

to a site, we adopted their attributions unless we found compelling evidence (typically from subsequent excavations at the same or a nearby site) to think otherwise. We were largely dependent on excavators' expressed views on function for tiles classed as Domestic or Fortification. In identifying structures as residences, excavators typically rely on the layout of the structure in question as well as pottery assemblages and the presence of particular types of movable objects. Fortifications in Sparta have been identified based on the presence of remains of unusually wide stone foundations with or without gates and location (bearing in mind that the general lines of the Hellenistic and late Roman walls were traced with considerable accuracy by British archaeologists in the early 20th century).

When the excavators did not offer a functional attribution, tiles were assigned a function through our own assessment of the built remains, movable finds, and available information from excavations at nearby sites. In order to achieve as high a degree of consistency as possible, we generated guidelines for assigning a tile to one or more functional categories.

The guidelines for the following five categories require little discussion:

- bathing: identified based on the presence of distinctive features such as hypocausts; only large baths that seem to have been public establishments were placed in this category; private residences with bathing rooms were categorized as domestic;
- funerary: identified based on the presence of one or more burials; a single burial in a tile was sufficient to classify it as funerary;
- production: identified based on the presence of kilns, molds, or by-products of production such as slag or pottery wasters;
- transport: identified based on the presence of a roadbed or what excavators identified as a retaining wall for a road;
- water supply/drainage: identified based on the presence of pipes or sewers, typically running alongside roads; as with bathing, this category includes only public facilities; private residences with wells or water supply infrastructure (e.g. cisterns) were categorized as domestic.

Two categories require somewhat more explanation. We placed just three unique tiles (other than the agora) under the heading of commerce and did so based on location, architecture, and finds. In one case (Tile 48.007.051.033, BB189), a stoa-like structure with pithoi in it was situated alongside the main road leading into Sparta. In the other two cases, the identification was based on the discovery of large quantities of bronze coins (Tile 48.007.041.024, BB045; Tile 48.006.050.039, BB136). Public spaces were identified on the basis of architecture – including a colonnaded street (Tile 48.006.050.049, BB126) and a pre-Christian basilica (Tile 48.006.050.019, BB016) – or epigraphic evidence in the form of official inscriptions (Tile 48.007.041.011, BB029).

A particularly complex set of guidelines was employed in the assignment of tiles to the category of religion/cult. The British excavations in the early part of the 20th century uncovered multiple sites that were – based in part on finds of inscribed objects – indubitably sanctuaries.[59] The most important of those sanctuaries for our purposes is Artemis Orthia, both because of the sheer number of objects that were recovered and because those objects were published in some detail. The finds from Artemis Orthia and other sites in Sparta and elsewhere in the Greek world make it possible to identify certain types of architecture and objects as diagnostic of the presence of a sanctuary.

Both archaeologists carrying out rescue excavations in Sparta and other scholars studying Sparta have used diagnostic architecture and objects to identify the sites of sanctuaries.[60] We have pursued the same methodology here, and hence our approach to assigning particular tiles to the category of religion/cult is in no way novel; we do, however, have at our disposal a larger and more comprehensive collection of evidence than has heretofore been utilized for this purpose.

A considerable proportion of the objects that have been uncovered in Sparta were certainly or probably votives, which in turn means that the evidence for religious activity is abundant. We therefore took particular care in deciding whether any given tile should be given the functional

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59 See, for example, Woodward 1929.
60 See, for example, Delivorrias 1969a; Flouris 2000: 6-17; Pavlides 2023: 29-60.

assignment of religion/cult and used three separate sets of criteria for that purpose.

One set of criteria was holistic in the sense that we took the following, broad range of architecture and finds into account:

- long, narrow structures. Whereas the peripteral temple became a standard feature in much of the Greek world starting in the sixth century, the Spartans had a distinct preference – through the Classical period and beyond – for non-peripteral temples that were relatively narrow in relation to their length.[61]
- terracotta akroteria and antefixes of the Archaic period. Elaborate terracotta roofs were typically found only on temples and treasuries during the Archaic period.[62] Lakonian Archaic terracotta roofs were frequently embellished with disk akroteria and antefixes that are distinctive, easy to identify, and survive well (at least in fragmentary form).[63] The elements of a temple's terracotta roof belonged to the deity in question, and hence were typically buried within the bounds of the sanctuary when they were taken out of active use.[64]
- inscriptions. Although few in number, we took objects with a dedicatory inscription to a god or hero to be evidence for the presence of a sanctuary.[65]
- lead figurines. Votives in the form of small (typically 2-6 cm tall) lead figurines were a distinctive feature of Lakonian sanctuaries in the Archaic and Classical periods (they are also found in small numbers in Peloponnesian sanctuaries outside of Lakonia).[66] These figurines are strong indications of religious/cult function because they do not seem to appear outside of sanctuaries (e.g. there is no evidence that they were deposited in graves), they

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61 Stibbe 1989: 83-93; Catling 1995.
62 Sapirstein 2016: 47.
63 Winter 1993: 95-109; Skoog 1998: 29-40.
64 Sapirstein 2016: 46.
65 See, for example, Steinhauer 2020.
66 Wace 1929; Cavanagh & Laxton 1984; Boss 2000; Lloyd 2024.

were dedicated in significant numbers, and they do not seem to have been regularly collected and recycled in later periods.

- stone reliefs. Starting in the mid-sixth century BCE and continuing through the Roman period, stone reliefs were dedicated to heroes in various places in Lakonia, including Sparta. These reliefs made excellent building material and were regularly re-used for that purpose after they went out of use, so most have been found in secondary contexts. In a few instances, however, they have been found in situ.[67]

- terracotta plaques. Between the late sixth and the late fourth century, thousands of mold-made terracotta plaques were produced and dedicated in Lakonia.[68] The documented find spots indicate they were primarily dedicated in sanctuaries (e.g. they were not regularly deposited in tombs).

- pottery and terracotta figurines. Certain types of vases (particularly finewares for drinking and dining and miniature vessels) and terracotta figurines represent a significant fraction of the votives found at Artemis Orthia.[69] They range in date from the Geometric through the Roman period. These categories of objects have been found in contexts other than sanctuaries in Sparta.[70] Their mere presence is, therefore, not diagnostic of a sanctuary, but they can be important indicators when they occur in large quantities or in conjunction with other objects that served as votives. For example, excavations in Tile 48.007.051.007 (Stauffert Street) uncovered, among much other material, c. 1,500 miniature vases and c. 800 terracotta figurines, which can only be plausibly understood as votives from a sanctuary.[71]

In assessing whether to assign a religion/cult function to any given tile, we took all these types of evidence into account, both singly and collectively, and we were mindful that various post-depositional processes

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67 Steinhauer 1973b; Flouris 1996; Flouris 2000: 4, 14-18, 142.
68 Salapata 2014.
69 Dawkins 1929c; Droop 1929.
70 See, for example, Steinhauer 1973-1974b; Tsiangouris 2010a for relevant tomb finds.
71 Flouris 1996.

might have removed material from its original context. A handful of examples will provide some sense of how our evaluation process worked in practice. A rescue excavation in Tile 48.007.041.036 (BB058) revealed a long wall built from polygonal masonry. The movable finds include two Geometric bronze pins and unspecified numbers of lead and terracotta figurines and miniature pottery.[72]

Two separate excavations within the same tile (48.007.041.095, BB104) revealed an impressive array of movable finds: three stone hero reliefs (two dating to the first quarter of the sixth century, one dating to the second quarter of the fifth century);[73] unspecified numbers of terracotta figurines and plaques and miniature pottery, and an Archaic limestone Doric capital.[74]

Among the finds from Tile 48.007.041.054 (BB113) are c. 200 lead figurines, Geometric and Archaic bronze and bone pins, and a bone plaque of a type also found at Artemis Orthia.[75] Excavators who worked in Tile 48.007.041.068 (BB093A) found what they describe as a votive deposit containing a 'plethora' of terracotta plaques and figurines dating primarily to the Archaic and Classical periods.[76]

The reported finds from Tile 48.007.051.006 (BB098) in any given category of object are not determinative, but they are collectively indicative. They include a perirrhanterion, Attic black- and red-figure drinking vessels, two miniature vases, two terracotta figurines, and two inscribed loom-weights.[77] Tile 48.006.040.039 (ВВГ202) was placed in the religion/cult category based solely on the discovery of fragments of multiple disk akroteria.[78]

In assessing whether any given tile should be assigned the function of religion/cult, we also used a second, more restrictive set of criteria that were designed to assign greater weight to the possibility that votives had

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72 Themos 2006; Maltezou 2010a.
73 Salapata 2014: R4, R5, R26.
74 Raftopoulou 1994; Themos & Flouris 1997.
75 Themos 1999.
76 Tsiangouris 2010d.
77 Themos 1996; Rammou 1997; Tsiangouris 2010b.
78 Kakorou 2010.

been dispersed from their original contexts by the various post-depositional processes discussed above. For the restrictive criteria, a tile was assigned to the religion/cult category based on the presence of:

- distinctive religious architecture, or;
- more than 100 (according to our coding of the data) of any combination of terracotta plaques, terracotta figurines, lead figurines, or miniature vases.

The numerical threshold built into the restrictive criteria reflects our view that the presence of significant quantities of votives at a single place increases the probability that the objects in question originated at or near that place.

Finally, we also assigned tiles to the category of religion/cult based solely on the presence of distinctive religious architecture. There are thus in our database three separate categories for religion/cult: religion/cult (holistic), religion/cult (restrictive), religion/cult (architecture). We have in the visualizations for this article created distinct symbolizations for all three codings of religion/cult (see Table 5). Unless otherwise indicated, all tile counts, both those just for religion/cult and those cumulative across all functions, are based on the holistic criteria.

With the basic background information in place, we turn our attention to a diachronic overview of the settlement organization of Sparta, starting in the Bronze Age.

Table 5: Number of Tiles with Attested Activity, by Period and Function

	EH	MH	LH	SM	PG	GM	AR	CL	HL	RO
bathing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
commerce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
domestic	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	21	58
fortification	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
funerary	2	2	1	0	8	10	9	6	28	49
production	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	9	6
public	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	4	10
religion/cult – holistic criteria	0	0	0	0	4	8	43	37	27	17
religion/cult – restrictive criteria	0	0	0	0	3	6	30	29	17	11
religion/cult – architectural criteria	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	13	11	9
transport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	36
water supply/ drainage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	34
unknown	9	2	6	1	16	33	51	36	82	92
total number of tiles with attested activity[79]	9	2	5	1	16	44	85	66	117	141

79 This number is less than the sum of the rows above because in some cases the evidence from a single tile indicated multiple functions. The 'total number of tiles with attested activity' heading indicates how many tiles show evidence of activity in the

Bronze Age and Submycenaean Sparta

Activity in the area around Sparta in the Neolithic period was concentrated at Kouphovouno, c. 3 km southwest of the Palaiokastro plateau.[80] In the Early Helladic period what appears to have been a substantial settlement was founded alongside the Magoulitsa River (see Figure 9). Excavations uncovered large quantities of EH2 pottery, evidence of bronze working (Tile 48.006.040.076, ΒΒΓ470), and three burials (Tile 48.006.040.095, ΒΒ147).[81]

(Excavations in the tiles shown in dotted outline in Figure 9 and in all following figures yielded only datable pottery that does not make it possible to determine the nature of the attested activity; those tiles are placed under the functional category of 'unknown' in our database. Tiles with attested activity of both known (e.g. burial) and unknown function are marked solely with the known function(s) in Figure 9 and all following figures.)

The location of this settlement – along the Magoulitsa rather than on the Palaiokastro plateau – is noteworthy. There is evidence, including pottery finds and a burial (Tile 48.007.051.016), of contemporary activity closer to the Palaiokastro plateau, but that evidence suggests nothing more than sparse occupation.[82] Moreover, several excavations down to virgin soil in the area to the south of the Palaiokastro plateau revealed nothing from the Early Helladic period.[83] Thus, we can be reasonably

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period in question in order to give some idea of the breadth of attested activity in the city as a whole.

80 Cavanagh, Mee & Renard 2007; Vasilogambrou, Tsouli & Maltezou 2018: 329-30.

81 See Zavvou and Themos 2009: 106-10 and Vasilogambrou, Tsouli & Maltezou 2018: 329-30 for summaries of the relevant finds and earlier bibliography and Tsiangouris 2020 on a kiln in the settlement. Given that some of the conclusions presented in this article are based on the compilation of data from many different rescue excavations, it is not possible to cite all the relevant publications for each and every point. We have done our best to be conscientious about source citations while keeping footnotes to a reasonable length. Details for most of the burials mentioned in this article can be found in the appendices in Christesen 2019.

82 Vlachakos 2010: 495.

83 Themos 1998; Maltezou 2012.

sure that the main nucleus of settlement was situated alongside the Ma-goulitsa.

The evidence for the Middle Helladic period (see Figure 10) consists primarily of nine burials found in a circumscribed area in the southeast-ern part of the city (Tiles 48.007.032.033, 48.007.032.052, BB079). A single LH1 burial was found in this same area; that burial (in a built chamber tomb) was equipped with some remarkable grave goods including a boars' tusk helmet and a terracotta ship model. The surrounding fills contained a large quantity of Middle Helladic pottery as well as a number of obsidian arrowheads or blades and an LH3 figurine head.[84]

No evidence has as yet been uncovered of a Middle Helladic settle-ment to which these burials can be linked. There is attested Middle Hel-ladic activity at the Menelaion,[85] c. 1 km to the southeast and on the other side of the Eurotas, but it is not clear if the activity at the Mene-laion had any connection to the burials in question. The southeastern part of Sparta has not been heavily excavated (see Figure 7), and a Middle Helladic settlement may await discovery.

84 Zavvou 1999b; Vasilogambrou, Tsouli & Koulogeorgiou 2010; Zavvou 2010; Tsouli, Tisangouris & Maltezou 2022: 190-92.
85 H. W. Catling 2009; Wiersma and Tsouli 2022: 10-12.
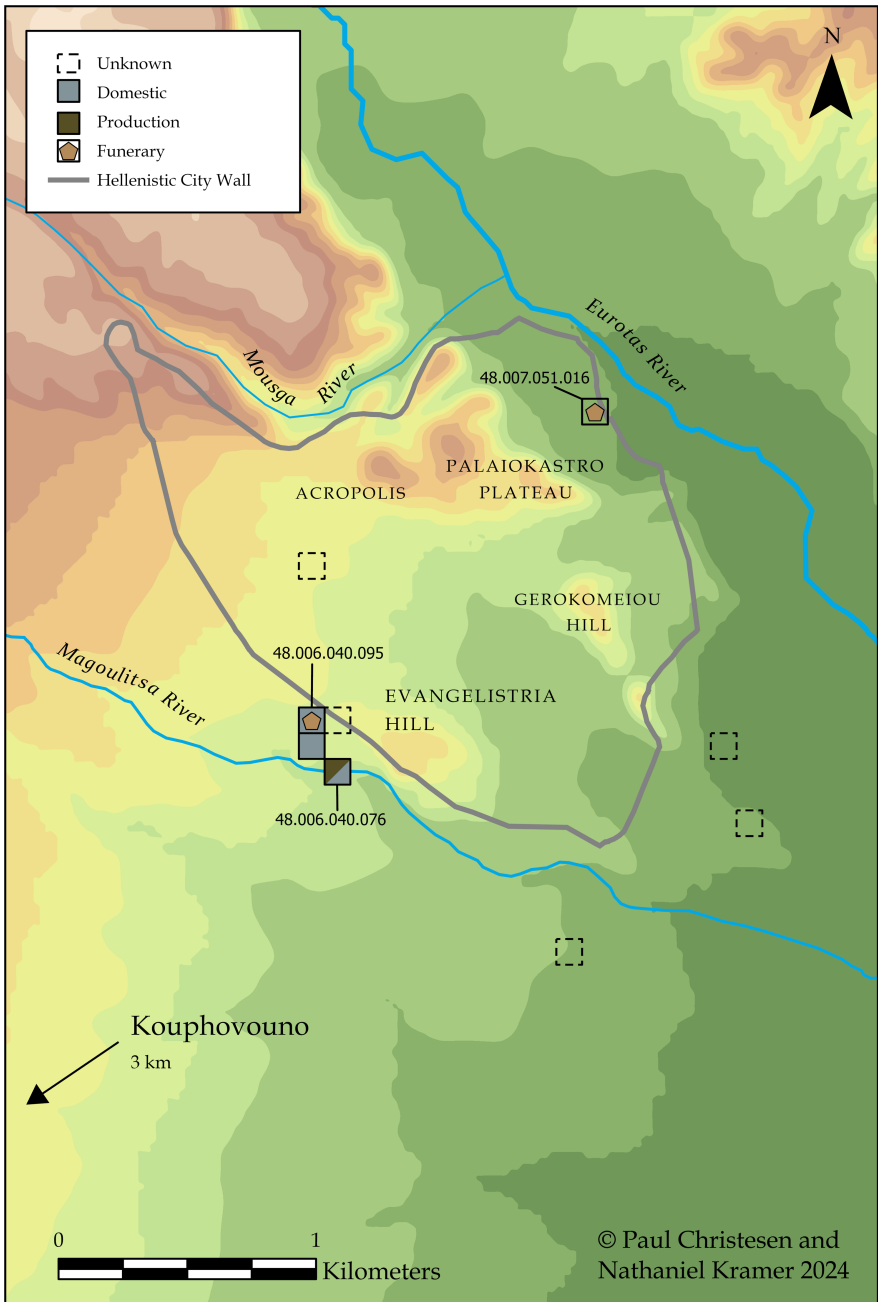
Figure 9: Sparta in the Early Bronze Age. The Hellenistic city wall is shown solely as a convenient landmark.
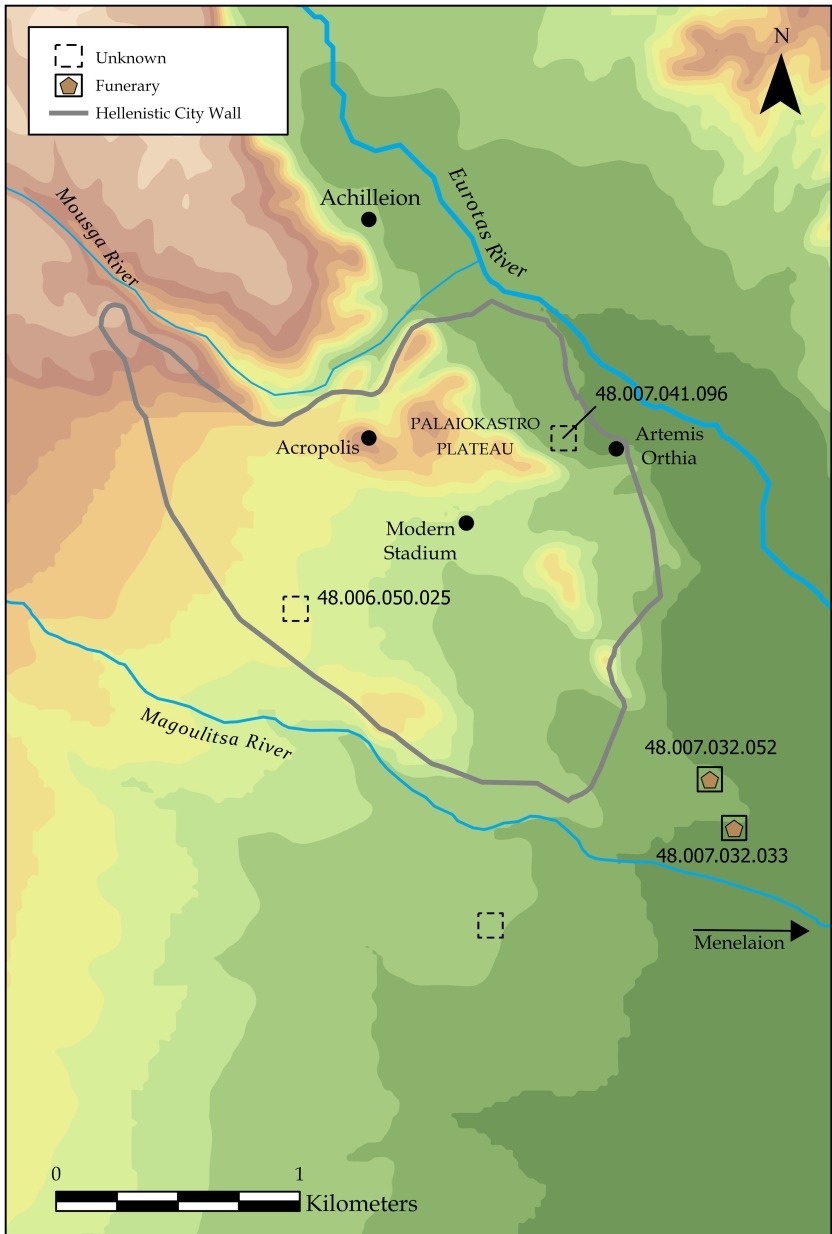
Figure 10: Sparta in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Submycenaean period. The Hellenistic city wall is shown solely as a convenient landmark.

The evidence for the Late Helladic period, beyond the aforementioned LH1 chamber tomb, consists primarily of small quantities of Mycenaean pottery from the acropolis, the area of the modern stadium, the Achilleion, and the western edge of the city (Tile 48.006.050.025, BB150).[86] In addition, several engraved stones dated to the Mycenaean period were among the finds at Artemis Orthia.[87] The small quantities of Mycenaean material from the acropolis, Achilleion, and Artemis Orthia could be heirlooms dedicated at a later date; the relevant tiles are thus not marked as having activity in the Late Bronze Age in Figure 10.

Only one site in Sparta has produced Submycenaean material: fragments of a skyphos were excavated in the northeastern part of the city (Tile 48.007.041.096, BB097A).[88] The near complete absence of Submycenaean finds might suggest that there was a hiatus in habitation, but we need to take into account the various uncertainties surrounding Lakonian ceramics of the Early Iron Age and the uneven excavation of Sparta.[89] In the unsettled conditions of the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, if there was a significant settlement in Sparta, it would probably have been concentrated on the Palaiokastro plateau, which offered some natural protection due to its elevation and encompassed a considerable expanse of arable land.[90] When James Frazer visited Sparta in the late 19th century, the Palaiokastro plateau was planted in wheat and olive trees and 'presented a rich and park-like aspect;'[91] much of the plateau is to this day still occupied by olive trees. More precisely, we would expect that settlement would have been concentrated along the eastern and northern edges of the plateau (which offered easier access to water supplies from the Mousga and the Eurotas), but that part of the city has seen little in the way of excavations. Future

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86 Acropolis: Droop 1927: 79. Modern stadium: Cook & Nicholls 1950: 298. Achilleion: Stibbe 2002: 215-16. BB150: Zavvou 1999a.

87 Dawkins 1929b: 378-9.

88 This excavation is incorrectly listed in *Deltion* volume 52 as being in BB097 (Themos 1997).

89 Demakopoulou 2009; Vlachou 2015: 114 and *passim*; Gallou 2020: 55.

90 Raftopoulou argued that the early dwellings in Sparta were situated on hills, without specifying the Palaiokastro plateau (Raftopoulou 2002: 39).

91 Frazer 1898: 322.

archaeological exploration may lead to a radical revision of our understanding of Sparta in the 12th and 11th centuries.

However that may be, there is good reason to believe that Sparta was occupied to at least some extent from the Early Helladic period through the end of the Bronze Age.

Protogeometric and Geometric Sparta

The evidence for Protogeometric activity in Sparta consists largely of burials and pottery from cult sites (see Figure 11). Fifteen published burials can be dated to the Protogeometric period with some confidence (there is some uncertainty about whether some tombs should be dated to the Protogeometric or Geometric period). The most impressive assemblages of Protogeometric ceramics were discovered at the Heroon of Astrabakos (Tile 48.007.051.036) and from a rescue excavation conducted in Tile 48.007.041.050 (BB108).[92] The finds from the latter site include several high-quality vessels that probably derive from a votive deposit. Smaller amounts of Protogeometric pottery were found at the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and Athena Chalkioikos.[93] Pottery finds from six tiles indicate activity without offering any clear evidence for function. There is attested Protogeometric activity at a total of 16 tiles.

The Protogeometric pottery at the Orthia and Chalkioikos sanctuaries indicates that cult activity had begun at both sites by c. 800 and possibly earlier. The chronology of the early structures at the Orthia sanctuary remains hazy, but it is clear that an altar and peribolos had been built and a cobblestone pavement laid around the altar prior to c. 650. An apsidal temple may have been constructed at the same time as the pavement.[94] The architectural remains from the Chalkioikos sanctuary were

92 Wace 1906a; Coulson 1985; Stibbe 1989: 89 n. 20; Soukleris 2014.
93 Droop 1927: 49-55; Droop 1929: 52-66; Coulson 1985. Some of the sherds that Droop categorized as Geometric are in fact Protogeometric, as Coulson shows.
94 Dawkins 1929a; Luongo 2013; Luongo 2014; Luongo 2015.

damaged by later construction and erosion, and there is much uncertainty about the date and nature of early structures.[95]

We can thus trace multiple sites with activity during the Protogeometric period, including two cult sites that would develop into the major sanctuaries of the city. The location of the known sites indicates that by the Protogeometric period settlement was focused around the Palaiokastro plateau. At some unknown point after the Early Bronze Age, when settlement was concentrated along the Magoulitsa, a shift in the center of gravity of Sparta took place.

The basic pattern evident in the Protogeometric period – activity on and around the southwestern, southern, and eastern sides of the Palaiokastro plateau – continued to hold true in the Geometric period, but both the intensity and complexity of activity seem to have increased (see Figure 12). There are 19 published burials from this period, and evidence for religion/cult in eight tiles. Pottery finds from 33 tiles indicate activity without offering any clear evidence for function. There is attested Geometric activity at a total of 44 tiles.

One particularly interesting development is the appearance of the earliest post-Bronze Age evidence for craft production in Sparta. An excavation conducted at the eastern edge of the city (Tile 48.007.051.016, BB099) uncovered the remains of a Late Geometric workshop with three wells and a circular kiln.[96] The presence nearby of Geometric tombs indicates that the area was used for both ceramic production and funerary

95 For the original excavation reports, see Dickins 1907; Dickins 1908 as well as the summary in Spallino 2016. For more recent work, see Giannakaki & Vlachou 2020. The architectural remains include multiple, discontinuous wall segments that have been variously interpreted and dated. Dickins claimed that one wall segment was founded in a purely Geometric stratum. The earliest published architectural terracottas from the site date to the last quarter of the seventh century (Woodward 1927: 40-41; Skoog 1998: 51-52, 157 #11) and hence are not informative about pre-Archaic structures in the sanctuary.

96 Vlachakos 2010. The initial excavation report was uncertain on dating, placing the workshop in the Late Geometric/early Archaic range, but more recent reports state that the workshop was active starting in the Geometric period: see Vasilogambrou, Tsouli & Maltezou 2018.
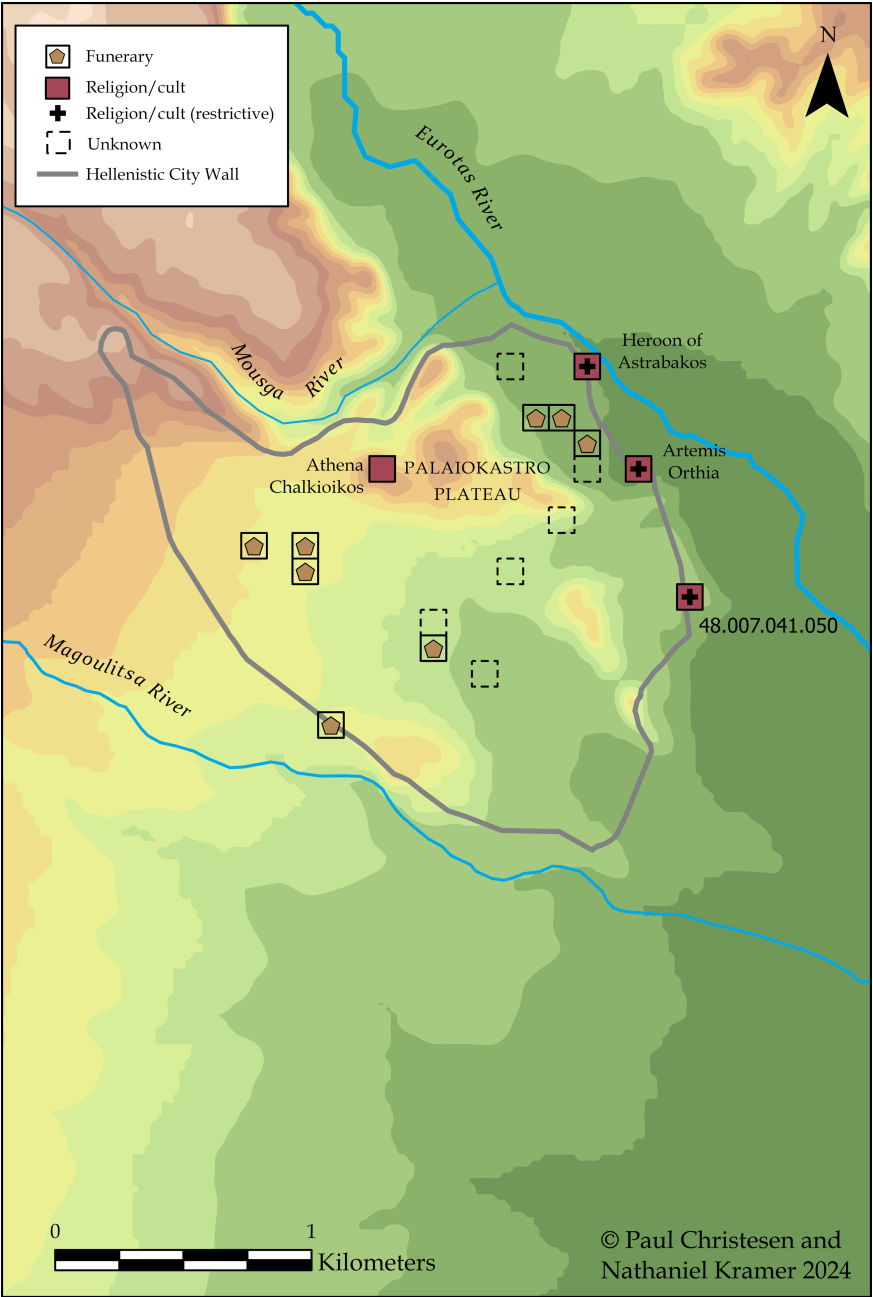
Figure 11: Sparta in the Protogeometric period. The Hellenistic city wall is shown solely as a convenient landmark.
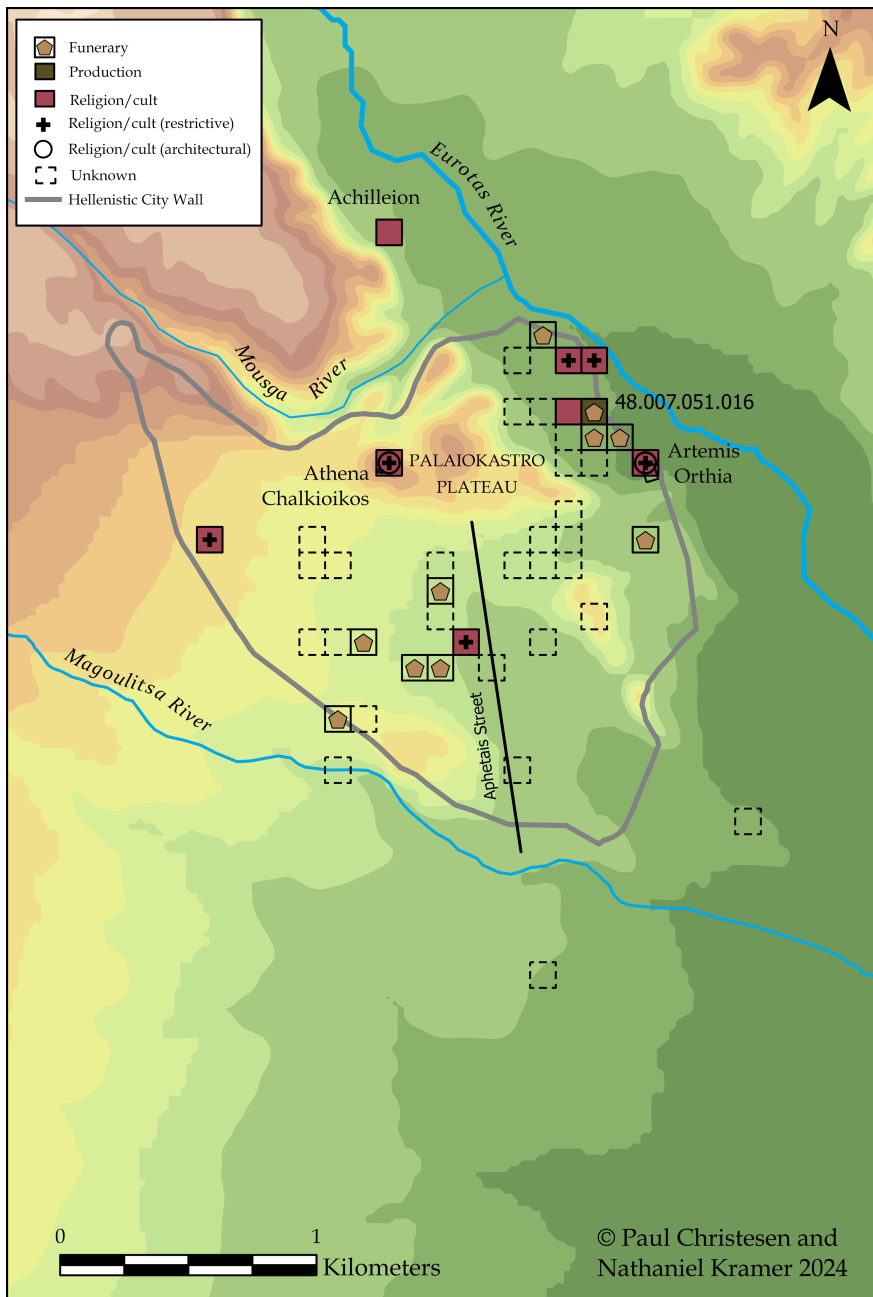
Figure 12: Sparta in the Geometric period. The Hellenistic city wall and
Aphetais Street are shown solely as convenient landmarks.

purposes, a common combination elsewhere, most obviously of course in the Kerameikos in Athens.[97]

There is a notable concentration of tiles classified under the headings of funerary and religion/cult in the northeastern part of the city, which might mean that this was the most heavily settled section of the urban center during the Geometric period. However, the northeastern part of the city was intermittently inundated by the Eurotas, which buried archaeological contexts under protective layers of alluvium, and has been particularly heavily excavated. The area to the south of Palaiokastro, on the other hand, was free from flooding and was densely settled in the Byzantine period, with attendant harm to earlier levels. Variations in the density of evidence for activity may thus have more to do with post-depositional processes and excavation history than the realities of Sparta in the Geometric period.

Although there is no relevant physical or textual evidence, it is likely that, by the end of the Geometric period if not earlier, some sort of predecessor of Aphetais Street was already in existence and that it followed more or less the same route as Aphetais Street. The concentration of settlement on and around Palaiokastro created a need for a road running south from the plateau, and it seems likely that the urban fabric in the Geometric and subsequent periods grew organically around an extant road that became an established fixture in the urban landscape.

Archaic Sparta

The spatial distribution of tiles with attested Archaic activity indicates that settlement in Sparta became denser in areas that were occupied in the Geometric period and expanded outward to the east, south, and west of the Palaiokastro plateau (see Figure 13). Pottery finds from 51 tiles indicate activity without offering any clear evidence for function. There is attested Archaic activity at a total of 85 tiles.

The two known craft production sites from the Archaic period may provide some indication as to the extent of the settled area of the city. Pottery workshops were habitually situated at the fringes of Greek cities,

97 See, for instance, Papadopoulos 2003.

so the locations of the two known production sites in Archaic Sparta are probably significant in and of themselves. Moreover, one of the production sites (in Tile 48.007.051.016), which was established in the Geometric period and which is discussed in the preceding section, was situated close to the location of one of the gates in the Hellenistic city wall and near the west bank of the Eurotas. The Eurotas River was (until the installation of dams in recent decades) prone to flooding,[98] so its banks would not have been a good place for residences, but would have been well suited to a production site, particularly a pottery workshop that needed large quantities of water. The production site near the Eurotas was thus probably located at the eastern fringes of the settled area of the city, which in turn suggests that the other production site may also help identify the outer limits of the city in the Archaic period.

That production site, the finds from which include a kiln that was used in the Archaic and Classical periods, is situated c. 1 km to the southwest of the Palaiokastro plateau (Tile 48.006.050.026, BB140) and c. 200 m to the east of the line of the later Hellenistic wall.[99] The location of this site likely indicates that the settled area in the Archaic period did not extend westward as close to the Magoulitsa as it did in later periods.

With respect to the southern limits of the settled area, there is minimal evidence from any period, including the Archaic period, for dense habitation to the south of a line drawn between the southern ends of Evangelistria and Xenia Hills. The terrain here begins to slope downward toward the juncture of the Magoulitsa and Eurotas, an area that Leake reported as being marshy.[100]

There is evidence for religious/cult activity and burials to the northwest of the second production site. The Magoulitsa ran roughly NW-SE and the Mousga turned to the northwest not far from its juncture with the Eurotas, and there was, as a result, a considerable amount of flat

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98   See Pikoulas 1982; Skoulidis, Oikonomou, Karaouzas et al. 2008: 7-8; Karaouzas, Theodoropoulos, Vardakas et al. 2018: 286-88, 317; Hitchcock, Chapin & Reynolds 2020: 328.
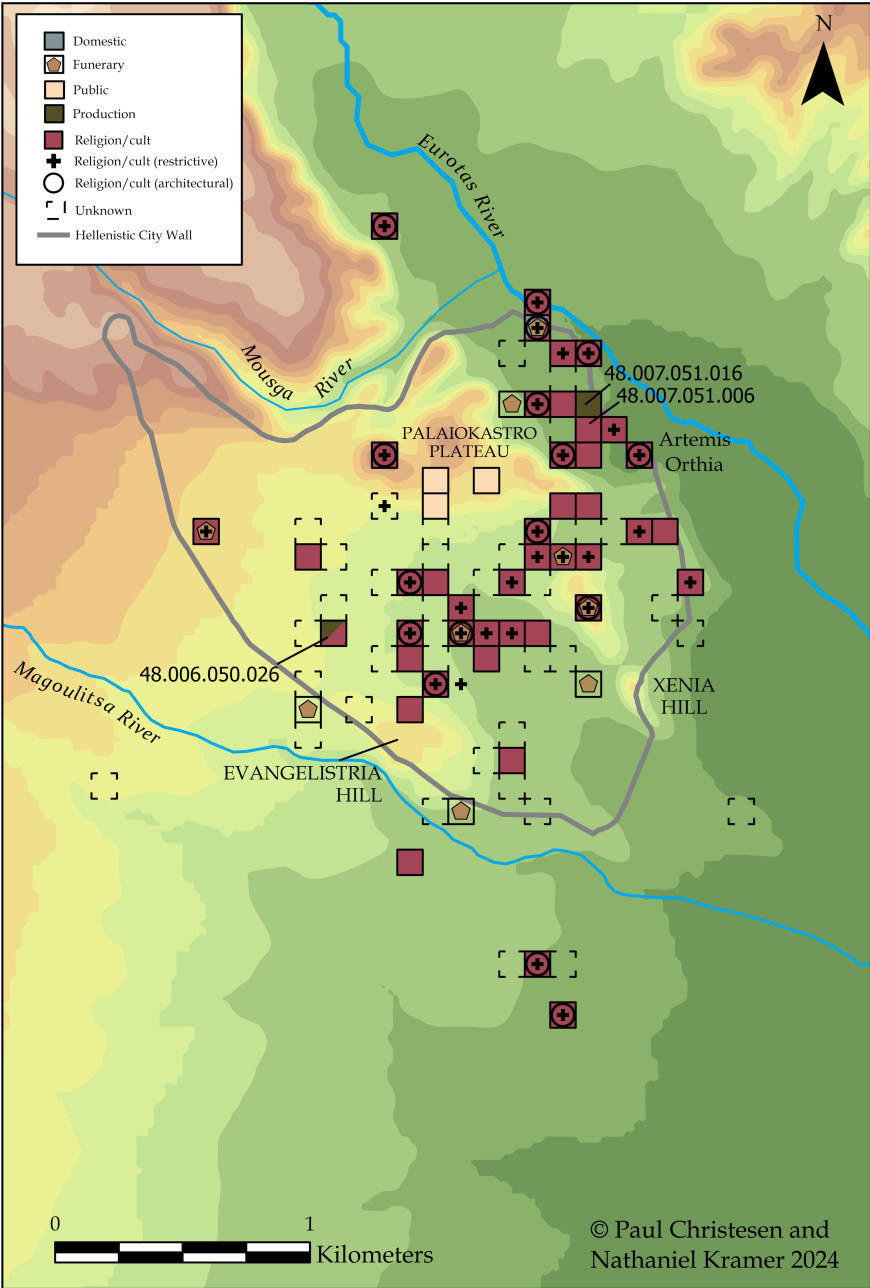
99   Zavvou 2004.

100   Leake 1830: 152-54.

Figure 13: Sparta in the Archaic period. The Hellenistic city wall is shown solely as a convenient landmark.

ground outside the Hellenistic wall in the area west of the Palaiokastro plateau. This part of the modern city (known as Magoula) has not been heavily excavated, and the reports of some of those excavations make it difficult to precisely locate them. The settled part of the city may have bulged outward into the space between the Magoulitsa and Mousga (i.e. Magoula).

The number of published burials climbs from 15 in the Geometric period to 28 in the Archaic period, but by far the most noteworthy change is that there is evidence for religion/cult in 43 tiles (as opposed to 8 in the Geometric period). The upward jump in the number of tiles yielding evidence for religion/cult is not, at least prima facie, purely the result of more intense habitation in Sparta since the ratio of tiles with evidence for religion/cult to the total number of tiles with attested activity of any kind is higher in the Archaic period than in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods (see Table 6). That conclusion holds true regardless of which criteria (holistic, strict, architectural) are used.

Table 6: Ratio (Expressed in Percentage) of Tiles with Evidence for Religion/cult to the Total Number of Tiles with Attested Activity of Any Kind

	Protogeometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	Roman
holistic criteria	25%	18%	51%	56%	23%	12%
strict criteria	19%	14%	35%	44%	15%	8%
architectural criteria	0%	5%	19%	20%	9%	8%

There are several reasons why the data for religion/cult space in Archaic Sparta, as we have compiled and presented it, might be flawed or misleading. The issues discussed above concerning the limitations of the data we used – post-depositional processes creating 'smears' of objects, the difficulty of tracing such smears back to their original context espe-

cially based on rescue excavations, the use of tiles rather than hypothetical sites to report finds, possibly uneven sampling, and differential visibility of certain types of sites and certain periods – are all possible factors.

In addition, changing patterns of dedication may have heightened the archaeological visibility of sanctuaries during the Archaic period. Some types of objects that attest to the existence of a Lakonian sanctuary seem to have been dedicated in significantly larger quantities in the Archaic period than in earlier and later periods. This pattern is most apparent with respect to lead figurines.[101] The largest and best-documented collection of lead figurines comes from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The dating of the earliest and latest figurines from Artemis Orthia remains uncertain,[102] but at least 85% of the roughly 100,000 lead figurines from that sanctuary were probably dedicated in the Archaic period.[103]

Furthermore, some of the evidence for religion/cult may derive from domestic contexts. Supernatural beings were regularly venerated within Greek households, and some of the rituals carried out in households were similar to those carried out in public settings.[104] The earliest definitive evidence for domestic cult activity in Sparta dates to the Roman period, but separating public from domestic cult can be difficult, especially when relying on rescue excavations. For example, a rescue excavation near the modern bridge over the Eurotas River uncovered a long, narrow (c. 2 m wide and at least 13 m in length) structure, dated to the Hellenistic period, with an enclosure in front of it. One of the structure's three rooms was built around a cist that contained a few bones and two sixth-century vases. The floor around that (probable) tomb was covered with a substantial number of votives (including c. 150 terracotta figurines). Two objects among those votives (a bronze protome and a terracotta horse figurine) seem to date to the Archaic period, but the remaining material is later. Giorgos Steinhauer, who excavated this structure, suggested that

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101   Wace 1929; Cavanagh & Laxton 1984.
102   Lloyd 2024.
103   In his study of the lead figurines from Artemis Orthia, Boss argues that they all date to the Archaic period (Boss 2000).
104   Faraone 2008; see also Sofroniew 2015: 15-26; Mikalson, Petrovic & Petrovic 2022: 123-48.

it might be the remains of a family cult site.[105] We are, given the design of the structure and its location near a main road leading into Sparta, more inclined to interpret this as a public cult site, but it does serve as a good reminder that some of the objects that we have taken to be diagnostic of religion/cult might have come from residential structures.

The evidence for a high frequency of religion/cult space in Archaic Sparta – although consonant with the Spartiates' reputation for being unusually pious[106] – may, therefore, be a 'false positive.' The ambiguities in the relevant data make it possible to arrive at multiple interpretations.

Most of the tiles with evidence for religion/cult activity in Sparta lack material that would allow us to identify the supernatural being venerated there. However, it may be possible to identify a subset of sites that were dedicated to heroes (as opposed to Olympian deities) in the Archaic and Classical periods. Terracotta plaques occur primarily at hero shrines in Lakonia, and the offerings associated with terracotta plaques tend to take the form of figurines and pottery.[107] For example, the finds from a sanctuary excavated in Tile 48.007.051.006 (Stauffert Street) include more than 2,500 fragments of terracotta plaques, whereas only nine such plaques were discovered among the tens of thousands of dedications at the Artemis Orthia sanctuary (c. 200 m south of Stauffert Street).[108] If we take a preponderance of terracotta plaques as an indicator of a hero sanctuary, then cultic activity in 19 of the 43 religion/cult tiles was dedicated to heroes.

The relatively large assemblage of material from Archaic Sparta makes it possible to offer a tentative reconstruction of the layout of the city (see Figure 14), something that is not feasible for earlier periods. At least two major building phases reshaped the Orthia Sanctuary in the Archaic period (see Figure 15). Sometime around 650, a small (c. 4.5 x 9 m) temple and altar were built. Early in the sixth century, those structures were damaged by a flood, after which a thick layer of sand was laid down to raise the level of the sanctuary and a new (larger, non-peripteral,

105   Steinhauer 1972b.
106   See, for example, Herodotus 5.63, 9.7; Parker 1989.
107   Salapata 2014; Pavlides 2023: 29–78.
108   Dawkins 1929c: 154–55; Flouris 1996; Flouris 2000; Salapata 2014.

distyle *in antis*) temple (7.6 × 17.5 m) and peribolos wall (the 'Later Enclosure Wall') were built. (The British excavators called the two temples the Early Temple and the Later Temple.) The Later Temple sat on high foundations (2.75 m high, 1.25 m of which protruded above the sand), presumably to help forestall further damage from flooding.[109] The badly preserved remains from Athena Chalkioikos indicate that a cult structure of some sort was built in the seventh or sixth century, along with a stoa and a small structure (only partially preserved) that served cult purposes (see Figure 16a).[110]

The remains typically designated as the Eurotas Altar consist of a stone platform measuring 23.9 × 6.7 m, preserved to a height of 1.90 m. The (regrettably slight) available evidence suggests that the platform supported a long, narrow cult structure, similar to the temple at Artemis Orthia, that was also elevated to limit flood damage.[111] The remains at the Stavropoulos sanctuary include another long, narrow structure, though its original dimensions are difficult to reconstruct.[112] The first phases of construction at both the Eurotas Altar and the Stavropoulos sanctuary probably date to the Archaic period.

The Leonidaion (12.5 × 8.3 m) is built from huge blocks of conglomerate (the biggest of which measures 4.75 × 0.73 × 0.95 m). The interior is divided into a pronaos (3.15 m deep) and a naos (6.9 m deep).[113] Little is known about this building, but its masonry finds close parallels with other Lakonian structures of the Archaic period (e.g. the Round Building, on which see below), and its form indicates that it was a cult structure of some kind.

This body of evidence suggests that, during the period when the peripteral temple developed into the signature cult structure in many cities

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109   See n. 94 for relevant bibliography.

110   Woodward & Hobling 1925: 241-49; Woodward 1927: 37-45.

111   Dickins 1906a; Giannakaki 2008: 9.

112   The site was excavated in the 1960s and again in 1980 (Delivorrias 1968a; Delivorrias 1968b; Delivorrias 1969b; Spyropoulos 1980), and it was re-examined during a conservation program in the early 2000s (Giannakaki 2008: 12).

113   See Waldstein 1892. Woodward argued that the Leonidaion was a cult structure dedicated to Apollo Karneios (Woodward 1909: 81, 85), Stibbe that it was dedicated to Poseidon Genethlios or the heroes Kleodaios or Oibalos (Stibbe 1989: 98-99).

in mainland Greece, the Spartans chose to continue the previous tradition of erecting the long, narrow cult structures that were prevalent in much of the Greek world in the eighth century. There is, in fact, no compelling physical or textual evidence that Sparta ever had a large, peripteral temple, and we can be certain that no such structure was ever built at the Orthia sanctuary, arguably the most prominent religious site in the city.[114] The architecture at the Stauffert Street sanctuary (only part of which was excavated) included a small, rectangular building with benches on the inside, which suggests that at least some heroa in Sparta were equipped with dining structures.[115]

The agora was probably laid out well before the end of the Archaic period (see Figure 16a). The Round Building, consisting of a semi-circular retaining wall surmounted by a circular platform that may have supported a colonnade, was built in the late seventh or early sixth century.[116] Christou's Stoa, a large, L-shaped structure (running at least 30 m N-S and 15 m E-W) was originally built with polygonal blocks and probably dates to the sixth century.[117] Insofar as these structures seem to have helped delineate the borders of the agora in later periods, it is a reasonable assumption that an agora existed in this part of Sparta during the Archaic period.

The earliest known extracommunal cemetery in Sparta was established on the east bank of the Magoulitsa during the Archaic period. This cemetery (sometimes referred to as the Olive Oil Cemetery) is located precisely where one would expect – at the fringes of the densely settled

114   On the evolution of temple design in the Greek world, see Mazarakis Ainian 2016.

115   Tosti (Tosti 2011), building on the work of Nafissi, has argued that the room with a bench should be associated with *leschai,* where, according to Plutarch, adult male Spartans spent much of their time (*Lyc.* 25.2).

116   Waldstein 1892: 74-6; Waldstein and Meader 1893; Waldstein 1894: Waywell & Wilkes 1994: 414-19; Greco, Vasilogambrou & Voza 2009; Voza & Greco 2016; Orestidis 2020; Orestidis, Giannakaki & Vlachou 2020.

117   Christou 1964; Christou 1965; Kourinou 2000: 109-14; Greco 2011: 67-74; Greco 2016: 122-28. Pausanias (3.11.2), in describing the agora, refers to a stoa built with the spoils from the Persian Wars. This stoa has been speculatively associated with Christou's Stoa or the Roman Stoa.
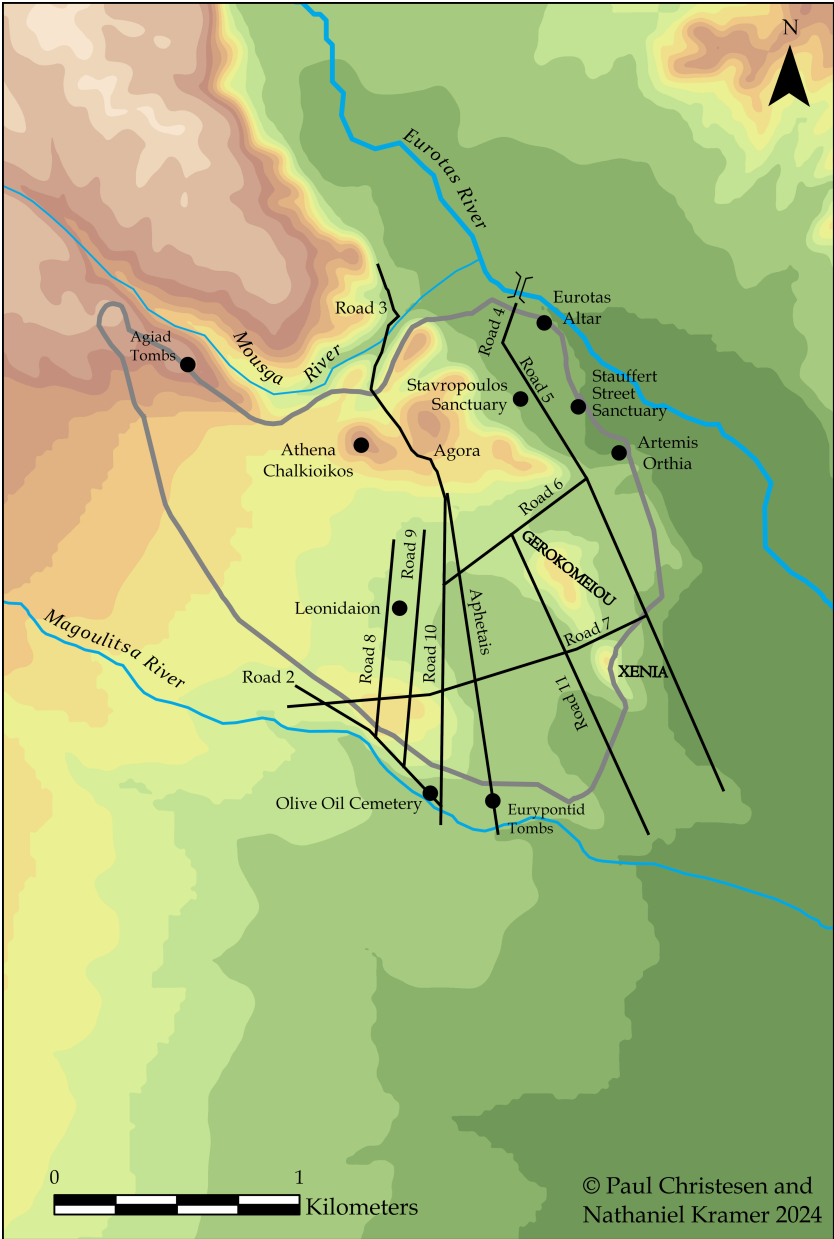
Figure 14: Tentative reconstruction of Sparta in the Archaic and Classical periods. The Hellenistic city wall is shown solely as a convenient landmark.
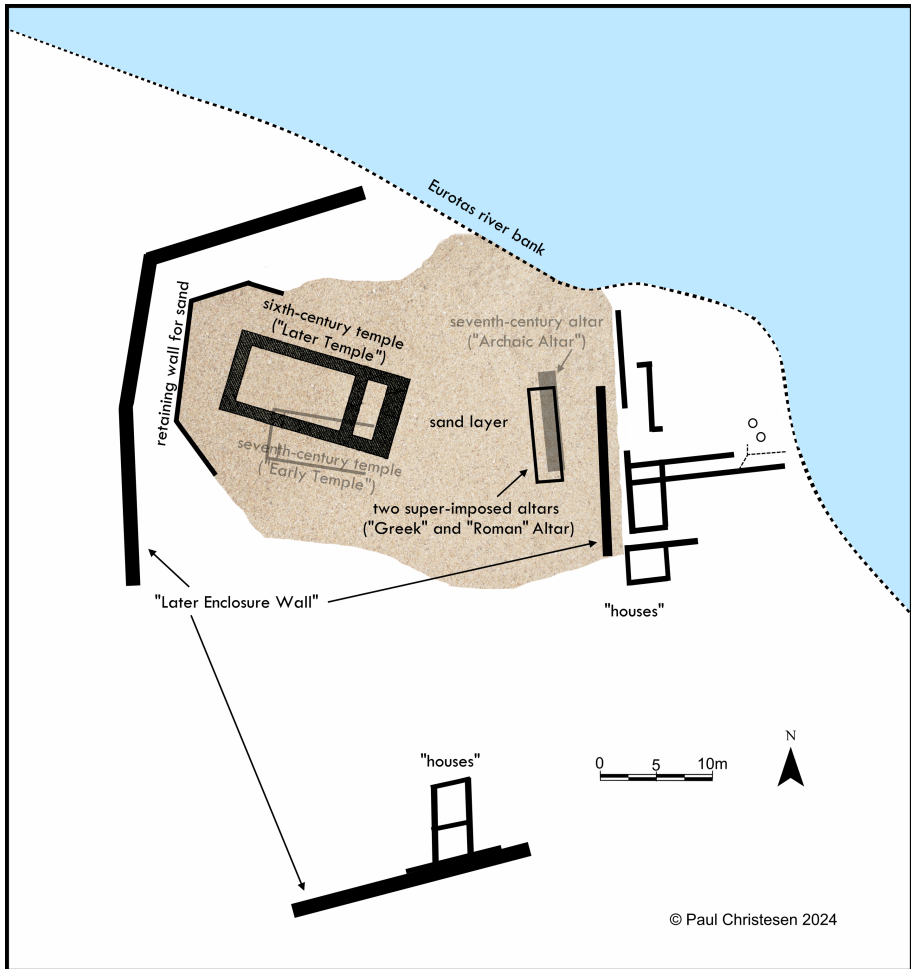
Figure 15: Plan of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at the end of the Archaic period. The plan shows the extant stretches of the peribolos wall, which was presumably continuous.

part of the city. Its establishment probably reflects an increasing pressure on space in the city, which necessitated moving some (though not all burials) to its outer edges. It is noteworthy that the tombs in the cemetery were regularly destroyed, re-used, and built over to maximize the
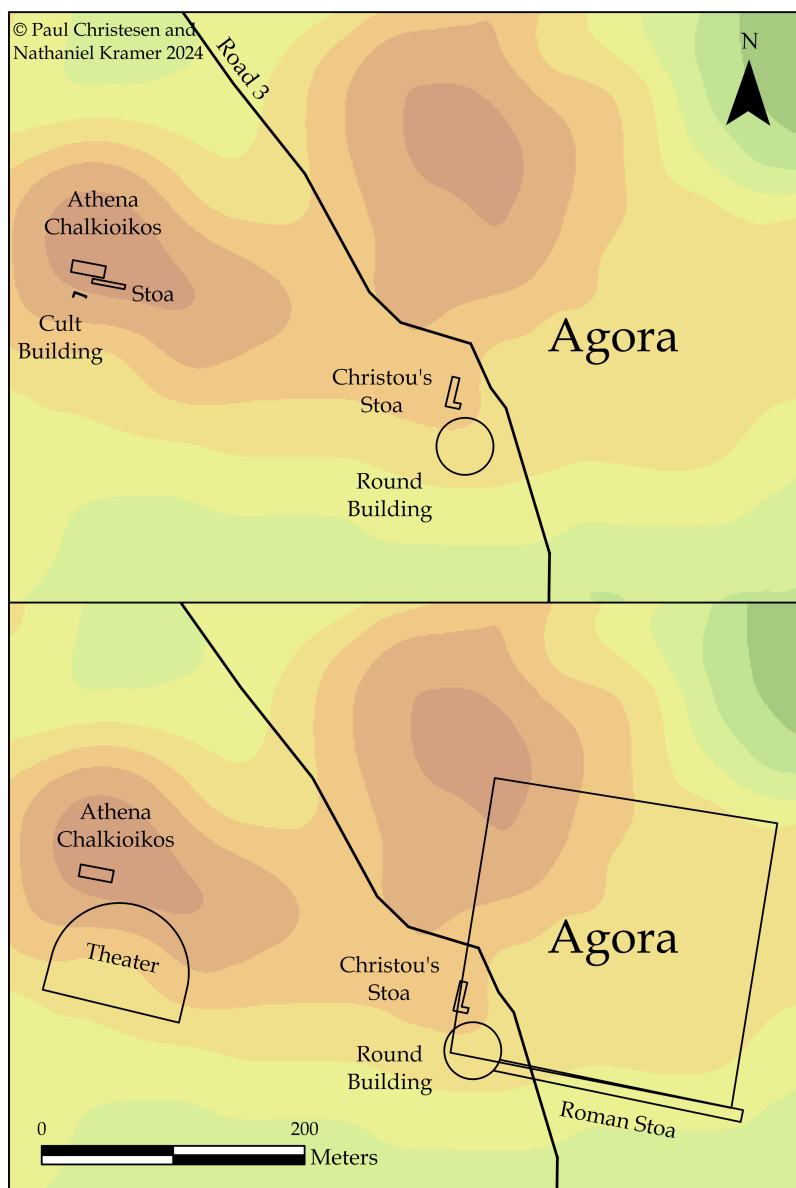
Figure 16a (above): Reconstruction of the layout of the Palaiokastro plateau in the Archaic and Classical periods.
Figure 16b (below): Reconstruction of the layout of the Palaiokastro plateau in the Roman period.

number of burials that could be placed within it.[118] That cemetery remained in use through the Hellenistic period.

The archaeological evidence leaves little doubt that the number of the city's inhabitants and the amount of traffic into and out of the city grew substantially during the Archaic period, and it is likely that a bridge over the Eurotas, somewhere in the vicinity of the Medieval bridge, had been built by the end of the Archaic period at the latest. Polybius (5.22) writes that the Eurotas was difficult to ford much of the year, which would have made a bridge an important piece of infrastructure.

The increasingly dense settlement in the city suggests that important thoroughfares developed before the end of the Archaic period. Although the physical evidence for those thoroughfares is slight, it is possible to reconstruct the routes of some of them with some confidence. The obvious starting place is Aphetais Street, which may well have already existed in some form before the Archaic period. Excavations at the Olive Oil Cemetery uncovered a stretch of road (labeled Road 2 in Figure 14) running along the east bank of the Magoulitsa, the earliest roadbed of which dates to the Classical period, but which must have had an Archaic predecessor to provide access to the cemetery. The length of that road is impossible to reconstruct, but it probably intersected roads running roughly N-S and E-W and leading into the city proper. The main road leading northward to Arcadia ran along the west bank of the Eurotas, and it probably entered the city by running across the Palaiokastro plateau (Road 3). If there was a bridge over the Eurotas then there must have been a road leading from the bridge into the city proper (Road 4).

The likely routes of other roads can be traced based on topography and on strong evidence that intramural burials in Sparta were typically located along roadsides.[119] The number of burials from the Archaic period is insufficient for this purpose, but if we make the plausible assumption that major thoroughfares in the city were established by the end of the Archaic period and maintained until the later Hellenistic period

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118   Tsouli 2013; Christesen 2019: 325-28. Excavations in the cemetery produced some Geometric pottery, which cannot be definitively associated with any tombs and may reflect prior use of the space.

119   This approach is discussed in Christesen 2019: 332-35 and endorsed and validated in Tsouli 2020b.

(when the road network of Sparta underwent major changes), we can plot the locations of intracommunal burials from the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods and work from there.

That approach points to the existence of at least five other major roads:

- one (Road 5) running south from the bridge, between the eastern edge of the Palaiokastro plateau and the Eurotas River and giving access, among other things, to the sanctuaries along the Eurotas, including Artemis Orthia;
- one (Road 6) running roughly E-W, between the southern edge of the Palaiokastro plateau and the northern edge of Gerokomeiou Hill (the location of Artemis Orthia places it close to where Roads 5 and 6 would join);
- one (Road 7) running E-W between Gerokomeiou and Xenia Hills;
- three or four (Roads 8-11) leading south from the area of the agora.

The space south of the agora was roughly triangular, framed by the Magoulitsa on one side and Gerokomeiou and Xenia Hills on the other. The roads to the west of the agora thus ran a little to the west of N-S, and those to the east of the agora ran a little to the east of N-S. Road 10 presents some intriguing interpretive questions because it is close to the route later followed by Aphetais Street as suggested by Kourinou. It is possible that Kourinou's reconstruction of the route of Aphetais Street is incorrect and that Road 10 should be equated with a predecessor of Aphetais Street. However, the two roads would have diverged by more than 200 m farther south, so Road 10 and a predecessor of Aphetais Street may have been separate thoroughfares that converged as they approached the agora.

Pausanias saw the tombs of the Eurypontid kings at the southern end of Aphetais Street, and those of the Agiad kings in the northwestern part of the city. Kourinou persuasively argued that the Agiad tombs were located on the slopes of Vamvakia Hill. Pausanias saw, in the area that held the Agiad tombs, a marker erected in the early fifth century to celebrate

the achievements of the Spartan athlete Chionis.[120] It is probable, there-
fore, that both royal burial grounds had been established by the end of
the Archaic period and did not move thereafter.

Classical Sparta

Pottery finds from 36 tiles indicate activity in the Classical period with-
out offering any clear evidence for function. There is attested Classical
activity at a total of 66 tiles (see Figure 17). As noted above, there is evi-
dence for Archaic activity in 85 tiles, and the number of published intra-
communal burials declines from 28 in the Archaic period to 17 in the
Classical period. These differences are probably not a strong indication
of diminished vitality of Sparta as an urban center. Tracing activity in
Classical Sparta is complicated by two factors. First, there was a marked
drop, both in Sparta and some other Greek settlements, in the number of
dedications made at religious sanctuaries, with a concomitant diminu-
tion of archaeological visibility of those sanctuaries.[121] Second, much of
the pottery produced in Lakonia between c. 500 and the Hellenistic pe-
riod was covered in black glaze with no additional decoration, which can
make it difficult to date precisely.[122] Insofar as there are no substantial
extant structures that date to the Classical period, and we are aware of
no substantial changes to the infrastructure of the city, the reconstruc-
tion of the layout of the city in Figure 14 also holds true for the Classical
period.

    In all likelihood, the extent of the densely settled part of the city was
roughly the same in both the Archaic and Classical periods. An interest-
ing development can be observed on the western slopes of Gerokomeiou
Hill, which had served as religious/cult and funerary space starting in
the Archaic period and received further burials and votives in the Clas-
sical period. That area also yielded evidence for craft production in the

120   Paus. 3.12.8, 3.14.2-3; Kourinou 2000: 212-13; Christesen 2010.
121   See, for example, Loy & Slawisch 2021.
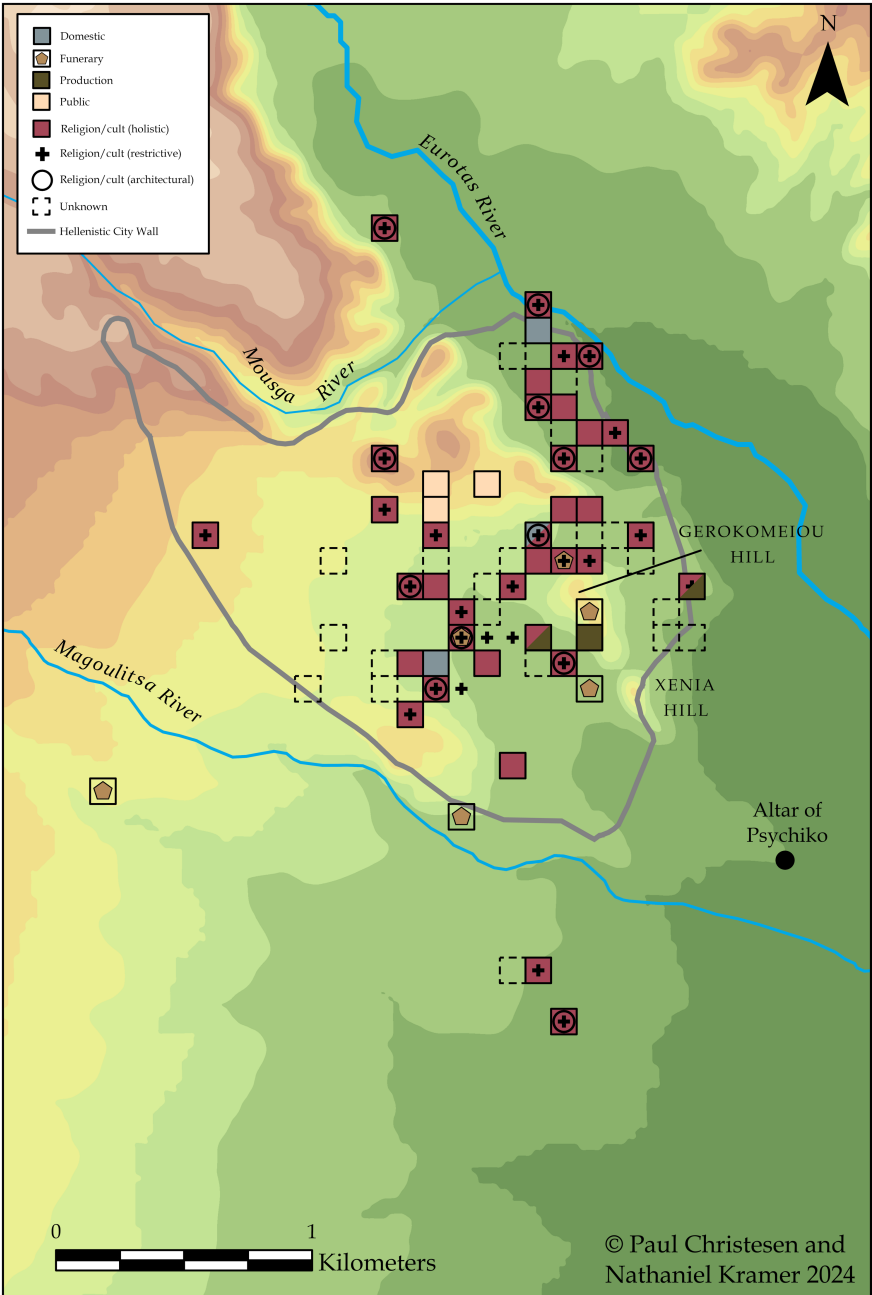122   See, for example, Bonias 1998: 55.

Figure 17: Sparta in the Classical period. The Hellenistic city wall is shown solely as a convenient landmark.

form of several molds for terracotta plaques.[123] In the early 20th century, Alan Wace noted, on the northern and eastern slopes of Xenia Hill, 'traces of ancient potteries, which consisted of pits whence clay had been dug. They had afterwards been filled up with broken pots and other refuse from the kilns.'[124] Wace also records that clay was still being dug from this part of town and taken to kilns located a little to the southeast, in the area around the Altar of Psychiko. It seems likely, therefore, that there were clay beds on the slopes of both Gerokomeiou and Xenia Hills. As discussed in the previous section, there is minimal evidence for activity south of Xenia Hill, and the production site at the southern end of Gerokomeiou Hill and the burials just to the south both reinforce the conclusion that the densely settled part of the city did not extend south of Xenia Hill in the Classical period.

Any discussion of the settlement organization of Classical Sparta period must take into account Thucydides' comparison of the relative grandeur of Athens and Sparta:

> The fact that Mycenae was a small place – or that the buildings of any town of that period do not now seem very impressive – would not be a valid argument for doubting the scale of the expedition as related by the poets and maintained in the tradition. For example, if the city of Sparta were to become deserted, with only the temples and the foundations of buildings left to the view, I imagine that with the passage of time future generations would find it very hard to credit its reputed power. And yet the Spartans occupy two-fifths of the Peloponnese and lead the whole, as well as many external allies: but their dispersed settlement, devoid of temples or expensive buildings, more a collection of villages in the old Greek way [κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης], would seem rather disappointing. If the same happened to Athens, people would assume from the overt appearance that the city's power was twice what it is.[125]

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123   Maltezou 2010b; Tsiangouris 2010c.
124   Wace 1907a: 6.
125   1.10; trans. M. Hammond.

This passage has typically been interpreted in light of evidence for the existence of *ōbai*, which lexicographical sources equate with *kōmai*.[126] The so-called Great Rhetra, probably a genuine document from the Archaic period, calls for the division of the Spartiate populace into *phylai* and *ōbai*.[127] Pausanias claims that at an early point in the history of Sparta, a quarrel arose between the inhabitants of Kynosoura, Limnai, Mesoa, and Pitana, all of which are characterized as *ōbai* in Roman-era inscriptions from Sparta.[128] Further evidence, such as tiles (originally used to cover the city wall) stamped with the inscription ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΑΝ, has also been brought to bear.[129] In addition, Amyklai, c. 5 km south, is described as an *ōba* in an inscription dated on letter forms to the second or first century.[130] That would make five *ōbai*, which would help account for the existence in Sparta of magistracies, such as the ephorate, held by five individuals at the same time.[131]

These textual sources have led many scholars to attempt to locate the four *ōbai* of Kynosoura, Limnai, Mesoa, and Pitana within the larger space of the city of Sparta. Kourinou, for example, argued that each *ōba* had its own cemetery and on that basis identified burial clusters that could be interpreted as cemeteries and linked those clusters to specific *ōbai*, the locations of which are labeled on the map provided with her monograph.[132]

However, Marcello Lupi has persuasively argued that the evidentiary basis for the idea that there were four distinct *ōbai* in Classical Sparta – Thucydides' *kōmai* – is much weaker than it seems at first glance. The key problem is that it requires bringing together an enigmatic document from the Archaic period; a brief passage by Thucydides that may be shaped by a desire to draw a stark contrast between Athens and Sparta;

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126   See Hesychius s.v. ὠάς, ὠβάι, ὠγή.
127   The scholarly literature on the Great Rhetra is voluminous. Fragkaki 2015 is a good starting place.
128   Paus. 3.16.9; *IG* V.1.674-88.
129   Wace 1907b: 42.
130   *IG* V.1.26.
131   Pareti 1917-1920: vol. 1: 173-87; Wade-Gery 1944.
132   Kourinou 2000: 88-95.

and inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when the sociopolitical system and urban fabric of Sparta had evolved in profound ways.[133]

This is not the proper context for a thoroughgoing examination of the relevant evidence, but it is worth pointing out that the archaeological evidence shows no signs of the existence of four distinct nuclei within Sparta during the Classical period, or any other period. The visualizations included in this article help make that apparent, and we have shown elsewhere that examination of the locations of the 400+ published intracommunal burials in Sparta using the spatial analysis tool known as Moran's Index reveals very little in the way of the consistent clustering one would expect if there were four distinct ōbai, each with its own cemetery.[134]

The absence of archaeological evidence for four distinct ōbai is consistent with Thucydides' observations on Sparta. Thucydides makes no mention of ōbai and does not have anything to say about a specific number of settlement nuclei. His phrase κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης can be interpreted as simply indicating that Sparta was less densely settled than Athens.

Hellenistic Sparta

The steep decline in the power of Lakedaimon that began with the Battle of Leuktra in 371 affected the settlement organization of Sparta: by the end of the fourth century, the city, which had not previously been fortified, was being strengthened by simple defensive works at particularly weak points. A complete circuit wall was built by the late third century; that wall was destroyed in 188 and rebuilt shortly thereafter.[135]

The archaeological evidence for Hellenistic Sparta shows some interesting changes from the preceding period. Pottery finds from 82 tiles in-

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133 Lupi 2006.
134 Christesen & Kramer forthcoming.
135 The relevant evidence, most of which is textual, is reviewed in detail in Kourinou 2000: 35-88.

dicate activity in the Hellenistic period without offering any clear evidence for function (see Figure 18). There is attested Hellenistic activity at a total of 117 tiles. Notable changes from the Classical period include a sharp increase in attested domestic space (from 3 to 21 tiles), a drop in religion/cult space (37 to 27 tiles), and increasing complexity in the urban fabric in the form of water supply (0 to 7 tiles), transport (0 to 10 tiles), and production space (3 to 9 tiles).

The apparent rise in demand for domestic space in Sparta may have been linked to geopolitical realities in Lakonia; as the security situation in Lakonia deteriorated, it became increasingly desirable to live within the space protected by Sparta's newly built wall. During the Theban invasion of Lakonia in 370-369, a force of Lakedaimonian hoplites guarded the city of Sparta, and the Thebans contented themselves with pillaging wealthy homes on the east bank of the Eurotas. When Philip II invaded Lakonia in the 330s, the same pattern played out – the city remained safe, but the area around it suffered badly.[136]

Though tempting, it is impossible to attribute the decline in space devoted to religion/cult to the increase in domestic space inside the city. Only three tiles classified as religious/cult in the Classical period were converted to domestic space in the Hellenistic period. Several factors – e.g. problems with archaeological visibility, shifts in religious practice – could explain the decline in the amount of space devoted to religion/cult, and it is not feasible at the moment to propose a definitive explanation of this change. The finds from both the Chalkioikos and Orthia sanctuaries demonstrate that cult activity continued through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman period, and the temple at the Orthia sanctuary underwent a major renovation in the Hellenistic period.[137]

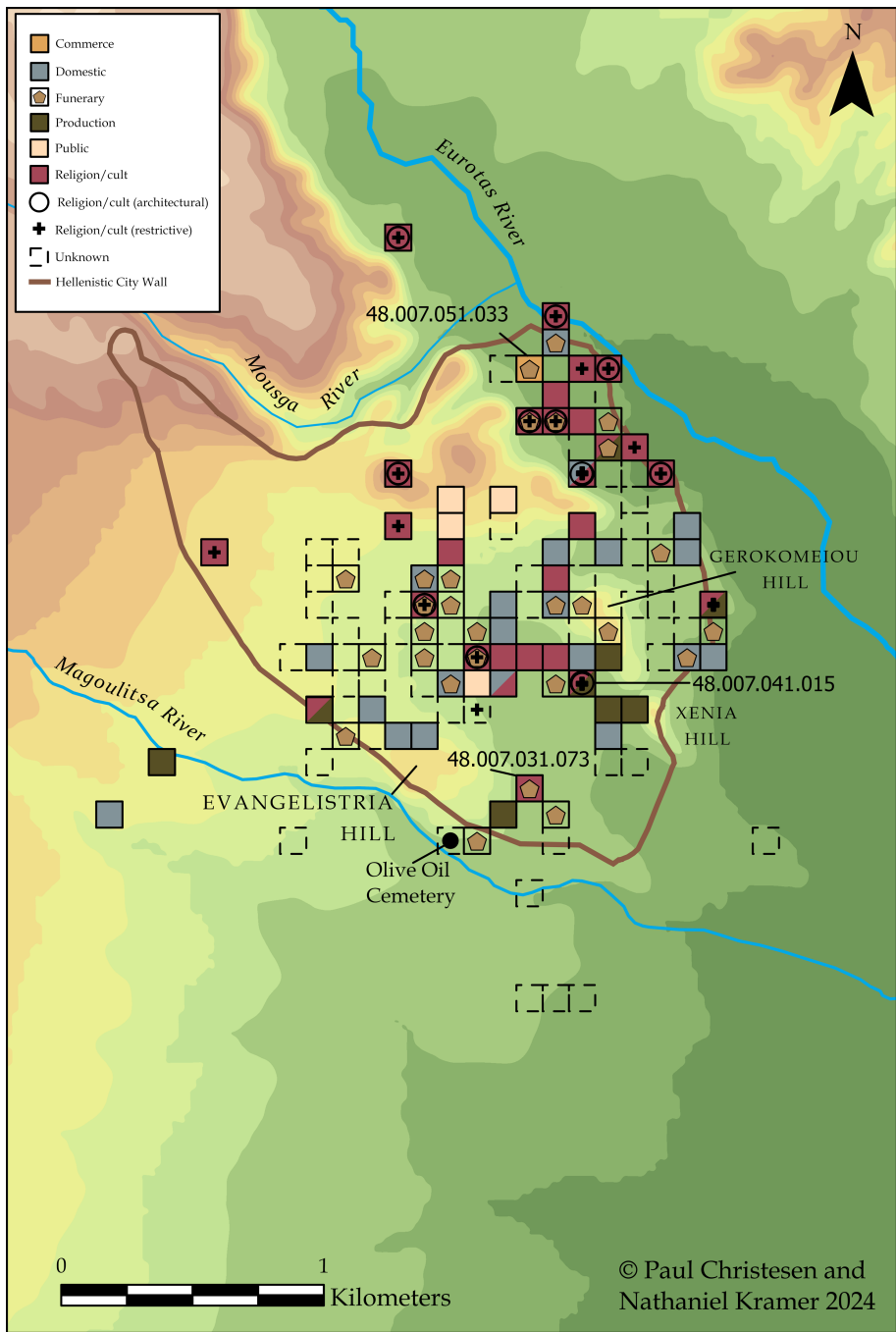136   Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27; Polyb. 5.22-3.
137   Dawkins 1929a.

Figure 18: Sparta in the Hellenistic period.

It is not possible to determine the specific supernatural being worshipped at most of the cult sites in Sparta known solely through rescue excavations. However, excavations in Tile 48.007.041.015 (BB047) uncovered extensive Hellenistic remains including a votive base with an inscription dedicating it to the Mother of the Gods (MS 14956), a small *stēlē* with a female figure in relief (MS 15380), and numerous other votives.[138] These finds led the excavators to conclude that there was a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in the area. The sanctuary in question may be τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Μεγάλης μητρός mentioned by Pausanias in his description of Aphetais Street.[139]

The archaeological evidence shows that the area within the newly built fortification wall was for the most part densely settled. However, the area south of Evangelistria and Xenia Hills seems to have remained largely uninhabited. Just to the south of Evangelistria Hill there is evidence for production, religion/cult, and burials, and just to the south of Xenia Hill there is evidence for production and just one tile with evidence of domestic use.

Hellenistic Sparta seems to have had an increasingly elaborate network of roads and water supply pipes. In the Archaic and Classical periods, there were one and three tiles, respectively, with evidence of roads, and no evidence of a public water supply or drainage system. This changes in the Hellenistic period, for which we have 10 tiles with roads and 7 tiles with water supply or drainage installations.

The earliest evidence for commercial space in Sparta outside of the agora dates to the Hellenistic period and comes from the northeastern part of the city (Tile 48.007.051.033, BB189). Excavations in that tile uncovered a nearly 70-m long section of road running N/NE-S/SW, and heading toward the area of the bridge over the Eurotas. A stoa of mudbrick construction, dating to the Hellenistic period, ran along the western side of the road. Though few coins were found, a large quantity of pottery including pithoi and the position of the stoa along one of the main roads in Sparta indicate that this was a commercial space.[140]

Figure 19 offers a tentative reconstruction of the layout of the city of

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138   Zavvou 2003; MS = Sparta Museum inventory number.
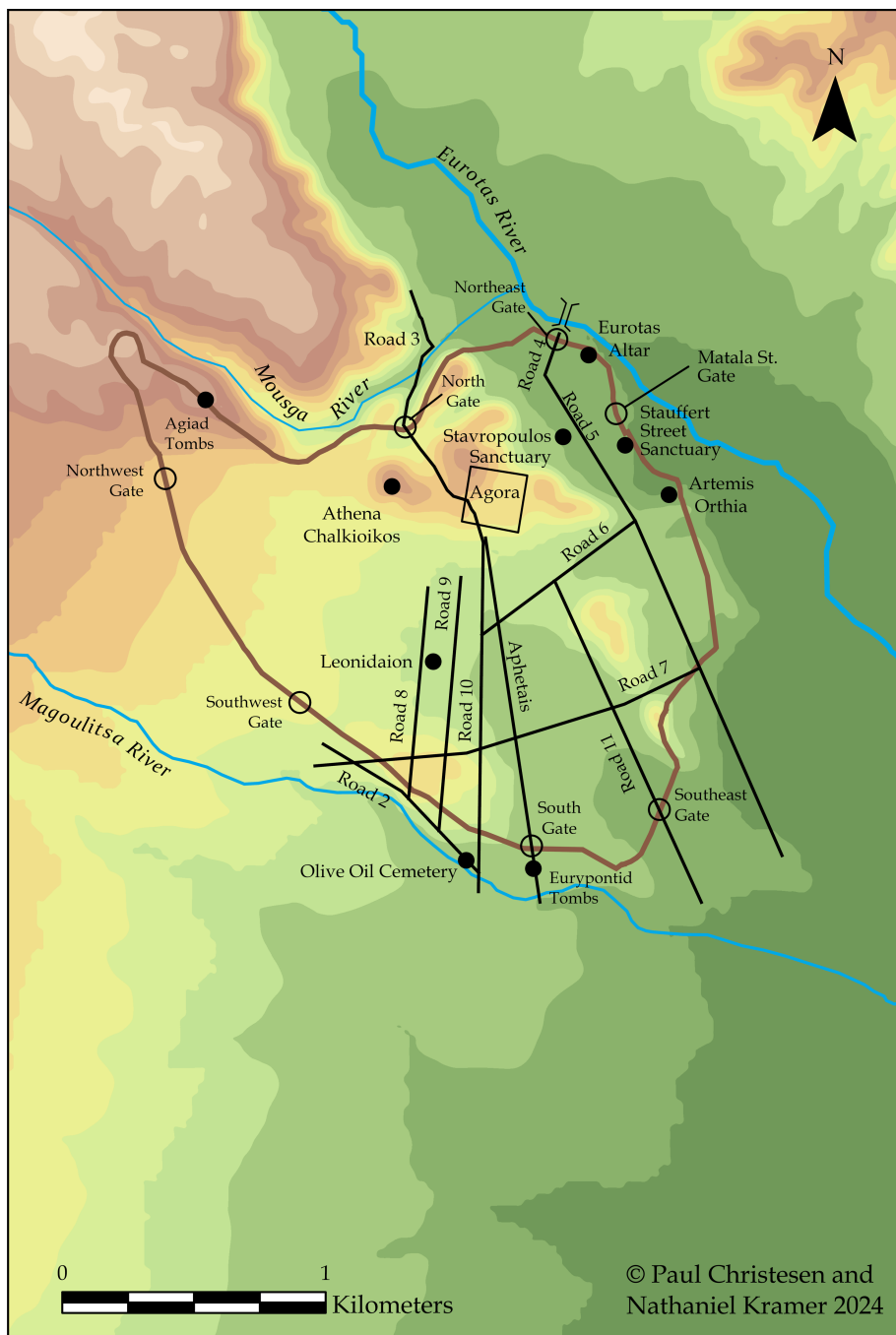139   Paus. 3.12.9.
140   Maltezou 2011; Tsouli 2014.

Figure 19: Tentative reconstruction of Sparta in the Hellenistic period.

Sparta in the Hellenistic period. There were several gates in the Hellenistic fortification wall, though it is impossible to establish their precise number. The literary sources mention three gates: one at the Eurotas, one leading to 'Pharas,' and one leading to 'Barbosthenes.'[141] Scholars have attempted to establish the location of some of the gates in the city wall based on textual evidence, topography, and the location of the main bridge over the Eurotas.[142] The first relevant archaeological evidence emerged in 1972, when excavations revealed a section of the fortification wall and an adjacent road along the bank of the Eurotas. Due to the site's proximity to the modern bridge and the remains of a Medieval bridge, the excavator argued that this must be very near the site of an ancient gate.[143]

Kourinou, using the aforementioned evidence as well as the location of cemeteries and the assumption that Sparta in the Hellenistic and Roman periods had a regular street grid, postulated the existence of six gates:[144]

- the North Gate, through which the main road to Arcadia would have run;[145]
- the Northeast Gate, at the bridge over the Eurotas, which Kourinou tentatively identified with the gate to Barbosthenes;
- the Southeast Gate, which would have provided access to the Menelaion;
- the South Gate, through which Aphetais Street would have passed;
- the Southwest Gate, which would have provided access to areas to the west of the city;
- the Northwest Gate, which would have provided access to areas to the northwest of the city.

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141   Eurotas gate: Polyb. 5.23.10. Pharas and Barbosthenes gates: Livy 5.30.9.
142   See, for instance, Crosby 1893: 347; Wace 1907a: 6-7, 9-10; Bölte 1929: 1356-57.
143   Steinhauer 1972a.
144   Kourinou 2000: 67-75.
145   Adamantiou 1931; Adamantiou 1934.

The existence and positions of these gates are more secure in some cases than others. The existence and position of the Northeast Gate, for example, is a near certainty, whereas the existence and position of the Northwest Gate are largely speculative.

In 2010, a rescue excavation uncovered a gate (here called the Matala Street Gate based on its location in the modern city), c. 350 m south of the postulated Northeast Gate. The Matala Street Gate – the first tangible remains of a gate in the Hellenistic city wall – was narrow (c. 3 m) and reinforced with a tower. A segment of a road, burials, and a production site, all of Hellenistic date, were uncovered in the immediate vicinity. The proximity of this gate to the Northeast Gate is somewhat surprising; it was presumably intended to give access to the area between the city wall and the west bank of the Eurotas.[146]

The same combination of road, burials, and production site is attested at one other location in Sparta, close to the line of the Hellenistic wall, and this may indicate the position of Kourinou's South Gate. Excavations in Tile 48.007.031.073 (BB034) revealed a number of stamped roof tiles, which were used among other things to cover the fortification wall. In the same spatial tile, two sections of a Hellenistic road were discovered. In the adjacent spatial tile to the southwest, a large production site that included a Hellenistic ceramic kiln was discovered. The Olive Oil cemetery is situated a little further to the southwest.

There were certainly major changes in the urban fabric of Sparta during the Hellenistic period, but at present most of them (e.g. the elaboration of the road network) are insufficiently documented to place on a plan. As a result, the only major change between the reconstructions offered here for the Archaic/Classical and Hellenistic periods (Figures 14 and 19) is the presence of the fortification wall and gates. We assume that the major thoroughfares from earlier periods continued to exist for much of the Hellenistic period.

146   Vlachakos 2010.

Roman Sparta

The Roman period is, in terms of the quantity of physical remains and their state of preservation, by far the best attested era in the history of Sparta; most rescue excavations in Sparta uncover Roman material of one kind or another. This is in part the result of the Roman habit of using durable construction materials such as bricks, cement, and concrete; the decline of the size of the city in the Byzantine period, which left many Roman structures undisturbed ruins; and the abandonment of the city in the 13th century CE.[147]

Pottery finds from 92 tiles indicate activity in the Roman period without offering any clear evidence for function. There is attested Roman activity at a total of 141 tiles (see Figure 20). Domestic space overtakes religious/cult space (58 domestic tiles; 17 religion/cult tiles). Many of the domestic spaces in Roman Sparta seem to have been more luxurious than their earlier counterparts. This is most immediately apparent from the existence of 91 mosaics found in 40 tiles (see Figure 21). The majority of these (55/91 mosaics and 34/40 tiles) are from domestic spaces. Four belong to a possible public building, and the other 32 are from bathhouses (see below). As there are 58 tiles with domestic activity, 59% of all domestic tiles have at least one mosaic.

The expansion of domestic space was not uniform throughout the area enclosed by the Hellenistic fortification wall. In the northeastern part of the city, only four tiles have evidence of domestic space. This area, which was marshy and intermittently flooded by the Eurotas, was probably not a desirable spot for affluent homeowners. The vast majority of the mosaics have been found south of the Palaiokastro plateau and west of Gerokomeiou Hill; that area seems to have been the most desirable living space in Roman Sparta. Further evidence that this might be the wealthy section of town comes from Tile 48.006.050.026 (BB140). The remains of an extensive Roman villa were found in this tile and included mosaics portraying members of the Imperial family. Steinhauer,

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147   The city of Sparta in the Roman period is the subject of one of the chapters (pp. 127-42) in Cartledge & Spawforth 2002.
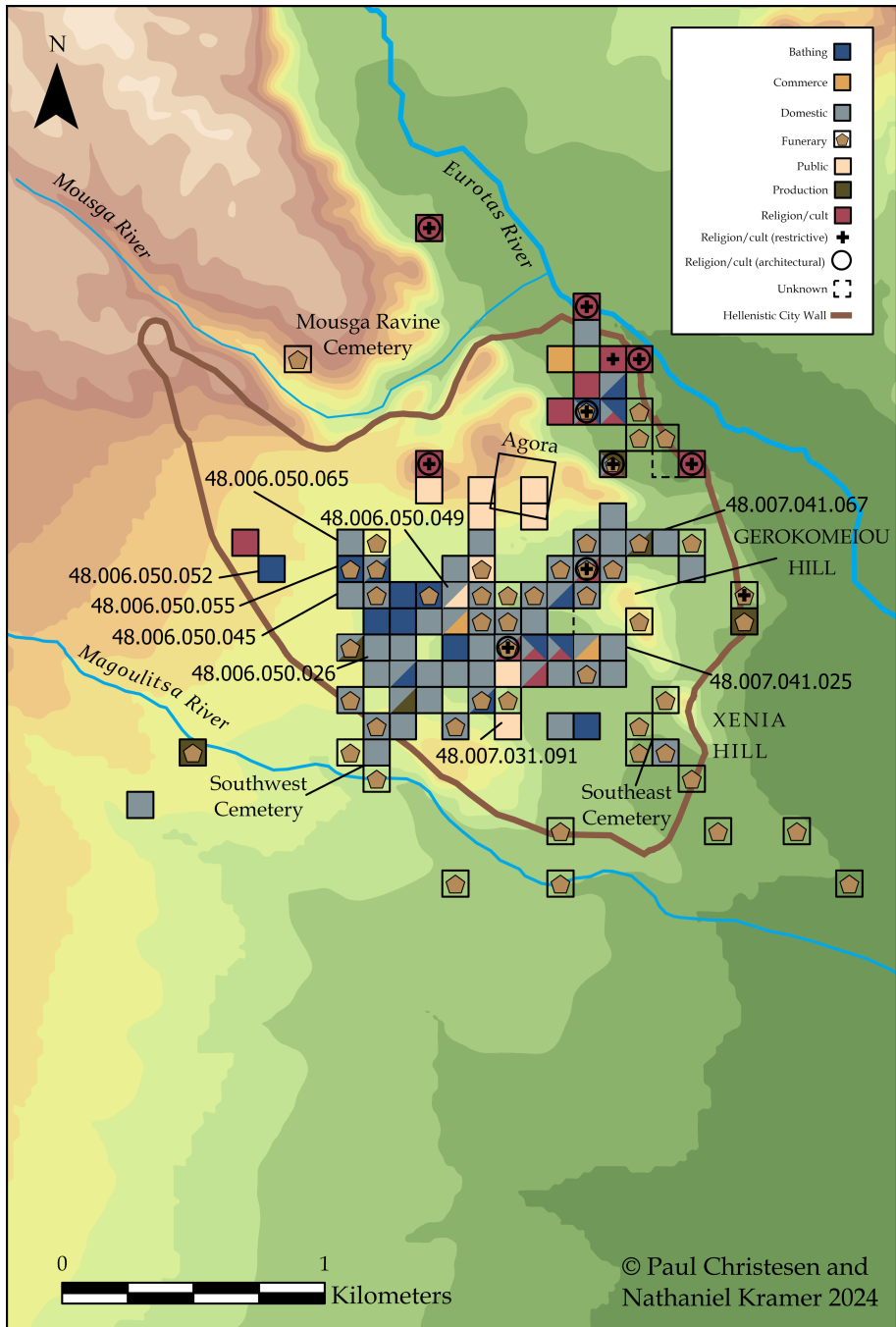
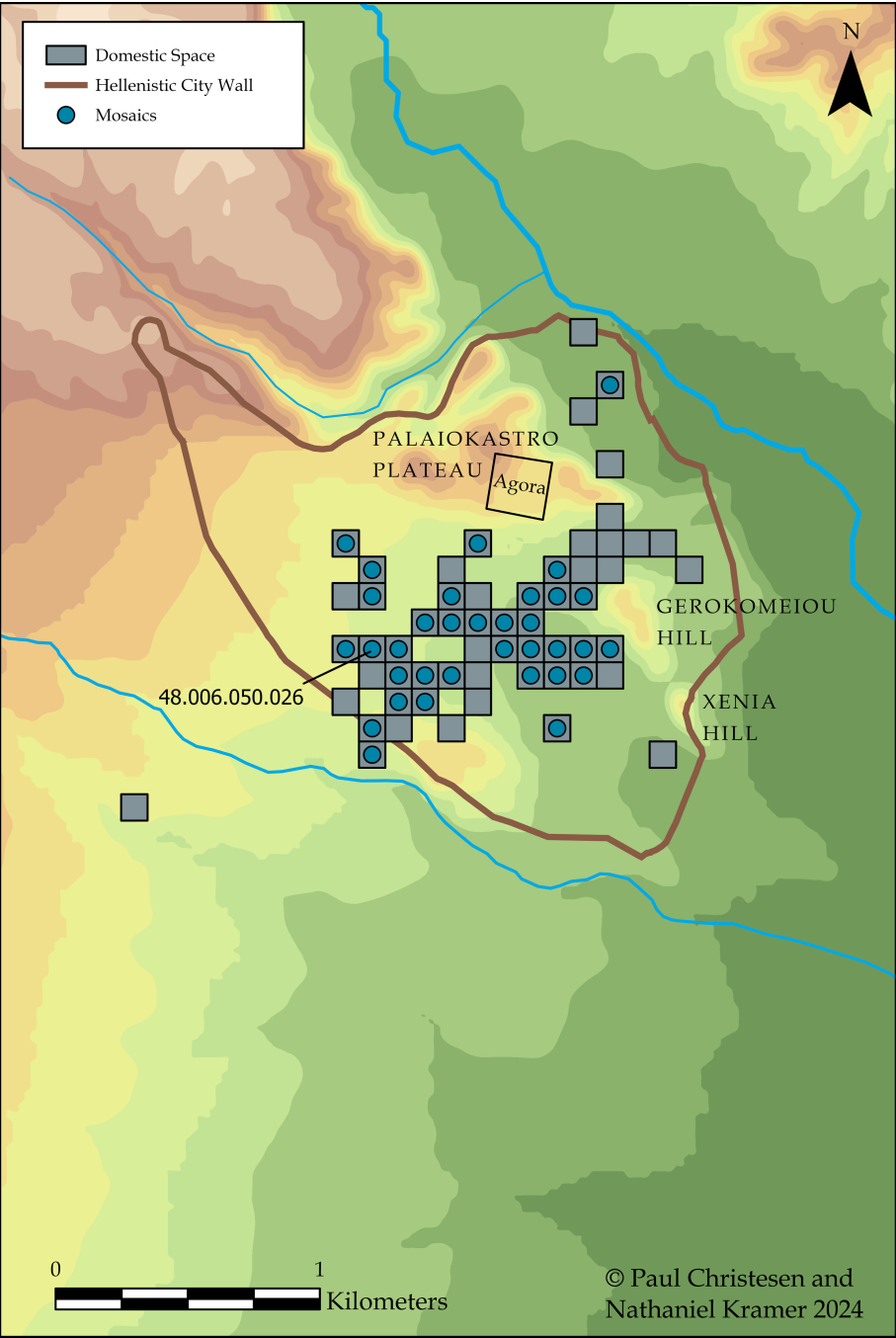Figure 20: Sparta in the Roman period.

Figure 21: Domestic space and mosaics in Roman Sparta.

who excavated the site, claims that it was the villa of the Eurykleidai, the most powerful family in Roman Sparta.[148]

There is a notable decrease in the number of tiles with attested religion/cult activity (from 28 in the Hellenistic to 17 in the Roman period). The reasons for this change are not immediately apparent, but it almost certainly can be explained at least in part by two factors: (1) centralization of cultic activity into clearly defined, large public spaces, and (2) more cultic activity taking place in private homes. Pausanias mentions around 100 cult sites in Sparta, which leaves a substantial gap between the material and textual records. Many of the religious spaces described by Pausanias were situated in public areas, especially the agora, that have not been excavated.

Elaborate private residences in at least some cases contained religious spaces, which may reflect a shift toward conducting cultic activity inside the home rather than at a sanctuary. What appears to be the remains of a shrine in a private house were uncovered in Tile 48.007.041.067 (BB115).[149] A complex of architectural remains of Roman date in that tile includes a small square structure, made of rough worked stone and clay and lined with painted mortar, in the corner of a room. The excavators identified the square structure as a shrine to Dionysus, based on the votive offerings – a nearly life-size terracotta statue of Dionysus, terracotta figurines, masks – found in and around it. Given the nature of the finds in the rest of the complex, the square structure was probably a family shrine in an elaborate private residence.

The drop in religion/cult space is not evenly distributed throughout the Roman city. Whereas the northeastern area of the city maintains the densest concentration of religion/cult tiles, the number of such tiles in the area to the south of Palaiokastro declined precipitously. Moreover, much of the space used for domestic purposes in the Roman period had religion/cult functions in earlier periods: 16 of the 58 tiles with domestic activity in the Roman period had attested religious/cult activity in ear-

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148 Steinhauer 2009: 274; for more on the Eurykleidai, see Cartledge & Spawforth 2002: 97-105. For the excavation report from the area, see Zavvou 2004.

149 Tsouli 2010.

lier periods but not the Roman period. There is thus good reason to believe that strong demand for residential space in the most desirable part of the city led to a reduction in the number of cult sites in that area.

As we have seen, the roads and water supply system in Sparta underwent a significant expansion in the Hellenistic period. For the Roman period, 36 tiles have produced evidence for roads, and 34 tiles for water supply or drainage systems (see Figure 22). Much of the earlier road and water supply network was rebuilt, and in some cases the routes of roads and pipes may have changed.[150]

There is a curious phenomenon surrounding Spartan roads, starting in the Hellenistic period. Many roads from this period are preserved only in fragments and mentioned in excavation reports without direction. Yet most of the roads discovered in the Roman layers had underlying road-beds dating back to the Hellenistic period. This implies that there were two separate road networks during the Hellenistic period. One of them was most likely the original, organic road network that had taken shape in much earlier periods, and the other was that laid down in the later Hellenistic period, possibly after Greece became a Roman province.[151]

Figure 23 supplies a tentative reconstruction of the layout of Roman Sparta. Using the available evidence from the 57 sections of Roman road discovered to date and the locations of the 126 known Roman-period intracommunal burials, it is possible to tentatively reconstruct the second/later Hellenistic road network, which seems to have been carried over into the Roman period.[152]

The available evidence indicates that there was a considerable degree of continuity in Sparta's road network from earlier periods through the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. For example, the two major E-W routes, one running between the Palaiokastro plateau and Gerokomeiou Hill and the other between Gerokomeiou and Xenia Hills, did not change.

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150 Themos 1994.
151 Cartledge & Spawforth 2002: 86.
152 The road network in Sparta did not follow cardinal directions, so the descriptions of road orientations in many excavation reports (e.g. NW-SE) are insufficiently precise to create an accurate reconstruction.
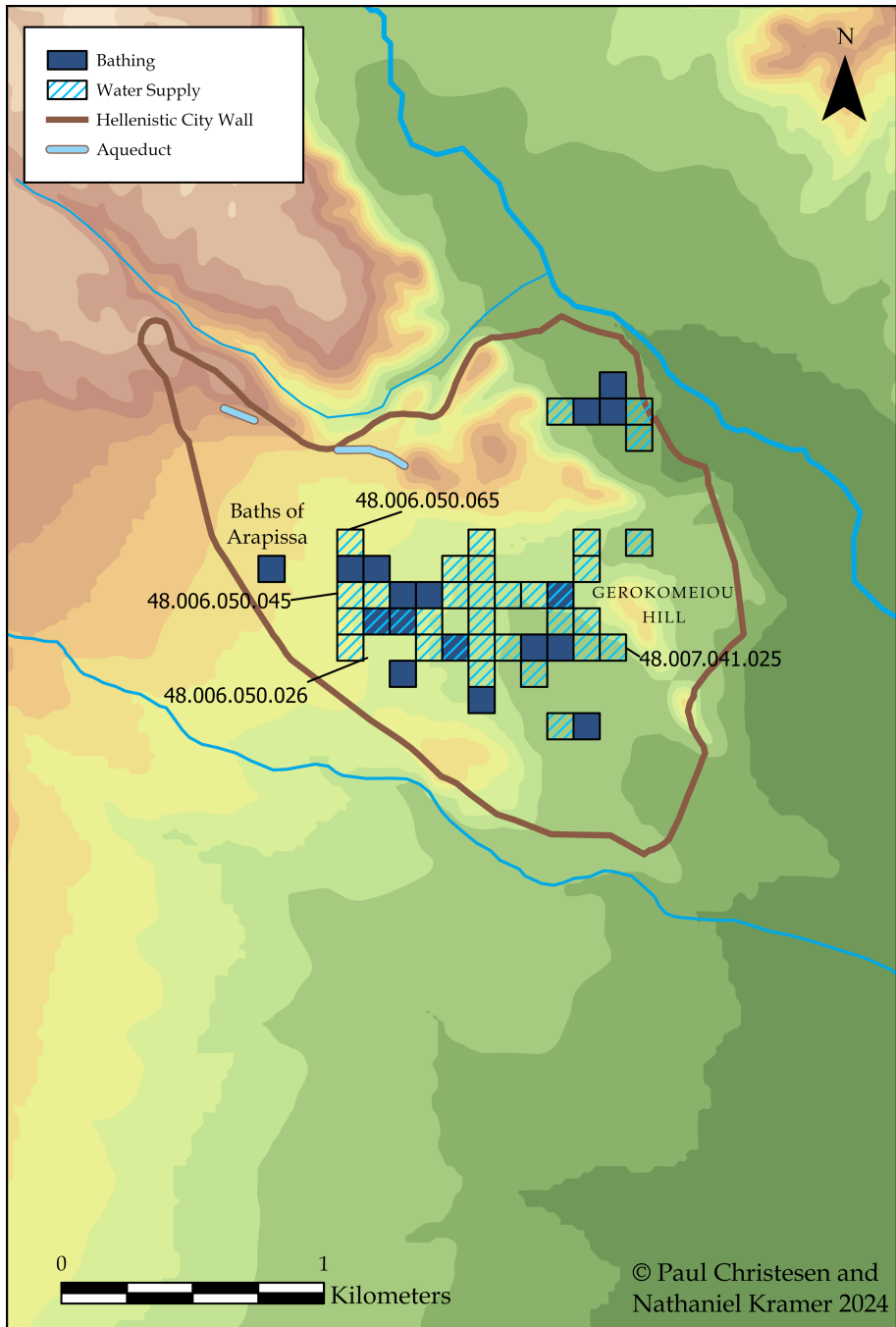
Figure 22: Bathhouses and water supply in Roman Sparta.

This is as one would expect given that the city did not suffer a catastrophic destruction at any point so the building of a completely new road network on a different orientation than before would have been quite disruptive. The reconstruction offered here suggests that even in the Roman period Sparta did not have a street grid with consistent spacing between roads that invariably ran perpendicular and parallel to each other. This contradicts both Kourinou's assertion of a regular grid running NE-SW and NW-SE, and Steinhauer's suggestion of regular insulae measuring either 52 × 52 or 52 × 104 m.[153]

Two aqueducts supplied Roman Sparta with water. One began in the vicinity of the modern village of Trypi, c. 7 km northwest of Sparta, the other near modern Vivari, c. 12 km north of Sparta (see Figure 1).[154] The water from these aqueducts fed an array of bathhouses; there are as many tiles with evidence of bathing activity in the Roman period as there are tiles with evidence for religion/cult (17). The Arapissa baths (Tile 48.006.050.052), which covered a large area (at least 155 × 135 m), were constructed in the second or third century CE.[155] They were located near a terminus of one of the aqueducts in the northwestern corner of Sparta, and most of the tiles with evidence for baths are situated along a line running southeast from that part of the city. This suggests that many of Sparta's baths were purposefully built along one of the main water supply lines of the city.

Public spaces in Sparta resembled those in other Greek cities of the Roman period. A road to the south of the Palaiokastro plateau was adorned with a colonnade or stoa (Tile 48.006.050.049, BB126).[156] Two secular Roman basilicas were discovered in Tile 48.007.031.091 (BB031A) and Tile 48.006.050.055 (BB130).[157] A massive theater was, in the last third of the first century, built into the west slope of the Palaiokastro plateau (see Figure 16b). This theater, which accommodated c. 17,000 people, was

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153   Kourinou 2000: 139-54; Steinhauer 2009: 273-74.
154   Kourinou 2000: 221-7.
155   Wace 1906b; Palagia 1989.
156   Steinhauer 1973-1974a.
157   Steinhauer 1973a; Vasilogambrou, Tsouli & Maltezou 2018: 336.
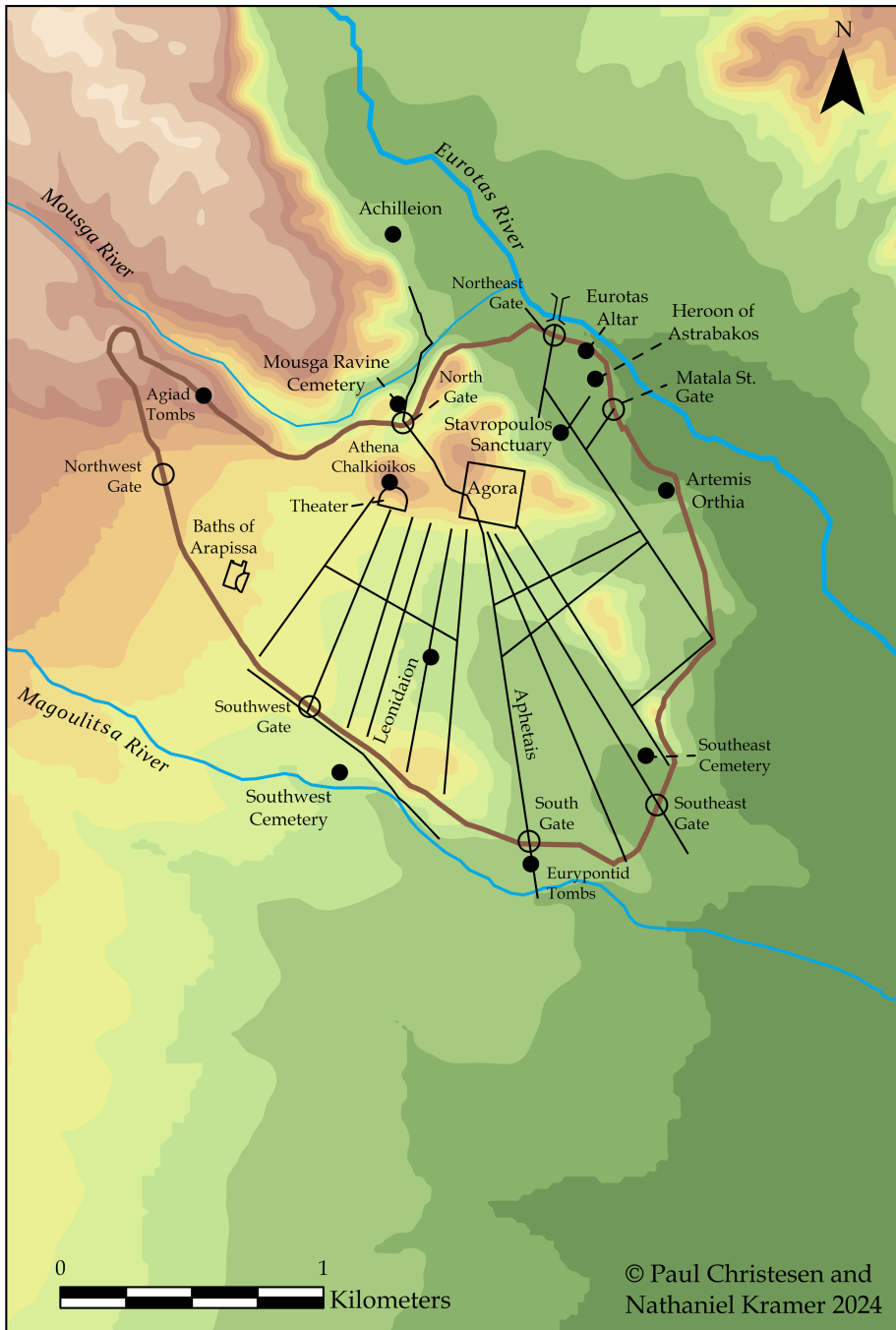
Figure 23: Tentative reconstruction of Sparta in the Roman period.

built during a period when C. Julius Eurykles ruled Sparta, thanks in large part to his close connection with the Julio-Claudians. Eurykles and/or the Julio-Claudians probably funded the construction of the theater.[158]

Pausanias' description of the agora gives the impression of a large space that was packed with monuments of various kinds. Pausanias does not seem to mention the most prominent extant Roman-era structure from the agora: the Roman Stoa. This building, 187.6 m long and dated to the second quarter of the second century CE, was situated partly on the Palaiokastro plateau and partly on the lower ground to the south. It had facades (probably colonnaded) on both its north and south sides.[159] The locations of some prominent features of Sparta described by Pausanias, e.g. the athletic complex that he calls the Dromos, remain uncertain and hence cannot be placed on a map.[160]

Sparta became in the Roman period something of a living museum that attracted visitors who came, among other things, to witness the *bōmolochia*, a supposedly Lycurgan practice of enduring lashings at the altar of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Spectators at the Orthia sanctuary were accommodated by the construction of an amphitheater in the third century CE.[161]

Although intracommunal burials were made in Sparta throughout the Roman period, a major extracommunal cemetery, typically referred to as the Southwestern Cemetery, was established in the late Hellenistic period (first century; Tiles 48.006.040.076, 48.006.040.085). Based on the available preliminary reports, roughly 1,000 tombs have been uncovered in that cemetery, which remained in use throughout the Roman period.[162] A second, smaller, extracommunal cemetery was established in

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158   Waywell & Wilkes 1995; Waywell & Wilkes 1999; Cartledge & Spawforth 2002: 97-104; Waywell 2002.

159   See Waywell & Wilkes 1994; Del Basso 2022. It is possible that this structure should be equated with Pausanias' Persian Stoa.

160   Paus. 3.14.2-5. For discussion of the location of the Dromos, see Sanders 2009.

161   Dawkins 1929a; Cic. *Tusc.* 2.34, 2.46, 5.77.

162   The most thorough preliminary report (Themos, Maltezou, Pantou et al. 2009) mentions more than 700 tombs, but further tombs belonging to the same cemetery have been excavated since then (see, for example, Tsouli & Papagiannis 2010).

the Roman period in the Mousga ravine.[163] A cluster of 46 intramural burials – sometimes referred to as the Southeastern Cemetery – developed in the Roman period in the area to the west and southwest of Xenia Hill (Tiles 48.007.031.086-7, 48.007.031.096). This cluster lies within the Hellenistic wall circuit, in a part of the city in which there had been little activity in preceding periods. The space was, as a result, available to receive a substantial number of burials.[164]

Conclusion

Thucydides drew a strong contrast between Athens and Lakedaimon, not only in terms of their sociopolitical systems and military assets, but also in terms of the layout of their main urban centers (1.10). That contrast has remained a persistent feature of the modern scholarship on the two polities, despite Stephen Hodkinson's arguments that Lakedaimon was in many ways similar to a 'normal' *polis*.[165] In the absence of a suitable assemblage of evidence, modern comparisons of Athens and Lakedaimon have typically focused on sociopolitical and military issues and not seriously engaged with Thucydides' comments on the divergences between the settlement organization of Athens and Sparta.[166]

The preceding discussion offers new insights into many aspects of Sparta's settlement organization, which in turn makes it possible to think anew about the similarities and differences between Athens and Sparta. Athens was clearly a much larger and more important settlement than Sparta in the Bronze Age. This is most immediately apparent from the absence in Sparta of any structure that required the sort of investment of resources that were poured into the Mycenaean fortification wall around the Athenian acropolis. The same gap between the relative size (and presumably local importance) of Athens and Sparta continued into the Submycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric periods. During

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163   Adamantiou 1931; Adamantiou 1934.
164   Tsouli 2020a: 153-54.
165   Hodkinson 2009.
166   See, for example, Powell 2016.

that time frame, several substantial cemeteries were established in Athens (traces of habitation remain elusive), whereas there is minimal evidence for activity in Submycenaean Sparta, and it is only in the Protogeometric period that the Palaiokastro plateau emerges as the focus of settlement in a fashion that is comparable to the acropolis of Athens. Large-scale cemeteries remain unattested in Sparta through the end of the Geometric period.[167]

In the Archaic period, the settlement organization of the two cities, both of which were the main urban centers of expansive polities, diverged in important ways. The acropolis of Athens remained surrounded by a fortification wall, and by the end of the Archaic period had been adorned with multiple peripteral temples. The city around the acropolis was embellished through major investments in cult sites (e.g. the unfinished Olympieion) and infrastructure (e.g. the water pipeline constructed by the Peisistratids and public fountain houses). The agora emerged as a civic and commercial center that featured multiple governmental buildings. Burials were concentrated in large, extracommunal cemeteries.[168] In Sparta, on the other hand, peripteral temples are entirely lacking, and investment in religious architecture seems to have been spread out over many sites rather than focused in a spectacular way on fewer sites, as in Athens. In a similar vein, there is no evidence for the construction of water pipelines or public fountain houses. The public structures that were erected (e.g. the Round Building, Christou's Stoa) seem to have been less numerous and impressive than their counterparts in Athens. The first known extracommunal cemetery in Sparta was established in this period, but it was relatively small, and intracommunal burials continued in some numbers. In general, Athens seems to have been a more developed urban center than Sparta during the Archaic period.

The divergence between Athens and Sparta as urban centers increased during the Classical period. Little need be said here of the massive investments Athenians made in public structures, including the Themistoklean fortification wall, the Long Walls, the Periclean and Lycurgan building programs, and the construction of elaborate naval and

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167 Papadopoulos 2021.
168 Camp II 2021; Costaki & Theocharaki 2021; Shea 2021; Stroszeck 2021; Valavanis 2021.

commercial port facilities in the Peiraeus. In Sparta, there seems if anything to have been less investment in public structures than in the Archaic period; the only substantive architectural addition to the city of which we are aware is the Persian Stoa (the remains of which have not been definitively identified).[169] However we interpret the precise meaning of Thucydides' choice of words, the archaeological evidence indicates that he was justified in assessing the splendor of Sparta as being in no way comparable to that of Athens of his time.

During the Hellenistic period, Sparta seems to have begun to converge with Athens in terms of settlement organization. Sparta received its first fortification wall, and a large-scale extracommunal cemetery was laid out. The temple at the Orthia sanctuary was rebuilt, and a new road network was constructed. Cult activity became less dispersed.

Sparta developed into a typical Roman city with all the amenities found in Athens and other urban centers in the Empire. The city was the terminus of two aqueducts, which supplied water to an array of bathhouses. A massive theater was constructed on the acropolis, the southern end of the agora was embellished with a large stoa, and an amphitheater was built in the Orthia sanctuary.

Although the research presented here offers a more nuanced picture of the settlement organization of Sparta than has heretofore been possible, much work remains to be done. Our database will be progressively enhanced as new volumes of the *Archaiologikon Deltion* are published. In addition, the incorporation of categories of material, e.g. high-resolution drawings, that have not to this point been available to us would make it feasible to reconstruct the city in a more fine-grained fashion. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that the evidence from rescue excavations, when compiled and visualized using the remarkable capacities of GIS, helps pull back the veil that has long hung over the city of Sparta.

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169   Paus. 3.11.3; Del Basso 2022.

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EMOTIONAL LANGUAGE
IN ALCIPRON'S LETTERS:
CLOSING A LETTER WITH A THREAT

By Marianna Thoma

Summary: Alciphron's books of imaginary letters depict both the rural and urban environment of Attica in the 4th century BC, in miniature and from the perspective of lower-class characters. Alciphron uses all the rhetorical options offered by the epistolary form to illustrate the thoughts, feelings and experiences of his characters. The aim of this paper is to discuss the use of threats, and their function as rhetorical devices and/or means of expressing emotions in Alciphron's letters. I will demonstrate that the author may not only have been inspired by New Comedy and other literary genres, but also by his contemporary private correspondence in which various threats towards the addressee are used as a rhetorical strategy, as shown by the preserved papyri and ostraca from Egypt.

Alciphron lived in the second or third century AD and wrote a collection of 123 fictional letters divided by modern editors into four separate books that are named according to the professions of the correspondents: 'Letters written by fishermen', 'Letters by farmers', 'Letters by parasites' and 'Letters by courtesans'.[1] His imaginary letters as a product of the Second Sophistic[2] were considered to be miniatures of rhetoric[3] and appear to be influenced by rhetorical exercises of constructing speeches, such as *declamationes*, which treated (mostly fictitious) model cases, *prosopopoeiae* and *ethopoeiae*, with the intent of the creation of

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1   For an introduction to Alciphron's Collection of Letters, see Benner & Fobes 1949: 3-36. On the manuscript tradition of Alciphron's letters, their division into books and the contribution of Schepers (1905), see the recent discussion of Marquis 2018: 3-23.
2   For the Second Sophistic, see, for example, Anderson 1993 and Borg 2004 with further bibliography.
3   Hodkinson 2007: 296.

speeches in the persona of a particular type of character.[4] In fabricating the characters of his letters, Alciphron is mainly inspired by New Comedy – specifically Menander – Lucian and bucolic poetry. He depicts the rural and urban environments of Attica in the 4th century BC from the perspective of lower-class characters, as indicated by the titles of his books. Recent scholarly work has focused on the unity of Alciphron's collection and his use of the letter as a literary technique.[5] All the rhetorical options offered by the epistolary form are employed by the author to illustrate the thoughts, feelings and experiences of his characters. However, in most of Alciphron's letters typical elements such as opening and/or closing epistolary formulas are omitted to accommodate the structure of a rhetorical exercise. Some of his letters close with an adage which gives a more didactic tone to the text,[6] while in several cases the letter-writer's wish, curse or threat against his/her addressee replaces the typical farewell greetings.

Two major types of threat are attested in Alciphron's collection: threats addressed against the recipient of a letter or a third person, and threats of the letter-writer's suicide because of love or for other reasons. The aim of this paper is to discuss the use of threats in Alciphron's letters, and their function as rhetorical devices and/or means of expressing emotions. In the following paper, I will demonstrate that threats in Alciphron's letters indicate his inspiration by various literary genres and his contemporary private correspondence in which threats towards the ad-

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4   On *prosopopoeia*, see Theon *Prog.* 8 (ed. Patillon-Bolognesi) (= 115-18, ed. Spengel); Kennedy 2003: 47-49. For a discussion on *ethopoeia*, see Anderson 1997: 2188-2206; Rosenmeyer 2001: 259-63; Kennedy 2003: 115-17; Schmitz 2004: 90-91; Vox 2013. For its influence on Alciphron, see mainly Ureña Bracero 1993: 267-98 and Rosenmeyer 2001: 259-63. Cf. Stirewalt 1993: 20-24 and Stowers 1986: 32-35 for letter-writing as a school exercise and a basis for rhetorical training. See also Reed 1997: 171-93, who argues that rhetorical conventions had strong influence on ancient epistolary practice and theory.

5   See, for example, Rosenmeyer 2001: 255-307; Costa 2001; Jenkins 2006; Biraud & Zucker 2018.

6   See, for example, 1.13; 2.4; 2.35; 3.34 and 4.7.

dressee are used as a rhetorical strategy, as shown by a wealth of pre-served papyri and ostraca from Egypt.[7] In recent decades scholars have examined how the status and gender of ancient letter-writers or their addressees, and the relationship between them affects the language and the tone of the correspondence.[8] It would be of great interest to discuss how the gender and status of Alciphron's characters are related with the use of threats at the end of their letters.

Threats in Alciphron's letters can be discussed in light of two criteria: a) the person against whom they are addressed (threats against someone else, threats of suicide); b) their function in each letter. The majority of threats concern the recipients of the letters or third parties involved in the story, while the most common amongst them are threats used as rhe-torical strategy by the letter-writers to put psychological pressure on their recipients and manipulate their feelings and decisions.[9] An illustra-tive example is the letter 1.4 in which the fisherman Cymothous com-plains to his wife Tritonis because she has neglected their household and her task of net repair preferring to attend religious ceremonies in the city together with rich Athenian ladies. Tritonis appears to be attracted by the brilliant social life of Athens ignoring the "hidden dangers" men-tioned by her husband.[10] In his letter, Cymothous tries to explain to her what modest conduct for the wife of a fisherman should be and how dif-ferent life near the sea is from urban life. He even describes life in the city as a 'mortal trap' for the people of the seashore: the fishermen are compared to the fish who cannot survive in the air (ἡμῖν δὲ οἷς βίος ἐν ὕδασι, θάνατος ἡ γῆ καθάπερ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ἥκιστα δυναμένοις ἀναπνεῖν τὸν ἀέρα).[11] Cymothous concludes his letter by addressing a threat of di-vorce to his wife, also offering her the option of returning to him: "if it is the city that you love, good-bye and go your way; if you are content with

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7   For the inspiration of Alciphron by his contemporary private correspondence, cf. Papathomas & Thoma 2022: 245-57. Cf. also König 2007: 257-82. On the use of threat as a rhetorical strategy in papyrus letters, see Thoma & Papathomas 2021: 163-76.

8   On the expression of emotions in papyrus letters, see, for example, Kotsifou 2012: 39-90; Clarysse 2017: 63-86; Skarsouli 2023. E. Dickey (2016: 237-62) has focused on po-liteness strategies as emotional language in papyrus letters.

9   Cf. Kotsifou 2012: 81.

10   See Morrisson 2018: 40.

11   See Zanetto 2018: 130.

your husband and with what the sea can give, then be so good as to come back – and forget forever those insidious shows that they have in the city".[12] Cymothous and Tritonis are at a physical distance and thus the writer chooses to send her a letter including an ultimatum which illuminates the difference between life in the city and life in the countryside. A threatening tone is used to persuade Tritonis to return to the seashore and forget about the city and her new friends. The closing of the letter offers us a glimpse into the everyday problems of a married couple and reveals Cymothous' feelings of jealousy. He may offer Tritonis the freedom to decide (divorce or reconciliation), however he attempts to make her realize how dangerous the urban environment (away from her husband) is for a woman from a fishing village by the sea. In Cymothous' threats the social dynamics of the couple are also reflected, since it is the husband who takes the decisions and the wife who must obey him.[13]

Letter 1.6 narrates a story of marital disharmony from the wife's point of view. The writer Panope blames her husband Euthybolus for deserting her and their children for a foreign woman to whom he offers various gifts. At the end of the letter, Panope threatens her husband with an ultimatum, that either he ends his extra-marital affairs and comes back to his family or he will be prosecuted by her father for spousal abuse:[14] ἢ

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12 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 49. For the rhetorical effect of Cymothous' words, see Rosenmeyer 2001: 288.

13 Relationships and disputes between spouses are well represented in papyrus letters, which will be discussed later. For a husband's letter full of reproaches against his wife for being disobedient, cf., for example, P.Mich. III 217, 3-6 (297 AD): παρήγγειλά σοι ἐξερχόμενος ὅτι | μὴ ἀπέλθῃς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου | καὶ ἀπῆλθες πάντως. εἴ τι θέλεις | ποιεῖς, λόγην (l. λόγον) μου μὴ ἐχουσαν (l. ἔχουσα); "I told you when I left not to go away to your house, but you have departed nevertheless. If you want to, you do it, not taking account of me" (tr. Rowlandson [1998] n. 113).

14 On δίκη κακώσεως cf. Harp. K 12 (ed. Keaney): Κακώσεως· δίκης ὄνομά ἐστι ταῖς τε ἐπικλήροις κατὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων καὶ κατὰ τῶν παίδων τοῖς γονεῦσι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν <ἐπεξιοῦσι διδομένη>; "Kakoseos (for maltreatment): It is the name of a suit granted to epikleroi against those who have married them, and to parents against their children, and to those who prosecute on behalf of orphans against guardians," tr. by the Harpokration Online project; Suda K 178 (ed. Adler): Κακώσεως· δίκης ἐστὶν ὄνομα ταῖς τε ἐπικλήροις κατὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων καὶ κατὰ τῶν παίδων τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν. οὕτω Δημοσθένης καὶ Λυσίας καὶ Ὑπερίδης; "Kakoseos: it is a name of a lawsuit

πέπαυσο τῆς ἀγερωχίας, καὶ τοῦ λάγνος εἶναι καὶ θηλυμανὴς ἀπόσχου, ἢ ἴσθι με παρὰ τὸν πατέρα οἰχησομένην, ὃς οὔτ' ἐμὲ περιόψεται καὶ σὲ γράψεται παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς κακώσεως.[15] By renouncing his passion for his lover, Euthybolus would avoid being prosecuted. Although it's Panope who threatens Euthybolus, her threat depicts the dynamics of the couple's relationship and the inferior social and legal status of women in antiquity compared to that of men: Panope could vindicate her rights against her husband and protect the family harmony only if assisted by her father. Panope's threat is used rhetorically to put emotional pressure on her husband so that he comes back to her.

Threats of physical violence constitute a typical rhetorical device in everyday correspondence between men which contributes to the reinforcement of the letter-writers' requests.[16] An illustrative example is offered by 1.18, which together with 1.17 and 1.19 (one of the pairs of letters of Alciphron's collection) deal with a dispute over an abandoned fishing net on the beach at Sounion. In 1.17 the fisherman Encymon suggested to Halictypus that the abandoned (by him) net could be made use of by anyone who may need it.[17] In 1.18 Halictypus replies to Encymon asking him to "restrain your hands, or rather your insatiate desires, and to not let the itching for other people's property drive you to request unfair favours" (εἶργε τὰς χεῖρας, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, μηδέ σε ἡ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὄρεξις ἀδίκους αἰτεῖν χάριτας ἐκβιαζέσθω).[18] The writer's tone sounds threatening, since although he does not refer

[brought] both by heiresses against the men who had married them and by parents against their children and by those [acting] for orphans against their guardians. So Demosthenes and Lysias and Hyperides", tr. By Suda Online Project. See also the comments of Poulis 2009: 222. On spousal abuse and the way a father could protect his daughter from maltreatment by her husband, see MacDowell 1986: 149-50. In papyrus documents from the imperial period we come across petitions submitted by fathers against their sons-in-law, cf., for example, P.Panop. 28 (329 AD).

15 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 53: "Either cease playing the nabob and stop being a lecher and crazy about women or, let me tell you, I shall be off to my father. He will not overlook my plight, and he will prosecute you before the judges for ill-usage". See also Rosenmeyer 2001: 289.

16 On threats of physical violence in papyrus letters see Thoma & Papathomas 2021: 172-75. I will return to this later.

17 See König 2007: 299.

18 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 77.

to what would happen if Encymon behaved differently, the reader of the letter can guess that Halictypus would punish him in some way.

A threat against the addressee is also used by the writer to express his rejection of the different way of life of his recipient in the context of the dilemma between the urban and rural life. In 2.14 the farmer Chaerestratus visits the city where he is seduced by the music, the wine and the beauty of a young courtesan called Lerium.[19] In his letter to Lerium, Chaerestratus expresses his anger because he spent the night with her instead of doing his business and returning to his friends. He even accuses the young courtesan of having charmed him with her spells. At the end of his letter, Chaerestratus threatens the woman: he will seriously hurt her[20] if she continues to molest him: ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔτι ἐνοχλοίης, κακόν τι παμμέγεθες προσλαβοῦσα ἀπελεύσῃ.[21] The letter highlights the temptations and distractions of life in the city for people from the countryside and represents the relationships between persons from different social backgrounds. Although a man from the city would probably offer Lerium money and gifts for her services as a courtesan (cf. the fourth book), Chaerestratus rejects the temptations of the city and treats her with violence.

Threats in Alciphron's letters are also employed to depict the rivalry between persons of the same social class, such as parasites and courtesans who appear in the third and the fourth books. For example, in the letter 3.16 the parasite Copadion narrates to his friend Eucnissus the evil conduct and the greed of two other parasites who have even stolen their master's property. The writer expresses his certainty that the two aforementioned parasites will finally be punished, because someone will reveal their fraud: πάντως δέ ποτε ἢ λάλος γείτων ἢ ψιθυρὸς οἰκέτης ἀγορεύσει τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τοὐμφανές, καὶ ἀνάγκη μετὰ πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας βασάνους τέλος αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῆς ἡδονῆς τὸ κώνειον ἢ

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19 For the relationship of 2.14 with comedy, see Drago 2013: 219.

20 Violence against courtesans is a common topos in ancient Greek literature, mainly in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. S.S. Shreve-Price remarks that "Lucian depicts a realistic aspect of courtesan life that had largely been ignored in previous literature by including scenes of violence or threats of violence against his courtesans". See Shreve-Price 2014: 157.

21 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 107: "If you bother me any more, you won't get off without being badly hurt".

τὸ βάραθρον.[22] At the end of the letter, he expresses his wish that "they will receive punishment commensurate with their deeds" (ἀφειδῶς γὰρ χρώμενοι τῷ τολμήματι ἰσόρροπον τῇ πράξει τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐκτίσουσιν).[23] Although Copadion does not address a direct threat against the two parasites, his severe tone and his anger towards them implies that he could be the one to take revenge on them and inform the master of the house about their bad behavior. Through the indirect threat used in 3.16, Alciphron highlights the parasites' thoughts and their everyday rivalry. In a similar way, the letter 3.20 includes a threat against a parasite addressed by another who, in all probability, lives at the same house. Thambophagus accuses his recipient Cypellistes of conceit and greed and concludes his letter by threatening that he would throw him naked out of the house: πέπαυσο, κατάβαλε τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, τρισάθλιε, ἢ ἀνάγκη σε [τῆς οἰκίας] γυμνὸν θύραζε ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνου [ἐκβληθέντα] ἐκπεσεῖν.[24] The quarrel between the parasites and their threats against each other represent their efforts to gain their master's favor and spend their time pleasantly. In a comic tone, Alciphron depicts the poor living conditions for people from the social margins.

The fourth book of Alciphron includes letters written by courtesans and their lovers. It differs from the rest of the collection, since in this book many historical figures of classical and postclassical Athens appear as correspondents.[25] In the letter 4.6 Thais, an Athenian courtesan, also known from the comedy,[26] writes to her friend Thettale describing her dispute with another courtesan named Euxippe. The writer is angry with Euxippe because she made fun of her together with her friend Megara. Thais closes her letter by threatening to take revenge on the two women

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22 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 187: "but surely some day either a tattling neighbor or a whispering servant will let the matter out; and then, certainly, after punishment by fire and knife and the whole gamut of torture, the end of their pleasure will be the hemlock or the Pit".

23 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 187.

24 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 201: "Have done with that, drop your insolence, you thrice- miserable wretch, or in a jiffy you've got to be thrown naked out of the house, clean out, forced off the stage".

25 For the differences between the fourth book and the rest of Alciphron's collection, see Schmitz 2004; König 2007: 257-82; Hodkinson 2012: 41-53; Granholm 2012: 19-20.

26 Cf. Ter. *Eun.*; Men. *Thais*.

"with the things that hurt the most" (ἀμυνοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐν σκώμμασιν οὐδὲ βλασφημίαις, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἀνιάσονται. προσκυνῶ δὲ τὴν Νέμεσιν).[27] The worship of the goddess Nemesis, who was associated with Aphrodite, is a common topos in erotic letters[28] and highlights Thais' desire to punish the two courtesans. Her threat emphasizes her negative feelings for the two women and the rivalry between them. Alciphron's fourth book is mainly inspired by comedy and Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* in which everyday conflicts and erotic rivalries among courtesans are a common theme.[29]

Alciphron also closes the letter 4.10 with a threat highlighting the letter writer's inner feelings and mental state. Myrrhina complains to Nicippe that her lover Diphilus has deserted her and prefers the courtesan Thetalle. After sharing her thoughts on how to win her lover back, Myrrhina concludes that the most effective solution is to use a love potion with the help of Nicippe.[30] She also intends to use her tears and lies to manipulate Diphilus and convince him of her deep love,[31] while she does not even care if love potions may have fatal consequences. Myrrhina's final remark sounds a little threatening: "he (sc. Diphilus) must either live for me or die for Thettale" (δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ ἐμοὶ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι Θεττάλῃ).[32] In this case, the woman's threat is used as a means of expressing her jealousy towards her lover and his new mistress, and as a rhetorical strategy to convince Nicippe that her support would be more than valuable in carrying out her plans.

Threats are also used to emphasize the power relationships between the sender and the addressee of a letter. An illustrative example is the pair of letters 2.24 and 2.25 exchanged between the farmer Gemellos and his slave Salaconis. Salaconis is depicted as a powerless slave who detests

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27 Translation by Granholm 2012: 75: "For I will avenge myself on them, not with jokes and mockeries, but with the things that will hurt them the most. I bow before Nemesis".

28 Cf. for example Philostr. *Epist.* 14.

29 On the everyday life and personal relationships of Alciphron's courtesans, see also Fögen 2007: 181-205.

30 For magic potions, cf. for example Eur. *Andr.* 541; Soph. *Trach.* 584; Theoc. *Id.* 2.1. See also Poulis 2009: 173.

31 For the erotic persuasion of Myrhinna in 4.10, see Funke 2002: 78-79.

32 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 277.

her master and can no longer stand sleeping with him. In 2.24, Gemellos blames Salaconis for avoiding him and threatens to force her, also making her realize how improper her behavior towards him is. He "will show Salaconis that her lover is her master too" (ἐγώ σοι τὸν ἐραστὴν δείξω δεσπότην).[33] His threats indicate his high social status and his power over Salaconis, since he is able to abuse her. In 2.25 Salaconis replies to Gemellos highlighting her dislike for her master. She concludes that her only way to escape his plans is to commit suicide. This decision would release her from her fear of telling him what she believes: "for my eager desire to die divests me of all my fear".[34] The letter does not close with Salaconis' threat, but with her curse on Gemellos: "May you die like the wretch that you are".[35] Her desperate determination to commit suicide lends her letter a more dramatic tone, even though this was an empty one.[36] It demonstrates that confrontation between a lower-class character and one of higher status is not expected to end happily. Alciphron's characters may dream of a different life, but they cannot escape their assigned social positions.[37] In addition, as already shown in the majority of the letters discussed, women in Alciphron's world are submitted to men's wishes as living in the patriarchal society of postclassical Athens.

Power relationships are also depicted in 2.7 addressed by Phoebiane to the farmer Anicetus. In 2.6 Anicetus had complained to Phoebiane about her indifference to him despite the generous gifts offered to her. Phoebiane's answer shows a different version of the story: she accuses Anicetus of harassing her while she was working: οὐ παύσῃ, τρικόρωνον καὶ ταλάντατον γερόντιον, πειρῶν τὰς ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀνθούσας ἡμᾶς ὥς τις ἄρτι γενειάζειν ἀρχόμενος.[38] She reminds him of his old age and threatens to "do something bad to him" unless he leaves her alone.[39] The reversed gender roles in 2.7 (Phoebiane is the one who threatens Anicetus)

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33 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 123-25.
34 For Salaconis' threat, see also Hodkinson 2018: 205.
35 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 125.
36 Hodkinson 2018: 205-6.
37 For further discussion on this topic see Rosenmeyer 2001: 267-68.
38 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 95: "You miserable old patriarch, won't you stop running after us fresh young girls as though you were just in your early prime?".
39 See also the comments of Rosenmeyer 2001: 294.

in combination with several rhetorical questions which aim to insult Ani-
cetos, such as his characterization as a "wretched monkey-man"[40] ele-
vate the comic tone of the letter. The letter writer closes her letter with
a threat of mischief or violence against the old man (καὶ τρέπου κατὰ
σεαυτόν, ὦ πρέσβυ, μή σε λαβοῦσα κακόν τι ἐργάσωμαι).[41] Besides the
comic elements, Phoebiane's last threat reveals her negative feelings to-
wards Anicetos and highlights the different points of view held by the
two correspondents. [42] Anicetos' letter aimed at making Alciphron's
reader feel sympathy for the disappointed lover who had been humili-
ated by Phoebiane (σὺ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὥραν ἔχεις ἐμοῦ διακαῶς
φλεγομένου), while Phoebiane's letter explains her dislike for this old
man who "runs after young girls."[43] Her threat is placed at the end of the
letter, instead of the typical formula of salutation, in order to persuade
Anicetos to stop disturbing her and make clear her disgust with him.
Such a threat of physical violence addressed by a woman to a man is not
typical in private correspondence.[44]

Another category of threats with regard to whom they are addressed
is threats of suicide. Such threats are used by letter writers either to ex-
press their frustration and difficulty in struggling with everyday prob-
lems or to put emotional pressure on their correspondents.[45] Letter 3.3 is
a suicide note in which Artepithymus informs his fellow parasite that he
will shortly hang himself.[46] The author cannot continue living a painful
life which is full of hunger and violent acts perpetrated against him by
his banqueters. He closes his letter in a threatening, but also didactic
tone: "An agreeable death is better than a painful life".[47] His threat is a
way of expressing his feelings towards the existing situation and his in-
ability to find a better life. However, a comic element is indicated by his
decision to die after eating a luxurious meal. The complaints of parasites

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40 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 97.

41 Ingrosso 2014: 365.

42 Arguing for both sides of the same case was a common sophistic entertainment
   which is also attested in the epistolography of Second Sophistic.

43 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 95.

44 See Thoma & Papathomas 2021: 172-75.

45 On threats of suicide in papyrus letters, see the discussion below.

46 Barbiero 2018: 47.

47 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 155.

about their bad fortune, their dependence on their hosts and their wish to escape this life even by death is a common topos in the third book of Alciphron.[48]

Threats of suicide because of love are well-represented in Alciphron's collection. A characteristic example, also revealing the social and legal restrictions of women in ancient Greek society, is offered by the epistolary dialogue between mother and daughter in letters 1.11 and 1.12 from the first book. Glaukippe confesses to her mother Charope her love for a young man from the city and her unwillingness to accept the marriage arranged by her father: Οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ ἐν ἐμαυτῇ, ὦ μῆτερ, οὐδὲ ἀνέχομαι γήμασθαι ᾧ με κατεγγυήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο ἔναγχος ὁ πατήρ, τῷ Μηθυμναίῳ μειρακίῳ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου, ἐξ ὅτου τὸν ἀστικὸν ἔφηβον ἐθεασάμην τὸν ὡσχοφόρον.[49] O. Vox remarks that the two women's dialogue is inspired by the literary topos of a young maiden falling in love with someone other than the groom chosen by her father.[50] Glaukippe also refers to the myth of Sappho as described by Menander in his *Leucadia*: the unhappy woman threw herself from the cliff of Leucas because of her lover's rejection.[51] Glaukippe's letter is full of rhetorical devices which illustrate Alciphron's choice to cultivate *ethopoeia* in his letters by placing his characters in specific situations. As already mentioned, Alciphron exploits epistolary form to "give a voice to those who would otherwise not be heard".[52] At the end of the letter, the girl threatens to commit suicide if she cannot marry the man she loves. The threat of suicide is used to put psychological pressure on the mother so that she would persuade Glaukippe's father not to marry her to the young man

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48 For the relation between letters 3.3 and 3.4, see the discussion of Barbiero 2018: 49-50.

49 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 61-63: "I am no longer myself, mother; I cannot endure the thought of being married to the boy from Methymna, the sea-captain's son to whom father recently promised to betroth me; I have felt this way ever since I saw the young guardsman from the city, the one who carried the vine-branch when, at your bidding, I went there on the occasion of the Oschophoria".

50 Vox 2018: 111.

51 Men. *Leuc.* frag. 1.11-14 (Arnott): οὗ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφὼ / τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων' / οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥῖψαι πέτρας / ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς (from Str. 10.2.9 = Sapph. T 23 Campbell). See also P.Oxy. LX 4024 edited by P.J. Parsons.

52 Hodkinson 2007: 297.

from Methymna but permit his daughter to live a "dreamed of" life in the city with her beloved.[53] Although Glaukippe rejects the world of her parents, she continues to use marine terminology when describing her lover's beauty.[54] The reader cannot be sure if Glaukippe's threat should be taken seriously, but it appears to have various functions in the text. A suicide threat is often regarded as a tragic act typical of female characters in ancient literature.[55] However, Glaukippe's allusion to Sappho's suicide makes her threat sound slightly comical. P. Rosenmeyer suggests that Glaukippe's story introduces the comic world of erotic passion and intergenerational conflict to Alciphron's letters of fishermen.[56] The mother's reply in 1.12 highlights the contrast between the perspectives of the two speakers. Charope advises her daughter to come to her senses, forget her love for the young man from the city and obey her father's decision: Μέμηνας, ὦ θυγάτριον, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐξέστης. ἐλλεβόρου δεῖ σοι, καὶ οὐ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἀντικύρας, ἥτις, δέον αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, ἀπέξυσαι τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ προσώπου.[57] Otherwise, she would suffer serious punishment, since her "cruel" father would feed her to the sharks. As O. Hodkinson points out, "the love-struck girl's dreams are crushed and her suicide threat is exposed as a childish bluff".[58] Even if Glaukippe's threat was not carried out, her mother's warning makes her realize that if she continues dreaming of a different life, she will indeed meet the fate she was planning to bring upon herself.[59] Charope uses two threats towards her daughter: first that she would announce

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53 Hodkinson 2007: 298-300.

54 See Zanetto 2018: 136.

55 Cf. many heroines in Greek and Roman tragedy, Parthenius' *Love Romances* and the ancient Greek novel.

56 Rosenmeyer 2001: 261. On the relation between Alciphron's letters and Attic comedy, see for example Benner & Fobes 1949: 6-18; Carugno 1960: 135-43; Carugno 1963: 350-51; Treu 1973: 207-17; Gratwick 1979: 308-23; Anderson 1989: 113-15; Anderson 1997: 2190-93; Drago 2013: 71-86; Ingrosso 2014: 361-75.

57 Translation by Benner & Fobes 1949: 65: "My dear, you are mad, and truly out of your wits. A dose of hellebore is what you need, and not the common kind either, but the kind that comes from Anticyra in Phocis—you who, instead of being shamefaced as a girl should be, have wiped all modesty from your countenance".

58 Hodkinson 2007: 297.

59 Morrisson 2018: 36.

Glaukippe's decision to her father, and secondly that Glaukippe would be punished by him. Despite the lyric tone of Glaukippe's thoughts, Charope's words indicate that Alciphron is mainly inspired in this story by New Comedy where a parent who scolds his/her child is a common theme.[60] Moreover, the tyrannical father who imposes his will on his children is also a typical character of New Comedy.[61] The women's threats have a rhetorical, but also comic function in the letter. The young daughter fails to persuade her mother of her romantic love for the boy from the city. Her childish threat of suicide because of love is balanced by Charope's more "realistic" threat, which shows that either dead or alive Glaukippe belongs to the world of the sea. The epistolary dialogue between the two women also illustrates that marriage was not a woman's personal decision in the ancient Greek world.

In the letter 4.8 Simalion begs the courtesan Petale to let him enter her house and show his love for her. He reminds us of an *exclusus amator* standing outside his lover's door and trying to persuade her not with his songs but with his letters.[62] Simalion's final remark offers a more melodramatic tone to his letter: if Petale does not accept him and he cannot bear the pain anymore, he may imitate unfortunate lovers who commit suicide (φοβοῦμαι δέ, μὴ κάκιον ἔχων μιμήσωμαί τινα τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐρωτικὰς μέμψεις ἀτυχεστέρων). Simalion's threat is similar to that of young Glaukippe in the first book of Alciphron. Disappointed lovers prefer to die unless they can live with their beloved.[63] His threat has both rhetorical and emotional implications: he tries to persuade Petale to accept him, while he also expresses his deep love for her. Alciphron adds a comic tone in 4.8 by putting a man in love to threaten with suicide although we expect that a woman would be more likely to commit suicide for love. The sincerity of Simalion's feelings is reinforced by an additional argument also mentioned by him: if another man was treated in

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60 Cf. for example Ter. *Haut.*; Hodkinson 2007: 298. For the influence of New Comedy on Alciphron, see the discussion by Benner & Fobes 1949: 16-18.

61 Tyrannical fathers are Demeas and Niceratos in Menander's *Samia* and especially Smicrines in *Epitrepontes*. For further discussion, see Vox 2018: 114 n. 25.

62 Rosenmeyer 2001: 283. For exclusus amator cf. for example Ov. *Am.* 1.6; Prop. 1.16. See also Zagagi 1994: 39-40.

63 Cf. Alcesimarchus' attempt at suicide in Plaut. *Cist.* 639-45.

that way by Petale, he would have sent her a letter full of threats and curses instead of begging for her love (ἕτερος ἂν λοιδορούμενος ἔγραφε καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ δεόμενος καὶ ἀντιβολῶν).

In addition to Alciphron being influenced by New Comedy and other literary genres, the author appears to have been strongly inspired by his contemporary private correspondence on the use of threats in his letters. Threats of various types are well attested in everyday letters preserved on papyrus and ostraca from Roman Egypt.[64] Private letters from imperial times are intended for the everyday communication between people who lived two millennia ago in contrast with the imaginary letters of the epistolographers of the same period which present fictional characters in action. J. König has suggested that Alciphron parodies some of the commonest features of papyrus letters, such as requesting supplies, sending gifts and complaining to the recipient for various reasons,[65] while A. Papathomas and I have highlighted the influence on Alciphron of the content and phraseology of everyday letters.[66] A point of comparison between the two categories of letters is also the use of common rhetorical devices such as threats of various types. Papyrus letters – private and business – contain a number of threats addressed to the recipients of the letters intended to force them to do something or express the writers' inner feelings and thoughts. The threat of suicide is a type of threat which puts emotional pressure on the recipient and is mainly addressed by women. In real life experiences, the threat of suicide may be a solution to the problems stemming from disharmonious family relations, for example between a mother and daughter-in-law[67] or

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64 For an anthology of papyrus letters from the Roman period, see for example Ziemann 1910; Exler 1923; Steen, 1938: 119-76; Koskenniemi 1956; White 1972: 1-41; White 1981; Luiselli 2008: 677-737. In addition, see also Grob & Kaplony 2008. For anthologies of letters that include comprehensive introductory discussions, see for example Bagnall & Cribiore with contributions by Ahtaridis 2006 (e-book 2008); Thoma 2020 for women's letters; Ghedini, 1923; Tibiletti, 1979; Naldini 2014 for Christian letters, as well as Olsson 1925 and Trapp 2003 for both literary and non-literary letters.

65 König 2007: 261-62. See also Hutchinson 2007: 18-36 for further discussion of the relation between documentary and literary letter-writing.

66 Papapthomas & Thoma 2022: 245-57.

67 Cf. P.Petaus 29, 7-10: ἔ[γ]ραψέ | μοι γὰρ λέγουσα ὅτι ἐὰν ἔτι μῆνα οὕτω ποί|ση (l. -ήση) ἐχόνομά μου βάλλω ἐματ[ὴ]ν (l. ἐμαυτὴν) | ἰς (l. εἰς) θάλασ|σαν ("For she wrote

the absence of a husband when the child is dying from a serious illness.[68] Threats of suicide are used to emphasize the writer's psychological distress and aim to affect the recipient's emotions.[69] Such suicide notes found in papyrus letters remind us of the young Glaukippe's intention to die in Alciphron's 1.11. However, in Alciphron's imaginary world a threat like this can also be expressed by a man-in-love such as Simalion in 4.8. In addition, threats of violence or punishment are also a common topos in papyrus letters mainly written by men. Letter writers in everyday correspondence threaten to use any kind of violence against their recipients with regard to economic or business matters[70] in a similar way to Alciphron's characters who warn their addressees, in a comical manner, that they are planning to "hurt" them unless they stop disturbing them.[71] The comic tone of Alciphron's threats is elevated by the role reversal since a woman appears to use threat of physical violence against a man, and a person of lower social status against people of higher status (cf. 2.7). In addition, the comic element in Alciphron's letters also derives from the fact that some of the threats made by his characters against their recipients or third persons are caused by the rivalry and disharmony between correspondents.

In conclusion, discussion of the relevant examples demonstrates that the use of threats is a common rhetorical device in all four books of Alciphron which contributes further to the better understanding of the Collection as a whole.[72] Be they fishermen, farmers, parasites or courtesans, Alciphron's characters try to influence their recipients by threatening them with violence or suicide. In this way, they reveal their thoughts,

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to me, saying, 'If she spends another month with me like this, I'll throw myself into the sea'.", tr. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006: 276).

68 Cf. PSI III 177, 8-10: μάθε δὲ ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀ[ποθάνῃ] |σου μὴ ὄντος ὧδε φεῦγ[ε μή] | με εὑρήσῃ ἀπαγχομέ[νην – – -] ("Be aware that if he dies in your absence, watch out lest Hephaistion find that I've hung myself...", tr. Bagnall & Cribiore 2006: 280).

69 See also Thoma & Papathomas 2021: 163-76 for a discussion on women's use of threats in papyrus letters.

70 Cf. BGU IV 1044, 11-14 (cf. BL I 91; Papathomas [2019] 194): ἐὰν δὲ | μὴ βόλησθαι (l. βούλησθε) τοῦτο χάριν | ἐμοί (l. ἐμοῦ) ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ζη|μιᾶσθαι (l. -οῦσθαι) δέκα ἀντὶ τούτου ("But if you do not want this for my sake, I will make you pay for it tenfold").

71 Cf. Alciphron's letters 2.7; 2.14.

72 For the unity of Alciphron's collection, see Schmitz 2004: 88; Biraud & Zucker 2018.

feelings and social attitudes and their attempt to reverse their fate, since even death in some cases appears to be preferable to a painful life. The vain confrontation between persons of high and lower status indicates that the marginal classes within the Attic society cannot escape their destinies. In addition, such threats are related to the rhetoric exercise of *ethopoeia*, according to which the writer should construct discourses suitable to the *ethos* of his characters. Alciphron attempts to imagine how his characters would act or think in specific circumstances, also adding a comic sound to their letters. In doing so, he is also inspired by his contemporary everyday correspondence judging by the evidence of papyri from imperial times. Thus, a threat, most often placed in the epilogues of Alciphron's letters, offers an escalation of the emotional tension and the humorous atmosphere of the epistle, also proving the rhetorical education of the author and his adherence to the actual letter-writing practices of his time.

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'ME MANUS UNA CAPIT':
MARTIAL AND THE CODEX

By Philip Boserup-Lemire

Summary: This article examines the interplay between the text and the physical format of the book in Martial's Epigrams. I argue that he published his codex edition of the Epigrams towards the end of his career, and that this edition was not intended for a broad readership. Instead, I suggest that it was an expensive luxury edition, a literary gimmick. Finally, I argue that Martial uses the roll and the codex as poetic devices.

The *Epigrams* of Marcus Valerius Martialis (ca. 38-101) is one of the most valuable sources to book culture in the 1st century AD. It has been estimated that roughly one in eight of the *Epigrams* are concerned with books.[1] Martial's interest in books and reading was not limited to the text; throughout his work, he displays an unusual interest in books and publishing.

The *Epigrams* appeared at a time when books were written by hand, making mass production a highly onerous task. Instead of centralising the production and distribution of books by means of publishing houses, the responsibility fell upon the reader to acquire a book and have it copied. Copying books by hand furthermore meant in practice that no two copies contained an identical text. This was not only due to scribal errors but also because copying by hand allowed the scribe freely to exclude or change parts of the text. The concept of 'publishing' was far more ill-

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[1] The following is a slightly extended version of Fowler's list of the most important epigrams on books and book culture: *Spect.* 31; *Xenia* (13) 1-3; *Apophoreta* (14) 1-11, 20, 21, 37, 38, 84, 183-96, 208, 209; **1**. *praef.*, 1-5, 16, 25, 29, 35, 38, 44, 45, 52, 53, 61, 63, 66, 70, 72, 91, 101, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113, 117, 118; **2**.1, 6, 8, 23, 48, 71, 77, 86, 88, 91, 93; **3**.1, 2, 4, 5, 68, 69, 86, 97, 99, 100; **4**.6, 8, 10, 14, 27, 29, 31, 33, 49, 72, 81, 82, 86, 89; **5**.2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 16, 26, 30, 36, 60, 63, 73, 80; **6**.1, 60, 61, 64, 65, 85; **7**.3, 11, 12, 17, 26, 44, 46, 51, 52, 68, 72, 77, 80, 81, 85, 88, 90, 97, 99; **8**. *praef.*, 1, 3, 18, 20, 24, 29, 61, 62, 72, 76, 82; **9**. *praef.*, 49, 58, 81, 99; **10**.1-4, 20, 33, 45, 59, 64, 70, 74, 78, 87, 104; **11**.1-3, 15-17, 20, 24, 42, 94, 106-108; **12**. *praef.*, 1-5, 11, 63.

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defined in antiquity than it is today.[2] Since the author had no control over his text once it became available to others, letting go of a single manuscript could, in theory, result in its 'publication.' Martial's *Epigrams* underwent multiple stages of publication: some were recited, others were sent as gifts, celebrating particular people or occasions, and still others were composed for the purpose of appearing in the numbered books transmitted to us.

The Roll and the Codex

The public primarily experienced the *Epigrams* as a written text.[3] In Martial's time the predominant format of the book was the roll, and it was in this form that his *Epigrams* first became available to the wider public. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of the *Epigrams* concerned with physical books thus allude to the roll, although the method of loose 'leaves' joined together in the spine, i.e. a codex, had long been known and employed in the form of wax tablets.[4] Amongst Martial's first addressees, mentioned before any patron, is the book:

> Argiletanas mauis habitare tabernas,
> cum tibi, parue liber, scrinia nostra uacent? (1.3.1-2)

> Do you prefer to live in the shops of Argiletum, when there's room for you, little book, in my bookcases?

That the 'little book' addressed in this epigram is a roll is indicated by *scrinia*, most commonly used of bookcases for keeping rolls. As noted above, the book and, in particular, the text take on a life of their own as

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2   Winsbury 2009: 11-18 argues that the term 'publishing' for the distribution of literature in antiquity is anachronistic. Although I largely agree with this, I shall, for want of any better terms, use the modern terminology of publishing.

3   As Fowler 1995: 31 points out, the epigram, as opposed to most other ancient literary genres, does *not* have its origin in oral performance.

4   The earliest preserved wax tablet was recovered from the Uluburun shipwreck and is dated to around 1300 BC. A detailed description of this tablet is given by Payton 1991.

soon as the work is published, an idea brought out here by the personification of the book: The text has a desire to be published, and the author has to let go of it.

Regardless of format, books have their limitations, for the roll the most distinctive being its length. Although in theory, there is no upper limit to the length of a roll, Greco-Roman rolls rarely exceeded 10-15 meters.[5] This compelled the author to compose their work with an implicit understanding of what length of text would be appropriate for it, a restriction referred to several times in the *Epigrams*, most notably in the closing of Book 4:

> Ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle,
> iam peruenimus usque ad umbilicos. (4.89.1-2)

> Oh, it's enough already, little book. We have reached the navels.

Although it is mentioned elsewhere that a roll could easily contain 300 epigrams (2.1), Martial indicates that he is forced to end the book here at 89 poems due to the physical limit of the very roll onto which the scribe copied the text. Since Book 4 consists of approx. 669 lines, making it one of the shorter books, Martial's concern about the limited length of the roll is in this context probably more poetic than genuine.[6] Nevertheless, constrained by the length of the roll, any author with the intention of composing a work exceeding this length had to settle for one of two options: dividing his work into parts, forcing the reader to acquire multiple rolls to fully comprehend the work, or composing each part of his work as a unified whole, able to be read and appreciated on its own.

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5 Bülow-Jacobsen 2009: 21 notes a single instance of an Egyptian roll exceeding 40 metres in length. Most rolls of this length, however, were copies of the *Book of the Dead*, made to be buried rather than read. Janko 2002: 27 notes that two Herculaneum rolls, each containing a full book of Philodemus, were measured at 11.3 and 16 metres.
6 The average length of the individual books of the *Epigrams* is roughly 717 lines.

While we must assume that Martial wished for all of his books to be read, they do not need to be read consecutively and, according to my argument, were not meant to be read thus.[7] Although the numbered books of the *Epigrams* are arranged as coherent collections, the individual poems, all of which can be read and appreciated on their own, deserve greater recognition than they have received hitherto. Due to the often witty conclusions of the poems, a cursory reading of a full book is often a less suitable approach to the *Epigrams* than to most other Latin poetry. Likewise, a linear reading of multiple books adds little to the reading experience, and Martial was well aware that his reader did not necessarily have access to all of them at once:

> 'Primus ubi est' inquis 'cum sit liber iste secundus?'
>   Quid faciam si plus ille pudoris habet?
> Tu tamen hunc fieri si mauis, Regule, primum,
>   unum de titulo tollere iota potes. (2.93)

'Where's the first book,' you ask 'if this is the second?' What can I do if the other is more shameful? If you wish, Regulus, for this book to be the first, remove an iota from the title.

Despite the fact that we hear in Book 1 that Regulus is presented with a book (1.111.3-4), albeit an unspecified one, he does not possess a copy of Book 1 according to this epigram. However, the appearance of this epigram in Book 2 poses an obvious problem: how can it appear in a book Regulus already possesses? There are at least two possible explanations: the first is that Martial, as he was preparing Book 2, already knew that Regulus did not have a copy of Book 1. In this scenario, the conversation in the epigram is purely fictitious, imagined to take place after Regulus has received a copy of Book 2. Alternatively, Martial had sent Regulus a preliminary draft of Book 2 and then added this epigram to the final version.[8] Since remarks suggesting pre-publication circulation of Martial's poetry occur several times throughout the *Epigrams,* I prefer the second

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7   For a recent interpretation of the *Epigrams* as a coherent 'dodecalogy', see Holzberg 2002: 135-52 and 2004/05.
8   Citroni 1975: xvii suggests that Book 1 was not assigned a number.

explanation, which also offers an insight into his working method: The book described in the epigram is numbered with two iotas (i.e. ii), suggesting that Regulus received a full draft of Book 2, not just a shorter extract.[9] It is commonly accepted that minor collections of Martial's poems entered circulation before they were compiled and published in numbered books, but the poem in question seems to suggest that full or near-complete drafts of the books circulated within his literary circle, presumably with a view to further revision.

The vast majority of Martial's contemporary audience experienced the *Epigrams* as a written text, read from a roll, one book at a time, although not necessarily in succession. At some point, however, Martial made the rare decision to collect an uncertain number of his books and republish them in codex, a format hardly ever used for literature. It has been proposed (and is now widely accepted) that this edition was intended for the traveler, not the bibliophile, a claim I will reconsider later.[10]

The earliest surviving fragment of a parchment codex in Latin is a fragment from the late 1st or early 2nd century of *De Bellis Macedonicis*, possibly written by Lucius Arruntius.[11] Nonetheless, the codex did not become the predominant format of the book until much later.[12] We can only conjecture why the codex did not immediately replace the roll, but, after all, the Romans were conservative by temperament, and the roll had done its job perfectly well for centuries. It has been suggested that the codex in its early years, perhaps because of its resemblance to the wax tablet, was associated with more trivial literary productions, such as letters, notes and shorter drafts.[13] It may be added that parchment also

9   Fowler 1995: 35: 'Martial's use of numbers rather than titles for his libelli is a strikingly original aspect of his practice, perhaps connected with his codex edition.'

10 Roberts 1987: 27.

11 The fragment is digitised by the British Library: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_745 For a discussion of authorship: Kouznetsov 2010.

12 We cannot establish exactly when the codex replaced the roll. A popular view is that the Christians' fondness for the codex was important to its final triumph. Roberts 1987: 38-66; Casson 2001: 129-30. Also Harnett 2017.

13 Roberts 1987: 20.

shares with the wax tablet the ability to be reused, making it ideal as a material for literary drafts.[14]

The earliest testimony of literary codices occurs in the *Apophoreta*, a collection of 223 couplets describing Saturnalia presents.[15] In the introductory poem, Martial claims that the couplets are arranged alternatingly, some describing the rich man's gifts, others the poor man's.[16] This has been interpreted in different ways. Leary offers the most radical solution: that the couplets are arranged consistently throughout the book in pairs of expensive and cheap gifts.[17] While apparently attractive, this interpretation causes a number of problems for his reading of the section on book gifts (14.183-96). This group of poems consists of 14 couplets on books, of which 5 are explicitly specified as parchment codices (*in* (*pugillaribus*) *membranis*), which all seem to contain longer works of Classical literature. On Leary's interpretation, we have to accept, for instance, that a manuscript of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* is more expensive than a parchment codex containing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Likewise, a manuscript containing only Vergil's *Culex* is categorised as an expensive gift, whereas a parchment codex containing the complete Vergil, adorned with a frontispiece portrait of the author, is presented as a cheaper gift. To explain this, Leary suggests that manuscripts containing a single work were more attractive and, for that reason, more expensive than manuscripts containing the collected works of an author.[18] Yet it is surely more reasonable to assume that codices with multiple works of an author were more valuable, as they would have cost more in materials and, necessarily, scribal hours.[19] Moreover, Leary proposes the possibility that

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14 This is pointed out by Martial in 14.7.

15 Roberts 1987: 28 notes the striking fact that no other reference to a literary codex is to be found until the 3rd century AD.

16 14.1.5: *Divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes*.

17 Leary 1996: 13. Shackleton Bailey 1993: 2 argues that such an arrangement, if that was ever Martial's intention, can only be traced in some parts of the collection as it has been transmitted to us.

18 Leary 1996: 20.

19 Casson 2001: 129 suggested that scribes and book-makers were unaccustomed to producing codices, possibly increasing their price.

parchment was a cheaper material than papyrus, a yet more dubious assumption.[20] Indeed, for it to work, we must be prepared to accept that killing a great number of edible animals, removing and cleaning their skin via a time-consuming process, and, finally, stretching and scraping it neatly until the right thickness is achieved was a cheaper ordeal than the routine manufacture of papyrus. Furthermore, we would have to explain why the Romans used papyrus for most of their official documents if they had to hand this cheaper and far more durable alternative; and considering the importance of papyrus in public administration, it is not unlikely that the import of papyrus was publicly funded. Conversely, I prefer to believe that the parchment codex was an item of great luxury, a view that can easily be defended by the arrangement of the couplets in *Apophoreta*. Despite the fact that most of the expensive gifts are paired with a cheaper alternative, the value of the gifts seems to increase throughout the book. The book gifts are introduced close to the end of the collection, suggesting that any book, whether on parchment or papyrus, was considered a relatively expensive gift.

The first and, seemingly, the only certain allusion to a codex edition of the *Epigrams* is found near the opening of Book 1:

> Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos
>   et comites longae quaeris habere uiae,
> hos eme, quos artat breuibus membrana tabellis:
>   scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit.
> Ne tamen ignores ubi sim uenalis et erres
>   urbe uagus tota, me duce certus eris:
> libertum docti Lucensis quaere Secundum
>   limina post Pacis Palladiumque forum. (1.2)

> You who wish to bring my little books wherever you go and be accompanied by them on a long journey, buy these books, compressed by parchment on small pages: give bookcases to the large books, one hand holds me. Lest you don't know where I can be acquired and wan-

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20 Leary 1996: 19.

der aimlessly around all over town, I shall guide you: search for Secun-
dus, freedman of the learned Lucensis, behind the entrance to the
temple of Peace and the forum of Pallas.

Referring to more than one book (*libellos*), this epigram, together with
the prose preface and 1.1, did most likely not appear in the original ver-
sion of Book 1. The plural is supported by *libellis meis* in the preface, sug-
gesting that we are dealing with the introduction to a collection of mul-
tiple books. The possibility of the plural referring to privately circulated
drafts of Book 1 was convincingly turned down by Fowler, who pointed
out that the preface and the first poems imply that Martial was already
a famous poet at the time of publication.[21] When Book 1 of the *Epigrams*
appeared in 86 AD, Martial had already published three other collections
of poems (*De spectaculis, Xenia* and *Apophoreta*); but due to the nature of
these works, it is hard to imagine that they brought him the level of fame
implied in the introduction. A more reasonable explanation is that the
preface, 1.1 and 1.2 constitute the introduction to a later edition of an
uncertain number of books of the *Epigrams* in the form of a codex. Rolls
are mentioned several times in all twelve books of the *Epigrams*, but since
a brief remark in 1.2 (*quos artat breuibus membrana tabellis*), conceivably
one of the last epigrams composed by Martial, seems to be the only allu-
sion to a codex, I believe that this edition appeared at a time when all 12
books of the *Epigrams* had already been published individually, and that
it contained the entire collection.

It has been the general assumption that the codex edition was written
on parchment, a view recently challenged by Blake who pointed out that
the evidence of a codex with *pages* of parchment is poor. Apart from the
parchment codices of the Classics (Homer, Vergil, Cicero, Livy, and Ovid)
mentioned in *Apophoreta*, the rather obscure phrase *quos artat breuibus
membrana tabellis* is the only explicit reference to parchment used as the
material for the pages of a book.[22] Blake notes that parchment was often
used as a wrapper for rolls, suggesting the possibility that Martial is not
referring to longer codices with parchment pages but rather tablet-style

21 Fowler 1995: 33.
22 Blake 2014: 77.

notebooks or papyrus rolls covered in parchment.[23] However, this poses two problems: as we have seen, Martial refers in 1.2 to a collection of more than one book, and it seems unlikely that the text of multiple books of *Epigrams* would fit into a notebook or a single roll. That he is not referring to a collection of rolls is clear from the fact that the edition he is introducing can be held in one hand and need not be kept in a *scrinium*. Moreover, we find in *Apophoreta* allusions to parchment pages:

> *Homerus in pugillaribus membranis*
> Ilias et Priami regnis inimicus Vlixes
>   multiplici pariter condita pelle latent. (14.184)

> *Homer in parchment notebooks*
> The *Iliad* and *Ulysses*, enemy of Priam's kingdom, collected in manifold skins.

Martial never uses the word *codex*.[24] In the lemma above, composed by Martial,[25] it is specified that the copy of Homer is *in pugillaribus membranis*, certainly alluding to pages of parchment as opposed to a wrapper, supported by *multiplici pelle* in the pentameter. Earlier in *Apophoreta*, *pugillares membranei* occurs as the lemma to a couplet describing a blank parchment notebook in the form of a codex (14.7). Due to the emphasis in this couplet on the material's ability to be reused for writing, there can be no doubt that Martial refers to pages of parchment. In the remaining four couplets on parchment books, they are specified simply as *in membranis*. However, there is no reason to suppose that these are not codices:

> *Ouidi Metamorphosis in membranis*
> Haec tibi, multiplici quae structa est massa tabella,

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23 Blake 2014: 77. For parchment used as a wrapper for rolls: Cat. 22.7 *noui umbilici, lora rubra membranae*; Tib. 3.1.9 *lutea sed niueum inuoluat membrana libellum*; Pers. 3.10-11 *iam liber et positis bicolor membrana capillis | inque manus chartae nodosaque uenit harundo.*

24 For its early use, see Roberts 1987: 12-14.

25 14.2.3-4: *lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo: | ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.*

> carmina Nasonis quinque decemque gerit. (14.192)

Ovid's Metamorphoses in parchment
This mass, constructed of multiple leaves, carries for you the fifteen
songs of Naso.

Again, the book described in this couplet consists of multiple leaves, a
clear indication of a codex; and since it is implied that it contains all 15
books of the *Metamorphoses*, it must be a codex of significant size, not a
shorter notebook. Blake sees *gerit* as a vague word and suggests the pos-
sibility that Martial refers to a book carrying the title *Carmina Nasonis
XV*.[26] I struggle to understand how this reading supports Blake's argu-
ment since this title would imply that all 15 books were contained in the
book. Nevertheless, construed with *tibi*, omitted in Blake's translation, I
fail to see the vagueness of *gerit* and find it safe to conclude that Martial
must refer to the content of the book although the title might have been
the same. Blake proceeds to conclude that the codex poems 'should not
be read as advertisement of a novelty form for the book; they are 'adver-
tised' in the same way that Martial advertises, for example, a pot of
beans, a fly-swatter, a cleaning sponge and other familiar, everyday ob-
jects of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*.'[27] According to this argument, we need
not doubt that parchment codices of the Classics were ordinary gifts, al-
beit highly expensive. Martial did not invent the codex; his innovation
was to publish his own writings in this form.

It remains uncertain what led him to publish the codex edition. He
advertises the codex as a handy format that can be held in one hand and
brought along on a journey. Roberts takes this at face value: 'Martial's
codices would seem to have been designed for the traveler rather than
the bibliophile.'[28] But as we have seen, a parchment codex could hardly
have been a cheap alternative to a papyrus roll, and this premium cost
alone must have appealed at least to some bibliophiles. If Martial re-
garded travelers as his target audience for the codex edition, it must have
been travelers of significant wealth, for whom more convenient options

26 Blake 2014: 87-88.
27 Blake 2014: 89.
28 Roberts 1995: 27.

already existed. Pliny the Elder, for instance, was famously accompanied at almost all times by slaves and secretaries carrying his books and reading them out for him.[29] For people like him, there was no obvious reason to replace the roll with a new and more expensive format to which they were unaccustomed.

Contrary to Pliny, who was clearly more interested in the content of his books than their physical being, Martial was a bibliophile at heart, with a keen interest in the anatomy of the book; and although he introduces his codex edition as a user-friendly pocketbook, pointing out its many advantages over the roll, I suggest the possibility that this edition was an attempt to bring a new format of the book into the literary world, not primarily for the sake of practicality, but to create an elegant interplay between the text and the physical book.

Writing the Book

Reading from a roll is different from reading from a codex. To understand the awkwardness most Romans would have felt the first time they handled a codex, you simply have to imagine reading the text in front of you from a papyrus roll.[30] Although the text may be the same regardless of the format, reading is an embodied experience, highly dependent on the particular copy from which the text is read. Script, smell, condition, and the materials from which the book is made contribute each in their own way to the reading experience. Martial was well aware of the difference between reading from a roll and a codex and plays on this in the *Epigrams*:

> Quo tu, quo, liber otiose, tendis
> cultus Sidone non cotidiana?
> Numquid Parthenium uidere? Certe:
> uadas et redeas ineuolutus. (11.1)

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29 Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.15.
30 For an recent attempt to use the roll in education, see Abegglen et al. 2019.

> Where are you heading, leisurely book, dressed extraordinarily in
> Tyrian purple? Are you going to see Parthenius? You would certainly
> go in vain and return unopened.

The book addressed here is a roll, indicated by the prediction that it will
return 'unopened' (*ineuolutus*). From looking at a codex, it is not possible
to tell whether it has been read or not, whereas a roll, unless it has been
rolled back again, will be unrolled to the end of the text. By placing this
epigram at the opening of the book when the reader has just begun to
unroll the text, the poem is played out physically in the hands of the
reader, serving as a witty encouragement to read on. This interaction be-
tween text, book and reader is taken up at the end of the same book:

> Explicitum nobis usque ad sua cornua librum
>   et quasi perlectum, Septiciane, refers.
> Omnia legisti. Credo, scio, gaudeo, uerum est.
>   Perlegi libros sic ego quinque tuos. (11.107)

> You bring back the book to me, Septicianus, unrolled to its navels as
> if you had read it through. You have read it all. I believe it, I know it,
> I'm happy, it's true. I've read your five books in the same way.

The epigram is deliberately placed as the penultimate poem of the book,
at which point the reader has unrolled the text completely. A similar ef-
fect is obtained at the end of Book 4, quoted above. The reader has
reached the end of the roll (*peruenimus usque ad umbilicos*), and the text
must come to an end. Arranging the epigrams thus, Martial creates an
interplay, inevitably lost on the codex reader, between his text and the
physical book.

It is uncertain how many of Martial's contemporaries ever read his
work from a codex. I argued above that a parchment codex was an item
of great luxury, a rare curiosity rather than a reading copy. Accordingly,
it is reasonable to suppose that most readers, even after the appearance
of the codex edition, continued to read the *Epigrams* from rolls. In Mar-
tial's own words, the new edition could be acquired from 'Secundus,
freedman of the learned Lucensis, behind the entrance to the temple of

Peace and the forum of Pallas' – an irrelevant piece of information to anyone who had already bought the book, but relevant to the bibliophile who had come across it on a friend's coffee table and wished to get a copy for himself.

Although Martial must have been well aware that the comportment of his codex reader was different from that of his roll reader, and that the interplay between text and roll displayed throughout his work would be less effective for the codex reader, nothing indicates that he made any significant changes to the text in order to adapt it to its new format, beyond adding a prose preface and two introductory poems. A single remark in 1.2, quoted in full above, appears to be the only explicit attempt by Martial to create an interplay between text and codex: *me manus una capit.* Similarly to the interplay between text, book and reader in the roll edition, this poem interacts with the reader, who as he reads is doing exactly what the poem describes – holding a small parchment codex, presumably in one hand.

The epigram as a literary genre was largely ignored by the Romans or, at best, seen as 'an elegant waste of time not intended to outlast its occasion'.[31] Throughout the *Epigrams*, Martial repeatedly defends his choice of genre, although he often jocularly refers to it as trivial:

> Saepe mihi dicis, Luci carissime Iuli,
>   'scribe aliquid magnum: desidiosus homo es.'
> Otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim
>   Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo:
> condere uicturas temptem per saecula curas
>   et nomen flammis eripuisse meum. (1.107.1-6)

You have often said to me, my dear Lucius Julius: 'Write something grandiose. You're a lazy man.' Grant me leisure, such as Maecenas once gave Flaccus and Vergil, then I would attempt to compose something that would survive for centuries and save my name from the flames.

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31 Fitzgerald 2007: 3.

Martial claims that he has no time for more serious genres than the epigram; but as a poet who composed more than 1,500 epigrams, approx. 9,500 lines in total, it seems unlikely that lack of time prevented him from pleasing his highbrow critics with a more grandiose work. Though consistently referred to as nothing but a collection of 'little books' (*libelli*), the *Epigrams* certainly qualify as *aliquid magnum.* Throughout his oeuvre, Martial wittily plays on the conventions and characteristics of the epic.[32] The division of the *Epigrams* into 12 books is alone an unmistakable allusion to the *Aeneid*, the greatest Roman epic. A similar effect is obtained through his interplay between text and format. By publishing his work in a lavish edition, written on the most sought-after writing material in the world of bibliophilia, Martial puts his *Epigrams* on a par with the Classics; and that he was indeed entitled to appear in a deluxe edition of this kind, ironically advertised as a simple pocketbook, is made clear in the opening poem:

> Hic est quem legis ille, quem requires,
> toto notus in orbe Martialis
> argutis epigrammaton libellis:
> cui, lector studiose, quod dedisti
> uiuenti decus atque sentienti,
> rari post cineres habent poetae. (1.1)

> Here is the man you read, the man you request: Martial, world-famous for his witty little books of *Epigrams.* He still lives and feels, and yet you have given him, studious reader, a fame, rarely granted to poets, even after their death.

The reader is addressed here as *lector studiose*, interpreted by Fowler as a reader already familiar with Martial's work, i.e., someone re-reading the *Epigrams*, this time in a different format.[33] Although Fowler is probably right in assuming that the codex edition was primarily acquired by people who had already read the work from rolls, I believe that Martial's irony has fooled his modern interpreters. The *lector studiosus* is, before

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32 For a detailed study of the *Epigrams* as an epic, see Sapsford 2012.
33 Fowler 1995: 34.

anything else, a possessor, a connoisseur interested in a nice copy. When Martial addresses the reader of his codex edition as *studiosus*, he is well aware that the audience for this edition would be far more limited than that of his rolls, and that the majority of his codex readers would read this edition less studiously. This might also be an explanation as to why he did not undertake the time-consuming task of adapting his whole text to its new format, but merely added a preface and a couple of introductory poems. The *lector studiosus* is addressed only once elsewhere:

> *Vergili Culex*
> Accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis,
>   ne nucibus positis 'arma uirumque' legas. (14.185).

> *Vergil's Culex*
> Accept eloquent Maro's *Culex*, studious reader, so you don't have to read 'Arms and the man' when the nuts have been put away.

Again, *studiosus* in this context describes not a studious reader but one who wishes to read something less demanding than the *Aeneid*. Likewise, we must imagine in 1.1 that the reader is addressed as *studiose* in jest as his reason for acquiring the book was not to peruse Martial's poetry but rather to get an attractive copy of a text he already possesses.

Finally, one question needs to be addressed: If we accept that Martial's codex edition was an expensive curiosity of which only few copies were produced, is it, then, purely coincidental that the text transmitted to us appears to descend from this rare edition? I have proposed that the codex edition was published late in Martial's career and that it contained all 12 books of the *Epigrams*. Accordingly, I suggest that this was the last edition approved by Martial, which alone made it attractive for others to copy. Additionally, it is not unlikely that copies of the codex edition ended up in larger private collections and public libraries where apographs were then produced; and since it contained multiple, if not all, books of the *Epigrams*, it was an obvious text to copy. Since rolls remained by far the most common format of the book well after Martial's time, it

is a reasonable assumption that apographs of the codex edition were copied out on rolls, thus preserving the text despite the limited number of codices in existence.

Concluding remarks

Books and reading are recurrent themes in the *Epigrams*. By creating a sophisticated interplay between the text and the book, Martial forces his reader to engage with his work, not just as a text but also as an object. Originally written to suit the format of a roll, the *Epigrams* were later republished in a codex edition. That this must have been a highly unusual publication at the time is clearly indicated by the exceedingly scant archaeological and literary evidence of parchment codices. Nevertheless, it does not seem all that surprising that the text transmitted to us can be traced back to a rare edition of which only a very limited number of copies existed.

The purpose behind the codex edition remains a matter of speculation and ongoing scholarly debate. His advertisement of it as a convenient pocketbook has commonly been taken at face value. Though a codex can indeed be carried around more easily than a stack of rolls, I have suggested that it was first and foremost a valuable collector's item used for luxury editions of the classics. Thus dressed as a classic, the *Epigrams* made a joke of their second (and final) appearance on the market.

In any case, facilitating moving quickly back and forth within a text, the codex opened up a new way of engaging with literature, a way that suits a work like the *Epigrams* particularly well. Despite some linear structure of the individual books, reading the *Epigrams* from cover to cover may not necessarily be the best way of reading them. In his book on Martial, William Fitzgerald quotes an anonymous critic as saying that 'reading Martial is like eating a whole box of bonbons at one sitting'.[34] As tempting as it may be to devour a whole box of Martialian bonbons at one sitting, the *Epigrams* are better savored if read slowly, in small bites.

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34 Fitzgerald 2007: 1.

Nor do they call for a consecutive reading. In fact, Martial repeatedly encourages his readers to skip any poem that might not be pleasing.[35] Moreover, the individual epigrams often conclude with an unexpected twist or punchline. Poems following this pattern are naturally more effective for first-time readers, but read from a codex, which allows the reader to easily skip large sections of the text or indeed to jump into the work at a random epigram, the surprising denouements of Martial's satirical closures are preserved even for those already familiar with the work.

Excepting digital versions, the *Epigrams* are nowadays read exclusively from codices. Martial was clearly aware of the advantages of the codex, but to give a definite answer to the question of why he decided to publish a new edition of his work in this format, further evidence is needed. Nonetheless, I hope that I have convinced the reader that the codex, in addition to its practical advantages, has certain literary advantages, often taken for granted by modern readers. Martial did not invent the codex, nor did he make the Romans give up the roll, but he undeniably gave to the world a work that would live on *per saecula.*

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35 See, for instance, 6.65, 11.106 and 13.3.

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READING ROMAN CIVIL WAR IN ICELAND: *RÓMVERJA SAGA* AND THE REIMAGINING OF LUCANIAN AMBIGUITY[*]

By Kathleen Cruz

Summary: Lucan's *Bellum Civile* has long been read through the disjointed persona of its emotional narrator. In its unique adaptation of Lucan's epic, the medieval Icelandic *Rómverja saga* (*The Saga of the Romans*) turns this distinctive equivocation on its head. This paper considers how *Rómverja saga* adapts two key aspects of Lucan's poem – the characterization of the two central figures, Julius Caesar and Pompey Magnus, and scenes of mass battle – along saga literary conventions. In each case, *Rómverja saga* removes key moments of ambiguity in the *Bellum Civile* while simultaneously introducing novel domains of interpretive uncertainty, thus preserving a central Lucanian feature while radically reshaping it.

Medieval Europe offered fecund ground for diverse negotiations with the classical tradition, and sustained interest in the living legacy of Greco-Roman antiquity extended as far northwest as Iceland.[1] As the island developed a rich literary culture following its settlement in the ninth cen-

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1 For investigations of the classical tradition in medieval Europe, cf. Baswell 1995, Comparetti 1997/1872, Clark et al. 2011, Highet 2015/1949: 11-14, Symes 2016, Copeland 2016, Cabré et al. 2018, and Woods 2019.

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tury CE, Iceland shared the greater medieval world's interest in translat-
ing and thereby transforming ancient literary texts and historical narra-
tives into its own adaptive works.[2] This is testified by its production of
several sagas in Old Norse based on narratives from the ancient Mediter-
ranean, including, among others, *Trójumanna saga* (*The Saga of the Men of
Troy*), *Alexanders saga* (*The Saga of Alexander*), and *Rómverja saga* (*The Saga
of the Romans*).[3] While all three works remain relatively understudied,
Rómverja saga – a late twelfth or early thirteenth century[4] prose text
which adapts both Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *Catilinae Coniuratio*
and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* into a single prose narrative – has received es-
pecially little attention as a creative object deserving of close reading.
Despite the established view that the saga's use of Lucan's epic is merely

2 See Frank 1909, Walter 1971, Dronke 1971, Würth 1998 and 2005, Eldevik 2004, and
   Bartusik 2022 on the availability and reception of classical texts in medieval Iceland.
3 See n. 8 and 12.
4 *Rómverja saga* is preserved in two traditions; the fourteenth-century AM 595 a-b 4°
   records an earlier and lengthier version but is marred by significant lacunae,
   whereas the fourteenth-century AM 226 fol. records a younger and more condensed
   version of the saga; the latter version is also recorded in the sixteenth-century and
   fragmentary Perg. 4:o nr 24. See Helgadóttir 1994-97: 203-4, Würth 1998: 15-19, and
   Helgadóttir 2010: xiii-lxxvi on the other extent fragments and greater manuscript
   tradition. Divergent arguments regarding the saga's composition date broadly stem
   from whether one accepts or rejects parallels with other sagas. Wellendorf 2014: 16-
   17 offers a succinct description of the relevant points of contention, although I offer
   a summary for convenience. Most relevantly, Hofmann 1986 dates *Rómverja saga* to
   c. 1180 based on its perceived influence on the slightly later *Veraldar saga*. Helgadót-
   tir 2010: lxxxvi-cxii argues for a slightly more open dating to the second half of the
   twelfth century. Her argument rests on a) the alternative claim that *Rómverja saga*,
   Veraldar saga, and *Clemens saga* – dated to c. 1200; see Carron 2005: xxiv-xxv – share a
   source text; and b) that Pálsson 1988 and 1991 are correct in asserting that the
   twelfth-century *Sverris saga* shows influence from *Rómverja saga* (p. cxcv). Wellendorf
   2014 argues against references to *Rómverja saga* in *Sverris saga*, thereby rejecting a
   definitive dating to the second half of the twelfth century; he instead advocates for
   a terminus ante quem of c. 1280 based on references to *Rómverja saga* in *Alexanders
   saga*.

that of a straightforward prose "paraphrase"[5] intended to fit more comfortably among its Sallustian portion and Icelandic literary conventions,[6] *Rómverja saga* in fact innovatively reshapes distinctive features of Lucan's narrative voice through its application of saga style.

It is certainly the case that for each of the three sagas cited above, we find not a direct translation of an antecedent work – ancient or otherwise – but rather more active engagement with both literary precedent and the greater Icelandic literary tradition. The mid-thirteenth-century *Alexanders saga*, for example, adapts Walter de Châtillon's twelfth-century *Alexandreis* and in the process not only takes the story of Alexander's life from poetry to prose but moves between faithful translation and independent terrain.[7] *Trójumanna saga*, also dated to the mid-thirteenth century, constructs its own take on the Trojan War through prior Latin accounts – although in this case, the saga utilizes much earlier texts including *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae*, usually dated to the fifth or sixth century CE.[8]

The most complicated trajectory of the three in this regard, however, is arguably found in *Rómverja saga*. Unlike the prior two examples, which promise the story of a specific event (*Trójumanna saga*) or person (*Alexanders saga*), *Rómverja saga*'s title initially seems quite nebulous. A *Saga of the Romans* could be many things and might refer to a multitude of periods and actors of Roman history; one could imagine a grand, sweeping narrative or a narrower, more limited historical snapshot. Upon closer examination of the saga, however, we may appreciate how, in a way, its title

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5   Helgadóttir 2010: xiii.
6   The description of *Rómverja saga* at Würth 2005: 164-65 is characteristic of this approach.
7   See Wolf 1988, de Leeuw van Weenen 2009: 5-7, and Ashurst & Vitti 2011 on the saga's composition. See Ashurst 2009 for a critical reading of the saga and its ethics; see also Middel 2014.
8   See Louis-Jensen 1981: l-lvi and Eldevik 1987: 5-7 on dating the saga. The saga also makes use of the *Ilias Latina* of c. 60-65 CE (see Falcone and Schubert 2021: 3-4 on this dating) and the fourth-century *Dictys Cretensis*; see Louis-Jensen 1981: xi-lxvii, Würth 1998: 38-43, and Würth 2006 on the saga's transmission and manuscript history. *Trójumanna saga* also influenced other works related to classical characters and themes, including the Arthurian *Ectors saga*; see Kalinke 2012.

says the quiet part out loud. Through its adaptive use of Sallust and Lucan, *Rómverja saga* narrates the decomposition of Republican Rome and its collapse into civil war; the saga's brief conclusion, based on medieval commentaries of Lucan's poem, features Octavian's corresponding rise.[9] *Rómverja saga* thus offers a kind of implicit commentary on the very idea of Rome; considering the ancient state's mythic origins of fraternal bloodshed, what else could a *Saga of the Romans* be but a story of Roman conflict against itself?

This, of course, is a kind of modern (mis)reading, as *Rómverja saga* is not properly a text dedicated to unpacking Roman history as a kind of perpetual civil conflict. Rather, the saga seeks primarily to narrate consequential historical accounts to an interested audience; in this, it follows greater medieval interest in ancient Roman historians as well as Lucan, whose epic – while being "regarded as a model for poetic style"[10] – was also often interpreted as recording a useful historical narrative made sweeter through poetry and thus regularly appeared adapted in prose histories or quoted in works of natural science.[11] This context has motivated previous work on the saga, as scholars have focused on navigating what we might call its external realities – including unpacking the two branches of the manuscript tradition, locating a persuasive date and impetus for composition, understanding what sources were utilized, and identifying the best terminology for the saga's genre.[12] Such investigations have at times also considered more internal details of *Rómverja saga*,

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9   *Rómverja saga* is not entirely unique in its composite formation; one might compare the thirteenth-century Old French *Les Faits des Romains*; see Beer 1976, Spiegel 1993, Croizy-Naquet 1999 and 2006, and Hiatt 2016: 218.

10   Hiatt 2016: 211.

11   For the medieval reception of Lucan, see Sandys 1903, passim, Shannon 1919, Crosland 1930, Sanford 1934, Marti 1941, Bendena 1976, Würth 1988: 9-38, Werner 1989-90 and 1994, esp. 344-46, Ambühl 2009, Bobeth 2009, Gropper 2009, Hiatt 2016, Poppe 2016, and Arner 2017, esp. 161-64. The idea that the *Bellum Civile*'s central value for the writer of *Rómverja saga* was its historical qualities – going back to its identity as a school text – is a consistent thread in Helgadóttir 2010: clii-clxiii and cxciv-cc; Peterson 2003 offers valuable discussion of this aspect of Lucan's medieval reception more broadly.

12   Helgadóttir 1994-97 productively delineates earlier scholarship on the saga since Meißner 1903. Most notably, see also Meißner 1910, Würth 1998: 13-36 and 2005 as

including how the saga manages Roman literary conventions – such as Sallust's and Lucan's shared interest in speeches – through saga style and which Norse terms the saga implements to best represent complex Latin concepts. Nonetheless, many rich opportunities to approach *Rómverja saga* through the lens of literary criticism remain. In doing so, we can appreciate not only what the saga removes or reshapes, but also what it creates in the process.

A key feature of how *Rómverja saga* adapts Lucan's poem for its medieval Icelandic audience is not only its elimination of Lucan's characterful narrator, as has been well noted,[13] but its replacement of that narrative voice with a new kind of interpretive openness as determined by saga conventions. Rather than demanding its audience grapple with a desperate and at times contradictory narrative persona, as Lucan does,[14] the

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well as Gropper 2009 on the question of genre and form. Regarding genre in particular, *Rómverja saga* – along with the aforementioned *Trójumanna saga* and *Alexanders saga* as well as *Breta sögur* (*The Saga of the Bretons*) and *Gyðinga saga* (*The Saga of the Jews*), two further sagas drawing on ancient sources – has been labelled a "pseudo-history," further emphasizing the view that the value of these texts was found in the historical narratives they translated for Icelandic readers; see Würth 1998 and 2005 as well as Gropper 2009. In addition, see Helgadóttir 2010: lxxvii-cc on the saga's sources and points of translation; on the latter, see also Birnudóttir 2017: 14-20. See also Stoltz 2009, which responds to the work of both Gropper (née Würth) and Helgadóttir regarding the Sallust portion of the saga. Bartusik 2019 (non vidi) offers an expansive treatment of *Rómverja saga* as both a cultural product and representative of a greater intellectual exchange between Greco-Roman antiquity and medieval Scandinavia; for those who, like myself, unfortunately lack Polish, Bartusik 2017 provides a summary of the project in English.

13 See esp. Würth 1998: 25-26, Würth 2005: 164, and Gropper 2009: 159 and 169.

14 The characterization of the *Bellum Civile* as a fractured, contradictory, open-ended, and/or even nihilistic work which drives its audience to destablizing conclusions has been a recurrent thread throughout scholarship of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. For varying approaches in this vein, cf. Johnson 1987, Henderson 1987, Masters 1992, Bartsch 1997, O'Higgins 1998, Hershkowitz 1998: 197-246, Sklenář 2003, Dinter 2012, Day 2013, and Caterine 2015. Several recent doctoral studies of the *Bellum Civile* reiterate the continued influence of such views; cf. Keefe 2000, Caterine 2014, and Crosson 2020. Manuwald 2014 also discusses ambiguity as a notable feature of historical epic as a genre. A milder version of this view seems also to appear in medieval engagement with the poem, as Marti 1941: 248 records how certain commentators assert that Lucan's "technique is that of a poet" since "a poet …

saga instead removes any such focalization and prompts the reader to reconcile seemingly inconclusive narrative details. To appreciate how the saga accomplishes this transformation of Lucan's text, I begin by outlining central features of the saga genre that influence *Rómverja saga*'s divergence from the *Bellum Civile*. After this broader framing, I consider two case studies which elucidate the saga's active adaptation of Lucan's poem: the portrayal of Julius Caesar and Pompey Magnus and its depiction of mass battle. By offering a very different vision of the war on the whole through the transformation of its participants – from its generals to the myriad bodies they in turn command – *Romverja saga* retains its own form of the pervasive ambiguity which has often been identified as a central feature of the *Bellum Civile* while also producing a very different Roman civil war than that of the Latin "original."

1. Icelandic Saga Style and the Burden of Interpretation

Rómverja saga belongs to two related but distinct cultural-historical contexts; as noted above, it is a representative of a much broader European engagement with the classical tradition in the medieval period and, more narrowly, Old Norse saga literature. Certain uses to which *Rómverja saga* puts the *Bellum Civile* may be traced to parts of this greater European tradition, such as its reconfiguring of Lucan's poetic narrative into a historical prose account. This wider context, however, does not fully explain the saga's active innovations regarding the finer details of its literary technique, including in respect to characterization and framing. Instead, it is the distinctive narratology of the Icelandic saga tradition which influences the choices we will go on to explore and makes the content of Lucan's epic legible to the readers of medieval Iceland and Scandinavia more broadly.

Old Norse saga literature refers to a collection of prose texts generally

does not attempt to prove anything and ... when he presents many systems he does not bind himself to any one."

dating to the twelfth to late fourteenth centuries written in the vernacular, predominately in Iceland.[15] While the sagas are often divided into sub-groupings based on their content and style – from the *konungasögur* ("kings' sagas") which describe the feats of various Scandinavian monarchs to the *fornaldarsögur* or "legendary sagas" which narrate a distant, mythic Scandinavian past – they exhibit narratological strategies across these categories that unite them beyond their shared language. A central feature of particular interest to us is the absence of an overt narrative voice, as narrative interjections and voiced interpretations are famously limited; their inclusion, in fact, is usually identified as a mark of the genre's decline over time.[16] Without the guidance of a narrative voice, the reader must draw their own conclusions regarding characters' internality, leading in turn to varying interpretations regarding characters' motivations and ethical standing. A brief examination of this aspect of saga style will suffice to illustrate how this works in practice and thus the immediate challenges, and opportunities, faced by the author of *Rómverja saga* in taking on Lucan's epic.

Gunnarr Hámundarson's demise in the thirteenth-century *Brennu-Njáls saga* (*The Saga of Burnt-Njáll*), praised as "one of the most original and memorable chapters in saga literature,"[17] stands as a useful example.[18] The saga relates how, despite originally being a well-respected figure on the island, Gunnarr is temporarily outlawed in the Icelandic law courts after a series of violent conflicts. To be outlawed is to be stripped of legal protections while on Icelandic soil – meaning that one can be killed with impunity, at least in theory – and is therefore considered "a sentence of social death."[19] A prevalent response to being outlawed is therefore to

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15 For an introduction to saga literature, see Clover & Lindow 2005, McTurk 2005, Clunies Ross 2010, and Phelpstead 2020.

16 Cf. Einarsson 2019/1957: 133-35, Óskarsson 2005, Phelpstead 2020: 13-51, esp. 43, and O'Donoghue 2021: 113-52. See n. 12 and 13 for previous scholarly approaches to this feature in respect to *Rómverja saga*.

17 Lönnroth 1976: 160; similarly Helgason 1999: 16.

18 *Njáls saga* belongs to the *Íslendingasögur* ("Icelanders' sagas," often called the family sagas), which narrate the feats of famous inhabitants. See Sveinsson 1971: 88 n. 2 for bibliography on Gunnarr's characterization throughout the saga.

19 Schweitzer VanDonkelaar 2018: 146.

leave Iceland for as long as the sentence stands.[20]

The saga's titular character Njáll Þorgeirsson, who possesses some prophetic ability and is a great friend of Gunnarr, warns him that he should follow this tradition: should Gunnarr stay in Iceland, he will certainly be killed. Gunnarr and his brother, Kolskeggr, prepare to follow Njáll's advice and leave the island, but they run into an unexpected obstacle:

> Þeir ríða fram at Markarfljóti, þá drap hestr Gunnars fœti ok stǫkk hann ór sǫðlinum. Honum varð litit upp til hlíðarinnar ok bœjarins at Hlíðarenda ok mælti: "Fǫgr er hlíðin, svá at mér hefir hon aldri jafnfǫgr sýnzk, bleikir akrar ok slegin tún, ok mun ek ríða heim aptr ok fara hvergi." "Ger þú eigi þann óvinafagnað," segir Kolskeggr, "at þú rjúfir sætt þína, því at þér myndi engi maðr þat ætla. Ok máttú þat hugsa, at svá mun allt fara sem Njáll hefir sagt." "Hvergi mun ek fara," segir Gunnarr, "ok svá vildi ek, at þú gerðir."
>
> (*Njáls saga*, ch. 75)

> They rode out from Markarfljót, and then Gunnarr's horse tripped and threw him out of the saddle. He caught sight of the top of the slope and the homestead at Hlíðarendi and said: "The slope is beautiful; it has never seemed as beautiful to me as it does now, with its pale crops and mowed field. I will now ride home and never leave." Kolskeggr said, "Don't do this thing that will bring joy to your enemies – that you break your conciliation – because no man would think this of you. You must consider this also, that all will happen as Njáll has said." "I will never go," Gunnarr said, "and I want you to do the same."[21]

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20 On outlawry in medieval Iceland and the sagas, cf. Byock 1982, Miller 1990, Firth 2012, Ahola 2014, Antonsson 2018: 115-38, Noetzel 2018, DeAngelo 2019, Poilvez 2019, Merkelbach 2019: 51-100, and Walgenbach 2021; for further noteworthy studies, see Walgenback 2021: 2 n. 1-2.

21 All translations from Old Norse are my own; the text of *Njáls saga* follows Sveinsson 1954. This is also an interesting passage to consider alongside questions of classical reception, as some have argued for influence from *Alexanders saga* here; cf. Sveinsson 1954: xxxvi and Lönnroth 1970 and 1976: 153-57; contra Ashurst 1998-2001.

Kolskeggr refuses to return with Gunnarr and instead sails away from Iceland. Upon Gunnarr's return home, his wife, Hallgerðr, "was happy with Gunnarr when he came home, but his mother contributed few words" (*varð fegin Gunnari, er hann kom heim, en móðir hans lagði fátt til*, ibid).

In this passage, the saga does not explain outright what exactly motivates Gunnarr to remain in Iceland. Instead, through both Gunnarr's actions and the varying reactions of his brother, wife, and mother, *Njáls saga* makes several defensible interpretations of and reactions to this choice available to the reader. William Ian Miller's breakdown of Gunnarr's gaze after falling from his horse illustrates the variety of interpretations even of this image alone: "It is not the hauntingly surreal vista that Iceland offers that transfixes Gunnarr but fertile and productive cropland. Not crevices, jagged rocks, bottomless fissures issuing steam. Nor is it any random domesticated farmland that moves him. This is his farm, his property, his place of defense."[22] To unpack Miller's evocative summation, it is perhaps simply the beauty of Iceland that grips Gunnarr and prevents his departure; it may instead be the intimate gaze of his own homestead and an understanding of the family that lives there; it is equally possible, too, that the sight of "his place of defense" rouses in Gunnarr a desire to fight in response to what he perceives to be a legal and social injustice. Denton Fox identifies even further options based on Gunnarr's numerous trials earlier in the saga:

> A weariness from perpetually extricating himself from trouble, a love of his home, perhaps even the human tendency towards self-destruction which the saga so constantly illustrates all enter into his decision to remain. But I think there is another and more important reason. He is Gunnar of Lithend; if he left Iceland he would lose part of his name and part of his identity, and become a homeless wanderer with no position or honor except what he could take by violent means from other men. He feels, perhaps, that if he accepts the sentence of exile, he will be admitting that it was just, and will also be seeking refuge in flight from his enemies.[23]

22 Miller 2014: 138.
23 Fox 1963: 298. See also Sveinsson 1971: 92.

Just as the saga author declines to elaborate on which of these options determines Gunnarr's decision, so, too, do they refrain from offering their own judgement on that decision. Instead, the saga author suggests that Gunnarr's wife and mother represent two possible responses; for example, one may find pleasure, and perhaps even beauty, in Gunnarr's quiet recognition of his love for his home (if that is what motivates him) or, following Gunnar's now taciturn mother, believe he is making a great mistake in moving against Njáll's advice.[24]

This is, broadly speaking, how saga literature works – the form thrives on both succinct storytelling and action-based narration, thus positioning the reader as a powerful analytical agent. This stands in direct opposition to characteristic features of Lucan's poetic style, as an example will demonstrate. In Book 6 of the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan narrates Sextus Pompey's visit to a Thessalian witch named Erictho to request a necromancy and thereby learn the outcome of the war. In doing so, the narrator describes Sextus as "an offspring unworthy of his parent Magnus [Pompey]" (*Magno proles indigna parente*, Luc. 6.420) who soon afterwards defiled (*polluit*, Luc. 6.422) his father's legacy as an exile and pirate (Luc. 6.421-22).[25] Lucan then explains that Sextus is fearful of the future but rejects all appropriate methods of seeking prophetic information, instead pursuing more shameful arts, including witchcraft (Luc. 6.423-37).

In this introduction to Sextus as a character, Lucan's narrator makes abundantly clear to the audience both who Sextus is and what motivates his individual behaviors. Regarding the former, this narrative voice deems Sextus of a shameful character; the audience is thus primed to judge his behavior as unethical and degenerate even before Lucan states that his pursuit of knowledge is not conducted in a way that is *fas* (Luc.

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24 As one might anticipate, this scene has been the subject of much scholarly debate, including regarding whether it expresses an Icelandic nationalism. See Sveinsson 1933: 212-13, Lönnroth 1976: 157-60, Wawn 2000: 158-61, and Miller 2014: 139. See Helgason 1999 on the ideological reception of *Njáls saga* in English, Danish, and Icelandic contexts.

25 All translations from Latin are my own. The text of the *Bellum Civile* follows Housman 1926, with reference to Shackleton Bailey 1988.

6.430). In respect to the latter, the audience learns that Sextus seeks in-formation specifically because he is afraid (*stimulante metu*, Luc. 6.423) of what is to come (*uenturisque omnibus aeger*, Luc. 6.424). A knowledgeable audience may certainly disagree with this portrayal, but as far as the *Bellum Civile* itself goes, all is made clear.[26] Such a passage moves in opposi-tion to the brevity and interpretive distance of saga style observed above.[27]

This isolated example offers only a mild representation of a feature of Lucan's poem which perhaps is represented most starkly by its narrator's "devastating pronouncement"[28] lamenting an absence of divine care at 7.445-55 following Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus. That is, in Gordon Wil-liam's words, Lucan's "extraordinary" persona as narrator, which is marked by "extensive and highly personal entrances into his epic … [W]hat Lucan does goes far beyond anything to be found in any Roman or Greek historian; for he thrusts his personality on the audience."[29] In doing so, Lucan does not merely establish the existence of his narrator qua character throughout the poem but, as observed above, asserts his opinion on current matters. As Jamie Masters observes, "Lucan is always on the sidelines, so to speak; often entering into the poem in his own person, he shouts encouragement or cries out in dismay."[30]

26 For Lucan's portrayal of Sextus, cf. Ahl 1974: 568 and 1976: 114, 130-33, Martindale 1977: 375-79, Makowski 1977: 198-99, Hardie 1993: 88-119, Tesoriero 2002, Nadeau 2009, and Fratantuono 2012: 246, 262-63.

27 *Rómverja saga* itself confirms this fact as it negotiates between Lucan's text and saga style. There, the saga begins only with the fact that Sextus is Pompey's son (Son Pompeius Magnus. het Pompeius Sextus, ch.72), is very anxious (míok hugsíukr, ch. 72) about the conflict, and seeks out Erictho to know what is to come (uilldi giarna víta huersu ganga mundi, ch. 72); the necromancy then follows (ch. 73). On this, see also Meißner 1910: 324-26.

28 Feeney 1991: 281.

29 Williams 1976: 233-34.

30 Masters 1992: 5; see p. 5 n. 14 for further prior engagements with this aspect of Lu-can; see also n. 14 above. Marti 1975 remains a key precedent here. This quality of Lucan's narrator often appears as the basis for greater arguments about the instabil-ity or ambiguity of the poem – this is the case for Masters 1992: 87-90 – and takes on special prominence for certain aspects of the *Bellum Civile*, such as its conception of a divine apparatus; see Fantham 2011 and, relatedly, Feeney 1991: 269-86. Asso 2009

This aspect of the *Bellum Civile* represents the most immediate challenge faced by the author of *Rómverja saga* in adapting Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, namely: how to transform a poem dominated by its characterful narrative voice and at times disjointed authorial personality into a prose account that both communicates a historical narrative and fits neatly into the presupposed framework of a laconic literary style. *Rómverja saga*'s answer is an active reframing of Lucan's text that displaces the burden of conflicted interpretation from Lucan-as-narrator and redirects it onto the reader. As we consider the saga more fully, this comes out most clearly in its depiction of two central concerns for the *Bellum Civile*: the characterization of the central pairing of Pompey and Caesar and the depiction of violent mass battle. In each case, the saga innovates by pulling back on Lucan's intense judgement and negative portraits, instead crafting more ambiguous behaviors by which the civil war and its participants might be judged.

2. A More Present Pompey and a Softer Caesar

When we compare the opening of the *Bellum Civile* with the Lucan portion of *Rómverja saga*, it originally seems like the wholescale removal of Lucan's narrator will eliminate any unsettling uncertainty rather than encourage it. The dominant but conflicted nature of Lucan's narrator opens the *Bellum Civile* itself, for in its initial lines, the poem's narrative voice gestures in vain at grasping the reality of the civil conflict through a series of unsuccessful attempts to isolate what exact mechanism caused it in the first place (Luc. 1.1-182). This is exemplified by Lucan's uncomprehending introductory plea: "What madness, citizens, why such an unrestrained license of iron?" (*quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri*?, Luc. 1.8). Lucan's narrator never expresses that it has found an acceptable answer to this question, as the epic instead focuses on describing the *nefas* set in motion in vivid detail.

has also observed the similarly "intrusive" nature of Lucan's use of apostrophe; Henderson 1987: 135 powerfully identifies this and other narrative outbursts as an "attack."

In comparison, *Rómverja saga* offers a much more straightforward account. After the saga has concluded its adaptation of Sallust, the Lucan portion begins more like a prose history than historical epic, with a series of stated certainties in contrast to Lucan's barrage of questions:

> Maðr h*et* Lukanus Romu*er*skr at kyní. er þe*s*sa frasǫgn hef*ir* fyrst ritad at vpphafí. ok hefr h*ann* sua at a*ı* llu*m* Romu*er*ia h*er* v*ar* skipt i þridíunga. ok u*ar* sa hǫfðingi settr yf*ir* hu*er*n þridíung. er æztr var i Romab*or*g. ok v*aro* þ*e*ir allír goru*ir* dictatores.
>
> (*Rómverja saga* ch. 47)[31]

> There was a man called Lucan, Roman by birth. He first wrote this narrative from its beginning. He says that the entirety of the Roman army was arranged into three groups, and there was a leader set over each third. This position was the highest in Rome, and all three were made dictators.

Whereas the introduction to the *Bellum Civile* refuses to identify a single source of the civil conflict, *Rómverja saga* states simply that the war begins because Caesar rejects Pompey's request that he return to Rome and give up the men under his command following the death of Marcus Crassus:

> En*n* ept*ir* fall M*ar*cí. send*ir* Pompeíus ord Julio. at h*ann* fá*é*ri heím til Romab*or*gar. ella sendi h*ann* honum alla sína m*enn.* Julius uilldi hu*ar*ki gǫra... En þá er Julíus uilldi * æigi* aptr hu*er*fa er h*on*um komu þe*s*si ord þa gorðiz þ*ar* af sundr þycki medr þ*eim* Pomeío. ok Iulio. ok litu sida*ʀ* hín*n* mesti fiandskapr.
>
> (ch. 50)

> But after Marcus Crassus died, Pompey sent word to Caesar that he should return home to Rome or send all of his men to him; Caesar wanted to do neither ... But when Caesar didn't want to return after these words reached him, then it seems conflict separated Pompey and Caesar, and a short time afterwards so did that great hostility.

Lucan mentions Crassus' demise in his list of potential causes for the conflict (Luc. 1.99-106), but it is presented as one of several lost forces of moderation rather than the war's prime instigator.

In rejecting such opportunities for interpretive indecision, however, *Rómverja saga* does not simply present a straightforward account on the whole. Instead, it raises its own questions through its reframing of the narrative's foremost antagonists: Pompey and Caesar. To begin with Pompey, the *Bellum Civile*'s conflicted relationship with the first leader of the Republican forces has been well documented.[32] While his indecision and fragility are a central concern throughout the epic, it is Pompey's behavior in Book 7 that has been marked as his moment of greatest failure in the civil conflict.[33] Rather than join his men in the fray, Pompey acts as a spectator at the Battle of Pharsalus, watching from afar as his fortunes fade: "He stood on a hill in the field; from far above he gazed upon all the slaughter spread throughout the Thessalian plains, which themselves were hidden beneath the battle being waged" (*stetit aggere campi, / eminus unde omnis sparsas per Thessala rura / aspiceret clades, quae*

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32 See Bartsch 1997: 73-130 for a reading of the *Bellum Civile* that centralizes this relationship.

33 See Leigh 1997: 110-57, which also observes why positive readings of Pompey's behavior in Book 7 are difficult to sustain. See also Gagliardi 1975: 91-92, Ahl 1976: 164-71, and Bartsch 1997: 79-80 (see 73-100 for a greater discussion of the contrast between Pompey's actions and Lucan's narrative commentary); Seo 2013: 84-85 also describes a tension between Pompey's actions and Lucan's desire to aggrandize him before Book 8's "transformation of Pompey's murder into a Stoic death in the Catonian mode." See Narducci 1979: 125 and 2002: 312, D'Alessandro Behr 2007: 85-87, and Clark 2015: 146 for positive readings of Pompey here. On Pompey as a fading figure more broadly, cf. Ahl 1976: 150-89, Feeney 1986, Johnson 1987: 67-100, esp. 71-73, and Masters 1992: 102-4; see Day 2013: 179-233 for Pompey achieving sublimity through his fall.

bello obstante latebant, Luc. 7.649-51). While the audience may at first feel some reassurance that Pompey is at least taking a visual survey of the battle's progress from this vantage point, the narrator then clarifies that Pompey interprets the tableau through what Matthew Leigh labels "terrible" and "ego-centric delusion":[34] "he saw a great number of spears seeking his own life, numerous collapsed corpses, and himself dying in such a sea of blood" (*tot telis sua fata peti, tot corpora fusa / ac se tam multo pereuntem sanguine uidit*, Luc. 7.652-53).

Rómverja saga rewrites this moment in subtle but transformative ways. According to the saga: "When/after Pompey saw that his troops had fallen and the gods wanted to sweep him from victory, he then went up a hill. From there, he saw both the battle and the great amount of death that had befallen his troops" (Enn er Pompeíus sa at lid hans fell. ok guðin uilldu suipta hann sigrínum. pa geck hann upp æ hæð eína. ok sa þadan til orrostonnar. ok sa þat hít mikla mannfall er vard i hans liði, ch. 76). In setting up this movement, the saga introduces a temporal element lacking in Lucan's text, namely "when/after" (*enn er*). This clarifies that Pompey only walks up the hill after noticing that his forces are beginning to fail, which in turn suggests that he previously stood among his men, either fighting or, at the very least, at much closer quarters to the battlefield.[35] Alongside this important change, whereas Lucan describes Pompey as standing (*stetit*) on the hill (and thus his *placement on* in regards to space), *Rómverja saga* illustrates him going or walking (*geck*) up the hill (and thus his *motion towards* a space). Both changes emphasize Pompey's shift in position and elide any suggestion that the general had been spending this consequential battle in a removed place of safety.

Rómverja saga also eliminates Pompey's horrified vision of his own death in the falling bodies of his troops and instead jumps ahead to his speech. In Lucan's poem, Pompey asks the gods to leave off from this slaughter (*'parcite,' ait 'superi, cunctas prosternere gentes ...*, Luc. 7.659) and

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34 Leigh 1997: 154; 156. Leigh identifies this behavior as an assertion of Pompey's "monarchical perspective."

35 One could argue that the *iam* at Luc. *BC* 7.647 achieves something similar, but this is difficult to confirm considering it is included in the prior clause; the placement of the Latin suggests the *iam* refers to Pompey's state of mind as he realizes defeat is imminent rather than his state of motion.

states that he can accept misfortune should Rome and the wider world remain (*stante potest mundo Romaque superstite Magnus / esse miser*, Luc. 7.660-61). Both *stante*, describing the world, and *superstite*, regarding Rome, reiterate the image of standing in place from 7.649; the currently standing Pompey wants to see Rome remain standing, even if it means his own fall. *Rómverja saga* offers something slightly different. Before mentioning the little value possessed by his own life, Pompey proclaims, "May the gods thus heal the world so that Rome holds its freedom" (Græði *s*ua godin*n* heim*í*n. at Roma b*o*rg hafi fresli sitt, ch. 76).[36] For this Pompey, it is not enough that Rome survive: he wants it to be free.

Rómverja saga concludes Pompey's behavior at Pharsalus along similar lines. After ending his speech, Pompey instructs his men to remain at his side as he departs ("and he asked them all to follow him," ok bend*ir* oll*um* at h*o*num skyli fylgia, ch. 77). The saga suggests the men obey by asserting that, following the battle, "Lucan says that afterwards there was still that other best group of choice men" to follow the defeated general and that it is only "after Pompey and all his troops fled" that Caesar declares victory (Sua s(egir) Lucan*us*. at þa v*ar* en*n* ept*ir* h*í*t bezta man*n*ual; En*n* er allt lid Pompeius flyði ...., ch. 77). Things are more complicated in Lucan's telling. There, after asking for Rome's survival despite his own defeat, Pompey "went around to the arms, standards, and troops beleaguered from every side, called back those rushing to a hasty death, and denied that he was worth so much" (... *arma / signaque et adflictas omni iam parte cateruas / circumit et reuocat matura in fata ruentis / seque negat tanti*, Luc. 7.666-69). Lucan goes on to elaborate that Pompey's desire to flee stems

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36 It was suggested to me by the journal's anonymous reviewer that this dialogue may be a reformulation of Lucan's exhortations during Pompey's flight at 7.689-97: in particular, the idea that the Republican forces continuing to fight despite their general's departure demonstrates that they do not merely die due to either loyalty to Pompey (7.690-91; 694) or "zeal for war" (*studium belli*, 7.695) but rather because this is a conflict between the two poles of "freedom and Caesar" (*libertas et Caesar*, 7.696). I find this an attractive possibility, especially considering that the saga eliminates this commentary and only claims that Pompey "did not want the people to die there for his sake" (h*a*nn uilldi æigi at alþydan felli þ*a*r fyrir h*a*ns sakir, ch. 77). Should we see Pompey's speech as absorbing sentiments previously ascribed to Lucan's narrator, this further strengthens the idea put forth here that *Rómverja saga* presents a more active and conscientious Pompey in this episode.

not from the fear of being harmed but of his men refusing to flee should he be killed (Luc. 7.669-72). Yet, he then qualifies: "or [Pompey] wished to hide away his death from Caesar's eyes" (*Caesaris aut oculis uoluit subducere mortem*, Luc. 7.673). A further, third option even arises when Lucan remarks that Cornelia, Pompey's wife, is another "cause of his flight" (*causa fugae*, Luc. 7.676), with fate (*fatisque*, Luc. 7.676) refusing to grant him a death apart from her.

In this layered list of motivations and explanations, the *Bellum Civile* offers a more obscure picture of why and how Pompey departs from Pharsalus than *Rómverja saga.* In the saga, Pompey diminishes his own value and declares that Rome must remain free, and he is successful at prompting his forces to flee alongside him. Lucan's Pompey does tell his men they should withdraw and value their lives over his own, but in contrast to *Rómverja saga*, this is an action many reject; following Pompey's departure, they fight on and thus "the Senate showed itself to have fought for itself as it died" (*ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus*, Luc. 7.697). While this statement suggests that the men's deaths make their cause noble, as Shadi Bartsch observes, the epic seems to display a "discomfort" with Pompey's behavior here, including in its perceived need to "address Pompey in rapturous terms...for some fifty lines" following his flight.[37] Alongside this, Lucan obfuscates whether Pompey's departure should be viewed highly by suggesting both selfish and selfless motivations for it (to say nothing of Lucan's mention of Pompey's demise in Egypt as set by fate).[38] As a result, Pompey leaves the battle without fully convincing either his men to cease battle or Lucan's audience of his motivations – a sharp contrast to his dignified and protective departure in *Rómverja saga.*

Over this episode, the saga author's interventions in both Pompey's language and actions thus lead to a very different general at Pharsalus.

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37 Bartsch 1997: 80.

38 Even if we follow Lucan's initial suggestion that Pompey flees to save his men, Bartsch 1997: 80 observes how the *Bellum Civile* undermines Pompey's claim that "should he die the fighting will never stop" in Book 9 "where his soldiers no longer want to continue the war now that their leader is dead." Ahl 1976: 167 similarly identifies Pompey's assumption as "naiveté," commenting that, "Lucan carefully maintains the illusion that Pompey's motives are of the highest order."

Simply put, *Rómverja saga* takes what might be viewed as a powerful example of Pompey as an ineffective and self-centered leader and instead creates a respectable negotiation of fraught commitment. Importantly, the saga does not entirely rewrite Pompey's character or the narrative trajectory of Lucan's poem – he does not become a dashing figure pushing back the Caesarians, for example. Rather, through the subtle rewriting of Pompey's behavior on the battlefield and the removal of Lucan's own open-endedness regarding the motivations and effects of his flight, *Rómverja saga* presents a more explicitly admirable leader to balance against Pompey's undeniable losses over the conflict. This Pompey is imbued with a different kind of ambiguity compared to Lucan's text and as a result becomes more difficult to evaluate among the narrative's other central characters.

Alongside such reframing of Pompey as an agent, *Rómverja saga* offers more restrained descriptions of Pompeiian suffering, thereby alleviating the sense in the *Bellum Civile* that the general can only lead his men into terrible misfortune. Prior to the Battle of Pharsalus, *Bellum Civile* 6 finds the Pompeians besieged at Dyrrachium. While trapped within the city, the troops endure a terrible sickness after a horse's rotting corpse contaminates the air and their drinking water (Luc. 6.84-90).[39] Lucan describes the men's suffering in painful detail:

> inde labant populi, caeloque paratior unda
> omne pati uirus durauit uiscera caeno.
> iam riget arta cutis distentaque lumina rumpit,
> igneaque in uoltus et sacro feruida morbo
> pestis abit, fessumque caput se ferre recusat.

<div align="right">(Luc. 6.93-97)</div>

From this the people collapsed, and the water, more prepared than the air to suffer all of this putridity, hardened their innards with filth.

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39 See Bonet & Pétrone 2012: 199 for how the use of medical language in this episode heightens the sense of suffering and Fratantuono 2012: 212 for the illness as plague-like in its intensity. Gardner 2019: 192-200 explores how Lucan builds on previous plague narratives to great aesthetic and thematic effect.

Now their skin, drawn tight, grew rigid, and it burst forth their swollen eyes; a flaming pestilence, hot with an accursed disease, entered their faces, and their weary heads refused to raise themselves up.

While the Pompeians struggle through this illness, the Caesarians outside of the city also face a "savage hunger" (*saeuam … famem*, Luc. 6.108-9) after they consume their limited supplies. Despite this foreboding wording, however, the Caesarians prove able to manage that hunger before it leads to bodily collapse. They cull whatever nutrients they can from surrounding plants, using fire to cook their gathered materials and make them easier to consume and digest (Luc. 6.109-17). As Lucan describes it, this is certainly a desperate situation, and the Caesarians' plight has been read evocatively as paralleling that of the Pompeians in a circle of suffering.[40] At the same time, however, Lucan dedicates twenty lines to describing the corruption of the Pompeians' drinking water and their terrible physical degeneration (Luc. 6.84-103) while he offers only half that number for the Caesarians' hunger (Luc. 6.108-17).[41]

Rómverja saga includes the Dyrrachium episode and the trials of both armies. Its truncated description of the physical harm faced by both groups, however, removes the imbalanced suffering of Lucan's poem: "At that time, a great illness came to Pompey's troops, and Caesar's men starved with the result that they ate the unripe crops and the roots of grasses which were clearly not to be eaten" (I þenna ti*ma* kom sott mikil

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40 See Saylor 1978: 248-49 and Garner 2019: 192-93.

41 Saylor 1978: 245-46 observes how Pompey and Dyrrachium are connected as "lofty, isolated because nearly an island, and something natural" in contrast to Caesar and his siege wall's embodiment of "violence to nature and landscape." In making this connection, Pompeiian suffering may be felt even more strongly; not only does Lucan dwell longer on their corporeal collapse, but this collapse in a way happens within a Pompeiian "body" which is unable to protect them. Relatedly, although he sees Lucan as setting up Pompey positively in this episode on the whole, Saylor locates another arguable failing in Pompey's behavior after he breaks free of the siege: "Pompey's refusal to press the Caesarians is made to seem a reasonable, pious act since he claims he will not kill any more Romans. Yet, permitting Caesar's retreat is at least unwise because Pompey only continues to follow Caesar, aware that he must shed Roman blood elsewhere and perhaps with less advantage, less sparingly towards an end of the war" (p. 253).

i lid Pomp(eius). en*n* me*nn* Julíj. sulltu s*ua.* at þeir atu akra*n*a o gǫrua. ok grasrætr þær sem b*e*rliga v*a*ro v ætar, ch. 71).[42] While Lucan magnifies the painful transformation of Pompeiian bodies, *Rómverja saga* offers only a laconic statement of the "great illness" they endured before quickly shifting (*enn*) to a lengthier description of the depths of Caesarian hunger; this condensed narration also eliminates the Caesarian forces' use of fire to cook their food and so only offers an image of desperate and unpleasant eating. This reframing of the discomfort faced at Dyrrachium not only more fully equates both parties' suffering but softens Lucan's image of the Pompeians as facing especially devastating harms as a result of Pompey's approach to the war.

Just as the saga reframes those moments that might be deemed most critical of Pompey's abilities in the *Bellum Civile*, so, too, does it selectively reshape Lucan's Caesar. Throughout, the saga retains the vindicative rage and bombastic pride that marks his portrayal in the *Bellum Civile* – the saga includes, for example, both Caesar's furious claim of possessing a great destiny and the gods' favor in the face of potential mutiny in *Bellum Civile* 5 (*Rómverja saga*, ch. 68; Luc. 5.300-73) as well as his attempt in the same book to cross the storming Adriatic, including his plea that his corpse never be found should he perish in order that he may continue to possess fear-inducing power amongst the living (*Rómverja saga*, ch. 69; Luc. 5.504-677).[43] At the same time, *Rómverja saga* also pulls the narrative back from some of the most intense choices by which Caesar might be judged.[44] In comparison with its characterization of Pompey, Lucan's poem includes a much richer catalog of monstruous behavior for Caesar throughout the epic, and so here three selective episodes will suffice: Book 3's destruction of the sacred grove at Massilia, Caesar's treatment

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42 The condensed account of Pompeiian suffering is also observed at Meißner 1910: 223.

43 For Caesar's monstrous character in the *Bellum Civile*, cf. Ahl 1976: 190-230, Narducci 1979: 97-104, Johnson 1987: 101-37, Hershkowitz 1998: 197-246, Narducci 2002: 187-278, Uhle 2006, Day 2013: 106-78, Spentzou 2018, and Joseph 2022: 147-59. On Caesar and the storm, see esp. Matthews 2008; see also Fantham 1985 on the relationship between these two episodes and the mutiny on the whole.

44 Meißner 1910: 256-59 collects several instances where the saga author removes Lucan's more explicit criticisms of Caesar or adds/modifies dialogue or behavior to paint a more flattering portrait; see also n. 50. For Meißner, this demonstrates the saga author's unequivocal support for Caesar; see n. 53.

of the Republican dead in Book 7, and his response to receiving Pompey's head in Book 9.

Even if we do not go so far as to consider the episode to be evidence that he is "a demon out of Hades, a magnificently evil fiend, [and] a superhuman antagonist,"[45] Caesar's mutilation and indeed desecration of the Massilian grove in *Bellum Civile* 3 offers important, relatively early evidence of his transgressive and vicious nature.[46] After the Massilians refrain from siding with Caesar in the civil conflict and refuse him entrance to their city, he locates the grove as a potential source of raw materials for his war efforts (Luc. 3.394-98). The grove is numinous, a site of violent ritual abandoned to the foreboding powers that reside there (Luc. 3.399-425). Considering this, Caesar's men at first refuse to desecrate the grove, as "they believed that the axes would rebound against their own limbs if they should strike the sacred oaks" (*si robora sacra ferirent, / in sua credebant redituras membra securis*, Luc. 3.430-31). In response to their unease, Caesar strikes first (*primus raptam librare bipennem / ausus*, Luc. 3.433-34) and offers his men not only a transference of blame but a bold statement of his own identity: "Trust that I am the one who has committed *nefas*" (*credite me fecisse nefas*, Luc. 3.437).[47] The men subsequently cut down the forest – not because Caesar has assuaged their fear, but rather because they fear his wrath more than that of the gods (*non sublato secura pauore / turba, sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira*, Luc. 3.438-39).

Rómverja saga retains the broad structure of this episode, from the grove to the men's fear to Caesar's first strike. Unlike Lucan's lengthy

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45 Phillips 1968: 300.

46 See Celotto 2023: 257-60 for the scene's use of the language of sexual violence. See Masters 1992: 25-29 and Saylor 2003 on the terrible significance of repetition here and Fantham 1996: 147-53, Augoustakis 2006, Leigh 2010, Day 2013: 136-43, and Chaudhuri 2014: 159-65 for Caesar's trampling over the divine and supernatural and the question of retribution as Lucan's literary innovation. See Joseph 2022: 73-83 on this act's wider ranging sense of devastating finality.

47 See Green 1994: 221 on this moment as an announcement of Caesar's greater persona: "When he takes the axe to the oak, Caesar proclaims that he *is* the challenger; he is the soldier (*tuus ... miles*) of the city and the gods of Rome. He must take responsibility for his crime, because it is only through that crime that he can attain his *regnum*."

description of the dark, foreboding forest and sites of bloody, aged sacrifice, however, the saga records:

> þar var ok blót skogr einn er borgar menn hǫfdu mikinn atrunad æa .ok treystiz lid Julíȷ́ þui æigi at hǫɢua *hann.* þa liop Iulíus fram at skóginum. ok hio íȷ́. hondum lund einn sterkan sua at ǫxín sǫck at hamrí aɫl ok mællti. Hræðiz þer æigi at hǫɢua þenna skóg. Ek man bera abyrgd fyrir.
> (ch. 62)

> There was a sacrificial forest in which the townspeople held great belief, and Caesar's troops did not trust to fell it. Then Caesar ran towards the forest. He struck such a strong tree with both hands that the axe sank in entirely to the handle, and he said, "Don't be afraid to strike this forest; I will bear responsibility."

While the much shorter description of the grove could be attributed to the stylistic demands of the saga genre on the whole as well as *Romverja saga*'s own historicizing nature, Caesar's actions and dialogue also contribute to a less damning episode. First, Lucan's poem solely emphasizes Caesar's audacity to be the first to cut down a tree, while *Rómverja saga* also aggrandizes his strength through greater attention to the deepness of the axe's blow.

Second and more significantly, the saga does not try to locate a Norse term that would carry the weight of *nefas* or, at the very least, suggest the transgressive nature of Caesar's act. Old Norse certainly has such a vocabulary, including through its proliferous compounds formed with the adjective *íllr*, which designates that which is "wicked" or "improper"; *nefas* could correspond well to terms such as *íllverk*, "a wicked deed" or *íllræði*, "shameful action." Norse also features a broader vocabulary of improper action outside of *íll-* compounds, including *glæpr*, which designates a "crime" or "wicked, improper deed." Many of these terms appear widely in *Rómverja* saga in both the Sallust and Lucan sections, confirming that the saga author might have used one of them here.[48] Rather than

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48 To offer only a few examples, *íllverk* appears as the label for Jugurtha's actions in ch. 9, those of Marius in ch. 31, and Pompey's decapitated head at ch. 87; various acts

making use of this lexicon, however, the saga describes the abuse of the grove as the much more neutral *abyrgd*, "responsibility"; this Caesar will not carry the weight of an unlawful crime but merely liability for a committed action. As a result of these changes, Caesar's attack upon the Massilian grove still showcases his dismissal of divine power and sacred space, but the saga lessens the significance of the attack itself.

The saga's treatment of Caesar in Books 7 and 9 offer more dramatic interventions into Lucan's portrayal. In the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar refuses to bury any of the Pompeians who have fallen and instead gazes upon their rotting corpses as he dines (Luc. 7.789-95).[49] In contrast, *Rómverja saga* records that Caesar ensures that Roman citizens among the Pompeian forces receive proper funeral rites: "He selected those that were Roman citizens. He had them burned following Roman customs and thereafter their bones and ashes buried" (Allan *þann* hin*n* ʀomu*er*ska val. let h*ann* brenn*a* eptir sid Romu*er*ía. ok let sidan iarda beín ok ösku, ch. 77).[50] While he does not offer any funeral rites for non-Romans, the saga does share that Caesar finds the site of Thessaly disturbing after the battle has concluded: "It was said that Caesar placed great loathing on that area of Thessaly" (*þat* er sagt. at Julíus lagdi mikil leidíndi æ *þenna* stad Thesaliam, ch. 77). Accordingly, he immediately departs from the scene. This is not a Caesar who would enjoy having his breakfast before a tableau of festering flesh and scavenging animals.

Lucan paints a similarly grotesque image of Caesar again in Book 9, when he is presented with Pompey's decapitated and mummified head. According to Lucan:

> non primo Caesar damnauit munera uisu
> auertitque oculos; uoltus, dum crederet, haesit;
> utque fidem uidit sceleris tutumque putauit
> iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentis
> effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto,

along Jugurtha's rise are described as *glæp* in ch. 5, 6, 8, and 12, and the same is true of Caesar's behavior, including at ch. 72.

49 See Lovatt 1999: 130-31, Fratantuono 2012: 303, and Lanzarone 2016: 494 on the grotesque associations of Caesar's character raised by this behavior.

50 This alteration is also listed at Meißner 1910: 259.

non aliter manifesta potens abscondere mentis
gaudia quam lacrimis ...

<div align="right">(Luc .9.1035-41)</div>

Caesar did not reject the gift at first sight nor turn his eyes away. He clung to the face until he believed it; and when he saw the pledge of the horrible deed and believed himself safe, then to be a good son-in-law he poured out tears that didn't fall of their own accord, and he forced out groans from a happy breast. In no other way able to hide the clear joy in his mind than with tears ...

In this initial description, Lucan's narrator suggests that Caesar feels only happiness at the sight of Pompey's mangled head, and all expressions of any negative emotion – first sadness and then disgust (Luc. 9.1064-1104) – are manipulations calculated for his ready audience. While he goes on to entertain the possibility that there is some kind of lamentation present behind the physicality of Caesar's behavior, it is certainly not grief for Pompey himself:

nunc mixti foedera tangunt
te generis? nunc gnata iubet maerere neposque?
credis apud populos Pompei nomen amantis
hoc castris prodesse tuis? fortasse tyranni
tangeris inuidia, captique in uiscera Magni
hoc alii licuisse doles, quererisque perisse
uindictam belli raptumque e iure superbi
uictoris generum. quisquis te flere coegit
impetus, a uera longe pietate recessit.

<div align="right">(Luc. 9.1048-56)</div>

Do the treaties of a mingled family affect you now? Do your daughter and granddaughter now order you to grieve? Do you believe that this will aid your cause among those people who love the name of Pompey? Perhaps you're touched by jealousy of the tyrant, and it pains you that someone else was permitted this act against the innards of the captured Magnus, and you complain that revenge in battle has

been lost and a son-in-law has been stolen from the rightful authority of the proud victor. Whatever motivation urged you to weep, it stood far away from true piety.

Even if Lucan allows room for Caesar's tears to be inspired by some form of true negative emotion, then, he is also quick to assert that such sorrow must stem from shameful motivations and represent only a further stain on his character.[51]

Rómverja saga offers a strikingly different description of Caesar's response to the Egyptians' offering:

> Sidan bra ha*nn* hofdínu vndan mǫttlinum. ok tok af dukin*n*. en*n* þ*at* var þa vlikt þi er sa b*ar* er ʀækti. sua at v*ar*la mattí ken*n*a. Julíus sá um hrid æ hǫfudít. ok kendi. kom þa i skap ho*n*um bædi hǫrmung. ok fagnadr. ok hrutu tarín vm kín*n*r ho*n*um. ok se*gir* Lukanus. at ho*n*um kiẹmí meiʀ þ*at* tíl at ha*nn* villdí engu launa þ*eim* er drep*it* ha*nn* hefdi.
>
> (ch. 87)

> Then he lifted the head from under the cloak and took away the cloth – it was so dissimilar to the one who bore it that it could barely be recognized. Caesar looked at the head for a short time, and he recognized it. Both sorrow and joy entered his mind, and tears rolled down his cheeks, and Lucan says that it further came to [Caesar] that he didn't want to reward the one who had killed [Pompey].

Whereas Lucan's Caesar "clings" (*haesit*, 9.1036) to the terrible image evocatively, suggesting both a kind of desired satisfaction and pleasure, *Rómverja saga* observes that Caesar only "looked" (*sá*) at the head "for a short time" (*um hrid*). More importantly, according to the saga, Caesar truly feels both happiness and sadness in equal measure, although the

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51 For this scene and its place in Lucan's characterization of Caesar, see Tschiedel 1985, Fantham 1992: 110, Malamud 2003: 37-39, Wick 2004: 89-93, Radicke 2004: 478-89, D'Alessandro Behr 2007: 60-75, and Tracy 2014: 141. Caesar's response is especially damning, too, if the placement of Pompey's head in his hands also stands in for the defeat of Rome; see Hardie 1993: 7 and Dinter 2012: 19-20.

reader is not given any clear articulation of what motivates each emotion. The saga offers only the misleading claim that Lucan asserts that Caesar, for various reasons, did not want to praise the act; while Lucan does have his Caesar overtly reject the Egyptians' gift at 9.1064-1108, his narrator, as noted above, makes clear that he finds the offering very fine indeed. As in the reformulation of his behavior at Pharsalus, *Rómverja saga* does not completely rewrite Caesar or reverse his characterization in the *Bellum Civile* – he still looks at Pompey's head and finds some pleasure in it – but instead reframes his most culpable behavior: here, Caesar's grief could potentially be real and even be inspired by Pompey's fate rather than his own disappointed self-interest. As the saga sloughs off overt condemnation, Caesar becomes a much more ambiguous figure to match the text's more moderated Pompey, and the reader must take on the burden of determining whether he deserves acceptance, full condemnation, or something in between.[52]

While we may consider only limited examples here, this selection reveals how *Rómverja saga* does not simply transform a "Lucan who stands on the side of Pompey"[53] into a source for a pro-Caesarian narrative, as has been argued, but rather reframes both leaders' behavior to place the burden of interpretation on the reader. The portrayal of these central characters thus illustrates a fundamental aspect of *Rómverja saga* as a literary composition, namely: while it is certainly true that Lucan appealed to the saga author due to the historical nature of his text, this does not

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52 Beyond its moderation of the *Bellum Civile*'s strongly anti-Caesarian stance*, Rómverja saga*'s laconic inclusion of both Caesar's "sorrow and joy" (*hǫrmung ok fagnaðr*) presents a notable contrast with ancient accounts of this episode with a pro-Caesarian bent; see Vassiliades 2022: 29-42. Most relevantly from his findings, the *Periocha* 112 claims Caesar was "enraged and began to weep" (*infensus est et inlacrimauit*); Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae* includes that Caesar "wept" (*fleuit*, *Controv.* 10.3.1) and "averted his gaze" (*auertisse oculos*, *Controv.* 10.3.5); Valerius Maximus does not describe Caesar's physical emotionality but identifies him as acting as a father-in-law rather than an enemy (*oblitus hostis soceri uultum induit*, Val. Max. 5.1.10); Plutarch also describes Caesar as weeping (ἐδάκρυσεν, Plut. *Pomp.* 80.5 and κατεδάκρυσεν, Plut. *Caes.* 48.2).

53 Würth 2006: 157; orig. "[Lucan] steht auf der Seite des Pompeius." See similarly Meißner 1910: 256-59, Würth 1998: 31, and Helgadóttir 2010: clix.

mean that engagement with his poem began and ended with turning po-
etry into prose. Rather, this Icelandic work pursues a creative transfor-
mation of the *Bellum Civile* through the opportunities afforded by saga
style, thus offering the reader direct agency in piecing together both the
characterization of specific figures and, as a result of the former, the
greater meaning of the civil war on the whole. This quality, however, is
not isolated to characters of significant narrative weight like Pompey
and Caesar. Rather, the saga's refiguration of scenes of mass battle and
death in Lucan's poem follows its reimagining of the war's generals to
present the civil conflict in a much murkier light.

3. Finding Dignity in Mass Destruction

Scenes of graphic mass battle are an unavoidable fixture of the *Bellum
Civile*, even if interpretations of their effect and their poetic value have
varied.[54] For our purposes, I would only like to emphasize their promi-
nence, as well as how much time Lucan gives to these highly descriptive
scenes. The lengthy and graphic Massilian battle in Book 3, for example,
receives 265 lines in Lucan's text and includes the death of several named
soldiers, including Catus, Lycidas, Phoecus, Tyrrhenus, and Argus, along-
side numerous unnamed troops (Luc. 3.497-762). In contrast, this en-
counter receives one-third of one short section in *Rómverja saga* (ch. 62),
with attention paid only to the named deaths of Tyrrhenus and Argus.

  We might similarly compare each text's treatment of the battle be-
tween the forces of Curio and those of Juba and the Pompeians in North
Africa. Lucan includes the following description of mass harm and death
as the Caesarians face defeat:

  ergo acies tantae paruum spissantur in orbem,
  ac, siquis metuens medium correpsit in agmen,
  uix inpune suos inter conuertitur enses;
  densaturque globus, quantum pede prima relato
  constrinxit gyros acies. non arma mouendi
  iam locus est pressis, stipataque membra teruntur;

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54 Cf. Narducci 1979: 83, Hunink 1992: 233, and Sklenář 2003: 21.

frangitur armatum conliso pectore pectus.
non tam laeta tulit uictor spectacula Maurus
quam Fortuna dabat; fluuios non ille cruoris
membrorumque uidet lapsum et ferientia terram
corpora: conpressum turba stetit omne cadauer.

<div align="right">(Luc. 4.777-87)</div>

Thus such great troops were condensed into a tiny circle, and anyone who was afraid and crept through the line could scarcely turn around unharmed by the swords of his own comrades. The crowd was dense, and however much the first line drew back their foot, so greatly did the troops draw the circle tight. Now there was no place for those crushed together to move their weapons, and their limbs, compressed, were ground together. Armored chest was crushed by chest as they crashed together. The victorious Mauretanian did not enjoy the happy sights which Fortune bestowed; that one did not see the streams of blood and the falling of limbs and bodies beating the earth: each corpse remained standing, pressed tight by the multitude.

In comparison to Lucan's affecting description of the Roman soldiers' ruined bodies as they are forced together into a confining space, *Rómverja saga* offers only this on the close of battle: "The king's men bore stones and weapons upon them so that they could not protect themselves. The crowd was so great that the corpses were not at peace to fall, and each sank down on the others" (E*nn* k*onun*gs m*enn* baru æ þa griot ok vápn. s*ua* at þeir mattu ecki n*ema* hlífa s*er*. ok v*ar* s*ua* mikil þrǫngín at likin nádu æigi at falla. ok hne hu*err* at oð*rum,* ch. 65). A lengthy description of Curio's subsequent behavior follows.

Comparisons of this kind have led to the conclusion that *Rómverja saga* simply "does not reflect any particular interest in [scenes of battle]."[55] Yet, while it dwells minimally on these two battles, *Rómverja saga* retains in great detail episodes like that of Vulteius and the mass suicide of *Bellum Civile* 4 and the serpentine suffering of Cato's men in *Bellum Civile* 9. One cannot, therefore, simply state that the saga is uninterested in

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55 Helgadóttir 2010: clix. Helgadóttir also observes that the saga uses less vocabulary related to "military affairs" in the Lucan section compared to the Sallust portion.

graphic bodily violence altogether or claim that its primary aim of producing a historical account makes such detours unnecessary. In order to provide a more satisfying explanation of these changes' effects on the narrative, I would like to bring these observations into conversation with those considered above regarding *Rómverja saga*'s characterization of Caesar and Pompey. Namely, just as the saga author reframes both generals as more ambiguous leaders within the narrative frame of the civil war, so, too, does the saga prioritize episodes of martial combat that dwell on the courage of an individual and minimize those that display mass suffering. *Rómverja saga* thereby continues to step away from a portrayal of this Roman civil war as saturated with shameful behavior and wasted bodies.

For the sake of space, I will focus my attention here on the mass suicide of Book 4 as a test case. In Lucan's poem, the Caesarians encounter trouble in Dalmatia and, after facing limited resources, decide to cross the strait to join promising allies; to travel over the water, they must build rafts (Luc. 4.402-32). Pompeian forces sabotage their attempt, however, and Vulteius is introduced as the leader of one of the Caesarian rafts (*dux erat ille ratis*, Luc. 4.466) who urges his men to attack when it becomes clear that escape is not possible: "he demanded battle without hope, unknowing of whether the attack would come to their backs or chests" (*poscit spe proelia nulla / incertus qua terga daret, qua pectora bello*, Luc. 4.467-68).

Martial conflict ensues but pauses during the arrival of night, upon which Vulteius shares his view of what future action should be taken with a "great-spirited voice" (*magnanima ... uoce*, Luc. 4.475). His speech has several distinct movements. Vulteius begins by exhorting the value of suicide as having no less glory (*nec gloria leti / inferior*, Luc. 4.479-80) than other ways of dying when death itself is imminent. While no one wants to die (Luc. 4.484-85), the men now have a chance to salvage agency in the face of sure destruction: "decide upon death, and all fear is gone" (*decernite letum, / et metus omnis abest*, Luc. 4.486-87). Furthermore, the Caesarians have a special privilege in this choice, as their position in the strait has made them highly visible to onlookers (Luc. 4.488-504); this is a gift from the gods and Fortuna herself (*dei*; *Fortuna*, Luc. 4.493 and 497) to show their great loyalty to Caesar's cause (Luc. 4.500-3). Finally,

Vulteius exhorts the men to avoid any temptation for a truce (Luc. 4.507-20), closing by affirming death's great reward: "The gods conceal from those that will remain alive that one is fortunate to die so that they may endure living" (*uicturosque dei celant, ut uiuere durent, / felix esse mori*, Luc. 4.519-20).[56]

Vulteius' success at "infect[ing]" the men with "a dire frenzy for death"[57] is affirmed in battle the following day, as "when it seemed that enough blood had flowed in battle, their rage turned away from the enemy" and to their promise of suicide (*utque satis bello uisum est fluxisse cruoris/uersus ab hoste furor*, Luc. 4.539-40). Vulteius then "first offers his bared throat, seeking death" (*primus ... Vulteius iugulo poscens iam fata retecto*, Luc. 4.540-41), prompting "not one sword" (*non unus ... ensis*, Luc. 4.545) but many to strike him; upon their leader's demise, the men glory in their shared, highly visible end:

> pariter sternuntque caduntque
> uolnere letali, nec quemquam dextra fefellit
> cum feriat moriente manu. nec uolnus adactis
> debetur gladiis: percussum est pectore ferrum
> et iuguli pressere manum. cum sorte cruenta
> fratribus incurrunt fratres natusque parenti,
> haud trepidante tamen toto cum pondere dextra
> exegere enses. pietas ferientibus una
> non repetisse fuit. iam latis uiscera lapsa
> semianimes traxere foris multumque cruorem
> infudere mari. despectam cernere lucem
> uictoresque suos uoltu spectare superbo
> et mortem sentire iuuat.

(Luc. 4.558-70)

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56 See Asso 2010: 198-99 for a schematic breakdown of the movements of Vulteius' speech following Morford 1967: 8-9. On Vulteius' emphasis on visible exemplarity and the episode's connection with Lucan's larger exploration of *virtus*, cf. Ahl 1976: 117-20, Leigh 1997: 182-83, Hershkowitz 1998: 212-18, Gorman 2001: 280-88, Esposito 2001, Eldred 2002, Sklenář 2003: 13-58, Hill 2004: 215-37, Edwards 2007: 40-45, D'Alessandro Behr 2007: 36-45, Dinter 2012: 127-43, Seo 2013: 75-82, and Utard 2015.

57 Seo 2013: 77.

They administered and fell from a death wound equally, and no right hand failed even when it struck from a dying limb. Nor was each wound owed from striking swords; they struck iron with their chests, and they pressed their throats against enemy hands. When brothers faced brothers and children their parents by a bloody lot, nevertheless, hardly with a fearful hand, they drew their swords with all their might. The only sign of familial piety to those who struck was that they didn't seek to repeat the action. Now the men, half-dead, dragged their collapsed guts along the boards of the ship, and they poured a mass of blood atop the sea. They took pleasure in seeing the light of life so disdained, looking with an expression of contempt upon those who had defeated them, and feeling death.

Although it includes the Vulteius episode in detail, *Rómverja saga* offers a very different version compared to the *Bellum Civile*'s frenzied slaughter. First, while Lucan introduces Vulteius himself only through his role as the *dux* of the relevant raft, the saga marks him as both a leader (*hofðíngi*) and as "the bravest in respect to weapons" (h*ann* v*ar* hin*n* vaskazti t*il* vapns, ch. 64). In *Rómverja saga*, Vulteius' confidence with a blade is marked as positive, and this reframing carries through in his speech upon the realization that victory is not forthcoming. Unlike in Lucan's text, where the divine gift of suicide is praised as offering men freedom from their fear and glory in the judgement of Caesar, the saga's Vulteius offers a much more restrained case; the men should use this time to consider which death is the most "appropriate" (*likaztr*), and what is most important is that one should not fear death: "Let's make this choice – let's not fear our death" (G*o*rum s*ua* ual. Hrædumz *æigi* bana várn, ch. 64); this will also have the secondary effect of earning Caesar's great admiration.

In this Icelandic adaptation, Vulteius is a man of good reputation; he is skilled with weapons, and so the logic behind his leadership is more clearly articulated. In addition to this, however, he is a man of restraint. Vulteius does not advocate for the men to embrace death at their own hands because death itself is a divine blessing or because it will create an

unforgettable tableau before the enemy, especially if that enemy attempts to intervene with calls for a truce. Here, Vulteius does not even clearly state that the men should end their own lives and so avoids the contradiction, present in Lucan, that while "Vulteius appears to urge suicide...his men kill each other, not themselves, and so reenact the very civil war they have been fighting with the Pompeians."[58] Instead, his focus remains on steeling his men against the fear of death when their end is certain. Following this speech, we learn, "At dawn, the Pompeians set against them and offered them peace and reconciliation, but they rejected this flatly" (Enn er lysti. þa lǫgdu Pompeíus menn at þeim. ok buðu þeim grid ok sǽtt. Enn þeir níttu þi þuerliga, ch. 64). Since in *Rómverja saga* Vulteius never anticipates the possibility of a truce being offered, the Caesarians' rejection of the Pompeians' offer for peace comes wholly from their own volition; *they* – and not Vulteius – confirm that it is better to embrace death than to live at the whims of another.

The saga also rewrites the mass suicide itself. Whereas Lucan dedicates fifty-three lines to this conflict (Luc. 4.529-81) and, within that, thirty-four to the mass slaughter (Luc. 4.540-73), the saga is very brief after remarking that the Pompeians fought well:

> Enn er Wlternus sæ at þeir varo yfir komnir. þa retti hann framm halsinn. ok bað þann kompan sinn hǫGua sik er næstr honum var. Enn er hann fell. þa hio huerr annan sinn vín ok frenda. ok hlaɪt Vlternus þann dauda sem hann uilldi ser sealfr kiosa.
>
> (ch. 64)

> When Vulteius saw that they were overcome, he stretched out his neck and asked his companion nearest to him to strike him. When he fell, each one struck his friend and relative, and Vulteius had the death which he wanted to choose for himself.

While the Caesarians' demise remains a form of display before the Pompeians,[59] *Rómverja saga* includes only two references to violent harm

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58 Eldred 2002: 58.
59 Wellendorf 2014: 3-6 marks display as a key difference between this scene and the mass suicide of *Sverris saga*.

compared to Lucan's twenty-one and eschews any suggestion that the men envision themselves to be disdainful performers before an audience that sits beneath them.[60] Rather, the saga presents them as brave men dedicated to their cause, and it maintains its attention on Vulteius as a figure who thoughtfully sets out a course for his demise that he can accept. In concluding the episode by affirming that Vulteius achieved the death for which he wished, the saga figures his death as a dignified end. Finally, to accompany this reconfiguration of the Caesarians as restrained even in their self-violence, the saga author adds a closing blow against the Pompeians. While Lucan only describes the "victors" (*uictores*, Luc. 4.572) burning the corpses atop a pyre while their leaders marvel at the dedication of Vulteius' men to their leader (*ducibus mirantibus ulli / esse ducem tanti*, Luc. 4.572-73), *Rómverja saga* states that the Pompeian forces "thereafter took [the corpses'] weapons and money" (Toku nu sidan vápn þeira ok fiar lut, ch. 64).

In the *Bellum Civile*, Vulteius and the Caesarian forces he commands offer an overly devoted dedication to death – from the eagerness with which they bestow it on themselves to the great pride they feel in forcing others to gaze upon their devastated bodies. Regardless of how one interprets this episode in Lucan's greater poetic project, it does thereby offer a marked commentary on the civil war itself as an event that permits and even perhaps encourages such an action to occur. By excluding such details from its own narrative, *Rómverja saga* reconceives exactly how the civil conflict reveals the character of those fighting within it. In this case, the war still presents opportunities to commit harm against oneself, but such decisions are taken to be the outcome of a calm and noble dedication to individual agency and self-control.

As a result, this episode achieves a similar effect to that traced above in the portrayals of Caesar and Pompey. By turning away from the enthusiastic violence of *Bellum Civile* 4 while retaining the Caesarians' determination to die, *Rómverja saga* offers a more open-ended interpretation of the incident and the civil war that creates it; similarly, its recasting of the Pompeians as not only the audience of this display but thieves and corpse-robbers earns the reader's condemnation even while the Cae-

60 See Gorman 2001: 282.

sarians also likely earn criticism for their rejection of a truce. By removing overt judgement and presenting a more neutral, fact-driven narrative, *Rómverja saga* gives the reader significant material to make critical evaluations of its contents without applying a heavy hand regarding which interpretive path they should take.

4. Singing Civil War as Saga

As exemplified by its presentation of Pompey and Caesar as generals and the fates of the men they lead, *Rómverja saga* embodies a nuanced engagement with the *Bellum Civile*. Rather than only considering the epic's potential historical value and truncating the complexities of its poetic identity, *Rómverja saga* finds in the generic demands of saga style active adaptive opportunities to transform key features of Lucan's work. It thereby stands not only as a "competent and independent translation"[61] of plot, formal style, and terminology "interested in the conflict between Pompey and Caesar and the concrete events that resulted from it,"[62] but also as a perceptive and creative reformulation of the *Bellum Civile*'s more complex themes and interpretive challenges for medieval Icelandic readers.

   With this in mind, we can now appreciate the greater effects of the saga author's interventions. Here, it is imperative to reiterate that neither Caesar nor Pompey is utterly redeemed in the saga even if the text softens potential moments of high criticism; Caesar does not suddenly become altruistic and restrained and Pompey is not made energetic and decisive. Rather, in moderating the most damning moments of both generals' performance in Lucan's poem, the saga makes greater space for the reader to construct their own judgement of the events at hand. In the same vein, the saga's truncation of certain battles and reshaping of others refocuses its own narrative on the behavior of significant but ethically complex individuals. Through such innovations, the saga presents the civil war not as an incomprehensible, degenerate conflict that plays out upon innumerable victimized bodies, as Lucan does, but instead as a

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61 Würth 2005: 165.
62 Helgadóttir 2010: clii.

coherent contention set in motion by two complex leaders which offers selective opportunities for noble behavior. The historical significance of the civil war is not lost in the saga, but the text thus throws its moral character into repeated uncertainty.

In putting forward its distinct version of the Roman state as it falls apart and becomes something new, the saga forges its own path from the *Bellum Civile* and other medieval adaptations of Lucan's work while simultaneously retaining one of its central conceits: looming questions and ambiguous answers. Rather than pondering how such an event could even occur, as Lucan does (*quis furor*, Luc. 1.1), *Rómverja saga* instead prompts the question of what that event should be taken to mean. Rather than exploring that central question with a booming but at times indecisive voice, the saga author silences Lucan's narrator and offers the reader the kind of interpretive puzzle with which they would be much more familiar. As a result, *Rómverja saga* maintains a central aspect of Lucan's work while completely transforming it, creating something both distinct and connected: both clearly Lucanian and yet utterly Icelandic.

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ATHLETES AND ATHLETICS IN THE ORACULAR TABLETS OF DODONA[1]

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Summary: The corpus of published oracular tablets from Dodona, dated to ca. 550-167 BCE, contains a number of questions related to the world of Greek athletics. Most of the oracular inquiries submitted by athletes focus on their prospects of victory in specific events or contests. An analysis of the inquiries in question suggests that athletes aiming at victory in modest, local-appeal games as well as top-tier athletes aiming at success in the Olympic games, occasionally resorted to divination as they navigated challenges and coped with the uncertainty of strategic decisions connected to training, travel, and competition.

Athletics was a flagship cultural practice for ancient Greeks. A mainstay of most Greek festivals, it was widely practiced and even more widely followed by Greeks of all social backgrounds. Athletes competing in Greek *agones* could range from occasional contestants in obscure local contests to full-time athletes roaming the Greek-speaking world and competing at the highest level. For those athletes for whom competitive sport was more than an ephemeral gig (as it was, for instance, for many participants of *ephebeia* programs who competed in games only as part of their ephebic training), planning and prudent use of resources was of the essence. It is no wonder, therefore, that full-time athletes often sought counsel about the best strategies of competition, as well as reassurance in the face of uncertainties and the very real possibility of adversities, in oracles. Oracular consultation and other divinatory practices were popular methods of predicting the future as well as advantage-seeking tactics employed by Greeks, not merely athletes, who found themselves embroiled in a dispute or other type of conflict, or who regularly engaged in antagonistic or otherwise competitive activities.

In the ensuing discussion I explore the engagement of Greek athletes with divination through the recently published cache of oracular questions and answers from the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona. Despite some problems of decipherment and interpretation, oracular tablets from Dodona pertinent to the world of sport attest the anxieties, hopes, and objectives of Greek athletes in a formative and still imperfectly understood era of Greek athletics, namely the late Archaic to middle Hellenistic periods. Athletes resorted to divination as they navigated specific challenges and coped with the uncertainty of strategic decisions in a manner that was illustrative of the conditions of competitive sport of their era. Sport-related inquiries in the Dodona tablets seem to suggest that athletes of all calibers, ranging from Olympic hopefuls to habitués of local-appeal games, integrated the oracle of Dodona in their training and competition strategies. Thematically, many of the inquiries that athletes addressed to the Dodona oracle pertain to issues of victory or defeat, and a number of them revolve around the expediency of participation in specific contests.

The Oracular Tablets of Dodona

For the ancient Greeks divination, including the practice of seeking information, confirmation, or forewarning through oracles, was one of the most common methods of negotiating the uncertainty, anxiety, and risk involved in any present or future endeavor.[2] The recently published corpus of oracular tablets from the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona provides unique and valuable insights into the operation of divination on the personal level in the context of an interstate sanctuary.[3] As numerous commentators have underscored there are still a number of outstanding issues concerning the reading, transcription, and dating of the published

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2   For Greek divination see recently Trampedach 2015; Driediger-Murphy & Eidinow 2019.

3   Dakaris, Votokopoulou & Christidis 2013, hereafter abbreviated *DVC*. All Dodona tablets published before *DVC* are conveniently collected and discussed in Lhôte 2006. Unless otherwise noted, all Greek texts of the Dodona tablets are from *DVC*.

tablets, not to mention the almost complete lack of information regarding the sizeable lot of the still unpublished ones.[4] These concerns largely lie behind an ongoing endeavor, undertaken by a team of international specialists, to reread, revise, redate, and ultimately republish the Dodona tablets that are accessible to the scholarly community, especially those included in the *DVC* edition.[5] Given all the above, for the present any discussion of this material must be, to a certain extent, provisional. Despite these caveats the sheer amount of new material contained in the *DVC* edition must be subjected to a process of a rolling assessment, parts of which could be supplemented or even revised in the future as up-to-date editions and entirely novel material come to light.

Enquirers in Greek oracles often sought answers on the prospects of victory or defeat in war, litigation, and athletics.[6] Among the thousands of tablets with questions addressed to the oracle in Dodona, some directly link with the world of Greek athletics.[7] The Dodona tablets date to c. 550-167 BCE, hence they have the potential to elucidate aspects of athletic practices in some relatively less well-documented stages of the history of Greek athletics.[8] Unmediated or even partially (as in the oracular tablets of Dodona) unmediated discourses reflecting the life conditions and practices of Greek athletes are hard to come by. Commemorative and

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4   Parker 2016: 70-71; Chaniotis 2017: 51; Laes 2020: 2-4; Martín González 2021: 204-7.

5   Online edition Choix d'inscriptions oraculaires de Dodone (hereafter *CIOD*), (https://dodonaonline.com/ciod/). The *CIOD* website and all the weblinks of specific tablets referenced in subsequent footnotes were last accessed on February 24, 2024.

6   Plut. *Mor.* 386c for inquiries related to the prospect of victory (not exclusively athletic) at Delphi. For discussion of additional testimonia see Parke 1967: 185-87; Eidinow 2007: 265 n. 3.

7   There are over 4,200 published oracular texts (including questions, answers, and labels) from the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona, and only a handful can be convincingly connected to the world of athletics. There is certainly the possibility that unidentified links to athletics might exist in many other, in addition to the ones discussed here, oracular texts of Dodona that bear no explicit reference to sport. There are also thousands of still unpublished oracular texts from the same sanctuary, so it is a reasonable expectation that more sport-related texts will emerge in the future.

8   For the dates of the Dodona tablets see Lhôte 2017: 41. For the possibility that some Dodona oracular tablets might date after the destruction of the site in 167 BCE see Parker 2016: 71, n. 6. For indications of limited use of the sanctuary and oracle until the Augustan period see Piccinini 2013.

laudatory texts, including epinician poetry and honorific inscriptions in publicly displayed monuments, that contextualized an athlete's achievements were reflective of the public narrative that an athlete and his family wished to propagate. But such texts were also heavily scripted and largely formulaic, in accordance with the expectations of their genre. As for the inquiries in the Dodona tablets, they were formulated in a way that complied with the operational parameters of the sanctuary, but due to the nature of Greek divinatory practices they more or less directly echoed some of the priorities and concerns of athletes. In fact, considering the many linguistic idiosyncrasies of the tablets, it is not very far-fetched to envisage many of the oracular questions related to athletics being written, that is scratched on the actual lead tablets, by the athletes themselves or by other individuals very close to them, e.g. their guardians (in the case of minors) or trainers.

If pursued at the highest level, competitive sport in ancient Greece could be a physically strenuous and potentially stressful enterprise filled with moments of extreme emotional outbursts, but for many athletes also replete with anxieties and insecurities. Athletes and their entourage coped with these daily realities of practice and competition in diverse ways, including divination. The eighth Olympian ode of Pindar, celebrating the victory in the wrestling for boys of Alkimedon of Aegina, probably in c. 460 BCE, begins with an image of Olympic athletes asking the oracle in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia about their prospects of achieving an Olympic victory.[9] One would expect that such attempts, through on-site consultation of an oracle, to ferret out divine thoughts and intentions, as the enquiring athletes believed, regarding their prospects of Olympic victory would have been more in line with younger or in general less tried-and-true athletes. But even established and celebrated athletes, with several victories in top games under their belt, would occasionally need the reassurance of a divine forecast, especially regarding the most competitive of all contests in the Olympic games. Lucillius, the epigrammatist active in the reign of Nero, presents the use of divination, most likely in Olympia, by athletes of all stripes as a routine

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9   Pind. *Ol.* 8.1-8. Hdt. 9.33.1-2 implies the occurrence of oracular inquiries about sport in Delphi during the late Archaic period.

activity in the early Imperial period.[10] Lucillius is in general a reliable witness for practices and technicalities of Greek sport at his time, and despite the scoptic nature of his epigrams there is no good reason to doubt that divination involving athletes was practiced in Olympia during the early Imperial period.[11]

The material from Dodona suggests that in some cases enquirers would deposit multiple questions about the same issue, seeking to gather as much information and support as possible.[12] Enquirers could seek to clarify the past or the future: questions revolving around athletics, as far as one can tell, deal with a future event, and aim at managing uncertainty and making decisions.[13] Questions addressed to the oracle of Zeus in Dodona were usually succinct and often, but not always, articulated in a way that permitted a yes or no answer through cleromancy.[14] Many of the tablets contain questions, but a small number can be identified as answers delivered by the oracle while others have been interpreted as 'labels' that briefly identify the enquirer or the subject of the inquiry. Sometimes the tablets were inscribed with a label on one side and the question on the other, but that is not always the case. Labels and answers, due to their brevity, are the most tantalizing.

10 *Anth. Pal.* 11.161 and 163. For Olympia as the most likely setting see Parke 1967: 189; Robert 1968: 244; Eidinow 2007: 283, n. 37.

11 For Lucillius and Greek sport see Robert 1968, and his discussion of the epigrams dealing with divination in Olympia in 222-23 (*Anth. Pal.* 11.161) and 242-45 (*Anth. Pal.* 11.163).

12 Parker 2016; Chaniotis 2017; Eidinow 2019.

13 As Parker 2016: 74 puts it "one normally consulted an oracle when faced with an important decision, not as a way of peeling back the veil from the future". Cf. Parker 2016: 86 for athletes.

14 For cleromancy in Dodona see primarily Parker 2015 and Chaniotis 2017; for the practice of cleromancy in ancient divination, focusing on Italian oracles, see Buchholz 2013; for lot drawing in Greek sport see Mann 2017; for Greek lot drawing in other aspects of political, social, and religious life see Malkin 2022 and 2023.

Games and Victory: Athletes' Anxieties, Hopes, and Aspirations

In this context, some of the tablets that have been identified by the editors of the corpus from Dodona as related to agonistic matters provide little or no headway, and in certain cases it is doubtful whether certain tablets that are allegedly sport-related pertain to athletics at all.[15] Yet others afford valuable insights on athletes' frame of mind, anxieties, aspirations as well as some of their strategies of competition. The most common question submitted by athletes at the oracle of Dodona concerned the prospects of victory. In a tablet (*DVC* 1993A) dated on the grounds of letter forms to the late sixth century BCE, the enquirer sought

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15 Some tablets identified by the editors as agonistic might refer to judicial matters, e.g. *DVC* 225A (4th century BCE) contains a single word in the nominative (ἀντίπαλος) and it is possibly a label for *DVC* 224. See the *editio minor* in *CIOD* (https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2022/04/ciod_dvc_224a225a.pdf). Additionally, other tablets that are identified in the *editio princeps* or the *editio minor* as related to athletics are too brief or too ambiguous to yield any substantive conclusions, e.g. *DVC* 447A; 491A; 635A; 849A; 1011A; 1207B; 1396A (and the *editio minor* in *CIOD* https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/ciod_dvc_1396a.pdf); 2216B; 3797. In the *editio minor* (https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2022/11/ciod_dvc_3103a.pdf) the editors interpret *DVC* 3103A, which they date to c. 375-350 BCE, as an inquiry about the prospect of arranging a joint victory in an athletic or thymelic contest. This is possible but not very likely, mostly because joint (in which a draw was declared and the prize was shared by the top two contestants) and sacred (in which a draw was declared and the prize was dedicated to a deity) victories are not documented for institutionalized contests before the late Hellenistic period at the earliest (but they are for one-off games, like funeral games; see Hom. *Il.* 23.700-739 for a draw in wrestling with sharing of prizes in the funeral games of Patroclus). For joint and sacred victories see Crowther 2000 and Papakonstantinou 2016. *DVC* 3103A might refer to litigation or other forms of dispute settlement in which a division of resources was envisaged as a possible outcome. See also Lhôte 2006: no. 113 (not included in the *DVC* corpus) which has been tentatively interpreted in the past (Lhôte, op.cit.; Parke 1967: 272, no. 28) as germane to horse racing, but see now Méndez Dosuna 2007 and the *CIOD editio minor* (https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/lod_113.pdf). In the ensuing discussion I examine only the Dodona tablets that I consider as indisputably or very likely connected to the world of athletics.

to discover the deities he needed to worship in order to prevail over certain adversaries that are referred to by name.[16] It is likely, as the editors also assert, that the enquirer was an athlete, as were his named adversaries. Athletes active in the network of institutionalized and one-off (mainly funeral) games of the late Archaic period would be cognizant of the prominent adversaries in their event of specialization, and hence pointing to specific contestants should not surprise us. The practice of targeting other contestants by name is attested, this time with a malicious intent which is largely absent from the oracular tablets, on curse tablets against athletes that also named adversaries by name and asked deities to thwart their athletic performances and annihilate their chances of victory.[17]

To return to the oracular tablets from Dodona, some athletes inquired in a straightforward manner about their chances of victory, sometimes by specifying the event they were planning to register for, without providing any further context. That was the case of the question comprised in *DVC* 825A, dated to the fourth century BCE.[18] In this case the enquirer wished to know whether he will be victorious at the *hippios dromos*.[19] There is no indication as to the festival concerned, the back-

16 hὸς κα νικõμες Δαμό[δοκος – – –] | Φιλόϝοινος, Καρίõν ὄκα [– – -]. For the interpretation adopted here see Parker 2016: 86, n. 70, who also interprets in a similar fashion *DVC* 2036B (for a different interpretation of the latter see the *editio minor* (https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2021/10/ciod_dvc_2036b2034a2035a.pdf). According to the *editio princeps DVC* 1996B, which contains an abbreviated inscription that mentions games (ᾱ̃θλα), is a label for *DVC* 1993A.

17 Oracular inquiries sought to elucidate the potential for victory in specific contests and/or events to the advantage of the enquirer, while curse tablets sought to undermine the potential for success of notable opponents to the advantage of the agent of the curse, namely the athlete who had commissioned it. For curse tablets against athletes see Tremel 2004, with numerous additional examples published since then (e.g. Jordan 2022). For a recent overview see Hollmann 2021.

18 The editors date it to the fourth century BCE, while Méndez Dosuna 2016: 125-26 dates it to the fifth century BCE and provides a brief linguistic commentary, but misunderstands the tablet as referring to horse racing.

19 ε̄̓ κα φέρ|ε̄ ἵππι|ον; Oracular questions that mention merely the event that the enquirer was competing at (*DVC* 825A; *DVC* 1389A) without reference to the festival, might allude to a local contest held in the vicinity of the sanctuary in Dodona. The

ground (other than the obvious fact that he was a runner) of the enquirer, or any other details that might throw some light on his request. Ostensibly the enquirer thought it unnecessary to supply additional information, either because he was confident that the priests of Dodona would be able to identify him or because he believed that the all-knowing deities would be cognizant of the context of his inquiry, or both.[20] The *hippios* (at times also called *ephippios*) *dromos* was a footrace of four lengths of a Greek stadium, so it was longer than the *diaulos* race but shorter than the *dolichos*, the latter being the long distance race *par excellence.* The *hippios* was not contested in the Olympic or Pythian games but it is widely attested in various stages of the history of other top, midrange, and local-caliber contests, including the Isthmian and Nemean games, the Great Panathenaia in Athens, the Hekatombaia (later renamed Heraia) in Argos, the Asklepieia in Epidauros, and many others. So, the only conclusion one can reach with certainty regarding this oracular tablet is that the request did not concern the Olympic or Pythian games. Beyond that, it is anyone's guess. A similarly broad inference must be reached for *DVC* 1389A as well, dated by the editors to the late fifth or early fourth century BCE, in which the enquirer simply wonders whether he will be victorious in the *stadion* race.[21] In this case, the other side of the tablet (*DVC* 1390B) contains a simple Σ which, as the editors correctly surmised, stands as an abbreviation of στάδιον, a label for the question inscribed on the reverse.

Equally revealing are inquiries regarding victories in games of local or regional caliber. An instance of this seems to be *DVC* 296A, a tablet that the editors dated to the second half of the fifth century BCE. The question is written in a dialect suggesting that the enquirer was from Boeotia or Thessaly. Presumably an athlete, he wanted to know whether the gods

conventional wisdom is that the Naia, the agonistic festival of Dodona, was established in the early Hellenistic period (early third century BCE; see Cabanes 1988). Could these sport-related oracular questions of the Classical period from Dodona that do not point to a specific festival concern competitions in an earlier, modest, and otherwise unattested version of the Naia?

20 On the brevity and the lack of identification of the enquirer in most Dodona oracular tablets see Parker 2016: 73–74.

21 ἦ νικῶιμί κα στάδιο[ν];

would favor his victory in Oropos "at the ninth hour".[22] Several aspects of this oracular tablet are uncertain or subject to question. As the editors correctly remarked, the reference to Oropos must indicate the games held in the context of the Amphiareia festival. These games are better documented starting in 332/1 BCE, but little is known about their history in the earlier stages of the Classical period.[23] The tablet from Dodona could very well be the earliest attestation of these games. The editors believed that the reference to "the ninth hour" refers to the periodicity of the Amphiareia in the fifth century BCE, and concluded that at that time the games were held every nine years. There is, however, no evidence that the Amphiareia were held in the fifth century BCE, or at any other point, in a nine-year cycle which, counting inclusively as Greeks usually did with festivals, would result in a festival held every eight years.[24] It is more likely that, if the reading is correct, the ninth hour refers to the schedule of the contest and the approximate timing of the event in which the enquirer was planning to take part.[25]

DVC 2089A, dated by the editors to the second half of the fourth century BCE, is also germane to local-caliber games. In this instance the enquirer wishes to know whether he would be victorious in some unnamed

22 θ[ε]ὸς τύχαν ἀ[γαθάν]· | Μυρδιό(ν)δαο : ὅπ̄ος νι[κ]ῆν ὄντ' <ἐς> κῆσε | ἐν ἐνάτας ἡόρας : δόε̣[ν] αἰ λῶντες [αἰ δὲ μὴ] | Ὀρ̄οπόνδε με̄δὲν ἴτ̄ο;

23 Petrakos 1968: 194 believes that two reliefs, dated to the late fifth or early fourth century BCE and depicting the *apobates* race were dedications by victors at the Amphiareia. See also Petrakos 1997: no. 335.

24 In the Greek world festivals were usually held in a five-year cycle (were hence quadrennial) or less, although there are some rarely attested festivals that were held in a longer cycle, e.g. a sexennial festival in Delos in the late Classical period ([Ar.] *Ath.Pol.* 54.7) and possibly the Hippokathesia (octennial) in late Hellenistic Rhodes (Iversen 2018-2019: 102).

25 In Greek athletic contests the order of athletic events was known and publicized well in advance. Primarily due to the rules governing some of the events, especially the lack of any sort of time limits in the combat events, normally it would have been impossible to determine in advance the exact start of most events, especially as a day of competition progressed. But organizers and athletes would know approximately when to expect a specific event to commence. Exact timing and/or sequence of activities was employed for the operation of various activities in *gymnasia* and baths, e.g. *IG* V.1 1390, 108-109, Andania, late Hellenistic or early Imperial, (bath); *SEG* 65.420, 36-69, Amphipolis, 24/23 BCE (*gymnasion*).

games in Ambrakia.[26] Similar to the oracular question concerning the Amphiareia, this is the earliest attestation of games in Ambrakia.[27] Top-caliber athletes from Ambrakia are documented for the Classical period, namely Sophron, the *stadion* Olympic champion of 432 BCE as well as Leon, the runner-up in the highly disputed Olympic final in the *stadion* race in 396 BCE.[28] This suggests a fairly developed athletic culture in Ambrakia, complete with all the training and competition facilities as well as local games, comparable to what is attested for other Greek communities of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

The lack of testimonia, besides the tablet from Dodona, on the games of Ambrakia and the scarcity of documentation for the earlier phases (fifth and most of the fourth century BCE) of the Amphiareia point to agonistic festivals of mainly local or at best regional cachet. The Amphiareia games become more visible epigraphically, primarily through a series of victor lists, following their relaunch in 332/1 BCE.[29] In the case of the tablet concerning victory in the Amphiareia (*DVC* 296A) and considering that, as mentioned earlier, the likely origin of the enquiring athlete was from Boeotia or Thessaly, it would appear that he travelled a considerable distance to Dodona to seek guidance on his chances of victory in a festival that was, in the context of the fifth century BCE, of such low profile. This points to the methodical planning and strategies of competition employed by athletes, and reveals the time and resources they

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26 ἦ νικάσω [– – –] | ἐν Ἀμπρα[κίαι – – –].

27 Nielsen's (2018) thorough overview of testimonia on games in Archaic and Classical Greece contains no entry for Ambrakia.

28 Sophron, Moretti 1957: no. 321; Leon, Paus. 6.3.7 and a discussion of the testimonia in Crowther 1997.

29 See Petrakos 1997: no. 297. Following the relaunch, and as documented in the victor list of 329/8 BCE (Petrakos 1997: no. 520) the Amphiareia attracted some athletes from other parts of the of the Greek-speaking world (including a small number from Asia Minor and Cyrene), but the preponderance of the victors were Athenian, see Petrakos 1997: 414; Nielsen 2018: 61. In the late Hellenistic period the Amphiareia were celebrated jointly with the Romaia for a number of iterations (Petrakos 1997: nos. 521-534) and emerged as a true interstate contest that attracted a stream of contestants from every corner of the Greek-speaking world. For the strong possibility that the Amphiareia Romaia were celebrated since the middle Hellenistic period see Kalliontzis 2016, with objections in *BE* (2017), 265. For the catchment area of the Amphiareia see van Nijf & Williamson 2016: 53-57.

were willing to expend to implement them. The same conclusion stands for the athlete inquiring about victory in Ambrakia (*DVC* 2089A), and indeed for any other athlete who might have asked the oracle about victory in a specific contest, even though in most cases one cannot determine the city of origin of athletes that consulted the oracle of Dodona. Moreover, in both cases (*DVC* 296A and 2089A), and since available testimonia suggest that during the time these tablets were deposited the Amphiareia and the games in Ambrakia were relatively humble contests of mainly local appeal, one can tentatively assume that the enquirers were not among the top athletic performers of their time.[30] To take the tablet concerning the Amphiareia as an example, a star athlete of the fifth century (e.g. Theogenes of Thasos, or Kallias of Athens) with victories at the Olympic and other major games would hardly deign to consider as a high-stakes target the prospect of victory in a contest like the fifth-century Amphiareia, and proceed to anxiously inquire about it at an oracle. A similar principle was in operation regarding top athletes of the fourth-century BCE vis-à-vis the games in Ambrakia, unattested except for the tablet from Dodona. If this interpretation is correct, then these specific tablets from Dodona do not only allow insights into the competition strategies, but also point to the concerns, and sometimes the angst experienced by athletes who operated in the shadow of the great champions of their day and who prioritized their chances of victory at a lower tier of games.

One wonders how a positive or negative response to such questions would affect athletes' plans to compete. In case of a negative response an athlete not confident of his chances of victory might forgo a particular contest, thus saving himself effort and resources, and focus on another contest instead. A positive response, on the other hand, might provide a psychological boost. However, even with a positive response from the oracle of Dodona, an athlete who would not normally consider himself as part of the top tier of star athletic performers would still need to train as

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30 There is no indication that monetary payment was required to submit a question to the Dodona oracle, but the combined expense of travelling to the sanctuary and quite likely dedicating a gift (in many cases perhaps a small figurine, at other times something more valuable) could be considerable for some athletes.

hard as ever in preparation for local-caliber games such as the fifth-century Amphiareia or the fourth-century games in Ambrakia.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are some tablets submitted by athletes who inquired about their chances of victory at the Olympic games. Throughout Greco-Roman antiquity, the Olympic games remained the most prestigious of all Greek-style contests, and a victory there was the ultimate prize for every athlete. *DVC* 1878A,[31] a tablet of the fourth century BCE and *DVC* 3509A,[32] a tablet of the first half of the fourth century BCE, ostensibly refer to Olympia. It is likely that they are related somehow to the games, but they are both too fragmentary to yield any reasonable insights. *DVC* 4079A,[33] a tablet deposited at the end of the fifth century BCE, also concerns an urgent trip to Olympia for an unspecified purpose. The oracle's response (or an alternative question, submitted by the same enquirer) is recorded on the reverse (*DVC* 4080A) of the same tablet, advising the enquirer to hold off his journey (response) or asking whether he should scrap his plans to travel to Olympia (alternative question).[34] Is this an inquiry by an ambitious but uncertain athlete who, shortly before (hence the need to travel urgently if the oracle's response was positive) the registration of prospective contestants for the Olympic games was about to begin, decided to ask the gods about his chances at the most competitive contest in Greece? That is a possible reconstruction, if indeed the context is athletic.

Even though some doubt must remain concerning these tablets referring to Olympia, the pertinence to athletics appears indisputable for *DVC* 2986A. In this tablet, dated to 425-400 BCE in the *editio minor*, an athlete is inquiring whether he will win *akoniti* at the Olympic games.[35] An *akoniti* (literally dust-free) victory was a walkover victory. Such victories were most often associated with combat sport events but are also attested for

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31 ἐν Ὀλυν]πία[ι – – –].

32 ἦ ἐν] Ὀλυ[νπίαι – – –];

33 [– –]Α ἔ̃ λόϊον | [καὶ ἄμε̄νο]ν Ὀλυπίανδε | [ἔρποντι] καὶ ἐπέγον|[τι αὐτῶ] ἐσσε̃[ται];

34 Ὀλυ(ν)πίανδε [περ]|μένε̄ν. Martín González 2021: 218 interprets *DVC* 4079A and 4080A as two questions (the latter presented in an abbreviated format), submitted by the same enquirer, with two possible courses of action. The *editio princeps* and Chaniotis 2017: 58, n. 32, consider 4080A as the answer to 4079A.

35 ἔ̃ οὐ νικάσ[ο̄] | ἀϙονιτὶ ʼν [Ὀλ]|υμπίαι; text from *editio minor* https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2022/04/ciod_dvc_2986a.pdf.

footraces and the pentathlon. An *akoniti* victory does not necessarily imply a complete lack of competition, although that was a distinct possibility. In principle *akoniti* or otherwise denominated walkover victories occurred when all contestants except one had voluntarily withdrawn from competition.[36] That was the way such victories were overwhelmingly interpreted in the literary and epigraphical record since at least the late Hellenistic period.[37]

In the post-Classical period, the terminology of uncontested victories expanded alongside the expansion of other surplus-value neologisms employed by athletes to represent the most notable aspects of their careers.[38] Victories that did not involve any competition at all, and hence were *akoniti* in the literal sense of the word, were glamorous and prestigious. But so were the kinds of victories in which the eventual victor faced some opposition only for a round or two, as well as victories in which some adversaries retired at a late stage of the competition because of injuries and physical exhaustion. Athletes who pulled off such victories would eagerly elaborate the circumstances in honorific inscriptions and other media, even if they did not always employ the technical term *akoniti*.[39] In whatever fashion it manifested itself, a walkover victory was perceived as an acknowledgement of the superiority and invincibility of

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36 For uncontested victories see Klingenberg 1989: 222-28; Brunet 1998: 128-35; Crowther 2001; and Nielsen 2023. See also Nicholson n. d. who believes, based partly on the story of Theogenes' pulling out of the Olympic pankration final in 480 BCE (Paus. 6.6.5-6; 6.11.4) and thereby granting an *akoniti* victory to Dromeus of Mantineia, that injuries should account for most withdrawals that resulted in *akoniti* victories. While injury and physical exhaustion must account for some *akoniti* victories, the *akoniti* victory of Dromeus was due to, according to Pausanias, the physical exhaustion (προκατεργασθεὶς) of Theogenes and not because of any debilitating injury suffered by the Thasian athlete.

37 E.g. Diod. 4.14.2; Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, 28-29. Philo of Alexandria, an author active in the early Imperial period, was well-acquainted with practices and general principles of Greek-style sport. See Robert 1960; Papakonstantinou forthcoming.

38 Pleket 1975: 79; Papakonstantinou 2019: 93.

39 E.g. *IG* XIV 1102 = *IAG* no. 79 = Strasser 2021: no. 107 commemorating the career of M. Aurelius Asklepiades, an athlete who achieved his most notable victories in the 180s BCE.

an athlete based on his reputation, past record of victories, show of bodily strength, and/or his performance in the festival in which the victory took place. Such victories were quite exceptional: in the entire record of ancient Greek athletics, spanning over a millennium of contests, there are fewer than twenty athletes who are attested as having won an uncontested victory of any denomination.[40] Uncontested victories must have been perceived as a long shot by athletes of the late Archaic and Classical periods especially given the limited number, compared to later eras, of games held around the Greek-speaking world.[41] In theory the enlarged network of available games of interstate, regional, and local caliber in the post-Classical world presented athletes with more opportunities for such uncontested victories and other extraordinary achievements. But the epigraphic record suggests that even at the heights of what has been dubbed the Greek agonistic explosion of the Imperial period, *akoniti* or otherwise denominated uncontested victories were a rarity.

The preceding discussion can help us better appreciate the Dodona oracular tablet inquiring about an *akoniti* victory in the Olympic games. In referencing some other known *akoniti* victories in Greek sport, attested in publicly displayed honorific inscriptions for victorious athletes, the editors of the *editio minor* of *DVC* 2986A find it curious that athletes who achieved such victories boasted that they had won without competition. In fact, Greek audiences found nothing strange about such boasts and athletes, as already underscored in the preceding discussion, considered a walkover victory a great badge of honor. If the reading of the text in the tablet is correct, then the enquirer of *DVC* 2986A was in pursuit of an exceptional achievement, the rarity of which far exceeded even a simple Olympic victory. We are in the presence, therefore, of an athlete of the highest order who appears confident enough of his forthcoming

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40 The literary record, especially Pausanias, overwhelmingly focuses on the *akoniti* victories of star athletes in the Olympic games, a fact that Crowther 2001 believes reflects a higher frequency of these victories in the Olympic games due to the compulsory training month in Elis before the games.

41 For Greek athletic contests in the Archaic and Classical periods see Nielsen 2018, part 1.

Olympic victory to seek clarification of his prospects of an *akoniti* distinction. If our interpretation is correct, such an athlete would surely proceed to compete at the Olympic games even if the oracle's response was negative regarding his *akoniti* victory. At the same time, he was clearly seeking to forge an outstanding victory record enhanced by prestigious value-added titles and, eventually, bequeath a lasting reputational legacy of his athletic career.

Conclusion

Similar to other divinatory and preemptive measures, primarily oneirocriticism and binding magic, aimed at presaging, forestalling, or altering the course of future events, oracular consultation, as documented by the tablets from Dodona, attracted inquiries from athletes running the entire gamut of the Greek athletic class. Extant sport-related oracular questions from Dodona were most likely written down and submitted by the athletes themselves or their intimate associates. A preliminary examination of these tablets suggests that inquiries focused on issues of competition strategies, including the prospect of success in specific contests, and the optimal allocation of resources. The extant specimens provide insights on top-tier athletes who aspired to distinction at the highest level, as well as on athletes who aimed at success at the modest level of agonistic festivals of local or regional appeal. Finally, it is perhaps slightly surprising that there are no explicitly identified oracular tablets bearing on issues of athletic injury or other forms of bodily incapacitation that, as the record suggests, were major sources of disquietude, especially for athletes in combat sport. Hopefully publication of additional tablets and further research will shed more light on divinatory practices and oracular inquiries of athletes at the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona.

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